A Savage Land

Violence and Trauma in the Nineteenth-Century American Southwest

by

Margery Hunt Watkinson

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2020 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Donald Fixico, Chair
Anna Cichopek-Gajraj
Eric Meeks

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2020

ABSTRACT

This dissertation seeks to understand two universal experiences that have pervaded human society since man first climbed out of the trees: violence and trauma. Using theories gleaned from the Holocaust and other twentieth century atrocities, this work explores narratives of violent action and traumatic reaction as they occurred among peoples of the nineteenth-century American Southwest. By examining the stories of individuals and groups of Apaches, Ethnic Mexicans, Euro-Americans, and other diverse peoples within the lens of trauma studies, a new narrative emerges within US-Mexico borderlands history. This narrative reveals inter-generational legacies of violence among cultural groups that have lived through trauma and caused trauma within others. For both victims and perpetrators alike, trauma and violence can transform into tools of cultural construction and adaptation.

Part I of this work establishes the concept of ethnotrauma-- a layered experience of collective trauma among minority populations under racial persecution. By following stories of Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Warm Springs Apaches in the nineteenth-century Southwest, this dissertation reveals how Apaches grappled with ethnotrauma through generations during times of war, imprisonment, and exile. These narratives also reveal how Apaches overcame these legacies of pain through communal solidarity and cultural continuity. Part II explores the concept of perpetrator trauma. By following stories of Mexican norteños, Mexican-Americans on the US-Mexico border, and American settlers, the impact of trauma on violators also comes to light. The concept perpetrator trauma in this context denotes the long-term cultural impacts of committing violence among perpetrating communities. For perpetrating groups, violence became a method of affirming and, in some cases, reconstructing group identity through opposition to other groups. Finally, at the heart of this work stands two critical symbols-- Geronimo, victim

and villain, and the land itself, hostile and healing-- that reveal how cycles of violence entangled ethnotrauma and perpetrator trauma within individuals struggling to survive and thrive in a savage land.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are so many people that helped me, drove me, inspired me, and counseled me throughout this dissertation journey. First, the head of my master's degree program in Holocaust and genocide studies, Dr. Jonathan Friedman, encouraged me to explore genocide among Indigenous peoples and my thesis committee chair, Dr. William Hewitt, led me into Apache history. I am very grateful for the support of my two dissertation committee members, Dr. Eric Meeks and Dr. Cichopek-Gajraj, who helped shape this work into what it is today.

During the last few years at ASU, I had mentors that possessed an infectious passion for their work and a compassion for their students. Dr. Calvin Schermerhorn aided my on my scholarly journey through his individual readings course on slave history. Dr. Julia Sarreal first piqued my interest in Latin American history. Dr. Rachel Fuchs taught me about the power of stories in her microhistory course, while Dr. Mark von Hagen and Dr. Aaron Moore provided personal mentorship long after their class had ended for me. Taken from us far too soon, these last three scholars left an absence at Arizona State that continues to be felt by students and professors alike.

Dr. Katherine Osburn has been an incredible professional and personal mentor. While some professors fear getting down in the weeds with students when they struggle, Dr. Osburn has never been afraid to pull us up when we are falling or to bring us back to the dirt when we need to grow. I have also been exceedingly lucky to have Dr. Donald Fixico oversee my dissertation. Dr. Fixico cares deeply for his students and provides each of us with the individual support we need not just as scholars but as people. As a new mother and a woman in higher education, I have faced many hurdles over the years. Dr. Fixico supported me as a scholar throughout these trials, pushing me to not just achieve my goals but to achieve them in my own way.

Dr. Paul Conrad gave me profound advice on how to respectfully engage with Indigenous history as a non-Indigenous person. Dr. James Dupey's discussion of Cormac McCarthy's work *Blood Meridian* and Dr. Thomas Peotto's advice on critical scalping sources helped me complete my final chapter. Dr. Ian Lee provided me with sources on the Mesilla Guard and with his incredible knowledge of the topic. Mariana Gonzalez helped me with difficult translations of Spanish documents. Dr. William Kiser always graciously answered my many annoying questions on the history of the Mesilla Valley.

On a personal level, I would never have completed this dissertation without a little help from my friends. Dr. Monika Bilka provided constant encouragement to me when my life seemed chaotic and when the darkness of my topic overwhelmed me. Dr. Farina King likewise inspired me with her work ethic, her passion for Native American history, and her friendship. Renee Pascale has been my greatest cheerleader and Natalia Abazeri has aided me with her loving threats of a "friend-divorce" if I quit. I look forward to celebrating with all of you in the near future.

I have been blessed beyond measure with a family that supports my passion and my education. Holly Radford Hunt, my fellow "dissertating Mama" and sister-in-law, has been a huge supporter as I grappled with life as a mom in academia. My older brother Dr. James Hunt proved to me that this path is possible as he earned his own PhD a few years ago. My little sister, Holly Hunt Mathis, talked me through my organizational problems with my dissertation, helping me see the bigger picture. My in-laws, Tina and Tony Watkinson, lived with my family during the last months of writing, provided encouragement, and were fantastic babysitters. My Daddy, Jerry Hunt, instilled a love of history in me since we first hunted arrowheads in the fields that surrounded my childhood home. My Mama, Helen Hunt, gave me the gift of loving words, and her influence is threaded throughout this dissertation.

This dissertation would never have existed without three important people in my life. My dissertation baby, Robert, has brought me sunshine on my darkest days. I am excited to have many more Mommy-Robbie days now that this dissertation is at an end. My wonderful husband Mark provided me with financial and emotional support for the last decade of my academic career. He has sacrificed so much of his own wants and needs to support mine. To Robbie and Mark, you are both my whole wide world. I hope I have made you proud. Finally, I owe a debt I cannot repay to my Papa, Webster McKinney, who passed away a year before this dissertation was completed. With little formal education and working as a farmer his entire life, he encouraged my mother, her three sisters, and his grandchildren to pursue education, independence, and a knowledge of the wider world.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AG	Assistant General
AAG	Assistant Adjutant General
CCF	Consolidated Correspondence File
CSWR	Center for Southwest Research
DNM	Department of New Mexico
GO	General Orders
NAB	National Archives Building
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NMRCA	New Mexico State Records Center and Archives
NMSIA	New Mexico Superintendency of Indian Affairs
NMSU	New Mexico State University
OIA	Office of Indian Affairs
RAGO	Records of the Adjutant General's Office
RG	Records Group
ROQG	Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General
RUACC	Records of the US Army Continental Commands
RUSS	Records of the United States Senate
TPUSS	Territorial Papers of the United States Senate

INTRODUCTION

There is shadow under this red rock,
(Come in under the shadow of this red rock),
And I will show you something different from either
Your shadow at morning striding behind you
Or your shadow at evening rising to meet you;
I will show you fear in a handful of dust.
--T.S. Eliot, "The Waste Land[1]"

In lands of sanguine dawns and dusks, Owl-Man Giant stalks in shadows. Along the borders of a jagged and mountainous world riddled with the dusty footprints of Indigenous peoples, conquistadors, Mexicans, and Euro-American pioneers, this killer lurked and waited to steal the meat from the mouths of anyone who dared to hunt deer across the land. This Giant[2] also thirsted for the rich blood and marrowy bones of those sweet young babes birthed from White-Painted Woman.[3]

Lightning, or perhaps rain, depending upon who tells the story, had impregnated White-Painted Woman. Through her wedding with pure creative power, White-Painted Woman gave the world Child-of-Water. She hid the child from the cannibal Owl-Man Giant and other hungry monsters until adulthood, whereupon Child-of-Water went out across the vast expanse of the Southwest to hunt with his brother, Killer-of-Enemies.[4] Inevitably Child-of-Water's path crossed with Owl-Man Giant, who challenged him to a

[1] Thomas Stearns Eliot, *The Waste Land* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1922).

[2] * Owl-man Giant often goes by other names, such as Big Owl or Giant, depending upon which Apache group tells the tale. For more information on the breakdown of this names according to group see Morris Opler, *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians* (New York: American Folk-Lore Society, 1942), 22.

[3] Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton, *Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 37.

[4] Ibid.

shooting contest over the deer that Child-of-Water had killed. With four grama-grass arrows,[5] Child-of-Water first maimed and then killed this marauding beast along with the other monsters who consumed men, establishing a safe world for humanity. Afterward, Child-of-Water and White-Painted Woman created mankind.[6]

Mescalero and Chiricahua Apaches continue to honor this hero of all peoples, Child-of-Water, and his powerful mother, White-Painted Woman, through ceremonial dances. Yet the ghost of Owl-Man Giant still haunts the Southwestern landscape the Apaches call home, placated by rituals of healing but never banished entirely from the places he once roamed. Much like blood stains on desert sandstone, first bright and crimson but later dull in ruby-purple tones, the violence of the past may have faded from living memory, but it still lurks among Apaches and non-Apaches alike across the rugged mountain peaks and stony recesses of the Southwestern terrain. The blight of trauma lingers as a shadowy specter touching with wispy fingers all who cross its path. This savage spirit feeds on the ephemeral dark matter of violence, abandoning its victims to psychological wounds that haunt those injured through generations of shared historical trauma.

As an American woman living in the twentieth century, I have been also been touched by trauma in myriad ways over the course of my life. But as a white woman, I also have been privileged by my skin color to more often play witness or observer to stories of trauma than many of the minority members around me. I distinctly remember the very jarring realization of this privilege during my last undergraduate year at the University of Georgia. During that time, I also observed the vast differences in empathy displayed by typical Euro-American upper-class students when exploring historical

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[5] Lawrence Mithlo, *The Killing of the Giant, Chiricahua Apache Text* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Library, 2001), search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/uva-lib:499453.

[6] Opler, *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians*, 1-11.

narratives of violence among specific minority groups. During that fall semester, I attended two memorable history classes: one which covered the history of the Holocaust in Western Europe and one which covered a broader chronological narrative of Native American history from 1492 to the present day.

On the first day of my Holocaust class, I witnessed a student body in emotional distress. We watched early footage of different concentration camps shortly after World War II ended, and students viewing the film wept openly. Other students pressed their hands to their mouths and walked quietly from the room, horrified by the images of emaciated corpses spilling from train cars and teeth left behind in ashy crematorium chambers. In this same semester, the students in my Native American history course watched a film on the massacre at Wounded Knee. The documentary featured oral histories from descendants of the survivors. These stories brimmed over with disturbing descriptions of the murder of women and children played alongside images of stiff and half-frozen Indigenous bodies stacked in hastily dug pits by American soldiers. I sat in silence, choking down my own sobs as I heard a descendant's voice break in a mixture of anger and grief as she spoke of how her people were shot down like animals. For me, though both educated and well-read, I knew little at this ripe age of 20 about American-led atrocities against Indigenous peoples. But around me, other students cast disinterested, disconnected gazes at the screen. Some checked their social media sites and worked on materials for other classes. Some doodled mindlessly in their notebooks. A few dozed with mouths ajar, their heads bobbing ever so often in our darkened classroom.

From that moment, I became intently aware of this disconnect that many Euro-American students possessed when an opportunity arose to empathize with minority populations deemed "not white" in various historical atrocity narratives. This awareness

brought to me a further understanding of the ways in which not just race, but nationalism also played into this disconnect. I grew increasingly drawn to topics which analyzed how Euro-Americans viewed minority members, particularly Indigenous peoples in the past, and the ways those views left these legacies of disconnection in the present. My curiosity bloomed into my graduate school career as I explored narratives of trauma, violence, revenge, and resilience, eventually leading me to study the racially entangled borderlands of the nineteenth-century American Southwest. In this world of the centuries past, cycles of massacre and mourning inundated the peoples across this landscape. Victims as well as perpetrators over four centuries of interaction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples felt the profound touch of two brutal forces, violence and trauma, but no one group would hold complete ownership over either. In the grips of such powerful sociological elements, lines blurred between victim and violator and pain compounded onto a collective and intergenerational scale.

The following work contains narratives of pain and persecution, but also of perseverance. In the case of the Apache peoples of the Southwest, these cycles of conquest, violence, and trauma altered their traditional ways of life in ways that reverberated across the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. In the past 200 years, the Apaches faced settler persecution, enslavement, exile, and incarceration. But the trauma from these experiences did not destroy them as a people; instead, this trauma pushed broken Apache communities to unite and affirm their Apache identities in the darkest of times.

The entry of Apache ancestors into the Southwest remains a heavily debated topic among archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, and Apaches themselves. Genetic studies, linguistic studies, and archaeological studies all conflict on how people migrated to the North American continent, when they migrated, and how they biologically

influenced present-day Indigenous populations. Estimates on their migration range from only 10,000 years ago to over 50,000 years ago. When Apache peoples emerged as distinctive tribes and bands from these earlier migratory groups also remains contested.[7] While some historians and archaeologists believe that the Athapaskan-speakers such as the Navajo and Apaches did not move into the area until the sixteenth century, other scholars argue that newer archaeological evidence reveals an earlier and more muddled timeline between Anasazi-Pueblo peoples and these Apache and Navajo ancestors.[8]

Apache groups vary in their creation stories and their people's history with some oral traditions from White Mountain and Jicarilla Apaches contending that the Apaches emerged from an underworld deep within the Earth.[9] But Apache peoples also possess a much more visceral and innate connection to their ancient past. In November 1951, Big Mouth, a survivor of Bosque Redondo and a former United States army scout in the campaign against Geronimo, spoke with historian and writer Eve Ball on his understanding of his people's history in the region. Big Mouth stated quite plainly, "It has always been our country.[10]"

In 1539, Spanish explorers first moved through the diverse ecological and geological landscape of the present-day Southwest, traipsing through bone-dry wastelands, snowy-capped peaks, lush pine forests, and high, flat plateaus of grama

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[7] Jessica Dawn Palmer, *A History of All Bands and Tribes through the 1880s* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2013), 21-24.

[8] Trudy Griffin-Pierce, *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Southwest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 18-19.

[9] For further readings on these oral histories and creation stories, please see Morris Opler's article, "A Summary of Jicarilla Apache Culture" American Anthropologist 38, No. 2 (April - June, 1936), 202-223, and also Grenville Goodwin's article "White Mountain Apache Religion," *American Anthropologist* 40, No. 1 (January - March, 1938), 24-37

[10] "Big Mouth," November 1951, Box 3, Folder 22, Manuscript Collection 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, L. Tom Perry Collection, 20th and 21st century Western and Mormon Americana, Harold B. Lee Library Provo (hereafter cited as Eve Ball Papers, MSS 3096.)

grasses. Throughout their travels, the Spanish engaged with diverse groups of Apaches; Western Apaches thrived in the countryside along the Rio Grande, and Eastern Apache groups stretched as far northeast as present-day Kansas. Apache bands at the time consisted of some of those still found today, such as the Mescaleros, Jicarillas, and Lipans, but other groups and names have since passed out of common usage, such as the Carlanas, Palomas, Apaches del Perillo, Faraones, and Natages.[11]

Ethnic Mexicans in the region, some with ancestors who lived in the borderlands since the times of earliest Spanish colonization, lived with legacies of violence that by the mid-nineteenth century spanned several hundred years. Assuming racial superiority over the *Indios Bárbaros*, Mexican settlers carved out a precarious life of rigid defense in fortified towns and cities, often losing homes and family members to Apache and Comanche incursions across generations. Simultaneously, Mexicans living in the borderlands faced challenges from corrupt governments and political turmoil that trickled up from Mexico City and revolutionary violence that spilled out and into northern communities during the early 1800s. In the mid-nineteenth century, Apaches and Mexicans alike faced the extreme changes brought to the region by an invading American power. But these changes did not simply come in the form of soldiers. Filibusters, entrepreneurs, miners, migrants, farmers, ranchers, politicians, and government bureaucrats came from across the United States into the southwest territories to reshape the region to fit their conceptualization of an American West. But along with these physical changes to the landscape and settlement of the region, ideological changes also permeated this southwestern space. Just as Mexican and Apache peoples had clashes of culture with each other for centuries, Euro-American culture and in particular, Euro-American racism, forced Mexicans and Apaches to

[11] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 32.

reconstruct their own perceptions of race in a new and rapidly Americanized world.

This work seeks to answer a complex question: How did cycles of violence impact the socio-cultural practices and collective identities of peoples in the US-Mexico borderlands during the nineteenth century? By examining the legacies of these cycles of extreme violence rooted in racial and cultural othering, this work fleshes out the impacts of trauma on violators and the violated. Both Parts I and II of this dissertation examine variations of the psychological and philosophical concept of trauma. The word trauma comes from the Greek word for "wound." Though this term can refer to a physical injury to the body, in this work trauma is defined as a psychological wound that stubbornly refuses to heal, altering a person's ability to move on from this wound through its obstruction of memory formation related to the wound itself. This latent pain continues through the victim's life until the wound begins to heal or be processed the mind. [12]

When a cultural or ethnic group is targeted with violence based on their racial characteristics, this persecution can result in an intense psychological and multi-layered experience specific to minorities that I have termed "ethnotrauma."[13] In a similar fashion, a majority cultural group persecuting a racial minority can also experience trauma through the collective act of violation, which I have termed "perpetrator trauma." These two terms provide scholars with a new and interdisciplinary method of analyzing traumatic reactions among collective groups. But these terms also provide the wider public with a means to understand racialized trauma on a broader scale. Much like the Apache universe where people, places, and objects contain a power and agency all their own, trauma and violence exist as living entities. Rather than being possessed by static

[12] Antonio Traverso and Mick Broderick. "Interrogating Trauma: Towards a Critical Trauma Studies." Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies 24, 1 (2010): 5. doi:10.1080/10304310903461270.

characters defined as victim or villain, trauma and violence move together across this savage land with a tangible, physical presence.

The theoretical underpinnings of this work possess deep and interdisciplinary roots from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and literature. Because of this approach, the narratives and analysis that follows lend themselves more to trauma studies, a field characterized by diverse genres under the umbrella theme of trauma and violence. Trauma studies began its existence as a scholarly means of exploring the biomedical effect of trauma on the mind. At the dawn of the age of modern psychology in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, trauma represented a medical disease to be cured through physical treatment rather than self-analysis. But psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud did much to expand understanding of the intellectual impact of trauma upon the mind in his 1920 publication, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. Though his work remains littered with racist and sexist views characteristic of other writers of his time, Freud did establish a new way of understanding pain and loss within the metaphysical realm that provides great value to trauma scholars even today. Freud first surmised that a traumatic wound did not have to be physical or even consciously felt, and that often sufferers of mental trauma would act out this past pain in various ways throughout their life not because of some sadomasochistic tendencies, but because of the driving need to process a traumatic experience by reliving it in a more manageable way.[14]

Simultaneously, as doctors of western medicine across Europe sought to understand the physiological symptoms of distraught soldiers returning from the carnage of two great wars, scholarly comprehension of the mental impact of trauma expanded. Historian Benjamin Shepard wrote that "post-traumatic illness derived from

[14] Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, translated by James Strachey (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1961).

one of the most ill-conceived, morally confused and disastrous conflicts ever waged—Vietnam--and from one of the most dreadful events in modern human history—the Holocaust."[15] As survivors of these two conflicts revealed their testimonies of violence to academics and clinical psychologists alike, a body of work within the history field emerged in the form of trauma studies. But this field did not remain entirely Euro-centric in its focus, as psychiatrists such as Robert Lifton[16] brought in studies from survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, and African thinkers such as Franz Fanon[17] drew in new perspectives through a rapidly decolonizing world in the post-war era.

In the 1990s, trauma studies expanded under theorists such as Cathy Caruth and Allan Young. Literary critic Caruth examined the internal fracturing of identity in the aftermath of trauma, and the subsequent attempts to memorialize that trauma as a means of healing. Allan Young further broke traditional views on post-traumatic stress by challenging western-centric perspectives, warning scholars to be aware of the nuanced ways ethnic communities process violence.[18] Over the past few decades, sociologists such as Jeffrey C. Alexander have broadened the scope of trauma to include collective experience that can alter a group's cultural identity through intensely disruptive events.[19]

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[15] Ben Shepard, *War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), xxii-xxiii.

[16] Robert Jay Lifton, *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

[17] Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

[18] Dolores Herrero, Sonia Baelo-Allué, eds., *Splintered Glass: Facets of Trauma in the Post-Colonial and Beyond* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011).

[19] Jeffrey C. Alexander, et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

Trauma studies has an impressive representation in the field of literary criticism. Because trauma often functions, at least initially, as an absence or void within the mind of the victim, poetry and prose can provide a method of exploring this gap. Traumatic memories haunt the peripheries of cognizance, recurring in flashes of dreams and sensory recollections, but are always fierce and fleeting. The use of language in reconstructing these experiences allows the narrative-driven mind to begin processing the event. Both written literature and oral traditions provide a tunnel through the silences that trauma creates, giving sufferers a way to explore and define experiences often incomprehensible to themselves.[20]

Though trauma studies have done much to clarify the inner turmoil of survivors of extreme violence and racial persecution to the wider world, from the work camps of Auschwitz to the bloody villages of Rwanda, the theoretical findings of these studies have seldom crossed the Atlantic westward. Only one scholar, Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, Associate Professor of Psychiatry at the University of New Mexico, has really attempted to explore Native American trauma in her groundbreaking research on the multi-generationality of historical trauma. She approaches the concept of trauma across centuries of history, and trauma's subsequent impact on Native culture and health among tribes such as the Lakota Sioux. Her writing, however, approaches this topic from a social work perspective. Similar studies that historicize past horrors exist among trauma scholars of other non-Indigenous histories, but few have been applied to the experiences of Native Americans. Yet many trauma theories developed from twentieth century atrocities can provide deep insight into the often-painful experiences of everyday Indigenous life in the nineteenth-century American Southwest.

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[20] Amanda Wicks, "'No Other Tale to Tell': Trauma and Acts of Forgetting in the Road" in *Critical Trauma Studies: Understanding Violence, Conflict, and Memory in Everyday Life (*New York: New York University Press, 2016), 133-134.

But to look at the impact of violence on victimized collectives only shows readers one side of the coin of trauma. In the 1980s, American psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton became an early explorer of the depths of human perpetration and its entanglement with trauma in his study on Nazi doctors.[21] During this same decade, after interviewing veterans of Vietnam who had been involved in the killing of civilians, Dr. Rachel MacNair, a sociologist and psychologist, conceptualized the term "perpetrator-induced traumatic stress" to describe the specific type of trauma created through the act of violation. This niche field has been further expanded with access to interviews of perpetrators of more recent conflicts, from the Rwandan genocide to Eastern European ethnic violence at the end of the twentieth century. Social theorist and political psychologist Ashish Nandy[22] as well as neuropsychologist Corina Nandi[23] have since taken theories on violence and dove deeper into lynch mob studies, expanding understanding of collective dynamics.

Historian Gabriele Schwab analyzes this dark side of collective victimization in her study on perpetrators who must grapple with their own legacy of historical trauma. In *Haunting Legacies*, Schwab includes violating parties as possible victims of their own choices. Perpetrators often transform or deny their own guilt and then go on to develop a profound sense of personal victimization. This defense mechanism results in tremendous difficulties for victims of trauma seeking to address longtime pains as perpetrating majorities overshadow persecuted minority voices with their own often-skewed narratives. In many ways the United States' focus on the Holocaust and other non-North

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[21] Robert Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors; Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

[22] Ashish Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of the Self under Colonialism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1983).

[23] Corina Nandi, et al., "Predictors of Posttraumatic Stress and Appetitive Aggression in Active Soldiers and Former Combatants," *European Journal of Psychotraumatology* 6 (2015): 26553.

American atrocities reflects upon the American public's own reluctance to acknowledge violence committed by Euro-American populations against Indigenous peoples.[24]

This dissertation creates a new genre within trauma studies, not only by analyzing trauma within an American Indigenous context, but also by applying theories formulated by twentieth-century atrocity studies to this context. This connection was not created haphazardly, nor by clumsily forcing nineteenth-century narratives together with twentieth-century theories. Instead, this application developed organically during a brief but profound period in my scholarly life while working as a volunteer transcriber in a Holocaust archive in West Philadelphia at Gratz College and headed by the indomitable Professor Josey G. Fisher.

Trained by an incredible survivor of Nazi-era Austria, Grace Miller, I was assigned the duty of listening to audio tapes of Holocaust survivors and correcting typed transcripts of the text. Founded in 1979 and one of the earliest Holocaust archives of its kind in the United States, this collection contains over 850 recordings of survivor testimony. The tapes I listened to each week held powerful stories; often, these interviews represented the first-ever time that these interviewees had spoken publicly of their experiences. From the labor camps of industrial slave complexes in Poland to the often no longer extant shtetls of Eastern Europe, each narrative led me down a particular path, discovering long-forgotten village names and numbered train cars carrying mothers and fathers of survivors to their deaths. But more impactful for me, these stories carried raw and visceral flashes of trauma decades after these events had ended.

During this same period, I was making trips to the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and the Eve Ball Collection at Brigham Young University in Provo,

[24] Gabriele Schwab, *Haunting Legacies: Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 2-28.

Utah. I dug deep into these collections for my master's thesis research on the Mescalero Apache experience before and during the Bosque Redondo imprisonment period in nineteenth-century New Mexico. I soon noticed strong similarities between the Holocaust survivor stories I examined at Gratz College and the nineteenth-century oral histories of Apaches, as well as the written correspondences of soldiers and Indian agents in the territory. I began to note these commonalities in victims, and soon learned to look for similar patterns in the stories of perpetrators.

Through this experience, I developed my own methodological system of analyzing personal accounts of violence. As I listened to narratives of horror from the survivors of the Holocaust back at Gratz, I noted the emotive language the speaker would use when describing particularly traumatic events. I noted the pauses in their speech as they came across a specific aspect of their memory that still shook them psychologically to recall over fifty years later. I noted the sensory language; the flashes of smells, tastes, and especially tactile descriptions of seemingly unimportant parts of major events in their lives. These descriptions were almost always inextricably linked to moments of extreme trauma. In some of these testimonies, victims would recall their reaction to violence, sometimes by fighting back, but more often in the context of the Holocaust by freezing or by fleeing and hiding. These biologically programmed reactions played out repeatedly in narratives from both the nineteenth-century American west and twentieth-century Europe.

As I studied letters and memoirs from perpetrators of violence in the nineteenth century-Southwest, from major US generals to Euro-American pioneers to violent Apache leaders such as Geronimo, I noted an equally revealing set of symptoms. These sequalae both mimicked but also diverted from the markers of trauma within victimized individuals. Perpetrators, much like victims, would also use emotive language in their

narratives, but if that perpetrator had been involved in chronic violence across time when writing or recording his story, this emotive language dissolved into a flatness. The perpetrator would discuss perpetration as casually as other everyday rituals and routines. Word descriptions for victims became less human, with perpetrators adopting specific animal terminology to describe them. Pauses or diversions from certain narrative threads often led to a bending or obstruction of facts, or in some cases a strong validation of violence. If a perpetrator spoke or wrote at any great length, this delineation from facts inevitably led down a path of self-victimization: a profound sense of immediate danger that had to be expunged through a defensive conquest against the victimized group.

As I began developing this methodology for use in a nineteenth-century context, I also researched why these specific traces of trauma emerged in the ways that they did among victims. Psychological and sociological theories then gave me a means to understand why these symptoms occurred and what repercussions these symptoms could have on victims as they moved through this trauma. Because, at its heart, trauma is not just an experience, but a process. For those individuals who survived the violence they endured or took part in, trauma would create a resiliency amid adversity that in turn led to both victims and perpetrators affirming their communities and cultures as collectives.

This work does not profess to offer a complete picture of the cycles of extreme violence and trauma in the nineteenth-century Southwest. But while the inner workings of the human mind cannot be entirely known, theories can provide a new and more intimate way of comprehending patterns of trauma across generations. Theory become acutely important when examining the histories of oppressed peoples. As historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot has argued, people of power, which in the United States has so

often translated to people of racial power, dictate the collection of memory and the recording of the past through a glass darkly. For non-western peoples, particularly Indigenous groups in North America that traditionally used oral rather than written languages, this concentration of power in the hands of western peoples has also skewed archival spaces.[25]

This work is not meant to fall headfirst into historical relativism, denying that any objective truth of the past exists because of the innate fallacy of human memory and human nature. But as historian Dominick LaCapra argues, a middle ground between writing history too objectively and writing trauma too subjectively can be reached.[26] The approach of this work combines a means of interrogating trauma and violence through a specific methodological approach rooted in not just history, but in medical science, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy. But even with this approach, pockets of silence in histories of extreme horror will always exist, as trauma often exists as the unspeakable among its victims. In these pockets, theory must be applied as it is only through continued investigations down these theoretical pathways that historians can every hope to grasp at the universal experience of trauma as it exists within the human condition.

It is important to note that throughout this work, groups referred to as cultural collectives act often in unison, or at least with the majority of members acting in a similar fashion. Geertz defined a cultural group as members working together to create a symbol-laden commonality imbued with meaning through a variety of group practices.[27]

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[25] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015).

[26] Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

[27] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

But while culture refers to shared practices of a group, ethnicity under this same "Geertzian" formulation, represents culture with an added belief in the group's physical or metaphysical origins. One should not assume that this collectivization is complete or whole; members of groups that faced victimization could just as easily victimize others. In the same manner, perpetrating majority cultures often had members break away and refuse to take part in violence.

As this work blends trauma theory with Southwestern narratives, it builds off the already rich western histories of the past twenty years that continue to innovate and reinvigorate the field. No work on nineteenth-century Apache history can be complete without visiting works from Edwin Sweeney,[28] Angie Debo,[29] and Charles Sonnichsen.[30] Anthropologists also provide a critical bedrock for this work, not just in their path breaking analysis, such as in the case of Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places*, but also in their important collecting and archiving of oral histories. Grenville Goodwin[31] as well as Morris Opler[32] feature heavily throughout this dissertation, providing a cultural richness that sheds a deeper, more intimate light on the Apache world. Ultimately, this work could not be possible without the voices of Apaches, Mexicans, and Americans from the time period, written in diaries and journals, quoted in print media of the period,

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[28] *A prolific writer on Apache history, Sweeney continues to add classic works to this genre including the following: Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

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[29] Angie Debo, *Geronimo: The Man, his Time, his Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).

[30] Charles Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

[31] Grenville Goodwin, ed. Keith H. Basso, *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971).

[32] Opler, *An Apache Life-Way*.

published in memoirs, or recorded in oral histories decades later.

Part I of this work examines narratives of ethnotrauma as it occurred among Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apache peoples in the Southwestern US-Mexico borderlands of the nineteenth century. Ethnotrauma exists as an expanded version of trauma felt by victims of natural disaster, random violence, and intense psychological duress. This experience of ethnotrauma lurks within racial or ethnically based persecution and encapsulates multiple, building layers. While anyone may experience the trauma of seeing violence or feeling violation, for minorities suffering under ethnotrauma, this assault on the self is far more complex and multifaceted. Additionally, ethnotrauma exists not as a solitary traumatic process, but as collective experience. While specific layers do not occur with every persecuted minority group, owing to the unique culture and history of the minority involved, all persecuted minority groups will undergo some layered combination of this ethnically based traumatic reaction.

Chapter 1 of this work introduces readers to the concept of ethnotrauma as it expands on the traumatic layer of racial persecution as felt by the Mescalero Apaches during the US military campaigns against this group in the 1860s. This chapter also discusses the controversial application of the term genocide to Indigenous experiences in the nineteenth century. Chapter 2 follows the Mescalero Apaches into a horrific captivity during the early 1860s at a deadly reservation known as Bosque Redondo in New Mexico, creating a traumatic layer in the form of violently enforced enclosure in a concentration camp. Chapter 3 of this work conceptualizes a uniquely Indigenous American layer of ethnotrauma: exile trauma. Exploring the innate connections to landscape, both spiritual and cultural, possessed by the Chiricahua, Warm Springs, and Mescalero Apache peoples, this chapter moves through the 1880s and early 1890s as the

US government targeted the Chiricahua Apaches for removal to the eastern United States.

Chapter 4 acts as a bridge, shifting readers from Part I which covers ethnotrauma to Part II which covers perpetrator trauma. This chapter centers around individual trauma as experienced by the infamous warrior-shaman, Geronimo.[33] Initially examining the driving personal trauma that moved Geronimo into a leadership position, this chapter uses his autobiography, accounts from his friends and foes, and contemporary, newspaper editorials on him throughout his life to survey the multiple faces of Geronimo. For many Mexicans, Americans, and even some Apaches, Geronimo symbolized the violent threatening "other" in the Southwestern territories and in northern Mexico. But for others, Geronimo represented a powerful Indigenous resistance leader. Geronimo's life as both a victim and a violator, and as a hero and a villain, portrays the muddled roles of individuals trying to survive in a brutal environment and engaged in both ethnotrauma and perpetrator trauma simultaneously.

Chapter 5 sets readers on a course through perpetrator trauma as it interrogates the volatile relationship between Mexicans and Apaches, and explores how chronic, intergenerational violence forever altered the culture of peoples living within the northern border states of Mexico. After examining these long cycles of violence through the late nineteenth century, the chapter ends with a deep examination of the Alisos Creek massacre of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches by a Mexican National Guard unit during the 1880s. Chapter 6 reflects on the chaos caused by national shifts of boundaries, and on the profound power of violence when repairing and reconstructing

[33] Originally named "Goyathlay" in Apache by his parents, Geronimo adopted his infamous moniker by the time he arose as a medicine man and warrior in his early adult years. The origins of Geronimo, Spanish for Jerome, remain somewhat mysterious, though Angie Debo surmised that this name came from Mexicans fighting with this man, as they perhaps called out in Spanish for the mercy of "Geronimo" or "St. Jerome." For more information, please see Angie Debo, *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 13.

fractured group identities commonly seen in victims of perpetrator trauma. This chapter examines the actions of the Mesilla Guard, a mob of Mexican civilians masquerading as an organized militia that slaughtered a group of peaceful Mescalero Apaches in the late 1840s. Chapter 7 explores the extremes of perpetration in the form of scalping culture during the nineteenth century. Through extensive and long-term mass killings of individuals, both Mexican and Apache, for profit, bounty hunters during the 1800s walked a fine line between necessary evils and abominable atrocities. This final chapter also brings readers full circle as it looks back on how American imperialism and particularly American racism, combined with the legacies of violence discussed in previous chapters, brought about a new and deadly Southwestern world order that encouraging the violation of brown bodies well into the twentieth century.

For some readers, this body of work may seem to construct far too complex of a world as it vacillates between narratives of profound and wide-scale change and narratives of intimate and visceral personal transformations. This work does straddle many stories of varied size and scope, from the transitions of national borders and vast armies, to the everyday struggles of strong Apache women, Yaqui mothers, Mexican soldiers, and Arizona pioneers. But the great British philosopher and intellectual historian Isaiah Berlin understood the profound importance of the macro and the micro that drove the wheels of academic and public history. Born into a wealthy Jewish family in Tsarist Russia in the early 1900's, Berlin faced a world distantly dynamic as he lived through the collapse of Imperial Russia, the rise of communism, and two world wars. But that world was also intimately painful, as his family fled the February Revolution of 1917 and as Berlin grew up facing the hardships of being a Jew in antisemitic Europe.[34] Berlin

[34] Isaiah Berlin and Steven Lukes, "Isaiah Berlin: In Conversation with Steven Lukes," *Salmagundi*, no. 120 (1998): 52, www.jstor.org/stable/40549054.

analyzed the ancient Greek juxtaposition of the fox and the hedgehog as a metaphor for the importance of balanced historical visions in his subsequently named classic 1953 essay, "The Fox and the Hedgehog." Berlin argued that there are always two ways of perceiving the world and its history; the fox's way involves many different narratives and episodes, pieces of stories explored on the microlevel, often seemingly disconnected. The hedgehog's way involves a much broader scope, viewing the world in terms of vast, overarching systems and cycles through time. Berlin contended that the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy saw himself as a fox in his prolific writings about vastly different events, places, and peoples. But in reality Tolstoy lived his academic life more like a hedgehog, using pieces of writing much like a puzzle to wield great theories on large-scale human events out of these smaller narratives.[35] This dissertation combines the hedgehog and the fox, using narratives both vast and intimate, both seemingly small and infinitely significant, to affirm these universal truths of human darkness and human resilience.

The following work contains hard truths about a violent American past. Within this conglomeration of chapters are tales that engulf readers with the coppery smell of fresh blood and the tug of the scalp from an expertly wielded Bowie knife. These stories feature the wailing cries of mothers who have lost their sons to violence and the boom of a Mexican village's *la coronela* as it beats out the call for Mexican *norteño* men to ride forth and meet the Apaches face to face. In these narratives, flashes of white bone jut from war wounds, rifle fire echoes across canyon walls, sand whispers along the dunes of a Floridian beach, and red ochre paint dries upon the faces of men heading into battle. But these stories also contain glimpses of joy and life moving forward in perpetuity:

[35] Isaiah Berlin, *The Hedgehog and the Fox: An Essay on Tolstoy's View of History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1953).

warm masa cakes sizzling on a stone, rattling red beads on the dresses of young girls during their puberty ceremonies, raucous laughter from pioneer women in dusty Tucson alleyways, and the sweet burn of both tiswin[36] and tequila.[37] Just as the sharp mountain peaks and arid desert sands meet and mingle in the Southwest among lush river valleys and snow-laden plains, so too do these stories of ethnotrauma and perpetrator trauma converge within the peoples that lived through this shared past of pain, suffering, redemption, and reconciliation.

[36] *Tiswin is an alcoholic drink made from boiled and fermented corn. Usually brewed for certain celebrations and ceremonial purposes, Euro-American military officers in the nineteenth century linked tiswin production to drunkenness and violence on Apache reservations. In reality, tiswin possessed far too low in alcohol content to produce such negative effects. For more information on tiswin production and its uses in the Native Southwest, please see Gregory Mcnamee's *Tortillas, Tiswin, and T-Bones: A Food History of the Southwest* and Chapter 11, "Drink."

[37] Tequila, a liquor distilled from a variety of agave plants grown in Mexico, legally can only be called tequila if it is brewed in Mexico and according to Mexican national standards. For more information on the history of tequila, please see Ian Williams, *Tequila: A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015).

CHAPTER 1

"WE HAVE NO MORE HEART: GENOCIDE AND THE TRAUMA OF RACIAL PERSECUTION

"The surest way to kill a race is to kill its religion and its ideals…That is to kill the soul of a people. And when the spirit is killed, what remains?"[38]

–Frederick Peso, Mescalero Apache

In April 1880, the yucca and ocotillo plants burst forth to bloom in splashes of sharp orange and yellow within the valleys of the Sierra Blancas. At higher elevations in the peaks above, primroses and dandelions peered out from fresh grasses blanketing the alpine tundra of southern New Mexico Territory in the spring. At the same time, hundreds of Mescalero Apache men, women and children, stood crammed together in livestock pens, ankle-dip in horse excrement. The Apache group that faced this tactile horror did so less than a generation after their audacious escape from incarceration at Bosque Redondo concentration camp. The years after their escape had not been kind to them, with much of this time spent on the run starving in the mountains or warding off settler attacks at their less-than-a-decade-old reservation in the southern half of New Mexico Territory.[39]

In the months prior to that cruel April, Victorio, an Apache leader of the Warm Springs band, had burned his way in blood across the Black Range and into Old Mexico. Spurred on by his anger at the incursions into his people's territory by Euro-American settlers, he resisted the U.S. government's various attempts toto remove his followers

[38] Ball, *Indeh*, 81.

[39] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 201.

from their beloved Ojo Caliente home. In their rage, Victorio's followers murdered dozens of American settlers and an unknown number of Mexicans south of the border as US cavalry units scrambled to capture them. While a number of Mescalero Apaches did join up with the Warm Springs leader, as some Mescalero bands shared both kinship ties and anger towards settlers with him, a much larger portion of Mescalero people remained near Fort Stanton, following US military orders to the best of their ability.[40]

Colonel Edward Hatch was in the territory at the time as head of the 9th Cavalry. Born in Maine, Hatch had fought for the Union during the Civil War, and after the conflict had ended he accepted President Grant's endorsement to lead this historic group of black soldiers in the Indian Wars in 1866. Colonel Benjamin Grierson, an Illinois man who rose to fame through a daring raid against the Confederates in 1863, took command of the 10th cavalry after the war. By 1875, Hatch's men, who had already gained the nickname "buffalo soldiers" from Plains Indians, were chasing raiding Apache warriors across New Mexico Territory.[41] In the early spring of 1880, Colonel Hatch sent out secret orders to confiscate all guns and horses belonging to the Mescalero Apaches at their reservation. The US military believed at this time that the Mescalero Apaches provided aid in the form of ammunition, food, and supporters to Victorio and his violent cause. By the time Colonel Benjamin Grierson and his buffalo soldiers arrived on April 16, rumor had spread throughout the camp that the military would kill the Apaches living there, targeting the warriors first.[42] While Grierson argued that the Mescalero Apaches brought on the chaos that followed, Apache oral histories and the letters from Apache Indian

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[40] Ibid., 178-192.

[41] William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 7, 26, note 14, 176-178.

[42] Ryan M. Watt, *"I Will Not Surrender the Hair of a Horse's Tail:" The Victorio Campaign, 1879* (Solihull: Helion and Company, 2017), Annex, 74-100.

Agent Samuel Russell tell a different story. Samuel Russell possessed good intentions when it came to his engagement with the Mescalero Apaches, but his rigid commitment to towing the federal line often angered the Indigenous people he served.[43]

When the moment of disarmament finally came in April 1880, only 65 warriors remained near the agency with several hundred Apache women and children. Though Mescalero Apache agent Samuel Russell and their principal headman Nautzila tried to calm the group during the handover of their weaponry, several of the Apache men panicked and fled for the woods only to have troops open fire upon them, killing 14 Apache men in the process. None of the escaping Apaches attempted to return fire.[44] Some of the Apaches ran towards Jacinto Peak in order to hide in the recesses of Nogal Canyon. When recalling his father's stories about that dark time, Mescalero Apache Richard Magoosh said in reference to the military's actions, "They opened fire on them just like wild game. They were not fighting, just trying to get away. They killed some of them—I don't know how many."."[45]

This episode represents only one of multiple traumatic experiences of racially motivated persecution of the Mescalero Apache people over the course of the nineteenth century. Individuals of the American Southwest had for generations intermarried and intermingled with Apaches in their homes, in town centers, and on the battlefield as scouts and soldiers serving together. But these intersections could not dislodge the Euro-American perception of Apaches as inferior, dangerous elements on the outskirts of their new Southwestern society. In times of hardship or impending crisis, Euro-American peoples often banded together under a banner of shared ethnicity, emphasizing the

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[43] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 179-180.

[44] Ibid., 200-201.

[45] "Richard Magoosh," August 1954, Box 7, Folder 3, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

dangers posed by “others” within the region. Policies of both psychological and physical violence coalesced during these periods of territorial history, causing another layer of ethnotrauma among its victims in the form of racial persecution. In the 1850s and 1860s, this traumatic layer took on genocidal proportions as the United States government sought to extract all Mescalero Apache people from their territory in New Mexico by any means necessary.

The trauma that the Mescalero Apaches endured during the late 1850s and 1860s went beyond grief for a loss of land and life. While trauma can debilitate an individual, group trauma represents a doubly debilitating assault on the human psyche. Mescalero individuals coped with their individual losses, mourning for lost loved ones. But the Mescalero also contended as a collective with a focused attack on the very essence of their shared identity as Apache people. To understand the impact of this wider trauma one must first understand how a negative experience can become trauma.

When an incident registers as traumatic within the human psyche, that trauma does not just stem from the acute shock of the event. Instead, the strongest impact comes from trauma's paradoxical nature. Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, and other early scholars of psychoanalysis referred to this feeling of both the familiar and the horrifying as the "uncanny" or in the German language, the *unheimliche*.[46] A home space of security can be transformed through an act of violation into a place of terror. A trusted government authority figure can channel the uncanny in his victims when directing Jewish children into a cattle car. A Rwandan mother, full of life, whose hands protected her young daughter from outside forces can morph into a lifeless, bloodied corpse waylaid by a machete. An Apache family encampment on the banks of a sandy river can

[46] Yolanda Gampel, "Reflections on the Prevalence of the Uncanny in Social Violence" in *Cultures Under Siege: Collective Violence and Trauma*, ed. by Antonius C. G. M. Robben and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, 48-69 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 55.

turn into a scene of carnage with the invasion of an armed and angry settler force. In this way trauma does not exist as some disturbing alien encounter, nor as some abnormal occurrence, but instead as a mixture of the two, both intimate and foreign. Once the initial shock of a traumatic event wears off, that uncanniness creates the greatest sense of torture within its victims: a pain inflicted upon body and soul through this paradoxical occurrence of the known and the unknown.[47]

This feeling of *unheimliche* does not occur alone; other symptoms emerge and collide within an individual in trauma's aftermath. A trauma-inducing event produces an overwhelming feeling of unease entangled with a deep-seated fear of lasting bodily harm. Trauma can occur even when the individual is physically secure; emotional threats to a person's sense of self or any threat to loved ones can spawn individual trauma. Rather than existing as a purely self-contained condition, trauma and the post-traumatic stress disorder that sometimes follows rely upon an individual's secure attachment to a wider familial or communal support system. In the case of the Apaches, each time their members faced both individual and group trauma, they could lean upon each other. Community provided a major coping mechanism for individual Apaches within the band.[48] At its heart, trauma represents a severing of the secure social bindings between an individual and another person or a group.[49] Experienced as a loss of attachment to another social being or beings, whether that loss comes through violence, disaster, or death, trauma reveals just how eternally connected man remains to his fellow man.[50]

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Laura K. Jones and Jenny L. Cureton, "Trauma Redefined in the DSM-5: Rationale and Implications for Counseling Practice," *The Professional Counselor* 4, no. 3 (2014): 257-71.

[49] Erich Lindemann, "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief," *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 1, Issue 2 (September 1944): 141-148.

[50] Felicity de Zulueta. *From Pain to Violence: The Traumatic Roots of Destructiveness* (London: Whurr Publishers, 1992).

Under peaceful settings and depending upon the culture in question, individuals see themselves and their bodies as singular. This body can be possessed or dominated in a traumatic manner, but always in a singular fashion. When one group engages in violence, persecution, or traditional warfare with another group, however, this individualism shifts. Singular identities merge into the collective "we" as the group coalesces for defensive purposes. Individuals then see their bodies during these traumatic times as a part of a collective whole. For minority individuals being persecuted such as the Mescalero Apaches, the group dynamic would act as a protective shield against the attackers.[51] But when the Apaches faced persecution aimed at them because of their ethnic identity, this trauma focused in on the binding materials of the group itself. Once this collective trauma combines with other traumatic layers, ethnotrauma arises. Ethnotrauma on a group scale can then undermine the ideological foundations of the community's culture, damaging the group's capability to guard and heal group members facing traumatic experiences.[52]

Ethnotrauma often features a distinctive element of racial or ethnic persecution and discrimination. Racial identification varies greatly from ethnic identification in this context. Ethnicity comprises a self-application of shared cultural practices that often included some shared physical attributes. Racial identification involves classification by other members of the wider society based on assumed cultural and physical characteristics. In the mid-nineteenth century American Southwest, Mescalero Apaches

[51] Francine Banner, "'She was Just a Chechen:' The Female Suicide Bomber as a Site of Collective Suffering in Wartime Chechen Republic" in *Critical Trauma Studies: Understanding Violence, Conflict, and Memory in Everyday Life* (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 53.

[52] Alexander, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, 2-38.

faced a persecution based upon broad stereotypes of Apaches as innately aggressive against Euro-American settlers.[53]

For minorities suffering under ethnotrauma such as the Apaches, the racialized aspect of the persecution, even when non-violent in nature, leads to an acute physical and psychological reaction among victims. Cardiovascular reactivity increases and in some groups blood pressure immediately becomes elevated upon exposure to negative racial experiences. But when chronic racial persecution continues, long-term conditions from generalized anxiety to major depression can also occur even when other positive life factors, such as physical security, communal support, and general socioeconomic wellbeing, are in place.[54]

This chronic racial persecution also causes chronic physical health problems. Enduring racially stressful events over time causes an increased regular release of cortisol, our fight or flight chemical that, in large amounts, can cause weight-gain, hypertension, and unhealthy blood sugar levels. Victims of racial persecution often contend with lowered immune system responses, leaving them vulnerable to a host of other diseases and conditions.[55]

The racial persecution that causes ethnotrauma can easily metamorphosize into genocide. While scholars continue to debate the parameters of genocide as it pertains to cases prior to the Holocaust, the persecution of the Mescalero Apaches during the late

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[53] Robert T. Carter, "Racism and Psychological and Emotional Injury: Recognizing and Assessing Race-Based Traumatic Stress," *The Counseling Psychologist* 35, no. 1 (2007): 13-105.

[54] David Williams and Morris R. Williams, "Racism and Mental Health: The African American Experience" *Ethnicity & Health* 5, ¾ (2000): 243–68. http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rzh&AN=106993376&site=ehost-live.

[55] A. Larson, M. Gillies, P.J. Howard, and J. Coffin, "'It's Enough to Make You Sick:' The Impact of Racism on the Health of Aboriginal Australians," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 31 (2007): 322-329, doi:10.1111/j.1753-6405.2007.00079.x

1850s clearly falls into the United Nation's definition of genocide established by the legal scholar Raphael Lemkin shortly after World War II. The American-led military campaign against the Mescalero Apaches paired with their subsequent incarceration at Bosque Redondo, contained many of the criterion of genocide that Lemkin and subsequent scholars laid out as a roadmap for recognizing and stopping genocides among future generations around the globe. In 1948, Lemkin worked alongside various United Nations delegates to strengthen and eventually pass the international definition of genocide still in use today.[56] This convention clearly and concisely defined genocide as follows:

> Article II: In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
>
> (a) Killing members of the group;
>
> (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
>
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
>
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
>
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.[57]

But while Lemkin ultimately accepted this terminology along with the United Nations, his notes and writing on the subject, both published and unpublished, reveal a much more complex conceptualization of the term. Lemkin viewed genocide as a physical, biological, and cultural manifestation of directed destruction that could occur separately

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[56] Donna-Lee Frieze, "New Approaches to Raphael Lemkin," *Journal of Genocide Research* 15, no. 3 (September 2013): 247–52, doi:10.1080/14623528.2013.821219.

[57] United Nations General Assembly, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, 9 December 1948, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 78, p. 277.

or in various combinations. Physical genocide, considered by many scholars to be the only form of genocide, involves the murder or attempted murder of a body of specific people defined as a group through the perpetrator's perspective. Biological genocide often involves the separation of men and women, the targeting of men for elimination, the forced sterilization of women, or the removal of children from the home, thus disrupting the continuance of a group as a specific cultural or ethnic body. Cultural genocide involves the attack on particular institutions and practices within a group that can devastate that group's identity, destroying collective security.[58]

One aspect of genocide—clarified in Lemkin's writing and research notes but not included in the United Nations' convention—revolves specifically around space. Lemkin viewed the conquering of space as a critical aspect of genocide. Whether that space existed as an individual victim's home in a larger nation, or as part of a newly colonized territory, spatial takeovers would more often than not result in a forced migration or exiled incarceration orchestrated by the perpetrating groups against their selected victims. In the notes of his unpublished texts on genocide, Lemkin remarked that the removal of various Indigenous peoples in the Americas from their traditional territories in the nineteenth century provided a prime example of this type of genocide.[59]

In the American Southwest, genocide did not occur under the actions of a single perpetrating entity or in an isolated span of time. Instead, perpetrators, institutions, and governmental practices combined into "genocidal processes."[60] This conceptualization of

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[58] Thomas M. Butcher, "A 'Synchronized Attack': On Raphael Lemkin's Holistic Conception of Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 15, 3 (2013): 253–71, doi:10.1080/14623528.2013.821221.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Christopher Powell and Jula Peristerakis, "Genocide in Canada: A Relational View" in *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, eds. Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander L. Hinton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

genocide as a process adds an important complexity to this issue. In places such as territorial New Mexico, settler colonialism intertwined with capitalism to create a genocide that involved multiple levels of both state and local actors and actions. All of these destabilizing changes occurred across time and space in the Southwest, muddling the key question of intent. This longue durée narrative repeats itself among Native people repeatedly across the burgeoning United States. Spanish settlers, then ethnic Mexicans, and later Euro-Americans moved into Apache territory through centuries of contact bringing violent land theft, chattel slavery, and notions of patriarchal and race-based societal organization along with them.[61]

But this violent intrusion of western capitalism into Indigenous societies did not occur without substantial reactions from the targeted Indigenous populations. Native groups facing both advantages and disadvantages from capitalist extensions into their territory in turn militarized for their own protection and for expansion purposes. Native peoples did not fade into the mists at the onslaught of European expansion: regardless of the devastating impact of victimization, Apaches resisted.

With the advent of the horse and the incursion of the Spanish into Apache territory in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Apache culture adapted to this influx of people, animals, and materials with increased raiding and enslaving of both Europeans and other Indigenous peoples in the region. Framed through individual incidents, Spaniards, Mexicans, and later Americans saw the Apaches as wild and violent, roaming and attacking at random and for purely opportunistic reasons. But when viewed within a broader framework, the Apache peoples fought a long and chronic war of resistance against these external forces that decimated their population across

[61] Ibid.

centuries.[62]

Often in Indigenous histories, resistance masks genocide. When Native groups muster their forces to combat change, either through physical violence against a perpetrating force or through cultural resistance in the form of ritual practices, genocide still occurs; only in this more cloudy context Native peoples are often painted by majority cultural groups who write this history as taking part in an equal war.[63] The Apaches, through their entire "war" period in the nineteenth century, chose resistance, and these methods of resistance explain their survival into the present day. But military officials and scholars alike portrayed these conflicts as battles between equal male adult foes on the field of battle rather than attacks on largely women, children, and elderly demographics in their home encampments. When Apaches attacked civilian targets, closer in social structure to their own groups than the militias that waged war against them, the Apaches took on the skewed portrait of violent horde, rather than an equal and competing force within this harsh borderlands world. Mexican and American settlers often responded in kind, tracking down the attackers to gain back resources or people, and taking Apache women and children to be sold in slave markets. But increasingly in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, militias would form, either through the federal governments of the region or through voluntary civilian gatherings, and would unleash devastating massacres on any Apache, hostile or peaceful, who dwelled within reach.

For the Mescalero Apaches, their rift from their homeland came during the early

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[62] Robbie Ethridge, "Global Capital, Violence, and the Making of a Colonial Shatter Zone" in *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America,* eds. Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander L. Hinton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

[63] Benjamin Madley, "California and Oregon's Modoc Indians: How Indigenous Resistance Camouflages Genocide in Colonial Histories" in *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, eds. Andrew Woolford; Jeff Benvenuto; and Alexander L. Hinton (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

1860s. By the start of the Civil War, the Mescalero people shared an unstable relationship with the still new American government in the region. While some leaders continued leading violent raids, other headmen such as Cadette negotiated with local Indian agents and founded sedentary settlements with westernized agricultural practices. With the Civil War raging in the east, the territorial government sought to placate the various tribes in the region who had begun raiding anew in the chaos of a failed Confederate invasion. Concise and brutal, General James Carleton's subsequent military campaign targeted not only fighting Mescalero Apache warriors of the tribe but women and children as well.[64] A serious and detail-oriented New Englander from Maine, James Carleton, had risen through the ranks during various conflicts with Indigenous peoples across the West and during the Mexican-American War. During the Civil War, the US government made him commander of the California Column. He marched from the coast into New Mexico Territory to expel the Confederate invasion coming from Texas. By the time the column made it into the territory, the Confederates had retreated. Carleton then began a military operation that would become an obsession for him. Beginning with military subjugation, Carleton's offensive would evolve into the forced incarceration of Mescalero Apaches at a bleak and isolated location in eastern New Mexico territory, known as Bosque Redondo.[65]

James Carleton faced an "Indian Problem" that had confounded American commanders for half a century prior to the Civil War. But his infant nation's entanglements with Indigenous residents of the continent paled in comparison to the long legacy of conquest, violence, retribution, and resistance experienced for centuries by Apaches of the Southwest. Spanish explorers as far back as the late 1500s first came

[64] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches,* 99-120.

[65] William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico: 1846-1848* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952), 29.

across groups who scholars now believe were a combination of both Navajos and Apaches on the edge of the Great Plains and called them *Querechos*. These semi-nomadic groups hunted bison and subsisted predominantly on proteins. Meanwhile, the pueblo peoples farther South supported large and sedentary populations through their "three sisters" cultivation of maize, squash, and beans. But this sedentary farming came at the expense of their ability to follow moving game herds in an arid, harsh environment. Nomadic and non-nomadic communities in this landscape needed each other to survive, resulting in the development of an interdependent, albeit not always peaceful, relationship with each other.[66] While raiding remained an important part of these power dynamics among Apaches and Navajos alike even in the sixteenth century, a balance of these powers existed up until the influx of Europeans into the region.

The introduction of two critical western resources, guns and horses, created lasting economic and political changes for Apaches in the Southwest. While hunting successes, territorial engagement, and political power increased for Indigenous groups with the procurement of guns, so too did the demand for ammunition to maintain these levels of consumption. The adoption of the horse also added to the widening physical circles of Native power. Various trade and political networks shifted, shrank, or grew, often depending upon the use of horses and guns within a particular Native group. In the past, a bow and arrow or even a knife channeled the physical strength of the person using the item, resulting in a depletion of energy. But the gun and the horse, each reliant on their own production of energy, added to Native people's power without negating any stored power in the long term.[67] Yet horses, livestock, mules, and other working, herding animals remained far more accessible than guns. While nearby Mexican villages and

[66] Elliot West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 40-43.

[67] Ibid., 50-51.

other Native groups would often breed horses, gun manufacturing took place far from the borderland region in the industrial towns and cities of the American Northeast. Since the Apaches could not create arms themselves, they relied entirely on their relationships with Europeans to continue their empowerment. Horse riding and horse breeding could represent a new-found source of power for Native peoples, but the power afforded to them by guns could only be borrowed as long as Europeans controlled their means of production.

Spanish policy wavered wildly over the first two centuries of contact; intense warfare, vying different Apache groups against each other, Comanche alliances, the plying of Apache groups with goods and alcohol, and random truces all became tools in the Spanish arsenal to placate Apache populations. In the late eighteenth century an uneasy peace ensued for a time, allowing the region to flourish economically in the north.[68] Between the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 and the 1830s, large land-holding families that gained power from the presidio officers of the past century expanded even further into the former buffer zones between Spanish and Apache territories. Previously held common lands for mission Indians became new and commodified spaces for the northern Spanish elites, and the Spanish government found that a policy of rationing and diplomacy had created a tenuous peace with various Apache groups at the turn of the eighteenth century.[69]

In the aftermath of the Mexican War of Independence in the early 1820s, politicians and other leaders continued to debate and negotiate what sort of nation that this new Mexico should become. In this burgeoning nation beset by frequent political

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[68] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 49-53.

[69] Samuel Truett, "The Ghosts of Frontiers Past: Making and Unmaking Space in the Borderlands," *Journal of the Southwest* 46, no. 2 (2004): 309-50, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/stable/40170292.

upheavals throughout the nineteenth century, the leadership in Mexico City often abandoned northern populations to their own devices when it came to defense from Apache incursions.[70] At the dawn of America's seizure of the Mexican Southwest in 1848, Apache peoples shared a treacherous relationship with Mexicans after decades of volatile relations along the Mexican frontier. The 1830s heralded a time of brutal violence, with scalp bounties from states such as Chihuahua and Sonora pulling in Euro-American bounty hunters to procure Apache scalps by any means necessary. Mexican military men and local officials betrayed the Apaches throughout the 1840s and 1850s, sometimes luring groups into local villages for peace talks or trade only to slaughter them in mass.[71] One infamous occurrence of violence happened between an Apache group meeting under the auspices of trade with John Johnson, an American trapper and future scalp hunter. Filling a rudimentary cannon with nails and scrap metal, he lured a group of Apaches to his camp. As they gathered to inspect a bag of pinole, he lit the cannon, blowing the entire group into pieces.[72] Subject to brutal executions, Mexican soldiers and settlers decimated Apache bands through not only gunfire and stabbings, but poisonings as well.[73]

The American conquerors brought Apache leaders to the negotiating table soon after the Southwest territory came into US possession. But the American military and political leadership had little understanding of how Apache society functioned. Similarly, various Apache groups believed that now they had a new ally against their age-old

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[70] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 49-53.

[71] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, 18.

[72] William McGaw, *Savage Scene: The Life and Times of Mountain Man Jim Kirker* (Silver City: High Lonesome Books, 1989), 110-113.

[73] William B. Griffen. *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750-1858* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 225, 69.

Mexican enemy, and that the Americans respected their ancestral territory and their access to that territory's natural resources. As the Mexicans had before them, the Americans did not comprehend the fractured governing system of various Apaches groups, similar in culture but separate in leadership. When one band warred against American troops or settlers, the Americans in kind viewed all Apaches in the area as waging war on the United States.[74]

While these various Apache groups tried grappling with American colonialism in divergent ways, with some choosing war and others choosing an assimilatory peace, others believed a middle ground could be reached through negotiations and diplomacy. But often these peace talks fizzled after violent assaults on Apache groups by American settlers seeking to express dominance in a new territory. Men such as the infamous "Indian-killer" and Phoenix pioneer King Woolsey in Arizona terrorized Apaches as they sought to create ranches and mining ventures in their territory. In 1921, Charles T. Connell would lament the passing of such men as Woolsey in *The Tucson Citizen* newspaper as he recalled the "pinole treaty" during the 1860s in which Woolsey poisoned Apaches meeting for treaty talks with pinole laced with strychnine. Groups such as the White Mountain and Cibecue Apaches offered pieces of their homelands to the federal government for military development, such as at Camp Goodwin, just to gain some sense of protection from the citizenry through American military occupation. Fears of extermination from this hostile settler population drove Apache leaders to rely on American soldiers in exchange for surrendering pieces of their territory as new locations for US forts in the Southwest.[75]

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[74] Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 406.

[75] Janne Lahti, *Soldiers in the Southwest Borderlands, 1848-1886* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), 201.

American settlers and citizens ventured into the Southwest, particularly Arizona territory, filled with idealistic dreams of mineral wealth and sprawling successful ranches within broad swathes of borderlands. Any challenge to this American dream, particularly from minority groups already in the region, constituted an attack on their burgeoning American identity. Once settled into the region's harsh and unforgiving landscape, however, Native and Mexican attacks, both physical and cultural, threatened the livelihood and survival of Euro-American settlers and their families. Settlers felt increasingly unprotected and disconnected from their government back in the east as Mexicans had felt in the decades before them. But this new American settler did not possess the same characteristics as federal government officials had originally planned for their western empire; men such as Thomas Jefferson had dreamed of an open west that equalized new Americans as Protestant, hard-working, peaceful yeoman farmers. Instead, speculation and risk characterized the real American settlers of the West. To survive, settlers enacted violence against any person who threatened him, his family, or his livelihood, laying a foundation for the image of the masculine cowboy that would capture the imagination of American generations in the decades and next century to come.

These early American settlers developed stereotypical thinking in relation to the Apaches, as had the Mexicans before them, but Euro-Americans entered with much more dichotomous notions of peoples deemed non-white. Charles Poston, considered the father of Arizona as one of its earliest major Euro-American settlers, wrote extensively about the Apaches, what he perceived as their history, and their future within the territory during the mid and late nineteenth century. Poston viewed Apaches as violent and malicious beings who tortured their enemies and delivered a fate worse than death to their captives, particularly female captives. Poston espoused that one Apache leader

would have his enemies buried up to the head, and then allow ants to slowly eat away at their faces until they died. He also contended that after battle, Apaches mutilated the dead to take body parts as trophies of war, especially warriors' genitalia.[76] These extremely exaggerated stereotypes and outright falsehoods set the stage for fantastical western perspectives on the part of entering Euro-American settlers. As men, both single and with families, flooded the territory they brought with them these false perceptions of Apache peoples rooted in these earliest pioneer writings from men such as Poston. These attitudes towards Indigenous peoples in the Southwest often led to false accusations of criminal activity leveled against peaceful and hostile Apaches alike.

The rhetoric expressed by pioneers of the period compared the Apaches to animals as a means of dehumanizing them. One Arizonian pioneer who worked in mining ventures in the southern half of the territory during the 1850s, Sylvester Mowry, described Apaches as "devils" or "wolves." He did not parse words when suggesting how the settlers of the region should handle the ongoing problems with Apache peoples. He stated,

> There is only one way to wage war against the Apaches. A steady, persistent campaign must be made, following them to their haunts-- hunting them to the 'fastnesses of the mountains.' They must be surrounded, starved into coming in, surprised, or inveigled--by white flags or any other method, human or divine-- and then put to death."[77]

With Apaches existing in the minds of Euro-American pioneers as predatory, parasitic, or both, violence against them transformed from murder to a moral necessity. These settlers considered Apaches in the same regard as one might consider a hungry wolf to the rest of the Euro-American "flock," thus necessitating their elimination at all costs.

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[76] Charles D. Poston, *History of the Apaches*, *1866,* University of Arizona Special Collections, Tucson, 53.

[77] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America: Volume XI, Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1888), 517.

