CHAPTER 5

DAγODIγA'

The word *daγodiγa'* is a Western Apache term meaning 'rising upward' (Goodwin 1938:34), and was the name given to the second religious cult movement to be discussed here. *Daγodiγa'* took place primarily among the White Mountain Apaches, and to a lesser extent among some San Carlos Apaches, between 1903 and 1907. It began with a specific ceremony accompanied by an equally specific doctrine that was introduced by a Cibecue medicine man named Daslahdn ('once' or 'first'). Shortly afterwards it was taken over by other medicine men, including Big John of Bylas, a community on the San Carlos Reservation, who modified and added to the original forms. The movement came to an end with the deaths of several of the participating medicine men.

Historical Context of Daγodiγa'

The period between 1881 and 1902 was characterized by increased Anglo-Apache contact. Trends that began in the earlier period continued and new pressures were brought to bear on the Apaches.

The Battle of Cibecue in 1881 triggered a flurry of hostilities. Within days of the conflict groups of Apaches scoured the countryside looking for Anglos. As a result, four Mormons and three troopers were killed close to Fort Apache. A burial detail sent out of the post to bury those who had lost their lives in the Cibecue episode was

ambushed, and several Apaches actually attacked Fort Apache (Barnes 1941:56-86). Other Apaches located an unprotected ranch about thirty miles from Cibecue and attacked it, killing two, wounding others, and driving off seventy-five head of horses (Thrapp 1967:229-230). Within a couple of weeks troops had been rushed into the San Carlos and Fort Apache areas (King 1963:214-217) and many Apaches, aware of what might happen if a full scale war developed, began to surrender. Several Apaches, however, were in a precarious position because they had been scouts and had turned on the column at Cibecue. Fearing charges of treason or mutiny, they went into hiding and waited to see what would happen. Meanwhile, the soldiers, having had time to organize, began to arrest Apaches who were believed to have taken part in the Battle of Cibecue.

One Apache consultant recalled how her grandfather, who had been a scout at Cibecue, avoided arrest. The scout had been hiding for some time and was weak and thin. When soldiers were seen coming after him, the Apache's relatives rubbed him in ashes and dirt. Then the soldiers arrived.

> And he was lying there so skinny, looking so sick, and he was sick. So they couldn't take him; he was so weak so they tried to make him walk, but he couldn't walk. So they stayed there watching him while they sent one of those men back, one of the guards back to the big boss. "Well," he said, "let him die at home if he is that way." But he got well after that; that was just an act. But he was really skinny because he was hiding himself in hunger most of the time (female Apache consultant).

Within a relatively short time most of the Apaches were able to come out of hiding without fear of punishment for their involvement in

the Cibecue episode. This was because General McDowell had ruled that "official bungling" had forced the Apaches to protect their rights, and therefore, only scouts in military service should be forced to suffer extreme penalties (Ogle 1970:209). Eventually only five scouts were punished. One was imprisoned for life, another was given a dishonorable discharge, and three were hanged at Camp Grant on March 3, 1882.

Meanwhile, at San Carlos, troop movements which followed in the aftermath of the Battle of Cibecue caused much uneasiness among the Apaches. Soon several Chiricahua Apache chiefs at San Carlos including Juh, Nachez, and Loco, fled the reservation with their followers and began to raid. Soldiers were dispatched to subdue these Apaches and several skirmishes and battles took place. Indian Agent Wilcox (1883:7) described the chiefs at San Carlos in 1882 as "sullen and defiant; others less bold, were discontent."

It was not until two years later that the nearly 1,000 Indians who had bolted from the reservation were returned and quiet was restored. In 1884 General Crook affirmed that "for the first time in the history of that fierce people, every member of the Apache tribe is at peace" (Thrapp 1967:303). However, the picture was soon to change. Military officials, believing that the Apache homemade liquor _tułpai_, or _tiswin_, was a major cause of disturbance on the reservation, prohibiting its manufacture. Indians living near Fort Apache under the leadership of Geronimo, tired of such restrictions, insisted that they had the right to brew liquor and beat their wives when the women

deserved it (Thrapp 1967:312). Shortly thereafter, Geronimo and 130 Chiricahua Apaches fled the reservation (Spicer 1962:255).

The presence of Indians "at large" in Arizona, New Mexico and Mexico had repercussions among the Apaches remaining on the reservation. F. E. Pierce, the acting agent at San Carlos, reported that there was a restlessness and uneasiness among the Indians concerning the whereabouts of these hostiles. This fear was prompted by the murder of fifteen White Mountain Apaches by hostiles in the winter of 1885 (Pierce 1886:40). On September 7, 1886, as a result of his surrender, Geronimo was taken to Holbrook destined for Fort Marion, Florida. By 1888 hostilities were reported to be ended (Bullis 1888: 7). However, this, too, was premature, for certain Apaches who had fled the reservation terrorized those who remained. Bullis (1890:11), the acting agent at San Carlos reported that in 1890, seventeen "renegades" made numerous hostile visits to the reservation, killing several Apaches, carrying away women and girls, terrorizing the "good Indians," and trying to persuade the dissatisfied reservations to join them. According to Bullis (1890:11), "This caused a general feeling of insecurity and fear among the Indians, and a disinclination to work on their farms. . . ." One of these so called "renegades" was known as the Apache Kid, and in 1893 a $5,000 reward was offered for him -- dead or alive (Johnson 1893:122).