Much like during the Rwandan genocide of the twentieth century, non-Indigenous colonial citizens in the nineteenth century established a dangerous origin story for violence in the region. This origin story placed the blame for the lack of development in the territory squarely on the shoulders of Apaches and other "hostile" Indigenous peoples who possessed an innately violent character. In Rwanda in the 1990s, the broader Western world looked on in horror at the brutal killings taking place there, but also with a feeling that this violence spawned from deep-seated barbaric tendencies found within the heart of African populations and rooted in an ancient strife between Hutus and Tutsis. Few people outside of scholarly circles noted the conflict for what it truly was: a genocidal collision of one minority group against another encouraged by entrenched societal constructs created through European-settler colonialism.[78] American settlers and soldiers came to the Southwest with a preconceived perception of the dynamics present on the ground in Arizona and New Mexico territories. These perceived dynamics included a monolithic and ineffectual Mexican populace embroiled in eternal conflict with barbaric Apache marauders of the desert. Rather than allowing relationships between Euro-American settlers and Apaches to develop organically, Euro-American government officials moving into the region acted upon these older stereotypes in the development of Native American policies.

For the Mescalero Apaches whose homelands spanned the border of territorial New Mexico and Old Mexico, the American changeover brought an increase in new people to trade with or raid from in the 1850s. While some bands of the Mescalero Apaches sought peace, other bands seemed bent on continuing their economically productive raids against Euro-American settlers and travelers. When a Mescalero group

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[78] David Norman Smith, "The Psychocultural Roots of Genocide: Legitimacy and Crisis in Rwanda," *American Psychologist* 53, no. 7 (1998): 743-753, doi:http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1037/0003-066X.53.7.743.

under the leadership of Gomez continued these practices, the newly peaceful Sierra Blancas band of the Mescalero Apaches, received the blame. General John Garland, the commander of New Mexico and a US-Mexican War veteran, sent out 180 dragoons against them in the autumn of 1854, and even more troops in the winter months to come. Around Christmas, Garland ordered Captain Richard S. Ewell and Henry W. Stanton to lay siege to the Sierra Blanca's stronghold in the mountains. The Apaches killed Captain Stanton and drove off the invading forces but were forced to flee their mountain sanctuary in the brutal heart of the season referred to by the Apaches as the "ghost face." With little food to support them, they approached the newly appointed Indian agent, Dr. Michael Steck, whose reputation for kindness preceded him. Destitute and hungry, the Sierra Blanca division received supplies from Agent Steck as part of a treaty and accepted a reservation near the newly built Fort Stanton, where the Mescalero Apaches remain into present day. But with little wild game to hunt, this group of Mescalero Apaches began stealing and eating any white-owned animals they could catch out of desperation.[79]

Doctor Michael Steck had been in the Southwest since leaving his home state of Pennsylvania in 1849. He began working as a contracted surgeon for the US military in Socorro, New Mexico but eventually became an Indian agent working with various Apache groups in the territory. President Abraham Lincoln appointed Steck the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for New Mexico Territory in 1864. Dr. Steck gained a reputation among Apaches as a man who respected their needs and understood their frustrations with federal and military officials of the United States.[80]

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[79] James L. Haley, *Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 209-214.

[80] For an extensive analysis of the life of Michael Steck through the paper trail he left behind, see Martha LaCroix Dailey, *Michael Steck: A Prototype of Nineteenth Century Individualism,* PhD dissertation (University of New Mexico, 1989).

While working as an agent for the Mescalero Apaches, Dr. Steck decided that the frequent raids held the key to white animosity against the Apaches. He believed that stoppingstopping the raids would also stop the cyclical violent attacks by whites on Apache groups in the era. Steck refused to provide any more rations to the Sierra Blanca band until all stock had been returned to his agency. Eventually the Sierra Blancas turned in over 40 horses, and Steck allowed them to move back to the Fort, where he once again provided food to the destitute group.[81] Steck doled out blankets, skirts, knives, tobacco, and provisions, and promised regular food rations if the Apache band would cease raiding. After only a year, this group under the guidance of a young new leader named Cadete, remained at peace on the reservation. Cadete followed the guidance of Agent Steck, learning various methods of sedentary farming and teaching these practices in kind to his followers.[82]

In the spring of 1856, troubles ravaged the Mescalero tribe from all sides. Citizen militias, made up of ranchers, Mexican peons, and local businessmen, continued their attempts to extinguish the Apache problem in the region. In many cases, these individuals in drunken mob violence would attack villages of peaceful Indians, killing those too slow to run away, mainly women and children.[83] Disgusted with these actions, some Mescalero groups began their depredations anew. Still contending with a new and recently Americanized Mexican population, the US military responded with moral outrage towards these vigilante killers, and General John Garland threatened to remove

[81] Haley, *Apaches*, 209-214.

[82] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches,* 83-84.

[83] These massacres committed under the citizen militia known as the "Mesilla Guard" will be described at greater length in Chapter 5.

the army entirely if these citizens felt that they could do a better job managing local Apache-settler relations.[84]

In April of 1861, the Civil War erupted in the east, pulling troops and resources away from the Southwest in a flurry of movement. Secessionists in Tucson and Mesilla had already pushed for a separation from the Union-backed government in Santa Fe that they believed did not provide them with adequate support against Apache attacks.[85] By July 1861, Lieutenant Colonel John Baylor from Confederate Texas declared the Southwest territory of Arizona (with southern New Mexico attached) as a Confederate possession. Baylor then set up a military government in Mesilla and immediately waged war against the Apaches. Baylor failed to establish peace with Apache groups in the region, and instead issued a treacherous extermination order; Confederate troops would bring Apaches in under the guise of peace talks, kill all adult Apaches, and then sell their children into slavery to defray the costs of the executions. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, disagreed with Baylor's tactics and dismissed the commander immediately upon hearing of his orders.[86]

Confederate General Henry Sibley directed his troops north from Fort Thorn near the Confederate Arizona capital of Mesilla in February of 1862. Seeking to hit the territorial seat of power, Santa Fe, these rebels in grey failed in their assault, only making it north of Albuquerque to Glorieta Pass before being routed by New Mexican Union troops. The bedraggled group retreated to Mesilla, and by April of 1862, the Confederates had abandoned their Southwestern campaign and retreated back into

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[84] Haley, *Apache*, 216-218.

[85] William S. Kiser, *Turmoil on the Rio Grande: History of the Mesilla Valley, 1846–1865* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 175-188.

[86] Haley, *Apaches*, 231-233.

Texas.[87]

In the chaos of these invasions and retreats, Mexican and American settlers moved in and out of these areas, fleeing violence as virtual anarchy ensued. Various Apache groups, including the Mescalero Apaches, viewed the vacuum of power occurring in the area as an ample opportunity to reclaim old territories and gain valuable resources through intense raids. During this time, the Davis Mountain band of the Mescalero Apaches conducted some of the fiercest attacks seen on forts and settlements in decades[88]

Prior to the Confederate exit when many Mesilla citizens called for secession, the New Mexican Council and House of Representatives in January of that year addressed the people of the territory. Reminding its citizens of their constant battle with "savages," the legislators connected the new threat of a Texan Confederate invasion to their age-old struggle with the Apaches. Ignoring the critical role of Indian slavery within Southwest society, the legislature condemned the rebel chattel slave trade as a barbaric practice. The New Mexican congress then patriotically called for the New Mexican people to remember their "unconquerable Castilian blood." The address stated, "Drive off the audacious invader, and then the Indian marauders can be exterminated."[89] This Euro-American leadership along with the pro-Union ethnic Mexicans who still held power in the territory viewed the Confederate invasion as a more immediate but no more dangerous threat than the Apaches they had fought for generations. As can be seen in breakouts of mass violence in times of societal breakdowns or national and international

[87] Flint Whitlock, *Distant Bugles, Distant Drums: The Union Response to the Confederate Invasion of New Mexico* (Denver: University of Colorado Press, 2006).

[88] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 90-91.

[89] United States Senate. *New Mexico*, 1840-1854. NARA. TPUSS, 1789-1873, RUSS, 1789-2011, RG 46: *Records of the United States Senate* (Washington, DC: NAB), M200, roll 14.

crises, minority groups such as the Apaches faced the brunt of social rage from the cultural majority of the territory. This blame game did far more than just focus the Southwest territories on the tasks of eliminating the deemed threats before them, whether Confederate or Apache. This fervor to fight these enemies of the territory unified a culturally diverse and newly formed New Mexican citizenry into one collective national body.

During the crucial early years of the 1860s, James Collins, a man who had lived in New Mexico since 1825, worked as the territory's Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Collins spoke of the Mescalero Apaches in some of his correspondences as the most serious threat to the citizenry of the territory.[90] With a general increase in Apache-incited acts of violence and theft across the territories during the Confederate invasion, Collins believed that a determined show of federal force could stifle Apache hostilities. Collins quickly sent out new orders to Lorenzo Labadie, the latest Mescalero Apache Indian agent, that the New Mexican government would not trust Apache peace talks until they were properly "chastised and humbled" by the military.[91] In nineteenth-century speech, this turn of phrase most often meant mass violence coordinated and supported by the US military and government.

In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William P. Dole, back in the capital on the eastern seaboard, Collins discussed the recent escalation of raiding and violence against military posts and civilian settlements in the territories by Indigenous peoples. While particular groups of Apaches, Navajos, and Comanches held clear responsibility for some of these attacks, the New Mexican government could not definitively prove the guilt of any one Native ethnic group. More specifically, Collins

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[90] Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, 93.

[91] James Collins to William P. Dole, NARA, RRIA, 1850-1866, RG 393: *RUACC*, 1817-1947 (Washington, D.C.: NAB), Part 1, Entry 3179.

admitted to Dole that he held no concrete evidence of the Mescalero people being the sole Apache group responsible for the various raids during the tumultuous months of 1861 and 1862. Collins theorized that other Apache groups across the territories, some of which had already been in intense negotiations for peace with the territorial government, were very likely the real culprits. But Collins believed the Mescalero Apaches could provide an easy symbolic focus for the civilian population seeking retribution for past violence against their homes and families. The military had already reached peace terms with other Apache groups, and Collins felt that if the US military pursued any actions against certain more violent bands among these groups, that these more frequently hostile Apaches might abandon talks altogether. Collins informed Dole that the Mescalero Apaches would eventually become a threat regardless of their current conduct because of their biological nature as Apaches. Finally, Collins expressed fears that at some future date all Indigenous peoples of the Southwest territories would rise up and unite to slaughter the non-Indigenous inhabitants of the region. For Collins, the reservation system, as opposed to outright extermination, seemed poised as the only humane alternative.[92]

On September 18, 1862, General James Henry Carleton took command of the Department of New Mexico. As the Union commander of the California Column, Carleton possessed a deep work ethic and ample energy for both the field and for leadership in higher positions. But his arrogant confidence in his own rectitude and his inability to listen to the advice of other government officials and military officers on the ground at Bosque Redondo created a situation that was destined for disaster.[93] Carleton, a Yankee from Maine, came to New Mexico just as the Confederate troops retreated back

[92] Ibid.

[93] Haley, *Apaches*, 234-235.

into Texas. Between constant raids by various Native groups and the virtual abandonment of the territory by federal forces, Carleton placed himself as beacon of governmental order in a territory that felt largely forgotten by the Union. He immediately ordered famed trapper, soldier, and then Colonel Kit Carson to reoccupy Fort Stanton.[94]

Yet General Carleton did not focus on groups such as the Mescalero Apaches solely because of their threat to the civilian population. Instead, he and other leading Euro-American men within the New Mexico and Arizona territorial governments believed that the mountains of the area held untold riches in mineral wealth. The traditional Mescalero Apache territory of Southeastern New Mexico held the Sierra Blanca, or White Mountain range. These mountains enticed Carleton, who was mesmerized by the possibilities of natural resources after spending time heading the prospector-laden California Column during previous military campaigns. Carleton repeatedly during his service out west sent back carefully detailed maps of prospective strike zones in New Mexico with detailed instructions on mining techniques and record keeping. Carleton stated in one correspondence with Captain Nathaniel Pishon, "If the country is as rich as represented—and this I have no doubt—there will, on your return, be a revolution in matters here which no man now can even dream of." In other correspondences, he would remark on the territories as a real-life Atlantis or El Dorado with enough mineral wealth to be weighed in the steelyards.[95] But Carleton became equally convinced that Native peoples could not or would not work the mineral resources of the land themselves, and for the monetary security of the Republic, Indigenous

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[94] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 96-99.

[95] James Doolittle, U.S. Congress, *Condition of the Indian Tribes: Joint Special Committee Report; Appointed Under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865*. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1867), 115, 136.

removal from these locations remained a crucially important economic goal for the entire United States. Carleton stated bluntly on the matter:

> The Indians will not themselves work the mines: they should not be permitted to lie in wait to murder the prospecter (sp) who comes with much toil and many privations to explore their country for its hidden wealth. This they will surely do unless they are exterminated or placed on reservations.[96]

Carleton's rhetoric in these correspondences with state and federal officials reveals the commonly-held binary thinking regarding Indigenous people in this burgeoning new "American" world. Carleton's vision of this future Southwest could not exist with Apaches in it, and the only options available in his eyes were eradication through physical violence or exile and enclosure.

In October 1862, Carleton ordered Kit Carson to command an expedition to placate and transport the Mescalero Apaches to his newly selected reservation at Bosque Redondo in eastern New Mexico.[97] Carleton had already discussed his concerns over the impact of the Apaches and Navajos on the land and its people with Governor Henry Connelly, receiving approval for his campaigns—first against the Mescalero Apaches,, then against the Navajos. Kit Carson initially expressed misgivings about declaring war on the Mescalero people, believing that some sort of agreement could be peacefully reached with them, but ultimately Carson, then a Colonel, accepted his orders. At the time, many young troops in Carleton's California Column were listlessly repairing roads and taking on manual labor projects to improve local infrastructure across the territory. Frustrated at having missed out on the action in the Civil War, these men readily accepted orders to prove their masculinity in this alien frontier world.[98]

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[96] Ibid, 98.

[97] Haley, *Apaches*, 235.

[98] Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, 288-289.

General Carleton and the New Mexican territorial government enacted an immediate campaign of total warfare against the Mescalero Apaches. Carleton sent an order to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas on October 11 of 1862 labelled "Confidential." The letter informed Lorenzo that Kit Carson had already reoccupied abandoned Fort Stanton and commanded him to move his own units along with several hired Mexican and Pueblo scouts against the Mescalero Apaches in their territory. Carleton then issued an execution order that would be repeated to other military men under his command during that fateful autumn: "There is to be no council held with the Indians, nor any talks. The men are to be slain whenever and wherever they can be found. The women and children may be taken as prisoners, but, of course, they are not to be killed."[99]

In another order sent to his men fighting against Apaches in Arizona territory, Carleton meticulously explained his desire to create terror among the Mescalero through a violent show of power. He referenced how the Mescalero Apaches had continued their raids against New Mexicans even when the territory had been invaded by Confederate Texans. The order described how the Apaches' actions had irrevocably "untied" the hands of the American soldiers, and that they would punish the Apaches in kind. Carleton stated:

> ...tell them fairly and frankly that you will keep after their people and slay them until you receive orders to desist from this headquarters; that this making of treaties for them to break whenever they have an interest in breaking them will not be done any more; that the time has passed by; that we have no faith in their promises; that we believe if we kill some of their men in fair, open war, they will be apt to remember that it will be better for them to remain at peace than to be at war. I trust that this severity, in the long run, will be the most humane course that could be pursued towards these Indians.[100]

[99] Doolittle, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 99.

[100] Ibid., 100.

Within the first month of the campaign, these severe orders resulted in the death of a major Apache leader seeking peace. On the road to Sante Fe, the Mescalero leader Manuelito rode with a few followers and came upon an American military unit under Captain James Graydon. After seeing Graydon approaching with his soldiers, Manuelito walked up to meet him, raising his hand in his people's sign for peace. The Captain ordered his men to fire, and shot down the leader, along with his second in command Jose Largo, five men, and a woman. In the shock that followed, the soldiers gunned down five more natives and wounded several others. The troops then rounded up the dead chief's stock, and according to rumor sold the animals to defray the costs of killing.[101] Judge Joseph G. Knapp, a judicial leader in New Mexico and critique of Carleton, referred to his bloody practices when engaging with Apaches leaders as a black flag policy and believed that his methods would only lead to further rebellion from Indigenous peoples of the territories.[102]

By the end of November several other leaders had also come to Santa Fe begging for peace and swearing to disassociate themselves from hostile groups still in Mescalero country. Carleton finally relented on his initial harsh orders. He vowed to these leaders that they would be fed and protected at Fort Sumner while he pursued the remaining hostile Mescalero Apaches still at large. Carleton also promised that once he had captured all hostile Mescalero Apache bands that he would oversee the creation of a new federal treaty and the eventual return of their people back to their homeland at a reservation near Fort Stanton.[103]

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[101] Haley, Apaches, 236.

[102] Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, 303.

[103] Doolittle, *Condition of the Indian Tribes,* 103.

In November of 1862 Captain William McCleave and Captain Nathaniel Pishon struck the Mescalero Apaches at their traditional refuge in Dog Canyon near present day Alamogordo.[104] While Apache groups in Arizona tended to possess modern arms and ammunition, the Mescalero Apaches in New Mexico still relied on bows and arrows. Very few of the warriors carried rifles. Over that harsh winter the Mescalero hid in the mountains with their bedraggled women and children following behind them. Each day the remaining men with their families fought to survive. By early winter, the war was over and 500 Mescalero ApachesApaches resided at the newly created reservation at Bosque Redondo.[105]

The latter narrative comes from the military and government accounts of the Mescalero campaign. While few oral histories from the Mescalero Apache perspective exist in archival holdings, Eve Ball, a mid-nineteenth-century western fiction writer,[106] preserved multiple interviews with elder Apaches on their experiences during their persecution by the U.S. military and their time at Bosque Redondo. Big Mouth provided some information on his life as a child growing up during the tumultuous years of the late 1850s and early 1860s. Big Mouth, who did not speak English and had to dictate his stories through his son Percy, recalled the brutal war that decimated his people. Though he did not remember the campaign himself, he carried the stories of that time from his

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[104] Lynn R. Bailey, *Bosque Redondo: The Navajo Internment at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, 1863-1868* (Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1998), 67.

[105] Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, 300.

[106] Eve Ball remains a controversial figure for both historians and Apaches. As a fiction writer, some historians did not believe that her craft was as accurate as traditional historic methodologies, as she wrote originally for a fiction audience. Some Apaches also felt that she profited from her writing without giving back to the Apache community whose stories she used. Regardless of these issues, Eve Ball's meticulously documented interviews from the 1950s through the 1980s represent an invaluable collection of Apache oral histories. Backed by a variety of notes and interview transcriptions, these materials currently reside in the special collections at Brigham Young University. While information from Ball's fictional works such as *Indeh* may have slightly altered the wording of oral histories for the sake of linguistic flow, the pain, trauma, and raw horror experienced by Apaches during this period still rings true.

family members before him. By the time of his group's surrender under the leader Cadete to Kit Carson, his band existed in a state of virtual nakedness and starvation. Soldiers killed Big Mouth's father earlier in the campaign, and he along with his mother and sister retreated into the recesses of Dog Canyon when he was still a child. The Mescalero Apaches lost many male warriors during these final days as these men would aid the women and children in scaling the canyon walls when under attack, sacrificing their own lives in the process.[107]

Big Mouth also recalled his family;s march from their capture site to the Bosque. He stated:

> In 1863 I must have been eight or nine years old. I had been riding a long time. My mother and I had horses and we rode and led a packhorse with our tipi on it. Most of our tribe had horses. Only a few walk. We start and go north. Go through Capitan Gap and on to the Bosque. It was a sad, sad trip. We did not look at each other.[108]

Big Mouth also alluded to the shame that warriors felt at being unable to protect their female loved ones from rape, as traditional Mescalero women were very chaste.[109]

Although a small number of Mescalero Apaches fled to the west where they joined the still fighting Gila Apaches of Arizona, the remainder began moving by wagon train to the Bosque in the late winter of 1863.[110] But another elder Mescalero Apache, Bernard Second, believed that only a quarter of the Mescalero Apache people went to Bosque Redondo, with the rest scattering in all directions and hiding as best they could.

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[107] Ball, *Indeh,* 201.

[108] Sherry Robinson and Eve Ball, *Apache Voices: Their Stories of Survival as Told to Eve Ball* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 122.

[109] Ball, *Indeh*, 202.

[110] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 102-103.

[111] "Big Mouth," February 9, 1972, Box 3, Folder 22, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

Leaders such as Cadete had already arrived at Bosque Redondo by the time Big Mouth and his mother journeyed there in early 1863. Cadete negotiated a peace agreement in Santa Fe for his followers with General Carleton after his reneging on his initial orders of "no peace" in the late fall of 1862.[112] John C. Cremony, a soldier in the California Column, recalled the poignant translation of Cadete's words upon his surrender to American military might in November of 1862:

> You are stronger than we. We have fought you so long as we had rifles and powder; but your arms are better than ours. Give us like weapons and turn us loose, we will fight you again; but we are worn-out; we have no more heart; we have no provisions, no means to live; your troops are everywhere; our springs and water holes are either occupied or overlooked by your young men. You have driven us from our last and best stronghold, and we have no more heart. Do with us as may seem good to you, but do not forget we are men and braves.[113]

Cadete's words did not come from a man who merely had a gift for poetic language but instead from an Indigenous leader grappling with a type of trauma that took the heart of the people it impacted. The campaign of the Mescalero Apaches and their subsequent deadly incarceration at Bosque Redondo clearly meets the internationally accepted definition of genocide as clarified earlier. The US government acting under General James Carleton in the Southwest during this time did not intend to destroy the Mescalero Apaches entirely, but they did wish to destroy them "in part." The military also created living conditions during the campaign intended to create death and destruction among Mescalero Apaches by initially allowing no quarter for members of the group and focusing on the elimination of the men first.[114] All of these actions took

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[112] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 67.

[113] John C. Cremony, *Life among the Apaches* (New York: A. Roman & Company, 1868), 201.

[114] UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,* 277.

place against a specific people not based on individual criminal guilt, but based on their race as perceived by the US government.

Though the definition of genocide created by Rafael Lemkin and accepted by the United Nations includes a guidebook to identify the occurrence of genocide, this terminology is not completely static. While historians often expect the event to look like the industrialized death of the Holocaust or the more manual and rage-filled rudimentary massacres of Rwanda, genocide through history had taken on varied forms. Problematically, scholars tend to examine genocide and war as two separate occurrences within the realm of violent human conflicts. In reality, all conflicts contain the potential, and sometimes even a great likelihood, that genocide will occur alongside traditional warfare. In fact, the most common type of genocide is a genocidal war. When warfare takes place between a group that feels a sense of racial superiority, such as in the case of Euro-Americans and their violent military persecution of the Mescalero Apaches, the likelihood of genocide increases.[115]

The focus on violating women's bodies or eliminating male access to women from the same ethnic group, represents the ultimate power of control. Particularly for Apache culture, where women taught future generations traditions and religious practices, an attack on this specific demographic represented a deadly cultural threat. The targeting of men, such as that found in General Carleton's orders against the Mescalero people, has occurred repeatedly and in different forms in genocides throughout history. Killing the male members of a minority group does not merely take away a major means of defense in terms of physical survival; this action also creates symbolic ownership over the women and children these men endeavored to protect. And, as women symbolize a community

[115] Martin Shaw, "The General Hybridity of War and Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 9, 3 (2007): 461–73, doi:10.1080/14623520701584281.

as a whole, to isolate them in such a manner reveals the long-term exterminatory intentions of the perpetrating group.[116]

Ultimately, genocide's most fundamental goal lies in its destruction of what perpetrating groups view as "power" within the victimized group. For the Mescalero people, their power lay in their knowledge and intimate understanding of the land and in their ability to resist.[117] Often this resistance would occur as physical warfare, but also in the continuance of rituals. This resistance through ritual resilience applied to other Apache groups across this difficult century of Euro-American persecution. Even when their attempts at physical defiance failed, Apaches did not cease in their spiritual or cultural practices. Ceremonies of both special and everyday occasions, often practiced under the guidance of women, secured the future for the Mescalero people as it secured the futures for other Apache peoples in times of violent racial persecution.

Over decades of strife, flight, and warfare, Apaches continued one of their most important rituals, the maiden ceremony, even while engaging in active resistance through warfare with Mexican and American military entities. Jason Betzinez recalled one of these ceremonies celebrating a young girl's transition into womanhood that her White Mountain band Apache parents orchestrated near the Mexican border during the peak of the Geronimo conflict in the mid-1880s. As the sound of gunfire still echoed across the nearby hillside, the parents selected an elderly woman to lead the first part of the ceremony, directing the girl to lie face down while she recited incantations above her body. Afterwards the girl ran towards the east to an eagle feather placed in a dish fifty yards away. Upon her return, in calmer circumstances after giving gifts to the older

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[116] Geetanjoli Gangoli, "Engendering Genocide: Gender, Conflict, and Violence," *Women's Studies International Forum* 29, Issue 5, (September–October 2006): 534-538, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2006.07.010

[117] Ibid.

woman for her services, the family would host a four-day feast with fire dances directed by the young woman. Finally, the ceremony typically ended with a ceremony conducted by an elder after the ritual erection of lodge poles and a fire. Shortened in some ways due to the circumstance, the ceremonies did not lose their potency even in these dire conditions.[118] In another instance Betzinez recalled how Apache leaders returned with their warriors after a successful raid and still held ritual dances of celebration. With drums resounding, women and girls gathered with their men to dance all night, and in the morning the warriors rewarded their dancing partners with horses, blankets, and other materials.[119]

Rituals to placate the trauma of death and loss also did not stop for warfare and flight. Though often extremely difficult, the Apaches tried their best to maintain appropriate treatment of the deceased even when retreating from physical engagements with soldiers. General George Forsyth recalled stumbling upon a particular incident of these funereal practices after a violent altercation with a group of Apaches in the 1880s. Near the Janos River south of the Mexican border while in pursuit of the fleeing Apaches, Forsyth and his men came across a dead warrior lying on a make-shift stretcher. The man's hair had been combed, his face painted red, and he had been dressed in a black coat with beaded moccasins for burial. The warrior's friends and family had carried his body seventeen miles from the site of battle before he either died of his wounds or became too burdensome to bear any further.[120]

These rituals provided Apache peoples with a means to heal in spirit. But these rituals also reaffirmed the collective identity of a minority group suffering under the

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[118] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 60-62.

[119] Ibid., 89.

[120] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, 174.

weight of ethnotrauma. This affirmation does not mean a containment of a static culture that "was." Instead, rituals provided a link to the past while incorporating the modernity of the future. For as these men fought with modern weapons, they painted their fallen comrade in the old ways as they would have their grandfather and his father before him. While racial persecution can shake a group identity to its core, community can provide its own forms of healing and therapy to its victims.

Studies attest to the profound power that communal support holds when dealing with the aftermath of violence. In the early 1970s as American involvement in the Vietnam conflict drew to a close, many veterans returned to their homes in the US and to a hostile and resentful population angered by the eighteen year-long conflict in Southeast Asia. Studies found that those veterans who lacked familial and social support systems developed PTSD symptoms at a two to three times higher rate than that found in other traumatized groups with a better support infrastructure. Similar studies conducted on Holocaust survivors found that those who joined a strong communal environment after the war, such as the kibbutzim in Israel, also found rehabilitation and reintegration into society much easier than when survivors lived in more isolated conditions.[121] In this manner, as long as the community could come together once more, no traumatic experience, even genocide, could shatter their collective sense of self-worth.

At the Mescalero reservation in that harsh April of 1880, over two decades after the military campaign and the subsequent incarceration period at Bosque Redondo had ended, over one thousand American troops moved onto the Mescalero reservation to subdue fewer than five hundred Apaches. Made up of predominantly women and children, these civilian Apaches faced American troops armed to the hilt in a heightened and unnecessary show of force by the US military. After the initial chaos of the shooting

[121] De Zulueta, *From Pain to Violence*, 172-176.

had subsided, the troops rounded up 240 Apaches like cattle, placing them under guard in horse corrals covering one-fourth of an acre. Standing in half-rotted manure, warmed by several days of sunny weather, the fetid and still air sickened many Apaches in the group, particularly small children. For seven days the Apaches remained in these conditions,[122] until finally being released onto their reservation to be kept there at the point of a gun for a year, essentially as prisoners on their own land.[123] The Mescalero Apache agent Samuel Russell referred to the Mescalero Apaches' experience during this time by the US military as "cruel treatment of the innocent for the sins of the guilty."[124] For many of the adults in the horse corrals, stifled by the smell of feces and constricted in their movements by the bodies of those standing around them, this experience may have reminded them of another horrific experience in their not so distant past: their three years of captivity at Bosque Redondo, the place that their fellow prisoners, the Navajo, called *Hweeldi*, or land of suffering.

[122] Watt, *I Will Not Surrender the Hair of a Horse's Tail*, 79-80.

[123] Robinson, *Apache Voices,* 150.

[124] Watt, *I Will Not Surrender the Hair of a Horse's Tail*, 79-80.

CHAPTER 2

BODIES IN THE RIVER: CONCENTRATION CAMP TRAUMA AND THE MESCALERO APACHE EXPERIENCE AT BOSQUE REDONDO

"Death to the Apache, and peace and prosperity to this land, is my motto." [125]
--Colonel Nelson H. Davis, Assistant Inspector General, United States of America

"Fort Sumner was used like a concentration camp." [126]
--Solon Sombrero, Mescalero Apache

Mary Velasquez Riley was born in 1908 to Jesus Velasquez, a Mexican man from Texas, and Nalatzalay, a White Mountain Apache woman. Mary's Mexican grandmother on her father's side had worked for many years as a cook and washerwoman for American soldiers, so Jesus had spent his life following the US military with his mother as they moved further west into the new Southwestern territories. Eventually, the Velasquez family settled down near the White Mountain Apache reservation and San Carlos area at Fort Apache in Arizona Territory. Mary's father Jesus grew up constantly engaged with Apache peoples, working as a leader of the Apache scouts and eventually as a translator. After the death of his first wife, Jesus married Mary's mother, Nalatzalay, and raised his children on a small family farm that produced food products for the soldiers stationed nearby.[127]

Mary felt as if her father worked them all to the bone, with many early mornings and late nights spent helping out with the innumerable tasks of farm life. Mary soon

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[125] Doolittle, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 307.

[126] "Solon Sombrero," October 20, 1854, Box 7, Folder 29, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

[127] Mary Velasquez Riley, interview by Barry Richens, February 18, 1977, *Velasquez Riley Family History, Part I*, Pinetop-Lakeside Historical Society Museum, Digital Arizona Library, accessed May 27, 2017, http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/plhsoh/id/64

became convinced that her father overworked them because of some underlying issue he had with their Apache lineage. Mary came to believe that her father, as a Mexican man, detested the Indigeneity that she would always carry in her veins. She shared this belief with her brothers and sisters. One day when her father got word of this "behind the barn" chatter, he sat his children down and explained himself to them.[128]

Jesus Velasquez told his children that when he met their mother, he believed her to be the most beautiful woman that he had ever seen. Once they had married, he also found her to be an incredible partner and housewife. Velasquez informed his children that he worked them hard so they would grow up to never be dependent on the government or on their tribe to live. Jesus then revealed to his children a conversation that had haunted him for many years. It was a conversation he had overheard in passing by his father-in-law who had once worked for General Crook during the earliest days of the White Mountain Apache reservation in the late 1800s. As Jesus' Native father-in-law helped some other Apaches demarcate the lines of the reservation with pegs, he had managed to make out, with the little bit of English that he knew, the imposing General Crook's words spoken to another soldier: "We'll put the damn Apaches here on the rocky mountain where they can starve. The quicker they starve the better it will be for them."[129]

A powerful moment for young Mary, her father's behavior suddenly took on a much more benevolent light, as Jesus Velasquez's fears for his half-Apache children rested within a long and steady tradition of Euro-American incarceration and enclosure of Apache peoples across the Southwest. In some cases, such as with the White Mountain Apaches, the reservation simply meant a new and vastly reduced outlining of their original territorial boundaries. As Euro-American settlers continued to swarm the region

[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid.

in the nineteenth century, these locales often transformed, however, into places of frustration, anger, and restriction as government agents and military officials suppressed cultural practices based around the freedom of mobility. But in other cases, reservations in desolate areas such as Bosque Redondo in eastern New Mexico territory became so restrictive that the enclosure of Native populations in these areas transformed this space from a reservation into a concentration camp.[130]

Big Mouth, a Mescalero Apache scout, provided a terse summary of his people's experience with the Bosque Redondo reservation at Fort Sumner in his last year of life during a series of interviews with author Eve Ball. He stated, "They did not like the Fort Sumner country. They did not like to farm. They were a hunting people. They loved the mountains of their own country…They did not like to be prisoners; they were a free people. It was just like what they call a concentration camp; only they did not say that word then. They were very unhappy."[131] Solon Sombrero, another Mescalero Apache, also described his people's experience at the Bosque: "Our parents went there and made ditches for farming. They taught them how to cultivate. Then the Navajos were brought in, and I think, some Jicarillos."[132]

The phrase concentration camp brings to mind a host of emotionally-laden

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[130] The term concentration camp emerged from the 1896 Spanish conflict with rebels in Cuba. Spanish military leaders established a detention policy for all suspected rebels called *reconcentración*, the origins of the term "concentration camp" used today. The Nazi government of the late 1930s and 1940s would take up this term with their development of their own *konzentrationslager*. But concentration camps have existed in diverse forms while still sharing basic characteristics for hundreds of years. In the context of this work, a concentration camp is defined as a space of incarceration that circumvents traditional legal detention, confining individuals to this space by force of a majority cultural group, often imposing this incarceration to either exclude this group from the rest of society or punish them based upon race, ethnicity, religion, political status, or other characteristics. For more information on the global history of concentration camps, please see Andrea Pitzer's *One Long Night: A Global History of Concentration Camps*.

[131] "Big Mouth," November 16, 1953, Box 3, Folder 22, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

[132] "Solon Sombrero," Box 7, Folder 29, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

imagery most often associated with World War II era Nazi-Germany: barbed wire embracing a cold, sterile camp site filled with skeletal figures, or an ashy haze billowing from stacked crematorium chimneys ten miles outside of the bustling streets of Bavarian Munich. But with a century of mass murder and genocide behind us, these images have seeped into other genocides around the globe: an ice-kissed barbed-wire fence line cutting across the air in the Siberian tundra, or a blood-splashed tile-floored torture cell scuffed with boot marks in a former school in the Cambodian capital. The practice of concentration or internment has been used as a tool of control and warfare among virtually every nation of the world. The United States, in this regard, remains no exception. Concentration camps at their core exist to control through isolation and punishment a specific population based on the racial, religious, or political identity imposed on a victimized population by the wider population or a central government power structure. To argue that the United States created and ran a concentration camp filled with its own people presents an uncomfortable truth to many Americans. Unlike the term genocide, the United Nations and other official international bodies have never defined the concept of the concentration camp for the global public. But whether these American institutional enclosures were deemed prison camps, resettlement areas, or reservations, all of these localities established a specific process for isolating and undermining any minority group deemed a threat by the American majority culture.

The creation of a concentration camp system always begins with a rationalization for the confinement of a group. Usually the rationalization narrative depicts the targeted group as an extreme danger to the majority cultural population, most often a physical danger but in some cases merely a strong cultural threat. While governments have often sponsored violent persecution through this rationalization, such as with the Nazi persecution of Jews under the Third Reich in World War II, various mobilized

population groups can also spearhead these narratives of validation. In the case of the Rwandan genocide, mass media producers such as radio stations lambasted Tutsi peoples as the leading cause of Hutu peoples, the other major cultural group in Rwanda in the 1990s at the time of the genocide. These radio stations further encouraged violent actions against Tutsis directly and by vouching for the government's support in these endeavors.[133] the public with holds power at the time, then directs the gathering and concentration of victims in a specified place. Once the perpetrating agent confines the victimized group, it puts forth another narrative for the prisoners themselves: a collective guilt that these prisoners share rooted in the victim's nature. In this fictional world of others working together to exact widescale damage against the foundation of American society, the perpetrating group demands incarceration as a sort of atonement for these sins. Based entirely upon the perpetrator's conceptualization of the victim's group identity, this narrative ignores individual criminality and innocence entirely. But this incarceration also presents prisoners with an unreachable penance in cases where the victim's incarceration is based on race. Owing to what perpetrators deem unchangeable biological characteristics, concentration camp victims will never achieve redemption, creating a situation within these camps for two options to end the imprisonment: escape or death.[134]

By examining the military persecution and government incarceration at Bosque Redondo, this chapter establishes another critical layer of ethnotrauma experienced by many Indigenous peoples through incarceration in the Southwest. But while the violent campaign against the Mescalero Apaches and their subsequent imprisonment at Bosque

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[133] David Yanagizawa-Drott, "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129, no. 4 (November 2014): 1947–94. doi:https://academic-oup-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/qje/issue.

[134] James L. Dickerson, *Inside America's Concentration Camps: Two Centuries of Internment and Torture* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2010), ix-xi.

Redondo both stemmed from a collective guilt assigned to their race by Euro-Americans, these two periods of persecution created distinctive traumas. Just as the experience of violence based on race creates particular traumatic reactions within an individual, the act of enclosure and restriction also creates its own unique set of symptoms.

In the last half of the twentieth century, the psychology community made great strides in understanding the symptoms of trauma stemming from occurrences ranging from child abuse to war-time violence to natural disasters. But the concept of post-traumatic stress disorder rapidly became an umbrella diagnosis for traumatic reactions spawned from widely divergent experiences. Previously an array of unofficial diagnoses existed for specific circumstances that created trauma; battered-woman syndrome, concentration camp syndrome, and a host of other classifications once commonly used by psychiatrists became diagnostically null and void when the psychological community accepted Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder as an overarching condition. But while this reduction in over-specificity has allowed for a more standardized approach to treating patients suffering from trauma-induced symptoms, it has also pushed psychological perceptions of trauma in a far too abstract direction. Post-traumatic stress disorder does not represent a "one-size-fits-all" method of approaching trauma histories. The severity of violence and the specific focus on cultural destruction, race, and gender create unique individual as well as collective experiences when facing the trauma of incarceration.[135]

Concentration camp syndrome, a term developed and explored prior to the establishment of PTSD as a diagnosis, occurs within populations concentrated or interned based on racial, religious, or political background. For German concentration camp victims, their trauma began as soon as they entered the camp location. Primo Levi,

[135] Dayna Wilmot and Solomon Stein, "Does One Size Fit All? Nosological, Clinical, and Scientific Implications of Variations in PTSD Criterion A," *Journal of Anxiety Disorders* 43 (2016): 106-17.

a Holocaust survivor and and writer, recalled the systematic deterioration of prisoners entering Auschwitz. [136] Some inmates, though in good health, suffered such a tremendous shock upon entering the brutal environment of the camp that they would physically deteriorate rapidly due to the immediate psychosomatic symptoms that developed in response. Those who survived this initial shock period had to alter their own perceptions of reality if they wished to survive camp life. Blurring the line between reality and nightmare allowed a disconnect from the horrors of daily existence. Those who could not create a disconnect, or who continued to hold particularly sensitive and empathetic constitutions, often fell into a severe depression coupled with a rapid physical deterioration due to malnutrition and disease. Lacking the will to live in this harsh environment equaled a virtual death sentence.[137] These *muselmänner* became living corpses, and once that line had been crossed, little hope remained for the prisoner's physical survival.[138] Another critical factor in camp survival lay in the ability to find a place within a subset of the community. These networks not only allowed broader access to crucial resources for the maintenance of physical needs but also provided prisoners with a feeling of moral support.[139]

The Holocaust of Jews during the twentieth century, while providing scholars with prolific testimony and data for the analysis of mass persecution, has also unintentionally complicated the application of the term “concentration camps” to the incarceration experience of other groups, particularly Indigenous peoples of nineteenth-

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[136] Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz* (United Kingdom: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 56-64.

[137] Z. Ryn, "The Evolution of Mental Disturbances in the Concentration Camp Syndrome (KZ-syndrom)," *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs* 116, no. 1 (1990): 21-36.

[138] Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 206-212.

[139] Ryn. "The Evolution of Mental Disturbances in the Concentration Camp Syndrome (KZ-syndrom)," 21-36.

century America. The Holocaust and its industrialized efficiency in murdering millions created such a profound impact on philosophical, sociological, and humanistic thinking that this event has become a measuring stick for other atrocities. The wider American public often has little understanding of the variations of the camp system of Nazi Germany and its diversity. These camps varied wildly from the death camps of industrialized mass execution, such as Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, and Chelmno, to the labor complexes that forced prisoners to work as slaves, such as Monowitz, to those camps that contained both elements, such as Auschwitz and Majdanek. Types of victims targeted as well as roles within the Third Reich's industrial-military complex also varied with time during the Nazi era.[140] But the imagery of this camp system has been so powerfully etched into the American *zeitgeist* in the twenty-first century, that viewing the Holocaust as a unique aberration in global history often inhibits open conversations among the wider public on other genocidal camp systems among the wider public. Scholars and academics of the Japanese internment camp system of World War II in the United States have continued their fight for broader public recognition for that internment system to be labeled as concentration camps.[141]

Ultimately, each of these camp experiences, whether in twentieth century Germany, the United States of the 1940s, or the United States of the 1860s, fits the basic definition of a camp which concentrates specific groups of people in a delineated area to separate them from the wider population of a nation. To deny access to this terminology to other group experiences with mass incarceration and persecution out of a fear of

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[140] Nikolaus Wachsmann and Caplan, Jane, eds. *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany: The New Histories* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 1-36.

[141] "For Japanese Americans the Debate over what Counts as a 'Concentration Camp' is Familiar." *The Washington Post*, June 20, 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2019/06/20/concentration-camps-alexandria-ocasio-cortez-japanese-americans/. Accessed April 20, 2020.

negating the terrors faced by Jews in the Holocaust denies the universally shared experience of traumatic violence and loss to the rest of humanity. In many ways the conditions Mescalero Apache peoples faced in their three-year incarceration at Bosque Redondo contain similar characteristics to the conditions faced by concentration camps across World War II Europe, The Apaches did experience a brutally oppressive containment policy by the US military that created conditions that did not allow for them to survive long-term, and those policies, like Nazi policies against Jews and other targeted victims of the Third Reich, were seen as immutable characteristics worthy only of punishment and if necessary, extermination.

The military minds that willed Bosque Redondo into existence did not intend for it to be a concentration camp doling out suffering and death to its prisoners. But as circumstances at the camp slid further into chaos, the men in charge of this space—from the soldiers on the ground to General James Carleton, the Bosque's original creator, back in Santa Fe—chose to ignore Indigenous pain as a means to continue this project on the Pecos. For Carleton, the negative publicity across the nation brought on by massive numbers of Native deaths due to starvation and disease paled in comparison to the potential Euro-American settler deaths and loss of valuable resource-laden land in the homelands of these imprisoned peoples. Additionally, General Carleton firmly believed that the Bosque Redondo experiment possessed the greatest potential to save the Apaches and Navajos imprisoned there from self-destruction.[142]

James Henry Carleton's background did not predict his primary role in the deaths of so many Apache and Navajo men, women and children. He grew up in Maine among what he referred to as a "saltwater yankee" family with deep roots in the region.

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[142] James Carleton, "To the people of New Mexico. This paper sets forth some of the principal reasons why the Navajo Indians have been located upon a reservation at the Bosque Redondo." Library of Congress. (n.p. ,1864), 5. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t7mp54x4s

In his early life, he leaned towards a career as a novelist with a flair for writing. In 1838, however, Carleton joined the Maine militia of the First Dragoons, fighting in various frontier wars and later serving in the Mexican American War. He maintained a deeply held Christian belief system that would imbue his life and letters for his entire military career. After coming to New Mexico during the Civil War leading the California Column, Carleton would settle into managing the territory's wider issues of Apache attacks, not just involving the Mescalero Apaches but other Apache groups as well. In 1864 as Bosque Redondo teetered towards collapse, Carleton would begin another exterminatory war in partnership with the governor of Sonora, Don Ignacio Pesqueira. Carleton informed the governor that it would only take a few months of intensive and annihilationist warfare against the Apaches attacking Sonoran and Arizona towns to either completely destroy their population or bring their numbers down so low that they would no longer be able to fight. But Carleton's experimental reservation at Bosque Redondo proved to be his most daring and most disastrous attempt at controlling Apache populations in the Southwest. In the eyes of Carleton, this bleak locality along the Pecos near Fort Sumner could provide a space to conduct his most fundamental task as a commander over New Mexican Indigenous peoples: to put groups such as the Mescalero Apaches in a place where they could not commit violence. General James Carleton firmly believed that the Bosque provided him a way to avoid military violence against Native peoples by teaching these imprisoned Apaches to read and write, to practice the "arts of peace," to engage with the tenets of Christianity, and to literally "be kind to them."[143]

For General Carleton, the location that would become the Bosque Redondo concentration camp had loomed large in his mind for nearly a decade prior to the

[143] Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1886), 385-386.

campaign against the Mescalero Apaches. In 1852, then Major Carleton acted on orders to both investigate potential hostile Indigenous activities in that area and to find an ideal military post location for a future fort. Carleton discovered no Native settlements or even evidence of past settlements in the area, but he did find a variety of resources that impressed him. Bosque Redondo, translated to "round forest" in English, was dotted with cottonwood trees and flat lands near the Pecos river. Tributary streams trickled out of the main channel to create a dark soil that appeared fertile. Wild turkey and beaver populated the area, and herds of antelope and deer periodically grazed among the black and blue grama grasses that covered the surrounding landscape.[144]

In 1854 General Carleton returned on a second military survey into the area and spent three weeks mapping out the region. In this survey Carleton claimed that the area possessed over 16,000 acres of farmable land. But while Carleton highlighted the positives in his subsequent report on the location for a future post, he downplayed or outright ignored the negatives.[145] As a grassy high desert plain, the area lacked abundant wood fuel. While some of the soil possessed a black lush character, far more of the soil contained infertile sand deposits capable of growing very little flora. Pools and springs around the river also appeared to bleach the beds of connecting streams, leaving traces of a saline substance wherever the water touched. For the US military, this region represented one of many possible locations for a fort in the newly Americanized territory of New Mexico; for James Carleton, this landscape lit a fire of possibilities that would soon be put to the test during the Civil War in the Southwest.[146]

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[144] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 72-75.

[145] Carleton, "To the people of New Mexico," 5. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t7mp54x4s

[146] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 72-75.

By August 1862, the federal government placed Brigadier General Carleton in command of the Department of New Mexico. Carleton immediately petitioned Congress for the establishment of Fort Sumner at Bosque Redondo. With the territory then under martial law, General Carleton requested that Washington establish a reservation for the Mescalero Apaches at the site he had surveyed years before along the Pecos River. On October 31, 1862, Congress established the post of Fort Sumner in eastern New Mexico territory. General Order Number 94 dictated the building of a defensive fort and established two companies of cavalry along with one infantry group to reside there. Captain Joseph Updegraff, the post's first commander, along with Company A of the Fifth Infantry, arrived at the Bosque on November 30.[147]

From Santa Fe, General Carleton directed the design, construction, and running of the Bosque reservation down to the most minute details. He ordered the fort itself to be built in an adobe style and supported by ponderosa pine lumber floated down from the upper Pecos river. He designed the fort to have rooms for officers, ample quarters for servants, a hospital with dozens of beds, a bake house, a guard house, and enough outlying structures to accommodate at least six-hundred troops. Two-hundred animals could also be stabled in fort corrals, and storage facilities existed on site for both coal and food. In addition, the entire complex centered around a traditional parade ground.[148] Carleton took his job of managing the daily running of the fort to the extreme, though he spent most of his time in residence at the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, even ordering soldiers at the Bosque to count out the individual seed bags given to the Apaches for planting. Some of Carleton's orders, however, were much less practical; he

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., 77-79.

also requested that the military suppliers for the Bosque send a thousand-pound bell from St. Louis to signal working hours to the Native laborers.[149]

General Carleton dreamed of creating an ideal pueblo village for the Native prisoners. Carleton admired the sedentary and largely peaceful culture of Pueblo peoples in the Southwest and believed that their various cultural practices could be forced upon Apaches at the Bosque. Carleton demanded that the adobe homes built at the Bosque should stand at one level high, face the parade grounds, and eventually be surrounded by shade trees to create what he referred to as a "point of beauty" in the territory.[150]

Life at the Bosque for the Apaches did not begin well. In the first few months of 1863, captured Mescalero Apaches arrived at Fort Sumner in droves. Eight inches of snow lay densely upon the ground at the time of the first Apache group's arrival to the camp. Supplies moved slowly from Fort Union, and within five days the Apaches camped at the Bosque ran out of rations. Captain Joseph Updegraff allowed the Apaches to leave the reservation to hunt, though he would only allow them traditional bows and arrows rather than modern weaponry. He also sent Captain John C. Cremony with them. The group, made up of 95 men and 15 women, killed 87 antelope.[151]

By late spring in 1863, the Mescalero Apaches followed the guidance of their military captors and had built an *acequia madre* or large irrigation ditch and slowly began transforming the landscape around the Pecos into a fertile farm. Tributary channels took water from the mother ditch into 200 acres of corn, melons, pumpkins, and beans. The Mescalero accomplished all of this construction success with only a few

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[149] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 110.

[150] Doolittle, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 161.

[151] Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches*, 200-205.

dozen farming instruments supplemented by bare hands and hard work.[152] By June, Indian agent to the Mescalero Apaches, Lorenzo Labadi, wrote to the New Mexico Superintendent of Indian Affairs to commend the Apaches for their behavior during the first few months of their captivity. At the time most of these Apaches still followed Cadette, a leader committed to helping his people transform into a more sedentary farming culture. Labadi did notice how initially the Apaches were apprehensive as they worked under the guard of armed American soldiers, but he remarked that they quickly overcame these fears as they sought to provide a bountiful harvest in the coming year for their people.[153]

The Civil War raged on in the east, creating a bureaucratic nightmare for the territories and their already tenuous supply lines. The supply shortage that the Apaches contended with upon their arrival in early 1863 continued on into the spring. As Carleton scrambled through red tape to get supplies to the reservation, he ordered that all Apaches, including the elderly and small children, work the fields. The General pushed the Mescalero Apaches to devote every waking hour to tending their budding crops. In what would become a common pattern, Carleton also ordered Captain Updegraff to cut the Apaches' rations.[154]

Carleton's paranoia about Native escapes resulted in his prohibition order on any hunting and gathering trips outside of the Bosque boundaries. This restriction would only further weaken the Apaches' access to outside sustenance at the Bosque. After an attack on Mexican salt gatherers back in Mescalero country by an unknown Indigenous group, Carleton enacted a strict pass system for leaving the Bosque. He ordered Captain

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[152] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 81-83, 128.

[153] Michael Steck to Lorenzo Labadi, June 30th, 1863, NARA, LROIA, 1824-1880, NMSIA; RG 75; *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* (Washington, DC: NAB), M234, Roll 551.

[154] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 81-82.

Updegraff to shoot any Mescalero man on sight who tried to escape the camp and to use collective punishments if escapes began occurring on a more regular basis.[155]

The Apaches worked to create an agriculture community in 1863 as they sought to survive their captivity by following the direction of the soldiers and officers keeping them prisoner. But uncontrollable external factors constantly marred the Apaches' economic ventures. Various Indigenous groups from across the region raided the Bosque community as they would any other. Though soldiers and Apaches alike defended their space as best they could, these attacks further destabilized an already unsteady food supply. Navajo bands, Comanches, Utes, and even other Apache groups targeted food stores, tools, and livestock. In one retaliatory attack against a raiding group, Agent Lorenzo Labadi with several dozen Apaches managed to chase off the invaders. Upon hearing this news, General Carleton decided the warriors deserved a reward for their bravery. Carleton provided each man a new suit and allowed the men to return for a brief visit back to their homelands with the ironic request that they use that time to convince other Mescalero Apaches still in hiding to go with them back to Bosque Redondo.[156] Carleton believed that these Apaches would soon act as representative examples of his grand experiment in human cultural engineering, as he continued to expand his camp system to include the Navajo people.

In 1863, the American military unleashed an equally brutal campaign against the Navajo and brought them to live at the Bosque as well. The Navajo, with thousands of imprisoned members compared to less than one-thousand Mescalero Apache, left a slightly larger oral history footprint than the Apaches. But while the Mescalero Apache incarceration at Bosque Redondo does possess important differences from the Navajo

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[155] Doolittle, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 107.

[156] Ibid., 151-152.

incarceration, both peoples shared a common pain stemming from violence, restriction, starvation, and disease that can be seen quite clearly in Apache and Navajo survival testimonies.

One Navajo oral history recalled the regular raids from other Indigenous groups on their encampments at the Bosque. The attacks on the Native villages by Comanches did not just involve the stealing of resources. Navajo nation citizen Joe Redhorse Benally recalled the stories of these attacks told to him by his grandmother. In one instance the Comanches came into his people's camp around dawn and the Navajos fled into the brush. One woman quietly sang a song of protection over the group. Two women, however, believed that the Comanches would not hurt them and came out to greet them in the open. The Comanches promptly killed the women, taking their scalps and mounting the bloody trophies on sticks as they retreated.[157]

Benally's grandmother's experience with the Comanches reflected another goal held by General Carleton in the strategic placement of the Bosque Redondo camp system in that region; Carleton wished for the area around Fort Sumner to provide a buffer zone between the Comanches and Kiowa Apaches of the Plains and the increasingly Euro-American populations of the Southwest territories. If the Indigenous prisoners at the Bosque could bear the brunt of these raids and attacks, then the non-Indigenous populations to the south could continue to expand their own farming and mining ventures.[158]

By the late summer of 1863, the Mescalero Apaches' previous agent, Dr. Michael Steck, had moved up through the territorial ranks to become Superintendent of Indian

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[157] Joe Redhorse Benally, Interview Transcript in Oral History Stories of the Long Walk = Hwéeldi Baa Hané (Crownepoint, NM: Lake Valley Navajo School, 1990), 33.

[158] James Carleton, GO No. 94, October 31, 1862, NARA, RG92; ROQG, CCF, 1794-1915, "Bortmanh, Henry to Boston, Mass," Box 179, Entry 225, NM-81.

Affairs in New Mexico. Meanwhile General Carleton had already shifted his focus from the Mescalero Apaches to the next victims of his internment experiment, the Navajos. Carleton believed that the Apache and Navajo people held strong cultural kinships and could easily live together in captivity.[159] Carleton stated about the two groups, "They belong to the same family, and as a Pueblo under proper care and instruction, will soon again become a homogenous people."[160]

Michael Steck, a doctor from Pennsylvania who had spent many years working with the Apaches during his previous decade of service among them in the Southwest, believed that both groups needed their own separate reservations.[161] General Carleton envisioned, however, that such a large tract of land could easily allow for ten-thousand Indigenous people to live at the Bosque contentedly. While Dr. Steck contended that the tribal leadership of the Apaches should at least be a part of these reservation discussions about their own people's future, Carleton would not entertain such a notion.[162] This clash of perspectives on how best to solve the Indigenous issues facing the territory pitted Dr. Steck against General Carleton throughout the 1860s. Carleton once commented that the

[159] Doolittle, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 169.

[160] Ibid., 133-134.

[161] While Michael Steck contended that Apaches and Navajos could not live together due to an age-old animosity for each other, this perception of the two group's relationship was far too simple. Apaches and Navajo had both clashed and allied with each other through the centuries as other ethnic and national groups around the world have since the dawn of man. But the two groups shared no specific cultural opposition to each other, and the clashing that occurred during this time at the Bosque stemmed more from the extreme living conditions both groups faced rather than any hostility to each other. In fact, multiple Navajo oral histories reveal that some Navajo peoples escaped Bosque Redondo, surviving by hiding under the protection of Apache groups in the region. For a better perception of the Navajo experience at the Bosque, and their relationship while there with the Mescalero Apaches, please see *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period* edited by Broderick H. Johnson and published by the Navajo Community College Press.

[162] Doolittle, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 169.

former physician and then Superintendent "…seems to have a confidence in the integrity of that noted band of murderers which is not entertained by myself."[163]

Dr. Steck continued to protest the relocation of the thousands of Navajos to Bosque Redondo, particularly after contacting the General Surveyor of New Mexico, John Clark, to gain a more in-depth understanding of the region surrounding the Bosque. Clark informed Steck that even with the Bosque containing six-thousand acres of land, dividing this land equally among families could only sustain a population of around 2,500 people.[164]

The arrival of Navajos and the subsequent strain on resources and land that followed created a rapid decline in all Native prisoners' lives at the Bosque. But the treatment of these two groups began to vary based purely on preconceived stereotypes about the different capabilities of Navajos and Apaches. The military along with government officials viewed Navajo people in a slightly different light than the Apache prisoners. Though the Apaches had created a working irrigation system and devoted themselves to hard labor on their farms even without basic farming implements, soldiers and officers on the ground saw the Navajos as culturally superior to the Apaches.[165] Captain William P. Calloway immediately realized that the camp did not possess enough irrigated acreage for both the Navajos and the Apaches to farm. This issue largely stemmed from General Carleton's vast underestimates of the Navajo population. Ultimately, the Captain made his decision to award the Navajos the Apache's already worked fields based on his perceptions of more western cultural practices among the Navajo. Though still raiders like the Apaches, the Navajos also practiced extensive

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[163] Ibid, 143.

[164] Steck to Dole, December 10, 1863, *Albert H. Schroeder Papers*, Collection 1972-033 (Santa Fe: NMRCA), box 10766, folder 1705.

[165] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 158-160.

farming and possessed a reputation for sheep-raising in the region. Captain Calloway then not only ordered the Apaches to move farther down river to make room for the Navajos but also ordered the Mescalero people to cease work on their own planting in order to help the new Navajo prisoners dig more irrigation ditches.[166]

By the spring of 1864, reports on the ground transitioned away from praising the Apaches to instead touting the Navajos as a successful assimilation story. The report contrasted the Navajo interests in western styles of farming, animal husbandry, and pueblo-living with what the report termed the Apaches' penchant for "laziness." Ignoring the past year's triumphs by the Apaches in irrigation engineering, Bosque Redondo officers and administrators stacked the Navajo higher on their racial hierarchy scale owing to their sheep-herding practices and crafting skills. The only praise the report gave to the Apaches highlighted their ability to survive on lower rations, thus saving the government money in the process.[167] By March 1864 Carleton estimated that over 3,600 Navajo captives and 450 Mescalero Apache captives were living at the Bosque Redondo concentration camp.[168]

Far more numerous than the already settled Mescalero Apaches, Navajo people constantly stole food from the fields and gardens of the Mescalero Apaches. Though the military arrested several thieves, throwing them into the guardhouse and even firing shots at the intruders, the sheer number of hungry Navajos overwhelmed the Apache population at the Bosque. Lorenzo Labadi confirmed Steck's concerns that the amount of firewood for fuel, water for irrigation, and acreage for planting could not keep up with the large numbers of Navajos streaming into the reservation as Kit Carson and his men

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[166] Captain William P. Calloway, Western Division, Military Department No. 9, NARA, RRIA, 1850 - 1866, RG 393: RUACC, 1817–1947 (Washington, D.C.: NAB), Part 1, Entry 3179.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Doolittle, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 162.

laid waste to their traditional lands.[169]

The Navajo people who marched their "long walk" to Fort Sumner in droves had survived their own traumatic experience during the military campaign against them in 1863. General Carleton enacted a scorched-earth policy against the Navajos, which burned across the Navajo homelands, destroying hogans and large fields of crops. Kit Carson led the expedition, and though he made some attempts to negotiate a swifter and less deadly peace with various Navajo headmen, he ultimately followed the orders of General Carleton and pursued the Navajos into the deepest and most sacred spaces within their territory. While some Navajo peoples immediately surrendered, others took to hiding in the caves and recesses of the heart of Navajo country, Canyon de Chelly. In the depths of winter, the last major group of Navajo holdouts surrendered. From Fort Defiance, they were led on foot for 300 miles over the course of three months to Bosque Redondo. At least 9,000 Navajo would enter this camp between 1864 and 1867. 3000 Navajo would die there.[170]

In the spring of 1864, as the Navajo people first began to trickle and then flooded the Bosque, haggard and harrowed from their long journey, the new leader of the Bosque, Captain Henry Wallen, followed General Carleton's orders to reduce Native rations by at least half. Born in 1819 in Savannah, Georgia and a graduate of West Point, Wallen fought in the Mexican American War and the Civil War, remaining loyal to the

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[169] Lorenzo Labadi to Michael Steck, October 22, 1864, MSS 134 BC; *Michael Steck Papers*, CSWR (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico), Box 2, folder 1.

[170] Lake Valley Navajo School, Title VII Bilingual Staff, and United States, Department of Education, *Oral History Stories of the Long Walk = Hwéeldi Baa Hané* (Crownpoint: Lake Valley Navajo School, 1991), 8.

Union as his fellow southern countrymen joined the Confederacy. After having briefly been in command at Fort Union, Wallen took over the command at Fort Sumner.[171]

But soon Captain Wallen began writing to his superiors back in Washington on the increasingly desperate developments on the ground at the Bosque. Captain Wallen showed his disturbance clearly in his correspondence, describing how the Apaches and Navajos would attack their small rations ravenously as soon as they received them. This scene so alarmed the Captain that he sent the post-surgeon to the various Native encampments to examine their general health. The doctor told Captain Wallen that the entire population of the camp was starving to death. Wallen then underscored in his letter how severe the situation seemed to him; he declared plainly that if the government forced him to continue providing such inadequate rations that many of the Indigenous peoples at the camp, particularly families with children, would either die or escape. With his conscience clearly strained, Wallen stated that if the prisoners tried to leave the dire conditions at Bosque Redondo, he would not stop them.[172] Back in the Native encampments, enraged individuals berated their leaders, whom many viewed as traitors. These leaders had assured them of food, shelter, and safety if they peacefully went to Bosque Redondo. Instead, both the Mescalero Apaches and the Navajo fought each day to survive, with external raids from without and brutal conditions within.[173]

While many of General Carleton's grandiose attempts in internment camp planning ended in catastrophe, Carleton did find success in building a large medical facility for both troops and Native prisoners. This structure, created out of adobe and

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[171] Jerry D. Thompson, *New Mexico Territory During the Civil War: Wallen and Evans Inspection Reports, 1862-1863* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 14.

[172] Henry Wallen to Lorenzo Thomas, *LROAG, 1861-1870,* RG 94; ROAG, 1762 – 1984 (Washington DC: NAB), M619, Roll N 280-439.

[173] Ibid.

standing 170 feet long and 25 feet wide, held multiple post-surgeons over its brief lifespan. These medical professionals, though still harboring typical biases and pseudoscientific understandings of Indigenous health, left behind a thorough documentary record on the steady physical decline of Indigenous prisoners in the camp. During the summer months of 1864, a mild form of smallpox emerged among the inmates. Post-surgeon George Gwyther provided vaccinations to the prisoners only to have the mumps also sweep through the reservation later in the year. Cases of prostitution increased between desperate Native women, soldiers, and nearby civilian employees. These Indigenous women would often offer their services for a few dollars or even food, resulting in gonorrhea breakouts and widespread syphilis infections.[174]

In June of 1864, Congress approved a $100,000 appropriation bill for food, clothing, and agricultural tools for the reservation at Fort Sumner. But grafting and manipulations by both politicians and local officials ended with poor quality supplies being delivered at outrageous prices. Within a few months, these issues would result in the creation of a subcommittee to investigate conditions and corruption at the Bosque under the guidance of Senator James R. Doolittle.[175]

Despite their declining health and a lack of quality farming implements, the Native prisoners at the Bosque camp continued to fight the harsh landscape for their farms, methodically clearing the land with only their hands. Littered with mesquite wood and hard scrub brush roots, the Native prisoners broke these obstacles apart with rocks. It sometimes took the Apaches and Navajos an entire day of back-breaking labor just to remove one mesquite tree's roots.[176] But such efforts could not combat the whims of

[174] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 141-145.

[175] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 116-117.

[176] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 129.

nature, and though the Apaches and Navajos planted close to 3,000 acres of crops that spring, by July an army worm blight struck the Bosque, costing over $150,000 in damages. Then in autumn, torrential rain flooded the Pecos River and destroyed half of the wheat crops. The flood also devastated other farms in the region, which had provided the Bosque with additional foodstuffs in leaner seasons.[177] These calamities resulted in yet another ration reduction from Carleton, allowing each Native prisoner 12 ounces of bread and eight ounces of meat per day. [178] Providing far lower than the amount of nutrition necessary for a laboring population, the prisoners began consuming their livestock. The Navajos ate a large portion of the sheep that had furnished many resources besides food to them in past months. For once, Carleton gave rare permission for a hunting trip into Comanche territory.[179]

Navajo oral histories attest to the difficulties endured even when rations arrived regularly. Having rarely eaten Western food products such as flour or coffee, the Native peoples at Bosque Redondo did not understand how to prepare these items for consumption. Some Native people would consume these products raw and become ill.[180] Joe Billy recalled stories from his grandmother about how his people received just enough food from the soldiers to live but not enough to thrive. His grandmother had spoken of eating any meat that her people could find at Fort Sumner, including coyotes,

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[177] M.M. Crocker to Ben Cutler, Fort Sumner, October 21, 1864, NARA, RG92; *ROQG* (Washington, D.C.: NAB), CCF, 1794-1915, Bosque Redondo, RG 92.

[178] Jennifer Denetdale, *The Long Walk: The Forced Navajo Exile* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2008), 54.

[179] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 131-132.

[180] Annabelle Redhorse Benally, Interview Transcript in Oral History Stories of the Long Walk = Hwéeldi Baa Hané, 29.

skunk, and dead animal carcasses.[181]

Navajo Mose Denejoile recalled the young Native boys at the Bosque who followed the soldiers' horses around in search of morsels of food. The soldiers fed their steeds corn, and these kernels often remained undigested. Parents gave their children the job of digging through the manure of these horses for corn, which could be made into cornmeal and eaten. Howard Gorman recalled stories of roasting the recovered kernels in hot ashes.[182] Jennifer Denetdale, a Navajo historian, stated about this common occurrence across the Bosque: "There are stories also of people being so hungry the boys would go out and follow the horses, and when the horses had left their dung they would pick through it and look for undigested corn and roast that and eat it."[183]

Scientists now know that chronic hunger in childhood leads to myriad problems both initially and later in life. Malnutrition increases illnesses due to a deficient and depleted immune system. Chronic hunger also impacts children's psychological and social development. Recent studies have revealed that children who live through periods of food insecurity are far more likely to suffer with issues of self-control, impulsive behavior, and interpersonal violence later in life.[184] With an entire generation of Mescalero Apaches and Navajos suffering from chronic hunger at the Bosque, this experience with starvation would likely continue to impact survivors long after they left

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[181] Joe Billy, Interview Transcript in Oral History Stories of the Long Walk = Hwéeldi Baa Hané, 47.

[182] Elizabeth Love*, A Nation Is Not Conquered until the Hearts of Its Women Are on the Ground* (PhD dissertation, California State University, Dominguez Hills: 2002) ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 71.

[183] Jennifer Denetdale, "The Long Walk: Tears of the Navajo," KUED/Salt Lake City: John Howe, Producer. Funding by George S. & Dolores Dore Eccles Foundation and the Pacific Mountain Network, http://www.kued.org/productions/thelongwalk/film/interviews/index.php.

[184] Michael Vaughn, et al., "Childhood Reports of Food Neglect and Impulse Control Problems and Violence in Adulthood," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 13 (2016): 389. doi: 10.3390/ijerph13040389

the camp.

Trying to move around General Carleton's dismissal of his concerns, Dr. Steck traveled to Washington seeking help more directly from the federal government in August 1864. But with the Civil War still raging across the eastern seaboard, politicians and military men alike believed that General Carleton's internment of Native populations, however poor the camp's living conditions might be, remained an important necessity in preventing another Confederate invasion of the territory.[185]

Over the course of autumn 1864, multiple diseases reached endemic proportions within the camp. Prior to the Navajos moving to the Bosque, lower populations aided in sanitation and a reduction in crowd-based illnesses. During that time only around 25 patients resided at the hospital on any given day. But in the month of September 1864, that number swelled into the hundreds. Malaria and dysentery ran rampant as the camp sanitation and living conditions worsened.[186] The issues of sanitation hit the Apaches especially hard as they previously lived a far more mobile lifestyle, which always provided the option to move away from living situations that encouraged disease.

Big Mouth recalled how the increase in population created an epidemic among the prisoners. With so many corpses to contend with, bodies were thrown into the river where they floated downstream past the Apache encampments. Big Mouth said, "They had gotten the sickness from the soldiers – what you call the smallpox. And they died - lots of them. The bodies were thrown into the river, and the Mescalero Apaches saw them and knew that if they drank the water it would make the disease." Big Mouth also recalled seeing worms in the river, their main source of drinking water, as decaying

[185] Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, 29, 423-428.

[186] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 145.

human remains laden with maggots floated downstream.[187] May Second, another Mescalero Apache, spoke of how when two young girls pointed out the corpses to officers stationed at the Fort, the soldiers punished them for acknowledging this disturbing occurrence.[188]

In the latter half of 1864, correspondences from officers on the ground began to vacillate wildly from the letters and reports written by higher-up administrators and generals. Carleton and other superior officers wove multiple, distinctive narratives on the situation at the Bosque, depending on the desired result from specific people and departments within the US government and military. Some of these letters portrayed the Bosque on the brink of collapse, begging the receiver for more funds and more supplies. But other letters provided optimistic portrayals of the future of the camp under Carleton's care. Brigadier General Marcellus Crocker painted a positive picture when writing on the conditions at the Bosque to Captain Ben Cutler, Assistant to the Adjutant General.[189] Marcellus Crocker, a Union Commander in the east during the Civil War, had suffered for years with consumption, and his military superiors sent him to a post at Bosque Redondo in the arid air of the desert high plains hoping that it would improve his health.[190] Crocker assured Cutler that the crops for the following spring would no doubt bounce back from their recent troubles. He also affirmed that these crops would plentifully provide for the Native prisoners. When informing Cutler of the disposition of the prisoners, Crocker stated, "The Indians work cheerfully, are docile, and well

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[187] "Big Mouth," November 16, 1953, Box 3, Folder 22, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

[188] "May Second," December 17, 1964, Box 7, Folder 22, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball* Papers, BYU.

[189] United States, War Department. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume XLI (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), part III, 463-464.

[190] George Walsh, *"Whip the Rebellion:" Ulysses S. Grant's Rise to Command* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, LLC, 2005), 440.

disposed, and by all odds superior to anything of the Indian kind that have ever come under my observation".". He also incredulously claimed, "I have never witnessed in any community such universal content and general hopefulness."[191]

Yet in the same autumn, Crocker again wrote to Cutler, asking for further updates on the delivery of government food rations. Crocker described how the Native population at the camp existed in a state of panic, anxiously awaiting word from the soldiers on whether or not supplies would arrive before the onset of winter. Crocker begged for at least a date that he could give to the prisoners to impart them some hope. He described the Native prisoners as "destitute of clothing and unless these goods arrive soon there will be much great suffering."[192]

A general census taken in late 1864 listed the population numbers at Bosque Redondo. The Mescalero Apache camps held 113 men, 153 women, and 135 children—401 individuals total. Colonel Kit Carson and other military units under him had also captured several dozen Gila Apaches[193] who lived at the Bosque. The Navajo numbers had risen to over 8,000.[194] General Carleton feared that as tensions increased and their quality of life decreased, the prisoners at Bosque Redondo would soon take part in a massive breakout. To compensate, Carleton doubled down on passport enforcement and

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[191] United States, War Department. *War of the Rebellion*, Part III, 463-464.

[192] Crocker to Cutler, Fort Sumner, October 21, 1864, NARA, RG92; *ROQG* (Washington, D.C.: NAB), Consolidated Correspondence File, 1794-1915, Bosque Redondo.

[193] Chiricahua sub-bands likely composed the Gila Apaches, an overgeneralized classification of this diverse Western Apache group. For a better breakdown of the Western Apache divisions, see Grenville Goodwin's *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971).

[194] Doolittle, *Condition of the* Tribes, 264-265.

ordered armed soldiers to patrol the camp day and night. In the evenings, the soldiers began holding tedious roll calls to monitor any possible escapes.[195]

At the same time, Carleton sent a barrage of detailed suggestions to the Bosque on how to get the prisoners through the harsh season in light of crop failures and the lack of supplies. Carleton directed his commanders to issue sheep to the prisoners, and to let no single part of the animal go unused. Because starving Native prisoners kept stealing corn still green on the stalks, Carleton ordered his men to plant a "depredation" field away from the main field for the hungry to pray upon. He suggested that what little food the prisoners did receive be boiled down into soup form to stretch the rations further. Carleton additionally suggested that the prisoners collect the blood from slaughtered animals to make "haggies[sic] and blood puddings" for orphaned Native children.[196] Carleton called for an expansion of the farmlands surrounding the camp for expanded planting even though the Bosque remained utterly deficient in farming equipment. Carleton also hired civilian workers to assist on the farms.[197]

By spring of 1865, the Bosque Redondo concentration camp finally seemed close to rebounding from its previous agricultural failures, but the prisoners still lived day to day on starvation rations. Soldiers made rounds across the camp looking for any loose seeds that may have scattered during the planting season, and Carleton stationed armed guards around the fields to protect the crops from ravenous prisoners frantic for food. He ordered his men to hand out sub-par commissary rations deemed unfit for soldier's

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[195] William Calloway to James Carleton, Fort Sumner, September 14, 1864, NARA, RG92; ROQG (Washington, D.C.: NAB), RG 92; *Consolidated Correspondence File, 1794-1915, Bosque Redondo*.

[196] Doolittle, *Condition of the Tribes*, 207-210.

[197] Report from August 30, 1864, NARA, RG92; *ROQG* (Washington, D.C.: NAB), Consolidated Correspondence File, 1794-1915, Bosque Redondo.

consumption but acceptable as nourishment for starving Indigenous prisoners. Native inmates soon developed a counterfeit ration card system in order to survive.[198]

After a long military campaign that targeted male warriors, women made up the majority of able-bodied adult prisoners at Bosque Redondo. Rooted in a matrilineal culture, Apache women held very different roles within their culture. Seen through the eyes of Apache men, Apache women possessed a great deal of unique power in their society. Women owned their own homes and property. Women took unofficial leadership positions and acted as the voices of reason in councils.[199] Most importantly, women and men's roles in Apache groups complimented each other; while men hunted and raided, women gathered and farmed. Women worked in groups with other females in their extended family as food processors while managing the economic organization of the family unit.[200] These roles, however, did not mesh with western constructions of gender. General Carleton's designs for the Bosque sought to domesticize Apache women and put male warriors to the plow in a traditionally female role. Additionally, as Carleton disempowered Apache women by undermining their role as providersproviders within their families, these schemes attacked the integrated sense of Apache power based on feminine agency**.**

As the military leadership at the Bosque strove to bounce back from past failures, officers attempted a variety of ways to entice or force Native prisoners out into the fields under extreme physical duress. Captain Ben Cutler suggested a list be tallied of all able-bodied male prisoners in the camp and then be distributed to the leaders within the various Native villages. Men who worked regularly would receive an additional ration

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[198] Ibid.

[199] Farrer, *Living Life's Circle*, 34.

[200] Lauren Jane Moore, "Lozen: An Apache Woman Warrior," *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives*, ed. Theda Perdue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 94.

while those men who did not show up for work could face punishments such as having their weapons confiscated. Having already taken up the female instruments of farming, this order further emasculated Apache men as they had some of the last vestiges of their gender roles, the weapons they used to protect and provide for their families, removed from them.[201]

By the spring of 1865, the Navajo numbers in the camp had swelled to over 9,000 prisoners. Paired with the several hundred Apaches, Bosque Redondo concentration camp held a staggering 10,000 souls in captivity. The physical health of prisoners continued to decline and syphilis in particular spread quickly. General Carleton combatted syphilis in his soldiers by creating a provost guard to prevent sexual contact between Native prisoners and soldiers. In July 1865, Carleton directed the post-surgeon to establish a separate Indigenous hospital from the spacious and state-of-the-art post hospital the Natives had previously used. A dilapidated structure was erected with nine rooms and a leaking roof, which few Indigenous peoples dared to enter. As more and more Native people expired in the new Native hospital, both Navajos and Apaches increasingly feared the facility as a taboo place full of danger and tainted by the many dead contained in its walls. Native prisoners turned to their own healthcare systems with medicine men working across the camp and around the clock to lessen the rising death tolls.[202] Viewing human health far more holistically than western doctors of the period, these medicine men would perform curing ceremonies to rid the Apaches of corruption in the body and the soul.

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[201] Ben Cutler, *Albert H. Schroeder Papers*. Collection 1972-033 (Santa Fe: NMSRCA), box 10766, folder 1691.

[202] Bailey, *Bosque Redondo*, 146-147.

In addition to harsh living conditions, the Mescalero Apaches also faced violence. Frederick Peso, a Mescalero Apache, recalled his tribe's oral histories describing the brutality practiced by some of the soldiers stationed at the camp:

> There was always brutality by the soldiers when they wanted the Apache to do something that just was not allowed. Well then, they would punish them, lock them up into the stockades, and they would punish the people so that anyone else could see what they were doing; that they would do what they were told and they were beaten, yes. This is what the old people say. You read the military books; the military books say that well they enjoyed it there, but that's not the case when you talk to our own people that have given these stories to me.[203]

Incarceration, starvation, disease, and violence; these experiences formed a damaging cocktail that in the short term can create acutely felt symptoms of trauma. But long term, the devastation brought by trauma to its victims often continues as a chronic condition. In the immediate aftermath, trauma can produce a "psychic numbing response" similar to a grief reaction. This response can isolate the person from their community or family, and lead to states of anhedonia. The victim often totters between numbness and hyper-defensiveness. Once trauma occurs a fear that the original violence will return can keep a person in a state of anxiety and apprehension. If the violence which caused the trauma came from man-made events, rather than natural disasters, studies have shown that the trauma produced in response tends to create far more severe symptoms.[204]

The brain does make attempts at processing this trauma, but often that processing leads to further complications in the person's psychological well-being. Victims suffer self-blame; they return to the memories of the event over and over again in their minds, believing that by changing their behavior in hindsight that they could

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[203] Frederick Peso, "The Long Walk: Tears of the Navajo, KUED/Salt Lake City: John Howe, Producer. Funding by George S. & Dolores Dore Eccles Foundation and the Pacific Mountain Network, http://www.kued.org/productions/thelongwalk/film/interviews/index.php.

[204] De Zulueta, *From Pain to Violence: The Traumatic Roots of Destructiveness* (London: Whurr Publishers, 1992), 169-171.

have stopped the event from occurring altogether. In other instances, the victim believes the violence was inevitable; their sheer weakness in character must have led to such a fate and ultimately that weakness made them deserve such violence. When trauma-inducing incidents continue, especially events that occur in childhood and as young adults, the person can sometimes develop an almost automatic legitimization of authority figures as a coping mechanism. This response can then result in further abuse as the victimized individual places all trust with these figures of absolute control. In this way, trauma can attract more trauma, destabilizing the psychological health of the victim and allowing for further harm through new cycles of violence.[205]

When the stressing event remains an ongoing possibility, a new set of symptoms can emerge in reaction to this continuous threat. Victims fall into an agitated state of hyper-arousal, awaiting the return of trauma with the continued threat. Anxious intrusive thoughts pervade the victim's waking hours, entangling real past traumas with nightmarish future traumas. When this trauma occurs chronically in a collective setting, community adaptations become critical to the recovery of individual victims, offering a protective shield from further psychological harm.[206] Ultimately, trauma represents one part of the process of long process of violence, trauma, and recovery. When a victim or group of victims makes a conscious choice to fight or flee this traumatic experience, this process can move forward, channeling the body's natural responses to a traumatic threat into constructive tools for survival.

The Mescalero Apaches chose to protect the psychological and physical health of their community members through an audacious act of flight. According to Apache accounts, by the winter of 1865, the leading Apache men still alive at Bosque Redondo

[205] Ibid, 175 and 259.

[206] Wilmot and Stein, "Does One Size Fit All?" 106-17.

decided that for the remaining Apaches to survive, the group had to escape the camp. The headmen believed that the group had to leave in mass because if they left in smaller groups, one at a time, their sporadic escapes might be uncovered before most of them managed to leave. On November 3, 1865, in the middle of the night, over three hundred and fifty Mescalero Apaches fled the Bosque, scattering in all directions to confuse their pursuers, and leaving only nine sick Apaches behind who were too weak to follow.[207]

Captain William McCleave described the escape in a letter to Major Cutler that he wrote only an hour and a half after the Mescalero Apaches had absconded. McCleave stated that nearly all of the Mescalero people fled the camp boundaries at around 10:30 pm that night, and that he had immediately ordered 75 soldiers to pursue them. The soldiers followed the Apaches for nearly ninety miles on horseback, but the Apaches, who had grabbed horses from the reservation in their escape, appeared to only put more and more distance between themselves and the soldiers during the chase. The Americans rode until their steeds could no longer run and then gave up, returning to their post at Fort Sumner. McCleave also confirmed that the Apaches had scattered into different directions with only the largest group heading south towards Fort Stanton and their homeland.[208]

Frederick Peso recalled his family's account of the Mescalero Apache escape from Bosque Redondo:

> (….) so Chief Cadete informed General Carleton's people that they would be leaving because he did not keep his promises, and he told them on several occasions. However, they didn't believe anything that he had said, so one night, I guess with all of this being planned for some time, they completely left the reserve—everyone except for nine people. Nine people were left there to keep the fires burning and walk back and forth and make the appearance that everything was o.k. But the next morning they found that they had all left…our old people

[207] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 118-121.

[208] William McCleave to Cutler, Vol. 1, September 28, 1864- June 12, 1865, *LSRIA,* Headquarters Records, Fort Sumner, NM, 1862-1869, RG 393; RUACC, 1817 – 1947 (Washington, DC: NAB), M1512, Roll 1.

> say that the soldiers pursued them, went after them and hit them with the butts of their guns, shot them down. Men, women and children were shot on the way out. As many as could get away got away, but those that they could catch, they punished them by killing them. The books don't say that. So this is what the old people say happened to ours. Our people vanished... they didn't vanish. They vanished according to the white man. But they vanished into the plains—they went into the plains. They went down to the Guadalupe's; they went into the Fort Davis Mountains; they went into the Sacramento Mountains; and some of them went into Mexico. They scattered all over...[209]

After learning of the Mescalero flight, Carleton, still in command from his desk in Santa Fe, wrote to Major Emil Fritz about the importance of capturing or killing the Apache escapees. Carleton requested that Major Fritz inspire a sense of patriotic fervor among the local citizenry so that they could aid him in his pursuit of the Mescalero people.[210] The military looked for the escapees in the region for well over a month, focusing on the Apaches trails in the vicinity of Fort Stanton. While soldiers found no Apaches, they did find the carcasses of dead livestock in the area, which revealed the desperate attempts by the Mescalero people to remain hidden. Not wanting to return to the horrors of Bosque Redondo, the Apaches slaughtered their own animals for food in order to survive away from the attention of soldiers and settlers.[211]

May Second recounted the stories of the Bosque passed down to her regarding two young girls' experiences at the reservation and their escape, stating, "Though their Apache names are not said; but one of them was the grandmother of Fred Pellman, and I have often heard her tell that story.[212]"

> So that some might live, they scattered and don't stay together. Families were separated so that some might live. Two girls, sisters, very young, maybe thirteen and fifteen, were to go together, but not with their parents, alone. They were

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[209] Frederick Peso, "The Long Walk: Tears of the Navajo, http://www.kued.org/productions/thelongwalk/film/interviews/index.php.

[210] United States, War Department. *War of the Rebellion*, part II, 1255-56.

[211] Connelly to the Secretary of War, 1864, *Albert H. Schroeder Papers*, Collection 1972-033 (Santa Fe: NMSRCA), box 10766, folder 1693.

[212] "May Second," December 17, 1964, Box 7, Folder 22, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

> warned not to travel by day, but to hide so that they won't be found and carried off as slaves. But they are more afraid of ghosts than of Navajos.

Eventually the young girls made their way to White Mountain, and their mother soon followed.[213]

The Mescalero Apaches remained largely unseen by the military for five years after their escape. On the occasions when soldiers did find Mescalero Apache groups, Big Mouth recalled the military men shooting at all of the Apaches, including the women and children. At one point Big Mouth's family band raided a wagon near Fort Stanton. Big Mouth hid under a blanket with other children out of sight when a group of soldiers approached the group. But an infant strapped to a cradle board remained out in the open. Another young boy tried to grab the baby, but a soldier shot at him and the child lost his grip only to have the baby still nestled in his cradleboard slide into a ravine. While the band managed to retrieve the baby from the ravine alive, he later died from his injuries.[214]

The federal government began to encourage the Mescalero Apaches to resettle back in their homelands around Fort Stanton in the 1870s. But Big Mouth recalled that the soldiers stationed at the fort treated the Apaches far differently. Big Mouth stated, "Soldiers not want us to live near Fort Stanton—they need land for horses, maybe cattle too. They not want us live there. Not want us live anywhere. Want us all dead…."[215] Solon Sombrero remarked on the betrayal his people felt in later decades as the Mescalero Apaches continued to serve alongside the US military but never received reparations for their painful experience at the Bosque: "We tried to fix up a claim on that because they had us in that camp. They should give us something. We are not fighting. My grandfather

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[213] Ibid.

[214] Robinson and Ball, *Apache Voices*, 128.

[215] Ibid.

was a scout. I don't know his name. The soldiers gave him a name--not his Indian name."[216] In the two decades after the escape from captivity at Bosque Redondo concentration camp, rather than experiencing a joyful homecoming to their homeland, the Mescalero Apaches' oral histories reflect the continued struggles with violence, starvation, familial separations, bitter cold, and death.[217]

Liberation and release from camp systems do not guarantee a steady progression of healing for survivors. Former prisoners of camp systems often face a world they now view as suspicious and potentially hostile. Survivors can feel incapable of creating meaningful relationships with people around them and often feel misunderstood and alone. Post-camp psychological health varies widely depending upon the personality and disposition before internment and the duration of incarceration. But when compared to the non-imprisoned population, freed prisoners face an uphill battle with their own recovery from this past incarceration trauma. Former prisoners often possess a negative self-image and live a life filled with periodic depressive states. Many former prisoners of a variety of concentration camp systems around the globe displayed baser feelings much more often than non-prisoners, such as fear, anxiety, arousal, and rage, and these feelings dominated everyday thinking. If the survivor of a concentration camp experience was a child at the time of their detention, they would later report increased symptoms when compared to adult survivors.[218] Even more alarming, release from the camp system does not lead to a stabilization of trauma within former prisoners with the passage of time. In opposition, the negative symptomology from the camp experience creates a progression of traumatic reactions among victims, often worsening and

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[216] "Big Mouth," November 16, 1953, Box 3, Folder 22, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

[217] Robinson and Ball, *Apache Voices,* Chapter 15.

[218] Ryn. "The Evolution of Mental Disturbances in the Concentration Camp Syndrome (KZ-syndrom)," 21-36.

intensifying over the course of the individual's lifespan.[219]

Indigenous peoples of the United States do not represent the only minority group targeted by the United States government for placement in concentration camps. The internment of over one-hundred thousand ethnic Japanese—two-thirds of them American-born U.S. citizens—during World War II possesses some similarities to the American Indian experience at Bosque Redondo.[220] Though not as extreme as the Apache internment in the 1860s, and certainly not as extreme as the concentration camps of the Holocaust, all three of these places of internment created an overwhelming and trauma-inducing feeling that pervaded life for the prisoners there: terror. Between 1942 and 1946, the US government placed people of Japanese ethnicity into camps located in desolate areas across the country. Internees often had no awareness of where government officials were actually taking them. Child internees recalled with trepidation the moment the FBI approached their doorstep, whisking their fathers away to be returned to their families at an unknown time. Other internees believed during their journey to the camps that they would eventually just be lined up with their fellow prisoners and shot *en masse*. Initially transferred with only a few days' notice and with what they could carry, soldiers first placed the internees in holding areas, and then days or weeks later sent them to a more permanent camp facility surrounded by barb-wire fences and armed guards.[221]

The majority of Japanese prisoners at the American camps were older teenagers

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[219] Robert Jabłoński, et.al., "The Progressive Nature of Concentration Camp Syndrome in Former Prisoners of Nazi Concentration Camps –Not Just History, but the Important Issue of Contemporary Medicine," *Journal of Psychiatric Research,* 75 (2016): 1-6.

[220] Richard Cahan, *Un-American: The Incarceration of Japanese Americans During World War II* (Chicago: CityFiles Press, 2016).

[221] Donna K. Nagata, "The Japanese American Internment: Exploring the Transgenerational Consequences of Traumatic Stress," *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 3, 1 (1990): 47-48, doi:10.1002/jts.2490030105.

or young people in their twenties. Many of them grew up grappling with the anti-Asian sentiment found across the nation. But many more also grew up with a profound sense of patriotism. They and their parents' generation strove to combat the stereotypes surrounding Asians by fully and publicly backing "American" values of equality and democracy. When the United States government began imprisoning people of Japanese ancestry with no evidence of criminal guilt and in large numbers, this faith in American justice shattered. Holding much in common with rape survivors, Japanese internees developed a profound sense of shame, often feeling somehow responsible for their imprisonment. After the war, some Japanese internees would in kind raise their children to not be ethnically conspicuous and would identify strongly with the Euro-American culture that had previously persecuted them. Other survivors of the Japanese internment camps would retain a very suspicious and cynical view of the supposed strength of the American Republic long after their detainment had ended. Though Japanese reactions did not exist homogeneously, most internees did not communicate their experiences to their children, resulting in a collective silence on this time period in Japanese communities for over forty years.[222]

Individually, people suffering from PTSD often avoid any potential reminder of past traumas, so to discuss these painful memories with the public or even family members can become unthinkable. These silences can also exist as adaptive methods for a group reeling from a shared traumatic experience. When an experience shatters communal security in such a manner; when the authorities one places trust in betray that trust or the value system one holds dear collapses under pressure, silence acts as a protective tool. But silences on trauma can also perpetuate that same trauma as grief and loss go unprocessed by the human mind. As the community returns to the wider world

[222] Ibid., 51-52.

that exiled them, as in the case of people of Japanese heritage in World War II America or in the case of the Mescalero Apaches at Bosque Redondo, cultures surrounding loss and grief also play a major role in these collective silences. For the Japanese, a culturally rooted sense of fatalism may have discouraged discussion of past pains. In Japanese traditions, fatalism directs people to look away from that which cannot be changed. Additionally, an internalization of negative emotions through repression represents another common Japanese practice that may have come into effect in the years after their internment.[223] For the Apaches, speaking of past traumas also involved speaking the names of the dead—a taboo practice that made processing their experience in a camp where so many friends and family died all the more difficult.

Mary Pioche's grandmother told her that the Navajos who had lived through the Bosque Redondo period also did not like to talk about it. In speaking of that time, instantly they would recall the friends and family members lost and would start to cry. In this way, Pioche said, the Bosque Redondo experience came down to future generations through fractured segments; a few words spoken before the words themselves gave way to too much pain to bear, only to be replaced with silence. Because of this fracturing, Pioche believed that no one alive in the modern era knew the complete story of the horrors at Hweeldi.[224]

Mary Velasquez, the half-ethnic Mexican and half-White Mountain Apache woman from Arizona, carried her own difficult past with her as she became a young adult Apache in twentieth-century Arizona. As a young girl Velasquez had to leave her Native boarding school to care for her sick family members during the great influenza breakout

[223] Ibid., 63.

[224] Mary Pioche, Interview Transcript in Oral History Stories of the Long Walk = Hwéeldi Baa Hané. (Crownpoint, NM: Lake Valley Navajo School, 1990), 99.

of 1918.[225] The state of Arizona felt the pandemic particularly hard compared to other states, with the birth rate reduced by 43 percent in the 9 to 12 months following the breakout.[226] Velasquez described how few pregnant women on the reservation survived, and how her father took her mother, pregnant and ill, to the nearest hospital that practiced western medicine in the hopes of saving his wife. Velasquez's mother lived, but only after spending an entire year recovering at the hospital.[227]

Years later during World War II, Mary Velasquez Riley waited in Showlow to board a bus to visit her husband in the military. At the time, he was temporarily stationed in San Francisco. Two soldiers coming back from Europe were also traveling to San Francisco and they boarded the same bus in Showlow along with her. Though she would not describe the event in detail in her oral history given to Barry Richens during the 1970s, she hinted that one of the soldiers sexually harassed her during her travels. Mary spoke of that moment, as anger welled inside her, and how she had turned to the offending soldier, took off the man's glasses, and punched him square in the face. She then told the soldiers of her Apache husband who also served in the military, and whom she had not seen for two years. Her husband had called her from San Francisco to bring their young daughter to visit him before he was shipped out to Europe. Mary proclaimed loudly to the offending soldier with the best English words that she could muster that she would no longer be afraid to leave the reservation and learn new things about the wider world. At the noon bus layover in Los Angeles, as Velasquez sat in a diner eating with her

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[225] Mary Velasquez Riley, interview by Barry Richens, February 18, 1977, *Velasquez Riley Family History, Part 1*, Pinetop-Lakeside Historical Society Museum, Digital Arizona Library, accessed May 27, 2017, http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/plhsoh/id/64.

[226] Sushma Dahal, et al., "Natality Decline and Spatial Variation in Excess Death Rates During the 1918–1920 Influenza Pandemic in Arizona, United States," *American Journal of Epidemiology* 187, 12 (December 2018): 2577-2584, https://doi-org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/10.1093/aje/kwy146.

[227] Mary Velasquez Riley, *Velasquez Riley Family History, Part 1*, http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/cdm/ref/collection/plhsoh/id/64.

little girl, the soldier came up to her, apologized, and paid for her meal.

Mary Velasquez Riley would forever contend with the dual difficulties of her experiences as an individual woman and her experiences as an Apache community member. But in that moment that she chose to confront a white soldier who demeaned her based on her race and her gender, she maneuvered her way out of the potential trauma of this experience, reconstructing her life's narrative on her own terms. For Mary, she would forever recall the lessons her father Jesus had taught her on self-reliance and pride. But she also would learn about those characteristics through moments of great shame that she molded to her advantage. Decades after the incident with the white soldier, she said she appreciated this young man's inadvertent role in her life, as in his attempt to humiliate and objectify her, he led her to an awakening of her strength as an Apache woman. Mary Velasquez would eventually be elected as the first woman to the White Mountain Apache council, where she served her people for over twenty years. It had taken Mary years to process her "half-breed" heritage and the racism that heritage encouraged from Euro-American peoples around the nation. But much like the Mescalero Apaches who clawed their way out of captivity, Mary Velasquez, in a searing moment of degradation, learned how to fight.[228]

For Apache peoples across the Southwest, their ability to fight the trauma of racial persecution as a group relied on their ability to affirm their identities as a people with shared values living within a specific place. But when US government exiled the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches from their homeland in the Southwest to the Southeastern United States, these peoples living in diaspora contended with a new layer of ethnotrauma made all the more difficult by ripping them away from the sacred

[228] Ibid., *Velasquez Riley Family History, Part 2*.

geography that had empowered them as a cultural body for generations.

CHAPTER 3

SACRED GEOGRAPHIES AND MEDICINE MOUNTAINS: APACHE REMOVAL AND EXILE TRAUMA

"Listen my child, listen carefully," Dilth-cleyhen's mother had said. "Listen, and maybe you can hear the songs, the drumming—but you must listen. It is very faint. It is the sound of our sacred ones, the Mountain Gods.[229]"

Salt blows into the parade grounds of the fort, stinging the eyes and leaving a constant taste in the mouth of tears. Just far enough from the ocean shore to support plant life, the soil brings an odd mix of pines and palms. While the palms flourish with spreading fronds of green splendor, the pines struggle, often stunted and barren before the onslaught of sharp sea breezes. Within the parapets the wind whips with a cool touch in April, but by July the air is sticky and weighted. That same breeze that brings with it the briny sweet smell of ocean will later blow in the rolling gray storms of summer over the sugar sands, throwing grit into the faces of those who look towards it; a grit that lingers in the eyes and between the teeth, hiding away in each bodily crease. In all seasons, a distant roar echoes in the background as the ocean makes its eternal charge against the land, reminding those within the decaying fort walls of iron and stone that time and tide wait for no man. These same walls have witnessed battles, sieges, prisoners, parades, and explosions. Though brick and mortar crumble, and walls fall away with each attack, the saline air and blowing winds bounding off the white tips of the sea remain a constant. For men who sought to control this environment, with every hurricane, every storm, and even each small breeze, Fort Pickens proves that a steady

[229] Boyer and Gayton, *Apache Mothers and Daughters*, 5.

devotion of time and pressure brings even the mightiest of man's constructions back down to the dusts of creation.[230]

In the late 1880s, Fort Pickens, just outside of Pensacola, Florida held the nineteenth-century equivalent of "America's Most Wanted;" 16 male warriors of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches[231] of the Southwestern United States, captured and imprisoned by the U.S. military.[232] Just beginning their twenty-seven year exile far from their homelands, these Apache warriors had finally surrendered and ceased their long war of resistance against settler colonialism.[233] After generations of struggle against Spaniards, Mexicans, other Indians, and Americans alike, and worn down by their pursuers bit by bit, surrender and banishment seemed to possess more hope than constantly warring against seemingly endless settler incursions. But once this exile period began, a new era set in; a period of displacement and diaspora from the places so pivotal to Apache identity and psychological well-being. Incarcerated and banned from the landscape that gave the Apache people life, this Indigenous group encountered a new trauma unlike anything they had known until then. Followers of Geronimo and other Apache resistance leaders had, at this point, experienced multiple layers of ethnotrauma,

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[230] United States National Park Service, "Fort Pickens Self-guided Tour" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior Gulf Islands National Seashore, 2004).

[231] *To clarify, this work will often refer to the "true" Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches as separate bands. In other historical explorations, these distinctive bands are often lumped together under the broader umbrella term, Chiricahua. The Mescalero Apaches, though related culturally to the former two groups, have a homeland in southern New Mexico. While the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches can be considered siblings in the grander scheme of Apache relations, the Mescalero Apaches can be considered a first cousin. See Angie Debo's seminal work on Geronimo for a clearer breakdown of these groups and their relativity to one another: Angie Debo. *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.

[232] Alicia Delgadillo and Miriam A. Perrett, *From Fort Marion to Fort Sill: A Documentary History of the Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War, 1886-1913* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013).

[233] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no.4 (December 2006): 387-409, doi:10.1080/14623520601056240.

including individual trauma and the trauma of racial persecution. But this exile trauma created new problems that could not immediately be quelled through ceremonies tied to earth and the resources of the Southwest. To understand this difficult period that promised both an end to violent warfare and a new trauma of separation from the homeland, one must first understand the innate and visceral connection that Apache peoples held with the rugged environment of their homeland.

Stretching from the Sierra Blanca in southeastern New Mexico and at times all the way into the Texas panhandle, the Apaches inhabited the ranges of the Guadalupe as well as the Davis mountains. Other Apache groups also dwelled deeper in what is now northern Mexico among the rolling Sierra Madres. Culturally rooted to the arid highlands and peaked ranges of the region, the Apaches moved among the deserts and brush lands throughout the year.[234] While raiding featured heavily in the Apache's economy, gathering and hunting were of equal importance. Apache groups such as the Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches lived within smaller bands tied to specific mountain peaks, arroyos, and other resources-rich pockets across the borderlands. Apache women in particular knew this land as they gathered seasonal flora for food, medicinal, and ceremonial purposes throughout the year. But as much as the Apaches learned from childhood what this southwestern landscape could give, they also learned what it could take away through its harsh terrain and variable climate.[235] Even so, though mobile across this expanse, the Apaches culturally and spiritually maintained intimate ties with their geography.

Geronimo, the infamous leader of Apache renegades in the late nineteenth century, also described this Apache perspective on home. Recalling the region that

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[234] Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches*, 4.

[235] Boyer and Gayton, *Apache Mothers and Daughters*, 21-23.

birthed and nurtured him, Geronimo once stated:

> For each tribe of men Usen created He also made a home. In the land for any particular tribe He placed whatever would be best for the welfare of that tribe. When Usen created the Apaches. He also gave them their homes in the West. He gave them such grain, fruits, and game as they needed to eat…He gave them a pleasant climate and all they needed for clothing and shelter was at hand. Thus it was in the beginning: the Apaches and their homes each created for the other by Usen himself. When they are taken from these homes they sicken and die.[236]

For non-Native peoples, this concept of place attachment can be difficult to comprehend, but the western-fixed perspective on space as something finite and bound remains no less ephemeral than its Indigenous counterpart. Human beings across the globe have long applied signification as well as limitations to space in some capacity. The physical lands around us intersect far more with time and peoples than with the land's own constructed borders. Temporal entanglements can change any space to a specific "place" in the human sphere and inflect that place with power. People endow the land with transient borders, limitations, and identities. But the land also acts with its own agency. Storms, seasons, climates, and environmental transformations constantly alter the same places that man so often seeks to control. In this manner, the land takes on a political role, pushing back through natural action and reaction against peoples grappling with it.[237]

In the Indigenous worldview, this actor known as "place" takes on a personhood, revealing a personality and power that inhabits each rock, tree, mountain, and river.[238] While space and place might seem interchangeable, in an Indigenous context these two

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[236] Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 3.

[237] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 3-7.

[238] Penelope Harvey, "Landscape and Commerce: Creating Contexts for the Exercise of Power," *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile, and Place*, eds. Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2001), 198.

entities contain critical differences, particularly when exploring the impact of exile trauma among a body of people. Much like a house or building does not necessarily represent a home, a space or area does not necessarily denote a place. Place takes on cultural meaning, symbolism, history and emotion, depending on the peoples who connect with that place.[239] For many Apache peoples—now as well as in the nineteenth-century context—place in the Southwest signifies home, identity, and most of all, life.

To control a person or people's ability to move is a fundamental form of oppression. Human mortality places a precious value on one's utilization of time. A restriction of mobility within that temporality further oppresses the most fundamental parts of mankind's separation from animals; the ability to move remains a vital part of human choice and freedom. As settlers from Spain, Mexico, and later the United States began to occupy the Southwest area, they also began a process to transform this wider space into a non-Indigenous space. These settlers created property lines, borders, and even a certain personality for this broad landscape.[240] Later nationalization of those lands became not just a way of applying new meaning on a physical place that aligned with settler value systems, but also a way to other and control Indigenous populations within the territory.

Though settlers increasingly pushed Apaches out of resource-rich areas of the Southwest during the nineteenth century, spiritual connections continued to pull Apaches back to these spaces, re-centering the Apache world both physically and metaphysically in this topography through oral traditions of journeys home. During an 1861 raid on the Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo's camp, Mexican soldiers captured

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[239] Martin W. Ball, "'People Speaking Silently to Themselves:' An Examination of Keith Basso's Philosophical Speculations on 'Sense of Place' in Apache Cultures" *The American Indian Quarterly* 26, no.3, (Summer 2003): 460-478, doi:10.1353/aiq.2003.0031.

[240] Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 150-156.

and sold into slavery a seventeen-year-old Native named Francesca, known to her Chiricahua Apache brethren as Id-is-tah-nah. Francesca's captors sold her, along with three other Apache girls, to a maguey planter in Sonora, Mexico. Five years later, under the facade of attending a local religious event at a nearby church, Francesca and her friends escaped, walking north through mountains and deserts to reach their homeland. The young women slept during the day to evade capture, surviving largely on *tunas*, the fruit of the prickly pear cactus. One night in the mountains, a jaguar attacked the group, nearly killing Francesca in the process. Though the girls managed to kill the jaguar with a stone and treat Francesca's wounds as best they could, this near-death experience seriously injured Francesca and postponed further travel for a month. Eventually, the girls made their way back to their home in Arizona, but Francesca carried the scars of her horrific experience on her face and hands for the rest of her life. She often hid marks left by the attack from even her own people, but the rest of the Chiricahua Apaches viewed her scars as a sign of her drive, tenacity, and devotion to home.[241]

The connection that Apache peoples possess towards their homelands can best be described as "a religion of place."[242] In the case of the Mescalero Apaches the very mountains that form their homeland possess a special sacredness within their wider belief system. Filled with a rich biodiversity and strategic water sources in the southern half of modern-day New Mexico, these holy peaks feature prominently in Mescalero Apache rituals and religious narratives. While the Mescalero Apaches view many mountains as sacred, only a few of these mountains are considered "medicine mountains."[243] But these mountains are not simply revered by the Mescalero because of

[241] Boyer and Gayton, *Apache Mothers and Daughters*, 5.

[242] Ball, "Sacred Mountains, Religious Paradigms, and Identity among the Mescalero Apache," 264.

[243] Ibid., 267.

their resources.[244] Instead, the Mescalero believe that these mountains, imbued with great power, provide abundant ecological gifts to the Apaches because of their holiness. Often this power can become tangible and tactile as one gets closer to the peaks, creating strong metaphysical changes within individuals in the presence of these mountains. Much of this mountain power lies in its past history of engagement with the spiritual world.

When Usen flooded the earth in its earliest days, the spirits had no place to go. The mountain peaks, however, still jutted out of the floodwaters. The spirits invaded these peaks and there the *gahns*, or mountain gods, assumed their present form, giving their power to the landscape. According to tribal leader Paul Ortega, as long as the Mescalero Apaches remained centered within the four sacred mountains which gave these *gahns*, the four Crown Dancers, life, then the people there would remain protected.[245] Guadalupe Mountain, in particular, holds a profound position within the Mescalero Apaches' lexicon of sacred peaks. One elder Apache noted this peak as "a holy place…people go to that mountain and raise their hand up to the mountain and pray for all the good things: that no sickness will come to them and that the good luck will be with them.[246]" Much like the sites of saintly miracles in Christian beliefs, the Mescalero Apaches invoke stories of their origins and how their world came to be when referencing specific locations. Some of these sites hold more reverence than others, and some places hearken back to critical lessons learned by Mescalero people in the past. In one location bison emerged from the earth in the early days of existence. At another location a woman

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[244] Ibid., 268.

[245] Ibid., 267-278.

[246] Harry W. Basehart, *Apache Indians XII: Mescalero Apache Subsistence Patterns and Socio-Political Organization: Commission Finds on the Apaches* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), 82.

died after improperly cutting down a piñon tree.[247] These stories inform both religious culture among Apache groups as well as more individualized identity formation in young members of the tribe as these narratives pass down through generations.

Both the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches feature important spirits or beings such as the mountain *gahns* within their religious systems. Clowns in the Apache spiritual landscape also dwell in the mountains. These clowns protect children and often intercede in young Apache lives in times of trouble, leading children out of physical danger or into a broader understanding of the world around them.[248] These clowns also act as an intermediary in mountain spirit ceremonies between the crown dancers and the rest of the Apache people. The clowns can interact with mortal beings, but the mountain dancers are considered non-anthropomorphic. These entities literally embody the life of the mountains; the changes in seasons and thus the very fertility and life-giving power of the earth itself. The mountain dancer ceremonies are also an exclusively male affair, though women do attend and act as supporters. While the female-centric puberty ceremony is much older than the mountain spirit dances, these mountain-centric rituals developed out of a connection with the region of the Southwest.[249]

Religious rituals remain a key part of Apache spirituality, reminding practitioners of the past and of place within their everyday lives. One such ritual occurs near Apache birthplaces; traditionally individual Apaches who traveled close to their birthplace would roll on the ground in the four sacred directions to honor the sanctity of this space. Similarly, a child's first laugh ceremony honors their entry from the spirit world beyond the boundaries of earth and into the physical realm of his or her living family. Other

[247] Ibid., 63-82.

[248] Ibid.

[249] Ball, "'People Speaking Silently to Themselves,'"470-471.

rituals such as the cradle ceremony incorporate native natural elements under the guidance of the shaman in the construction of an infant's cradle board.[250] Naming places has long provided a way of building meaning and creating dynamic power relations within Apaches' spiritual geography. These names, recorded through generations of oral tradition, establish a method of connecting with the land's "personhood," engaging with geography in a manner that allows for continuity as well as change.[251]

While some rituals occur at specific times throughout the year, other "everyday" rituals connect Apache peoples to their past and to a greater cosmovision. An example of this intertwining of religion and astronomy can be seen in the construction of puberty ceremony lodges that align with both the sun and constellations in a coordinated pattern. Ritualistic patterns appear among even the youngest of Apache society with pre-school-aged Apaches often riding their bicycles at reservation daycares in an east to west pattern, following the rising and setting of the sun. This circular motion has even been noted at mealtimes and feasts, with Apaches carefully spreading salt on their food in this same counterclockwise manner. Though seemingly minor, these everyday rituals constantly confirm the supreme connection still held between Apache, earth, and sky.[252]

Oral histories attest to how many rituals continued even during the Apache War years of the 1870s and early 1880s. Chiricahua Apache Eustace Fatty described some of the healing ceremonies and horn dances used as medicine for both individual and collective ailments of body and soul. Often these dances would involve praying and

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[250] Opler, *The Apache Life-Way*, 10.

[251] H. Henrietta Stockel, "Rocks, Waters, and Earth: Chiricahua Apache Spiritual Geography," *Journal of the West* 46, no. 4 (2007): 21-22.

[252] Claire R. Farrer, *Living Life's Circle: Mescalero Apache Cosmovision* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 62-64.

singing songs in combination with an herbal remedy to cure wounds and sickness.[253] But while many practices and ritual traditions included all tribal members, other rituals remained specific to certain genders.

Apache men, like many Indigenous men, maintained their connection to their homeland in battle through material practices and traditions of warfare. American soldier John Bourke vividly remembered the physical characteristics of both the Apache scouts he fought alongside and the Apache warriors he fought against during the 1870s and 1880s. He described their clothing in the field of battle as simple, with a muslin cloth that encircled the loins and dangled behind the legs. The warriors also wore mid-thigh length buckskin moccasins held to the waist by thick string and often a buckskin hat adorned with eagle plumage. In terms of soldiers' rations, warriors always carried their wicker jug for water or other liquids, and often possessed some sort of jerked meat and pinole, a dried corn meal. Most importantly, each Apache possessed a special sacred object or objects with him into the fray; sometimes this object would be a simple bag of sacred *hoddentin* or pollen, used for ceremonial purposes. This *tule* pollen marked the bodies of Apaches during many of their ceremonial practices.

Carefully prepared by medicine men from the cattail plant at a specific point in the flora's lifespan, this yellow substance featured in Apache life, but also in death, with mourners holding this substance while in prayer at the bedsides of the dying. In combination with frequent prayers, the pollen could also be thrown into the four sacred directions to express gratitude for a good hunt or battle won. In this manner, Apache, earth, life, death, sun and stars remained inextricably linked in multiple physical ways[254] Other items brought into the fray and carried with Apache peoples could include fabrics

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[253] *"Fatty, Eustace,"* Box 5, Folder 8, Eve Ball Papers, MSS 3096, BYU.

[254] H. Henrietta Stockel, *Salvation through Slavery: Chiricahua Apaches and Priests on the Spanish Colonial Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 16.

with painted figures of symbols of importance, shells, painted rocks, and even rosaries taken from slain enemies on the battlefield.[255]

Some rituals revolved around Apache women. Women bore the brunt of daily labor among Apaches in the nineteenth century, from their gathering of herbs and other food stuffs to their tending of crops and caring for children. Jason Betzinez, a Warm Springs Apache who rode with Geronimo along with his mother and other relatives during the final days of the Apache Wars, recalled these rituals of domesticity behind the front lines in the late 1870s and early 1880s. While older boys rode with Geronimo and the rest of the warriors, young boys such as Betzinez stayed behind to take up sentry duty and help with chores. Even during those tumultuous days when Apache groups remained hostile to both Mexicans and Americans, life had to go on, and the tasks of daily living fell to the elderly, children, and particularly women. Throughout their arduous journey into the mountain ranges of Mexico and back across the border, women stopped to gather mescal, a critical and spiritually important resource to the Apache people. At other times when camps could be set up for a few days, women would venture into the mountains to gather traditional herbs to supplement the Apache people's diets and use as medicine. Though these Apaches likely desired a long respite, nature and the harshness of the Southwest seasons did not let up for human exhaustion; hunting, gathering, and fulfilling the requirements of Apache connections to the earth remained just as pivotal to survival as the continued supply of bullets remained for the warriors out on the battlefields. [256]

Women played an integral part in the family unit as both caregiver and resource

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[255] John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 127-128.

[256] Jason Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, ed. Wilbur Sturtevant Nye (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959). 73-92.

gatherer. More importantly, women also possessed a sacred connection to the earth around them, uniting their families and bands to the land through ritual, ceremony, and spiritual power. Just as the principle Apache deity White-Painted Woman had brought humanity, her children, into being when the world was still new, women represented the ultimate spiritual force—creation.[257] The puberty ceremony, rooted in celebration of first menstruation and a young woman's rise to possible motherhood, remains one of the Apaches' oldest and most important rituals.[258]

On a fundamental level, these rituals and practices all link back to Apache religious belief and identity. For Apache peoples, much of their traditional religious and cultural beliefs revolve around the balance of power. The Chiricahua believe that in the era before creation by Usen, only time and power existed with Usen as its greatest manifestation.[259] Power begot power, and power fought power as dueling entities of pure force battled to topple this balance within the universe. Once Usen created the world, these powers continued to clash for superiority in the spiritual realm, largely ignoring humankind and their petty affairs. Within this eternal struggle, however, no concept of good or evil existed. Instead this neutral power loomed, lacking in any proscribed morality or contrasts. Apaches strive to harness these powers within their own lives, yet Apaches also firmly believe that power seeks out human beings to possess it. Additionally, one could refuse power bestowed by these metaphysical spirits since taking on such a tremendous energy also entails grave responsibility to the accepting person. In this manner the earth and the cosmos, comprised of this eternal and sacred power, move

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[257] Trudy Griffin-Pierce, *Chiricahua Apache Enduring Power* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011), 32-33.

[258] Boyer and Gayton, *Apache Mothers and Daughters*, 19.

[259] D.C. Cole, *The Chiricahua Apache, 1846-1876: From War to Reservation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 13-16.

through the Apache individual with their own agency and life force. Some Apache people believe that these powers will remain incomplete until harnessed by an individual while other Apaches add more humanistic qualities to this entity, arguing that power always desires companionship .[260] Geronimo, warrior leader and medicine man of a band of Chiricahua, claimed that Usen had not only given him the power of clairvoyance in relation to his enemies but that the creator also protected him from death in battle.[261]

This religion of place and power across space and time has always shaped and affirmed Apache identity as a distinct, Indigenous people of the Southwest. One facet of this place attachment lies in constant entanglement of Apache theology, social structure, and everyday life. If one link broke within this larger chain of spiritual geography, the entire chain would split apart. In the case of the Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Warm Springs Apaches, any attack on these links became an attack upon their identity as a people. Asa Daklugie, an Apache interviewed by scholar Eve Ball in the mid-nineteenth century, expressed the absolute importance of understanding Apache religion in reference to their collective identity:

> Without at least a little understanding of our religion it is difficult to comprehend what motivates the Apache. My people have never liked to talk about our religion, partly because they anticipate ridicule, but more because it is the only thing we possess of which the whites have not robbed us. Instead of trying to force it upon all whom we contact, as your people seem to be obligated to, we preserve it for ourselves and our children. It is the one thing of which we cannot be deprived… Each morning as the sun first appears on the horizon, the father of the family stands at the door of his tepee, always facing the east, and with eyes and arms uplifted prays to Ussen – not to the sun, but to Ussen.[262]

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[260] Ibid., 15-16.

[261] William Clemens, *Imagining Geronimo: An Apache Icon in Popular Culture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 140-141.

[262] Eve Ball, *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 56-58. *Though Ussen/Usen is spelled in various ways by both scholars and Apaches, for the duration of this work I will use the spelling, Usen.

For Daklugie, this inseparable part of Apache identity acts as a bastion of cultural stability. Apache history remains rife with cyclical violence, racial persecution, massacres, and periods of exile. But even in times of collective trauma, the sacred geography of the Southwest provided opportunities for a communal recovery of spirit. Acting as an anchor point in times of trouble, the landscape rooted Apaches to both the physical and metaphysical world, fixating the Apaches' place in the wider universe. This continuity through place remained a constant source of nurturing as the womb does for an unborn child, allowing the Apaches to grow amid the pain.[263]

The vast landscape of the American Southwest varies wildly in terms of ecology and biodiversity even within the span of a few miles. Snowy, ponderosa mountains give way to wide grassy plains. In other areas, the dry desert reveals crevices and cracks of lush green canyons fissured with trickling streams and springs. Desolate and harsh but also fertile and giving, the Southwest of the nineteenth century often meant a short and brutal life for those who did not understand the complex richness of the resources around them. For Apaches, verdant places, scattered across the region, held sacred significance in addition to critical resources. Non-Indigenous settlers moving into the area throughout the century, however, often viewed the territory in terms of material to be extracted and consumed, possessing untold riches for those who sought to mine this space of its natural wealth.

Human entanglements across this Southwestern world must not be understood as merely Indigenous. While histories of the West often feature the Apaches in conflict with Euro-American settlers or Spanish-Mexican citizens, the Apaches also engaged in both positive and negative ways for centuries with other Indigenous groups. For Comanches, cycles of violence proved just as integral to their imperial expansion as it

[263] Ibid.

proved to Apaches using it for economic and social purposes. Through this expansion, the Comanches pulled other Native and non-Native groups closer to them as allies and partners, and simultaneously pushed other peoples such as the Apaches into positions of oppression and displacement. During the eighteenth century, the Comanches decimated Apache attempts at sedentary village life through brutal raids. Subsequently Apache settlements in the northern and eastern portions of the Southwest, in what today is West Texas and Eastern New Mexico, faced continued raiding and slaving ventures by powerful Comanche war parties. These attacks resulted in the displacement of Apache groups into northern Mexico by the early nineteenth century and an increase in Apache mobility.[264] Enslavement and violent raids grew more intense among Apaches bands during this time, likely in reaction to this previous victimization by the Comanches in generations past.

In turn, other Native peoples came to view the Apaches as dangerous foes in what is now modern-day Arizona and New Mexico. Strapped for resources or pushed into nontraditional territories due to the expansion of other invading groups, Native people collided violently and more frequently by the early nineteenth century. John Ross Browne recalled traveling through the land of the Maricopa Indians near present-day Phoenix during the 1860s. He stumbled upon an Apache casualty of war strung up on a rudimentary cross built of scrap wood and branches. Missionaries had brought the iconography and narratives of Christianity to the Maricopa world, and the tortures of crucifixion had not escaped them, reserved in this case for the enemy Apaches.[265]

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[264] Pekka K. Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 30-67.

[265] John Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour through Arizona and Sonora with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869), 104.

American settlers entering this landscape in the mid-1800s came upon a world already embroiled in violence, with sites of trauma and massacres haunting the landscape like ghosts. But many of these Americans also had to process the land's alien characteristics. Diaries like that of soldier Frank West, written about his experiences in the Apache Wars, attest to the large amounts of time spent merely marching, crossing rugged arroyos, and traversing canyons. These tedious motions across the rough sands along the US-Mexico border often, in Frank West's journal, were interrupted only by the occasional ranch or railroad crossing. Outside of these rare, fixed man-made structures, the world surrounding soldiers like Frank demonstrated the power of the external environment to impose great distances upon the bodies of human beings. In this manner, the landscape held power over peoples rather than the other way around. Only through intimate knowledge of these precipitous peaks, vast arid plains, and deep, dry canyons, could peoples such as the Apaches learn to live not by exploiting this land, but instead alongside it. To understand the power of the land was to understand that no man could fully control its chaotic, often deadly, nature.[266]

For both Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors alike, place often represented the alpha and omega of history. A place would take on the memories and past experiences that occurred upon it, and human beings would then apply their own identities and signification to that place. This history-making did not merely serve as a tool of remembrance as to where an event happened; this process also in turn helped people construct their own collective cultures.[267] As American settlers grappled with the land, as the Apaches and Mexicans had in that same area for generations, these brash

[266] Frank West, 1850-1923, *Frank West Journal*, 1884-1885, MS288, University of Arizona Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson.

[267] Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 7.

new Euro-American invaders began their own place-making practices. Settlers scattered their recollections of battles, massacres, and pain across the new territory, recreating the metaphysical Southwestern landscape to fit their new pioneer identity. Captain John Bourke described this construction of place when explaining how these settlers often thought about localities:

> "It wasn't 'fifty miles' or 'sixty miles' or 'just a trifle beyond the Cienaga, and that's twenty-five miles,' but rather, 'Jes' on th' rise of the mesa as you got to the place whar Samaniego's train stood off th' Apaches…or, 'Jes' whar th' big killin' took place on th' long mesa.[268]'

While many Indigenous peoples of the Southwest during the nineteenth century faced some sort of removal, no group experienced removal to locations so distant from their homelands than the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. But the decades leading up to this far away imprisonment also featured other, less distant removals and concentrations of various Apache peoples on portions of their homeland, or areas close to those homelands.[269] These removals fell into a pot of Apache-American-Mexican conflicts stretched across the nineteenth century. Set to boil over, the final straw came in the last years of the Apache Wars under Geronimo. By the autumn of 1886, hundreds of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches would face the unfathomable removal from the land that birthed them and sustained them. In captivity, the exile trauma faced by members of these two groups would reverberate among their people for generations.

During the violent period that occurred in the lead-up to removal in 1886, various Apache leaders from Cochise and Victorio to Naiche and Geronimo sought peace on one hand and violence on the other as they adapted to Mexican and Euro-American incursions into their territory. In the early 1870s, the Apache leader Cochise negotiated a

[268] Bourke, *On the Border with Crook,* 64.

[269] Delgadillo, *From Fort Marion to Fort Sill*, xxvii-xxviii.

possible reservation within his people's homeland.[270] During these talks, federal agents and military men pushed Cochise to relocate his warring band to a reservation at Tularosa, around 100 miles away from Canada Alamosa, a place which Cochise's people considered to be the heart of their homeland. Cochise similarly rejected this location as a reservation, stating: "I want to live in these mountains; I do not want to go to Tularosa. That is a long ways off. The flies on those mountains eat out the eyes of the horses. The bad spirits live there. I have drunk of these waters and they have cooled me; I do not want to leave here.[271]" Cochise would forever question the US government's role and right in dictating another people's definition of home.

Reacting to settlers' calls for safe access to Apache territories for mining and ranching, and for a freedom from Apache-led raids on their settlements, the federal government eventually placed several Apache groups, including a large portion of the Chiricahua people, at San Carlos in southeastern Arizona territory in the late 1870s.[272] This policy of consolidation in part stemmed from the federal government's reaction to financial crises during the depression of the 1870s.[273] The government confined this group of Apaches to San Carlos reservation, an area around 120 miles long and 60 miles wide.[274]

Jason Betzinez, a Warm Springs Apache and younger cousin of Geronimo's, remembered the degrading process of removal from their previous reservation at Ojo

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[270] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1991), 322-339.

[271] Ibid., 339.

[272] Delgadillo, *From Fort Marion to Fort Sill*, xxviii.

[273] Bud Shapard, *Chief Loco: Apache Peacemaker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 116-125.

[274] Tom Horn, *Life of Tom Horn: Government Scout and Interpreter* (Denver: The Louthan Book Company, 1904), 28.

Caliente in central-southern New Mexico to San Carlos in southeastern Arizona. Early one morning messengers came into his camp calling for all Apaches to report to the agency. At the agency, soldiers lined up the Apaches, including women and children, and removed any potential weapons from their possession, including cooking knives. The soldiers then allowed most of the Apaches to return to their family camps unshackled but unarmed with a few exceptions. The soldiers took Geronimo, Naiche, and other leaders, placing them in iron cuffs and chains, and transported them via wagon away from the rest of the Apache people. After a few days, a troop of buffalo soldiers[275] and Native scouts[276] marched the remainder of the Apache people to San Carlos. As the group got closer to San Carlos, the landscape changed into what Betzinez described as a place "parched, barren, and unproductive.[277]"

During the summers, temperatures at the San Carlos subagency topped 110 degrees and the region teemed with mosquitoes and gnats. For the rest of the year, dust storms commonly swept through the area. As many Apaches lived across the river from the agency, the Indians had to cross the waters, low or high, to collect their rations, otherwise the agent at the post gave their rations to other Apaches. Jason Betzinez complained that the soldiers spoke of his people as lazy once they lived on a reservation, collecting rations and spending their hours idling. But Betzinez contended that the

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[275] In 1866, the US military reorganized the army and created six all black cavalry units. These units who would come to be known as "buffalo soldiers" by the Native Americans they encountered, would first fight in the Indian Wars on the Plains and would later move further into the Southwest territories to fight against Apaches in conflicts in New Mexico and Arizona territory. For more information, see William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

[276] General George Crook established the first all Apache scout unit in 1870. Crook believed that these scouts possessed an invaluable understanding of the landscape and its terrain. Various Apache groups across Arizona and New Mexico Territory had members who served as scouts, with the largest numbers of Apache scouts serving during the final Geronimo war years. For more information, see Thomas W. Dunlay, Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

[277] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo,* 44-46.

reservation, barren and rocky with such extremes in weather, offered few opportunities for agricultural cultivation. Gambling and drinking became the primary ways to occupy many Apaches' time. When opportunities arose for scout positions with the military, many Apaches leapt at a chance to join the ranks just to alleviate the monotony of their daily lives at San Carlos.[278]

Asa Daklugie recalled the breakouts of malaria at San Carlos in the Autumn of 1878. This condition, referred to by the Apaches as the shaking sickness, gave sufferers flu-like symptoms such as vomiting, high fevers, and chills. These symptoms came in waves over several weeks, often resulting in death. Though the medicine men of the group could treat fevers with herbal remedies gathered from the environment, the shamans could not expunge the illness from the Apache people altogether.[279] With the tedium of the reservation only occasionally broken by outbreaks of disease, many Apaches looked for a way out of this restricted existence.

The final infamous breakout of Geronimo and his followers occurred during the spring of 1886, but this breakout was by no means the first. For years after the military moved the Apaches to San Carlos, various groups under different leaders broke out of the reservation, sometimes to return like Geronimo often did, but at other times to flee and die in Mexico like Victorio. In some cases, these breakouts followed climaxes of economic, political, and spiritual turmoil among the Apaches, as in the case of the White Mountain Apache rebellion in August 1881. Prior to this large-scale rebellion, a medicine man by the name of Nochaydelklinne began holding ceremonial dances along a reservation creek, gathering a variety of Apache followers with each night-long festivity. During these dances, the medicine man received visions foretelling a brighter future.

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[278] Ibid., 54-55.

[279] Edwin Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches, 1874-1886* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), "Chapter 6" Kindle Edition.

Nochaydelklinne claimed that he could bring back dead Apaches, particularly past leaders, with his rituals, but that these rituals would only work once all the white people were gone from Apache territory. While these periodic summer gatherings had never culminated in any violence, rumors of potential violence swept the agency and soldiers stationed in the area. During an attempt to arrest the medicine man, a fight broke out between Nochaydelklinne's followers, American soldiers, and some of the Apache scouts working for the US military. The fight culminated with the death of the medicine man, Apaches, and American soldiers before the rebellion was finally put down by the army.[280]

These occurrences of fight and flight did not consist of uniform responses from all Apache bands; different groups reacted according to individualized and familial band loyalties. During the Cibecue uprising, 220 Apaches from 14 different bands took part, but only a handful of Chiricahua Apaches joined in the rebellion. Most of the Chiricahuas, including major leaders such as Chihuahua, Nana, Geronimo, and Juh, did not express any direct support for the medicine man or the uprising, and most of these leaders were out on the warpath or hunting and gathering with followers outside the boundaries of the reservation at the time of the rebellion. Yet regardless of Geronimo and Juh's non-participation in the Cibecue uprising, the aftermath impacted these leaders heavily. In reaction to fears of widespread Apache revolt and attacks on Anglo settlements, the federal government gathered and consolidated military forces in and around Apache encampments, further inciting fears of arrests, exile, or execution among Apache leaders.[281]

With each breakout, the Apaches lost many members in northern Mexico and parts of the American Southwest territory; massacres and battles with Mexican soldiers

[280] Delgadillo, *From Fort Marion to Fort Sill,* xxix.

[281] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 9" Kindle Edition.

hit the group hard. The group lost leaders too, with the powerful southern band leader Juh dying in an accident in 1883. Born in the 1820s, Juh was a powerful warrior of immense stature and size, at over six feet tall and around 225 pounds. He possessed great skill and rose through the ranks alongside Cochise, eventually becoming the leader of the Nednhi band of Apaches in northern Mexico.[282]

But with every negotiated peace with the Americans, and with each journey back north to the reservation in Arizona, problems of resources and safety continued to plague those who chose peace over warfare.[283] Many Apache families suffered with few supplies over the winter months, which at times brought dangerously cold temperatures to the mountainous regions of the territory. Often during this harsh and frigid season, Apache family members had to share one blanket between them. General John Pope noted that when times grew difficult on the reservation, tiswin production often began anew.[284] Pope had served with distinction for the Union during the Civil War and in the decades to come he would lead troops against the Sioux and eventually various Apache groups. Like many of the other military commanders of the time, Pope often expressed exterminationist attitudes towards Native peoples, but his attitudes also periodically shifted to expressing concern for reservation Apaches.[285] Further exacerbating reservation living conditions, settlers frequently encroached into Apache reservation territory, destroying corn and melon fields. New settler communities spawned with each new mineral discovery, with towns such as Clifton and Globe appearing and gaining

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[282] Sweeney, *Cochise,* 439, note 34.

[283] Delgadillo, *From Fort Marion to Fort Sill,* xxx-xxxi.

[284] Crook to AGO, February 19, 1885. U.S. War Department. *Annual Reports of the War Department for 1885* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), 34-35.