Fear of such dissidents as the Apache Kid also was present among the White Mountain Apaches near Cibecue and Fort Apache (Mayerhoff n.d.). Apache consultants recall the fear that spread among the

White Mountain Apaches because of the Apache Kid. One incident began when the Apache Kid kidnapped a Cibecue woman and took her to an area near the present Wolsey Lake, a distance of seventy-five miles into the heart of the White Mountains. After living with her for several months in a fortress made under a large rock, the Kid decided to move. To prevent the woman from giving away his plans, he hamstrung her and left. After crawling for days the woman was found by an Apache who reported the event. Within the next few years little was heard of the Apache Kid and by 1896 he was assumed to be dead.

The following year control over the White Mountain Apaches became more localized by an Act of Congress of June 7, 1897. This separated what had formerly been one reservation, The White Mountain Indian Reservation, into two: the San Carlos Apache and the Fort Apache Indian reservations.

Between 1881 and 1902, considerable pressures were brought to bear on traditional Apache economic, social, and ideological systems. As discussed earlier, the traditional Apache subsistence pattern was drastically altered by confinement at San Carlos in 1875. Between 1876 and 1880 most of the White Mountain Apaches were allowed to return home. For those Indians who remained near the San Carlos agency the outlook in 1882 was bleak. The attempt at "civilizing" the Indians through farming programs had been considerably less than successful. Wilcox (1883:7) noted that as a result of numerous acts of hostility by renegades, self-sufficiency had not been achieved. Farms along the Gila and San Carlos rivers were overgrown with weeds and the miles of

irrigation canals had been neglected and were unserviceable. Without adequate resources of their own the Indians at San Carlos needed full rations for "failing to obtain them, they must beg, or steal, or go hungry" (Wilcox 1883:7). In addition, and to make matters worse, the rationing was irregular and uncertain due to corruption and logistic problems.

By the time of the brief calm of 1884 some interest in farming had been restored. Indians repaired old canals, dug new ones, cleared fields, and sowed crops. However, in February and March disastrous flooding of the Gila and San Carlos rivers washed away most of the plants. Every irrigation dam was reported destroyed. The Apaches were disheartened and frustrated. In 1886 natural conditions again caused major setbacks in farming. This time excessive heat and lack of rainfall destroyed crops (Pierce 1886:39-40). In 1892 severe flooding occurred again (Johnson 1892:219).

To supplement agriculture, livestock was given to the Indians at San Carlos. The herds gradually increased until 1886 when a large number of cattle died of some disease "which no one seems to understand" (Pierce 1886:40). In addition, some Apaches complained that the cattle they were receiving were mean (Getty 1963:12) or of an inferior quality (Frazer 1885:17).

There were also Apaches from San Carlos working for wages. Adams (1971:118) notes that between 1872 and 1897 Apaches were employed "in constructing roads, dams, ditches, and buildings, and as teamsters, herders, and butchers." A limited number of Apaches were also

employed by ranchers to repair ditches, chop wood, and make adobe. Finally, others received pay for supplying the San Carlos agency and military personnel with crops, wood, and hay. With the end of the Indian wars in the Southwest in 1886, many soldiers were withdrawn and the demand for laborers was reduced. By 1888 it had become obvious that the plans for making the San Carlos Indians self-sufficient had failed.

Ten years later relief came to the San Carlos Indian Reservation, and a "new economic era was inaugurated" (Adams 1971:119). In 1898 a railroad was constructed across the reservation and many Apaches were employed as laborers. By 1901 an increasing number of Apaches were employed to work in mining, and in the following year more Apaches were hired to work on road construction. Agent Corson (1903:161-162) in 1902 reported that there were large parties of Apaches working on roads near Bowie and Globe. However, he also noted that frequently when an Apache would get "tired" he would simply return to the reservation. It seems more likely that Apaches working off the reservation became "homesick" and for this reason returned to their relatives. Corson (1903:162) believed that since it was possible for the Apaches to exist on rations this encouraged them to quit their off-reservation jobs when the work got too hard. Therefore, Corson proposed that at the end of June rationing be stopped.

For the Apaches on the San Carlos reservation, the situation was serious in 1902. A severe drought occurred and few crops matured. In addition, the Apaches were in fear of losing their rations. They

argued that "the Government had promised that as long as they stayed on the reservation they should have rations, and that if rations were taken away they would not stay on the reservation any longer" (Corson 1903:162). Instead, they said they would be forced to go into the mountains and live off mescal, roots, and nuts as before (Corson 1903:162).

Indians living near the San Carlos agency between 1881 and 1902 were also afflicted with disease. In 1883 Wilcox (1883:9) observed that the major health problems among the Indians at San Carlos were "due to licentious habits" (probably syphilis and gonorrhea), and that these were especially prevalent among the Yuma, Mohave, and Tonto Apaches. The next year saw much of the same. Wilcox (1884:9) concluded that "diseases common to hot climates, miasmatic bottom lands, impure water and unrestrained license in social life" prevailed.

With the establishment of schools in 1887 the incidence of communicable diseases increased. In 1892 an epidemic of whooping cough among the pupils at San Carlos necessitated a temporary closure of the school (Johnson 1892:222). The school was again closed in 1897 because of a measles epidemic (Myer 1897:112-113). Shortly after the turn of the century tuberculosis had reached epidemic proportions.

> On the San Carlos reservation, among a population of a little more than 3,000, there occurred from 1901 to 1903 . . . 255 deaths, of which 95, or over 36 perccent, were due to different forms of tuberculosis. The writer found tuberculosis glands or recent scars due to them in more than 6 per cent of the school children at San Carlos (Hrdlicka 1908:176).

The Apaches at San Carlos were also faced with the threat of a shrinking reservation. In 1893, 1896, and 1902 large areas of land

were removed from the eastern, southern, and western sides of the original reservation and were restored to public domain (Getty 1963:8).

Less than a month after the Battle of Cibecue agent Tiffany (1881:9) noted that a number of Anglos were crowding into the areas around the reservation. These miners, Mormon farmers and ranchers were attracted to the land because of its rich mineral deposits and fine water and grazing lands. This was "exasperating to the Indians who have formerly seen large tracts cut off from its original boundaries for the benefit of the whites" (Tiffany 1881:9). Encroachment upon Apache land continued. By 1892 matters had gotten so bad that agent Johnson (1892:221) reported that to keep trespassing stock off the reservation required not only constant vigilance but diligent efforts on the part of the agency employees, the Indian police, and the Indians acting as posses.

While Apaches living at San Carlos prior to 1881 had experienced stress because of major economic changes, disease, and loss of land, between 1881 and 1902 they were exposed to additional pressures. Between 1870 and 1880 drinking was reported as a serious problem at San Carlos (Clum 1875:216), but was also reported to have been effectively controlled by prohibition (Clum 1876:10). During the next twenty-five years the Apache's consumption of _tiswin_ or _tułpai_ came to be considered by Anglos a major problem. As mentioned earlier, drinking was the immediate cause of Geronimo's fleeing the reservation in 1884. In 1888 agent Bullis at San Carlos bemoaned the excessive use of the liquor among White Mountain, San Carlos, Coyotero, and

Tonto Apaches. For several years drinking had been identified as the major cause of strife, fighting, and discontent among the reservation Indians (Pierce 1886:40). Bullis (1888:7) reported that he was exercising the "utmost vigilence" and employing all means at his command "to suppress the making and use of tiswin." However, his methods were less than effective, for in 1908 Hrdlicka (1908:31) reported that drunkenness due to tiswin and liquors introduced by Whites was prevalent as was social disorder associated with drinking.

During this period Anglos were making a concerted effort to acculturate the Apaches. While many White officials felt that schools were needed at San Carlos, Indian Agent Wilcox strongly opposed such suggestions. He believed that only after the Indians "ceased to be nomads" would formal education work.

> On the reservation no school can be so conducted as to remove the children from the influence of the idle and vicious who are everywhere present. Only by removing them beyond the reach of this influence can they be benefited by the teaching of the school-master. To this course there is now being offered a stubborn resistance by the parents, many of whom, previous to the return of the Chiricahuas, had promised to give up children for eastern schools, but who, since coming under the pernicious influence of that dominant tribe, have found objections that before had not occurred to them. If the Government would lift the Apaches from the sloth of ignorance and loathsome degradation in which they now wallow, compulsory education must be resorted to. Under the strong hand of the law or force they must be taught to labor systematically, and when it becomes necessary to educate the rising generations in the mysteries of books, force should compell them to accept the situation (Wilcox 1883:9).

The next year Wilcox sent fifty-two Apaches from San Carlos to a school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Overcome with homesickness several youths eventually fled, one of them getting as far as central Missouri

before being forced to turn himself over to Carlisle authorities (Pratt 1886:19). By 1884 Wilcox (1884:9) had concluded that formal education for boys might begin on the San Carlos Reservation. In 1887 a grade school was opened, and by the next year agent Bullis (1888:8) reported it was filled by forty boys who were said to be enjoying themselves so much that they often chose to stay at school during their vacations rather than return to their homes. However, Wilcox also reported that many Apache parents refused to send their children to school. By the turn of the century the school at San Carlos accommodated 100 students. But school superintendent Wright (1899:168) noted the continuous presence of opposition to nonreservation schooling.

Besides trying to "civilize" the Apaches at San Carlos there were missionaries there trying to "save" them. The need for missionaries among the Apaches was first noted in 1880, and for the next several years church services and Bible school were held for agency employees (Tiffany 1880:6; 1881:8). In 1893 the first missionaries, John Plocher and George Adascheck, representing the Evangelical Lutheran Church, arrived at San Carlos. Missionary Adascheck was recalled in 1894 at his own request because of his difficulties with both the English and Apache languages. Plocher remained. He gave religious instruction twice weekly to some 100 children of the government day and boarding schools at San Carlos. He also devoted much time to his own small school at Peridot which was attended by ten to twelve students (Myer 1896:126). Plocher spent the remainder of his

time bringing the Gospel to the Apaches in their camps (Centennial Committee 1951:233).

In 1899 Reverend Plocher was forced to leave the Southwest due to his wife's failing health. The fruits of his six years labor consisted of four baptisms and an attendance of twenty in his school (Centennial Committee 1951:233). Plocher was succeeded by Reverend Carl Guenther in 1900. Guenther served the newly constructed boarding school at what later became known as Rice. Besides preaching to school children, Guenther frequently rode on horseback over an area of about fifty miles, preaching and doctoring the sick. An assistant, Rudolf Jens, who arrived in 1900 to help Guenther, died in 1903.