[285] For more extensive information on General John Pope and his mixed career engaged with Native peoples as both their military enemy and their caregiver, please see Richard M. Ellis, *General Pope and U.S. Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970).

populations of white settlers rapidly. In the late nineteenth-century Mormons and other Euro-American groups impeded on Apache spaces near San Carlos, with one group of Mormon settlers even approaching the Apache leadership in Arizona territory with an offer of 100 Mexican dollars each to abandon the southern part of the reservation. When the headmen refused, the Mormons threatened violence against them.[286]

In addition to the narrowing down of territory, Apache peoples also faced constriction of both rations and rights. During the 1880s, rations steadily shrank, largely due to corruption among agents. At times, the agency doled out one beef shoulder to feed 20 Apaches for a week or gave the equivalent of one cup of flour to each Apache per day. With these types of restrictions, the Apaches had to consume all parts of their livestock, a practice not normally done within Apache society. When the Apaches began suspecting grafting of the agency workers, they sent out an Apache spy who found that agency employees were selling their food to people in the new mining towns nearby. The Apaches sent an emissary to confront their agent on the matter, and the agent promptly arrested the Apache man, placing him in the reservation guardhouse with no reason or recourse. With no access to American citizenship, Apaches could be arrested on a whim and face months in the guardhouse on the reservation with no trial or due process. During this time, trust and resentment often overshadowed Apache-American relations on the reservation.[287]

General Nelson Miles, the military man who replaced General George Crook during the final months of the Geronimo campaign in the summer of 1886, strongly believed that if the Apaches remained in their homeland, they would return to the warpath. Miles looked at the Apaches as a tribe bound up in the "spirit of war." Even

[286] Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 441.

[287] Ibid., 442.

with the eventual defeat of Geronimo and his followers, the young boys of the Apache reservation would soon, Miles suspected, grow into a new generation of "Geronimos." The only cure for this condition, according to Miles, lay in removing them from their rugged and often impenetrable mountain strongholds that provided a means of escape and solace for the Apache people.[288] Miles emphasized that the Apaches "cling to their native country with great tenacity, and the effort has often caused Indian wars…"[289]

Spring peace talks between the leaders Geronimo, Naiche, Chihuahua, and General Crook in March of 1886 at Cañon de los Embudos in New Mexico resulted in the surrender of Chihuahua and over 70 other Apaches with the group. Though Crook hoped that Geronimo and Naiche would also surrender, they remained fearful of civilian repercussions for their past crimes; these two leaders fled a few days after the peace talks, along with three dozen remaining followers. As the military continued to pursue this last group of Apaches in Mexico, the rest of the Apaches under Chihuahua went to Fort Bowie to be exiled to the east along with the bulk of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs people.[290] By early April, Chihuahua, Nana, and their 75 followers became the first Apache prisoners held at the old Spanish fort of Castillo San Marcos, or Fort Marion, in St. Augustine, Florida.[291] By late August, the last holdouts along with Geronimo surrendered to the US military in Skeleton Canyon near the Mexican border. At the end of October of 1886, nearly all Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches were living in Florida as prisoners of war.[292]

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[288] Miles to the AAG, Division of the Pacific, July 7, 1886, from "Surrender of Geronimo," RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 188.

[289] Ibid.

[290] Delgadillo, *From Fort Marion to Fort Sill*, xxii.

[291] Bud Shapard, *Chief Loco,* 252-253.

[292] Robert M. Utley, *Geronimo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 213-220.

On August 29 around noon, the Apaches who had remained at peace or returned to the reservation during the Geronimo uprising lined up with their ration tickets to receive their usual allotment of food. A group of US cavalry appeared and promptly joined some infantry men along with White Mountain Apache scouts. All the male Chiricahua carried arms at this time, creating an uncertain, tense air over the camp. Colonel James F. Wade assured the Apache warriors that his soldiers would not harm any of their people, and then commanded them to sit down on the ground. Starting with the Chiricahua Apache scouts, the soldiers proceeded to take the men's weapons and ammunition. While the women were ordered by Wade to re-establish their camps close to Fort Apache, soldiers herded the disarmed men into a horse barn. Wade informed the warriors at this point that their people would be sent elsewhere away from the reservation. For nine days the men stayed in this space under guard and awaited their exile. Many of these warriors were shocked at this treatment, particularly those men who had served as loyal scouts for the American military against other Apache peoples. Some of these men steered their blame towards Geronimo, carrying a resentment for the old shaman for the rest of their lives. The brash warrior Massai attempted to start an uprising in the barn, but no one took his incitement to heart. [293] Massai, a Warm Springs Apache warrior, had served as a corporal scout under the American commander Marion Maus during the Geronimo campaign, and likely felt a strong betrayal from the government that he had loyally served under during the previous year.[294]

Hundreds of Native peoples milled about Fort Apache to begin the trip from their camps to the small town of Holbrook in northeastern Arizona Territory to board the train into exile. The military told the Apaches that they could bring their belongings with

[293] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 25" Kindle Edition.

[294] Delgadillo, *From Fort Marion to Fort Sill*, 178-179.

them, and so along with their personal items, 1,200 ponies and thousands of working and pet dogs started the trek with them. While some Apaches walked, others rode horseback and on wagons, with the American infantry leading them and the cavalry guarding their flank. One soldier with them, William Strover, would later write of his experiences in escorting the Apaches into exile. Strover served during the 1885 and 1886 military campaign against Geronimo and would later work as an inspector with the New Mexico general land office. Strover recalled that military officials told the Apaches they were all being taken to Washington, D.C., to meet with the President Grover Cleveland for further talks. Whether or not all of the Apaches believed this lie remains uncertain, but regardless, the Apaches made their way across the desolate and rough road to Holbrook peacefully. Just off in the distance, Strover noted a few cowboys lingering nearby, perhaps waiting for an opportunity to settle old scores against these Apaches. Upon arriving at the train station, the Apaches made camp and celebrated their trip to see the American capital with dancing and ritual singing around fires. The cavalry created a tight circle around the large group to prevent escape. A long line of tourist train cars stood silent on the tracks awaiting their passengers.[295]

The following morning and with nervous hesitation, the Apaches slowly began boarding the cars in Holbrook. Formerly an isolated stagecoach crossing, Holbrook had grown in size with the building of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad line through the area in 1881. At the time of the Apache exile in 1886, the town only possessed a few hundred citizens working in support of the shipping and distribution through the railroad industry.[296] After two hours, the train finally started up, with the dogs and ponies being

[295] Colonel Wiliam Strover, "The Apaches' Last Trek", *The Santa Fe Magazine*, Volume XIII, No. 9, August 1919, 43-48.

[296] Harold Columbus Wayte, *A History of Holbrook and the Little Colorado Country*, Master's Thesis (University of Arizona, 1962), 114-106.

left behind. While the army gathered up the ponies to sell at auction to provide further funds for the Apaches' new life in the east, over a thousand dogs remained in Holbrook. As the train sped away, these loyal animals ran fiercely to keep up with their masters moving towards the horizon. Some of them kept up for as many as twenty miles before collapsing in exhaustion. When Lieutenant Strover later asked someone from Holbrook what happened to the animals, the man said the townspeople gathered once the trains had left and made a sport of shooting the dogs from their saddles.[297]

After the Apaches settled into the train, they filled up the cars, but not over capacity. Normally this space would allow some comfort for the Apaches on their long journey, but the poor ventilation of the cars created an incredibly hostile environment for many Native passengers. During the late nineteenth century, rail cars represented one of the worst public places for air quality. Even with windows open, the typical rail car would often contain double the amount of carbon dioxide as found in other crowded places such as theaters. Fearing that the Apaches would attempt an escape via any opening, soldiers nailed shut all car windows and the ventilation openings. This stifling of airflow resulted in a stuffy, smothering journey, with Apaches later complaining of headaches, nausea, dizziness, and other symptoms of carbon dioxide poisoning. To make matters worse, the government ordered that the train lavatories, which normally opened underneath the train, be boarded up as well. With no bathrooms to use while en route, the soldiers placed chamber pots in the trains to be dumped out at every stop. Combined with the heat, the stench of sweating bodies, and coal fire smoke from the train engines, this fetid air assaulted the senses of the Apaches during the journey.[298] At different stops along the route, the soldiers would let the Apaches off the train, and then hose down the

[297] Strover, "The Apaches' Last Trek," 43-48.

[298] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, 227-229.

dank and dirty cars with water. Lieutenant Strover remarked years later that when he recalled the journey of the Apaches as a soldier who rode in the caravan, the memory of the experience still made him feel sick to his stomach.[299]

As the Apaches moved station by station closer to their new captivity in the East, Chiricahua Apache Eugene Chihuahua remembered how certain elements of Western society incited terror in the captive Apaches on their journey. As the Apaches rode into Fort Bliss, Chihuahua recalled the canons going off at Fort Bliss to salute a general on the train. The noise frightened and confused many of the Indians on board. In a society that claimed to separate warfare from the civilian public sphere, the United States possessed a militarization entangled with nationalism that constantly lurked on the edges of modern life, whether in the shape of uniformed soldiers off duty, or in this case, the use of deadly weaponry as a means of honoring a person's status.[300]

The train journey away from Apacheria and into eastern exile produced further oral histories still passed on to present-day generations—a method of both historical record-keeping for the Apaches as well as a means of processing historical trauma. These stories most often tethered the Apaches back to their homes in the Southwest through narratives of daring escapes.

One of these stories involved the young warrior Massai and his return back to the Southwest.[301] With the windows nailed shut with boards, Massai likely pried off one of the roof vents of the train in order to make his escape. Though the location varies depending on the storyteller, Massai leaped from the car somewhere between New Mexico and Missouri, surviving his fall and eventually making his way back to his sacred

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[299] Strover, "The Apaches' Last Trek," 43-48.

[300] *"Chihuahua, Eugene," 1951-1969*, Box 4, Folder 12, MSS 3096; Eve Ball Papers, BYU.

[301] Sherry Robinson, "Massai and Zanagoliche: An Apache Abduction Turned Enduring Love Story," *Wild West* 25, no. 4 (2012): 22.

homelands.[302] According to the oral history passed down to his daughter Alberta, Massai had overheard some of the soldiers, or possibly another Apache joking about how he would be hanged when he got to Florida. He and his friend Gray Lizard then began to discuss their escape. Massai whispered to his first wife to go on to Florida with their children, and that he would join her at some point in the future. He and Gray Lizard waited until the train slowed while going up a hill and then jumped off. Using various mountains ranges as a guide, Massai and Gray Lizard navigated their way back to the Southwest. Massai remained on the run even after his return. He eventually began a new family with a Mescalero woman. Alberta remembered at the age of four traveling with her mother and father in New Mexico. Two men on a horse seemed to be following them, and Massai promptly shot one of the men dead. The second man escaped, but not before shooting and killing Massai. His wife and children evaded capture. Three days later, Alberta and her mother returned to find the pyre which the soldiers had burned Massai's body on, and Alberta's mother took Massai's belt buckle as a token of remembrance from the pile of remaining ashes and bones.[303]

Outside of the two successful escapes, the Apaches completed their journey on the sultry shores of Matanzas Bay in St. Augustine, Florida. On September 20 the commanding officer at Fort Marion reported that eight officers, 84 enlisted men, 278 adults, and 103 children arrived just after 2:00 am in Saint Augustine.[304] Jasper Kanseah, when interviewed by Eve Ball in 1954, recalled being only around four or five years old when the military took him from San Carlos, loaded him onto a train, and sent

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[302] Joseph C. Jastrzembski, "Treacherous Towns in Mexico: Chiricahua Apache Personal Narratives of Horror." *Western Folklore* 54, no. 3 (1995): 169-196.

[303] *"Begay, Alberta," July 1955 p. 2-7.* Box 2, Folder 2, MSS 3096; Eve Ball Papers, BYU.

[304] J.M. Schofield to AAG, September 21, 1886, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 188.

him eastward. He stated about his first home outside of the Southwest, "In Florida was bad; many of the people die. A good many died here and a good many died in Alabama.[305]"

Fort Marion, also known as Castillo de San Marcos, was old long before the Apaches walked into it. The Spanish had begun construction on the fort in 1672, and then the British occupied the fort. In 1821, when Florida became a United States territory, the Americans renamed the dilapidated construction by the sea Fort Marion. This structure of coquina, a strong and ancient concrete made up of crushed shells, loomed over the bay that headed out to sea on one side and into the bustling town of St. Augustine on the other. Square and dark-colored by weather and time, this fort had long been a favorite place to detain rebellious Natives in the nineteenth century. The United States military had kept Osceola and a few of his Seminoles followers at Fort Marion during the Second Seminole War, and in the decade before the Geronimo wars various Plains Indian peoples also called this fort home for a time.[306]

The fort covered only around three acres, and during the Apaches' incarceration there the entire structure existed in a state of disrepair. Cracks spiderwebbed their way through the terreplein, and mold-producing leaks overran the lower casements that would normally house prisoners. Sewage pipes ran across the courtyard from downtown St. Augustine out into the bay next to the fort. Though the commander of the fort at the time of the Apaches' assignment, Colonel Romeyn Ayres, tried to air out the lower rooms, even burning bonfires to dry them out, the entire place outside of the open areas in the fort remained largely uninhabitable.[307]

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[305] *"Kanseah, Jasper," 1954-1956*, Box 5, Folder 16, MSS 3096; Eve Ball Papers, BYU.

[306] Diane Glancy, *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 37.

[307] Bud Shapard, *Chief Loco,* 251.

Loomis Langdon, only three days after taking over command of the fort, moved the Apaches with Chihuahua and Nana into makeshift tents on top of the fort's terreplein.[308] When Richard Drum, the acting Secretary of War, wrote to the commander there asking for details on the conditions of the 75 Apaches living on site, and on whether the fort was prepared to receive more Apaches, the commander bluntly requested that no more Indians be sent to him. At that time the Indians lived in tents and needed additional tent floors as well as privies and lavatories just to keep the place relatively free from endemic disease. The federal government insisted that the commander take in an additional four or five hundred Apaches. Of the 82 warriors confined to Fort Marion in March 1887, 65 of those men had served as scouts in the field for the US army at some point during the Geronimo campaign. Out of the remaining 17 men, four of these Apaches were elderly leaders or sub-chiefs who had helped maintain peace on the reservation during the breakout years. Three hundred and sixty-five women and children also lived at Fort Marion, with over 280 of this number being of some relation to the scouts or peaceful leaders held there.[309]

The last of the Apaches to be transferred to Florida, Geronimo and his warriors waited for news of their fate at a fort in San Antonio. Word came down the pipeline from the President that these Apaches would not be sent to Fort Marion. Instead, Commander Phillip Sheridan requested that the 15 warriors—Geronimo, Natchez[Naiche], Percio[Perico], Fun, Nahi, Yahusza, Fishnolth, Tousee, Kilthdigai, Sephanne, Bishi, Chapo, Lazaiyah, Molzos, and Lanot—be transferred immediately to Fort Pickens in Pensacola, Florida and across the state from Saint Augustine where the military sent the

[308] Ibid.

[309] Drum to Lieutenant General of the Army, August 24, 1886, from "Surrender of Geronimo," Roll 188.

bulk of the Apaches.[310]

When the last train with Geronimo and his warriors aboard rolled into the state of Florida in November 1886, nearly 500 Apache men, women, and children lived as prisoners of war in the East. But by December 1889, over 100 of the Apaches were dead. While the general death rate in the United States at the time hovered around 2 percent per year, the Apache death-rate was over three times this amount, and this loss was intensely felt by all. The vast majority of these losses came in the form of the most precious members of Native society: children. In his report on Apache living conditions, Guy Howard laid out the problematic nature of the government's policy towards the Apaches, including their lack of hope in a productive future, the poor quality of their prison locations, and the terror adult Apaches expressed as their children were forcibly taken by soldiers and sent to Carlisle Indian Industrial school in Pennsylvania where they would subsequently die in droves. Howard did not parse words when he summarized his opinion on the broader treatment of these Apaches: "We are holding as prisoners…a band of savages till they die."[311] Though Apache losses while at war in the Southwest also were high, such a loss in peacetime and under the care of power meant to be benevolent proved profoundly devastating for the captive Apaches.

General George Crook and Captain John Bourke, who held a genuine interest in the overall well-being of the Apaches, expressed concerns about the conditions of the Apaches at Fort Marion. But at the time, neither one felt that they could directly broach the subject with the Secretary of War or the Cleveland administration without jeopardizing their own careers. Crook encouraged Bourke to contact the Indian Rights

[310] General A.H. Terry to General Philip Sheridan, October 20, 1886, from "Surrender of Geronimo," Roll 188.

[311] Lt. Guy Howard to John C. Kelton, Adjutant General, Atlantic Division, December 23, 1889 in "Apache Indians" 51st Congress, 1st Session, Senate Executive 5-30, serial 2682.

Association in Philadelphia, and in 1887, Bourke wrote to Herbert Welsh, the association's secretary, describing the living conditions of the Apache prisoners of war.[312]

While some attempts had been made at better sanitation, such as putting the Apaches in tents on the terreplein, the porous nature of the fort's coquina floors made proper hygiene nearly impossible. Tuberculosis continued to spread and diseases such as dysentery and malaria increased, owing to the poor quality of the drinking water and the fort's proximity to low-lying water-logged areas. Colonel Langdon ordered the spraying down of the entire campground daily with carbolic acid to combat the unsanitary conditions, but this treatment in itself can cause asthma, skin conditions, and diarrhea. Brigadier General Robert MacFeely further exacerbated the Apaches' health problems when he reduced rations at the fort by half, arguing that the prisoners did not require the same level of nourishment as the average soldier. Only in 1887, when townspeople began providing charitable donations of fruits and vegetables, and when the army began issuing the Apaches beef rations, did the food scarcity subside. Local sewing clubs in St. Augustine had to take up further slack from the military bureaucracy when a particularly hard winter hit the region at a time when the Apaches still only had their Arizona summer garb for protection.[313] During this time, oil tycoon and business partner of John D. Rockefeller, Henry Flagler, had invested tremendous amounts of money into the transformation of St. Augustine into a European-style resort destination, emphasizing the area's Spanish architecture and heritage.[314] The Apache presence in the city no doubt acted as yet another tourist attraction for the many Euro-Americans flocking to the area to relax in this new Floridian vacation destination.

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[312] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,"* Epilogue" Kindle Edition.

[313] Bud Shapard, *Chief Loco,* 255-256.

[314] Leslee F. Keys, *Hotel Ponce De Leon: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of Flagler's Gilded Age Palace* (Gainesville; University Press of Florida, 2015) doi:10.2307/j.ctvx06z6g.

After another philanthropist, Dr. Horace Caruthers, inspected the camp, he started a national letter campaign for improved conditions at Fort Marion, which promoted Henry Teller, a former Secretary of the Interior, to push for improvements at the fort. These actions, combined with those of General Crook, Captain Bourke, Herbert Welsh, and multiple charities and Indian Rights organizations across the country, resulted in a wave of public concern over the living conditions of the Apache prisoners. The Cleveland administration, in order to get ahead of the backlash, immediately requested that the army come up with an alternative location for the Apache prisoners. A variety of prospects came up in these discussions, but ultimately, the government and military agreed on Mount Vernon Barracks, a remote military outpost in the forest 30 miles north of Mobile, Alabama. After less than a year in captivity in Florida, the military shipped the Apaches away in the dead of night, again via train, to a new exile in Alabama.[315]

Just before the Apaches move to Mount Vernon Barracks and in direct reaction to the Welsh report, the Governor of Arizona territory, Conrad Meyer Zurick, wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Lamar II, revealing his thoughts on a possible return of the Apaches to the Southwest. The philanthropist Hershel Welsh had suggested that a return to somewhere in the West would provide the best living space for the Apaches. But Governor Zurick adamantly condemned any possible Apache return, highlighting the still present vitriol that Euro-American settlers possessed in relation to Apache peoples. Zurick argued that such a move could create a "breeding pen for assassins in Arizona," referring to the Apaches as a "worthless, murdering, thieving band of outlaws."[316] Zurick and other Arizonians believed that they as a people had paid their dues to the grand

[315] Bud Shapard, *Chief Loco,* 267-271.

[316] Governor Conrad Zurick to J.Q.C. Lamar, April 8, 1887, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 189.

Manifest Destiny project in the Southwest. In simpler and colder terms, Zurick stated, "Mercy to them now is cruelty to us. Arizona has rendered her holocaust to this humanization sentiment.[317]"

With Geronimo and the leading warriors still in Pensacola in the spring of 1887, the military finally transferred their wives and youngest children to Fort Pickens.[318] General Ayres sent 20 children and ten women on to Fort Pickens to finally be reunited with their husbands and fathers confined there. The remainder of the 354 Apaches traveled on to their new prison home at Mount Vernon Barracks.[319]

Captain John G. Bourke described Mount Vernon Barracks as a space surrounded by swamplands and low-lying hills. This landscape, laced with creeks and bayous, supported oaks and cypresses in its lowlands. In the mixed sand and clay hummocks lining the road to the camp, there appeared to be little fertile soil to support growth outside of yellow pines and grass. Though lacking in diverse lush green vegetation, the area did present good prospects for those seeking to harvest lumber. With a great deal of manure, Bourke noted that the post at Mount Vernon had in the past successfully produced potatoes and a few cabbages and lettuce heads. While peach trees fruited poorly near the camp, wild plums and local grapes abounded farther out into the swamplands. A small section of the prison site had also in recent years yielded several bales of cotton. In terms of stock, chickens seemed to thrive, but the area remained poor for more large-scale animal grazing with cows, horses, and sheep. A creek sourced from the Alabama river wound its way through the reservation, but as it often flooded it did

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[317] Ibid.

[318] R.C. Drum to General Ayres, St. Francis Barracks, April 23, 1887, NARA Riverside, M689 (LROAG, 1881-1889), Roll 189.

[319] Ayres to AAG, Atlantic Division, April 27, 1887, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 189.

not allow for extensive farming close to its edges.[320] The air, as in Florida, remained sticky and heavy with humidity, but lacked the briny characteristics of the air along the beaches. Overall, the area provided a mixed bag of problems but also positives for the Apaches starting over yet again in another prison location.

Situated on an elevated ridge, Bourke hoped that the post would not be as prone to malarial diseases even with the swamps nearby. He noted that the post possessed excellent sanitary conditions and did not have a record of yellow fever breakouts, cholera, or dysentery. Though Bourke had heard that summer temperatures could get uncomfortable in the day, the nights provided a cool release. The post had access to plenty of fresh, clean water through the springs that surrounded the area, and Bourke described Mount Vernon barracks as one of the prettiest posts in the United States.[321] Within a year, the Sibley tents the Apaches took with them from Florida gave way to cabins and wood furniture largely built by the Apaches themselves. By May, Geronimo, his warriors, and their families had all arrived from Fort Pickens.[322]

By the end September 1887, problems emerged at the new location. The Apaches continued to complain of hunger as they worked on the reduced ration amounts that they had previously received while in Florida. Since July, however, the Apaches had been put to work across Mount Vernon Barracks, the men clearing the fort of shot and shell debris along with overgrowth, and the women working their traditional domestic activities. The Apaches received one third less than the soldiers' quantity of beans, less than half of the soldiers' quantity of hominy, sugar, coffee, and only half of the soldier's issuance of salt. The commander of the fort at the time, Major William Sinclair, noted

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[320] Captain J.G. Bourke to AAG, Washington, D.C.,: April 19, 1887, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 189.

[321] Ibid.

[322] Bud Shapard, *Chief Loco,* 269-273.

how the Indians initially had not complained, but steadily sold all their possessions for food, even their prized items and religious objects. After they had nothing left to sell, they began begging for food and money from people in the nearby area. But since the area remained so isolated north of Mobile in pine-forested bayou country, charitable souls seldom traveled near the post. As the Apache hunger grew, Sinclair noted that their dissatisfaction and despondency grew as well. To combat this situation, Sinclair strongly advised, as he did through many other correspondences to his superiors during this time, that the Apaches' rations be increased.[323]

Dr. Walter Reed wrote to the Secretary of War in November 1889 trying to convince the Secretary of the urgent need to move the Apaches again. As the year turned cold, Reed noted that several strong, young women had come down with pulmonary consumption, a disease that initially plagued the children of the group but had begun spreading to the rest of them. Outside of the Apache group's overall physical health, Reed expressed concerns over their mental health. With many of their number continuing to sicken and die with no recourse, Reed feared that these deaths not only heightened Apache anxiety, but also led to a deeper mistrust of the government that promised to care for them in captivity. Reed firmly believed that the removal of the Apaches from a high elevation and dry climate to a low and moist climate closer to the coast had brought on much of the consumptive illnesses that plagued them. He strongly urged the government to remove them as soon as possible to a higher, inland location. [324]

While the physical health of many Apaches in exile continued to decline in Alabama, their freedom as prisoners increased. Various commanders immediately

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[323] Major William Sinclair to AAG, Atlantic Division, September 27, 1887, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 190.

[324] Walter Reed to the AAG, Atlantic Division, November 18, 1889, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 193.

realized that these Apaches represented no threat to local and regional residents and began to treat the Apaches more like prisoners on parole than incarcerated criminals. The Apaches frequently took trips to the nearby town of Mount Vernon as well as Mobile via the local train depot, and they often engaged with visitors and tourists in the camp, just as they had in St. Augustine.[325] But the government would not entertain the possibility of revoking the Apaches' prisoner of war status, and certainly not the possibility of returning them to the Southwest.

Isabel Eustis, a missionary interested in working with the Apaches at Mount Vernon, visited the grounds for 12 days during December in 1888 to gain a better understanding of the prisoner's living conditions. The charitable women that visited the Apache camp at Mount Vernon remarked on the kindly and considerate nature of the Indians there. Eustis would later remark that while the skill and intelligence of the Apaches seemed obvious by their ability to avoid the military for so long, the more impressive aspect of their character to her was the survival of women and children as a part of the rebelling group under Geronimo. Eustis felt that the protective devotion that the Apache warriors showed for their women and children when running from the army revealed their intense love of family. Eustis would later write that she heard one officer remark while at the camp, "I believe these people love their children more than we white people do."[326]

The only anxieties or negativities the Apaches expressed about their captivity during the women's visit related to their children at Carlisle. While they appreciated the knowledge and skills their children seemed to be gaining at the school, they instantly feared that the women had come there to take more of their children away. After the

[325] Bud Shapard, *Chief Loco,* 277-279.

[326] Isabel Eustis to Augustus Hemenway, January 5, 1888, NARA Riverside, M689 (LROAG), Roll 191.

women reassured them that they would not be taking their children, the Apaches revealed letters from their beloved sons and daughters away at school, often months old and wrapped up in delicately embroidered cloth for safekeeping. Obviously prized possessions, these letters represented the still tangible connection the Apache parents had with their children so far away. When the women volunteered to write some letters for the Apaches to their children, they said that they had so many requests for this service that they could have easily spent the remainder of their visit simply taking dictation from eager Apache mothers and fathers.[327] Incredibly, these women more than any other charitable group that visited the camp, recognized and noted the genuine, individualized humanity that each Apache person possessed. This group of ladies from Springfield, Massachusetts listened to the Apaches, feeling an instant kinship to them by the common bonds of love they shared between themselves and their children.

Eustis met with multiple elder men and leaders in the tribe including Chatto. Seen as a traitor by several of Geronimo's closest followers, Chatto had surrendered to the US government in 1872 with Cochise, and subsequently served as an Apache scout against Geronimo in the 1880s. Eustis recalled how Chatto showed off his Presidential medal he received when visiting Washington, D.C., on a peace mission just before his exile to Florida. Chatto spoke to Eustis about how he had thought he would be returned to his farm on the Warm Springs reservation. It had taken him three years to make a life as a farmer back in Arizona, only to have the US military ship him off to Florida after he completed his peace mission to Washington, D.C. Eustis felt that all the elders she spoke to obviously missed the Southwest, but they also possessed a determination to thrive in the east somewhere if that exile meant a lasting peace for their children and

[327] Ibid.

grandchildren..[328]

The only elder to outwardly express the deep longing that went unspoken for his own country came from Nana. Nearing one hundred years old and twisted by age and rheumatism, Nana spoke with the women through an interpreter. He waxed long and eloquently on a variety of topics but ended his speech with his interpreter hesitating to translate his words to the women visitors. Nana told his interpreter to ask Eustis, "Do you love your own home?" Eustis then showed the old leader a small globe she had in her possession. She explained that the Indians could no longer roam across the continent. More and more immigrants flooded into the nation every day from Europe and elsewhere, so now even the Apaches must work side by side with them and the rest of the Americans as brothers. She then offered the globe as a gift to Nana, and a reminder of the new world order she laid out for him. Nana responded by burying his head in his hands, and then telling Eustis through the interpreter, "Give it to some other man. I am too old to learn that."[329]

As the years went by at Mount Vernon, the Apaches busied themselves with different occupations. The women continued to take on more and more domestic endeavors of the Euro-American world that surrounded them and improved their living conditions at the barracks, while the men took on farming for their community and for profit. Other men joined Company I of the Twelfth Infantry—an all Apache military unit established in 1891. Both sexes engaged in the budding Indigenous arts and crafts industry. The military rebuilt the entire camp in the early 1890s and enacted a strict cleaning and hygiene policy among all residences in the hopes of combatting sanitation related illness. But even amid all these improvements, Apache health remained poor

[328] Isabel Eustis to Augustus Hemenway, January 5, 1888, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 191.

[329] Ibid.

overall while at Mount Vernon. Over the course of the Apaches' stay at Mount Vernon Barracks, their death rate would peak at 55 percent of the total population, the highest death rate reported at a prison camp run by the United States military in American history.[330]

Again, a desperate search began for another imprisonment location for the Apaches. A letter to the Secretary of War from the Headquarters Department of the East described the Apaches as willing and cheerful, but also "consumptive and scrofulous." The letter also stated:

> We have then in this community of Indians a body of people who are prisoners of war simply because no means of changing that status can be found… It cannot be that the War Department will continue these people on as prisoners of war for three and four generations, nor is it just to the people that they should be pauperized forever.[331]

Nearly a decade after Geronimo's group became prisoners of war, the United States government and military possessed no clear exit strategy for the Apaches either to return to the Southwest, or to eventually assimilate with non-Native populations in the east. In early October 1894, the military shipped the Apaches off to their final and longest exile home as prisoners of war: Fort Sill, Oklahoma.[332]

The exile narrative of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches contains myriad temporary home spaces scattered throughout the late nineteenth century. But only one region, Apacheria, honed Apache identities as both individuals and a collective group. Cultures form and evolve around resources, physical limitations, and aesthetics of place. When a person or people then become displaced from a home space, their new surroundings in exile often no longer reflect themselves. This unfamiliarity muddles the

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[330] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, 277-293.

[331] *Letter 689-198,* Letter, Box 3, Folder 5, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

[332] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, 297-300.

sense of self further. When paired with other traumas, this rift creates a devastating impact on a group far from home. This new world lacks context, and this lack of context creates the psychological as well as somatic condition of homesickness. For refugees and peoples who live in diaspora, this condition can create real, threatening, and destructive feelings towards the self, rooted in the fracturing of a group identity as a whole.[333]

Philosopher and scholar Edward Said profoundly expressed the agony of removal which he described as, "the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted."[334] Exile does not exist as its own entity or as a process in which to take part. Rather, one group of people imposes this experience upon another group.[62] Exile for the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, with such innate attachments economically, culturally, and particularly spiritually to their home space, would prove doubly traumatic. As prisoners of war and transported far from home, this exile imposed a new and haunting present. Echoes of past places lingered long after their eastbound train had left the Southwest. Scents, sounds, and tactile experiences grew into bittersweet connections to their continued grief as the Apaches began their adaptation in landscapes far away from home.[335]

Though exile brings extensive changes—sometimes for worse and sometimes for better—to a refugee community, the trauma of past collective pain often lingers within this displaced group, permeating members with legacies of past violations.[336] As the

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[333] Miranda Alcock, "Refugee Trauma - the Assault on Meaning" in *Psychodynamic Practice* 9, no. 3 (2003): 291.

[334] Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 173.

[335] Ibid, 173-186.

[336] Amanda Wise, "Embodying Exile: Trauma and Collective Identities among East Timorese Refugees in Australia," *Social Analysis* 48, no. 3 (2004): 31.

Apache peoples moved eastward, the disconnect from their home and from themselves grew exponentially greater. But fractured memories of this past both comforted and pained future generations of these exiled Apaches born into captivity. Trauma exists in multiple forms, whether through direct violence or a narrative legacy of violence, which becomes an integrated part of the community in diaspora.[337] Apache children born into diaspora groups in Florida, and later in Alabama and Oklahoma, arrived through their birth into an ongoing trauma. Stories and songs passed down from their parents and the oral histories of creation and spirit created a metaphorical ghost among the Apache children—one that many of these children could chase but never capture.

The Apache children in Florida and beyond often faced their own personal past traumas, experiencing and witnessing violence while on the warpath with Geronimo and other leaders in the Southwest prior to the Apaches' final surrender. But as the years went by in captivity, a second generation that never saw such violence grew up still impacted by that past violence. Intergenerational trauma does not simply pass from one family member to the next, but rather it exists in echoes.[338] These echoes long impacted the youngest of Apaches growing up in exile. As Apache parent and child sought to create normal relational experiences far from home, these echoes would no doubt interrupt the natural flow of these relationships. Among survivors of other atrocities, such as the Holocaust, the children of these survivors frequently dealt with the psychological legacies left behind from post-traumatic stress disorder to anxiety and depression. Wanting to shield their parents from further trauma, the children of survivors often allowed their own lives to be consumed as psychological caretakers for their parents. Meanwhile, the

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[337] Ibid.

[338] The study of intergenerational trauma both in psychological and biology continues to evolve with research in epigenetics. For more information on this growing field, please see Amy Lehrner and Rachel Yehuda, "Cultural Trauma and Epigenetic Inheritance," *Development and Psychopathology*, 30, no. 5 (2018): 1763–77. doi:10.1017/S0954579418001153.

parents vowed to prevent their children from living through similar traumatic experiences, developing an attitude of extreme cautiousness and fear towards the external world. In the space between parent and child, between the pain of the past and the silence of the present, Apache parents inadvertently transferred this trauma to Apache children in exile.[339]

For Indigenous people bound up in concepts and connections with place, the forced removal from their homeland could create additional hurdles for the healing and maintenance of Apache well-being among group members. Depriving a Native group of their geographic attachments can establish a metaphysical dislocation, felt intimately as a threat to their identity.[340] The spiritual amputation of exile likely created cultural phantom pains within the Apache people that would be overcome in one of two ways; a processing of past pains through oral history transmission to new generations, and the continuance of rituals linking a living people to a far-away homeland.[341]

The story of Francesca, or Huera, the brave woman who fled captivity in Mexico and survived a jaguar attack on her way back home, did not end with her arrival in Arizona Territory. In 1886, Francesca accompanied her people into a new captivity in Florida. Francesca had never fully regained use of her hands after her epic fight with the jaguar in the mountains of Mexico, and as a prisoner of war in the east she often hid the scars on her face with a cloth. But Francesca never forgot the singing rituals of healing

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[339] Hadas Wiseman and Jacques P. Barber, *Echoes of Trauma: Relational Themes and Emotions in Children of Holocaust Survivors* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 231-234.

[340] Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places,* xiii-xiv.

[341] Modern studies of refugee communities in the Middle east have shown that communal unity in diaspora lessens the likelihood of psychological problems among refugee children years and even decades after the initial exile. For further information, see Edith Montgomery, ed., "Trauma, Exile and Mental Health in Young Refugees," *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica* 124 (2011): 1–46. doi:10.1111/j.1600-0447.2011.01740.x

taught to her by the men and women of previous Apache generations. Even when hidden by a veil, other captive Apaches recalled her ceremonial singing. During the Chiricahua imprisonment in Fort Marion, and with children dying around her from disease in a harsh, foreign climate, Francesca performed the songs of her people that connected them to their old world in the Southwest.[342]

Proper methods of mourning such as the one practiced by Francesca did not merely allow a psychological processing of loss and grief after the death of a loved one, but also created a communal cleansing. As family members died in localities far from home, Apache peoples feared ghost sickness, a physical and emotional condition brought on by the death of a family member and normally avoided through meticulous burial practices tied in with the Apache landscape. While living in Apacheria, Apaches could placate spaces haunted by these spirits through mourning rituals and special ceremonies. Through appropriate practices related to the physical bodies of the dead, Apaches could purify or at least separate out these spaces of violent trauma from the still living survivors.[343]

One of the more powerful rituals to occur publicly while the Apaches lived in exile happened in the spring of 1887. Colonel Loomis Langdon, commander of Fort Barrancas and Pickens, invited 300 citizens to attend a ceremony at the fort in Pensacola. *The Pensacolian* newspaper reported that the Apaches performed an all-night ritual that journalists dubbed the "corn dance" at the fort, situated on an island off the coast of the old Spanish city. The headmen gathered around a fire and buffalo hide, with one of them manning a large drum. Before the dance began, the women of the group began a cry,

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[342] John Albert Sleicher, ed., "Huera: Instigator of the Apache Breakout" *Leslie's Vol. 61-63*, New York, F. Leslie, (July 31, 1886): 380.

[343] Morris E. Opler and William E. Bittle, "The Death Practices and Eschatology of the Kiowa Apache," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 7, no. 4 (1961): 383–394.

"commencing very low and rising until it became very shrill, then dying away with a low wailing sound." The headmen then kept time on the hide with switches as the drummer pounded away at his instrument, steady as a heartbeat. Three dancers appeared, two of whom had on costumes made up of skirts that reached their knees, long streamers of colored fabric on their arms, and a headpiece of wood that resembled horns. The third dancer had his face covered and wore a simple breech cloth. Each dancer held a long wooden sword in the right hand and a long cross in the left hand. They held their cross and sword on high as they vanquished evil spirits in rhythm with the drumbeats. The dance lasted into the early morning hours long after the Floridians had returned to their homes. One Pensacola reporter asked George Wratten, the Apache's longtime friend and interpreter who worked with them at Fort Pickens, if this ceremony was some sort of war dance.[344] Wratten, who had come to Arizona from California with his parents during his teen years, had worked at San Carlos reservation, learned multiple Apache dialects, and became a leader of an Apache scout unit. Wratten grew close to many Apache warriors and followed the group into exile, often working as the only non-Apache in the area who understood their native language.[345] Above all other white men at Fort Pickens, he understood the meaning behind this special ceremony. Wratten corrected the man, telling him that the Apaches were performing a medicine dance in honor of the reunification of Geronimo and his warriors with their families after months in captivity without them.[346] Ceremony and community connected the Apaches with the mountain spirits that still guided them even when far from home. In this manner, the Apaches

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[344] *The Pensacolian*, Saturday, June 11, 1887, p.5, Newspaper Article, Box 2, Folder 2, MSS 3096; Eve Ball Papers, BYU.

[345] Albert E. Wratten, "George Wratten Friend of the Apaches," *The Journal of Arizona History* 27, no. 1 (1986): 91-124.

[346] *The Pensacolian*, Saturday, June 11, 1887, MSS 3096; Eve Ball Papers, BYU.

could move away from mere survival as individuals and back to survival as a ethnic group of peoples with shared values and shared practices.

For a body of people facing ethnotrauma and its complexly layered psychological assault, oral histories and rituals reconnected the Apaches to a far-away place, which gave them a sense of collective identity and a means of self-affirmation as a surviving people. Yet these rituals in captivity could not completely heal the devastation caused by another, broader layer of ethnotrauma that drew in not just Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, but many other Apache peoples across the borderland region. While only certain Apache groups faced the pain of exile thousands of miles from their homeland, all Apaches faced the enduring hardship of racial persecution on a collective scale in the nineteenth-century Southwest. Similarly, all Apaches that lived through the final tumultuous years of the Apache Wars in the 1880s would witness violence on a chronic scale. But this violence was not one-sided, as Apaches also took part in the violation of Mexican, American, and even other Apache men, women, and children. These cycles of violence across generations in the Southwest would feed not just ethnotrauma among its Apache victims, but perpetrator trauma as well. This impact can clearly be seen through the life of one of the most infamous Apache leaders in North American history: Geronimo.

CHAPTER 4

VICTIM AND VILLAIN: THE SORROW OF GERONIMO AND THE WOUNDING OF SOUL

"I stood until all had passed hardly knowing what I would do…I had no weapon, nor did I hardly wish to fight, neither did I contemplate recovering the bodies of my loved ones, for that was forbidden. I did not pray, nor did I resolve to do anything in particular, for I had no purpose left."[347]
--Geronimo

"I have killed many Mexicans; I do not know how many for frequently I did not count them. Some of them were not worth counting. It has been a long time since then, but still I have no love for the Mexicans. With me they were always treacherous and malicious. I am old now, and shall never go on the warpath again, but if I were young, and followed the warpath, it would lead into Old Mexico."[348]
--Geronimo

Goyathlay[349] stands on the banks of the Janos River. He should not have looked at their bodies, lying together in pools of dark, coagulated blood.[350] But he had to look, just to see for himself this new truth; this new reality. He could not touch them: his wife, his mother, his three small children. He could not caress their still faces or bury them safe in the recesses of a cool canyon wall.[351] To touch the dead in such a manner and after such a violent death was forbidden. And now he stands, motionless, without words and without meaning at the river thicket, staring out across the water.[352] The summer

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[347] Geronimo, *Geronimo's Story of his Life*, ed. Stephen Melvil Barrett (New York: Duffield and Company, 1915), 44.

[348] Ibid, 110.

[349] The man who came to be known as Geronimo was originally called Goyathlay or Goyakhla by his Apache band.

[350] Elbridge Ayer Burbank and Ernest Royce, *Burbank among the Indians* (Caldwell: Caxton Press, 1944), 33.

[351] Alan Ferg, "A Probable Chiricahua Apache Burial from Southeastern Arizona," *Kiva* 42, no. 3/4 (1977): 301-15.

[352] Geronimo, *Geronimo's Story of his Life*, 44-45.

months had yielded a green, fertile glow to this Mexican grassland in the state of Chihuahua; a lush, verdant valley that on occasion functioned as a home to the southernmost herds of bison on the continent.[353] The soft call of the mourning dove that normally echoed against the northern Mexican mountains rose and fell into the swallowing silence of grasses that swayed in twilight across the prairie.[354]

For Geronimo, his life bifurcated into “before and after” through his personal experience with violence: the murder of his family by Mexican soldiers along the Janos River on March 5, 1851. During that year a group of Chihuahuan national guardsmen under Colonel Jose Maria Carrasco blamed a local Apache band for recent depredations against communities in their state. The soldiers crossed the Sonoran border and moved against Geronimo's group, killing 21 Apache people. Carrasco’s men further enslaved 62 Apache women and children, sold deeper south into Mexico by their captors. While some scholars place the date of this critical event in Geronimo’s life in 1851, other scholars disagree with this chronology. Biographer Angie Debo as well as a contemporary of Geronimo's, Jason Betzinez, place the date closer to 1858. Geronimo's autobiography locates the massacre of his family in Chihuahua, but it likely occurred closer to Janos or Fronteras in Sonora. Though the deaths of Geronimo's wife, mother, and three children may not have occurred exactly at the time and place he recalled decades later in his autobiography, this event solidified within him an intense, trauma-induced hatred of

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353 Donald T. Garate, *Juan Batista de Anza; Basque Explorer in the New World* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003), 83.

354 Patricia Manzano-Fischer, et al., "Avian Diversity in a Priority Area for Conservation in North America: The Janos-Casas Grandes Prairie Dog Complex and Adjacent Habitats in Northwestern Mexico," *Biodiversity & Conservation* 15, no. 12 (2006): 3801-825.

Mexicans that would follow him to his dying day.[355] Haunted by a violent, traumatic past and driven by adverse circumstances, Geronimo blazed a path of bloodshed across the Southwestern territories during the last gasp of the Apache Wars, creating fear as well as intrigue throughout the American nation. But the fictionalized and public persona of Geronimo differed from the image he wished to project. In reality, Geronimo lived through many different seasons and identities in his nearly eighty years of life. An analysis of Geronimo's lifetime of adaptation and resistance reveals the profound power of ethnotrauma on decision-making processes of major leaders in the Southwest borderlands. But this analysis also reveals the ways in which victimization and violation, and ethnotrauma and perpetrator trauma, can entangle in myriad ways throughout an individual's life.

When a person experiences such a jarring trauma as Geronimo did on that fateful morning, an acute and powerful reaction can occur within the mind of a victim. Functioning as a form of traumatic neuroses—a great loss felt through violence, even when that violence does not physically impact an individual directly—it can create a double wound. While one wound occurs through the memories of the loss itself, the other wound occurs through the mind's inability to comprehend an immense loss. According to his autobiography, in the acute aftermath of his family's murder, Geronimo stood frozen in grief, unable to move, think, or process his profound sorrow. This inability stemmed from pain still not wholly known. For victims of trauma, memories of these events can return in flashbacks, with fractured sounds, smells and images returning to haunt the sufferer. This trauma ebbs and flows throughout a victim's life, often following them for decades or even a lifetime after the moment of violence has long

[355] Edwin R. Sweeney, "'I Had Lost it All:': Geronimo and the Carrasco Massacre of 1851," *The Journal of Arizona History* 27, no.1, Commemorating the Centennial of the Surrender of Naiche and Geronimo (September 4, 1986): 35-52. EBSCOhost.

since passed.[356] Geronimo's own personal tragedy remained embedded within his consciousness until his last days. Existing in fragments of memory shared throughout his autobiography, remembrances of this period would remain relatively concrete within Geronimo's recollection of the event, existing as a ghost of past pain, and leaving him "possessed by echoes."[357]

Geronimo spent his childhood in a Southwest world frequently touched by trauma, but not always surrounded by it. Geronimo's exact birth date remains unknown, but he was likely born sometime in the 1820s in the vicinity of the upper Gila river near the New Mexican and Arizona border. Born to Taklishim, the son of Chief Mahko of the Bedonkohe band of Apaches, and Juana, a woman who may or may not have been a Spanish slave, Geronimo originally possessed the name Goyathlay, literally translated as "One Who Yawns." Though Geronimo grew up in the mountains along the river with some memories of raids into Mexico, he also remembered peaceful relations with Mexican peoples and periods of fruitful trade.[358] Geronimo's grandfather Mahko gained his status through peace rather than warfare. A successful rancher and farmer in the area, Mahko cultivated positive relationships with the Mexicans around him who admired his business prowess and hard-working character. The Apaches who lived under Mahko's leadership loved him for his generosity as he often provided food to indigent Apaches during the winter and gave weapons and horses to young Apache men who worked for him as ranch hands.[359] But though his own family band lived largely at peace,

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[356] Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 1-6.

[357] Judith Greenberg, "The Echo of Trauma and the Trauma of Echo," *American Imago* 55.3 (1998): 319-347.

[358] Debo, *Geronimo*, 8-13, 28-29.

[359] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 14-15.

Geronimo could not have missed the often-violent encounters that Apache peoples across the region had with Mexicans and Euro-Americans. Owing to the high number of raids by various Native groups into Mexico during the period, in 1835 the Mexican state of Sonora began offering bounties on Apache scalps to any individual who could bring them to the governor.[360]

Tumult gained ground around Geronimo in the aftermath of Mahko's death. Initially, the only whites who migrated to the mountainous region around Geronimo's home were Mormon settlers, or "white-brimmed hat peoples" as the Apaches called them. But soon other Euro-American peoples from across the United States surged into the territory seeking ranching lands and mining ventures, and displacing Apache peoples in the process. Several of Mahko's former followers moved down into Mexico to join a cousin group that would eventually be led by Juh. Juh came from the Nednai band, a group considered wild by other Apaches such as the Warm Springs people. Living off of raiding and camping across the rugged northern Mexican landscape, these people both seized and adopted random Navajos, Mexicans, and even captive whites, creating a fearsome group that lived through raiding borderlands settlements and then hiding in the recesses of Sierra Madre mountain ranges of northern Mexico. Juh visited Geronimo regularly in Arizona, and heavily influenced his transformation into a warrior.[361]

Though only around seventeen years old, Geronimo became a part of the warrior council of the Bedonkohes, likely due to his prowess in raids in Mexico. He showed his independence when he arranged his own marriage with a local Nednai girl named Alope. He took Alope with him back to the mountain ranges of the Bedonkohe people, constructing a teepee of animal skins near his mother's tent that Alope decorated with

[360] Debo, *Geronimo*, 8-13, 28-29.

[361] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 15.

her own hand-crafted artwork. In Geronimo's memoirs he recalled this time before the tragedy with a resigned sense of both peace and sadness, dwelling on what was, and perhaps what could have been, had his family survived along with him.[362] He characterized his wife and his relationship as both loving and simultaneously easy, remarking: "She was a good wife, but she was never strong. We followed the traditions of our fathers and were happy. Three children came to us — children that played, loitered, and worked as I had done."[363]

Geronimo described the summer of his family's murders in his autobiography. At the time, the Bedonkohes traded with both local Native groups as well as villages in Old Mexico. His people traveled south to engage in commerce with a particular Mexican town known in the Apache language as Kas-Ki-Yeh. The men would venture into the town during the day to barter and trade while the women and children remained encamped just outside the village. One afternoon as Geronimo and the other men of his group returned to their camp along the river, a group of terrified women and children came across the men on the road. The group of survivors told the men that a Mexican unit had raided their camp, murdering many of them. That night, after rendezvousing by the river, Geronimo recalled:

> "...when all were counted, I found that my aged mother, my young wife, and my three small children were among the slain. There were no lights in camp, so without being noticed I silently turned away and stood by the river. How long I stood there I do not know..."[364]

In the aftermath of the massacre, the leader of the group, Mangas Coloradas, ordered the remaining Apaches to immediately begin their journey back north to Arizona. Forced to flee in case of another attack by the Mexicans, the group left the

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[362] Debo, *Geronimo,* 31-32.

[363] Utley, *Geronimo*, 15.

[364] Geronimo, *Geronimo's Story of his Life,* 44.

bodies of their dead behind them. This retreat would no doubt instill further anguish into young Geronimo, as the Apache customs of death could not be observed before their flight. In this way Geronimo's ability to process his grief remained stilted from the start, as he left behind his family's bodies without funereal rites or ritual mourning. Geronimo followed his group silently homeward. As they neared the Arizona border with Mexico after several days, they finally made camp, sharing some game and giving themselves the evening to take stock of what they had lost. Geronimo ate very little, however, remarking in his memoirs that he tried to take comfort from those who also mourned for their own intimate dead. But for Geronimo, …" none had lost as I had, for I had lost all."[365] Upon arriving back at his home, Geronimo destroyed his family's possessions, as was customary among Apaches after a close death of a family member. In Geronimo's autobiography, he noted the fragments of a life lost still present in his family's tent: the carefully hung decorations of Alope and the small playthings of his children. He burned them all, along with his and his mother's tepee. From that day forward Geronimo claimed that he could no longer find contentment in a quiet life. He stated that anytime he "saw anything to remind me of former happy days my heart would ache for revenge upon Mexico."[366]

For nearly a year after returning home, Geronimo traveled about the territory garnering support for an attack upon northern Mexico among other Apache leaders. After hiding family members in the mountain ranges along the Mexican border, Mangas Coloradas, Juh, and Cochise led their Apache warrior band back towards the area of the Kas-ki-yeh massacre. Geronimo claimed that he ultimately found the Mexican cavalry that had murdered his family. Geronimo led the battle as war chief against this cavalry

[365] Ibid., 44-47.

[366] Ibid., 47-49.

group, leaving no Mexican soldiers alive. Geronimo described the aftermath in his memoir, stating, “I could not call back my loved ones, I could not bring back the dead Apaches, but I could rejoice in this revenge.” For a brief but fleeting moment, Geronimo felt that he had avenged the massacre of Kas-ki-yeh.[367]

In the Apache world view, no God of ultimate judgment awaited the murderers of Geronimo's family in the afterlife; no hellfire and brimstone would torment those individuals who violated and raped the innocent. Instead, the Apache creator Usen remained far removed from these acts of man, and he expected humanity, and Geronimo, to enact his own human retribution.[368] To make matters even more difficult, the Apaches had no standing within the American or Mexican justice systems, since both of these institutions provided Apaches no citizenship rights.[369] For Geronimo, the only possible way to piece together his shattered world lay with murder and plunder in Old Mexico.

While most Apache leaders of the nineteenth century did not leave a written record of their own, Geronimo wrote his autobiography in the final years of his life. At that time, he was 76 years old. His friend and editor, Stephen Barrett, worked with Geronimo, and his interpreter, Warm Springs Apache and nephew, Asa Daklugie aided in translated certain elements from Apache to English. Geronimo refused to use a stenographer and demanded that Barrett write his story as he told it, continuing the tradition of oral history by recording it in writing for a wider, literate audience. Barrett had carefully sought permission from President Theodore Roosevelt to allow this recording to take place, as Roosevelt feared that Geronimo would speak poorly of various Euro-American actors in the military and elsewhere that he had engaged with over the

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[367] Ibid., 50-54.
[368] Ibid., 19.
[369] Clare V. McKanna, Jr., *White Justice in Arizona: Apache Murder Trials in the Nineteenth Century* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2005), 32-35.

course of his long life.[370]

Geronimo's autobiography does not merely function as a vehicle to tell his life's story, but instead as a larger means of argumentative resistance against the exile of the Apache people far from their homelands. Geronimo does not begin this work in typical autobiographical fashion, and he waits until Chapter 3 to give readers the quintessential phrase, "I was born…", only after providing a tribal history. In this way, the Apaches occupy the stage of this narrative front and center, counter to the many works of the day that portrayed Apaches and other Indigenous peoples as side characters in the grander Euro-American narrative of conquering the West.[371]

Geronimo's autobiography covers the broader story of his own life within the vast narrative of the Apache resistance movement. But his story also reveals the characteristics which made him such an important individual to many of his kinsmen. Shortly after the death of his family, Geronimo developed multiple powers as a shaman that aided him as a war leader. His warriors recalled his ability to avoid bullets, claiming that even if he stood up on an embankment in the heat of battle, the bullets would not touch him. As a medicine man, Geronimo could perform a gun ceremony on others as well, making it impossible for an enemy to shoot at the blessed individual.[372] Asa Daklugie believed that this power came more from the expansion of Geronimo as a heroic myth than from the real man himself. Daklugie stated, "Geronimo did not tell them he could not be hurt by a bullet, but their imagination made them think he could not be hit. But he was meat and bone just like any other man, only he had more courage

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[370] Eric Gary Andersen, *American Indian Literature and the Southwest: Contexts and Dispositions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 51.

[371] Ibid., 53-54.

[372] Vine Deloria Jr., *The World We Used to Live In: Remembering the Powers of the Medicine Men* (Golden: Fulcrum Publishing, 2006), 177.

than others."[373] Geronimo's followers also spoke of how the shaman could manipulate the passage of time. An elder Apache warrior recalled the days when the US military pursued his people closely in the last years of the Apache Wars. As the Apache group moved across the vast desert landscape in twilight hours, Geronimo wanted them to reach the safety over a nearby mountain before daybreak. So, Geronimo performed a medicine song to delay dawn by several hours, leaving the group with enough time to cross the mountain.[374]

A medicine man with a talent for warfare and politics, Geronimo rose through the ranks during the 1870s. With his rise in status, he would marry multiple wives and father several children. But so much of his life remained defined by the immense losses he faced as a young husband and father. As a leader of the Chiricahuas, Geronimo would lead many raids that captured and killed men, women, and children in both Mexico and the territorial United States while feeding and protecting his own Chiricahua followers and family. While Geronimo experienced ethnotrauma on an individual scale over the course of his life as an Apache, he also made violent choices as a leader that display clear symptoms of perpetrator trauma.

Throughout Geronimo's adult life, he would victimize others through violence in the same way that he had been victimized many years before through the murder of his mother, wife, and children by Mexican soldiers. The type of trauma Geronimo faced for the duration of his life and that many other victimized peoples faced before and after him has been largely examined and mapped out during the twentieth century as post-traumatic stress disorder by members of psychological and academic communities. But the impact that violating others had upon mental well-being has not been examined to

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[373] Robinson and Ball, *Apache Voices*, 57.

[374] Deloria, Jr., *The World We Used to Live In*, 206-207.

the same capacity as passive victimization.

Deep explorations of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder by scholars over the last 30 years has amassed a large amount of data from individuals who engage or have engaged in numerous acts of violence, ranging from the average soldier and police officers to violent imprisoned offenders and participants in genocide. Scholars have subsequently used this data to construct a new term for exploring the ways in which violation can psychologically alter an individual, now known as Perpetration-Induced Traumatic Stress or PITS. In the same manner that PTSD causes a specific range of potential side-effects from being violated, PITS shares many of the same symptoms, even though it spawns from violence towards others. But unlike PTSD, sufferers of PITS are far more likely to turn to anger rather than disassociation or introversion. Because violence becomes a means to control the external world around an individual, when an individual suffers from PITS they often will continue to turn to violence to control new problems and anxieties. For PITS sufferers who feel guilt for their past violent actions, they are more prone in later life to depression. But for PITS sufferers who do not accept guilt in their actions and who believe their violence to be justified, they often exhibit states of chronic paranoia accompanied by periodic bouts of explosive anger. Because this past trauma, whether caused by their own hand or merely witnessed, pushes victims into a constant state of hypervigilance and fear, reactions of rage often wait around every corner. For people suffering from this perpetration-induced injury of the mind, studies have further shown that their anger and violent outbursts tend to be more severe and more frequent than those expressed by sufferers of post-traumatic stress disorder.[375] Geronimo, as both a man traumatized and a man who created trauma, possessed many

[375] Rachel M. MacNair, *Perpetration-Induced Traumatic Stress: The Psychological Consequences of Killing* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, Incorporated, 2002), 2, 14, 53-54.

of the characteristic symptoms of PITS sufferers, from the paranoia and hypervigilance to the bouts of severe anger.

On April 16, 1882 Geronimo led a massacre of civilians in an event that typified the rage he so often directed at Mexicans. During this time a renegade group of Chiricahua Apaches under Nana, Geronimo, and Juh returned to their former reservation home at San Carlos to entice their people to join them. Before attacking the reservation, Geronimo led a violent attack on a group of herders at Stevens Ranch in territorial Arizona. Victoriana Mestas, a Mexican who formerly lived as a captive within Geronimo's group, and Richard Bylas, a White Mountain Apache leader, kept a sheep camp at the time for a local rancher, George Stevens, near present-day Bryce, Arizona. As Geronimo and his group moved through the area, a farm hand spotted the Apaches as they headed towards the camp. Though Mestas and Bylas moved their camp higher up and fortified it, they could periodically hear Geronimo calling out to them in the night to allow his Apache warriors into their camp to eat. Bylas, remembering how Victorio had killed his uncle on a similar return to the reservation, warned Mestas over and over again to not take down the fortifications. But Mestas recalled times when Geronimo had showed generosity and kindness to him as a captive living with the Chiricahuas. At daybreak, Mestas's resolve failed him, and he invited Geronimo and his warriors to breakfast.[376] But after the meal Geronimo signaled to his warriors to tie up the small group of Mexican herders with Bylas, including Mestas. Geronimo removed the finely embroidered shirt that Mestas wore and ordered his hands to be tied as well. He then had his warriors tie up Mestas's wife and two children. Bylas pleaded with Geronimo not to kill the now constricted Mexicans, and initially Geronimo seemed to back down. But Chihuahua reminded Geronimo of the long and violent past between Apaches and

[376] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

Mexicans, and he stated: "These people are Mexicans and they are our enemies. Always the Mexicans have lied to us and killed our people." With this statement, Geronimo ordered the group of farm hands, including Mestas and his wife, to walk up a nearby hill with his warriors following close behind them.[377]

Stanislaus Mestas, the lone nine-year-old survivor of his family, would provide his own account of what happened next. Sleeping up until the murders, Stanislaus awoke to observe how one Apache warrior approached one of the Mexicans, placed the muzzle of his gun directly against the man's head, and fired, spraying flecks of bone, blood and brain matter all around them. Apaches then shot the rest of the herders. Next the warriors took some large stones and beat Stanislaus's mother and siblings to death in front of his eyes. Mr. Mestas met death along the blade of an axe, as a warrior split his skull down the middle, embedding the axe into his neck. Stanislaus survived through the graces of one of the wives of the White Mountain herders who hid the young boy behind her skirt and begged for his life once he was noticed by Geronimo.[378] According to Jimmie Stevens, who talked with Bylas after the attack, Geronimo immediately ordered his warriors to kill the child, but an adopted Apache warrior, likely Jelikine, stepped in to stop the slaughter. Jelikine had grown up with the Apaches as a Mexican captive, and likely felt sympathy for the young boy. After the murder of the Mexicans, Geronimo also moved to attack Bylas, but Naiche, the son of famous Cochise, demonstrated his inherited power by telling his two nephews nearby that if Geronimo made a move against the White Mountain leader that they were to kill the angry shaman. Likely out of respect for the son of the revered Cochise, Geronimo let Bylas live.[379]

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[377] Ibid.

[378] *Arizona Weekly Citizen*. (Tucson, Arizona), 30 April 1882.

[379] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

This episode of slaughter represents one of many committed by Geronimo and his warriors during their various raids on ranches and communities along the borderlands. But prior to the murder of his family, Geronimo, according to his autobiography, had envisioned living a life of quiet and familial domesticity.[380] For Geronimo, a new life had begun when the lives of his family ended in Mexico.

When violence occurs within a person's life in this manner, the mind can initiate a person's most innate "fight or flight" instincts. A chain reaction then begins in the brain itself, hijacking various parts of the human body with the immune and hormonal systems immediately responding to this perceived threat. Normally, this reaction stems from man's biological survival skills, set in place since we first came down from the trees and met the predators that hunted us face to face. Only when these natural reactions continue too long, or the threat overwhelms the mind entirely, does trauma emerge.[381]

Trauma does not always develop into post-traumatic stress disorder, a psychological illness that creates a distinctive and persistent somatology. But trauma does always change the ways in which the human brain, particularly memories, are created. The traumatized brain continues to construct memories in the aftermath of the event, but these memories do not form in a typical manner. Instead, the brain finds great difficulty in thoroughly processing the event, ending in a psychological response known as disassociation. The emotions of the event remain so incredibly powerful that the brain cannot place them into storage without compartmentalizing them. Traumatized individuals are left with key sensory fragments or snippets of the violent occurrence: smells, tastes, and flashes of the moment. These waking nightmares and sensory dreamscapes can be triggered again in the future with the smallest reminder of the

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[380] Geronimo, *Geronimo's Story of his Life*, 46.

[381] De Zulueta. *From Pain to Violence: The Traumatic Roots of Destructiveness* (London: Whurr Publishers, 1992), 191.

traumatic event. In addition, the traumatized brain creates a sort of suspended-memory start point linked back to the violent event. Once something triggers that start point, the brain then initiates the physiological "fight or flight" mechanism as the body and mind prepare for a potential return of the violent threat. Traumatized individuals face a lifetime of these re-imagined traumatic experiences that repeat in this vicious cycle of triggers, traumas actions, and reactions.[382]

If trauma advances into Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, the subsequent condition can introduce a new variety of chronic symptoms into an individual's life outside of intrusive sensory flashbacks. The victim may try to avoid flashbacks by keeping their mind emotionally numb. They may no longer respond to environmental stimuli, and often withdraw from everyday life. But in opposition to this extreme reticence, a completely different set of symptoms can also occur. An individual grappling with PTSD can also fall into a hyper state of arousal accompanied by insomnia, irritability, and an obsessive paranoia with a possible return of violence. These psychological experiences go hand in hand with physiological changes. The autonomic nervous system increases its levels of activity and the heart rate elevates along with systolic blood pressure.[383]

As trauma alters the overall well-being of the impacted individual, the separations between the role of victim and violator can also narrow. General strain theory contends that various external and internal pressures, from feelings of inequity, exposure to violence, or even the inability to achieve expected goals, can in turn create a chain reaction of events leading to further violence from a victimized individual. The lynchpin in this chain, however, revolves around the emotion of anger. Anger increases

[382] Ibid., 163-164, and 191.

[383] Jens Meierhenrich, "The Trauma of Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 9, 4 (2007): 551. doi:10.1080/14623520701643327.

an individual's quantification of emotional pain involving a particular traumatic event, making that event all the more prominent in the sufferer's mind. Anger then redirects the focus of the individual away from that painful emotion and towards blame-placement on the cause of this anxiety. When the traumatized individual finds a person or group to place blame upon, anger can be used as a tool to stir the individual into direct action. Chronic and continued negative arousal in a violated individual can further create chronic violent aggression in kind.[384] For Geronimo, his involvement in continued violence against threatening populations, particularly Mexicans, did not merely stem from a triggered rage in the aftermath of his family's murder. Instead, other factors likely fed into this psychological reactive rage, from his people's complex cultural and spiritual beliefs regarding revenge and justice, to his obligation to provide his followers with their basic needs in an often-anti-Apache Southwestern world.

The rocky path towards the Geronimo-led conflict at the end of the Apache Wars in the 1880s did not begin with one single catalytic event. Several major occurrences escalated the tensions between Geronimo, his followers, and non-Indigenous peoples in the decade before Geronimo's final surrender in 1886. In the late 1870s, frustrated Chiricahua bands dealing with reduced resources and land access escalated their raids along the US-Mexico border. The Euro-American and Mexican public rallied behind the territorial government's attempts to contain the Apache threat. By bringing Geronimo and other "hostiles" in for rations as a trap, then Apache Indian agent at Ojo Caliente, John Clum, captured the shaman and his supporters with the help of Western Apache scouts and Native police.[385] Clum, both young and arrogant, had been appointed as Indian Agent at San Carlos reservation in 1874, and was tasked with the policy of

[384] Robert Agnew, "Foundation for a General Strain Theory of Crime and Delinquency," *Criminology* 30, no. 1 (1992): 47-88.