Meanwhile, the Indian agents were trying hard to rid the Apache of their traditional religious leaders. This opposition to medicine men was undoubtedly a result of the parts played by men such as Noch-ay-del-klinne and Geronimo in the Apache wars. It was also in keeping with a larger federal policy to suppress Indian religious beliefs. At San Carlos Agent Johnson (1892:220) stated that he was discouraging the practices of medicine men and as a result their influence was declining. Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the next several years reiterated this theme.

Apaches living near the San Carlos agency between 1881 and 1902 experienced directly the results of Anglo assimilation policies. As in the earlier period, following the traditional seminomadic subsistence pattern was impossible, and rationing and work programs offered little relief. Disease was widespread, and the threat of land loss was

persistent. In addition, drinking was suppressed by agency and military personnel, and educational and religious programs were introduced.

The situation among the White Mountain Apaches living near Fort Apache and Cibecue was somewhat different. Apaches living near Cibecue were allowed to return to their traditional hunting, gathering, and agricultural practices. However, since they were not able to wander as extensively as they once had, they could make only a meager living and were constantly under the watchful eye of subagency personnel who had been sent to Cibecue after the conflict of 1881 (Basso 1969:20). Like other Indians on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation the residents of Cibecue drew no rations (Bullis 1888:8).

Economic conditions among White Mountain Apaches living near Fort Apache were little better than at Cibecue. Mayerhoff (n.d.) noted that between 1896 and 1904 the Apaches roamed the hills for food, hunting, gathering, and collecting whatever they could find. However, they were not able to roam as widely as they once did. In addition, due to increased exploitation of game by agency and military personnel stationed at Fort Apache such a subsistence pattern "was only another way of slow starvation" (Mayerhoff n.d.). Besides hunting and gathering, the Apaches had been encouraged to take up farming. Corn was their mainstay during these years. However, this was not totally successful, in part because the Apaches needed more tools. In 1884 Robert Frazer visited the Fort Apache Indian Reservation with the task of observing the Apaches and reporting his findings to the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association. He recorded that the Coyotero (White

Mountain) Apaches had only one wagon issued to them but that they required a minimum of twenty (Frazer 1885:16). They were issued twenty-four sickles but they needed 500.

Besides agricultural pursuits the White Mountain Apaches were encouraged to accumulate herds of animals. However, this was not an easy task since many of the Apaches were forced to butcher their horses and cattle for food. To make matters worse, there was severe corruption among Anglos who supplied the cattle. For example, a contract was made with an Arizona cattleman named Henry Hooker to deliver 1,000 head of cattle. He purchased "an inferior kind of Mexican cattle" and by the time 596 head were delivered numerous objections had been raised about their quality. Chief Alchesay remarked about the cattle given him:

> . . . the Great Father sent him up a lot: some were yearlings, others were older than this world, and had not a tooth in their heads. It was wonderful we got them up here. Those that did not die of cold, died of foot disease or hunger because they had no teeth to eat with (Frazer 1885: 17).

Alchesay received fifteen cattle and turned them out to pasture. Three were dead the next morning. After the fourth day twelve had died. The remaining three went wild and were caught by Mormons when they crossed over the reservation boundary line. Similar losses were felt by most of the Indians who received cattle (Frazer 1885:17-18).

As a final economic alternative, there were various jobs which the White Mountain Apaches could take to earn wages. The Indians were encouraged to engage in the sale of hay, firewood, and other resources desired or needed by military and agency personnel. Many Apaches,

especially those living near Fort Apache, did supply the post with tons of firewood and hay (Bullis 1889:122; Johnson 1893:121; C. Keyes 1898: 117; Regan 1930:296-297). The money earned in this way was often secured by unscrupulous traders. By 1885 the Indians had acquired a taste for commodities such as coffee, calico, Anglo-style clothing, and tobacco. The traders charged the Apaches excessively high prices. For example, the commissary at Fort Apache sold coffee at thirteen cents per pound; Apaches bought coffee from the traders for forty cents per pound. The commissary sold Durham smoking tobacco for under twenty-two cents per half pound. The Indians paid traders fifty cents for the same amount (Frazer 1885:19-20).

Even with hunting, gathering, agriculture, herding, and wage labor the Apaches were barely surviving. Mayerhoff (n.d.) described them between 1896 and 1904 as making a "meager living," (C. Keyes 1898: 117) as "very poor," and Armstrong (1899:150) as "starving."

During this period the White Mountain Apaches also suffered from various diseases. In 1896 a smallpox epidemic struck, forcing the dispersal of the Apaches (Everett 1971:73). In 1897 there was a measles epidemic (Myer 1897:114). A few years later scarlet fever swept the reservation. The Indians were reported to have been "frightened to death" and infected areas were rapidly abandoned (Mayerhoff n.d.). Other diseases prevalent during these years were pneumonia, influenza, diarrhea, cholera, trachoma and other eye diseases (Everett 1971:73; Regan 1930:314). Gonorrhea and syphilis were also present (Regan 1930:314). Finally, tuberculosis was appearing more and more

frequently. Agent Armstrong (1900:190) reported that lung diseases were responsible for the deaths of many children and young people.

As was the case at San Carlos, the White Mountain Apaches were faced with the problems of Anglo encroachment upon reservation land. Anglo ranchers to the north of the reservation frequently took advantage of Apache grazing lands, a problem that agency personnel were virtually powerless to prevent or control (Johnson 1892:221; 1893:123; C. Keyes 1898:119; Myer 1895:113).

Military and agency personnel waged a relentless war against Indian drinking during this period. In 1888 agent Bullis (1888:7) noted that the Apache were making large quantities of *tułpai*, but that he was employing methods which would hopefully put a stop to this practice. In 1892 it was reported that the Apaches near Fort Apache were excessively indulging in *tułpai* (Johnson 1892:220). The agents were soon forced to admit that it was impossible to stop the drinking because of the Apache's "roving habits and the comparative seclusion of their camps in the woods" (Johnson 1893:122). Besides *tułpai*, the Apaches were receiving liquor from off the reservation (C. Keyes 1898: 119).

The reasons for such strong opposition to drinking stemmed from the assumption that it was the major cause of strife, fighting, discontent, immorality, as well as a contributor to disease (Regan 1930: 298). It was believed that only when drinking had been wiped out could "progress" be made. In order to control the manufacture and consumption of *tułpai* firm measures were taken. Keyes reports:

> There have been a great many conditions for tiswin making, this being general among all the Indians. I found it being made in almost every camp when I came here; even the little children had acquired the habit of drinking it. I instituted a vigorous warfare on it by raiding camps day and night. In every case where tiswin was found it was destroyed, together with the cans used in its manufacture. All persons found in the camps were compelled to work time at the agency or saw-mill. In this manner, by constant vigilance, the manufacture of tiswin has been reduced to a minimum. It has not been entirely stopped, but where on my first raids it was found openly in large quantities it is now confined to small quantities, made in some isolated retreat in the mountains, away from the probable search of the police. Even these places are often raided, and it has had the effect of reducing the manufacture to such an extent that I am well pleased with the results (C. Keyes 1898:117).

However, the agent who followed Keyes admitted that "If the conditions for tiswin making have ever been changed or checked to any perceptible degree it must have vanished just before my arrival here" (Armstrong 1899:152).

Formal education among the White Mountain Apache began in December of 1891 when a small day school was opened in one of the barracks at Fort Apache (E. E. Guenther 1941:222). It was not, however, until January 1894 that school buildings were built to accommodate pupils (Jackson 1895:115). By May of that year it was noted that several of the twenty-eight students were suffering from sore eyes, possibly trachoma (Jackson 1895:115). In January of 1895 the school was closed to make necessary repairs (Jackson 1896:129) and because of illness (E. E. Guenther 1941:223). The school reopened but was closed again in 1897 because of measles (Myer 1897:114).

By 1899 it had become obvious that attendance in school could be maintained only by compulsory measures (Patterson 1899:153). In

addition, the agency personnel were unable to persuade students to attend nonreservation schools (Armstrong 1900:189:190). In 1901 many of the students who were weak from an earlier influenza epidemic contracted colds and lung troubles. Several died (Patterson 1902:179).

By 1902 Anglo officials realized that attempts to educate the White Mountain Apache were being directly countered and opposed.

> The Indian medicine man and the grandmother are the cause of most of the opposition to the schools. Last year the school here was unfortunate in having several severe cases of la grippe, and three or four of the pupils died. When I undertook to reorganize the school on the 1st of September I was surprised to find almost universal opposition; and all of our efforts in kindness and persuasion availed nothing; I was compelled to resort to force, and every pupil was returned to the school by the police (Crouse 1903:149).

Meanwhile, parents were devising various means to keep their children out of school. Regan (1930:313-314) noted that children had to pass physical examinations in order to be admitted to school. About two weeks before school started in the fall, parents and medicine men had "medicine dances" which exhausted the children. This was supposed to make the children medicine-proof against the "white man's ways and medicines." Sometimes children were dipped in cold waters of the creeks and many became too sick to be admitted to school. Another mechanism of keeping children out of school was to report that they were dying. Regan (1930:314) reported an incident that occured when he started to descend by horseback into a canyon near Canyon Creek and saw two Apache children playing in the fields below. When Regan reached the canyon bottom the children's mother reported that they were sick with pneumonia and could not go to school. Regan rode on,

then circled back to discover the children playing again. Two days later the children were in the Fort Apache boarding school.

There appear to have been several reasons why the Apache were trying to keep their children out of school. First, many of the pupils became sick at school and several died. Second, there were economic reasons. Children were needed by their parents to collect hay which they were in turn selling at the post. Finally, there was the fear that children who were out of the reach of their parents would soon cease to be Apaches and would become Anglos instead.

The White Mountain Apache during this period were also confronted by a Lutheran missionary. In June, 1896, Reverend Paul Mayerhoff arrived in the White Mountains and settled near East Fork a few miles from Fort Apache. By his own admission he was looked upon with considerable suspicion. Few Indians at that time could speak English, which made his job that much harder. Many Indians thought he was just another White man and tended to disregard his teachings (J. Keyes 1936: 488). Other Apaches were strong in their opposition to Christianity. Mayerhoff (n.d.) noted that he was continually confronted with the attitude that the White man's God was good for Anglos, but the Apaches' gods were sufficient for their needs. There were those, however, who listened to his teachings, especially the members of Alchesay's band, but only after Mayerhoff had learned to speak Apache.

Besides providing religious instruction to the sixty children at the Fort Apache boarding school, Mayerhoff built a small school at East Fork and by 1902 had twenty in attendance (Brown 1963:81). In

that same year he received an assistant, Otto Schoenberg, who served as the school teacher and thus allowed Mayerhoff time to visit the Apaches in their camps. By this time the pastor was no longer considered a threat by the majority of the Apaches. Although from a statistical standpoint his work was not terribly productive he did lay the groundwork for future friendly relations between the White Mountain Apaches and the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran missionaries.