[385] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,* 78-85,"Chapter 4" Kindle Edition.

concentrating the Apaches in this location. By 1877, frustrated with his own failings at this task, he resigned his post to work as an editor of *The Epitaph* newspaper in Tombstone, Arizona.[386] But prior to his resignation, Clum did round up many major Apache leaders camped around Ojo Caliente, including Loco and Victorio, and sent them to San Carlos, Arizona. Concentrated in one place, territorial and military authorities believed that they could better control various Apache bands as one group. Geronimo symbolically faced transport in shackles around his ankles, a minor but potent memory that would solidify his resentment of American authorities into the future.[387]

Only four years later, a pivotal religious uprising continued sowing seeds of resistance among Geronimo and his followers. During the summer of 1881, renegade leaders such as Geronimo and Juh lived peacefully at San Carlos. But along the banks of the Cibecue Creek near Fort Apache, a prophet named Nochaydelklinne attracted a pan-Apache following to his ritual dances. Initially these ceremonies involved spreading the sacred *hoddentin* along the ground as White Mountain and Coyotero Apaches performed a wheel dance.[388] Soon, however, Nochaydelklinne began communing with the dead, leaving out food for them to eat and vowing that he could return these spirits to their former earthly realm. Rumors abounded around the agency post among Apaches that "...the ground will turn over, the dead will rise, and the Indians (will) be above the whites."[389] American soldiers attempted to arrest Nochaydelklinne, culminating in a

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[386] John W. Ragsdale, "The Chiricahua Apaches and the Assimilation Movement, 1865-1886: A Historical Examination" *American Indian Law Review* 30, no. 2 (2005): 291-363, doi:10.2307/20070759.

[387] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,* 78-85,"Chapter 4" Kindle Edition.

[388] Debo, *Geronimo,* 125-128.

[389] Carr to AAGO, Nov. 2, 1881, NARA, RG393; *RUACC, 1821-1920* (Washington, D.C.,: NAB) Part 1, E187-Manuscript Reports, 1880-1885, Department of Arizona, 1870-1893, Box No. 1, Folder 2.

violent battle between his followers, recently converted Apache scouts, and Euro-American soldiers. Though in hindsight it is clear that the medicine man had planned no extensive uprising, paranoia over that possibility brought in 22 companies of cavalry, infantry, and artillery units from across the southwest to the various reservations. Geronimo and Juh had not followed the shaman's teachings, but they feared the massive influx of military units in response. In the aftermath of the uprising, Geronimo and Juh fled the reservation and began a several years-long pattern of violent raids, peace talks, reservation stays, and escapes.[390]

By the spring of 1882, Geronimo believed that his group could only succeed living and raiding along the border if they could recoup their population losses with an influx of more Apaches. Geronimo set his sights on Chief Loco, a leader who had never gotten along with Geronimo. Loco had pursued a policy of survival through peace with the Americans and reservation life. But many of the hostile Apaches under Geronimo had family members with Loco whom they wanted to come with them. Geronimo also wished to gain Victorio's followers, who had joined their relatives among Loco's people after the old war leader died in battle a few years earlier.[391]

Early in the morning on April 19, after sending a few warriors ahead to cut the telegraph wires to the San Carlos subagency the night before, Geronimo made his way with Naiche and Chatto to Loco's camps. According to both Jason Betzinez and Sam Haozous, the leaders in Geronimo's group stretched their warriors out in a line between San Carlos village and the river, threatening to shoot any Apache who refused to go with them.[392] Betzinez recalled overhearing one of the Apache leaders yelling to his men to

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[390] Debo, *Geronimo,* 129-133.

[391] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, 142-146.

[392] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,* Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

shoot any Apache who refused to leave the reservation. Betzinez felt both shock and an indignant sense of betrayal at another Apache threatening the life of his own people in such a way, even if they were from different bands.[393] Meanwhile, Chihuahua's warriors fired shots over Loco's camp, hoping to entice the tribal police chief Albert Sterling to engage with them. Sterling charged into the camp on horseback and multiple Apaches shot him down. Likely resentful of his harsh methods at forcing assimilation on reservation Apaches, Geronimo's followers mutilated Chief Sterling's corpse, completely severing his head from his body.[394]

In Loco's camp, Geronimo's men held the elderly leader at gunpoint, threatening his life if he and his people did not join in their flight from the reservation. When Loco refused to leave, the warriors under Geronimo, Chatto, and Naiche began beating the women and children with pieces of firewood. With his people in physical danger, Loco directed his people to follow these renegade Apaches into the glowing light of early dawn.[395] Betzinez, along with his mother, marched on foot, given no time to round up their horses. Betzinez felt a great sadness upon hearing of the death of Chief Sterling, who had often visited the Warm Springs camp and taught Betzinez how to construct little toy wagons. Without a single weapon among the band, the entire Warm Springs group helplessly moved along with Geronimo's followers back towards Mexico. Simultaneously, this group also believed that a path back to San Carlos no longer lay before them. With two dead Apache scouts and a dead white policeman behind them, the Warm Springs Apaches felt that no American representative, soldier or agent, would believe that they

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[393] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 56.

[394] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,* 211-215,"Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

[395] Shapard, *Chief Loco,* 152-154.

did not participate in these killings.[396] Of the three hundred or so followers of Loco and the other targeted leader, Zele, only 45 of these Apaches were male warriors. Women and children, many of them former dependents of the dead warriors of Victorio's group, tried to control their panic as they grabbed what few belongings they could carry and quickly followed Geronimo, sandwiched between his warriors in the front and Chihuahua's men bringing up the rear.[397]

Geronimo and his followers continued to raid and pillage local settlements, ranches, and wagons on both sides of the border in 1882. Residents in the Sonoita Valley moved to the town of Calabasas panicking and seeking shelter. By early September 1882, when the war party under Geronimo returned to their main encampment in Mexico, they had amassed a great deal of ammunition and other resources. They had also traversed hundreds of miles and killed nearly 50 Mexicans and Americans in the process. Meanwhile Juh's group had etched its own path of violence across the region, killing and raiding across northern Mexico, killing at least 50 Mexicans over the course of the summer.[398]

Demoralized after losing his wife and several grandchildren in a fight with a Mexican militia, Juh took one warrior, and several of his remaining family members, and retreated in the Sierra Madres without his followers, who soon joined with Geronimo's group. Juh would die not long afterwards of natural causes. In total, the winter of 1882 and 1883 proved a difficult one for the Apaches, with a 30 percent loss of population for the group while on the warpath in Mexico.[399]

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[396] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo,* 56-57.

[397] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,* "Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

[398] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 12" Kindle Edition.

[399] Ibid., "Chapter 13" Kindle Edition.

After years of cyclical breakouts, raids, and returns to the reservation, General George Crook managed to convince all the Apaches within Geronimo's group, with the exception of Juh, to return to San Carlos in the summer of 1883.[400] Unknown to Crook at the time, this return would be the final attempt at a reservation existence in the Southwest for Geronimo and his followers. Geronimo, Naiche, Chihuahua and other warriors agreed to come to the reservation later, informing Crook that they could not leave Mexico until they found the rest of the Apaches still present in the country as captives. In June, the rest of the group reached the Arizona reservation.[401] Jason Betzinez recalled the uncomfortable return of his group to San Carlos Reservation in the spring of 1884. Betzinez felt an instant sense of animosity from other San Carlos Apaches who likely still felt anger for the previous breakout when Geronimo's followers killed scouts and the Indian chief of police, Mr. Sterling.[402] Geronimo did not come in with the other leaders and his warriors as planned, and instead continued his raids around the border. But by the spring of 1884, Crook finally managed to convince Geronimo and the remaining holdouts to come back and try their hand at farming and peace once more at San Carlos reservation.[403]

With General Crook's support, the Chiricahua under Geronimo moved to the banks of Turkey Creek in May of 1884. This high elevation area provided clean water, thick grasses, pine trees, and plenty of wild game. The government gave them seeds for planting and goats for raising. The Chiricahua also enjoyed the privacy away from the White Mountain and San Carlos Apaches who blamed the group for much of the

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[400] Debo, *Geronimo,* 181-192.

[401] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,*"Chapter 14" Kindle Edition.

[402] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 122.

[403] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,* "Chapter 14" Kindle Edition.

hostilities expressed towards all Apaches at the time. Though late in the season, the Chiricahua managed to plant over 60 acres of corn, barley, watermelons, pumpkins, potatoes, and onions.[404] But while the situation seemed poised for a final peace, various issues brewed among Geronimo's people. The government's forced assimilation and prohibitions on ceremonial tiswin production and consumption stirred up resentment among some of the Apaches. Many followers felt listless and without purpose on the reservation, longing for a more traditional life back in the mountains of Mexico. Male warriors likely also feared the recent legislation to transition Indian crimes to civil courts in the territory. But for most of the Apaches on the reservation, Geronimo's last breakout surprised many leaders, with Bonito, Chatto, Zele, Bacutla, and Loco remaining on the reservation with around 400 loyal Apache followers.[405]

Again, Geronimo knew that his group needed more of the Apache leaders to join him if his group was to survive back in Mexico. Geronimo provided a careful lie to the leaders, Naiche and Chihuahua, that his warriors had assassinated Lieutenant Britton Davis and his faithful scout Chatto. But though Geronimo had sent out men to kill these two individuals, the assassins had not been successful. Fearing broad-scale punishments, separation from their families, and potential exile to Alcatraz, Chihuahua and Naiche agreed to join Geronimo with their warriors. On May 17, word reached Davis of the potential breakout; he gathered his Chiricahua scouts and two cavalry units, and immediately called for the arrest of both Naiche and Geronimo. That night, four Apache scouts, 30 warriors, eight teenage boys, and 92 women and children fled the reservation with the rebel leaders. Geronimo, Naiche, Chihuahua, Mangas, and Nana directed this band of followers, which after a few more escapes just over a week later numbered

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[404] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,* "Chapter 17" Kindle Edition.

[405] Ibid., "Chapter 18" Kindle Edition.

around 144 Apaches.[406] When Chihuahua found out that Davis and Chatto remained alive, he nearly assaulted the audacious Geronimo in his rage. Ultimately, this rift broke the group apart, with Chihuahua heading north to the Mogollons and another group separating south into Sonora. Geronimo, Naiche, and Mangas headed east.[407]

The Apaches back at San Carlos did not ignore the events transpiring farther south; instead, a large number of Apaches joined up as scouts for the US military. On May 21, 1885, Chatto, Bonito, and the 400 Apaches on the reservation held a war dance. Many of these Apaches blamed Geronimo for the loss of Apache life on the warpath and viewed him as a troublemaker. Other Apaches feared that his arrogance and rage towards Mexicans would ultimately get their still-captive relatives killed. Scouts under Chatto and Bonito pledged their loyalty to the US government, hoping that Lieutenant Davis and General Crook would use military diplomacy to bring their relatives back from Mexico to them. In multiple campaigns in both Mexico and the territorial USA, Apache scouts and Euro-American soldiers managed to capture many of both Geronimo's and Chihuahua's family members. With each collision of Apaches and soldiers in the field, the U.S. military took dozens of non-partisan Apaches prisoner. But after five months of diligent pursuit, Crook's men were utterly exhausted. Crook discharged Chatto and his scouts, praising them for doing the best they could in light of the circumstances, and decided to enlist fresh recruits for the next phase of the campaign. Though the U.S. military had captured 30 women and children through their engagements with the hostile Apaches, 42 strong male warriors remained at large in October 1885.[408]

General Nelson Miles replaced General Crook after his resignation from the post

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[406] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 18" Kindle Edition.

[407] Ibid., "Chapter 19" Kindle Edition.

[408] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 19" and "Chapter 21" Kindle Edition.

in April 1886. Born in 1839 in Massachusetts, Miles had fought in many major battles for the Union during the Civil War, receiving wounds on four different occasions. After fighting Native peoples across the Midwest during the 1870s, he rose through the ranks to brevet general just prior to his takeover as the leader of 5,000 American troops in pursuit of Geronimo and his followers.[409] Miles immediately observed the dire conditions faced by Euro-American and Mexican settlers of the Southwest territories before Geronimo's subjugation in 1886. Miles described how all industrial pursuits in the region, from agriculture to mining to cattle raising, had come to a standstill from years of Apache raiding and attacks. Miles declared that "A more terror-stricken class of people than the citizens of these territories I have never found in any section of the country." In the year of 1886 alone, the renegade Apaches under Geronimo killed at least 140 people in the region. Mexican citizens just south of the border also feared the return of Geronimo's people to their states, as the Mexican military at the time remained entangled with a Yaqui rebellion further south. The renegade Apaches soon began regular raids at three separate locations in Sonora, stretching from the border with the US at the northernmost point to 150 miles south.[410]

As the Apaches continued their sporadic attacks on isolated settlements around the border to resupply their people with food, water, horses, and ammunition, the US military followed closely behind them, making supply missions increasingly difficult. The Apaches, forced to keep constant vigil whenever camped for the following soldiers, also felt the pinch of scarce grass and water resources for their animals in more isolated locations. Often, the Apaches abandoned their stock in order to escape the American troops. The Apache scouts working for the United States military matched the Apaches

[409] Odie B. Faulk, *The Geronimo Campaign* (Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, 1993), 98-102.

[410] United States, War Department, *Annual Report for the Secretary of War for the Year 1886, Volume I*(Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), 165.

tit for tat in their pursuit. Still, the terrain and pace pushed soldiers to the extremes of their endurance. Hot, sweltering days gave way to nights filled with heavy downpours of rain. By the end of July, fourteen of Captain Henry Lawton's soldiers in pursuit of Geronimo's group suffered from extreme exhaustion and many of the men marched without shoes. By the time of Geronimo's surrender, Lawton calculated that his soldiers had marched 3,041 miles during their long pursuit of Geronimo and Naiche.[411] General Miles soon after decided that Lieutenant Gatewood should move towards the border with another team of Apache scouts, interpreter George Wratten, and a team of guard soldiers to prepare for the inevitable surrender.[412]

General Miles practiced a variety of strategies in bringing in the hostile Apache group. Miles authorized a 2000 dollar bounty on Geronimo, dead or alive, and encouraged American as well as Mexican settlers to pursue this prize. He also placed bounties on male warriors at 50 dollars a head. While the War Department expressed a wariness at the bounty on Geronimo, a territorial delegate from Arizona, Curtis Bean, pushed for the bounty to be upped to 25,000 dollars for the shaman's scalp.[413] Miles selected Captain Henry Ware Lawton of the 4th Cavalry, a man who had served with distinction in the Civil War, to lead a group of cavalry, infantry, scouts, and guides in pursuit of the Apaches. Miles believed that by using constant maneuvers he could exhaust the group into submission. Miles also assembled a pack train to follow this special military group capable of carrying two months' worth of supplies and ammunition.[414]

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[411] Lawton to AG, Dept. Of AZ, 1886 from "Surrender of Geronimo, Roll 188.

[412] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 25" Kindle Edition.

[413] Ibid., "Chapter 24" Kindle Edition.

[414] Annual Report from General Nelson Miles, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 188, 8.

If press accounts during Geronimo's breakout are to be believed, Apaches swarmed the territory threatening every Euro-American life within their reach. The reality differed greatly from the story spun by local papers across the Southwestern territories at a time when the country's newspapers often operated on rumor and sensationalism. While the breakout did create a deep-seated fear among white settlers, the Apaches who left the reservation represented only a small fraction of the 5,000 Apaches still in residence at San Carlos alone. By the time of Geronimo's surrender and after numerous battles resulting in deaths and captures of members, only around 40 Apache followers remained in his group. The Apaches did have a long history of murdering settlers and capturing women and children, but American fears regarding this history did not exist to scale with the reality of the threat on the ground during the Geronimo era. Revealing the racialized paranoia that more broadly encompassed Euro-American concerns in the territory, many frontier settlers expressed great anxiety at the government's use of black servicemen. These settlers argued that federal authorities did not care enough for the territorial population to send out white troops to protect them. In reality, these black troops had shown their mettle repeatedly in the wars against Victorio, and this mistrust by settlers related more to the racism of the time and a deep-seated mistrust of the military than any failures on the part of black soldiers during the breakout period. Further exacerbating civilian doubt in the US military, settlers in the region likewise did not trust in the military's reliance on Apaches as scouts.[415]

Down in Mexico, a similar paranoia continued among the populations of Chihuahua and Sonora. Captain Wirt Davis had noted many Mexican-civilian reports of imagined Apaches while south of the border, likening this paranoia to an obsession that

[415] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 20" Kindle Edition.

verged on a mental disorder.[416] Charles F. Lummis, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times,* noted that at any given time during the final Geronimo breakout, this minor war-chief represented only one of at least seven Apache leaders raiding and killing off of the reservation. But Geronimo's name had already grown bigger than life in the west, resulting in a fear that verged on hysteria even as other Apache leaders also engaged in hostilities against settlements in the region.[417] But regardless of Geronimo's only partial role in ransacking the territory, his people faced a constant and continuous depletion of members with each encounter with both Mexican and American troops along the border.

On April 7, 77 of these former followers, comprised of Chihuahua, his people, and 23 captured Apaches from Geronimo's group, boarded a sleeper train near Fort Bowie and left for Fort Marion, Florida. This chain of exile would intensify in numbers during the year 1886 under the careful management of the War Department. The Apache people on this first train of cars speeding towards the east believed that they would only live in exile for two years. But after a 27-year existence as prisoners of war in Florida, Alabama, and later Oklahoma, only two Apaches of this first group, Jose Second and Nahdozin, would live to see their people's return to the Southwest.[418]

After the Mexican and American governments agreed to act in coordination with each other during the military's "hot pursuit" of Geronimo back and forth across the international boundary line, Mexican authorities sent word to General Miles that the Apaches had been sighted near the border. Geronimo and his group had petitioned some Mexican scouts just outside of Fronteras for peace in mid-April and appeared to be in a state of near total exhaustion. Geronimo still led the group but with his right arm

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[416] Ibid., "Chapter 22" Kindle Edition.

[417] William M. Clements, *Imagining Geronimo: An Apache Icon in Popular Culture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 79.

[418] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,* "Chapter 24" Kindle Edition.

bandaged and in a sling.[419] Governor Luis Torres of the state of Sonora wrote that ultimately the Apaches backed out of peace talks, fearful of Mexican treachery. Governor Torres, a leader who had already brought industry and railroads into Sonora after usurping Yaqui land further south,[420] agreed to abide by the American's terms on the Apaches of unconditional surrender or no surrender at all.[421]

Hints of the impending surrender came in the form of two Native women and Lieutenant Mercer from Captain Lawton's camp. Mercer told the women that if the Apaches still desired peace they could discuss terms with the American troops and Captain Lawton. Shortly after this discussion with these Apache women from the hostiles' camp, the Apaches reopened communications directly with the Americans, this time through two Apache scouts serving under Lieutenant Gatewood. Gatewood rode his horse boldly into the Apache camp to hold parlance with them. After working with the Apaches extensively through the Apache scout program, these men believed that their scouts, with familial connections to Geronimo, held the only chance at securing a peaceful surrender.[422] Lieutenant Gatewood sent the scouts Kayitah and Martine on August 24 to the Apache camp. Carrying a white flag attached to a century plant, the two men hoped to find the rebel Apache group in diplomatic spirits.[423]

Jasper Kanseah, Geronimo's nephew, was 15 years old at the time of Geronimo's

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[419] "General Nelson Miles to O.O. Howard", August 18, 1886 from "Surrender of Geronimo, NARA Riverside, M689 (Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, 1881-1889), Roll 188, 4.

[420] Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Development and Rural Rebellion: Pacification of the Yaquis in the Late Porfiriato,"," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 54, no. 1 (1974)7: 2–93.

[421] "General Nelson Miles to O.O. Howard", August 18, 1886 from "Surrender of Geronimo, Roll 188, 5.

[422] Miles to AG, September 24, 1886, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 188, 19.

[423] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo,*" Chapter 25" Kindle Edition.

surrender, and had been his companion since the last breakout from the reservation. He recalled that Geronimo reminded Kayitah of how Mangas Coloradas also came under a white flag, only to have his head chopped off. Geronimo seemed adamant that he would remain free in the mountains which he called his home along the Mexican border. He told Kayitah that if the US army wanted to kill him that they should; he had to die sometime. But Kayitah reminded him of the real cost of this continued resistance when he stated, "You got women and children with you. And only a few men -- and some of them just boys. You come down, talk to them anyway. It be better for you, better for your families." Perhaps recalling the anguish of losing his own family many years before, Geronimo agreed to talk with the American officers.[424]

Decades later, Sam Kenoi recalled hearing the scout's pleas for Geronimo to surrender for the good of his followers from Kayitah. According to Kayitah, when General Miles met with Geronimo, he told the embattled leader, "If you fight, we will kill you. If you surrender, we will bring you back alive...I give you the privilege to go to your mountains. I'll give you a whole night and a day before I follow your gang. Then I shall kill every last one of you, even your children...Take your choice."[425] Miles then reminded Geronimo of the humanity of those people in the United States and Mexico that he had killed, and he told the leader that he had this one opportunity to live in peace if he agreed to surrender as a prisoner of the US government.[426] Miles added that Geronimo and Naiche must agree to leave the Southwest along with the other Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches. Geronimo agreed and reported back the next morning with his

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[424] Robinson and Ball, *Apache Voices*, 52.

[425] Samuel Kenoi and Morris E. Opler, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," The Journal of Arizona History 27, no. 1 (1986), 78-80, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/stable/41859664.

[426] Ibid.

followers. Naiche took more convincing and initially asked for a 20-day pass to go to the White Mountain. But Geronimo convinced him that with troops in every mountain valley and heliographic communications on each peak, surrender remained the only realistic option.[427] Naiche, the son of Cochise, felt extreme apprehension at the thought of surrender. But he agreed that if Geronimo would ride out to him and lead him to surrender by his side, then he would turn himself in also. Geronimo, the powerful shaman of the Chiricahuas, and Naiche, the warrior son who carried the blood of Cochise in his veins, dismounted together on the afternoon of September 4, 1886. [428]

That afternoon General Miles recalled a powerful thunderstorm that tumbled into the canyon. The air turned electric as sheet lightning crackled in the sweltering sky, sending Apaches and Anglos alike for cover. General Miles and his assistants huddled with Geronimo and Naiche beneath a thin wagon canvas as the summer monsoon rains passed over them, washing out the dust-laden floors of the canyon and bringing a cool relief from the heat of a long Southwest summer.[429]

General Miles would later summarize the extreme lengths that both the Apaches and his men endured at the end of this arduous and extensive campaign:

> The hostiles fought until the bulk of their ammunition was exhausted, pursued for more than two thousand miles over the most rugged and sterile districts of the Rocky and Sierra Madre mountain regions, beneath the burning heat of mid-summer, until worn down and disheartened they find no place of safety in our country or Mexico, and finally lay down their arms and sue for mercy from the gallant officers and soldiers, who despite every hardship and adverse circumstance have achieved the success their endurance and fortitude so richly deserved.[430]

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[427] Annual Report from General Nelson Miles, 1886, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 188, 20.

[428] Ibid., 21.

[429] Nelson Miles, *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles, Embracing a Brief View of the Civil War* (Chicago: The Werner Company, 1896), 526.

[430] Annual Report from General Nelson Miles, 1886, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 188, 23.

After all of Naiche's people had reported in and joined Geronimo's camp, Gatewood headed to Fort Bowie, some 65 miles away. A few days later, Captain Lawton's unit along with the rest of the Apaches, minus a handful of escapees, headed to Fort Bowie as well. From there the troops moved the Apaches to Bowie Station where they boarded a train to El Paso.[431] Geronimo, Naiche, his warriors, and their family members made it to San Antonio where they stopped at a fort to await word from the military leadership and President Grover Cleveland as to what their fates would be. General David S. Stanley, the commanding officer at the fort, met with Geronimo and Naiche shortly after finding out that the military planned to transfer the warriors to Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, Florida while their family members would be sent further on to Fort Marion where the rest of the captured Apaches resided. The leaders expressed a sense of betrayal at this separation from their families already sent across the state of Florida to Fort Marion in St. Augustine. The warriors believed this alteration to be a deceptive turn from the original terms of surrender. Back at Fort Bowie, General Miles' had explained the Apaches' exile to the east at Fort Bowie by showing the Apache warriors his open palm, saying, "From now on we want to begin a new life...This represents the past; It is all covered with hollows and ridges." Then he wiped one hand across the other and stated, "That represents the wiping out of the past, which will be considered smooth and forgotten."[432]

On October 15, 1886, Geronimo, Naiche, and the 15 other warriors stepped off of a train in Pensacola, Florida to a throng of 2,000 onlookers hoping to catch a glimpse of the exotic prisoners from the West. Part of the old Spanish colony of West Florida,

[431] Ibid., 21.

[432] "General D.S. Stanley to AG", October 27, 1886, from "Surrender of Geronimo, Roll 188.

Pensacola was nearly 400 miles away from St. Augustine where the military was holding the bulk of the Apache prisoners. As Geronimo and his warriors moved further down to the railroad wharf, dozens of boats crowded around the waterway between their new prison on Santa Rosa island and the shoreline. Now used to such attention from their brief stay in San Antonio, the group of Apaches boarded a small boat and arrived at Fort Pickens. For the next year, they would live a largely mundane existence as prisoners of war in the old casements of the stone structure.[433] Spending their days cleaning the fort, they would have heard the roar of the waves battering the island shoreline in the distance and tasted the salt in the air with each quiet breeze. But in reality, their lives in isolation were not so isolated after all; these prisoners of war became virtual celebrities as tourists flocked from around the region to catch a glimpse of the infamous Apaches.

In April 1887, the War Department finally agreed with the officers stationed at Fort Marion that, owing to the poor conditions on the ground, the population of prisoners there should be removed to Mount Vernon Barracks in Alabama. Thirty-one of the prisoners had male family members imprisoned at Fort Pickens in Pensacola and wished to join them rather than move on with the rest of the Apaches to their new place of exile 30 miles north of Mobile. For Geronimo, this reunion must have been bittersweet. While he saw his three wives, including Zi-yeh, his small son Fenton, and his newborn daughter Lenna whom he had not yet met, he likely also learned of the death of another of his older daughters, who had been sent ahead of him during the surrender talks, due to disease.[434]

Shortly after this reunion of families, the Apaches held their "Dance of the

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[433] Robert M. Utely, *Geronimo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 226.

[434] Debo, *Geronimo*, 326.

Mountain Spirits." The public flocked onto the island to observe the ritual.[435] Mislabeled by the press as a "corn dance," this particular ceremony possessed tremendous meaning for the Chiricahua people in exile as it re-linked a removed people to the peaks and valleys of their homeland in the Southwest. As the women cried out in unison at the ceremony's beginning, they signaled the return of Child of Water to his mother, White Painted Woman, after her slaying of the monsters of the world. The women's shrill cries soon died down into a soft wailing. Warriors, including Geronimo, danced and beat their drums for several hours as curious onlookers stared but eventually lost interest, making their way back home via boat in the early morning hours.[436] Even without an audience, however, the mountain god dancers moved and chanted throughout the night. The masked dancers, the clowns, and the familiar rhythms of these Apache songs likely brought a sense of healing to Geronimo and those around him, who had been separated from both communal and familial support in the aftermath of their capture.[437] But it would not be long before Geronimo and his warriors rejoined the rest of the exiled Apaches in their new home in Alabama.

On May 1, 1887, Geronimo and his family joined the Apaches who had previously been moved to Mount Vernon Barracks. Geronimo entered the camp first to be greeted only by silence from the rest of the Apaches. Likely still angry at Geronimo's role in their exile, the bulk of the Apaches remained in their homes at the barracks, leaving the old shaman standing alone with only the buzzing cicadas for company.[438] But one woman

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[435] H. Henrietta Stockel, *Shame and Endurance: The Untold Story of the Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 44.

[436] The *Pensacolian*, June 11, 1887.

[437] Debo, *Geronimo*, 330.

[438] Walter Reed, "Geronimo and His Warriors in Captivity," *The Illustrated American, Vol. III* (August 16, 1890), 232.

broke the spell of stillness that loomed over the camp; Geronimo's daughter Dohn-say emerged from her cabin. In keeping with Chiricahua greeting customs, Geronimo did not falter in his purposeful avoidance of registering her presence. But Dohn-say, who had not seen her father in over a year, ran to him, throwing her arms around Geronimo's neck, her body racked with sobs. Though the shaman kept his stern gaze, he accepted her embrace and his new home in the pine woods of this Southeastern swampland.[439]

The U.S. government had already shipped many children to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania where they continued to sicken and die in droves, but the government also opened up a local school on-site in Alabama at Mount Vernon for the younger children as well as any adults who wished to learn. Geronimo took a leadership position within the school, becoming a symbol of discipline in the classroom and marching up the desk rows with a willow switch in hand to placate unruly students. Geronimo would later become a "Justice of the Peace" of the community at Mount Vernon Barracks.[440] This role marked a steady transition for Geronimo into a different sort of leader within his exiled group.

In the fall of 1894 and after heavy debate among the military and in Congress, the federal government approved a move away from the tuberculosis ridden and swampy Mount Vernon in Alabama to Fort Sill in Indian Territory. Though the Apaches remained a long way from the full health they experienced in their Native Southwest, they improved slowly but surely during their early years at Fort Sill.[441] Isabel Enjady noted that though Geronimo remained the most "infamous" prisoner at Fort Sill Reservation up until his death, he did not function in the traditional sense of a prisoner by this point

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[439] Debo, *Geronimo, 335*.

[440] Stockel, *Shame and Endurance,* 69-76.

[441] Ibid., 101-120

in his life. He could come and go as he pleased on and off of the reservation.[442] During this time, Geronimo grew a bit closer once again to many members of his Apache community, but he also expanded his public persona through an increased engagement with the world outside of his exiled home.

Geronimo attended several world's fairs in the late 1890s and first decade of the 1900's. He viewed each public engagement as an opportunity to learn and observe the world around him, to make money for his family, and to cultivate a new perspective on Apaches among Euro-American populations. He also hoped these encounters would aid him in achieving a release for his people back to the Southwest. In his autobiography, Geronimo recalled that during his visit to the 1904 world's fair, he felt his constant prisoner status as he remained in the custody of an escort at all times. He further noted the captivity of other minority members, such as an African American kept bound prior to a magic trick and the "captured" Igorrotes of the Philippines. Geronimo even remarked on the cage-like nature of the Ferris wheel carts, entrapping riders within the bowels of a large man-made machine.[443]

In March of 1904, Theodore Roosevelt invited Geronimo, along with six other major Indigenous leaders, to ride in his inaugural parade. For Roosevelt, this parade of Natives, led by Geronimo, symbolized his ascendancy as a white male over the American continent from east to west. For Geronimo, participation in this ceremony represented a step towards freedom, as he met with the President after the parade in the hopes of convincing him to allow him and his people to return to the southwest.[444] In this meeting

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[442] "Enjady, Isabel," October 1955, Box 5 Folder 5, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

[443] Andersen, *American Indian Literature and the Southwest* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 55-56.

[444] Paul C. Rosier, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 13-14.

with Roosevelt, reporters noted how Geronimo pled with the President fervently to grant a last request to an Apache warrior approaching the end of his life. Geronimo tried to justify his actions as an Apache leader in the past, but he did not deny the violence he and his people committed: "We starved, but we killed." He ended his plea by telling the President, "Let me die in my own country, an old man who has been punished enough and is free."[445]

On October 4, 1904, the 305 Apache prisoners from Mount Vernon arrived in Oklahoma Territory at Fort Sill. One of the most recent dead included Chappo, Geronimo's adult son who had contracted tuberculosis at Carlisle Indian School and died at the Mount Vernon post hospital in August. A large group of curious Kiowa and Comanche peoples gathered to meet their new neighbors. Geronimo settled this final stage of his life somewhat contentedly, spending ample time tending to the produce in his garden and calling up his warriors on occasion to gather beneath a nearby shade tree and sample a melon slice or two. By this time Geronimo had become an Apache scout with the US military. Though no longer in active service, Geronimo still periodically donned his American military uniform to attend roll call with the rest of the soldiers.

With the advent of the Spanish-American war, many Euro-American soldiers stationed at Fort Sill rushed to join the war efforts. One night shortly after, Geronimo sat about a fire with some comrades and joked that with so many white soldiers gone, he and his warriors could easily flee back to Arizona. A young female Carlisle graduate overheard the conversation and reported it to the reservation's officers still on the ground. When an American cavalry captain brought Geronimo and Naiche into Fort Sill for questioning, Geronimo stated: "I am a US soldier. I wear the uniform, and it makes my heart sore to be thus suspected." To a certain capacity, Geronimo's name still evoked

[445] "Appeal of Geronimo," *The Venita Chieftain*, April 20, 1905.

terror in the hearts of not just Southwesterners but of the wider public as well. The military promptly brought cavalry units into the area to keep watch over the old war leader and his men.[446] While Geronimo spent much of his time tending to his little farm, he did not abandon his original role as a medicine man. On occasion he would be called to the bedside of the sick to perform his healing songs and ceremonies. Other major leaders such as Naiche would eventually convert to Christianity through the local Dutch Reformed Church, but Geronimo maintained his own traditional Indigenous beliefs alongside his new following of "the Jesus road" up until the end of his life.[447]

In 1906, Geronimo sat down with his nephew Asa Daklugie and Stephen Barrett, to dictate his autobiography. Looking back on a life reaching his end, Geronimo used his story to make a case for the return of him and his people back to the Southwest. Geronimo felt so strongly about his autobiography as a genuine reflection of how he saw himself that shortly after its release, he had his publisher Otis Notman send copies of the book to his family members in case after his death they needed a tangible means to defend his reputation.[448]

For Geronimo, this last act of storytelling functioned as both communal activism and individual healing. Trauma of the mind, unlike a physical trauma on the body, must be experienced twice to be fully processed by the sufferer. Psychological trauma exists because it represents an experience so profoundly terrible to its victim, that the mind cannot initially process it into a fully realized memory. Instead, flashbacks, nightmares, and other sensory memories represent the mind's attempt to re-experience the trauma in order to completely comprehend it and heal from it. Trauma does not exist as an event,

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[446] Utely, *Geronimo*, 249-254.

[447] Robinson and Ball, *Apache Voices,* 58.

[448] Clements, *Imagining Geronimo,* 143.

but as its aftermath. Because trauma occurs separately from the violating incident, relegated in memory to a dark, chaotic *doppelgange*r world, so strange and yet so similar to our own, one must find a way to push the traumatic experience back into conscious reality.[449] By providing an oral history of a past traumatic event, or in the case of Geronimo, by dictating his life's story to a wider audience, he perhaps came to terms with his painful past by finally witnessing out loud his own pain.

In the three years after the publication of Geronimo's life story, he grew increasingly feeble. In February 1909, Geronimo fell from his horse and into a puddle of water after a night of drinking. The next morning an Apache woman found him shivering and confused on the ground by the side of the road. Geronimo quickly contracted pneumonia and one of the Apache scouts sent an ambulance to bring him to the hospital. A dozen Apache women, Geronimo's wife among them, physically prevented the paramedics from taking him from his bed, fearing the place where western medicine seemed to kill more Apaches than it saved. The post-surgeon examined Geronimo, and informed friends and relatives to call for his adult children to come and say their goodbyes to their father. While his children did not make it to their father's bedside before he passed away, Eugene Chihuahua stayed by his side during the last day of his life, and Asa Daklugie, a nephew that Geronimo loved like a son, kept the night watch over his uncle. Daklugie recalled his final conversations with Geronimo, and how the medicine man spoke of past events, wishing that he had never surrendered and instead had died fighting like Victorio before him. An hour before the sun began to peek along the horizon, Asa Daklugie held Geronimo's hand as he moved from this life into the next.[450]

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[449] Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience,* 3-11.

[450] Debo, *Geronimo,* 439-443.

Geronimo's life, even in death, remained fraught with contradictions and controversy in the public eye, as shown in the obituary posts that were released just after his death. One *New York Times post* described the headman as "Crafty, bloodthirsty, incredibly cruel and ferocious, he was all his life the worst type of aboriginal savage." The next day's paper, however, described an alternative image of Geronimo as a Native person fighting for what he viewed as a monumental cause on behalf of his people. This article similarly warned readers to be wary of his personification from a negative and eternally white perspective.[451] The *Washington Post's* obituary of Geronimo on February 19, 1909, painted Geronimo's life in much simpler words: "His soul drank blood…Geronimo was emphatically a bad Indian."

Many Apaches continued to view Geronimo in a negative light as well even after his death. Amelia Naiche, granddaughter to Cochise and daughter to one of Geronimo's closest friends, Naiche, claimed that no one liked Geronimo and referred to him as an outcast at Fort Sill. She blamed Geronimo for the suffering of her family members. A strong believer in the words of her grandfather Cochise, Amelia Naiche did not like the fact that Geronimo had not heeded the old leader's warning that many Apaches would die if peace could not be maintained between the Apaches and the whites.[452]

Sam Kenoi's father rode with Geronimo briefly during his long career of resistance and war, but Kenoi also carried no positive feelings towards a leader he viewed as operating on fear rather than sound reasoning. Kenoi stated about the warrior shaman, "I know that he and a few others like him were the cause of the death of my mother and many of my relatives who have been pushed around the country as prisoners of war…he caused Apache to fight Apache and all sorts of trouble to break out among our

[451] Stockel, *Shame and Endurance*, 131-132.

[452] "Naiche, Amelia," 1957-1983, Box 7, Folder, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

people.[453] Kenoi recalled Geronimo's fears of being kept on the reservation and how he believed that he would be taken away by the white soldiers or jailed. Geronimo would then listen to his power, which always told him to flee and then attack. This flight and fight ritual could not be seen by many Apaches angered at losing loved ones during the Apache War years for what it was: the dance of trauma, repeated over and over again.

Charlie Smith, the son of one of Geronimo's warriors known as Alabama Charlie, spoke to Eve Ball in the mid-twentieth century on the very human characteristics of Geronimo as a flawed but fierce leader for the Chiricahua Apaches during the 1880s:

> I do not think he wanted to kill, but there were cases when he had no choice. If he were seen by a civilian, it meant that he'd be reported to the military and they'd be after us. So there was nothing to do but kill the civilian and his entire family. It was terrible to see little children killed. I do not like to talk of it. I do not like to think of it. But soldiers killed our women and children, too. Don't forget that, there were times that I hated Geronimo for that, too; but when I got older, I knew that he had no choice... I did see many, many people killed. I wish I could forget it.[454]

Jasper Kanseah believed that Geronimo's appeal was simple: Geronimo could procure regular food for his followers. In an era of restrictions and strains on resources in a Southwest world increasingly populated by Euro-American settlers, many followers viewed following Geronimo on the warpath as a means of controlling their own survival. Though these Apaches knew they could be pursued and killed by the Americans and the Mexicans, they also knew that a decrease in rations and an increase of disease on the reservation would kill them as well, only more slowly.[455] Eugene Chihuahua, son of the famous war leader Chihuahua and one of the first leaders to surrender his band to the government during the Geronimo wars, said of Geronimo: "Was Geronimo cruel? Is there any warfare that is not cruel? He was no more cruel that [sp] the white men who

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[453] Kenoi and Opler, "A Chiricahua Apache's Account of the Geronimo Campaign of 1886," 72.

[454] Ball, *Indeh*, 104.

[455] "Kanseah, Jasper," 1954-1956, Box 5 Folder 16, MSS 3096, *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

hounded and hunted him. They killed Indians on sight, and he retaliated in kind." In his interview with Eve Ball, Chihuahua spoke on this normality of violence and revenge in the contested landscape of the Southwest.[456]

As the son of the militant leader Juh of the Nednhi band of Mexican Apaches, Asa Daklugie understood perhaps more than any other Apache what Geronimo had tried to achieve, and particularly how Geronimo felt that he had been backed into a corner.[457] Daklugie contended that Geronimo believed that if he and his followers remained in Mexico on the run, they would be killed by Mexican soldiers. But Geronimo also believed that if his people returned to the reservation in Arizona they would also be killed, not necessarily by soldiers or settlers, but instead by the brutal living conditions there. Asa stated about Geronimo:

> He was unwilling to give up and he offered to die fighting for what was his by right--his country. I don't blame him for it. The white people came to this country--pouring out like popcorn. To locate themselves in our country; they treated the Indians bad; tie them together and shoot them. Robbed them of everything; take everything they got; shot them; showed them no mercy; killed them like animals; tried to exterminate them. Geronimo was fighting for his own; he tried to win back his country for his people. And died a prisoner.[458]

Few Apaches living during the age of Geronimo in the Southwest could discount the difficulties that not only Geronimo, but any Apache leader faced during the 1870s and 1880s. Daklugie took a certain amount of pride from the fact that, in the wake of these difficulties, the U.S. military did not take Geronimo and his followers by force, but that instead Geronimo made the decision to surrender. Asa said quite eloquently about his uncle, "Nobody ever captured Geronimo. Who can catch the wind?"[459]

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[456] "Chihuahua, Eugene," 1951-1969, Box 4 Folder 12, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

[457] Robinson and Ball, *Apache Voices*, 57.

[458] Ibid., 56.

[459] "Daklugie, Asa," 1912-1955, Box 5, Folder 2, MSS 3096; Eve Ball Papers, BYU.

Geronimo's public identity continues to change long after his death; his face exists as a mirror to us, highlighting what we hate the most in ourselves or what we wish so deeply to be. Geronimo and his image became one which twentieth-century Americans often laid claim to when referencing fictional accounts of both heroism and horror during the Apache Wars and beyond. In reality, Geronimo lived a long life that moved through many identities both reflective and real; he was a butcher and a healer, a murderer and a grandfather, a villain and a victim. But more than all of these roles, Geronimo was a man.

For Geronimo as with many other individual leaders in the nineteenth century, he endured both ethnotrauma and perpetrator trauma simultaneously. Geronimo faced the daily struggles caused by the trauma that followed him like a shadow, infiltrating his decision-making process in ways that were likely subconscious to him. The hatred he developed and nurtured through targeted violence against Mexicans, however, created another sort of trauma within, fueled by violation rather than victimization. For Geronimo, his perpetrator trauma remained fixed firmly on an individual scale. But for other groups of the territory, perpetrator trauma would expand onto the collective scale, transforming cultures across generations and blooming like blood in water across the southwest region.

Goyathlay stands on the banks of a river deep under the earth. He sees a long line of cottonwood trees with leaves that stir with each breeze. His spirit feels young though his face remains creased with hard leathery lines, just as it was when he gave his last, dying breaths. But his beloveds, his mother, his first wife, and his first children, look just as they did the last time he saw them so very long ago. Goyathlay sees many people along the banks of this red-earth streaked river land; people long gone before him. In this

subterranean hereafter, good men, bad men, and those men in between mingle in the neutrality of death in a place with no pain and no sorrow.[460] Goyathlay stands still as a stone and watches the waters dance in his mother's eyes, in Alope's smile, and in his children's' warm, reaching hands.

[460] Opler, *An Apache Life-Way*, 477-478.

CHAPTER 5

BLOOD IN THE WATER: LEGACIES OF MEXICAN-APACHE VIOLENCE IN THE BORDERLANDS

"But me, I don't go to Mexico. I know what we did down there.[461]"
--Eugene Chihuahua, Chiricahua Apache

In the spring of 1916, 36-year old First Lieutenant James Shannon of the Eleventh Cavalry of the United States military stood amid the still-smoldering ruins of Columbus, New Mexico. Much of the town laid in an ashy blackness evocative of the *malpais* of *Jornado del Muerto* less than 200 miles north, only this blackness in Columbus was man-made. In the hardest hit section of the town, a lone red brick chimney stood like a solitary sentinel over a scattering of scorched timber slats from destroyed homes and businesses jutting out from the ash-laden ground like broken ribs. Pancho Villa, the infamous Mexican revolutionary, had assaulted the town around sunrise on March 16, 1916. The *Villistas*, still reeling from defeats against Villa's former comrade turned enemy, Venustiano Carranza, had attacked the small New Mexican town in large part to seize desperately needed supplies to continue their revolution. Killing over a dozen American civilians and soldiers during their assault on the settlement, the conflict ended in just one hour with the *Villistas* fleeing into the mountains and back over the border.[462]

Within a week of the attack, the United States government launched a punitive expedition under General John J. Pershing that comprised of 4,800 men to pursue and capture or kill the elusive Pancho Villa who dared bring chaos to American soil. "Snow, sandstorms,

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[461] "Chihuahua, Eugene," 1951-1969, Box 4, Folder 12, MSS 3096, *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

[462] Michael L. Tate, "Pershing's Pets:" Apache Scouts in the Mexican Punitive Expedition of 1916, *New Mexico Historical Review* 66, 1, (1991): 49.

tropic heat, and sharp cold" remained just as much of a threat to these soldiers crawling across the rugged mountain as did the *Villistas* themselves. With the local Mexican population unwilling to act as guides in the region for the Americans, Pershing turned to a group of men who knew the land intimately: Company A of the Apache Scouts out of Arizona.[463] The U.S. military assigned Lieutenant James Shannon to lead them.[464]

Lieutenant Shannon's first meeting with the Apache scouts in Columbus differed greatly from his original expectations of the group. A graduate of West Point, Shannon would lead a bright and shining career in the United States military, only to be cut down in his prime two years later during World War I.[465] The Lieutenant described how he expected to meet a group of "red-skinned" men dressed in loin clothes with knives and tomahawks at the ready. Instead, he met 24 Western Apaches dressed in American cavalry uniforms and patiently awaiting his orders.[466] These men would soon see action. In early May, Lieutenant Shannon received word that two *Villista* leaders were encamped at a place called Ojos Azules near the town of Cusihuiriachic in Chihuahua and were preparing to attack Carranza's forces there. The townspeople had requested help from Pershing via representatives sent to San Antonio. The Western Apache scouts led the 11th cavalry unit under Major Robert L. Howze in a surprise dawn attack.[467] During the firefight, the *Villistas* shot at the Apache scouts who attempted to prevent

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[463] While Company A was attached to the 11th cavalry, another group of 17 Apaches from Fort Huachuca were attached to the 10th cavalry during the year 1916 as well.

[464] Tate, "Pershing's Pets," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 49.

[465] Michael Robert Patterson, "James Andrew Shannon, Lieutenant Colonel, United States Army," Arlington National Cemetery Website, 2007, http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/jashannon.htm.

[466] Thomas A. Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At War and at Home* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 37.

[467] Frank Tompkins, *Chasing Villa: The Story behind the Story of Pershing's Expedition into Mexico* (Online: Papamoa Press, 1997), 500-510.

them from escaping from their rooftop perches at the Ojos Azules Ranch. Abandoning the traditions of cavalry tactics, the Apaches reverted back to their warrior training, using duck and cover methods and guerrilla warfare to keep the men from advancing further.[468] This assault resulted in the killing of 60 to 80 of the *Villistas* without a single American loss. The remaining *Villistas* that managed to evade capture, over 100 in number, scattered and fled at dawn's first light.[469]

The U.S. and Mexican presses described these *Villistas* killed and captured by Pershing's men as wild bandits following the rebel leader Franscisco "Pancho" Villa. But this descriptor far and away mislabeled these revolutionaries of the north. These *norteños* had dedicated their lives, as their forefathers had, to making lasting settlements along the frontier as farmers and ranchers. They had also dedicated their lives to creating what Mexican peoples further south believed to be the last bastion of civilization against the Indigenous peoples of *Apachería*. The men who followed Villa had been raised under the shadow of the great Apache threat, and their fathers and grandfathers had cut their teeth as fighting men in battles with various Apache groups throughout the nineteenth century. But with the end of the Geronimo wars, the exile of many border Apaches, and the containment of the rest on American reservations, this threat had vanished like the shadows of clouds that briefly cover the mesas. The new threat lay in more subtle and sinister capitalist forces.

In late nineteenth-century Chihuahua, railroad ventures and industrial developments pushed up property prices and displaced much of the peasantry off of their land. Many urban and middle-class Mexicans in the state grew increasingly frustrated

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[468] Michael L. Tate, "From Scout to Doughboy: The National Debate over Integrating American Indians into the Military, 1891-1918," *Western Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (October 1986), 421-422.

[469] Tompkins, *Chasing Villa*, 500-510.

with the monopoly on power that specific families such as the Terrazas held over the broader population. In addition to these internal crises, an economic depression in 1907 coincided with various natural disasters including poor harvests, food shortages, and a collapse in the mining industry. Chihuahua was not alone in these struggles, as states such as Sonora also faced similar hardships.[470] Ironically, the men who had gained their status in their communities as the descendants of Apache-fighters would in turn be treated as others by both the U.S. and Mexican governments during the Mexican Revolution years of the 1910s just as they had treated the Apaches as other in the past century. [471]

Generations of violence between Apaches and Mexicans created a layer of perpetrator trauma that altered the very cultural fabric of Mexican peoples living in Chihuahua, Sonora, and later Arizona and New Mexico. Communities in this region developed a hyper-defensive collective consciousness defined by violent opposition to the Indigenous peoples they believed threatened them. In turn, working-class *norteños* believed that masculinity and power could only flourish in this region through violence against others. To cope with these dangers, northern Mexicans altered their culture in ways that alleviated the trauma from living in this violent world. In turn, *norteños* fashioned a unique identity as Apache-violators imbued with masculine-centered honor, to validate their continued presence and power in *Apacheria*. Through an analysis of this legacy and the case of the Alisos Creek massacre, a violent assault on Apache followers of Geronimo by a Mexican national guard unit in 1882, one can follow this violent thread from one end of the nineteenth century to the other. The Mexican national guardsmen of

[470] Ruben Osorio, "Vallismo: Nationalism and Popular Mobilization in Northern Mexico" in *Rural Revolt in Mexico: US Intervention and the Domain of Subaltern Politics,* ed. Daniel Nugent (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 89-100.

[471] Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 799, https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/2027/heb.00059. EPUB.

the 1880s, and later the *Villistas* in the Mexican revolution, acted on a past unique to perpetrating cultures. As Americans sought to conquer the Southwest in the mid-nineteenth century, these *norteño* men of renown had already lived brutal lives for generations, earning their land through their own Mexican version of Manifest Destiny and with the lance, the gun, and the knife.

The earliest Spanish populations to settle in this northern frontier came in large part from central New Spain in the seventeenth century. Pushed by colonial powers northward, various central Indigenous peoples mingled and intermarried with new Spanish immigrants as well as individuals of African descent. These diverse groups ultimately created mining and ranching settlements in the north and founded small towns and cities in Sonora and Chihuahua.[472] In the late eighteenth century, Chihuahua and a large section of present-day Durango made up the province of Neuva Viscaya, extending from the presidio of Janos all the way to El Paso. Sonora, the second-largest province in northern New Spain, was followed closely in size by New Mexico. For New Spain residents along the frontier during the eighteenth century, Apache raids and retributive attacks represented a regular part of everyday life. With a poor understanding of Apache band organization, Spanish peoples juggled two disparate groups that remained incredibly mercurial: peaceful Apache bands that traded and intermarried with their citizens, and warring Apache bands that raided their settlements for resources and stole Mexican citizens for adoption or enslavement. Periods of peace did emerge in the north on occasion, with Spanish policies of feeding Indigenous peoples and providing resources at presidios often resulting in multiple years of decreased Apache hostilities. But eventually government changes further south would alter these policies, pushing

[472] Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 9-10.

Apaches once more into their raiding and retaliation runs.[473]

For all peoples in the Spanish Southwest, the eighteenth century had heralded extensive death and destruction from various Indigenous attackers followed by retaliations from Spanish citizens to those attacks. The presence of Comanche raiders emerged in the written Spanish record in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Comanches attacked assimilated pueblo peoples as well as more sedentary Apache peoples on borders of the Spanish frontiers, pushing Apaches further south in turn to either starve or raid. By the 1770s, Apaches and Comanches alike raided deeper into northern New Spain, taking livestock and people in the process. In the large province of Nueva Vizcaya, Spanish authorities recorded that Apaches, or at least Indigenous peoples they labeled as Apaches, killed over 1,600 people. During this same decade, Comanches, Apaches, and Navajo conducted over 200 raids against settlements in New Mexico, killing hundreds of New Mexicans and Puebloans in the process. The number of Indigenous people killed in these clashes remains unknown, though scholars know that at least in New Mexico, settlers captured hundreds of Native individuals who they then sold into slavery.[474]

Neither Indigenous nor Spanish groups could claim a monopoly on violence in the region. In the context of this borderlands word, violence did not represent chaotic carnage but instead a means of constructive destruction. Violence operated as a meaningful, albeit painful, method of balancing power dynamics and even striking up new relationships among disparate communities in the region.[475]

By the early nineteenth century, most Mexican families in the north lived in

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[473] Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace*, 20-29, 69.

[474] DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 12.

[475] Lance R. Blyth, *Chiricahua and Janos: Communities of Violence in the Southwestern Borderlands, 1680-1880* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 7-8.

ranches featuring extended family members who shared in the property's labor and defense. Individual ranches would in turn be connected in a more widespread community of other ranches, often through marriage, trade, or a fictive kinship system known as *compadrazgo*. These networks connected rural to urban areas and extended across class lines in times of trouble. But these networks also spanned ethnic boundaries as Indigenous peoples connected with Mexicans through commercial avenues. Comanches, Puebloans, Apaches and Yaqui peoples provided hides, grease, textiles, and other items to Mexican markets in the north while in turn Mexicans provided agricultural products, and more importantly, European goods such as metalwork and weaponry.[476]

By 1821, the bloody independence movement to free Mexico from Spanish rule had finally succeeded after 11 hard years of fighting. But the nubile Republic remained mired in difficulties. Hundreds of thousands of citizens had died in the previous decade of struggle with no political stability to show for it. The economy lay in shambles with little industrial development. Infrastructure and institutions crumbled after years of financial neglect.[477] Life along the northern frontier for many Mexicans became increasingly untethered to the capital. Many mines were simply abandoned owing to a lack of laborers and an inability to defend the mines from Native attacks. Presidio soldiers faced severe supply shortages and lacked in basic rations to provide for peaceful Apache groups in the region. Additionally, they possessed few weapons and even less ammunition.[478]

The northern Mexican frontier faced additional negative pressures outside of

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[476] DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts,* 56-59.

[477] Ibid, 24-25.

[478] Matthew Babcock, *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 172-173.

political turmoil seeping in from further north. The eastern bands of Comanches, boosted by new connections to guns and ammunition through Euro-American traders, increased their large-scale raids with the help of Lipan Apaches. Various Indigenous groups in the region at the time struggled to recover after a devastating epidemic of smallpox hit in 1815. While Southern and Western Apache groups also increased their raids during the 1810s, they did not yet have consistent access to American weaponry, and they chose to attack more rural locations, largely avoiding population centers along the northern frontier. By the late 1820s and early 1830s, however, the game changed in areas such as modern Arizona where American trappers soon made contact with various Apache peoples eager for weapons in the face of increasingly sporadic rationing from Mexican presidios. Ironically, some of these traders, such as James Kirker, the Irish-American immigrant turned Apache-killer-for-hire, would become key figures in the scalp hunting expeditions of the 1830s against these same Apache trading partners. By 1832, the entire "peace and rations" system created by the Spanish collapsed, resulting in dire straits for many formerly peaceful Apaches dependent on Spanish rations.[479]

Further exacerbating the situation, the federal government back in Mexico City cared little for the often-poorer residents of the northern states. Class differences played a major role in this lack of interest by the federal government when it came to battling the raiding Natives of the north. While the upper classes remained largely safe in the cities, the peons and peasant laborers working on *haciendas* and ranches in more rural areas bore the bloody brunt of attacks by Comanches and Apaches. Often armed with only sling shots, rocks, and farming implements, these laborers stood little to no chance of combatting Natives on horseback armed with new American weaponry.[480] George

[479] Ibid, 197-205.

[480] Clay Anderson, "Bloody Receipts: The Defensive and Cultural Foundations for Scalp Hunting," *Journal of Big Bend Studies* 25 (2013): 86-89.

Ruxton, a British visitor to northern Mexico, recalled how in some cases, villagers banded together with any weapon on hand they could muster and met the Indian invaders head-on to be "slaughtered like sheep." Virtually no traffic existed on the roads, and the post and other deliverers operated only at night. Citizens were afraid to venture out of doors and had barricaded many of the homes and ranches that Ruxton passed by in his travels. He noted that Native raiders carried off tens of thousands of heads of cattle at a time, along with human cargo to be ransomed or enslaved.[481]

Between 1831 and the summer of 1848, Apache attacks depopulated northern Mexico, causing the abandonment of 26 mines, 39 haciendas, and 96 ranches in Sonora alone. During the decades of the 1830s and 1840s, the federal government back in Mexico City ran rife with scandal, financial ruin, and rampant corruption. These political complications farther south prevented the necessary increase of troops in the northern states, resulting in a continued reliance on home-grown militias for defense against raiding Indians. By 1830, the entire Mexican population of the north possessed a deep-seated anger at the federal government which seemed to ignore their plight. Survival under the new Mexican regime was just as out of reach as it had been under the Spanish. In pockets across the north, survival existed on the edge of knife as Mexican citizens struggled to feed themselves in the face of overwhelming Apache and Comanche attacks on their homes.[482]

The presidio town of Tucson provides a classic example of the desperation that northern settlers faced during the tumultuous years in post-independence Mexico. In 1827 and 1828, Apaches began attacking the area around Tucson en masse, concentrating on the Sierra de Oro Mountains southwest of the city. During this time,

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[481] George Frederick Augustus Ruxton. *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1915), 191-192.

[482] Sweeney, "'I Had Lost it All.'"

the modern-day states of Sonora and Sinaloa existed together as the state of Occidente. Manuel Escalante, a political leader of Arizpe, wrote to Jose Maria Gaxiola, the Governor of Occidente, on the increasingly dire situation faced by Mexicans in Tucson. With so many Apache attacks occurring throughout the year, Tucson farmers could no longer adequately provide for the town's agricultural needs. These men were accustomed to Indigenous raids. Escalante described how for decades the residents had fought back even when they had to do so "with a gun or lance in one hand and a sickle in the other." But the times had changed, and with a power vacuum in the south of the nation rippling outward, Apache aggression in response had reached a fever-pitch. Surprisingly, Escalante did not place full blame upon the Apaches for the settler's plight, but instead squarely blamed the Mexican government which could not provide regular funds for the military. Not only did this lack of funds destroy previously agreed upon contracts of peace with the Apaches, this lack of funds also took away a key consumer from northern markets in the form of the presidio soldier.[483]

In May 1831, citizens of the settlements of Tucson, San Xavier, Cocospera, Tumacácori, Imuris, San Igancio, Cucurpe, Magdalena, and Tuape formed a third military partition of the north which they referred to as the "patriotic section." Fray Rafael Díaz organized the meeting and the citizens elected Joaquín Vicente Elías of the elite Arizpe family to lead 200 civilian volunteers against the Apaches. In a battle that occurred in Aravaipa Canyon, the unit surprised Chiquito, a Pinal Apache leader, and his people, leaving over 70 dead Apaches in their wake. For the Tucson military volunteers, this event was a successful battle; for the Apaches, this event was a massacre.[484] Violence on a much larger scale and against Apache women and children increased during this

[483] Kieran McCarty, ed. *A Frontier Documentary: Sonora and Tucson, 1821-1848* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997), 36-38.

[484] Ibid., 65-67, 85.

period, culminating in the Apache scalp bounty wars.

Mexican people did not often differentiate between Apache bands. In fact, they frequently labeled any raiding Indigenous group that was not clearly Comanche as Apache. But specific bands practiced more violent raids against Mexican settlers than others. The Chiricahua Apaches, Western Apache groups, and the Mescalero Apaches periodically engaged in warfare with various Mexican states. Often, these conflicts were far more localized for Apache communities, with one band of Apaches under a particular leader trading with one town while waging war on another. But for Mexicans, often the specific group identity did not matter; when one Indigenous unit inflicted violence upon their people, the surviving Mexicans believed that all members of that group played some part in their loss. In the late spring of 1843, a band of Western Apaches attacked and killed two Fronteras citizens and wounded a soldier while stealing livestock from the town. Several Chiricahua warriors happened to be at the fort at the time and volunteered to help track down the attackers with the rest of the Mexican soldiers. While the group did not manage to catch the raiders, they did recover most of the stolen stock. But after this recovery, the Mexican soldiers turned on their Chiricahua allies, killing six out of seven of them in cold blood. The surviving Apaches managed to escape and spread this tale of Mexican treachery, further cementing for many Chiricahua people the notion that Mexicans could never be trusted.[485]

Outside of violent conflict, the northern citizens of the Mexican frontier states adapted to their changing surroundings to the best of their abilities. Residents moved north into American-run settlements, mines, and ranches to work, and then brought wages back to their families in northern Mexico.[486] Mexicans began hunting feral cattle

[485] Sweeney, *Mangas Coloradas*, 43 and 106-108.

[486] Samuel Truett, "The Ghosts of Frontiers Past," 309-50.

rather than traditionally raising them and conducting their own scavenging raids into newly claimed Apache territory. In this way, Mexicans worked in tandem with Apaches and Americans, not standing back as these groups "unmade" space, but rather redefining what land ownership and space-making meant altogether.[487]

American travelers like Ruxton continued to write about the desolate land of man-made deserts, or rather, abandoned villages, mines, and ranches scattered across northern Mexico. But these travelers, when writing of their experiences for the American reading public, skipped over the vibrant interactions and still-present peoples, both Indigenous and Mexican, in the region. Mexican, Indigenous, and other non-white actors understood the breakdowns of empire on the borders of the Spanish colonial world, and often used this fluidity to their advantage, circumventing political complications and pulling in new trading empires such as the Comanches, the French, and the American. But much like past European peoples viewed the eastern seaboard as a virgin soil while ignoring the Indigenous presence there, so too did new Euro-American settlers view the Southwest as lacking in cultivation and civilization.[488]

Apaches prior to the early nineteenth century in Mexico did not uniformly remain at peace with Spanish settlers, and neither did they remain in a constant state of warfare with Mexicans during the violent decades of the 1820s and 1830s. Leaders such as Juan José Compa negotiated peace settlements with various Mexican community leaders. But these Spanish-speaking leaders like Compa, though powerful within their own spheres of Apache influence, could not guarantee a cessation of attacks by other Apache bands and groups in the region. This confusion on the part of Mexican officials and military leaders did not sway Compa from peace negotiations, even when those negotiations could cost

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[487] Samuel Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes the Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 398-401.

[488] Ibid, 14-15.

him his life. Peace parlances did not come without risks, as Apache leaders could be hauled away to jail or executed under the ruse of a negotiation with Mexican leaders. Compa often dealt with these threats. In one captive exchange, his brother nearly died after the Mexicans fired artillery at the Apaches in a meeting turned violent. In another negotiation at Santa Rita, Compa refused to enter the fort there for negotiations because of his fears, and instead rode up to the structure bearing a white flag only to have Mexican soldiers align the mouths of their cannons in his direction.[489] In addition to these real dangers, Compa, like many other Apache leaders, faced a paradoxical dilemma. To gain trust with the Mexicans in order to reach a common peace, he had to stop the raiding and captive-taking in northern Chihuahua. But to maintain his role as an Apache leader, Compas had to also conduct fierce and successful raids, garnering respect among the young Apache warriors.[490]

The northern provinces had long grappled with the problem of Indigenous raiding, but they did not merely respond with defensive attacks or retributive raids. They also developed a state-sponsored form of communal defense alongside these raids owing to the nature of national development in Mexico. Because the frontier provinces had remained physically isolated from the capital of Mexico City since the earliest days of New Spain, state power represented the only real power in the lives of Mexican peoples well into the nineteenth century. Provincial creation had occurred long before nation-creation, resulting in highly localized social structuring and unique, regional identities. When Apaches attacked a settlement, a chain reaction occurred as people contacted nearby settlements and towns to send men and arms to repel the raiders.[491]

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[489] Babcock, *Apache Adaptation to Hispanic Rule*, 220-224.

[490] Blyth, *Chiricahua and Janos*, 124-130.

[491] DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 141-145.

But the Apaches and Comanches by no means represented the only robbers and raiders of communities in northern Mexico. Mexican rustlers thrived in the post-Independence climate. More often than not, however, when crimes did occur the Mexican citizenry would immediately blame Apaches. These bandits took advantage of the Mexican propensity to blame Natives, and according to the newspaper *La Luna* in 1840, would even go so far as to dress as Native people and scatter bows and arrows behind them to scapegoat Natives for their crimes. Yet when the evidence became obvious to these citizens that Mexicans rather than Natives had committed the robberies, the citizens would then feel a strong sense of empathy for their bandit kinsmen. Living in the same society, restricted by government taxes on one hand and a lack of government funding on the other, and ruled by men in the south who did not seem to comprehend their struggles, Mexican citizens believed that these Mexican bandits, unlike Apaches, committed crimes labeled *justo y devido*, or just and necessary.[492] Mexicans were not the only group that faced the frustrations of banditry; Apaches also dealt with Mexican bandits who damaged their properties and stole their livestock.[493]

State governors played a key role improving frontier defenses against hostile Indigenous groups. These men ordered the arming of local populations, even when those arms only consisted of bows or lances. Governors ordered towns and ranches to fortify their settlements, patrol their perimeters regularly, and create lookout posts. State officials also ordered travelers to move at all times in armed groups of at least three. But perhaps more critically, governors of Sonora and Chihuahua conducted a constant war of words on Apaches as a cultural group. The government required the publication in state-run papers of each and every hostile attack by Apaches on Mexican populations; they

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[492] William B. Griffen, *Utmost Good Faith: Patterns of Apache-Mexican Hostilities in Northern Chihuahua Border Warfare, 1821-1848* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1988), 152-153.