Mayerhoff and Schoenberg, rather than opposing the teachings and practices of the medicine men and their religion, were content to simply present the teachings of Christianity, assuming that the Holy Spirit would open the Apaches' minds. However, the government personnel felt differently and attempted to supplant the Apache religion by opposing the medicine men (Crouse 1903:149). In addition, the agents fought a relentless battle trying to eradicate the native Apache dress which they felt was connected with "un-progressive" elements such as the medicine men.

Thus, between 1881 and 1902 the Apaches on the San Carlos and Fort Apache Indian reservations were forced to alter considerably the pattern of their lives. The reservation situation made traditional hunting and gathering practices unworkable. Disease was widespread, land loss occurred, drinking for forcefully opposed, formal education was made mandatory, and Christianity was introduced.

During the years of the _daɣodiɣa'_ movement (1903-1907) the situation grew worse for the Apaches on both the San Carlos and Fort

Apache reservations. The trends of the preceding decade continued and seemed to have deepening effects.

At San Carlos the economic situation forced a reorientation. As previously mentioned, in 1902 a drought destroyed the Apaches' crops, and in 1903 rationing was discontinued. The next year the San Carlos reservation suffered again under a drought which thwarted agricultural production. Then, too, Anglo farmers along the upper Gila Valley were taking out large amounts of water, leaving only a limited supply for the reservation. In July and August, however, violent storms produced tremendous flooding (Kelly 1905:152-153). By January of 1905 heavy rains returned, this time destroying irrigation canals (Kelly 1906a: 176). As a result some of the Apaches reverted to dry farming and were able to produce small crops of barley, wheat, corn, melons, and beans (Kelly 1906b:190). Because of the problems inherent with irrigation agriculture, many Indians turned to other economic alternatives, particularly wage labor. When rationing ceased several Apaches were able to find employment working on railroads, roads, or dams. Most of these laborers worked off the reservation and frequently took their families with them (Adams 1971:120). By 1905 the lure of wage labor off the reservation was so great that the labor pool of able-bodied men on the reservation had been depleted (Kelly 1905:152:153). However, Apaches working off the reservation frequently became homesick and periodically returned to the reservation (Adams 1971:122-123).

Meanwhile, Anglos were having difficulties with educating the Apaches. Missionaries were often unable to provide teachers for their

schools (Centennial Committee 1951:235-236), and the government teachers were meeting with little success. During vacations the Indians reverted to their old customs and life styles (Kelly 1905:151). In addition, sickness led to a high level of absenteeism (Weeks 1906: 192).

During these years the situation on the Fort Apache Reservation was little different. In 1904 the drought destroyed crops and the dry condition contributed to forest fires which burned 75,000 acres of land. Later, in 1904 and 1905, heavy flooding destroyed irrigation ditches and caused considerable erosion (Crouse 1906a:159-160). Consequently many Apaches reverted back to their semi-nomadic gathering, collecting, and hunting subsistence patterns. Attempts were made to educate the Apaches to care for livestock but they proved to be less successful than anticipated. Agent Crouse (1904:117) expressed his frustration with Apache herders.

> For example, Indian herders, after having been carefully instructed, are sent to watch the flock of sheep and the herd of cattle; they soon become weary of such quiet work and go hunting, thus leaving the calves and lambs exposed to the wild animals, and the result is a loss. . . .

In addition, many Apaches who claimed to be hunting were stealing cattle from herds illegally grazing on the reservation. The cattle were butchered for meat (Crouse 1904:117).

Between 1903 and 1907 disease was also widespread on the Fort Apache Reservation. Diarrhea, cholera, and pneumonia took their toll on the Apaches. There was also an epidemic of influenza in 1904. The major chronic disease was tuberculosis. Crouse (1905:134) reported

that this disease claimed a victim almost every month. Of the 563 school age children, 150 were unfit physically to attend school (Crouse 1905:132).

Finally, as had been the case in previous years, formal education was being opposed by medicine men, grandparents (especially maternal grandmothers), and parents. Agent Crouse (1906b:173), for example, estimated that ninety-five percent of the Apaches did not want schooling of any kind. From the agent's perspective the main hindrance to "civilization" was the medicine man. "The medicine man is usually the shrewdest man of the band, and he combats the schools, for intelligence is against his business" (Crouse 1904:118). In addition, medicine men encouraged the Apaches to wear traditional clothing which was also viewed as "non-progressive." In spite of this opposition from Apaches, schools were introduced into the Cibecue area. In 1904, after considerable persistence and persuasion, classes began (Olson 1905:135). Also by 1904 it had become obvious to agency personnel that the medicine man was a symbol for the Apaches of their traditional culture (McGhie 1905:135). Consequently, the agents began making plans to rid the reservations of medicine men.

> The Indian medicine man is a menace to civilization or training in any useful industry. He is usually the shrewdest or most cunning Indian of the tribe. He teaches that the school will transform the Indian into some other nationality; that their children when they become trained by white people will not have any respect for their parents. The worst phase of this wild Indian teaching is in the evil predictions; and their people do not seem to lose faith in them because of their many failures, for a reason for the failure is usually given that satisfies the other Indians. The other Indians are afraid to testify against these medicine men, fearing

> that sickness and death would be the penalty for such testimony. The superintendent or bonded officer should be authorized to send these Indian agitators away to live with some tribe where they would have none of this bad influence, when, in his judgment, such action is necessary for the good government of the Indians for whom he is charged in management (Crouse 1905:133).

The Daγodiγa' Prophets

The religious cult movement known as daγodiγa' can be traced back to one man -- a Cibecue Apache named Daslahdn (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:390). Unfortunately very little is known about him. His name was derived from the Apache word daγa'aadn, which means 'once' or 'first.' Daslahdn was a medicine man in 1903 when daγodiγa' began. He may have possessed 'lightning power' (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:390). Although Daslahdn was from Cibecue and conducted most of his ceremonies there, he was acquainted with Apaches living at San Carlos. Not long after daγodiγa' began he held a dance on the southern reservation. This dance was attended by Apaches from Rice and Bylas, and it is possible that Daslahdn's wife had relatives in one or both of these communities. After this ceremony he returned to Cibecue and continued to conduct daγodiγa' ceremonies there for the next two years. In 1906, with his influence waning, Daslahdn, believing he could return from the dead, had his followers cut off his head (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 393-394).

Shortly after Daslahdn held his first dance at San Carlos the movement was picked up by another medicine man named Big John. His Apache name was nant'an diigohaat'i' which means 'chief, four rising up' (like four strings rising up from the ground in four places)

a name possibly referring to a place about which he had dreamed (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:395). Big John was also known as Big Low John or Bigalow Johns. He was born on September 15, 1879, according to the government's census. Later, Big John attended the Indian School at Rice for two or three years. Sometime before 1903 'lightning power' sought him out and he became a medicine man at an early age (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:403). In 1903 he was living near Calva, or Bylas, when he witnessed the daɣodiɣa' ceremony conducted by Daslahdn near Cassadore Springs. He adopted the doctrine of the movement and for the next four years became one of its major proponents. He was married to a San Carlos Apache woman, but sometime near the end of the movement he abandoned her and married his brother's widow who was living near Canyon Day on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation.[1] Sometime in the closing months of 1906, or early in 1907, Big John stopped conducting daɣodiɣa' ceremonies because several daɣodiɣa' medicine men had died. He felt that if he continued with the dances he might also die. Under considerable criticism from the San Carlos Apaches for divorcing his wife, he moved in 1910 or 1911 to Canyon Day where he lived with his new wife's relatives. Even though predictions Big John had made about the end of the world in connection with daɣodiɣa' did not come true, the medicine man was not held in disrepute. Shortly after arriving at Canyon Day the White Mountain Apaches asked him to use high 'lightning

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1. Big John's living relatives insist that his decision to marry his brother's widow was in compliance with Apache custom. Goodwin (1942:358-363) has noted that Apaches frequently did adhere to the levirate.

power' for good -- to conduct ceremonials for the sick, especially those with tuberculosis and for those whose camps had been struck by lightning. This Big John did and continued to do. He was also highly respected by San Carlos Apaches. In 1930 he was summoned to Bylas to conduct a ceremony for a man whose house had been struck by lightning (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:403). The songs, sand paintings, hoop dances, and herb treatments he used to cure the sick were given to him by his 'power,' and throughout his life he granted others permission to use his songs. Big John died peacefully in 1944.

Besides Daslahdn and Big John, several other medicine men began to conduct *daɣodiɣa'* ceremonies in 1905 (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 393). In the San Carlos area these included Charley Moccasin's older brother, Paul Nosey, and C. F. 38. Although all three medicine men conducted their own dances and sang their own songs they were, nevertheless, under the leadership of Big John (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:393). Little else is known about these medicine men. Charley Moccasin's older brother was described as a "medicine-boy at Dewey Flat" (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:393). Apache consultants told Goodwin that although he and Paul Nosey were not old enough to get married they both did after getting involved in *daɣodiɣa'* (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:397). Both Charley Moccasin's brother and Paul Nosey died in 1907 or 1908 (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:394).

Goodwin and Kaut (1954) reported that on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation there were two other medicine men conducting *daɣodiɣa'* ceremonies besides Daslahdn. Almost nothing is known of these men.

One was from East Fork, the other from Cedar Creek. Both appear to have had 'lightning power' and each added his own songs to the *daɣodiɣa'* repetoire. Both of these medicine men died shortly after the beheading of Daslahdn.

Daɣodiɣa'

The Apache word *daɣodiɣa'* is the name given the White Mountain Apache religious cult movement which flourished between 1903 and 1906. *Daɣodiɣa'* means 'rising upward,' and summarizes in a compact way the major doctrine expressed by the various medicine men involved (Goodwin 1938:34).

The movement itself was started by the Cibecue medicine man, Daslahdn. The basic doctrine which he and subsequent *daɣodiɣa'* medicine men proclaimed was a prophecy. The followers of the movement (i.e., those who participated in the dances, believed in their efficacy, were "good," and obeyed the medicine men's directions) would be raised up into the sky in a cloud. After this a great flood or earthquake would purge the earth of its evil. The followers would then be set back on the rejuvenated earth where they would live in peace and plenty (Goodwin 1938:35; Goodwin and Kaut 1954).