[493] Horn, *Life of Tom Horn*, 118-121.

also printed circulars that exhibited a highly exterminationist language directed at Apache peoples in broad-sweeping terms. Ignoring the trade and kinship connections between Apaches and Mexicans across the region, governments developed an "us versus them" narrative to galvanize and nationalize the population against Indigenous incursions.[494]

Mexican governors needed towns, ranches, and mines to remain populated and working even during the peak years of Apache attacks in the 1830s and 1840s. While these governors would provide tax breaks for settlers in need of defensive funding, these breaks further impoverished the institutional backbone of the frontier states and aided in the military decline in presidios along the frontier. Presidio soldiers viewed frontier service at this time as a fast track to misery and poverty. Attempts at funding failed on the state-level repeatedly as a trickle-down effect of federal financial crises, with constant debt repayments and an over-bloated war department budget stifling growth back in Central Mexico. Regular soldiers, just as much as presidio soldiers, received irregular pay, poor supplies, and often lived in abject poverty. For all his flaws, the infamous Santa Ana made some improvements to the frontier system, imploring state governments to coordinate policies in regard to Indigenous raiding groups. But while military leaders from each state might recognize and attempt to partner their approaches to Apache policies, state officials fought tooth and nail to maintain their own autonomy through often counterproductive methods.[495]

Norteños along the northern Mexican frontier constructed a strong, collective identity across generations that focused around two key themes: controlling or exterminating Indigenous residents of the land and making the land fertile according to

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[494] DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts,* 145-146.

[495] Ibid, 146-158.

western standards. During the colonial period, impoverished northern men could earn land grants through military service against Apaches and other raiding or rebelling groups. Through 1850, various governments back in Mexico City encouraged this "fight and farm" pipeline, resulting in a broad social group of men specialized in violence against Native peoples.[496]

One classic example of *norteño* rage towards Apaches can clearly be seen through the Mexican assault in 1832 on the followers of Chiricahua leader Pisago Cabezon. A small number of these Apaches had gone into El Cobre in Southwestern New Mexico to trade when the townspeople there attacked the small group, beating, shooting, and stabbing them. The citizens killed two Apache men and one woman while one man managed to escape. A local Mexican commander, Mariano Ponce de León, had warned the leader Juan José Compa a short while earlier that the Mexican civilians in the area held a deep-seated hatred for all Apaches. During this attack in El Cobre this same commander managed to save four Apaches from the enraged residents and arrested two of the attackers. Ultimately, the commander had to release two of the Mexican attackers after the townspeople grabbed their weapons and threatened to turn on him, but he did manage to safely walk two Apache women out of the town and away from harm.[497]

Mexicans along the US-Mexico border did not react so extremely out of any specific cultural propensity for violence. Rather, Mexicans fed off of a long legacy of increasingly violent encounters with Apaches, building their anger to a boiling point. Just as persecuted ethnic minorities respond to violence with cultural changes, as seen with Indigenous Apaches in the nineteenth century facing ethnotrauma, so too did Mexican communities adapt to mitigating circumstances. Facing decades of intense

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[496] Ana Maria Alonso, *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 7-108.

[497] Blyth, *Chiricahua and Janos*, 130.

guerrilla warfare with Apaches in an isolated region with little to no help from their national government, Mexicans escalated their violence with Apaches in the 1830s and 1840s. But while these Mexican settlers viewed their actions as a defense of their homes and property, Apaches viewed their actions against these Mexicans as a means of reclaiming and redrawing Apache spaces in the region.

By the time of the US-Mexico conflict, the tenuous connections between central Mexico and the north completely collapsed in the wake of an American invasion. In the spring of 1848, the government of Sonora stopped sending wheat rations to the presidio in Tucson. Nearing starvation, the presidio sent out 15 men to a nearby abandoned ranch so that they could round up some feral cattle to bring back to their families. A group of Apaches came upon the men marching down the road and killed all of them. The widows of these men wrote to the commander general in Sonora about their plight, begging for food and some clothing, as they were literally naked, hiding in their homes, and waiting for death. Scenes such as these found in Tucson played out all over the northern states of Mexico, undermining Mexican abilities and will to resist the future American conquest of the region.[498]

In the mid-1840s just prior to the Mexican-American conflict, George Ruxton saw firsthand the true price residents paid for living and working in northern Mexico as he traveled north to Chihuahua. This British explorer traveled the western hemisphere and wrote extensively on his experiences, providing readers with a relatively unbiased perspective on Mexican and American cultures across the continent. During his travels in Mexico in the north, Ruxton came upon a group of hundreds of black vultures feasting upon scraps of meat. As he came closer and the birds scattered, he saw a dead scalped Mexican with multiple chest wounds and an arrow buried deep within the mangled

[498] DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts,* 283-284.

remains of his face. The carrion flock had consumed his eyes, his brain lay exposed in a split-open skull, and many of his bones had already been picked clean. Later, Ruxton came upon another morbid scene while moving through a vast sandy mountain. Ruxton noted that no specific trail existed, only a path demarcated by the bones of dead mules, oxen, and horses. Ruxton and his men moved through the knee-deep shifting sands, noting the lone skeleton of some long-deceased human jutting out from a ridge above them. Ruxton did not remark on whether or not beast and man in this desolate location had succumbed to the environment or an attack, and he likely did not know himself. In this hostile environment, the landscape could brutalize men just as easily as any hostile group of people could.[499]

Though everyday violence in pockets of northern Mexico during the mid-nineteenth century became normalcy for many citizens, perpetuators of violence were not born as such. Instead, these individuals had to be nourished and raised in an environment that encourages violence as a means to an end. For chronic violators, they also had to be backed by a group or community that could provide them with validation for their actions. In societies that adopt a "culture of violence," violence can become an accepted tool for problem-solving within a cultural group. Sometimes an "other" living on the edge of a society becomes the problem to solve. But at other times, the problem lies more in the insecurity of prestige and status of majority cultural members within that society. State-sanctioned violence, directed in the 1830s and 1840s in the form of Apache scalp bounties, normalized state-monetization and commodification of Indigenous or "other" bodies. But in the same way that the state could encourage violation of minorities, a vacuum in state power could create an extralegal space where escalations in citizen-directed violence could go unpunished, such as in the form of mob

[499] Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, 113-114 and 164-165.

rule. Complex economic issues resulting in landlessness and increasing class disparities after numerous wars further fueled *norteño* anger as they felt powerless against seas of change around them. Finally, the glorification of violence, often performed by state and communal actors of power, remained a critical part of the continuation of violence, as perpetrating peoples dismissed individual moral concerns to validate their group acts of violence.[500]

This validation can often be achieved through an emphasis on self-victimization. New Western historians Patricia Limerick and Richard White have attested to this self-victimization among American settler groups. Needing a validation of their conquest over the landscape, non-Indigenous peoples from Mexican *norteños* to Euro-American settlers. created their own versions of origin stories. For Mexican *norteños*, this validation often came from conceptualization of their history as conquerors, tracing back a lineage of strength and fortitude against Apache hordes for centuries. For Euro-American settlers, this validation came from stories of the emerging frontier laced with Social Darwinism; the Native tribes of the nation, destined to die off naturally in the wake of European technological and cultural superiority, could also be removed defensively through violence when deemed a threat to settler peoples.[501] This over-exaggerated perception of constant danger from Native "others" will be seen more clearly in Chapter 7 of this work.

Perceived victimization in this context usually comes from the "other" within the society, but that perception can be real, imagined, or as in the case of Mexican peoples

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[500] Chrissie Steenkamp, "The Legacy of War: Conceptualizing a 'Culture of Violence' to Explain Violence after Peace Accords," *The Round Table* 94 (2005): 379, 253, 267, doi: 10.1080/00358530500082775

[501] Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Frontier in American Culture: An Exhibition at the Newberry Library, August 26,1994—January 7, 1995* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 11-22.

along the northern frontier, somewhere in the middle. Paired with nationalist tendencies, a sense of overt vulnerability or even cultural decay develops; this sense then drives groups to seek retribution against peoples deemed a threat the form of redemptive violence. Mass killing often becomes the next step to purify the collective body of its diseased attackers, which more often than not come from populations considered to be outliers by the main group in power. As the perpetrator society acts in unison against the "threatening" group, these actions reflect the ultimate in control; supreme power of life over death in a world that often feels fast-tracked to destruction. In this way, killing on a collective scale becomes a twisted form of group therapy for a majority culture. Fused in a vast brotherhood of violence and "us versus them," healing and mass murder entangle.[502] With so much violence enmeshed in everyday northern Mexican society, perpetrating groups kept these sharpened tools of violence and validation with them at all times, ready to use if they felt threatened.

For many of these *norteños*, Apache attacks on their home spaces, even when those attacks were not deadly, represented the ultimate form of aggression. Mexican peoples viewed space within rigidly defined categories of private and public. In Latin architecture, thresholds and doors as well as symbolic spaces of transition such as plazas and courtyards, allowed for individuals to safely transform from public citizens to private family members. When Apaches attacked these spaces of security, rather than fighting on some faraway battlefield or in some mountain stronghold, they possessed a potential to pollute the Mexican family home through their defilement of its security. Children growing up in spaces frequently under siege from violent and external forces could process this trauma differently than adults facing the same scenario. Children need a sense of psychological security when under the protection of their parents in a home

[502] Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors*, 470-481, 499.

space, but when that security is shaken, children can see this invasion as a betrayal of the fundamental trust between parent and child. After all, if a child could not trust that a parent could protect them from harm, then that child could feel no real sense of stability in their world.[503] This insecurity that children felt in turn could establish a tendency to resolve future crises in adulthood in violent ways as the individual reacted in an overtly hostile manner based on this lack of security.

Life in northern Mexico for children in particular during the nineteenth century often contained a vast dichotomy of extreme experiences ranging from typical childhood joys to immense traumas. Federico Jose Maria Ronstadt, born in Sonora in 1868 to a Mexican mother and German father, recalled his childhood spent in various cities, towns, and farms across both northern Mexico and Arizona territory. His mother's family had lived in Mexico for generations, coming from Spain to settle the Hacienda del Ocuca, some 30 miles from Altar, Sonora. The children of Hacienda del Ocuca attended prayers in their private chapel twice daily. Meanwhile the adults and their servants worked the land and maintained their *torreones*, round adobe buildings for defense against raiding Natives. Ronstadt worked for his family in both mines and on farms and helped his mother and father with everyday chores when he was not in school. American and Mexican children filtered in and out of his life as he grew up, and he devoted much of his free time to typical nineteenth-century boy's activities out in the woods, on farms, and in the streets of Mexican towns and villages.[504]

But violence and trauma also threaded their way throughout Ronstadt's childhood, both natural and man-made, becoming a sort of background noise to his

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[503] Antonius C. G. M. Robben, "The Assault on Basic Trust: Disappearance, Protest, and Reburial in Argentina," in *Cultures Under Siege: Collective Violence and Trauma*, ed. Antonius C. G. M. Robben and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 74-75.

[504] Federico Jose Maria Ronstadt, *Borderman: Memoirs of Frederico Jose Maria Ronstadt*, ed. Edward F. Ronstadt (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), x-6, 43-46.

earliest and most formative years. He recalled in his journal writings the severe scarlet fever epidemic that left so many people dead in Sonora in the late 1800s. All of the children of his household caught the illness, and his parents became so convinced that he would die as his sister had that they had a burial receptacle made to hold his coffin. Federico fortunately recovered from his illness. Around the same time, the military and the government in Sonora existed at odds with each other, with politicians and military men violently vying for power. Ronstadt recalled Governor Ignacio Pesqueira and Governor General Manuel Gandara competing for control of the state. Not long after, the Sernista revolution brought violence to the streets of Ronstadt's home in Altar, with various soldiers raiding local stores for goods. In another instance as a young teen, Ronstadt walked past a home that some soldiers had taken residence in as they shot three men in the head in an execution out in the courtyard. The soldiers then stole Ronstadt's cart to transport the bodies out of town. When the soldier's returned to the cart to the Ronstadt family, the bottom of it was filled with blood.[505] Such sensory memories of violence, especially when occurring early in life, would permeate the personal lives of all *norteños* from birth to death during the nineteenth century.

By responding with violence as a unified group, northern Mexicans bound themselves to each other, forming communities of violation. But these communities also bound themselves to each other in love. Just as with family and small community collectives around the world, most Northern children felt a deep love that these same violent individuals brought home to them as fathers, grandfathers, and brothers. Simultaneously, the world of *norteño* children was surrounded on all sides by fear a tangible fear of loss due to disease, political upheaval, economic ruin, and Indigenous-directed violence. Family guardians and community members in turn nursed that fear,

[505] Ibid, xi-12,9, 46.

bringing up young Mexican girls to understand threats to their virtue from the hands of Apache raiders, and bringing up young Mexican boys to accept their dangerous duty as protector of the frontier, even if that duty meant the murdering of Apache women and children. *Norteños* could unite in the "otherization" of enemies around them, from the Yaquis to the Apaches to the Comanches. Through generations of this fear grounded in the reactive, shared task of violation, northern Mexican culture developed a "siege mentality."[506] This collective conceptualization bound *norteños* to each other as they believed that the exterior world possessed hostile intentions towards them.[507] Americans, particularly Texans, waited on the peripheries of the territory to swindle Mexicans out of their land and money. Mexicans from further south, including the federal government in Mexico, represented a hostile presence based on their disregard for the plights of northerners because of their negative perspective on *norteños* as a cultural group. The Apaches, the most acute of all these enemies, stood at the center of the *norteño* world, not merely waiting in the wings to destroy them but actively pursuing these ends at all times.

Visitors to the northern states of Mexico commented frequently on the visible manifestations of defense within *norteño* communities. Throughout George Ruxton's travels, he met families touched intimately and often by cycles of Mexican-Apache violence. At El Gallo, Ruxton stayed with a farmer and his two daughters-in-law. The farmer carried multiple physical injuries on his body from violent confrontations with Natives over the course of his life. He told Ruxton that he had lost multiple sons in a

[506] Miguel Tinker Salas, *In the Shadow of the Eagles: Sonora and the Transformation of the Border During the Porfiriato (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1-24, 59.

[507] Daniel Bar-Tal, *Intractable Conflicts: Socio-Psychological Foundations and Dynamics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 235-236.

previous attack by an unnamed group of Indigenous people. The corn harvest season had arrived in the village, but the farmers could not go alone to work in their own fields. Instead, the entire village banded together in one body, venturing out in the fields to harvest just enough to sustain their families, and then leaving the fields together to create security in numbers.[508] Another visitor to the region, Julius Froebel, noted that no citizen dared walk outside a town's limits unarmed. Business-owners in cities adjusted to the tempestuous life of their customer base by not offering credit to buyers in places that they might have to abandon in the near future.[509]

Much like the psychological changes that occur within an individual in the aftermath of violence, *norteños* also changed their societal practices in reaction to past violence and as a protection against future Apache incursions. Visitors from outside of the north immediately noted the physical manifestations of this northern character in various communities across Sonora and Chihuahua. As George Ruxton traveled through northern Mexico in 1846, he noted the extreme physical defensive measures that ranchers took in defense of their more isolated properties. Many of these ranchers had built high walls around their haciendas in a square pattern, fitting bastions with small musket openings. These properties also often possessed a guarded, closed gate system with an armed patrolmen who manned the roof at all times.[510]

On another occasion, Ruxton entered a small Mexican village to find the residents scrambling to bulwark their defenses. A group of Indigenous raiders had attacked multiple nearby ranches and so the villagers believed an attack on their town was imminent. The women in particular seemed to be in a state of absolute panic, hiding

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[508] Ruxton. *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, 213-214.

[509] Julius Fröbel. *Seven Years' Travel in Central America, Northern Mexico, And the Far West of the United States* (London: R. Bentley, 1859), 346-349.

[510] Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains,* 207.

their children, barricading their homes, and handing out weaponry to any able-bodied men they could find. Whether or not these Native attackers were Comanches or Apaches, neither Ruxton nor the residents of the town specified. In some cases, the attackers could even be other Mexicans. Later as Ruxton trekked through Chihuahua, he came across a group of men dressed initially in what he thought to be Indigenous clothing only to find that they were fruit sellers from El Paso. Upon visiting this town, still reeling from the eruption of the Mexican American War, he noted that the area had frequently been attacked by both Apaches and New Mexicans who accompanied some of the groups in their raids.[511]

In the 1850s, Julius Froebel observed the vast man-made wastelands throughout Chihuahua, remarking on how man's worst enemy was not beast or nature, but himself. Froebel was greatly impressed by those who managed to maintain a successful living in this region, such as Don Estanislao Porras, a wealthy cattle ranch owner who had lost two sons and countless laborers to Indigenous raids on his property. Ultimately, Porras decided to keep his workers armed at all times. When Froebel arrived in Chihuahua, the capital city where he would spend his winter, he found it a shell of its former splendor. All around him were signs of the previous wealth brought to the place by the nearby silver mines—carefully plotted streets dotted with aging edifices and large homes surrounded by walls flecked with silver scoria.[512] Many of these homes were fronted by stark white crosses that served as visceral reminders of the spaces where murdered loved ones left this earth at the hand of Indigenous assailants. This setting of abandoned towns, villages, and once wealthy city blocks in ruins repeated across the region during the 1850s. Charles Poston, an Arizona pioneer, remarked on walking through derelict

[511] Ibid., 164-169.

[512] Fröbel, *Seven Years' Travel in Central America, Northern Mexico, And the Far West of the United States*, 340-346.

structures in the town of Tubac, stating, "It was like entering the ruins of Pompeii." Tubac, the once thriving Spanish colonial garrison town in what is now Arizona, was abandoned by its settlers after repeated attacks by various Apache groups during the 1840s.[513]

Soldiers stationed in the north were no more equipped to deal with Apache raids than was the local citizenry as they suffered equally from a lack of funds and supplies. In the winter of 1845, Colonel José María Elías González received word that Mangas Coloradas planned a major offensive against Sonora. Mangas Coloradas, also known as Red Sleeves, had become a major leader of the Mimbreno Apaches in the mid-nineteenth century, rising through the ranks to become a heralded leader among his people alongside such men as Cochise and Victorio. By 1845, Mangas had already begun his long career of attacking Mexican settlements, driving Colonel González to work diligently to create a frontier defensive line in the north with civilian militia men on patrol and rotating among the civilian settlements along the line. But again, as would often happen across Mexico, political complications and frustrations stymied the plan before it could be enacted. Plans that followed would soon meet the same fate, but the reports gathered to create these plans in the spring of 1845 shed light through their meticulous recordings on the typical military presence along the frontier at this time. In one of these reports, González stated that several communities, such as Bavispe, Altar, Tubac, and Arizpe did not even have half the needed soldiers to man their defensive stations.[514]

The average Mexican soldier sent out to do battle with the Apaches originated from poor farming towns, and Mexican soldiers in the north moved out against Apache groups with woefully inadequate supplies. During his exploration with the boundary

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[513] Poston, "Building a State in Apache Land. II. Early Mining and Filibustering," 208-218.

[514] McCarty, ed. *A Frontier Documentary*, 151-154.

commission along the ephemeral US-Mexico border in 1851, John Russell Bartlett ran into a group of soldiers moving out from Tucson against some Apaches. Bartlett noted that many of them had no shirts while others had no pants. Some soldiers wore overcoats without any other clothing.[515] With little government support in the more isolated northern frontier along the US-Mexico border, communities relied on soldiers recruited from local populations to defend towns and villages from Native attacks. Throughout the 1800s, the professional Mexican soldier gave way to the lottery-selected militia man. This type of soldier more often deserted, especially when facing the frustrations of a lack of rations and supplies when following Apaches in the field. The domestic sphere became a critical part of the cycles of war and recovery during this time. Mexican women provided the food to their soldier husbands, and these women clothed their men who more often than not lacked any official uniforms. With no military infirmaries, women also became the medics for male family members who returned home with physical wounds from war.[516] During these years the north already faced a depleted male population because in the 1850s many men in northern Mexico migrated to California to seek their own fortunes in gold. Various civil wars between political and military factions in Mexico, along with deaths due to disease and Native attacks, depleted male numbers even more, resulting in the majority of people in states such as Sonora being women.[517]

The Mexican government back south in the capital did not entirely ignore the problems of the north, though often times the *norteño* population felt otherwise. In the aftermath of the "American intervention" in Mexico, officials in Mexico City finally came to the realization that their inability or perhaps unwillingness to devote the time, money,

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[515] John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations*, 328-329.

[516] Janne Lahti, *Soldiers in the Southwest Borderlands*, 24-25.

[517] Frank C. Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson; 1854-1864* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1943), 65.

and energy to securing the northern frontier had cost them greatly in the war with the United States. Though natural disasters, rebellions, and political and fiscal issues continued to plague the nation as a whole, various politicians made some attempts at providing more resources and more funding to northern state governors. On the ground in the northern states, locals banded together and crossed state lines to organize coordinated frontier defense policies as private citizen groups also increased non-government funding of mercenary scalpers across the region.[518]

The final redrawing of the US-Mexico boundary line in the 1850s only exacerbated the situation between Apaches and Mexicans by setting a precedent that would last into the Geronimo wars. This redrawing delineated U.S. from Mexican lands, but also established a beneficial loophole for raiding Apaches to take advantage of during their attacks on Mexican settlements. U.S. settlers would create "calico" treaties with various Apache groups, solidifying peace within their settlements north of the border while ignoring Apache forays south of the border to raid Mexican communities. Apaches would then pillage these Mexican communities, quickly moving their stolen goods over the international boundary, which could not be crossed by the Mexican military. Afterwards Apaches sold the goods to their growing American customer base across the border.[519]

By the dawn of the Civil War era, the Apache threat faced a formidable opponent in vast numbers of Euro-American miners, settlers, ranchers, merchants, and soldiers flooding the region. This flood in turn would shift the balance of power squarely away from Apaches and into the hands of Euro-Americans. This shift in turn would lead to a steady decrease in the Apache ability to violate Mexican villages south of the border. But

[518] DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 297-299.

[519] Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes the Forgotten History of the US*, 398-401.

by the 1880s, the impact on Mexican *norteño* culture from past generations of extreme and cyclical violence had already occurred.

Feeling themselves at odds with the world and often besought with violent attacks from various Apache peoples, the Mexican people of the north developed an ever-vigilant, hyper-defensive collective identity. In an individual, sudden exposure to violence or even to a situation that brings a severe threat to one's psychological integrity can brings on an automatic fight, flight, or freeze reaction. The mind, now primed for future violence, expects danger around every corner, and acts on this suspicion accordingly. In the months, years, and even decades after the trauma-causing incident, an individual often mirrors their initial reaction. In the original experience of violence, if the person chose to flee, they may continue to practice this avoidance behavior if they are reminded of the previous event. If the person froze, they might initiate a disassociation or numbing from their surroundings, unable to take on major life decisions or changes. If the person fought, that person would be far more prone to aggression and violence should a trigger appear before them. When a person responds with anger, their aggression in the future often becomes overreactive even when the trigger threat is minimal. This overreaction also ties in with an increased sensitivity to these triggers, especially if a similar situation continues to prove no easier to control for the victim than the original traumatic event. These same responses can correlate within group dynamics, with communities experiencing this same symptomology on a larger scale.[520]

By the 1860s, many Apache children were growing up in areas of northern Mexico that had never known peace between their people and the *norteños*. One Apache

[520] Eve B. Carlson and Constance J Dalenberg, "A Conceptual Framework for the Impact of Traumatic Experiences," *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 1, no. 1 (2000): 4-28.

named Fatty told General Crook in 1883 that he had hated Mexicans ever since they killed his parents in the 1860s. He firmly believed that fate required him to repay this debt of death in kind. Fatty later told Captain Emmet Crawford that he wanted to "chop them [Mexicans] up into little pieces.[521]"

In the early twentieth century, as many Apache veterans of the Geronimo wars reached the end of their lives, they recalled the violence they witnessed and committed against Mexican peoples. James Kaywaykla stated, “I was with Victorio until his death, with Nana for years, and Geronimo several months, I do not like to think of the things I witnessed." He recalled the horror he felt when a wealthy Mexican family -- two men, a woman, and a little boy -- were brought into Geronimo’s camp and summarily executed; He also recalled how his grandmother took him, shaking and trembling from what he witnessed, in her arms. James remembered another violence incident when his group lured a small detachment of Mexican soldiers into a trap and killed the men in mass. "The warriors walked among the bodies collecting rifles and ammunition belts… shirts and saddles," he said, but "The men were not tortured; the bodies were not mutilated. I know, for I lay on my belly and watched this thing happen."[522] James remarked on this lack of torture because, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, though the physical threat of the Apaches had waned, the fictional threat of the Apaches had expanded into an inaccurate stereotype of Apaches who assaulted non-Indigenous female captives and tortured men, women, and children mercilessly. But while some of these portrayals possessed little to no truth, Apaches speaking of these times later in life could not deny the violence they did inflict on settler populations. Sam Haozous and other Fort Sill Apaches, discussing their lives back in the Southwest during an oral history interview in

[521] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 14" Kindle Edition.

[522] Debo, *Geronimo*, 121.

1952, casually and coolly spoke of how they would accompany Geronimo into the mining camps of the region, cutting through the tents in the night and slaughtering all people sleeping inside.[523]

As Americans poured into Arizona and New Mexico after the Mexican American War, and in greater numbers after the Civil War, they fell headfirst into a complicated relationship over one-hundred years old between northern Mexicans and Apache peoples. American soldiers in particular came face to face with these brutal legacies in the 1870s and 1880s as they fought to contain Geronimo and his followers raiding along the borderlands of Sonora and Chihuahua. During this time, American soldier in pursuit of Geronimo and his followers stumbled upon a massacre only hours old south of the border. A Mexican National Guard unit had engaged with the Apaches in a surprise attack near Alisos Creek, indiscriminately killing women, children, and the elderly in addition to Apache warriors. This event clearly illustrates the still-present vitriol that northern Mexicans carried with them as they focused their violence on the most vulnerable members of Apache society in a time of waning Apache power in the region.

Juh, a close friend and cousin of Geronimo, had lived in his stronghold in the Sierra Madres mountains of northern Mexico for most of his life and had earned a name for himself that evoked horror among residents of Chihuahua. From his secluded encampment in the mountains, he had launched many deadly raids against the Mexican citizenry of that state in the late 1870s. In turn the Mexican state began anew their scalp bounties, offering five hundred pesos per Apache scalps. [524] In the summer of 1877, Juh continued his attacks in the mountainous and sparsely populated region of Sahuaripa.

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[523] Oral history interview with Sam Haozous, 1952, "Stories of the Fort Sill Apache from Warm Springs, New Mexico to Fort Sill," Tape 194, #1, OHS-68, Fort Sill Apache Audio Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[524] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, Chapter 2, Kindle Edition.

Juh's warriors maintained their rancheria at Guayropa while exacting swift assaults against towns, ranches, mines, and wagon trains in the area, killing dozens of people and wounding even more.[525]

In the fall of 1881 and in the aftermath of the tense Cibecue rebellion that had occurred that summer among the White Mountain Apaches, Geronimo, Naiche, son of Cochise, Juh, and just over 300 followers made a break for the Mexican border. Pillaging and raiding along the way, they made it to Juh's stronghold in the Sierra Madres before the start of winter. But they had left many women and children behind them at San Carlos. In particular, the Apache leader Loco and his Warm Springs followers irked Geronimo, who saw Loco, who was committed to peace on the reservation, as his antithesis. Some of Geronimo's followers also believed that to survive on the run, they would need more Apaches for support. The Apaches came back to the reservation in the early morning of April 19. Forcing Loco and his followers to come with them at gunpoint and gathering their relatives from the other camps, Geronimo and his followers returned to the mountains of northern Mexico with several hundred reservation Apaches, mostly women and children marching behind them.[526]

Weeks before Geronimo made his move to force Loco's followers and other Apaches at San Carlos reservation to follow him back into the Sierra Madres, the Mexican military in Chihuahua under the direction of Governor Luis Terrazas had formulated a plan of action against the Apache group. On April 5 in 1882, General Carlos Fuero sent a letter from his military headquarters in Chihuahua to the American Colonel Ranald MacKenzie in Santa Fe, New Mexico, affirming that the escaped group of Chiricahuas under Geronimo and other leaders likely used Juh's camp in Sonora near

[525] Ibid, "Chapter 5" Kindle Edition.

[526] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, 152-155.

Janos as their main base of operation. Fuero expressed his hope that his soldiers would pursue the hostile Apaches with vigor "until a complete extermination is accomplished.[527]"

After fleeing San Carlos, Geronimo, his followers, and the Apaches who he had forced to accompany fought sporadically against the American army in pursuit of them as they made their way towards the Mexican border. Though the Apaches had lost around a dozen members in the ensuing fights, they grew increasingly elated with each passing mile as they closed in on their sanctuary. Geronimo and most of his warriors, fearing that the Americans would continue to chase them, stayed in the rear in case of attack.[528]

The Governor of Chihuahua sent Colonel Lorenzo Garcia, a career military man, and 200 troops, half of them federal and half of them Sonoran national guardsmen, into the field to catch Geronimo and his followers. After receiving intel on Apaches moving towards Juh's stronghold in the Sierra Madres, likely from captured Apaches, he positioned his men near Alisos Creek with the intent to ambush the incoming Apache group. A mile or so north of the mountain foothills, the area around Alisos Creek was flat, interrupted only by washes and ravines. On April 29 around sunrise, the main body of civilians, predominantly women and children, began to pass near Garcia's men. When a cluster of Apaches came within 100 yards of the ambush site, Garcia gave the order to open fire. A rain of bullets instantly tore through the women and children, killing entire families in seconds. The Apache warrior Peaches lost both of his wives and his young baby. As the few warriors with the women and children tried to respond to the attack and maintain order, the Mexicans charged with bayonets, hacking through them. All the

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[527] C. Fuero to Colonel MacKenzie, April 5, 1882, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Rolls 96-97.

[528] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

Apaches, caught by surprise, engaged in hand to hand combat, many of them unarmed, with Mexican men carrying bayonets.[529]

Warm Springs Apache Sam Haozous recalled how the women being fired upon used their hands to try to dig holes to hide in as the gunfire rained down on them. Haozous also remarked on how the Mexican soldiers seemed drunk, and that they did nothing but "shoot, shoot, shoot." By sundown, the pinned-down group of Apaches desperately needed water. They dug into the sand for it, but only found blood, which they drank anyways. At the same time, the Mexicans set fire to the grasses around the Apaches to drive them out. Some saw a gap and ran.[530]

Once Geronimo in the back guard heard the fight ensue ahead of him, he and around 30 of his warriors rushed into the fray. As the warriors managed to push back the attacking Mexicans, others gathered around a nearby tree and began to snipe the Mexicans with their rifles as best they could, taking out many soldiers in the process. Meanwhile an unknown senior female heroine moved into the fray as she attempted to retrieve the much-needed bag of ammo dropped in the immediate aftermath of the ambush. Jason Betzinez recalled that the elderly woman used the cover of warriors to crawl forward and quickly drag the bag back into their group. Other heroes emerged from the Apache defense, with young Fun, Perico, and Chihuahua fighting a second bayonet charge from Garcia's troops at around 10 am.[531]

Betzinez recalled with horror in his autobiography how the Mexican soldiers first fired on Apache women—including his mother and his sister—about a quarter of a mile ahead of him. He saw more women as well as children falling around him, scattering the

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[529] Ibid, "Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

[530] Sam Haozous, Tape 194, #1, OHS-68, Fort Sill Apache Audio Collection.

[531] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

Apaches in all directions as the Apache men attempted to defend them. He stated about the incident: "It was a dreadful, pitiful sight, one that I will never forget. People were falling and bleeding and dying, on all sides of us. Families were slaughtered on the spot, wholly unable to defend themselves." Betzinez and his family fled for cover. At one point, Betzinez lost his mother in the chaos. Once the battle was over, Betzinez walked up over a hill and found his mother and a number of other refugees. The group moved on to a previously agreed upon rendezvous point where more refugees gathered. He remarked that everyone had lost nearly half their family members in this single massacre. That night, with little to no food or shelter, Betzinez heard the Apaches in their individual encampments wailing in mourning over their dead or captured relatives.[532]

The attack at Alisos Creek shattered the security of the Apache people, particularly the Warm Springs band. Loco lost forty percent of his group in this single conflict, which was doubly devastating considering that he had hoped to remain with his people at San Carlos reservation in the first place. All told the Apache death toll stood at around 78 killed, with the majority of those deaths being women and children. Meanwhile Garcia took 33 Apaches captive to be sold into slavery further south. Several dozen of Garcia's men died in the conflict as well, including four officers.[533] In the aftermath of the attack, Apache bodies lay piled on top of each other like cordwood in the hastily dug foxholes that the Native men and women had excavated to protect themselves from the Mexican fusillade. If the Mexican soldiers had harvested scalps as they often did after engagements with Apaches, they would have amassed at least 17,000 Mexican dollars total in bloody bounty. In the weeks to come, the majority of the remaining Warm Springs band would keep their hair short—a sign of profound grief and

[532] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 71-75.

[533] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 11" Kindle Edition.

mourning among the Apaches. Loco would keep his hair short for the rest of his life.[534]

American scout and soldier Tom Horn and a group of his comrades under Colonel Forsyth came upon Colonel Garcia and the fifth regiment of the Chihuahua cavalry shortly after the massacre had ended. The Mexican soldiers were already dragging dead Apaches into piles along the road. Thirty-three Apache women and children stood nearby as prisoners. Some begged for the Americans to provide a ransom to their captors. These individuals, destined for slavery in Mexico, feared for their future further south. One of the women, the 16-year-old daughter of Chief Loco, caught the attention of the Americans, upsetting the Apache scouts in particular. Loco's family would never again hear from their beloved daughter, who disappeared as so many other Apaches had before her into the still active slave markets of Mexico. The Mexican soldiers gave the youngest of these captives to the mayor of Bavispe, who doled the children out to Mexican families, destining them for adoption or slavery. Colonel Garcia and his men took the remaining Apache captives to Guaymas, Mexico to sell on the Indigenous slave market, where especially attractive young women could fetch as much as 500 dollars.[535]

While some of the American troops expressed disgust at the murder of so many women and children, and distress at the survivors being sold south as slaves, civilian officials across the territory rejoiced at what they believed to be a valid violent action. Arizona Governor Frederick Tritle sent congratulations to the Governor of Sonora on his military's success, and as the American troops neared Janos they could hear church bells ringing in honor of Colonel Garcia's victory.[536] On June 8, 1882, the *Arizona Daily Star*

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[534] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, 182.

[535] Ibid., 182-184.

[536] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 12" Kindle Edition.

reported that the American residents of Sonora were so elated with actions on the banks of Alisos Creek that they commissioned the making of a sword in his honor for 250 dollars which they gave to him in a ceremony later that year.

A year later, in April of 1883, Loco and several hundred other Apaches trickled into General Crook's camp to surrender in Mexico after a tumultuous 12 months following Geronimo through the borderlands. On the way back north towards the United States and San Carlos, the Apaches and American soldiers covered close to 350 miles. Pausing to rest, the group inadvertently halted near the Alisos Creek battleground. Many of the Apaches as well as soldiers walked the half-mile to see the battle site. Rudimentary crosses stood starkly above the dirt-mound graves of the Mexican soldiers who died in the confrontation. More disconcerting for the Apaches, however, were the buzzard-picked carcasses and bleached bones of their relatives, still piled up in the foxhole pits where they fell. Bloodstained fabric, beads, and baskets littered the grounds, a vivid reminder of the deadly nature of their relationship with the *norteños* of Mexico.[537]

Changes came rapidly to the northern Mexican frontier in the decade after the Alisos Creek massacre. Few Apaches remained south of the border and many more who had lived in peace on the reservation in Arizona had been swept up and into the same exile in the eastern United States as Geronimo and his followers. With the Apache threat virtually eliminated from the northern Mexican states, industrialism skyrocketed. Additionally, families with political power gained vast tracts of land as communal lands increasingly shrank. Soon powerful patriarchal figures, or strong men, from families such as the Terrazas in Chihuahua, created a virtual stranglehold on social mobility and economic security as they used police and other local forces to extract taxes from the

[537] Shapard, *Chief Loco*, "Chapter 16," Kindle edition.

peasantry.[538] These rapid economic and social changes in the region altered the fabric of society by detracting from the traditional methods of procuring honor through violence. The once-heralded Apache fighters of the northern frontier became a homegrown threat as the state sought to transform them into docile laborers. As the landscape became increasingly commodified and capitalized, this frontier region lost its former ability to grant honor to those who fought the Apaches and won the right to the land through violence.[539]

Less than ten years after Lorenzo Garcia ordered his troops to murder Apache women and children, he rose to the rank of General and led hundreds of men against revolutionaries along the Texas border. At that time, Catarino Garza, a Mexican American living on the Texas-Mexico border, had faced a lifetime of maltreatment by Euro-American Texans and Mexican government officials of Porfirio Diaz's regime. Through his role as a journalist, Garza sought to uncover injustices against northern Mexicans in both Texas and Mexico, with his fame winning him attacks and an assassination attempt on his life. Acting on this personal violence, paired with the broader frustrations felt among his fellow *norteños* lurking just below the surface, in September of 1891, he crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico where he gathered many followers from the general Mexican population. He then declared his intention to overthrow the Mexican government. The rebellion had largely dissolved within two years,[540] but not before this revolution took the life of General Lorenzo Garcia. General Garcia had been fighting *revolutionistas* around the Texas border throughout the fall,

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[538] Daniel Nugent, *Spent Cartridges of Revolution: An Anthropological History of Namiquipa, Chihuahua* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 67.

[539] Alonso, *Thread of Blood*, 110-153.

[540] Elliott Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border* (Durham: Duke University Press. 2004).

and various newspapers of the period accused him of brutally killing American cowboys and Mexicans alike with no tangible proof of their ties to Garza's cause.

On January 1, 1892, the *El Paso Times* reported that General Lorenzo Garcia, the great victor over Geronimo at the "battle" of Alisos Creek, had been murdered in Mier, Mexico by soldiers under his command who then fled to join Garza's revolutionaries. Garcia perhaps believed he had given purpose and meaning to these men through his redirection of their rage against the Apaches towards a new target in the form of *revolutionista*s. But unknown to Garcia, when there were no more *Indios Bárbaros* left to fight, a new enemy had already been found—an ephemeral enemy cloaked in capitalism and corruption who took away *norteños'* livelihood, lands, and masculinity on the very ground upon which their fathers and grandfathers had tilled, toiled, and bled under Indigenous attacks. Unlike the government officials and men of power in high places who still seemed far out of reach to these angry *norteños*, Lorenzo Garcia had stood before them, dressed in the regalia of his position, and had demanded that they put down these rebels who, by and large, were no different from themselves. The anger they felt was not merely an exclamation of emotion, but rather a constructive rage—a bloody activism that sought to remake the world into one of violence and violation exchanged like currency for honor and just rewards.

Caratino Garza was just one of many *revolutionistas* who rose and fell between the end of the Apache Wars and the Mexican Revolution as symbolized to many Euro-Americans by the leader Pancho Villa. But all of these rebellious men, to some capacity, connected past legacies of status through violence against Apaches to present attempts at re-empowerment through armed revolution. Defensive reactions to Apache attacks led Mexican citizens in the north to alter their culture into practices that furthered cycles of violence between these two groups. But perpetrator trauma kept this violence going into

the twentieth century and after the Apache Wars had long ended. When the children and grandchildren of Apache fighters had no Apaches left to fight, they sought new outlets for their violence in the civil turmoil of the period. Violence, rather than being a destructive means of racialized expression in this context, had transformed beyond otherization into a tool of community solidarity and cultural identity for northern men living in regions destabilized by political strife, environmental difficulties, and national and regional upheavals.

By the time Pershing's Apache scouts help lead the last-ever United States cavalry charge on the North American continent during the battle of Ojo Azules, the Mexican revolution had completely upturned Mexican society in the north. Disruptions of agriculture and industry paired with violence between warring political factions created a displaced and starving population of *norteños* who would make their way to the US-Mexico border. Between 1910 and 1920, nearly one million Mexicans crossed the border into the United States fleeing famine and fighting across the northern half of Mexico. For the Apache scouts, their participation represented a critical moment in their own history with the colonizing United States—a moment when they donned the American uniform and fought their old enemies alongside U.S. soldiers.[541]

For the *Villistas* caught by the Apache scouts, however, their situation could only remind them of the violent legacies their ancestors faced in this landscape of brutality and political uncertainty, with the blazing bullets of the American-backed *Carranzistas* behind them and the faces of their Apache adversaries in front of them. Lieutenant James Shannon noted the fright that Mexican soldiers, both enemy and ally, displayed when seeing Apaches among the Americans. Shannon prevented the Apaches on

[541] Julian Lim, *Porous Borders: Multiracial Migrations and the Law in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 124-136.

numerous occasions from murdering Mexican soldiers outright, stating, "There were no fine distinctions in their minds between friendly Mexicans and unfriendly, Carranzistas and Villistas, *de facto* troops and bandits." Sergeant Chicken, first sergeant of the Apache scout unit, told Shannon in few words what he felt would be the best course of military action against the Mexican rebels battling along the border: "…shoot 'em all!"[542]

These legacies of violence between Apaches and Mexicans, deep as a desert well, would similarly impact the American Southwest as ethnic Mexicans contended with this shared past while also negotiating their place within new powers in the region. In New Mexico Territory during the middle of the nineteenth century, legacies of violence and differing notions of race converged with questions of nationalism in the tinderbox of the Mesilla Valley in the 1850s.

[542] Captain James A. Shannon, "With the Apaches in Mexico," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association, Volume XXVII*, Number 111, US Cavalry Association Press, June 1916, 547.

CHAPTER 6

"WORTHY OF IMITATION:" THE CONSTRUCTIVE POWER OF VIOLATION AND THE CASE OF THE MESILLA GUARD

"The mob is supreme, and it exists everywhere…"
--*The Weekly Arizona Miner*, Friday, August 6, 1881

In 1854, a baby, whose Yaqui name is unknown but who would eventually go by the moniker Lucia, opened her deep brown eyes for the first time somewhere in her people's homeland known to the Yaqui as *hiakim*. At that time, her people endured a constant struggle against genocidal attacks by the Mexican government and frequent enslavement by Mexicans, Americans, and other Indigenous groups. But though scholars know much about life among the Yaqui people of the nineteenth century, the individual Lucia Martinez does not appear within the western written record until she crosses paths with King Samuel Woolsey of Arizona Territory in 1864.

As reported in his obituary in the *Phoenix Herald* on July 2, 1879, King Woolsey grew up in the antebellum Southeastern United States in the early nineteenth century. Before moving to the Southwest, Woolsey traveled to Havana, Cuba, along with other Southern men as a part of Narciso Lopez's filibustering expedition. Manifest destiny dreams of grandeur accompanied these naïve young followers of Lopez, and their mission promptly ended with the group's capture and the public garroting of their leader. The Cubans executed multiple filibusters, but some of the more fortunate followers of Lopez such as Woolsey were merely imprisoned. Woolsey managed to gain his release from prison after only a few months with the aid of British diplomacy.[543]

[543] Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 330-365.

After his Caribbean adventure, Woolsey went west. He grew wealthy in the newly created southwest territory by supplying soldiers serving the Union army and by ranching on usurped Akimel O'odham lands. It was by hunting and killing Apaches, however, that Woolsey earned his rank of Lieutenant Colonel and his claim to fame among Euro-American settlers in Arizona.[544]

Clark Stocking, an old fighting companion of Woolsey's from the early days of the territory, wrote about his friend's forays into Apache country in his editorial featured in the *Bisbee Daily Review* on May 17, 1903. In the summer of 1864 during an Apache campaign, Stocking recalled how Woolsey came across a ten-year-old Yaqui girl they called Lucia, who had been captured and held at the time by Apache slave traders. Woolsey took the girl home, forcing her into an enslavement that immediately became sexual in nature. Shortly after Lucia's enslavement into his home, King Woolsey served in Arizona's first territorial legislature, helping to hammer out the Howell Code, a large body of laws for the new citizenry of Arizona. These legislators intended to codify an American-based system of racial controls in a land far too diverse for their comfort. For Woolsey, his work on the Howell code with his fellow legislators would solidify white male power over non-white women's bodies by following the same path as other western and southern legislators. One section of this code established the age of sexual consent for females in the Territory at ten years old. Any girl over the age of ten had to prove sexual assault through physical evidence to bring about charges against their attacker. Women could marry at the age of sixteen but could not legally deny their husbands' sexual access. Non-white women, who could not even testify on their own behalf against a white male in court, faced virtually no control over their own bodies in Territorial

[544] Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, *Volume II*, printed and published by direction of the second legislature of the state of Arizona, 1915.

Arizona after the passing of the Howell Code. Only after 1871 could any person of any race testify in court against whites, but this law in practice did little to promote Indigenous women's legal authority. Miscegenation laws further restricted non-white power in the region by allowing mixed race sexual intercourse while banning mixed race marriages, with the result that the children of these unions and minors of minority backgrounds could be easily indentured or unofficially enslaved.[545]

During the 1860s, King Woolsey established two ranches, Agua Fria and Agua Caliente, in Arizona territory. Woolsey ran these ranches socially in the same manner as the antebellum plantations that surrounded him in his childhood. Woolsey, as the male, white owner, stood firmly at the top, followed by white skilled laborers, then Mexican and black field hands, with the last status category given, according to his cook, to the Native servant girl named Lucia and the dogs. At the age of 13, Lucia gave birth to her first child, a daughter named Clara, by Woolsey. Eighteen months later she birthed a second daughter to Woolsey named Johanna, and 18 months after that, a son with a lame leg named Robert. Shortly after the birth of his illegitimate son, Woolsey began grooming his political career in the region and wedded a proper "white girl" from Georgia. After moving Lucia to another of his ranches and preoccupied with his new spouse Mary Taylor, Woolsey did not seem particularly distraught when Lucia fled to Yuma. Though Woolsey allowed Lucia to leave his property with his newborn disabled son in tow, Woolsey retained custody of their two young daughters. But Lucia refused to allow her inferior legal status as an Indigenous woman in territorial Arizona to keep her from her daughters. In the decade to come, Lucia bravely took on King Woolsey with the help of various white lawyers in Yuma in the American court system, pursuing every

[545] Katrina Jagodinsky, "Territorial Bonds: Indenture and Affection in Intercultural Arizona, 1864-1894" in *On the Borders of Love and Power: Families and Kinship in the Intercultural American Southwest*, Adams, David Wallace Adams and Crista DeLuzio, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 221-226.

avenue in her attempt to gain custody of her own children from the man who had held power over her body for so many years.[546]

Lucia Martinez, like many peoples of the Southwest during the nineteenth century, straddled multiples spaces and multiple identities. Much like the disputed lands that the boundary commissioners of the 1850s meticulously measured and marked, the peoples of the region remained equally ephemeral when it came to their racial, cultural, and national identities. When Euro-Americans first entered this landscape as conquerors in 1848, they met and mingled with peoples they thought to be Mexican or Native, but not both.[547] To make matters more complicated for these new Americans, these newly-acquired subjects also often identified more with their community and locality than their skin-color or nationality. For the peoples of the Southwest territories, these juxtaposed identities coexisted with ease. When Euro-Americans began pouring into the region in droves, however, they sought to displace these ambiguous constructions of identity with their own more concrete dichotomies of white and non-white, us and them. In the process, many borderlands residents bristled under the bite of racial oppression, often for the first time, as Euro-Americans reconstructed the sociopolitical landscape to suit their new roles in the region.

With the influx of Euro-American settlers, along with the importation of notions of white supremacy, Mexican men felt the pangs of trying to retain their cultural heritage while also incorporating enough "whiteness" to be allowed to remain a part of the echelons of power that controlled the region. Few areas felt this sting more along the Southwest frontier than the Mesilla Valley. Situated directly on the disputed border of

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[546] Ibid, 226.

[547] In this chapter and the ones that follow, the term Mexican will be used to describe peoples who lived in the nation of Mexico prior to the 1848 American invasion who did not identify as distinctly Indigenous.

the United States and Mexico during the late 1840s and early 1850s, one civilian militia group known as the Mesilla Guard would take a symbolic and violent stand against the fracturing of their collective identity by murdering innocent Apache men, women, and children.

The invasion of ethnic Mexican communities and the degradation of their status by white American conquerors created a flashpoint within frontier Mexican society. Many Mesilleros had already been traumatized by years of intense violent encounters with various Apache groups seeking to expel them from Apacheria. Primed through a long and intergenerational past of conflict with Apaches, the Mesilla Guard faced a new catalyst for violence in the form of a group identity crisis that would push these men even further into collective perpetrator trauma. In turn, these men would lash out against the only "others" they believed they could still conquer: the Mescalero Apaches. Baptized in blood and regenerated by violence,[548] the Mesilla Guard members harnessed the tool of violation in order to shore-up their shaken identity as Mexican, American, and most importantly, as white men of power in this contested Southwestern world.

The locality now known as New Mexico did not transform into a U.S. possession overnight; instead, this territory with its diverse population battled the acute colonization of the region by Americans during their invasion in the 1840s. In 1847, an allied group of Mexicans and Pueblo Indians brutally killed the Euro-American governor of New Mexico, Charles Bent, by confronting him at his home and then scalping and beheading him. A well-known Taos merchant at the time, Bent gained the title of governor only nine months before his death after his appointment by the army commander of the American invasion force. In the days and weeks that followed Bent's

[548] Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence; The Mythology of the American Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973).

assassination, Americans killed thousands of Mexican and Indigenous residents in the region, with the violence peaking during the Taos revolt that took the lives of hundreds of people through direct military engagement. Countless more New Mexicans would die through the military's destruction of the residents' winter food stores. Upper-class New Mexicans in the region also provided support to a strategically planned resistance movement that flourished in the initial month of the American take-over only to be squashed before it came to real fruition. Though at the time the United States already held military dominance over the area, ethnic Mexicans occupied an ambiguous position within this newly American society. As a society, these *Nuevo Mexicanos* felt a strong sense of loss at this transition into a U.S. possession.[549] In response to the invasion of General Phil Kearny, acting Mexican governor at the time, Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid stated:

> The inhabitants of this Department humbly and honorably present their loyalty and allegiance to the government of North America. No one in this world can successfully resist the power of him who is stronger. Do not find it strange if there has been no manifestation of joy and enthusiasm in seeing this city occupied by your military forces. To us the power of the Mexican Republic is dead. No matter what her condition, she was our mother. What child will not shed abundant tears at the tomb of his parents?[550]

Labor pains during the birth of this new U.S. territory continued in fits and starts after the killing of Governor Bent and the subsequent parading of his head on a spike through Taos plaza. The next day the allied group of New Mexicans and Puebloan Natives attacked an American-owned mill and distillery in Mora, destroying property and physically assaulting both Euro-Americans and Mexicans deemed pro-American. Within a few days American troops filed into the town to put down the uprising, killing

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[549] Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 15.

[550] Steven Mintz, ed., *Mexican American Voices: A Documentary Reader* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell Press, 2009), 76.

150 New Mexicans in the process. This rebellion immediately set the stage for confusion on what legal position the surviving rebels occupied. While the non-Indigenous men involved with this violence were no longer recognized by the United States as Mexican citizens, they were not quite American citizens either, at least according to the US government. Complicating these attacks further, Indigenous peoples not affiliated with the Taos rebels of the area also rose up against American intrusion. Kiowas and Comanches committed coordinated strikes against Americans in northern New Mexico for months after the Mora rebellion had ended. New Mexicans and Indigenous people involved in these uprisings viewed their violence as expressions of their political and social rejection of the American invasion. But incoming Euro-Americans saw these attacks not as a political statement against American imperialism but instead as a racially motivated crime of non-white actors rejecting their new white superior leaders.[551]

Mexican peoples possessed many fears in regard to to the potential changes brought to the region in the years following the incorporation of New Mexico into the United States as a territory in 1850. These fears often revolved around the usurpation of land and the influx of more restrictive racial categories into their society. Mexicans often referred to Americans that they believed to be a threat as Texans. Though obviously not all American settlers and soldiers flooding into the region hailed from Texas, Mexicans held very raw fears of "diablo Texans" after their 1841 failed invasion of New Mexico. Another concern from Mexicans involved the southern cultural practice of chattel slavery. With so many southerners migrating to the territory, Mexicans feared that these

[551] Anthony Mora, *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848-1912* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), Chapter 1, Kindle Edition.

Americans would view them as racially inferior to whites and would attempt to enslave them as they did black peoples.[552]

The new colony of Mesilla spent its infancy embroiled in the New Mexican conflict in the aftermath of the US-Mexico War. Ultimately, this burgeoning new community would fall directly onto the frontlines of the border dilemma between the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo[553] and the Gadsden Purchase during the mid-nineteenth century. In 1848, the Mexican government, concerned with further encroachment of Americans into their territory after the war, created a colonization plan that encouraged township development along the new US-Mexico border. These towns, including the town of Mesilla, would act as a buffer against American incursions and would establish settled Mexican populations to repel incoming Indigenous raiders. The government encouraged Mexicans from around the nation to settle in the north with cash rewards and valuable land grants. Meticulously designed according to the architectural concepts of federal planners, new communities on the border possessed key signifying structures to remind residents at all times of the Mexican government's cultural and political presence in the area, from traditional plazas with Catholic churches on the corner to military barracks and large state government buildings. But Mexicans did not simply head to northern border towns for rewards, as the Mexican government could never entirely be counted upon to fulfill these promises; they also fled from the newly created border in order to avoid becoming American citizens.[554]

In the early 1840s, Dona Ana was the only community in the Mesilla Valley,

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[552] Ibid, Chapter 2, Kindle Edition.

[553] Ernesto Chávez, *The U.S. War with Mexico: A Brief History of Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins Press, 2008), Document No. 44, United States and Mexico, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 1848.

[554] Ibid.

comprised predominantly of farmers and laborers who had moved to the area from Paso del Norte. Initially settled by just ten to 15 families, this group of people built homes of logs and mud on a bluff overlooking a river.[555] Don Mauricio Ugarte, a Mexican military leader on his way to fight the Texans in 1843, recalled traveling through the area, meeting some of the settlers working in their fields. The laborers, clothed in rags, commented that more of their community members were living in nearby mountain caves where they could more easily hide from Apache raiders. Taking pity on the destitute settlers, Ugarte left the workers food, military uniforms for clothing, and most importantly, ammunition to defend themselves from Indigenous attacks.[556]

In the late 1840s and early 1850s, flooding occurred on the Rio Grande, cutting a deeper channel further south from the original river area. Since the United States government had based the boundary line in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on the deepest channel of the river, this new and deeper channel, according to the American government's perspective, represented the new boundary line. Mexican settlers moving into the region from Paso del Norte disagreed, as it immediately altered their national and legal rights. Various towns such as Socorro, San Elizario, and Yseleta then fell on the American side of the border, with other towns such as Senecú and San Lorenzo being split in half with the citizenry's residences still in Mexico and their agriculture fields across the new channel in the United States. For American officials in Washington and Mexican officials in Mexico City, the war to create a border of their choosing raged on, but for Mexican settlers, life continued as they flocked to the fertile Mesilla Valley to

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[555] George Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (New York: Outing Publishing Company, 1915), 170.

[556] Mary Daniels Taylor, *A Place as Wild as the West Every Was: Mesilla, New Mexico, 1848-1872* (Las Cruces: New Mexico State University Museum Press, 2004), 9.

work farms and land grants.[557]

In 1851, Merigildo Guerra and others received land grants in the Mesilla area. Peons, indentured servants, debtors, and other working-class peoples from Paso del Norte flocked to the region seeking a better life with the land grants promoted by the Mexican government. Empresarios brought in groups of laborers as well to work their vast land grant tracts. While the majority of these settlers were of Mexican nationality, a few Americans also settled south of the border. But members of both groups grew increasingly divided on how they viewed their national membership. In 1851, Americans and Mexicans wrote to the territorial governor in Santa Fe asking to be considered American even though they still lived on the Mexican side of the river border. These settlers contended that they had moved to that region on the assumption that they would soon be standing on American ground once the border dispute had been resolved by the Mexican and American governments.[558]

Between the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the 1853 *Tretado de Mesilla*, known to Americans as the Gadsden Purchase, multiple waves of colonization-emigration took place along the border. Father Ramón Ortiz presided over one of these colonization movements prior to the reconfiguration of the border in 1853. Ortiz focused on the repatriation of Mexicans who had found themselves in US territory to new colonies just south of the boundary line. Ortiz believed that these repatriated citizens chose to move back to Mexico because they feared that the UU.S. government would never guarantee their rights. Ortiz also believed that the American citizenry would forever hold them in disdain as a racially inferior people. The priest even went so far as to direct laborers to build up dirt embankments and dig ditches in an attempt to subvert

[557] Ibid., 12.

[558] Ibid., 11-31.

the Rio Grande so that it would change its course, placing certain communities back within Mexican territory. Towns such as Mesilla emerged as refugee communities for settlers from northern New Mexico, Paso del Norte, and less economically viable places in Chihuahua and Sonora. By 1850, the town of Mesilla held several hundred settlers with key players in the future Mesilla Guard—such as Meregildo Guerra and Juan Ortega—establishing farms along the riverbanks. While these movements can, at face value, be seen as declarations of national support for Mexico, the reality on the ground was not so simple. Many Mexicans moved across the border into the United States seeking better economic opportunities, regardless of the risks involved, just as some Mexicans fled across the river southwards as the border changed yet again with the Gadsden Purchase. When taken as a whole, most New Mexicans simply remained in place, adapting to the sudden change in their nationality and continuing to eke out a living in the borderlands.[559]

John Bartlett, the boundary commissioner, noted that the formerly small town of Dona Ana, now with an U.S. garrison in place, had been flooded with American speculators often claiming land belonging to Mexican land grantees. Many of these Mexicans tried, often in vain, to gain back this property through litigation in various U.S. courts across the Southwest. When these legal attempts failed, Mexicans would often flee across the then border with their families. This border, soon to be replaced by the Gadsden Treaty in 1854, drew a line at the river just across from Dona Ana. A large group of these dissatisfied Mexicans, frustrated with what they felt was a lack of concern from the U.S. government over their rights, moved across the border from the recently-Americanized Dona Ana back into Mexico under the guidance of Don Rafael Ruelas. On

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[559] Jose Angel Hernandez, *Mexican American Colonization during the Nineteenth Century: A History of the US-Mexico Borderlands* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 97-108, 118-119.

the first of March in 1850, this group of around 60 Mexican nationals officially formed the community of La Mesilla, less than eight miles away from their former homes in the newly minted US territory of New Mexico. By the dawning of 1851, half the town of Dona Ana's residents had depopulated and moved to Mesilla. By April 1, 1851, with the boundary line a bit more secured along the river, the townspeople of Mesilla celebrated with a grand ball and the firing of a cannon. [560]

Southwestern towns and villages settled by Mexicans and later Americans possessed lower population concentrations than their counterparts in the east and farther south in Mexico, but these communities were no less diverse because of it. At the time of the U.S. invasion in the late 1840s, 60,000 ethnic Mexicans, 60,000 Navajo, Ute, and Apache peoples, 15,000 Pueblo peoples, and 1,000 Anglo-Americans called New Mexico home.[561] Prior to the entry of the United States into the area in the late 1840s, Mexico had always been more racially fluid than the United States population, and even more so than the population of central Mexico. By 1810, only 20 percent of Mexicans were of strictly Spanish descent across the Southwest region; all others were either mestizo or Indigenous.[562]

A more diverse and nuanced breakdown of race held by Mexican peoples did not necessarily translate into a more equitable society for all. Throughout the early nineteenth century, a small cadre of Mexican elites controlled the New Mexican legislature and local government positions across northern Mexico's frontier. This civic

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[560] John Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission during the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53: Volume 1* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1854), 213-215.

[561] Laura E. Gómez, "Off-White in an Age of White Supremacy: Mexican Elites and the Rights of Indians and Blacks in Nineteenth-Century New Mexico," *Chicano-Latino Law Review* 25 (2005): 13-16.

[562] Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 52-56.

engagement and control of the production of state and local laws did not waver in the decades after the American takeover, but the Mexican elite did face new challenges from this incoming Euro-American power. For the first three decades after the 1848 invasion, military power trumped territorial government power. Similarly, the federal government had the ability to nullify any territorial laws put in place. While the U.S. government could not control certain local positions, it did control who sat in the governor's chair and a few other key seats, and more often than not the President of the United States, with the Senate's approval, placed Euro-Americans in positions of power who had never even set foot in the Southwest. As incoming Euro-American settlers reconfigured the hierarchy of governance in New Mexico Territory, they also added new degrees of "whiteness" as determining factors for distribution of power in the region. Euro-Americans disenfranchised and demeaned New Mexicans based on their perceptions of the Mexican "race." Additionally, these Euro-Americans had the audacity to place certain Mexicans, often depending on their class, only a step above the *Indios Bárbaros* that ethnic Mexicans had battled for well over a century. This new fabricated racial fight on the home front created a conflict for New Mexicans who had never before faced the concept of race so divisively in their history.[563]

For all of the Americans' racially based misgivings about incorporating Mexican peoples into the United States, American men possessed few qualms about sharing intimate relationships and even marriage with Mexican women. One estimate proposes that in the mid-nineteenth century, three quarters of foreign traders and trappers married Mexican women while working and living in New Mexico. Many of these unions likely occurred through a simple numbers game; with so few Euro-American women in the area, Euro-American men met their spouses in population centers that contained

[563] Gómez, "Off-White in an Age of White Supremacy,"22-27.

predominantly Mexican women. These marriages also acted as economically advantageous partnerships. Prior to the U.S. takeover, Anglo-Mexican unions allowed foreign-born men to bypass the regulations against non-Mexicans wishing to practice a variety of business ventures in the country. After the U.S. takeover, these unions remained exceedingly valuable for traders wishing to make inroads into tight-knit Mexican communities through familial networks. In kind, Mexican women and their family members could benefit from access to the American economy's rising star, along with American-made goods. In New Mexico, while the upper classes in the territory seldom intermarried with incoming Americans, a wide swathe of the rest of New Mexican society, particularly the mercantile classes, did.[564]

But as much as many Euro-Americans traded with, worked with, and even intermarried with Mexicans in the area, a mistrust of these Mexican "others" lurked just below the surface. One example of this buried animosity came to light during the Civil War in the territory. As federal troops abandoned their southwest posts to return east to fight, many Euro-American ranch and mine owners panicked. Years later, Arizona founding father Charles Poston would write on these deep-seated fears, stating that after the soldiers had left, he believed "that the Apaches would come down on us by the hundred, and the Mexicans would cut our throats."[565]

Up until the last few years of the nineteenth century, the United States government did not even provide Mexican Americans with a clear process on how to prove their American citizenship when called upon to do so. This lack of clarity spawned largely from Euro-American perceptions of race and nationality, and their inability to

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[564] Andres Resendez, *Changing Identities at the Frontier* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 125-130.

[565] Charles D. Poston, "Building a State in Apache Land. II. Early Mining and Filibustering" *Overland Monthly,* Volume XXIV (Second Series), July 1894, No. 139, p. 294.

disentangle one from the other. For Mexican peoples in the decade just prior to the American takeover, race and nation existed entirely separate from each other. Possessing an often distant and volatile relationship with the often changing Mexican government further south, New Mexicans identified far more with their regions and townships than they did with the broader Mexican nation.[566]

Meanwhile, a rapidly growing United States that continued to expand upon their own concepts of nationalism and race grappled with how to categorize these new populations in the southwestern territories. This Euro-American dilemma can clearly be seen in the wording of the very treaty that established their dominance over the Southwest. Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided citizenship options for Mexicans living in areas gained by the United States after the Mexican American War. The treaty stated:

> Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories… Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty…[567]

If Mexicans wished to retain their citizenship and live in the American territory but did not make an official declaration of this desire, they would instantly become American citizens at the end of the year. But this initial wording of the treaty would be undermined through the vague wording of the U.S. Congress that worried about assimilating such a vast Mexican population into the broader U.S. citizenry. The updated treaty also immediately disenfranchised Indigenous peoples, including those who had identified as

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[566] Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, Introduction, Kindle Edition.

[567] Chávez, *The U.S. War with Mexico*, Document No. 44, US and Mexico, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Feb. 1848.

both Mexican and Native, which included thousands of Puebloans who had intermarried and intermingled with non-Indigenous Mexican peoples for generations.[568]

These frictions between race and identity, migrations and settlements, and border barriers and perforations, culminated in a perfect storm of deadly, racially motivated violence in the year 1858 in the Mesilla Valley. Acting as a microcosm of the conflicts of ethnic Mexicans negotiating their new place in this American-defined world, a citizen militia known as the Mesilla Guard would take part in symbolic violence against Mescalero Apaches living in the Mesilla Valley area. The two attacks that this group committed not only revealed their continued feelings of hostility towards Apaches in the region, but also declared their own sense of agency as players in the broader Euro-American power politics of southern New Mexico Territory.

In February of 1858, John R. Wells, a young American in the area, wrote to Mescalero Apache Agent Michael Steck about his experience of "being an unwilling and helpless witness to one of the most uncalled for, murderous atrocity[sic] that has ever been committed in our government." In an obvious state of distress, Wells described in detail an organized vigilante attack on group of peaceful Mescalero Apaches that had been camping outside of the town of Dona Ana and had come in regularly to sell pumpkins, melons, and corn at the local market. In the wee morning hours just after first mass on February 4, John Wells observed a group of between 30 to 50 armed Mexican men wearing chamois shirts and knee-high moccasins with the red ochre of war paint slathered across their noses attacking and killing Mescalero Apache men, women, and children.[569]

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[568] Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, Chapter 1, Kindle Edition.

[569] Dona Ana, John R Wells to Steck, 17 February 1858, MSS 134 BC; *Michael Steck Papers*, CSWR, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico), box 1, folder 8.

The attack had actually begun on the outskirts of town a few minutes before the assault in the town proper of Dona Ana. After pursuing an Apache trail to an Indigenous encampment three miles outside of Dona Ana, this group who referred to themselves as the Mesilla Guard killed three Apaches in the camp before making their way into the town. Entering Dona Ana in a state of intoxication, the men began their butchery.[570] Mr. Wells observed three men, four women, and two boys brutally murdered in the street, and he expressed great horror at the placid attitudes of both his American comrades and the majority of Mexican people in the town, noting in particular that Native children had been killed before his eyes. He told Agent Steck, however, that one old Mexican goldsmith pulled several Apaches into his home and, brandishing a gun, stood in the way of those who wished to kill the Natives hidden there. Wells pleaded with Steck to send American officials down to Dona Ana immediately to investigate and act against the perpetrators. He also recommended that someone be sent to collect the Apache dead still in the streets and record other eyewitness accounts of the brutality.[571]

As tensions flared in the region after the first attack, the people of Mesilla defended their extralegal actions while stipulating that the Mescalero Apaches sheltered by and at peace with Dona Ana had been traversing across the river periodically to raid their livestock. Steck argued through letters to various military and government figures locally and at the national level that these victimized Apaches had not been involved in the raiding which plagued the Dona Ana settlements. As Steck attempted to placate the citizenry of Mesilla on one hand, and Apaches calling for vengeance on behalf of their lost loved ones on the other, the U.S. military condemned the Mesilla guard's actions as

[570] Nona Barrick and Mary Taylor, *The Mesilla Guard, 1851-61* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1976), 27-30.

[571] Wells to Steck, 17 February 1858, *Steck Papers*, box 1, folder 8.

vigilantism but took no immediate actions against the marauding militiamen.[572] One week after the attack, a Mescalero group of warriors, 100 strong, came into the town of Mesilla under Chief Gomez seeking a violent retribution. This group was in turn only stopped by the keen diplomacy of Steck, who convinced the group to leave the perpetrators of the crime to the prosecutorial powers of the U.S. judicial system.[573] Unfortunately for the Apache kin of the victims of the attack, justice from the territorial and federal government would remain elusive.

While horrifying to John Wells, who watched such violence unfold in the town of Dona Ana, for permanent settlers to the region, both Euro-American and Mexican, such violence had infiltrated the daily lives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples for generations. The chaos of gunfire, the thud of incoming horses, the splash of blood or spattering of brain matter along walls, faces, and clothing: this imagery of horror pervaded settler existence in the region, creating a continuous subculture of trauma. Apaches raided and burned Mexican and Euro-American towns, and murdered residents while focusing on livestock theft and sometimes captive-taking in their long-waged campaign against territorial incursions into *Apacheria*. Mexican and Euro-American settler groups in kind, often allied with Pueblo or other Indigenous soldiers, pursued the raiders, killing many in the process, or being killed themselves. Settler accounts throughout the period remark repeatedly on the terror and fear that enveloped communities during times of intense Apache raids. One settler, Jesus Garcia of Tucson, spoke quite plainly of how this violence impacted his perspective on all Indigenous

[572] Barrick and Taylor, *The Mesilla Guard*, 31.

[573] Lieutenant Colonel D.S. Miles to Major W.A. Nichols, AAG, Santa Fe, NM Territory, February 18, 1858. RG 393: *RUSACC*, Registers of Letters Received and Letters Received by Headquarters, DNM, 1854-1865 (Las Cruces, NM) NMSU library, M1102, Roll 7.

peoples: "I hated Indians because they had killed my father.[574]"

Non-state violence had existed in the Southwest in both the Spanish and Mexican eras, and toleration of mob violence of this nature continued after Arizona became an American territory. Because mob violence occurred so regularly and more often against Mexican and Apache peoples than Euro-Americans, territorial citizens felt frequently emboldened to operate outside the law, resulting in a vicious cycle of violence upon violence.[575]

The very nature of the international border as an imagined line between two nations also encouraged violent activities on both sides. In the 1800s, understanding that the U.S. and Mexican governments seldom worked together when it came to boundary disputes, criminals often acted with abandon. Knowing that they could commit illegal acts across the border and then flee over the international line, violent individuals and groups created a borderlands space where, according to one Arizona newspaper, "The mob is supreme…" Regardless of protestations from the Mexican government to all levels of both the territorial and federal governments in the USA, local Euro-American authorities on the ground in the Southwest remained reluctant when it came to prosecuting mob leaders for violence against Mexicans.[576]

The New Mexico Territorial government of the 1850s encouraged citizen-directed attacks on Apaches deemed hostile to non-Indigenous settlements. At the time, territorial senators wanted to provide financial relief to government institutions through the clear legalization of self-defensive citizen militias in a time when resources and

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[574] Jesus Garcia, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, re: Apaches 1958, *Albert H. Schroeder Papers, Series 7* (Santa Fe: NMRCA), Folder 1248. Box 10752.

[575] William D. Carrigan, "The Rise and Fall of Mob Violence against Mexicans in Arizona, 1859-1915 in *Lynching Beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence Outside the South*, ed. Michael J. Pfeifer (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 113-114.

[576] Ibid, 122-123.

military power remained stretched thin. But additionally, the territorial government's support for this resolution encouraged the same vigilante justice which the Mexican population had used to defend their land for generations.[577]

Since the earliest colonial days of the Spanish Empire, especially in New Mexico, the governor would call up the militia largely in times of defensive or offensive conflicts against raiding Indigenous groups. Each community in the area had to provide a certain number of able-bodied men for the militia, and the governor gave this power of enforcement to the town alcalde. These village leaders used a variety of ways to conscript citizens, from imposing heavy fines on those who refused to participate, to giving reluctant citizens actual incarceration time for avoiding their communal duties. Rich and powerful individuals with the means to bypass service would simply pay someone else to fight in their stead. More often than not, the militia men came from the most destitute populations of society: working class Mexicans and allied Native peoples. The government also required these impoverished soldiers to provide their own ammunition and weaponry, with the majority of these men, even in the nineteenth century, being on foot and armed only with lances or bows and arrows. In addition to the requirement of self-sufficiency when it came to weaponry, the militia men had to further provide themselves food for the duration of the campaign, which usually lasted around 45 days, but could last as much as several months. Ill-prepared for intense fighting with Native groups often carrying the latest in American weaponry, these militia men frequently died not just from battle wounds but from the elements as well, with frigid New Mexican winters and blistering summers taking a toll on their numbers with each campaign.[578]

As U.S. troops and officers poured into the territory, a clear conflict emerged

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[577] Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 115.

[578] Resendez, *Changing Identities at the Frontier*, 180-183.

between New Mexicans accustomed to self-defense and Americans accustomed to military might and federal control. Franklin Jordan, adjutant general and assistant quartermaster of the 1st New Mexican cavalry, described how there was no love lost between the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the people of the southern regions of New Mexico and Arizona territories during the mid-nineteenth century. Mexican citizens were adept at surviving violence, isolation, and harsh living conditions and believed that the federal government took too soft of a stance on Apaches in the area. These settlers felt fully justified in seeking violent retribution against Apache peoples as the government seemed to do little to address crimes committed by the Apaches outside of forcing them onto reservations. Jordan himself had no doubt that many Apaches on these reservations would seasonally leave for the mountains in the winter and go on raids in the summer, only to periodically return as the apologetic "prodigal son" to collect rations on the reservation. Jordan's suggestion for improving the situation involved group punishment. He felt that if a warrior was taken off the reservation at random and summarily executed every time an Apache in the area murdered someone, that the raids would soon cease. Because this practice clearly would not be supported by the government, the next best solution for Jordan lay in shipping all the Apaches off to a faraway region.[579]

But though the American military did not appreciate civilian attempts to control Indigenous attacks on settlements, these American soldiers remained fully aware of the difficult conditions so many settler families faced in the Southwest territory. E.D. Shirland, captain of the first California volunteer cavalry, wrote in a letter about the all-too-typical situation of Mexican mining families living and working in the Pino Alto

[579] Franklin Jordan to Governor Edmund Ross, June 29, 1885, Territorial Archives of New Mexico Campaign Records, 1851-1898 (Santa Fe: NMSRCA), Roll 87.

Mines of New Mexico. These mines did not guarantee a sudden life of wealth, but instead put many miners in a state of near perpetual labor for the sake of only minimal amounts of extractable ore. Due to Apache raids and depredations on the mining encampments, these families often became dependent on military support for the most basic necessities. In 1862, Shirland commented to Col. Joseph R. West that 30 families at Pino Alto had run almost entirely out of food and faced starvation. Since the military had arrived in the vicinity, these people had been subsisting on roots and weeds with several of them becoming "insane from hunger."[580]

During the 1850s, Mexican settlers' mistrust of American soldiers and government officials heightened due to the changes in strategy in the Southwest regarding troop placement in the field. Much to the dismay of local Mexican populations, Colonel Edwin V. Stanton began moving his troops out of towns in New Mexico and into newly constructed forts. Stanton believed that this relocation and formation of new forts would place his men squarely in the heart of Apache country, hoping to reduce raids from Apache groups on settlements in the process. But for many Mexican citizens, this physical abandonment of their towns by troops made the residents feel even more exposed to Indigenous attacks. Only a year before the attacks by the Mesilla Guard in the area, the U.S. military had moved U.S. troops to Fort Fillmore, Fort Webster, and Fort Stanton.[581]

Dr. Steck and others feared the consequences of not immediately punishing the members of the Mesilla Guard, and just two months after their first attack, these fears came to fruition. In April 1858, Dr. Steck reported another attack to his superiors on an encampment of peaceful Mescalero Apaches by the same armed men from Mesilla. In

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[580] E.D. Shirland, California Column, Official Records on the War of the Rebellion, 1862, *Albert H. Schroeder Papers*, Series 7 (Santa Fe: NMRCA), Folder 1280, Box 10752.

[581] Kiser, *Turmoil on the Rio Grande,* 103-118.

this case, the attack occurred on a group under the protection of U.S. soldiers stationed at nearby Fort Thorn. During the early morning hours of April 18, employees of the Apache agency near the fort awoke to the "screams of Indians and upon going to the door saw the party above refered[sic] to indiscriminately butchering Indians regardless[sic] of age, sex, or condition." Many Apaches ran for cover into the nearby woods with the men pursuing them.[582] Lieutenant William W. Averell recalled how during the attack, “one of the women had been pursued and killed within five hundred yards of the fort to which she had been running for refuge…[583]” The guardsmen ran down one little Apache boy, a company favorite with the men garrisoned there, whom the guardsman shot and killed, only to then expend their surplus ammunition by shooting the child’s head into pieces.[584]

Soon after the attack had begun, Lieutenant Wood at Fort Thorn received word of the event and sent out troops in pursuit of the make-shift militia. The lieutenant ran boldly into the chaos and demanded militia mens’ immediate surrender along with the naming of their leaders. After capturing all 36 men involved in the attack, the troops collected the bodies of seven dead Mescalero Apaches in the surrounding fields while the remaining Apaches searched for those who had died fleeing into the trees. Lieutenant Woods expressed particular anger at the unprovoked attack, since he and other officers stationed at the fort knew many of the Natives personally.[585] With obvious compassion for the peaceful Apaches who he and his troops had come to know in the previous

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[582] Apache Agency, report of murders of Indians at agency by people from Mesilla, 18 April 1858, MSS 134 BC; *Michael Steck Papers*, CSWR (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico), box 1, folder 8.

[583] Kiser, *Turmoil on the Rio Grande*, 122-124.

[584] Ibid.

[585] Apache Agency, report of murders of Indians at agency by people from Mesilla, 18 April 1858, MSS 134 BC; *Michael Steck Papers*, CSWR (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico), box 1, folder 8.

months, Woods had his men inter the Apache dead in the soldier's own cemetery behind the fort. He also managed to take back a number of children that the Mesilla Guard had captured during the massacre.[586] Lieutenant Wood placed three wounded Apaches in the military hospital of the fort. After receiving a report from Lt. Averell, territorial Judge Kirby Benedict issued a warrant for the arrest of all participants in the massacre. The soldiers then transported the men under the watchful eye of 44 mounted U.S. troops, first to Fort Craig and then on to Socorro for trial.[587]

In American history, mobs of this kind, referred to as regulators or terrorists by some, often wished to remain anonymous, hiding their faces with disguises as the Mesilla Guard did when they attacked Apaches. More ritualized public lynchings such as those featured on early twentieth-century Southern postcards of black men and women hanging from trees almost always carried a popular appeal among the white perpetrating group. But more private attacks such as those engaged in by the Mesilla Guard did not necessarily hold popularity among the broader population. Mesilleros hailing from the town who did not participate in the killings felt a great deal of empathy for the Guardsmen, while Mexicans in other places, such as Dona Ana, feared that the actions of the Guard would only bring further violence into their lives. In some cases, government officials and the military were at odds with the killers, bringing about criminal charges in the event's aftermath. The US military attempted to do just that with the arrest of the Mesilla Guard's members. But the broader territorial citizenry, Mexican and Euro-American alike, did little to encourage the bringing to justice of these vigilante violators.

Regardless of whether or not mobs such as the Mesilla Guard are ultimately

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[586] First Lieutenant W.H. Wood to Major W.A. Nichols, Assistant Adjutant General, April 17, 1858, NM Territory, May 2, 1858. RG 393: *RUSACC*, Registers of Letters Received and Letters Received by Headquarters, DNM, 1854-1865 (Las Cruces, New Mexico) NMSU library, M1102, Roll 8.

[587] Kiser, *Turmoil on the Rio Grande*, 122-124.

punished by a government entity, the practice of lynching and violent vigilantism in general occupies a liminal space between the extralegal and the illegal. In the narratives of justification constructed by perpetrating groups, murder is not a crime. Instead, these mob members view their acts as a necessary action in the vacuum of official justice. Mob members come to believe that these actions are the most direct means to preserving a sense of peace in a seemingly chaotic world. While these Southwestern fears were not without merit, since untold numbers of Mexicans died or were enslaved over centuries of Apache warfare, these concerns did contain a strong element of fiction as the local Mexican populace often assigned the guilt of only a few Apaches to entire Apache populations.[588]

Those on the frontlines seeking justice for the murdered Mescalero Apaches looked for more specific answers as to why these men had joined together to attack peaceful trading Apaches living in the area. Within a week of the first attack, Michael Steck had interviewed residents in Mesilla, Las Cruces, and Dona Ana, and promptly sent his findings to James L. Collins, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the territory. In contrast to his earlier letter, which argued that the attack committed by the Mesilla Guard was spontaneous in nature, after speaking with various citizens Steck believed that the attacks had actually been premeditated. Not long before the attack, several known Indigenous people stole three horses from Mesilla. The Guard decided, with no tangible evidence, that the Mescalero Apache group residing near Dona Ana were the culprits. This group had been living just outside town for six months after they had initially approached the townspeople requesting help to bring in their corn crop. Farmers in the area obliged and then welcomed this peaceable group to live in the area

[588] Lisa Arellano, *Vigilantes and Lynch Mobs; Narratives of Community and Nation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012), 23, 40.

for trading purposes. For Steck, the Mesilleros' murder of these Apaches was not merely alarming because of the innocence of the Apache group in question, but also because of the nature of the murders themselves. The attackers had focused predominantly on Apache women, dragging them from buildings where they had sought shelter, and mutilating their bodies once they were dead.[589]

Ultimately, Steck realized that the Mesilleros had long held a deep and violent grudge against all Mescalero Apaches even before the purchase of the Mesilla Valley by the U.S. government in 1854. The year before that purchase, a group of Mesilleros killed and mutilated a Mescalero woman, and in 1854 an unnamed Mesillero citizen beat the Mescalero leader Cuentes Azules to death with a club. The attacks had continued after the Gadsden Purchase with other murders of Mescalero Apaches committed seemingly at random by individual members of the Mesilla Guard. Steck believed that the murderers themselves would never receive their due justice, as the local population seemed to feel that ultimately, the Mesilla Guard acted for the benefit of settlers in the region.[590]

Residents of Mesilla had struggled to survive since the town's founding in the often-brutal world of the mid-nineteenth-century borderlands. Oral histories from the descendants of residents attest to the real dangers Mesilleros faced on a regular basis. Catalina Butler recalled the stories passed down in her family of men killed by a group of Indians they believed to be Apaches in the summer of 1852. One man managed to hold off several of his attackers before taking a lance to the chest. Attacks of this nature were so common that the town kept *la coronela*, a drum, ready at a moment's notice, to beat out the call for one man from each settler household when an Apache raid became imminent. Made of cottonwood covered with a thin blanket of cowhide, the drumbeats

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[589] Steck to Collins, 15 February 1858, MSS 134 BC; *Michael Steck Papers*, CSWR (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico), box 1, folder 8.

[590] Ibid.

that matched the pumping rhythm of their hearts reminded residents of the price they must pay to live in *Apacheria*. A deadly game of losses and gains, and of blood and banditry, emerged during this volatile decade between Gila River Apaches (Apaches with territories in modern-day Arizona), Mescalero Apaches, and Mesilla residents. All of these groups felt the pinch of periodic river flooding, burning hot summers, and dwindling resources. Apaches would on occasion attack the town and surrounding farms, cutting through protective adobe walls with wet rawhide, stealing provisions and, more importantly, livestock and children to bring back to their camps. In turn, Mesilleros would launch armed forays into the nearby mountains to gain back the lost property and family members, and perhaps an Apache child or two to enslave in their homes and fields.[591]

The subsequent violent encounters with the Mesilla Guard likely came as no surprise to the Mescalero Apaches living in the region. Various bands of the Mescalero people had come to the negotiating table with leaders from Mesilla on four separate occasions in 1854 alone. But the talks broke down before any solid and lasting truce could be achieved. Apaches viewed the Mesilleros as a symbol of the same Mexican imperialism they had long struggled against over the previous century. This hostility was apparent in the way Apaches often targeted Mesilla over other nearby towns such as Dona Ana and Las Cruces.[592]

After the first attack at Dona Ana, the commander at Fort Fillmore hoped to rattle the Mesilla Guard members and those who still supported them by threatening to pull out troops from forts in the area. In response, a group of citizens from the wider county area wrote in defense of the Mesilla Guard's actions. They argued that though

[591] Taylor, *A Place as Wild as the West Every Was*, 41-54.

[592] Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, Chapter 2, Kindle Edition.

hostile Apaches in the area did not necessarily attack with the intent to kill Mexicans, as the Mesilla Guard had done with the encamped Mescalero Apaches, raiders did destroy Mexican livelihoods among many families already living in abject poverty. The citizens' letter criticized the lack of mounted troops at Fort Fillmore, stating that they had no choice but to take it upon themselves to defend their homes and land. The Mesilleros described a situation where they felt surrounded by hostile peoples on all sides: Comanches in the north, Kiowas and Mescalero Apaches in the east and south, and the group they termed Gila Apaches in the West. They further argued that though these Indigenous groups had presented themselves to non-Native peoples as friendly, they were "at deadly enemity[sic]" with whites in the area. In this context, the Mesilleros also placed themselves within the same racial category as Euro-Americans.[593] The Mesilleros argued that accounts of the massacre had been exaggerated and generally false. The alcalde of Mesilla additionally complained that the Mescalero Apaches were threatening them by placing the skulls of dead Mexicans on poles outside of the town to frighten the inhabitants.[594]

After the second attack by the Mesilla Guard, attacking Mescalero Apaches so close to a fully manned U.S. military fort, the US government and military officials felt that the Guard's audacity had to be checked through the American court system. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs of New Mexico, James Collins, wrote to his superiors in Washington DC on the arrest of the Mexicans responsible for massacring the group of

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[593] Multiple citizens of Dona Ana County to Brigadier General John Garland. March 24, 1858. Court Records, 1854-1857 and 1853-1870, MS0162; *Mary Daniels Taylor Papers*, Series: Published books: Notes and Drafts, New Mexico State Archives and Special Collections (Las Cruces: NMSU), Box 9.

[594] Kiser, *Turmoil on the Rio Grande,* 120-121.

Apaches. He predicted that the dead Apaches would never receive justice in the territory and that a jury of the murderer's peers would merely acquit the group in mass.[595]

The trial began on October 12, 1857, and as Collins prophesized, the court case was doomed from the start. The 36 Mesilla guardsmen took their place in the courtroom in Socorro in the case entitled *United States v. Juan Ortega*.[596] (Ortega was the group's leader at the time of their arrest). Public sympathy in the region leaned more towards this group of men than the survivors of the Apache victims. Though there were multiple witnesses on the side of the prosecution and the well-respected Dr. Steck on hand to represent the case for the dead Mescalero Apaches, all of the perpetrating men were acquitted by a jury of their peers.[597]

In a symbolic display of the sympathy that many New Mexicans gave to the vigilante Mesilla Guard, the governor of New Mexico Territory, Abraham Rencher, referred to the massacre at the time as one "worthy of imitation." After announcing the acquittal of all the men involved in the killings, Judge Kirby Benedict issued a statement more akin to a scolding of troublesome children than a grave warning to grown men against future violence. He "called upon them to do their duty as citizens of the greatest republic on the earth, and to show that they themselves were worthy and capable of self-government."[598] Just before the men's acquittal, Governor Abraham Rencher established an official state militia for the Mesilla area, with two of the Mesilla Guard leaders, Meregildo Guerra and Juan Ortega, serving as lieutenants. In this way, the men had to

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[595] John Collins to Robert McClelland, May 10, 1858, RG 75; *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs,* US Department of the Interior, Letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico, 1858-1859 (El Paso: University of Texas at El Paso) M234, no. 549.

[596] *Though the court records involving this case were held in the state archives in Santa Fe up until the mid-twentieth century, they have since been lost.

[597] Barrick and Taylor, *The Mesilla Guard*, 32-33.

[598] Kiser, *Turmoil on the Rio Grande*, 123-125

work the chain of command or face military reprimand if they chose to commit another unauthorized massacre of Apaches. But this move by the territorial government also inadvertently solidified their approval of the Mesilla Guard's brutal actions in the eyes of the civilian public.[599]

When examined more closely, the actions of this group of 36 Mesilleros provides revelations on the ways in which the act of violating, when practiced repeatedly across generations, can alter the binding cultural fabric of a society. Traditionally, culture has often been viewed as a set of static group descriptions and symbologies adopted by a collective body of people. In reality, culture functions as a dynamic process shared by its group members. Culture, in this way, provides people a means to build and construct identities across time, space, and conditions.[600]

Collective identity rooted in culture, though often grouped around racial or shared ethnic lines as well, is also not set in stone. On the contrary, collective identity must be generated, performed, and maintained through group practices. The collective weaves a shared past of triumphs and gains, forfeitures and failures, that reiterate the unity of the group. Often, these narratives are mired in as much fiction as fact. These constructed stories of the past remain in the back pockets of a body of people—a talisman to be pulled out, examined, and studied as a reminder of the social boundaries that dictate who belongs and does not belong to the group. When the group feels a great loss, whether that loss is military, political, or cultural, the group brings out these past narratives and creates new narratives. Economic, social, political, and cultural losses can force a group to face challenges that degrade their broader ego as a collective, resulting

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[599] Notes of Mary Daniels Taylor, Court Records, 1854-1857 and 1853-1870, MS0162; *Mary Daniels Taylor Papers*, Series: Published books: Notes and Drafts, New Mexico State Archives and Special Collections (Las Cruces: NMSU), Box 9.

[600] Michael Pacanowsky and Nick O'Donnell-Trujillo, "Communication and Organizational Cultures," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 46 (1982): 123.

in a shaken identity that feels fractured. Just as this fracturing occurs in extreme circumstances among violated ethnic groups, so too does this fracturing occur among groups that violate others. Traumatized by their own perpetration, these groups look for ways to solidify their identity by emphasizing past social boundaries or creating new ones. For perpetrating collectives, violence often becomes a readily accessible tool a group can use to achieve these goals. In turn, outgroup members provide the perfect foil for this identity-affirming movement. Even uninvolved witnesses have a part to play in the perpetrating group's identity affirmation. By observing the violence being committed by a group against another group, the bystander becomes a part of the perpetrators' performance through their own inaction, creating a violent communion ritual between the terrorizers and the observers of the terror that reifies the broader group identity.[601]

When perpetrators engage with each other to create a mob whose sole purpose is to terrorize others, they also express the group's communal values. The victims of these mobs— whether insurrectionist slaves in antebellum Georgia, Chinese railway workers in California, or Mescalero Apaches selling market goods in a border town in the mid-nineteenth century—possessed traits deemed by the majority to be a threat to those communal values held by the perpetrators. When violence is focused against a particular racial group, the mob becomes an informal social institution of the society it represents.[602] More specifically, however, mob violence can become an expression from a particular class of a society that will possess and promote certain cultural agendas.[603] The Mesilla guards represented the Mexican frontier community that felt united against

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[601] Mattias Smångs, *Doing Violence, Making Race: Lynching and White Racial Group Formation in the U.S. South, 1882-1930* (New York: Routledge Press, 2017), 90-91, 42-45.

[602] Ashraf H. A. Rushdy, *American Lynching* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 50, 85.

[603] Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 136-137.

Apache peoples, who they regarded as an inferior and dangerous ethnic group.

But Mesilleros faced another conflict, albeit more metaphysical after the US-Mexico War, with US imperialism. The United States' claim on the region did much more than just change the borderline; it also forced new colonized subjects to reconceptualize their own racial identities. Mexican peoples were not removed from these conversations on race prior to the American invasion, as they had long struggled with their own heritage of Indigenous and non-Indigenous intermingling. But US-Mexico War placed increased pressures on Mexicans in and around the US border to quantify their levels of "whiteness" to an incoming American power on an American-dictated scale. Additionally, white settlers from the east faced the pressures of their own cultural conceptions of race. Many east coast Euro-Americans believed that the whites living in the territories would ultimately become racially degraded and wild by association with Mexican and Indigenous peoples.[604]

The Euro-American public struggled with how to incorporate Mexican peoples into their own hierarchy of racial stratification. Multiple threads of this racism emerged in both print media across the United States and on the ground in the Southwest. At best, Euro-Americans viewed Mexicans as arcane and now subjugated harbingers of a long-dormant Spanish conquistador past. At worst, Mexicans existed as a danger to the European bloodlines of superior white Americans; a race muddled with the blood of black and Indigenous bodies unfit for self-governance. Many Euro-Americans believed Mexicans to be innately lazy, avoiding honest, hard work at all costs. These stereotypes portrayed Mexicans as incapable of functioning as valuable citizens in the American Republic, keeping statehood out of Southwestern grasp until the twentieth century. The term "greaser" soon become a dominant expression used by Euro-Americans to describe

[604] Mora, *Border Dilemmas,* Introduction, Kindle Edition.

the typical Mexican resident of the United States' newly acquired territory.

Euro-Americans in the region did not help to narrow the gap between more nuanced understandings of Mexican culture and the fictitious stereotypes they promoted. Throughout the nineteenth century, American settlers increasingly became separate at both work and at home from Mexican populations in Western towns, especially as more and more marriable Euro-American women moved into and were born into the area. Simultaneously, Mexicans, specifically upper-class Mexicans with their claims on Spanish bloodlines, still had some access to "whiteness" and therefore to power in the region. As the Southwest grew increasingly Americanized, Mexicans began separating themselves with greater frequency from their biological connections to Indigenous peoples and working-class mestizos in the territory in order to accentuate their closer relationship to this white power.[605]

Mexican peoples in the rapidly Americanizing Southwest faced the daunting task of "becoming white" in a new and burgeoning world where power increasingly fell to Euro-American settlers. From the start of Mesilla's official transference into U.S. possession in the fall of 1854, many Mesilleros, including those people who had moved away from Dona Ana and other American cities in rejection of American governance, stepped out into the plaza to take part in and observe the public ceremonies surrounding this Americanization. At noon, on November 14 of 1854, Mesillero businessmen, political leaders, Mexican soldiers and various Mexican officials from elsewhere watched as American soldiers from nearby Fort Fillmore raised the United States flag under the salute of howitzers. After General John Garland read the official proclamation of transfer, the Mexican flag was carefully lowered to the beating of drums and folded away into the arms of its previous citizens. In the decade to come Mexicans in the Mesilla

[605] Gómez. *Manifest Destinies*, 61-63 and 84-86.

Valley engaged in business with Americans, married them, sent their children to new American public schools in the area, learned English, and took part in American national holidays such as Independence Day. The Mesilleros also observed more local holidays such as *La Enaboracion de la Bandera*," a celebration of the day the American standard first flew in the plaza of *La Mesilla*.[606] All of these actions by Mesilleros allowed for membership in some of the same circles as the incoming Americans by performing cultural acts that emphasized their "whiteness" in the eyes of these new settlers. But race for Americans did not remain static and Mesilleros would constantly have to adapt their structuring of whiteness as this this concept evolved. In this way, racial belonging also incorporated individuals into an imagined ideal, a vision of how certain racial and societal classes could evolve into a more united and powerful entity.[607]

The town of Mesilla, separated by only a few miles from the American border and towns such as Las Cruces, but separated by many more miles in terms of cultural distance, perfectly reflects the vast ideological contrasts in conceptualization of race and nationality among Euro-American and Mexican populations during the 1850s. While Mesilla was founded in the aftermath of the US-Mexico War by ethnic Mexicans who largely did not want to be US citizens for a variety of reasons, Las Cruces was founded in the same manner, but by Mexicans who largely desired to become US citizens. In Mesilla, the concept of being Mexican and being another ethnic group, such as Pueblo or Spanish, continued, regardless of more biological and fixed perceptions held by Euro-Americans. For Mesilleros, racial categories did not exist in opposition to each other, but rather in symbiosis. When considering how ethnic Mexicans might behave across the border in the United States in Las Cruces and Dona Ana, one might assume that these

[606] Taylor, *A Place as Wild as the West Every Was*, 39-40.

[607] Smångs, *Doing Violence, Making Race*, 34-35.

ethnic Mexicans would begin to see themselves in a new and more Americanized hierarchy of whiteness. But instead, ethnic Mexican peoples in these now American communities took their flexible concept of race into an American context. They soon saw themselves as Mexican in race *and* American in nationality. In this manner, Mexican people on both sides of the border harnessed the concept of race as a tool to survive and thrive in an increasingly Euro-American world.[608] In the decades to come and as ethnic Mexicans in Mesillera yet again found themselves in U.S. territory after 1854, Mesilleros would carry on living full lives starting businesses, building homes, marrying, raising children, and dying on a soil that was American, Mexican, and most of all, something somewhere in the middle.

In 1858, before Lieutenant Wood and Lieutenant Miles sent the Mesilla Guardsmen to Socorro for their trial, they attempted on numerous occasions to compile an accurate list of the names and background 36 men involved in second attack on Mescalero Apaches. Wood discovered that the vast majority of Mesilla Guard members were not landowners or men of power, but working-class men: day laborers, indentured servants, and even a few deserters from the Mexican military. A significant number of the men had been hired as substitutes in the Guard for larger land grant holders in the valley.[609] In most of these lists, the men were registered by name and age, and the headings always declared the men to be Mexican. But one list, which Lt. Wood believed to be the most accurate, held far more intriguing information. Using the help of a translator from the area, Lt. Wood took down the men's names, their birthplaces, how long they had each lived in Mesilla, and most importantly, the nation of which each man

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[608] Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, Introduction, Kindle Edition.

[609] D.S. Miles to Nichols, AAG, NM Territory, May 20, 1858, RG 393: *RUSACC*, Registers of Letters Received and Letters Received by Headquarters, DNM, 1854-1865 (Las Cruces, New Mexico) NMSU library, M1102, Roll 7.

claimed to be a citizen. 33 out of the 36 men had lived in Mesilla when the town was still a part of Mexican territory, but only two out of 36 claimed Mexican citizenship.[610] Perhaps these men expected better treatment if they were no longer considered Mexican as previous lists had labeled them. Perhaps they simply informed their captors that they were American because anyone living in Mesilla after the Gadsden Purchase had been ratified would automatically become a US citizen if they did not claim their Mexican citizenship within a year. Regardless, these men saw the ephemeral nature of the border far more than their American counterparts, and in the months between their arrest and their court date, the majority of the Mesilla Guard lay claim to U.S. citizenship and to whiteness, regardless of whether or not the US government and Euro-American citizens of the time agreed with them on this self-classification. Years later, this whiteness would be automatically applied to residents of Mesilla who did not claim an Indigenous heritage in the various censuses of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Only in the twentieth century would the term Mexican be applied to individuals as a racial category on government records.

These Mesilleros and their actions, in their time and in their place, reveal the profound ambiguity of the line in the sand that Mexicans and Americans fought over, contested, and eventually—albeit reluctantly—agreed upon as the separation between the United States and Mexico.[611] But this border dilemma and the individuals of Mesilla caught up in its grasp also sheds a deeper light on the ways in which violence can be used to seal the cracks in collective identity.

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[610] Wood to Nichols, AAG Santa Fe, NM Territory, May 2, 1858. RG 393: *RUSACC*, Registers of Letters Received and Letters Received by Headquarters, DNM, 1854-1865 (Las Cruces, New Mexico) NMSU library, M1102, Roll 8.

[611] For a comprehensive coverage of the work and negotiations that went into the physical demarcation of the modern US-Mexico border, please see Rachel St. John's *Line in the Sand: A History of the U.S.-Mexico Border*.

Much like the many Apaches of the Southwest region who fought for centuries against incursions into their territory, the Mesilleros of New Mexico had also been birthed into trauma. But the peoples from whom the Mesilleros descended—the colonizing Spanish conquistadors whose legacies they claimed proudly—had long ago established a subculture of violence that traumatized victims and, in the process, the violators themselves. For the Mesilleros, generations of violent engagement with Apaches and other Indigenous groups had already placed them upon a steep precipice, hyper-defensive and primed for rage. With the entry of Americans into this bloody narrative, the Mesilleros faced a new crisis, only this time in the form of their racial identity in this new world order under US rule.

By assaulting and demeaning Apaches, and by attacking Indigenous peoples on American soldier-occupied ground, the men of the Mesilla Guard believed that they had taken back their agency over their community's identity. Unfortunately, the Mesilla Guard came to believe, as did many perpetrating groups during tumultuous times, that their communal power existed through their violation of minorities. In reality, the Mesillero citizenry's true power existed all along, not in their physical ability to violate, but in their cultural ability to adapt and thrive after generations of hardship under Indigenous attacks, political uncertainty, and United States imperialism. By rejecting Euro-American binaries of white and non-white, the Mesilleros could never be robbed of their agency or identity and moving forward they continued to use their flexible conceptualizations of race and nationalism to their advantage throughout the remaining nineteenth century.

Decades after the border dilemma in southern New Mexico had been settled, Lucia Martinez back in Territorial Arizona would harness the power of racial ambiguity as she fought to recover her children from the grips of her former captor and her

children's father, King Woolsey. Martinez voiced her complaints to a judge in Yuma with whom she filed a writ of habeas corpus against Woolsey. Though a probate judge agreed that the children were too young to be physically separated from their mother, he granted Woolsey the right to indenture his own mixed-race daughters once they reached a suitable age. Eventually, Woolsey did come to Yuma when his daughters reached their preteen years, placing them in a Catholic orphanage under his rights of indenture as stipulated under the Howell Code, which he had helped to craft as a territorial legislator. While he did not want to raise his daughters as his own back in Arizona, Woolsey also could not bear for his blood-kin to be raised by an Indigenous woman, particularly at a time when he sought to further his own political and economic career.[612] Less than a year after placing his daughters into the orphanage, however, the *Arizona Weekly Citizen* newspaper announced that Woolsey had passed away suddenly in his sleep of a stroke.

Lucia Martinez continued fighting for her children's future after Woolsey's death by legally pursuing a part of his estate. When Woolsey's widow officially recognized her deceased husband's mixed progeny in court but argued that they had no right to any part of his estate owing to their Indigenous blood, Martinez altered her approach. She convinced the reputable postman of Yuma, Henry Fitzgerald, to become her daughters' guardian in order to petition the court for their monetary dues as the children of King Woolsey. Eventually, the case went to a higher court and Martinez won a small but hard-earned victory in the form of a 400-dollar settlement. Though Lucia's immediate fight for her children was over, her struggle against the bonds of living as an Indigenous single woman in a white man's world culminated in one simple, final gesture of strength and

[612] Jagodinsky, "Territorial Bonds," 222-241.

maternal transformative power.[613]

In 1880, as words buzzed across Yuma about Lucia Martinez, her illegitimate children, and their controversial status, Sherriff Andrew Tyner, the local census enumerator, knocked on Lucia's door. He asked her to clarify her marital status, her race, and her children's race for his records. Without hesitation, Lucia lay claim to the powerful cultural tool still found in pockets across the region—a vestige of racially-malleable might still holding strong as it had in the Southwest for centuries. Lucia told Sheriff Tyner that she was a Mexican widow, which, as a woman from the land of the Yaqui people, technically she was, and that her children were white. In that breath, Lucia may have muddled her future descendants' understanding of their Yaqui past, something that perhaps they regret to this day. But she also tore asunder the stranglehold that violent men such as King Woolsey sought to place over her body, her blood, and her children's blood through her indigeneity. Only two years later, Lucia baptized her children into the Catholic church in Yuma, a community with strong roots extending back into Mexico and into the land of the Yaqui people. In the decades to come, both of Lucia's daughters would change their last names back to Woolsey, reminding the world around them that they too deserved the social benefits of the famous name of their father, even if he had not lived his life believing them deserving of it.[614]

On December 11, 1942, only a year after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the *Arizona Sentinel* newspaper out of Phoenix reported on the christening of the latest Arizona-produced liberty cargo ship for use in the war effort. Children from around the state had voted for which historic name would be used for the ship heading into troubled

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[613] Katrina Jagodinsky. *Legal Codes and Talking Trees: Indigenous Women's Sovereignty in the Sonoran and Puget Sound Borderlands, 1854-1946* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 53-55.

[614] Ibid.

waters in the Pacific, and “King S. Woolsey” had made the final cut. As the newly named King S. Woolsey slid into the sea off the coast of California amid great fanfare, a granddaughter of Lucia Martinez held the broken baptismal champagne bottle in her hand. The newspaper listed her simply and truthfully as Helen Woolsey Marron, granddaughter of King S. Woolsey, a pioneer of Arizona Territory.

But like the sharp edges of a shattered bottle, the legacy of violence and pain that spawned Helen Marron’s mother and brutalized her grandmother, could not be wiped away so easily. Even in a new time where a past of bloodshed seemed far removed from the bustling streets of twentieth-century Phoenix, the ethnotrauma that Indigenous peoples across the territory grappled with lingered on through multiple generations. But the perpetrating cultures of Euro-Americans and Mexicans also felt the lingering effects of their own violent past in the form of perpetrator trauma. Mexicans in particular had traversed a long road of reconfiguring their collective identity as Mexican Americans between 1848 and the year 1912 when Arizona finally gained statehood. Their bloody entanglements with victimization and violation stretched back far deeper into the nineteenth century. This twisted history of conflict with Apache peoples in Mexico before and after the American invasion created a deadly social contagion; a pattern of intimate violation of Apache bodies that would later infect American imperialists in ways that would forever alter the cultural fabric of minority-majority relations in the Southwest well into the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 7

THE CORPOREAL CONQUEST: SCALP-TAKING AND LEGACIES OF RACIALIZED VIOLENCE IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOUTHWEST

"Those who have crossed
With direct eyes, to death's other Kingdom
Remember us—if at all—not as lost
Violent souls, but only
As the hollow men
The stuffed men."[615]

--" The Hollow Men," T.S. Eliot

"Then all hands were united as one common brotherhood; and we would fight certain tribes of Indians for the fun of the thing, and for common humanity, even if we were not offered a reward for every scalp."[616]

– Captain James Hobbs

Francisco Fimbres and his wife Maria Dolores Fimbres rode horseback from their home in Nacori Chico to Pinos Altos, the site of a gold mine nestled in the peaked embrace of the Sierra Madres range of northern Mexico. Each held a young child in their arms: Francisco their two-year-old daughter Vicki, and Maria their three-year-old son, Gerardo. Pregnant and with her horse too tired to continue, Maria had begun riding her husband's horse ahead of him while he led the tired pony behind her around the sharp bends and hairpin switchbacks of the mountains. In an instant, a group of Apache women rushed out from behind a curve in the road and pulled Maria from her horse, stabbing her repeatedly and slitting her throat. Holding baby Vicki in his arms, Francisco

[615] Thomas Stearns Eliot, "The Hollow Men" in *Collected Poems: 1909-1962* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991), 77-82.

[616] James Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West; Personal Adventures of a Border Mountain Man* (Hartford: Wiley, Waterman, and Eaton, 1872), 72-76.

watched in shock as his wife lay in the dust, her blood pulsing from the sharp slash in her neck in thick bursts, pooling in a viscous mirror of red around her body. In the time it took to place Vicki down in the nearby grasses and before he could traverse the one-hundred feet to his wife's aid, the Apache women rolled her still bleeding body into the ravine beside the road and fled with his son Gerardo in their arms.[617]

The 100 miles between Nacori Chico and the mines of Pinos Altos skirted the western edges of the Sierra Madre mountain ranges. Dotted with deposits of gold, silver, and copper, this region lured miners to its rugged embrace for centuries. River valleys and alluvial floodplains rested below the rugged mountain peaks that sometimes rose to the skies more than half a mile high. In some places along the Yaqui River such as the *Sierra la Campaneria*, the mountains could rise over a mile only to tumble down into the valleys where desert, rivers, and sub-humid forests sparred for domination over the landscape.[618]

Throughout the nineteenth century, these mountains provided a place of refuge for various bands of Apaches in Mexico, including Geronimo and his followers during the 1880s. But after the capture of Geronimo's group and the exile of them along with other Apaches in the Southwest to the east, pockets of Apaches escaped or hid in these isolated mountains. Scattered bands continued to hide in the *barrancas* of northern Mexico. In the last decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, disillusioned Apaches from San Carlos reservation would also venture down into Mexico to join these "lost Apaches."[619]" The women who appeared from the mountainside to murder Maria

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[617] Grenville Goodwin and Neil Goodwin. *The Apache Diaries: A Father-son Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 21-22.

[618] Robert Cooper West, *Sonora: Its Geographical Personality* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), Chapter 2, ebook.

[619] Lynda Sánchez, "Lupe and the Lost Apaches of the Sierra Madre," *Great Plains Journal* 26 (1987): 105-106.

Fimbres likely came from one of these Apache bands.

After two years of combing the rugged landscape for his son and bent on revenge for his wife, the trail went cold. While traveling, Fimbres met Gilberto Valenzuela, a candidate in the Mexican Presidential election, and Ricardo Topete, a senator from Sonora. Moved by his tragic story, these two men convinced the mayors of both Agua Prieta, Sonora and Douglas, Arizona to sponsor a more formal expedition into the mountains. Fimbres created a hodge-podge team of irregular militiamen of predominantly non-Mexican lineage, and shortly thereafter, towns and cities in the region and then across the nation picked up the story of this great Indian hunting venture, all the while promoting tourism and trade in the borderlands region.[620] Soon people from around the nation began to send in applications to go on an Apache hunt with the Fimbres crew, revealing the wider issues of violent racism outside of the Southwest. One such applicant passionately stated:

> I never fought Indians, but I have chased Spicks all around Haiti and Nicaragua, and was in the landing and occupation at Vera Cruz. I guess I'll have the guts to chase these birds. —If you contemplate going in after those Indians soon I shall count it a very great privilege to join you. I have hunted big game in many parts of America, but I am sure shooting at an Apache Indian would give me a greater thrill than any I have heretofore shot at.[621]

This dramatic event known as the Fimbres expedition did not belong to the violent decades of the Apache Wars in the 1880s. Instead, this last great opportunity to hunt for Apaches, to literally hunt for people in North America, exploded and then fizzled out between the years of 1927 and 1930. Taken at face value, this occurrence could be seen purely as a venting of intense frustration within the context of the times; the stock market crash and the Great Depression had hit many people of the mineral boom

[620] Ibid., 22-29.

[621] Ibid., 28.

towns hard along the border in a region that already grappled daily with a harsh climate, corrupt political leadership, and an only recently ended Mexican revolution. But viewed within the broader scope of Southwestern borderlands history, this dehumanization of Apaches and Indigenous peoples symbolized a long legacy of violence and vitriol in American and Mexican society against Native peoples.

During the 1830s and 1840s, American trappers, traders, mountain men, and miners moved into the borderland region and directly into a war of attrition that had been fought for generations by the Apache people against the Spanish and later Mexican invasion of their homeland. Acting on the monetary encouragement of the northern states of Chihuahua and Sonora, these hunters killed countless Apaches[622] to collect bounties on their scalps from the governments of these northern Mexican states. Scalps, also referred to as receipts, became a valued currency for men deemed Indian Killers in this new and rapidly Americanizing Southwestern world. But the scalp bounty system in Mexico, monopolized by Americans, represented a much broader colonial pattern of controlling Indigenous bodies along the frontier. When the wider population of American settlers came face to face with this legacy after the annexation of the territory by the United States, they not only adopted these violent practices in kind, but added to them. American settlers brought with them a binary perspective of race—of those that were white, and those that were other, of those that were superior and those that were inferior. Euro-Americans racialized violence in the Southwest territories, creating a new legacy that rippled among the peoples of the territory well into the twentieth century. A new American man emerged in territorial Arizona in the aftermath of the US-Mexico War cloaked in crimson and savage tales of American scalp hunters murdering the

[622] *While scalp hunters largely targeted Apaches from a variety of tribal groups and bands, any Apache-language relative could also be targeted. Navajos and other groups that were not technically Apache also faced the violence of scalp hunters and the assumption that all of these Indigenous groups were Apaches.

Apache masses in Mexico. This man, birthed through the deaths of others, brought about a masculine identity that could only be constructed and then continued through domination and violation of Indigenous peoples.

The vast majority of Euro-American scalpers and violent settlers in the nineteenth century borderlands were not psychopaths; nor were they mentally unhinged mass murderers. Instead, these men were ordinary individuals. They married, operated businesses, raised their children, and took part in the development of their southwestern settler communities. The collision of these legacies of violence from the Mexican borderlands and legacies of racism from the Euro-American east, however, would create a settler shadow dwelling behind Euro-American pioneers across the territories: an individual alter-ego that could rape and murder in the afternoon and be home in time for supper with the family. But these conquerors could not control the violence that permeated the peoples and landscape around them. Like a virus with its own rudimentary agency, racialized and extreme violence would traumatize and ultimately infect all it touched.

Traditionally, western Indigenous peoples of what is now the continental United States did not practice scalp taking, although portrayals of Apaches and other borderlands Natives for the last few centuries would say otherwise. While some eastern groups, such as the Delaware and Powhatan nations, did engage in this practice early in American history, scalping became a practice of Southwestern groups after the exile of eastern Native peoples west of the Mississippi.[623] Europeans also possessed traditions of both head and scalp-taking dating back thousands of years that they brought with them

[623] Clay Anderson, "Bloody Receipts: The Defensive and Cultural Foundations for Scalp Hunting" *Journal of Big Bend Studies*. 2013 Vol.25, p.77.

as they settled in the New World.[624] But regardless of the origins of scalping, bodily mutilation during wartimes has had a long and expansive history around the globe. The novelty in the Mexican bounty system of scalp-taking came largely from its association with foreign mercenary leaders and its common application to peaceful Indigenous peoples not technically at war with the nation of Mexico.

Apaches also took scalps on occasion, as scalp hunter and soldier Captain James Hobbs attests to in his memoirs,[625] but by and large the scalping culture that pervaded borderlands villages, towns, and cities in the region entangled with non-Indigenous acquirers of scalps who sold these human remains for profit. Euro-Americans became the face of the Indian killer movement in public memory, championed in such works as *The Scalp Hunters* by Mayne Reid.[626] Other very loosely autobiographical works from past scalp hunter members, such as Samuel Chamberlain,[627]continue to provide inspiration for more modern fictional literature such as Cormac McCarthy's gothic Southwestern horror, *Blood Meridian*.[628] In both cases the authors attempt to ameliorate themselves as characters within the narratives' gore, chiseling out a scalp hunter with values who tries to bring a sense of honor and fairness to a sport overrun with classless, violent brutes. But for all the exaggerations found in these works of varying degrees of fiction, the scalp bounties themselves were as real as they were horrific and spawned

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[624] *For more detailed information on the origins and evolution of scalp-taking on a more globalized scale, please see Thomas Peotto's seminal dissertation, *Dark Mimesis: A Cultural History of the Scalping Paradigm*.

[625] Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West*.

[626] See Thomas Mayne Reid, *The Scalp Hunters: A Thrilling Tale of Adventure and Romance in Northern Mexico* (Chicago, M.A. Donohue & Co., 1899).

[627] See William H. Goetzmann, ed. *Notes on Samuel Chamberlain's My Confession; Recollections of a Rogue*. (Austin: Texas State Historical Society, 1996).

[628] Cormac McCarthy, *Blood Meridian, or, The Evening Redness in the West* (London: Picador, 2015).

from the centuries long struggle between the Spanish and later Mexican people and the Apaches. With the advent of the horse, the destruction of northern settlements increased tenfold, with notes from the Spanish missions even back as far as the 1760s revealing a trail of devastation upon presidios in the region.[629]

This destruction continued into the 1800s and the first few decades of Mexican Independence. By early 1831, the defensive systems in Chihuahua and Sonora had virtually broken down, creating more opportunities for Apache incursions into the isolated towns and settlements of these two northernmost Mexican states. Between 1831 and the summer of 1848, Apache attacks continued to depopulate northern Mexico, causing the abandonment of 26 mines, 39 haciendas, and 96 ranches in Sonora alone. During the decades of the 1830s and 1840s, the federal government back in Mexico City ran rife with scandal, financial ruin, and rampant corruption. These political complications farther south prevented the necessary increase of troops in the northern states, resulting in a continued reliance on home-grown militias for defense against raiding Indians. Sheer terror pervaded Mexican peoples of the region, frightening farmers from their fields and creating starvation conditions in some areas where laborers no longer felt safe tending to their crops.[630]

Mexican citizens largely viewed Apaches as the most depraved of opportunists, who took peace treaties and rations as it suited them, and then waited for a rainy day to betray that peace for better resources. Lacking European honor in the eyes of Mexicans, the Apaches did not fight openly but instead fled when the battle grew too hot for them. While Mexican people of the region remained similarly afraid of Comanches, particularly during the peak of their raiding in the 1830s, the Comanches often fought in open battles

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[629] Frederick Albion Ober, *Travel in Mexico, and Life among the Mexicans* (London: Estes and Lauriat, 1887), 634.

[630] Sweeney, "'I Had Lost It All,'"35-52.

and with similar tactics to what Mexicans understood as a more Westernized military operation. The Comanches stirred terror into the hearts of Mexican citizens, but in a way that could at least be comprehended. Decentralized with few patterns to their raids, the Apaches came to symbolize to the Mexicans of the northern villages a pure and horrifying chaos. In the Mexican mindset, the Apaches lived instinctively and by sensation, taking people and animals at random with seemingly no regard for treaties or order. And because the Mexican citizenry survived on sedentary agriculture, mining, and pastoralism, attacks on these elements of their livelihood came to represent attacks on the very fabric of Mexican society.[631]

Violence against Apaches from both Mexicans and Americans during this period exists in the archival record through dehumanizing descriptions and anti-Indigenous rhetoric. This control of words accomplished multiple goals for settler cultures along the border, but one remained tantamount to validating Euro-American conquest: the transformation of Apaches into an unnecessary part of the natural world. Viewing Apaches as entangled with the receding wilderness, American and Mexican bystanders could readily sit by and act as if violent killing on the frontier was little different than the devastating diseases that also took the lives of masses of Indian peoples, transforming a violent activity to a passive misfortune. The broader populations in the United States could then view Native demise on the borderlands as evolutionary, whether that demise came from endemic, God-created illnesses, or the violent powers of superior Euro-Americans.[632]

While Americans on the eastern seaboard looked at Natives as a group inevitably

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[631] William B. Griffen, *Utmost Good Faith: Patterns of Apache-Mexican Hostilities in Northern Chihuahua Border Warfare, 1821-1848* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1988), 44, 184-219.

[632] Jacoby, "'The Broad Platform of Extermination.'"

doomed to extinction, many western settlers living in the same territory as Apaches likened them to predatory wolves. The killing of Apache women and children was an unfortunate but critical policy of self-defense for the survival of Euro-American settlements; one had to take this initial step of defensive conquest against the Apaches before the Apaches could strike first. Alonzo Davis, an Arizona settler during the 1860s, recalled how some of his neighbors spoke about leaving foodstuffs laced with strychnine poison in places where Apaches might find them. Davis defended his neighbors' actions, arguing that at that time these sort of tactics provided a means of easily killing Apaches who shied away from direct confrontations with settlers.[633] In some cases, the rhetoric from settlers depicted the hunting and killing of Apache people as a sport. John Ross Browne explored the borderlands from Tucson down into Sonora in the mid-nineteenth century and stated about his trek, "It was all easy, holiday life, with just adventure and danger enough to give it zest. I had some notion of giving up civilization altogether myself and devoting the remainder of my days to hunting Indians in Arizona."[634]

In Mexico, paranoia entangled with sporadic occurrences of violence, both from and against Apaches. For Mexicans, Apaches lurked around every street corner, across every open plain, and beyond each curve in the mountain road. But for Americans prior to their settlement in the west, their perception of Indigenous peoples, particularly Apaches, came largely from the skewed perspectives of various traveler journals, fictional novels, and captivity narratives. Shortly after the American invasion of the southwest region in 1848, however, print media from local and regional newspapers began being reprinted in major eastern publications. But these accounts remained severely biased against Apaches as they contained exaggerated and often erroneous accounts of

[633] Ibid., 255.

[634] Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country*, 163.

interactions between Apaches and non-Indigenous peoples in the territory. As Americans moved into the Southwest and developed permanent settlements in Arizona, they brought with them a complex and stilted understanding of Apache and Mexican cultural and economic practices. But perhaps most of all, these American settlers understood little about the entangled legacy of intimacy and violence between Mexicans and Apaches.

Apaches existed in a paradoxical position within Mexican society. Many Apaches lived as valued members of these communities, regularly coming into towns to sell their wares at markets. Mexican and American citizens alike allowed Indigenous peoples into their homes as domestic workers, adopted children, and even spouses. And yet this familiarity also created a dangerous tension among these majority cultures. In this manner, assimilation came to be viewed as a threat even while Mexican and Euro-American officials touted assimilation as their ultimate goal for Native peoples in the region.[635] Just as the black cook and the Jewish grocer were seen as possessing hidden, ominous agendas towards whites in the Jim Crow South and in pre-World War II Germany, Mexicans saw Apaches, hostile or peaceful, as a danger. The Apaches always threatened the non-Indigenous populations of the region, not because of their actions, but because of the immutability of their race. With the influx of Euro-American racism, this previously more flexible racial divide within Mexican society would grow increasingly concrete in the new American Southwest.

In post-Independence Mexico with the "rations for peace" system in shambles, Apaches raided in greater frequency and wider range during the 1830s. Escalating in kind, the state of Chihuahua enacted a scalp bounty in Mexico in 1837 under the

[635] Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 103.

Proyecta de Guerra, offering a monetary reward for the scalps of any Apache man, woman, or child. At the campaign's peak, a male Apache's scalp could fetch as much as 250 Mexican pesos from the state governor. While male adult warriors would be killed outright for these scalps, the Chihuahua government encouraged the live procurement of women and children captives to be distributed and sold off into slavery in Mexican households, which proved equally lucrative for scalp hunters.[636]

In the year 1849 alone, the state of Chihuahua doled out over 17,000 Mexican pesos in scalp bounties, worth just over half a million American dollars in today's currency.[637] Americans, often former trappers and traders in the region, became infamous for their exploits, with names such as James Kirker, Joel Glanton, and John Johnson going down in history as Indian killers. But Mexican peoples also readily took part in scalp hunts in Chihuahua and elsewhere, though more often as followers of American scalp hunting leaders. One Mexican, Colonel don Juan Nepomuceno Armendáriz, did officially sign a scalping contract with Governor Triás in the 1840s. Armendáriz requested that not only should scalpers receive payment for female and male scalps from murdered Native people under the age of 14, but that his men should also be allowed to pillage Native settlements and keep the spoils.[638]

The Apaches did not simply stand by while these scalp bounties gained ground across northern Mexico; in addition to fighting back against scalping parties and the cities who supported the scalpers, some Apache leaders began scalp bounties of their own. When Governor Angel Trias of Chihuahua created a new scalp bounty, the Apache

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[636] Ober, *Travel in Mexico, and Life among the Mexicans*, 627.

[637] Ralph A. Smith, "The Scalp Hunter in the Borderlands 1835-1850." *Arizona and the West* 6, no. 1 (1964): 21. Accessed February 1, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/40167089.

[638] Ralph Smith. "The Scalp Hunt in Chihuahua - 1849." *New Mexico Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (1965), 119-125

leader Gomez put in place his own bounty of 1.000 American dollars for the scalps of any Mexicans or Americans brought to him.[639]

While multiple American men crossed into Mexican territory as scalpers for hire, two of these men gained a reputation for both the extremeness of their methods and their roles in the broader history of the scalp bounty system: John Johnson and James Kirker. John Johnson, as one of the earliest killers for hire under the Mexican bounty system, set the precedent for American Indian hunters working south of the border. Johnson gained infamy for the murder of José Juan Compa, an Apache leader, and his followers in 1837. Johnson, who had grown close to Compa's group through trade relations, invited him and his people to share a large bag of pinole during one of their trade meetings near Santa del Rita Cobre. Though Johnson later claimed that an argument and then battle ensued, most scholars believe that the incident resembled more of a slaughter than a fair fight. As the Apaches doled out pinole, Johnson uncovered a small cannon or swivel gun hidden under his saddlebag loaded with nails, shrapnel, and chains. He lit the gun and promptly cut the Apache people into pieces. In response to this treachery, the Apaches spiraled into more violence against Mexicans as they sought to drive miners and trappers out of the area entirely.[640]

James Kirker, an Irishman from Kilcross, a little town 12 miles northwest of Belfast, took scalp hunting from the level of individual bounty hunter to mercenary militia leader. Kirker immigrated to North America in 1810, but slowly made his way from New York City to St. Louis and eventually the Southwest, abandoning both his wife and children back east. With the onset of the economic depression in 1819, Kirker set his sights on fur trapping and trading in New Mexico. After a brush with Indians on the

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[639] Smith, "The Scalp Hunter in the Borderlands 1835-1850," 20.

[640] McGaw, *Savage Scene*, 110-113.

trading trail in the Midwest during the Arikara war, Kirker ventured into Galeana, Mexico initially to work as a miner at Santa Rita del Cobre just south of the border. He also continued to make occasional forays to the Gila to hunt for pelts, albeit illegally, in the 1820s. With these locations lying in the heart of Apache country, Kirker built relationships with Apache leaders by brokering their stolen Mexican livestock and goods in American markets. Kirker then married a Mexican woman, gathered a variety of trapper followers, and managed to get a permit to trap animals legally in Mexico, only to be declared an outlaw for his illegal trading with the Apaches by the Mexican government.[641]

Living in exile in Colorado, Kirker soon received a runner from south of the border requesting help in defending the Santa Cobre mines, run by Kirker's American friends Robert McKnight and Stephen Courcier.[642] The Mexican government, encouraging American investments in the region at the time, allowed Kirker to recruit 200 men to hunt hostile Apaches, and promised that in addition to scalp bounties that Kirker would be paid for captives as well. Kirker in kind created a ragtag militia of killers. Saguanos, Creeks, Delaware, Shawnees, escaped slaves, and a mix of Euro-American and Mexican drifters filled the ranks of Kirker's team.[643] As Kirker gained a reputation in northern Mexico for his ruthlessness against the Apache threat, the situation devolved on the ground in Chihuahua in the aftermath of the Johnson massacre, with Apaches ranging even into the suburbs of Chihuahua City, killing people in broad daylight on the streets. In 1839, Stephen Courcier suggested to Governor Jose Joaquin Calvo of Chihuahua that a private subscription society be created to raise funds for hiring Kirker

[641] Ibid., vii-97.

[642] Ibid., 113-122.

[643] Griffen. *Utmost Good Faith,* 58, 171.

and his men to deal with the Apaches as mercenaries on a more regular basis. Through the actions of the governor, the once renegade illegal trader, trapper, and scalper Kirker gained the official title of Colonel in the Mexican military and began killing for pay under the *Sociedad de Guerra Contra Los Barbaros*.[644]

George Ruxton recalled many of the later killings by Kirker in the 1840s, noting that these attacks did not always target only hostile Apaches. In Galeana a group of peaceful Apaches went into the town to trade after negotiating a truce with the Mexicans of the area. After hearing of this large party of 170 Apaches, Kirker sent kegs of liquor ahead of him to the town to delay the Apaches from leaving. When he arrived with his party of scalpers, the Apaches were unarmed, drinking and dancing with the locals. But as soon as the Mexicans villagers saw Kirker and his men approaching, they grabbed their weapons and began to slaughter the Apaches. Though many of the Apaches begged for mercy, lying prostate in surrender on the ground, Kirker, his makeshift militia, and the Mexicans, murdered and scalped nearly all of them. One account that Ruxton heard from an eyewitness recalled the brutal and thorough attack on the most vulnerable members of Apache society:

> One woman, big with child, rushed into the church, clasping the altar and crying for mercy for herself and her unborn babe. She was followed, and fell pierced with a dozen lances…the child was torn alive from the yet palpitating body of its mother, first plunged into the holy water to be baptized, and immediately its brains were dashed out against a wall.[645]

In a particularly infamous massacre involving Kirker and later memorialized in *Blood Meridian*, Kirker's men attacked a village of over 1000 Apaches during a surprise dawn raid. While the scalp hunters murdered the males of the village with gunfire, they finished off the women and children with tomahawks and bowie knives. Writing on the

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[644] McGaw, *Savage Scene*, 113-122.

[645] Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, 154.

event in his memoirs, James Hobbs further juxtaposed the violent scene with his earlier description of the placid lake next to the Apache village, later remarking on the procurement of only 139 scalps owing to the sinking of the bodies of fleeing Apaches who had sought refuge in the still lake waters before drowning. Upon arriving back in Chihuahua, the city greeted them with celebratory fanfare and a band on their way to collect their bounty from the governor.[646]

Captain James Hobbs also recalled working with Spiebuck or Spybuck, a Delaware Native who would become James Kirker's right-hand man, trapping and hunting a variety of animals, and eventually Apaches, along the Southwest border. The group came upon an encampment of Apaches who gave signals for peace, but Spybuck would have none of their diplomacy. Shooting one of the Apache males within range, Spybuck referred to his gunfire as the only "peace" he would offer them. Kirker's group would not only collect scalps for monetary rewards, but also as points of pride, brandishing them on poles for the return to their camp in celebration of their victories.[647]

Though the bounty system encouraged the creation of mercenary leaders such as Kirker, state politicians and leaders were often at odds with these men. Most people at the time who had military experience with Indigenous warfare came from the United States. Many of them joined a stream of violent, foreign fighters flowing into northern Mexico. Additionally, military leaders in Mexico felt humiliated by their inability to adequately control Apache populations and relying on outsiders for help. Finally, the scalp hunters' control over confiscated Native resources, particularly livestock that had often been stolen from Mexican owners in the first places, frustrated many ranch and farm owners, however much they may have appreciated the lessening of the Apache

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[646] Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West*, 72-76.

[647] Ibid., 72-82.

threat to their properties. For Kirker, this fraught relationship paired with unstable Mexican state governments brought him in and out of retirement as a scalp hunter throughout the 1840s.[648]

On May 25, 1849, the state of Chihuahua formalized scalp bounties by enacting the "Fifth Law," known in Spanish as *Ley Quinto*. This law stipulated that the gravest threat facing the north came from the *Indios Barbarous*. Though the real raiding threat came from certain Apache and Comanche bands, this law did not establish specific guidelines for which Apaches and Comanches would be targeted, and by its lack of focus, could be applied to any Indigenous people deemed threatening by the public at large. The law also allowed for the hiring of foreign mercenaries to hunt and kill these Native threats in a time when both government officials and the general population alike feared American imperialists. But the negative feelings that Mexicans held for Apaches, in this time and place, far outweighed their fears of American invaders from the north. The law also clarified that the state government would provide payments in amounts determined by the gender and age of the murdered Native person to these mercenaries in exchange for proof of their kills through the providing of scalps to government officials. After the scalp hunters brought in their bloody trophies, they would turn these materials over to an expert panel of Mexican officials. These officials made sure that the scalps were legitimate and whole with the crown intact in order to prevent fraud within the bounty system. These committee members came from politically powerful families that often either acted as patrons for scalp hunters or were related to famous scalp hunters.[649]

As generations of Apaches and Mexicans lived, fought, gave birth to new generations, and died, the legacies of past violence carried through to these new

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[648] Ibid., 128-153.

[649] Smith, "The Scalp Hunt in Chihuahua – 1849," 118, 126.

members of each group. But this intergenerational impact also carried revenge cycles along with collective trauma that would span the transition of the Southwest from a Mexican to an American territorial possession. The scalp bounties of the era did not replace violence against Apaches by Mexican citizens, but instead existed in tandem with these brutal mass killings conducted by Mexican villagers across the northern states. By the 1840s and 1850s, it became commonplace for Sonoran militiamen to cross the state border into Chihuahua to murder peaceful Apaches residing near towns such as Janos, Corralitos, Casas Grandes, and El Barranco. For many Sonorans, they would recognize the Apaches they murdered, particularly those belonging to peaceful trading groups, owing largely to the frequent, economic and personal engagements they had with these Apaches on a regular basis. In 1844, Sonorans killed over 80 Apaches in three encampments around Janos alone, murdering women and using stones to beat Apache children to death. In 1851, Sonorans killed 22 Apaches and captured dozens more for the slave trade by going door to door to Apache homes and literally pulling them from their houses. But simultaneously peaceful relationships with Apaches had encouraged intermarriage. By the 1850s, Mexicans and Apaches alike also had captive children from both sides living in their homes and encampments. These children would grow up to become members of their family unit regardless of their ethnic background. This mercurial relationship of intimate peace and sudden violence created a paradoxically ambiguous and simultaneously familiar enemy.[650]

In another incident of Mexican citizen-directed violence during the summer of 1850, a group of Mexican villagers attacked a group of Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches, who would in turn place these Apaches on a path of bloody vengeance across

[650] Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: An Apache Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin Group Press, 2008), 58-64.

the American Southwest in the decades to come. This group of Apaches went to Ramos in Mexico in 1850 as they had done every summer to conduct trade with the townspeople. Little did they know that other Apache groups in the region had broken their peace with the Mexican government by attacking several Mexican communities, and in kind the Chihuahua government had revived their scalp bounty system through the legal establishment of *Ley Quinto*. Camped just outside the town, the Apaches traded by day and at night camped along the nearby river. One day a runner came from town requesting that the Apaches join the Mexicans in town for drinks, as a large amount of mescal had recently been distilled by the townspeople. While the oldest and youngest Apaches stayed at the river camp, the remaining Apache population drank their fill, not noticing the lack of women and children normally active in the town streets during the day. The Apaches returned to their campsite, continuing to drink through the night. Just before the sun rose, a group of Mexican soldiers and villagers quietly moved into the camp carrying muskets, knives, lances, and objects for bludgeoning. At once the Mexicans attacked, killing most of the Apaches in the encampment except for a few who managed to slip away under the dull light of dawn as the Mexicans scalped their dead and dying family members. The survivors made their way back to the main camp of Apaches near Warm Springs, informing families of the massacre. Oral histories of the period recalled the days and nights afterwards as being filled with the wailing songs of Apache families in mourning.[651]

Massacres such as the one committed by the townspeople at Ramos would spur continued cycles of violence as the Apaches sought to right those wrongs committed by Mexicans against their loved ones through further bloodshed. The Apaches under the leaders Cochise and Baishan, also known as Cuchillo Negro, promptly held a war dance

[651] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 1-4.

and prepared for battle against the citizenry of Ramos. Months later, the Mexican citizenry of the town had seemingly forgotten about the conflict, perhaps convinced that their actions finally had scared the Apaches off for good. Meanwhile a war party of 175 warriors, along with innumerable younger boys in training, took to the road in the late fall on a still, cool day. After receiving positive prophecies from the shamans of the group, Baishan strategically planned the timing and direction of attack. Stripping to their breechcloths and shoes, the Apaches waited for dawn to illuminate the town before them. But when the warriors saw the town where so many had lost kinsmen months before, their attack plans dissolved into an enraged chaos. The Apaches poured into the central plaza to confront the few dozen armed Mexicans awakened by their battle cries who were attempting to form a defensive line in front of the village church. The Mexicans managed to fire one powerful volley, killing the leader Baishan with a dozen or more bullets. The fight then devolved into hand to hand combat. White fog from the burning gunpowder filled the streets as Mexicans ran into the alley, only to be pierced in the back with sharpened lances. Arrows flew, sometimes missing targets and hitting other Apaches, and pinging off the sides of adobe buildings in waves. Raging for their dead loved ones, the Apaches took no prisoners. Heralded as a great victory for the Apaches, this revenge massacre brought honor to up and coming leaders such as Cochise, young Geronimo, Mangas Coloradas and Benito who would in turn create their own cycles of violence, trauma, and revenge for future generations of Americans and Mexicans.[652]

Cyclical violence between Mexicans and Apaches in turn established the violation of Indigenous bodies as an everyday normality for the peoples of Chihuahua and Sonora, even in the heart of their metropolitan cities. When George Ruxton visited the city of Chihuahua, he saw a cultured capital hundreds of years old and occupied by nearly

[652] Ibid., 6-9.

10,000 people. Its famous cathedral, adorned with a huge stone facade of the 12 apostles, brought admiration to visitors looking for glimpses of the Catholic grandeur still present among the architecture from the Spanish colonial era. But Ruxton also noted that across from the church entrance, "...over the portals which form one side of the square, were dangling the grim scalps of over 170 dead Apaches."[653] For Mexicans, the cathedral on the plaza existed at the heart of their society. By displaying the blood-soaked corporeal vestiges of vanquished Apaches at the metaphysical heart of their communal world, Mexicans projected the violent message that those who challenged their domination of this northern frontier world would meet *their* maker on *their* terms in life and in death.

The scalping industry in northern Mexico in the 1850s continued to attract a wide array of individuals looking to turn a profit. Many men on their way to the California gold fields made a stopover in the Southwest to do a little “barbering” for cash. More often than not, the amount of cash received for one Apache scalp could be the largest amount of money a working-class Mexican or American had ever beheld up to that point. Exiled Eastern Natives Americans also took part in scalping in Mexico, with the Seminole leader Coacoochee leading scalping parties in the state of Coahuila. Fugitive slaves similarly moved into the Southwest to scalp Apaches, receiving land grants in exchange for their services.[654] But though this diverse body of people came to the Southwest for varied reasons, they all took part in a specialized type of violence that encouraged an intimate engagement with death and mutilation through the act of scalping. These men did not simply shoot their enemies. They looked into their eyes as they grasped their hair in one hand, feeling its texture running through their fingers as closely as they would a lover. In this death embrace, they would have likely heard the

[653] Ruxton. *Adventures in Mexico,* 278.

[654] Smith, “The Scalp Hunter in the Borderlands 1835-1850," 19-20. www.jstor.org/stable/40167089.

rattling gasps of those they killed, the screams for mercy, and the spasms of their body's last desperate hold on life. George Ruxton described the physical process of scalping in his journal writings:

> With his left hand the long and braided lock on the centre[sic] of the Indian's head, [he would then pass] the point edge of his keen butcher-knife round the parting, turning it at the same time under the skin to separate the scalp from the skull; then with a quick and sudden jerk of his hand [removing] it entirely from the head, and giving the reeking trophy a wring upon the grass to free it from the blood.[655]

With every cut of the knife and with every grasp of hair, scalp hunters engaged with death in a way that only close family members holding the hands of dying loved ones would experience. In this manner, scalp hunters resembled the *Einsatzgruppen* of the eastern front in World War II Europe. In 1942 and 1942, these mobile killing units purged Eastern European regions of their Jewish populations in raw and rudimentary ways. Soldiers of these *commandos* did not send Jews to their death via the industrialized death camps of Poland, but instead shot men, women, and children in the back of the head, felt their victim's blood splatter on their faces, and watched their naked bodies tumble into pits often dug by the very people they soon shot. These men heard the cries of small children clinging to their mothers in the moments before their deaths and were surrounded by the coppery smell of carnage as they shot hundreds and sometimes thousands of people per day.[656]

Much like the scalping leaders John Johnson and James Kirker, German soldiers of the *Einsatzgruppen* had lived relatively normal lives up until their participation in the war, marrying, having children, and moving to the Southwest to pursue new occupational opportunities. These men did not seek out scalping as a vocation, but in

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[655] George Frederick Ruxton, *Life in the Far West* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1859), 26.

[656] Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

various ways found themselves in the region during a time of escalated violence between Apaches and Mexicans and chose to take part in this activity. Scalp leaders were not zealous in their hatred of Native peoples any more so than the average American, and men such as Kirker worked closely with non-Apache Natives such as Spybuck with whom they developed close relationships. Many of the scalper party leaders started scalping after years of frequent trade and friendship with different Apache groups. But eventually, these men made the choice to kill and mutilate Apache men, women, and children. The economic factors driving these individual men to become scalp party leaders cannot be underestimated. But much like the cycles of violence and revenge that plagued the region, so too did psychological cycles of violence and trauma plague these individual scalpers.

One cannot completely understand the reasons for individuals to use violence more often than others to meet specific goals. Biological and environmental conditions play a major role throughout a person's life, which can lead them to or away from violence. Additionally, social experiences on a local or familial level that encouraged violence against minorities are not always clear through archival records, particularly when examining the average man of mid-nineteenth-century America.[657] But from the outset of their entry into the southwest, these future scalpers likely held some common characteristic often seen in perpetrators of violence, regardless of the reasons behind their adoption of those characteristics. Perpetrators tend to possess an unstable self-image, seeing the world around them as overtly hostile in any given circumstance. They often possess a morality that devalues human life in times of hardship and focuses that devaluation on specific groups. For Americans, these groups are often racially organized.

[657] L. Rowell Huesmann, "An Integrative Theoretical Understanding of Aggression" in *Aggression and Violence: A Social Psychological Perspective*, ed. Brad Bushman (London: Routledge, 2016), 4.

Perpetrating individuals can have a disposition that veers frequently towards aggression in times of trouble as these individuals learn to resolve problems from an early age using physical rather than cerebral reasoning methods.[658]

These characteristics are not exclusive to killers. Looking back on a century of genocide, twentieth-century studies that have attempted to create a composite of a perpetrator of mass violence have often revealed that this type of killer holds little in common beyond these very basic psychological tendencies. Most perpetrators of violence are not sadists and they are not mentally impaired. They are not all victims of an abusive childhood and they defy any specific demographic patterns. Their psychological propensity to use violence to solve problems does not necessarily separate them from the wider population, as even non-killers can become aggressive, albeit not to the point of murder, when pushed into a corner.[659]

Scalpers, as with any perpetrator of mass atrocities in other conflicts, could never fully protect themselves from the fundamental psychological impact of witnessing violence even when they were the cause of that violence. Scalpers lived in both Mexican and U.S. societies that operated under a Christian ethos. Slavery and warfare challenged the degree to which Americans were engaged with this ethos, but even scalpers, however violent, would have grown up in a wider Judeo-Christian society that on some level taught its citizenry that murdering unarmed women and children represented a cardinal moral sin. Even when this perception of guilt occurred on a subconscious level, scalpers had to face another equally difficult emotional task as they killed: the daily reminder of the fragility of life and their own mortality.

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[658] Staub, *The Roots of Evil*, 70-71.

[659] James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 8.

When confronted with perpetrator trauma, individual perpetrators tend to grapple with that trauma in one of two ways. In some cases, particularly if the perpetrator cannot justify their actions against their own specific moral code, they can suffer from post-traumatic stress in the same manner as victims. In this case, one major difference for perpetrators is the guilt they feel that accompanies the additional symptoms of exposure to violence, though that violence comes from their own hands. More often, perpetrators are surrounded by like-minded individuals and are supported by other members of their "in-group" within their broader society. Scalp hunters leaned upon their fellow killers to validate their participation in atrocities through a rhetoric, both oral and written, which encouraged the targeting of Apaches for extermination, regardless of their age or gender, owing to their dangerous cultural and racial characteristics as a whole.

Appetitive aggression provides another way in which some perpetrators of mass atrocities cope with frequent exposure to violence. This behavior is not an aberration or a sign of psychosis, but rather represents an evolutionary trait with our early human past. Killing people and receiving a psychological boost from that killing correlates with humanity's long history of hunting. To combat the stresses of physical risk and the graphic nature of the hunt, the human brain evolved to reward this behavior with positive stimulation. In the context of Apache hunting in the nineteenth century, validations for scalping from wider society through a dehumanizing rhetoric that often labeled Apaches as wolves further aided scalp hunters' appetitive aggression.[660]

Appetitive aggression also occurs as a means of self-defense from trauma. As perpetrators kill more people more frequently, their minds seek a way to process

[660] Thomas Elbert, James Moran, and Maggie Schauer, "Appetitive Aggression" in *Aggression and Violence: A Social Psychological Perspective*, ed. Brad Bushman (London: Routledge, 2016), 122. Accessed February 1, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central.

violence as a practice with positive rather than negative psychological results. Normally, when the mind faces trauma, the fear network of the brain is activated, pushing the body into a fight, flight, or freeze condition. But when an individual is under the influence of appetitive aggression, he remains in control of his body as his mind reads violence not just as non-threatening, but as possessing the potential for a psychological reward. In this manner, the person remains unaffected by the trauma in the present, allowing for them to make more careful and reason-based responses in the moment, but they also create a buffer against any potential mental illness stemming from the trauma in the future.[661]

When an individual faces violence and subsequent trauma, the mind tries to determine the source of the threat. But when that trauma occurs on a collective scale, scapegoating often occurs. This collective blame is always overtly simple and rarely targets the specific individuals responsible for a violent act. But the accuracy of the group's choice in offender does not negate the psychologically positive impact that the act of scapegoating has on a group; this process allows the group to feel a sense of control over their fate. Life becomes far less complicated with someone or some group to blame for often complex conditions of hardship. Individuals suffering from low self-worth often feel an attraction to this collective, perpetrating group. Joining this group can provide a boost in individual self-esteem, allowing for a new shared identity that is clearly defined.[662]

The cultural collectives in power in the Southwest felt an immense superiority to Indigenous peoples throughout the nineteenth century, and these attitudes grew

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[661] Roland Weierstall, et al., "Relations among Appetitive Aggression, Post-traumatic Stress and Motives for Demobilization: A Study in Former Colombian Combatants," *Conflict and Health* 7, no. 1 (2013): 9.

[662] Staub, *The Roots of Evil*, 40-49.

increasingly violent during periods of stretched resources. During times of crisis when the majority culture of a specific region felt threatened by peoples deemed “others,” bystanders became more likely to transition into perpetrators. In this manner, violating member numbers never remained stagnant, fluctuating as the situation on the ground changed. Just as the community that contains victims of ethnic persecution can offer means for healing individuals, so too can a majority community offer methods of violent healing for suffering perpetrators. By joining up with a majority cultural group and following the will of the people within that group, individual perpetrators could then alleviate the fears, anxieties, and the sense of meaninglessness that potentially impacted their lives. As “I” became “we,” the self grew fuzzy around the edges, allowing hostile perceptions of outsiders to spread easily through new and vulnerable members.[663]

The psychological ramifications and benefits of violent persecution to cultural groups did not change with the transition of the southwest into American hands. Soldiers and settlers entered the region with their own violent past against Indigenous peoples, and more importantly, with their own perceptions of racial inferiority and superiority that they would apply to the present population of Mexicans and Native Americans. On March 2, 1865, Arizona pioneer Charles Poston gave a speech to the territorial House of Representatives that clearly displayed this American perception of Apaches as racially subhuman. In this speech Poston called for a reservation to "colonize" the Apaches and to locate this reservation somewhere around Gila bend. He described the Apaches as a people who,

> ...disdain to labor, and live by robbery and plunder....The subjugation or extermination of this of this merciless tribe is a measure of stern justice which ought not to be delayed...a sickly sympathy for a few beastly savages should not

[663] Ibid., 18-19, 237-238.

> stand in the way of development of our rich gold fields, or the protection of our enterprising frontiersmen.[664]

Even before Arizona became a territory, Apaches in that region already approached Americans with great apprehension owing to their specific involvement in scalp bounty missions in Mexico. John T. Hughes, a soldier under General Doniphan during the Mexican American War, noted the effect that these American-led scalping missions had had on Apaches in the new Southwest territory. He recalled how his attempts to engage peacefully with Apaches would often fail, as the Apaches remained too fearful to even send men to meet and talk with American military officers. Hughes recalled how his unit sent two messengers to one nervous Apache group. The Apaches told the men that Americans had been incredibly violent to them in the recent past, hunting them for their scalps "as we would hunt wolves" for their pelts.[665]

Initially, Americans and Apaches had much in common in early territorial Arizona, as they both lived as outsiders on the periphery of a very Mexican world. But though military and Apache relations had started negotiating friendly terms as soldiers came into the region in the 1840s, by the late 1850s that positivity had turned into hostility. In 1857 Colonel Benjamin Bonneville had conducted a nearly two-month long shock and awe campaign against a group known as the Gila River Apaches (Chiricahuas). But this attack occurred through treachery. Much like Mexican settler peace talks in the recent past, Bonneville enticed a band of Apaches to meet and parley. Unknown to these Apaches, he had also ordered his Lieutenant John DuBois to conceal his and his men's weapons, opening fire on the group once they came into the camp.[666]

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[664] Charles D. Poston, *History of the Apaches*, *1866*, 37-39.

[665] John Taylor Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California*, ed. William Connelley and Charles Morehead (Topeka: Author, 1907), 327.

[666] Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn*, 102-104.

Another infamous early incident of American betrayal of the Apaches occurred in 1863. The Arizona pioneer and soldier Daniel Conner recalled how his unit had captured the Apache leader Mangas Coloradas while camped out in the ruins of a fort in New Mexico during an exploratory campaign. Conner recalled how several soldiers heated their bayonets over the fire and burned the leader's feet with the hot metal as he slept. When Mangas Coloradas protested this treatment, the two men shot him. The next morning Conner awoke to find that some of the soldiers had decapitated the large leader's head and then scalped him with the army cook's bowie knife. They unceremoniously tossed the leader's body into a gully and created a new narrative of the previous night's events where the soldiers shot and killed the Apache leader as he tried to escape.[667]

The event known to whites as the Bascom affair and to Apaches as "cut through the tent" cemented a large portion of the Chiricahua Apaches against ever again trusting American military officials. At the time, the military unit stationed at Fort Bowie sought a young captive boy, the man who would ultimately become Mickey Free. At this time in the early 1860s, an officer at the post believed that the Apaches under Cochise living at the nearby Apache Pass held the boy. In an attempt to develop positive relations with the American military, Cochise responded positively to an invitation to meet with a group of officers. The officer in charge, Lieutenant George Bascom, did not mince words, and immediately inquired as to what Cochise had done with the boy. Cochise denied any involvement or knowledge of the boy's captivity. After the meeting ended, the officers invited the leader and his group to dinner in a nearby tent where a group of soldiers ambushed Cochise and his warriors. Three of the Apaches, including Cochise, cut their

[667] Simon Harrison, *Dark Trophies: Hunting and the Enemy Body in Modern War* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 88-89.

way through a tent and fled into the woods, but the Americans held the rest of the warriors, including several of Cochise's relatives, hostage. In response, the Apache leader set up roadblocks and ambushes along nearby roads and crossing, taking several travelers hostage and trying to bargain with Bascom in exchange for his imprisoned people. Bascom ignored their pleas, ordering the hanging of male hostages on nearby trees. The Apaches removed as many of their dead friends and family from the branches as they could, and in revenge hung their own white hostages from the same saplings. This incident of betrayal remained imprinted in the minds of Apaches from not just Cochise's group, but other bands as well, severely straining the potential for peace among American government officials and white settlers.[668]

With the withdrawal of troops from the territory during the 1860s, the US left the newly Americanized area of Arizona territory at the mercy of Indigenous resistance. Various Apache groups, including those under Cochise, took advantage of the gap in American military might in the region to wage a hard war against populations in the territory, particularly those in the Santa Cruz valley. Some settlers viewed the attacks under Cochise as organized and with the specific purpose of removing all white residents from Arizona territory.[669] Though scholars cannot say assuredly what awareness Apache leaders possessed of the turmoil among Americans battling their own white brethren back east, this increase in violence from Apaches created a vacuum of white settlement in the southern half of Arizona. Before the war's end, Tucson remained a lone bastion for Euro-American refugees fleeing the violence of raiding parties. By 1863, the remaining Arizona citizens had created a skeletal territorial government based out of Prescott at the

[668] Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 41.

[669] Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 68-69.

Whipple Barracks.[670]

In February of 1863 in the midst of the Civil War, Arizona successfully achieved its own territorial status apart from New Mexico. Mining ventures boomed across the region as townships quickly spread across the landscape.[671] In the early years after the Civil War, settlers flooded into Arizona territory, attracted to these localized mining ventures. Unlike in New Mexico, with its substantial and often centuries old establishment of Spanish families across the area, Arizona territory possessed few non-Native population centers, with Tubac and Tucson being the lone locations that featured such family lines. This demographic disparity led to a small but strong Euro-American population in Arizona well into the twentieth century. In the decade of the 1860s when Arizona carved itself out of New Mexico Territory to become its own territory, this Euro-American population likely amounted to fewer than 5,000 people.[672]

Euro-American settlers moving into the Southwest region brought their own brand of American racism along with them. At the time, a new and scientific-focused racism had flourished among the wider U.S. population in books, magazines, and other print media of the period. Debates on the issue of biological inferiority and superiority based on racial categorization trickled down into conversations held between people from all classes within the United States. Far from the Mexican perspective on race, which provided more fluidity to change one's racial categorization through cultural performance, many Americans had embraced this more concrete perspective on race, viewing Native peoples as physically incapable of true assimilation into Euro-American society. While philanthropists and supporters of Indigenous rights in the east continued

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[670] Poston, *History of the Apaches*, 32.

[671] Larry. D. Ball, *The United States Marshals of New Mexico and Arizona Territories*, 1846-1912 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978), 41-48.

[672] Carrigan, "The Rise and Fall of Mob Violence against Mexicans in Arizona, 111-113.

to contest this stance, American settlers moving into the West brought this notion with them, altering their relationships on the ground with Native Americans before they had even met Apache people face to face.[673] This racial stratification also impacted other groups in the area as American settlers applied their racial perspective to Mexican peoples as well. One Arizona settler, his name illegible in the record, described the broader territorial population as possessing an "overwhelming and naturally inimical Mexican element." In the case of this settler, he feared that the Mexicans of the region were merely biding their time until the Apache depredations and emigration had so weakened the white population that the Mexicans could then "wipe us out to a man."[674]

The experience of the Pennington family, one of the early American families to settle in the Tucson area, provides a clear example of the ways in which violent relations with Apaches threaded throughout the lives of these pioneers. In the early spring of 1860, Larcena Pennington and an 11-year old girl she had started tutoring in Tucson, Mercedes Sais, went on a camping trip with Larcena's husband, Mr. John Page, and a business associate, at the foothills of the Santa Rita mountains. While Mr. Page and his companion set to work cutting pines for lumber, the girls enjoyed the scenery of the mountain slope. An Apache group, unknown to the women, had followed the wagon into the area, and soon attacked the encampment, carrying the recently married Larcena and Mercedes with them. Forcing Larcena to shed her heavy clothing, the Apaches pushed her up steep ridges and across rocky terrain towards their camp along the San Pedro. Eventually when Larcena began having trouble with the climb, her Apache captors pressed a spear against her back, causing her to tumble part way down a ravine. Lodged

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[673]Reginald Horsman, "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *American Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1975): 152-68.

[674] Unknown, Arizona Historical Society Manuscript, September 2, 1861, 1;4, Alta California Newspaper, Herman Ehrenberg file, *Albert H. Schroeder Papers*, subseries 7.10 (Santa Fe: NMRCA), folder 1248, Box no. 10752, 56-57.

against a tree, the Apaches threw arrows and lances at her, as well as rocks, rendering her unconscious. Believing Larcena to be dead, the Apaches dragged her out from behind the tree, took her shoes, and threw her body into a snowy embankment. The woman awoke three days later and managed to make her way back to her family's abandoned campground, and then eventually to a sawyer's camp nearby. By the time she received help, Larcena had survived 16 days with over a dozen lance wounds to her body, a head injury, and little clothing in the snow-covered mountains. Mercedes soon after returned to her family through negotiations with the Apaches from a local Indian agent and Captain Richard Ewell.[675]

As was often the case in the lives of Arizona settlers, these violent engagements with Apaches continued long after Larcena's escape from captivity. In the early 1860s, Larcena and her infant child faced down Apache attackers yet again, this time at the Mowry mines while suffering through a smallpox epidemic. In 1861, Apaches killed Larcena's devoted husband John who had refused to give up his search for Larcena during the 16 days she went missing, even when his fellow settlers told him she was likely dead. In 1868, she lost a brother to another Apache attack near Tucson, and then in 1869 Apaches murdered both her father and another of her brothers while they worked in the fields of their family farm on Sonoita Creek. While her remaining brother and unmarried sisters moved to Texas, Larcena refused to leave Arizona, remarrying and remaining in Tucson until her death in 1913.[676]

Because much of Arizona's Euro-American settlement revolved around mining camps as much as around fortified and populated towns such as Tucson and Prescott, miners often faced the most violent attacks from Apaches. Raiding for stock and goods,

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[675] Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 146-158.

[676] Ibid.

Apaches targeted mining camps where small and isolated communities of families and single men lived. In the aftermath of the 1882 Geronimo breakout from San Carlos, the men of various mining camps in Morenci, Arizona, faced yet another Apache raid. President William Church of the Detroit Copper Mining Company in Morenci wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, Henry Teller, on the attack against the mining village there. He recalled the incredible number of bullets that passed through the frame homes of the miners in such great quantities that they lodged within the outer walls of the wider settlement. As the men did their best to defend their homes, women and children fled for the cellars, which offered the only real protection from the fusillade of bullets. Ultimately, these miners begged various heads in both Congress and the War Department to send troops to help guard their mines. As they required dozens of mules to haul ore from the mines themselves, both their livelihoods and their lives remained at high risk when breakouts of Indians occurred at the nearby San Carlos reservation.[677]

Just as continued violence changed the cultural and social practices of Mexicans, so too did it change the new Euro-American culture emerging in territorial Arizona. The settler Pete Kitchen provides an example of the ways in which Americans, like the Mexicans before them, altered their everyday lives to survive in an often-hostile Southwest. For many people living along the Arizona-Mexico borderlands in the latter half of the nineteenth century, American settler Pete Kitchen and his ranch provided an island in the desert in regard to safety between Tucson and the major towns of Sonora. Kitchen operated a ranch between Tucson and Magdalena since the 1850s, selling produce as well as meat to the locals. No matter how intensive raids by Apaches got in the territory, even during the 1861 federal withdrawal from the region during the Civil

[677] William Church to H.M. Teller, Secretary of the Interior, May 6, 1882, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Rolls 96-97.

War, Kitchen stayed on at his ranch, which resembled a fort more than a farmhouse. All the residents of the Kitchen ranch, field hands and family included, maintained a supply of guns and remained ready at all times in case of Apache attack. Kitchen's wife, Dona Rosa, when given the signal would tie her dress around her legs and take up arms herself, along with her Opata servants.[678] Captain John Bourke recalled visiting the ranch of Peter Kitchen near Nogales in Arizona and watching his farm hands work the fields, rifles strapped firmly to their backs. Even the youngest of farm boys carried revolvers on their hips while a sentinel on the ranch roof watched for signs of bandits or incoming raiders along the horizon, usually discovered as a plume of dust rose up from riders along the horizon line.[679]

Just as Mexican citizens long felt misunderstood by their government in Mexico City, U.S. citizens felt similar frustrations at the military and the federal government's methods of placating Apaches who were hostile to settlement in the territory. One of the founders of the Euro-American settlement of Arizona territory, Charles Poston, gravely disagreed with the often-practiced federal Indian policy of bringing Natives onto reservations with rations. Every time the Apaches committed depredations, different groups of citizens would meet and declare resolutions or petition the federal government for help. These settlers believed that the Indians received privileges from the government that would only placate them as long as the rations or gifts lasted, providing an easy but temporary solution to renewed raiding. But these ephemeral times of peace ultimately left the citizens to suffer with a loss of property and life with the next breakout of violence around the corner.[680] Poston argued that the only way to suppress the Apaches

[678] Lockwood, *Life in Old Tucson*, 25-26.

[679] Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 78.

[680] Poston, *History of the Apaches*, 75-77.

lay in violent eradication, following the older settler traditions of the frontier. Poston firmly believed that if the government could not control Apache raiding through some kind of removal, that the people would eventually rise up and through mob violence kill the Apaches themselves.[681]

During the 1880s and the Geronimo breakouts, U.S. military policies continued to favor containment of the Apache threat via reservations or exile from the region. But the civilian population still considered total annihilation to be a valid option to remove Indigenous peoples from the lush and verdant grazing valleys along the Chihuahua-Arizona border. Naturalist and traveler Frederick Ober casually wrote on his exploration of the Chihuahua area, claiming that the region would be capable of producing "a profitable property, with its 70,000 heads of cattle, when the Apaches are exterminated."[682]

American soldiers occupied a limbo status in the Southwest. Many of these soldiers came from the East to work for a meager but steady paycheck. Soldiering in the West for the US government provided regular wages of eight dollars per month during the mid to late nineteenth century. While this career path did not represent a way to wealth, it did provide young men with a means of providing for families back home.[683] But American soldiers saw the struggles of territorial settlers while simultaneously working closely with reservation Apaches. More than anyone else, these soldiers could see both sides of the conflict and the human cost that this violence caused among the civilian population of the region. With little power to change wider Indigenous policies, however, and often working at odds with the citizenry over how to manage Apache

[681] Ibid., 100.

[682] Ober, *Travel in Mexico and Life among the Mexicans*, 608.

[683] Janne Lahti, *Soldiers in the Southwest Borderlands*, 35.

hostilities towards settler communities, these soldiers faced a harsh and bleak job while working in the Southwest.

During the Geronimo wars, American soldiers diligently traipsed across thousands of miles straddling the US-Mexican border. Often these groups marched from the highest peaks, 10,000 feet above sea level to the lowest canyons, with temperatures in the summer that blistered their feet and burned their skin. The Apache strategy in response to their American pursuers used their prowess as mountain raiders to push the Americans to the extremes of their military tracking capabilities. Abandoning their horses and stock on top of the mountains, the Apaches would then come down quickly from the peaks and into the valleys, stealing new horses and stock from nearby settlements. This punishing pace pushed the Americans who could not steal their own stock with every loss to instead leave men with their horses to wind their way around mountain basins while other soldiers took to the steep mountain trails on foot.[684]

The Arizona climate proved an equally powerful foe to American soldiers as the Apaches themselves. William Stover described the earth as being hot as a stove top. The horses would stir up a dry choking dust with each step in a summer of drought. The soldiers would begin their marches at four in the morning, since between 10 am and 5 pm they would be forced to seek some kind of shelter from the sun and heat in areas with little more plant life than cacti and the odd mesquite tree. After supper at 5 pm, the soldiers moved once more, stopping after 10 pm for another restless night, the men's perspiration mingling with the dust from the trail and caking their skin in a pungent mud.[685]

These extreme environmental conditions permeated Arizona soldier life that

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[684] Annual Report from General Nelson Miles, RG 94; *RAGO*, (NARA Riverside) M689, LROAG, 1881-1889, Roll 188, 11-15.

[685] Strover, "The Apaches' Last Trek," 43-48.

tottered between boredom and random Apache attacks. Building southwestern posts or forts often involved the difficult task of clearing the land of dense mesquite trees, bull brush, and a variety of cacti. California Column soldier Camillo Carr recalled the abysmal structure that soldiers occupied at Fort McDowell on the Gila River. The roofs had to be sealed with a layer of horse manure and then a layer of mud. When it rained, the ceiling leaked a noxious brown liquid, forcing the soldiers to constantly wear rubber blankets indoors or choose to stay outside in the elements. Freight and delivery remained unreliable to the forts, forcing soldiers to establish their own farms for sustenance. Sickness abounded in the intense heat, with scurvy in particular laying waste to many men. At night, Apaches wandered close to the fort looking for broken glass and scraps of metal to use in the manufacture of arrowheads, and on occasion they would raid the post. These attacks often took away from the necessary manpower to work the farms to their best capacity, so the soldiers chose far too often between feeding themselves or fighting for their lives. Meanwhile the local citizenry continued to look at these soldiers as useless occupiers of the landscape, as they often remained too under-supplied, under-paid, and overwhelmed to adequately protect the local towns and ranches from Apache raids.[686]

John E. Murphy of Company C in the 12th Infantry recalled the three years he spent in Arizona territory as a time of continuous warfare where he traipsed across desolate areas for 500 miles as his first march from Fort Yuma to Fort Apache in July. In the early 1880s, Murphy went with his unit in pursuit of various Apache bands trekking up and down the mountains for sixteen hours a day. Remembering his tour of duty there decades later in the 1920s, Murphy described how his tongue swelled with dehydration

[686] Jim Schreier, "Born a Cavalryman: Camillo C. Carr in Arizona," *The Journal of Arizona History* 30, no. 2 (1989): 147-148.

in his mouth while the rest of his body remained sopping wet in his own perspiration. At nighttime the troops shivered in the darkness, though the daytime temperatures remained well over 100 degrees. When the unit finally returned to Fort Apache, each man had lost an average of 15 pounds over their two-week long campaign.[687]

With the federal government and military often at odds about how to combat Apache hostilities in the territory, and with territorial soldiers seldom able to pursue Apache raiders successfully, Arizona settlers frequently took matters into their own hands. Much like their settler counterparts in New Mexico, these citizens, boosted by a long legacy of violence against Apaches and imbued with American racism, set out to defend their communities through the only means that they felt could stop the Apache threat: collective and brutal fury. But these groups did not merely react to Indigenous attacks; they also proactively banded together to practice a defensive conquest of Apache encampments. These rancherias would often be populated by Apache women, children, and the elderly. With decades of dehumanizing rhetoric spurring these settlers to mete out Euro-American justice, these militias did not follow the regular conduct of warfare, waiting until just before dawn for surprise assaults and targeting Apache women in particular.[688]

The violent cycles that permeated the Mexican and then the American frontier in the nineteenth century evolved beyond mere killing. Once the Mexican government began to support scalp taking and bodily mutilation, symbolic corporeal control of victims on both the Apache and Mexican side came to reflect the rage that either group felt for the other. This rage then spread to American settlers as they too entangled in these deep legacies of conflict.

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[687] Jerome Greene, *Indian War Veterans: Memories of Army Life and Campaigns in the West, 1864-1898* (Havertown: Savas Beatie, 2011), 330-334.

[688] Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn*, 112-115.

American settlers brought macabre methods of terrorizing Apaches into the area that continued throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the 1850s, famed Indian killer and Arizona pioneer King Woolsey murdered a local Apache leader with a shot gun, and then promptly put the body on display by hanging the dead man from his neck on the branch of a mesquite tree. Another Arizona pioneer, Daniel Ellis Conner, recalled one farmer telling him about a group of Apaches that kept stealing corn from his fields. One night the farmer ambushed the group, killing two of the Native people in the process. He then propped the bodies up on a platform to act as human scarecrows against other possible Apache incursions onto his property.[689] Through these very public mutilations of Apache bodies, American settlers wanted to display their growing dominance in the region, declaring that Indigenous peoples who challenged this control would meet a brutal end.

Apaches in kind believed that justice had to be exacted for the killing of a group member, particularly if that group member was a woman or a child. Horrified by the continued informal practices of scalp-taking by American settlers and incensed by the civilian militia focus on attacking Apache villages comprised of women and children, Apaches also escalated their own symbolic killings. On March 8, 1886 several dozen men in Geronimo's group moved onto the Mababi ranch belonging to John Hohstadt. A Mexican cowboy saw the men approaching and warned Hohstadt, who then set up an ambush for the Apaches. Hiding near his corral, Hohstadt shot and killed an Apache warrior named Chinche. The rest of the group fled, and Hohstadt collected Chinche's scalp and ears, tossing the body into a pile of logs to burn. This killing infuriated the raiding Apaches. In an act of revenge, the group of Apaches then ambushed a random party of Mexicans at a spring near Mababi. The Apaches first killed the men in the group

[689] Jacoby, "'The Broad Platform of Extermination,'" 254.

and then captured a pregnant woman, Felipe Andrada, and her toddler children. After killing the children and then Andrada, the Apaches slit open Andrada's belly, placing her unborn child in her lifeless arms in a declaration that if settlers mutilated their people through scalping, not even their unborn children would be safe from harm.[690]

Arizona settlers who took part in killing Apaches in their villages did not lack in some moral code. Although killing and even mutilating warriors usually met with resounding approval among Arizona settlers, cases when settlers or soldiers murdered women, children, or the elderly could bring some revulsion towards the perpetrators responsible for these acts in specific situations. Daniel Ellis Conner, during his time in Arizona in the 1860s, recalled the animosity he and his comrades directed at one of their expedition partners who, in a campaign against Apaches, killed and then scalped an elderly Indian women. In some instances, white campaigners would try to save the lives of small children during attacks on encampments with families by leaving the babies behind in the hopes that surviving family members would return to find them. While settlers and soldiers did not normally target children in Apache campaigns directly, attackers found it difficult to avoid these innocent deaths, particularly when attacking encampments often late at night. General George Crook reluctantly commented on just this issue when describing these night attacks, comparing these casualties to those resulting from shelling a besieged city.[691]

But Daniel Conner also recalled an incident of graphic depravity against a child by a man known only as Sugarfoot Jack. After an attack on an Apache rancheria by Conner's group of Apache hunters, Conner found a baby left behind in the ruins of the village. Sugarfoot took the baby and tossed him into a fire, watching the infant curl up

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[690] Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo*, "Chapter 23" Kindle Edition.

[691] Jacoby, "'The Broad Platform of Extermination,'" 256.

and die in the blaze. Conner and the other men noted the instance and began arguing about whether or not the killing of Apache children in such a manner was justified. Before they could settle the debate, Sugarfoot had taken another abandoned infant on his knee and after lovingly holding him and playing with him for a minute or two, he promptly put the muzzle of the gun to the baby's head and pulled the trigger. In disgust, the men abandoned their joint efforts and broke up their Apache hunting party. Sugarfoot Jack promptly disappeared.[692]

Such an appallingly brutal murder of babies as in the case of Sugarfoot Jack likely did not occur with any regularity on the part of settlers. This killing of infants required an extreme aberration from even the average scalp hunter's moral code, but these types of killings were buoyed through the power of print media and its ability to dehumanize Native peoples on a daily basis. Newspapers from the territorial period leave a dark testimony of both the physical and rhetorical violence that fed each other during the last decades of the nineteenth century. On December 5 of 1885 at the peak of the Geronimo wars, the *Tucson Citizen* published an editorial entitled "Our Indian Troubles" that immediately described in detail the murder of babies and rape of women by hostile Apaches still at large. As with many published works of the period, the article graphically reported extreme and violent intimate assaults on women and children by Apaches without providing any specific cases or references. The unnamed writer emphasized Apache mutilation of civilians, which usually only occurred in direct reaction to the scalping of Apaches and was frequently used as a rhetorical tactic to galvanize local populations against their Indigenous residents. At numerous points in the opinion piece, the writer repeated the phrase, "…exterminate the Indians" as he simultaneously called

[692] Daniel Ellis Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, ed. Donald J. Berthrong and Odessa Davenport (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 266-267.

for a few good western men to finish the job that the military and the "humanitarians" in the east could not.

In the 1870s, local Arizona newspapers ran advertisements translated into English from Spanish sourced from the states of Sonora and Chihuahua promoting scalp bounties from 200 to 300 dollars per head. But during the peak years of the final Apache conflict in the 1880s, Arizona newspapers began advertising local government calls for Apache scalps in the territory, with counties such as Pima, Grant, and Cochise advertising their bounties.[693] On June 27, 1885, the *Tucson Citizen* took their call for scalps one bloody step further when an "editor citizen" with the initials E.B.L wrote, "The legislatures of both territories should enact that a reward of 200 dollars be paid for the scalp of every Indian found off the reservation. This might be objected to on the ground that many scalps would be secured on the reservation. To this I would answer that an Apache scalp is worth 200 dollars no matter where it is obtained."

In one final testament to the power that scalps still held as a symbol of colonial violence and primacy over minority bodies, the *Weekly Republican* in Phoenix, Arizona reported on April 26, 1883 that two men in Tombstone returned from a nearby Apache engagement with a scalp to show to children at a local school. According to the article, the school requested this exhibition for the benefit of the children and to "train up a generation that will have hatred enough toward the Apache race to finish up what the present generation leaves." Though the writer did admit that the idea of showing such an object to children might alarm some of his readers, he felt that in light of the ongoing violence between Apaches and non-Apaches in the region, such an act was clearly justified.

[693] *Arizona Weekly Citizen,* November 12, 1870; *Arizona Silver Belt*, December 15, 1883; *Weekly Republican*, January 28, 1881; *Arizona Weekly Star*, October 22, 1885.

Cycles of violence, capture, enslavement, trauma, and revenge forever altered the collective cultures of Mexican and Euro-American societies long after the scalp bounties of Mexico had officially ended. Americans entering this region in the late 1830s and 1840s had entered a world already changed by these cyclical occurrences of trauma and violence among both Apaches and Mexicans. But these Americans did not come to this world empty-handed. Guns and scalping knives in hand, they carried on their backs their own legacy of European violence against brown bodies. But something new also entangled with this legacy. Binary racial thinking had seeped into the collective consciousness of the masses, shoring up rigid racial roles that both Apaches and Mexicans would be boxed within as Americans invaded the Southwest. These legacies were not seated in ideological abstractions but in generations of Mexican-directed and later American-directed debasement and dehumanization of Indigenous bodies through scalp bounties and violence against all Apaches, large and small, young and old. In this manner, perpetrator trauma fed the beast of reactive and defensive violence that would continue racist patterns of lynching, discrimination, and damaging rhetoric against any peoples deemed "other" into the twentieth century. More acutely, these nineteenth-century cycles still echoed in places such as Nacori Chico where the hunting of Apaches incredulously continued into the 1930s.

During the same fateful years of the 1930s that saw Francisco Fimbres raise a militia to exterminate the last of the Mexican Apaches, a young ethnologist named Grenville Goodwin collected Apache oral histories that connected these last Apaches of the Sierra Madres to the Fimbres family. Rumors abounded as to why this rarely seen group of Natives emerged to senselessly kill Maria Fimbres and steal her son. But one whispered ending to this story seems far more likely than the rest. A few decades before the Fimbres killing, a group of Mexicans along the border stole a young Apache girl

named Lupe from her family. Eventually she was raised in the extended family of Francisco Fimbres. Grenville Goodwin had heard a rumor in the area that Lupe's Apache mother as the murderer of Maria Francisco Fimbres and herself an Arizonian, stolen in her own childhood even further back from Solomonville, Arizona by an Apache band. Though three years had passed since Francisco Fimbres had lost his wife and son, he unofficially continued to take armed parties into the mountains in search of his boy and for revenge against the Apaches who killed his wife. Then in the autumn of 1930, Fimbres returned with triumphal news that he had found and killed three Apaches, two women and one man, who he believed to be responsible for the death of his beloved.[694]

But the question of what happened to Gerardo remained unanswered until Grenville Goodwin's son, Neil Goodwin, tracked down a trusted friend of Fimbres in the 1990s who had heard him speak of the young boy's fate. Fimbres had told his friend that a few days after the killing, two Mexicans traveling in the mountains stumbled upon the carefully buried remains of the murdered Apaches. The band had obviously returned to the area after Fimbres and his men had left the scene and the mutilated bodies of their Apache family members. Close by these grave mounds tied to a tree sat Gerardo, stoned to death by the Apaches who had adopted him, fed him and clothed him, and had obviously loved him, only to make him into a pawn in the cycles of violence that continued to consume his and their world. While no tangible evidence exists to prove the death of Gerardo outside of this oral history, physical proof does exist of the actions of Francisco Fimbres, whose desire for vengeance likely cost him the life of his boy: a black and white, grainy photo of Francisco standing before a pile of the captured property of the three Apaches he claimed to have killed with his men. The mayor of Nacori Chico stands nearby and a three-year old Mexican boy looks on with a flat expression. In this

[694] Goodwin and Goodwin, *The Apache Diaries*, 57.

image loosely dangling from Francisco's hand, spins the severed head, or perhaps the bloody, matted scalp, of a twentieth-century Apache woman caught up in the dark heart of a still savage land.[695]

To stare deeply into the heart of darkness is to peer into a mirror. Many modern-day Americans are uncomfortable with a universalization of trauma for perpetrators of violence, particularly when those perpetrators are also American. This sense of unease stems from the fear that, should we look into that mirror of darkness, that a human face will look back at us from that mirror; a face that shatters us into shards because he has our eyes, our laugh, and our smile. Rapists, murderers, and genocidaires throughout our human past murdered with joy in the same manner that they kissed their spouses, hugged their children, and sang in church on Sundays. If these men can so easily stare down into darkness and come back whole, can they truly be different than us? And at what point in our own lives could we in turn slip off that great precipice and into a reflective hell of our own making?

[695] Ibid., 43-45.

CHAPTER 9

EPILOGUE-A SAVAGE LAND: RECONCILIATION AND REMEMBRANCE

"The scars in our hearts will cauterize in the strong womb of the Sierra Madre."
--Robert Lujan, Jumano Apache

Richard Gonzalez recalled the day he finally pieced together the puzzle of his identity; he was and always had been an Apache. In 1962, Richard was attending a get-together in the Pinedale, California home of his grandmother, the matriarch of his family. On this particular day, Richard heard his aunts asking their mother about their ethnic heritage. Rumors had abounded for years among the extended family about a mysterious Indigenous past kept secret by Richard's grandmother. On this day, his grandmother finally and bluntly told the rest of the family that they were Lipan Apaches. This admission instantly set off an argument between her and her sisters, who found this statement to be offensive. Richard had grown up hearing his family talk poorly of Apaches, calling them "godless savages." But Richard's grandmother refused to back down. She got up and opened her front door, pointing out into the street and speaking clearly to her sisters, children and grandchildren: "You can be whatever you want out there in the street. Here, you are an Apache."[696]

Richard Gonzalez grew up wanting to know more. He spoke frequently with his grandmother, collecting her secret stories like coins from a hidden treasure chest. He researched his Lipan past and discovered the moment in history that resulted in the disconnection of his family from the Lipan people. In 1873, a group of Lipan Apaches and Kickapoos were living in rancherias in Remolinas, Mexico just south of the Texas

[696] Native Voices Television. "Richard Gonzalez (Lipan Apache) & Anita Tahityé (Lipan Apache) Part 1." October 1, 2014. Video, 28:08. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cf89_3P9eVQ.

border. One day, just as dawn broke over the horizon, the U.S. cavalry launched an attack against these rancherias with orders to completely destroy the villages while the men were out hunting. Richard Gonzalez's great-grandmother Juanita, only eight years old at the time, took her 18-month-old little brother and hid under a bush. Before the raid ended, her baby brother started crying. A soldier noticed and came over to the bush, bayoneting it and killing her baby brother in the process. Juanita then found her older brother among the survivors and they both walked to San Juan, Texas located over 300 miles away from their rancheria to search for relatives. A month later, Juan Castro, Richard's great-great grandfather, found his remaining two children alive in Texas. He changed his name to Porfirio Castro and made his children promise to never speak in the Apache language or practice any Apache customs again. From that day forth, Richard's great-great grandmother, her daughter, and eventually her granddaughter carried this intergenerational secret of power, pride, fear, and shame.[697]

Richard's story of his hidden heritage represents just one of many such stories from Apache peoples lost to the annals of history through both personal silences and historiographic assumptions in the twentieth century. Not long after the end of the Geronimo wars in 1886, the wider American public believed that with major Apache hostilities at an end and Geronimo living as a prisoner of war, that no Apaches existed outside of their reservations and their homes in exile. But the young anthropologist Grenville Goodwin knew through his engagement with borderland communities in the 1930s in Southern Arizona that some Apaches still lived in the deep recesses of the Sierra Madres. He concluded through his research that four groups actually remained, comprising perhaps 100 Apaches total. Goodwin developed a distinctive interest in the remnants of Juh's band, the Nednhai, who still had members living in northern Mexico.

[697] Ibid.

At least six of Geronimo's followers had also managed to escape the final surrender march to Fort Bowie where the remaining Apaches boarded trains for the East. Multiple Apaches also fled from the Western Apache reservation for the southern border during this time, adding their numbers to these "lost" Apache people.[698]

But while some Mexicans south of the border knew that these "lost" Apaches resided in the mountains, many Americans just north of the border had no knowledge of their continued existence. This lack of knowledge is not surprising when considering the racial separations that had slowly but surely eroded intimate connections between Apaches and Americans since the mid-nineteenth century. As time went on, Euro-Americans became less and less personally tethered to Apaches in their daily lives. The Apache populations of the region had been reduced significantly by the late 1880s through violence and exile. Meanwhile the white population of Arizona increased dramatically, allowing for more Euro-American men to marry within their own ethnicity and avoid the racial ambiguities of marrying Apaches. Similarly, the trade in Indigenous children had also significantly declined in the West. The loss of these connections created a sort of western amnesia regarding the Apache presence along the border that would pervade public history of the American Southwest into the present-day.

In Eve Ball's dozens of interviews with cowboys and white settlers who lived and worked along the border during the late nineteenth century, Apaches existed on the periphery of these personal narratives. One of these settlers, Clyde Browning, discussed the many fights to control watering holes between white farmers and livestock raisers, but only mentioned the presence of Apaches when they attempted to hide these invaluable resources from settler populations in his stories.[699] More often than not,

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[698] Neil Goodwin, *Like a Brother: Grenville Goodwin's Apache Years, 1928-1938* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 21-26.

[699] "Browning, Clyde," March 1948, Box 8, Folder 33, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

Apaches only feature in these Euro-American accounts when they bring violence into the narrative. Bert Bonnell, another cowboy, remembered Apaches as a dangerous harbinger of bloodshed on the edges of his childhood memories. He recalled one instance of living as a boy in White Oaks, New Mexico when people in the town received word that a group of Apaches, likely intent on raiding, were headed their way. Young Bert, the other children, and women herded into the sole stone house in the area, which provided the most easily defended location in case of attack. Bert watched anxiously as his father and other men oiled up and loaded their Winchester rifles in preparation to ride out and meet the Apaches head on in the nearby canyon. The attack never came to fruition, with the cowboys and young men of the town able to turn away the incoming Apache group before violence occurred. Yet for Bert Bonnell and many other Euro-American settlers to the area, Apaches rapidly transformed into an ephemeral presence, and one that often lurked on in dark shadows in the minds of young Euro-American children.[700]

In 1915 a group of Mexican ranchers had followed the trail of several dozen stolen stock at a time when a man known as Apache Juan was attacking and stealing cattle and other resources from ranches around Nacori Chico. Stumbling upon an Apache camp in the mountains and finding evidence of theft, the Mexican ranchers attacked the group, and most of the Apaches fled. The Mexicans managed to corner one teenage boy who they soon realized was actually a thin 15-year old Apache girl. The Mexicans tied her to a donkey and transported her back to the ranch home of one of the posse members, Pedro Fimbres. Cayeteno Fimbres, the patriarch of the extended Fimbres family that lived and worked at the ranch, would later recall that though the Apaches in the area could be troublesome, he found them to be relatively harmless outside of the occasional theft of his cattle. A young couple on the ranch related to the Fimbres clan took in the little

[700] "Bonnell, Bert," November 1951, Box 8 Folder 29, MSS 3096; *Eve Ball Papers*, BYU.

Apache girl, naming her Guadalupe Fimbres. At first, the couple kept the girl tied to a tree. She refused to eat for days after her arrival and would only wail in her native language.[701] Lupe, as she would be called by her adoptive family, was rumored to be the daughter of Haskay-bay-nay-ntayl, also known as the Apache Kid, an Aravaipa renegade who conducted raids along the border around the turn of the century.[702] Lupe had no memory of the Kid since her mother left the relationship while pregnant with her. Over time, Lupe adjusted to life with the Fimbres family and grew close to her stepsister, Carlota. She recalled a life before her adoption as rich in traditions but practiced in secret. She also recalled how many of her Apache family members died in violent engagements with local Mexicans. Lupe ultimately married a member of the Fimbres family and moved out to his ranch in Colonia Hernández, but she did not forget her language or the Apache culture she left behind.[703]

In 1935, Grenville Goodwin began collecting fragments of stories about these "lost" Apaches and their connections with non-Indigenous peoples in the region. He referred to them as the Sierra Madre Apaches. Grenville soon uncovered another "lost" Apache: a girl named Carmela living with the Harris family at the time on their ranch. The young girl, around three years old at the time of her capture, would grow up to provide the only written statement to a scholar, Helge Ingstad, on how her people had survived in the mountains. She recalled living in caves and hiding frequently. She grew up believing she had no mother and father as she lived under the care and protection of a woman called Nana. Sometimes other Native people would visit her group from elsewhere, but she never left the dense forests and rugged mountains until the death of

[701] Sánchez, "Lupe and the Lost Apaches of the Sierra Madre," 105-113.

[702] Jess G. Hayes, *Apache Vengeance: The True Story of Apache Kid* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954), 181.

[703] Sánchez, "Lupe and the Lost Apaches of the Sierra Madre," 114-128.

her caretaker. Lupe Fimbres also had noted how these isolated small bands of Apaches occasionally contacted her band as well. The lives of Carmela and Lupe, however, were far from the traditions of the highly social southern Apaches of the borderlands; their lives instead had centered around pure survival.[704]

Just as they had in the nineteenth century, cycles of violence, captivity, and revenge continued on a smaller scale in the early 1900's. Shortly after the capture by Mexican cowboys of Carmela, a group of Apaches in the mountains caught and killed another Mexican cowboy using stones to beat him to death. In response, a posse of ranchers and workers formed in Nacori Chico and Bacadehuachi to hunt for the culprits. After three rainy days, they found a camp with eight Apaches in it, mostly women and children. They killed several of the women and one elderly man outright, with two or three of the younger women managing to escape into the mountains. Three children remained amid the blood-stained dirt of the encampment. All three would be adopted into the families of their killers just as Lupe and Carmela had before them. Two would die within a year of disease, but one child, Julio, would live into adulthood raised by Mexicans.[705]

Carmela also survived into adulthood, moving to California and then living with her stepsister Ann Harris in Italy before passing away there in 1976. Ann recalled the album her mother, Carmela's adoptive mother, kept of the camp attacked by the men from Nicori Chico. She vividly described to Neil Goodwin the blackened ruins of the tents, poles jarringly angled. She recalled the images of the dead Apache woman who Carmela though perhaps had been her grandmother, and the way her head lay in the dust as if she was only sleeping. Ann also conveyed to Neil her mother's bravery when

[704] Goodwin, *Like a Brother*, 25-29.

[705] Ibid., 31-35.

the men came back to the town after the attack on the camp, drunk on liquor and carrying three terrified and injured Native children. Ann and her housekeeper had met them at the plaza, ripped the crying children from their arms and promptly took them into the house. With her husband Jack out of town, Dixie barred the door and kept her rifle by her side through the night. Dixie called over another American to the house and gave him the address of a convent in Hermosillo, hoping that the nuns there would take in the children. But she grew increasingly fixated on the most fearful and oldest of the children. She did not yet have children of her own, believing herself to be barren, and decided to adopt this child and call her Carmela.[706]

While the rest of the world believed that the Apaches of the borderlands had been relegated to reservations away from the borderlands, Mexican people living in places such as Bavispe and Nacori Chico knew full well that pockets of surviving Apaches, escapees of the roundups of the rest of their bands during the Apache Wars, still eked out a living in the mountains. But as Jack Harris once told his daughters, Ann and Carmela, those Mexicans who knew of the remaining Apaches' existence wanted them exterminated. Carmela carried a profound fear of Mexicans with her into adulthood in Los Angeles, terrified of the Hispanic people that made up such a large portion of the growing city's population.[707]

These fears were still justified to a large extent; the Sierra Madres Apaches, referred to by local Mexicans in the area as "broncos," had continued sporadic attacks on Mexican people and on the Mormon colonies in northern Mexico for 40 years after the Geronimo wars had ended. Broncos spawned from the Spanish term for reservation Apaches who had decided to leave sedentary life and go on the warpath. In turn, Mexican

[706] Ibid., 49-52.

[707] Ibid, 52-58.

ranchers and cowboys launched a war of extermination against all Apaches they could find in the region. The last engagement with Apaches occurred in 1933 when a group of these Mexican men found a large encampment of several Apaches and slaughtered all of them with the exception of one young girl who escaped into the forest.[708]

Guillermo Damiani Bassi, an elderly Mexican living in Nuevos Casas Grandes, recalled the fate the last "bronco" Apache to be documented as alive in 1933. A young man at the time, Guillermo remembered how some cowboys had dragged her into town after finding her in the Tasahuinora mountains wandering around alone and wearing baggy men's clothing. Eventually she appeared in a local jail cell in Casas Grandes where she refused to eat or speak, curled up in a fetal position behind metal bars. She quickly became a sideshow for locals. Guillermo remembered vendors selling street food and peering at the girl "like (in) a circus." Some stories ended with the girl starving herself after being captured after being placed on display for curious onlookers.[709] But Neil Goodwin's research uncovered that not everyone had viewed the girl as a wild animal. The man who found her, Billy Bye, a Norweigian hunter and trapper, named her Julia Tasahuinora and took her to Casas Grandes to formally adopt her through the Chihuahuan government. Instead of granting the request, local officials baptized the girl into the Catholic church and put her into the local jail where she soon died.[710]

The few dozen Sierra Madre Apaches who continued to live in the canyon caves and woods of the mountains of Mexico represented only a fraction of disconnected Apaches dispersed across the region. These Apaches from various groups across the Southwest had been displaced through border violence on both sides of the international

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[708] Edward K. Flagler, "Después de Gerónimo: Los Apaches Broncos de México," *Revista* Española de Antropología Americana 36, Issue 1, (2006): 119-128.

[709] Paul Salopek, "Ghosts of a Vanished Frontier," *The Chicago Tribune*, July 27, 1997.

[710] Goodwin, *Like a Brother*, 35-39.

boundary for generations. Many of these Apaches assimilated into Mexican society. Others joined up with different Indigenous groups still present in the region. One man met with Neil Goodwin and told him that he and a few other Apaches had lived with the Tarahumara people, another Indigenous group in Mexico, since the end of the Apache Wars. Another woman in Tucson recalled her childhood in Tucson in the early 1900's. Her mother, an Apache, told her to play the "Mexican game," forbidding her to reveal her Apache heritage to anyone. In the summers her mother would take her into the mountains to meet Apache elders coming up from further south in Mexico so that she could learn the traditions and values of her people. For generations, these Mexican-Apaches and Apache-Tarahumaras believed that sharing their true identity with people outside of their adoptive group would be dangerous. But at the end of the twentieth century, some of these members began exploring their Apache past in the hopes of finally reconnecting to this identity lying dormant within them.[711]

In the US-Mexican borderlands of the nineteenth century, ethnotrauma and perpetrator trauma collided as Mexicans, Americans, and Apaches grappled with contested spaces, conflicting narratives, and converging identities. The stories of the Mescalero Apache struggle against genocide and Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache struggle with exile reveal the continued intergenerational legacy that ethnotrauma leaves within its victims and their collective culture. In kind, the stories of Mexicans affirming their place along the frontier and constructing new collective identities shed light on the ways in which perpetrator trauma imparts its own damaging legacy among those who choose to wield violence against others. The stories of Euro-American settlers provide a window into the ways these legacies of trauma endure across time and transfer to other groups in other places and contexts.

[711] Ibid., 275-283.

Yet cycles of violence and trauma do not capture peoples forever. All of these narratives of pain offer windows into worlds of resistance and resilience. The Mescalero Apaches survived Bosque Redondo and made a monumental stand against their oppressors through their successful escape from imprisonment. The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches survived their own imprisonment and eventually thrived in Fort Sill, where a vibrant Apache community of their descendants remains to this day.

Mexicans of the northern border states of Chihuahua and Sonora still live in a region plagued by periodical violence and wide-spread poverty but continue their own unique norteño culture in the rugged landscape they call home. New Mexicans of southern New Mexico and the Mesilla Valley area, far from the days of their past position as second-class citizens in a United States Territory, now represent a growing segment of the LatinX population in this nation. Engaging, mingling, working, and intermarrying with individuals of Latin as well as Indingeous heritages, Euro-Americans have also continued to add their own cultural elements from the east and beyond to the modern and diverse Southwest of the present day.

But this resilience could not have occurred without the critical act of working through the collective trauma which plagued so many peoples in this history. In the middle of this vast narrative, the leader and legend Geronimo stands as an example of how ethnotrauma and perpetrator trauma entangle in the very hearts of men, altering history both then and now. Geronimo's story symbolizes the attempts of the spirit to reconcile ethnotrauma and perpetrator trauma through a long and tumultuous life. Because within each of us, a victim and a violator battle for control. We are Janus: a god of beginnings and endings, but also of that which lies in between. To reconcile these seemingly disparate parts within ourselves and within our world, one must witness one's own pain, processing both the pain one places upon others and the pain we take upon

ourselves. And to witness one's own pain one must tap into a therapy as old as time; the sharing of truths and the telling of stories. Regardless of trauma's origin, the heart of it exists in the way in which trauma fragments memory and in turn, fragments the self. To take that memory back and to tell the story of that memory in all its anguish allows us to take back power from ethnotrauma and from perpetrator trauma, centering loss, grief, and sadness within a past now told.

In November of 2017, Richard Gonzalez, the Lipan Apache who continues to learn about his heritage in the present-day, attended a Ceremonia del Perdón in the small town of Guachochi, Mexico nestled in the Sierra Madres. A novelist, Ann Badkhen, came down from Texas to also attend the ceremony, bringing soil from Geronimo's grave in Oklahoma carefully if awkwardly stowed in a Ziploc bag as she traveled. Ann gave the dirt upon her arrival to three Mexican sisters at their home in the tiny village of Guachochi. These three women, the hosts of the ceremony of forgiveness, claimed to be descendants of "lost" Apaches. According to the three sisters, who shared the last name Holguín, they descended from two of Geronimo's multiple wives and children, taken by Mexicans during the final years of the Apache Wars and sold into slavery, never to be heard from again. Like Richard Gonzalez's grandmother, their Apache ancestry was once hidden and secret, but with time, they let it bloom like the wildflowers that graced the "mother mountains" around them, fed by the thawing of early snowmelts.[712]

Bernarda Holguin explains the overall purpose of these rituals and this gathering by stating, "It is a ceremony to ask God to forgive, in the name of our ancestors, the perpetrators and the victims." On the second day of the ceremony, a kaleidoscope of people converged in a meadow at the foot of a forest. Crown dancers from the White

[712] Ann Badkhen, "Forgiving the Unforgivable: Geronimo's Descendants Seek to Salve Generational Trauma," Lithub. https://lithub.com/forgiving-the-unforgivable-geronimos-descendants-seek-to-salve-generational-trauma/ (Accessed March 3, 2020).

Mountain Apache reservation in Arizona came down to attend the ceremonies and conduct their own sacred rituals.[713] Richard Gonzales, the Holguin sisters, descendants of lost Apaches, Mexican norteños, American settlers, and other diverse groups from across the continent watched and at times took part in the movements of this dance of healing.[714]

The crown dancers, also referred to by Western Apaches as mountain spirits, represent the gahns: spiritual beings from the time of earth's creation that link the Apache people to the land and to each other. Their sacred dances cure individual sickness and bring healing and balance to the wider world around them.[715] In this dance of reconciliation, the power of trauma and violence flow from this disparate group of southwestern peoples through the mountain gahns and back into a land both savage and sacred.

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[713] Ibid.

[714] Jessica Lutz,"Ceremony Brings Together Original Peoples to Address Mexico's Colonial Past," Marfa Public Radio, KRTS News, https://marfapublicradio.org/blog/ceremony-brings-together-original-peoples-to-address-mexicos-colonial-past/ (Accessed March 3, 2020).

[715] For a thorough analysis of the role of gaans/gahns or gahe in various Apache groups, please see Thomas LeRoy Larson's dissertation, *Gaan/gahe: The Art and Performance of the Apache Mountain Spirit Dancers*.

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