Exactly when Daslahdn began conducting *daɣodiɣa'* ceremonies in 1903 is unknown. After holding several ceremonies at Cibecue, Daslahdn and his wife visited the San Carlos Indian Reservation in the summer or early fall of 1903. There, near Cassadora Springs, he held a dance which was attended by Apaches from Rice and Bylas. The medicine man

lined up the people from Rice with their chief, Norman Cassador, first, then older men and women, and finally younger people and children. Holding hadntin, Cassador danced near the fire. He then led his people in dancing four times. Then Apaches from Bylas followed in similar fashion their chief, a man called C. G. 9. About midnight the Rice Apaches danced again, this time with each person holding hadntin in his or her right hand. The Bylas dancers followed suit. Two more times during the night each group danced. Prayers were spoken and chanted as hadntin was thrown on the medicine man and singers.

> Nabandi means putting the pollen on the medicine-man. We did not use pollen though when we just prayed by ourselves, but when we prayed to the medicine-man we used pollen. We were not praying to the medicine-man alone. We prayed to all medicine-men attending and the singers, as well as the other dancers. So it was a prayer for all of us. We did not say any words as we prayed. Those fellows knew what the throwing of the pollen meant (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:400).

While the people danced, Daslahdn sang. He started by singing gojosi ("songs which by telling stories about mythical characters insure prosperity and well-being"). Next he sang diyisi ("personal songs of great power given to the medicine-man by the Lightning People" [Goodwin and Kaut 1954:390]). Finally, in the morning he sang four more songs from the gojosi corpus.

Daslahdn held one more dance at Bylas at the end of August, then he returned to Cibecue. There he gained more followers.

Meanwhile in November of 1903, a lightning medicine man, Big John from the San Carlos Indian Reservation, began to conduct dayodiya' ceremonies. Messengers informed the Apaches that a dance was going to

be held across the river from Calva, and that it would be similar to Daslahdn's but would be preceded by sweat baths. The sweat bath was about seven feet in diameter.[2] It had four doors, each one facing one of the cardinal directions. Before the dance there was a large meal. Then the men went into the sweat bath. Before the dance began, Big John took four hoops -- one black, one blue, one yellow, and one white -- and threw them into the air. They fell, overlapping one another and forming a chain. Big John announced that because of this configuration of hoops it was possible to continue with the dance.

The ceremonial itself was a combination of the novel dayodiya' dance and a traditional "social dance." In the former, four girls with baskets of hadntin continually sprinkled the contents while men and women danced separately. Then the girls distributed hadntin to the dancers who prayed with it. Social dances were traditionally held for the entertainment of those participating and provided opportunities for dancers to display their dancing expertise. While Big John permitted the four girls carrying hadntin to participate in the social dance, he insisted that they dance with their baskets (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 399-400). The next morning Big John announced that the people should assemble in three days for another dance and at three day intervals from then on (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:391).

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2. Sweat baths about half this size were commonly used by the Apaches. "Sweat-baths were taken to get clean; to get clean was to become ceremonially "ready;" to be ceremonially "ready" was to think good thoughts, a property of the mind considered essential for successful participation in ritual activities" (Basso personal communication 1976).

While Big John was conducting dances on the San Carlos Indian Reservation, one medicine man at East Fork and another at Cedar Creek were also conducting *daɣodiɣa'* ceremonies among the White Mountain Apaches. Although there is little available information on these dances, it is clear that the movement gained most of its following on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:401). Contemporary Apache consultants recall that the East Fork and Cedar Creek medicine men told participants that after they had adopted a new mode of dress they would be taken up in a cloud while dancing. The Apaches were to wear moccasins, not shoes. The men were to wear white drawers, white shirts, white G-strings, black vests and medicine caps. Women were to wear white dresses and white blouses. Clothing was to be clean. Two reasons for wearing white clothing were given. First, it was appropriate for people entering into the holy realm. Second, it was the color of traditional Apache clothing -- tanned deerskin was almost white. Under no circumstances were the followers to wear Anglo clothing. "He never told us why he wanted it this way except that maybe if we were dressed like white men we might get left behind" (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:395). Finally, men and women were encouraged to adorn the fronts of their shirts and blouses with silver pendants. These pendants took the form of a cross attached to a crescent moon, below which hung four or five conchos (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:391-392).

Not long after the East Fork and Cedar Creek medicine men introduced the dress code for *daɣodiɣa'* followers, it was adopted by Big John on the San Carlos Indian Reservation. In 1905 Big John issued

another injunction. Every woman attending a dance was to bring three baskets: a tus (loosely woven basket covered with pitch and used for carrying water), a tats'aa (large deep basket used for carrying burdens of corn and other food), and a ts'aa' (flat bowl-like basket used for serving food or for ceremonial occasions). The baskets would be used in the world where the Apaches were going after they were "raised up" (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:392, 396).

On certain occasions Big John himself led his followers in a new dance. He stood in front of them with two girls holding baskets of hadntin, one on each side of him. Behind him men and boys, and women and girls lined up. Singing as he went, Big John led the lines on a twisted course that represented the movements of a snake (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:400). Three of the songs he sang while dancing this way have been preserved and are presented here.

niˀgosdzan	na·he·s'na·	na·he·s'na·
earth	it moves	it moves

. . . it means that the earth is moving with new life. It was what we were dancing for.

ya·diɬ xiɬ	na·he·s'na·	na·he·s'na·
black sky	it moves	it moves

. . . it means that the sky had new life and was moving about just as the earth was. . . .

ya sizi·	ya sizi·	ba·yada ɬiˀigo
sky standing	sky standing	they are talking about it (sky is being talked about)

This means that lots of people have been talking about the sky; holding all this ceremony about it (Goodwin and Kaut 1954: 402-403).

The words of the song make reference to the major tenets of daγodiγa'. The sky was to grow dark. Those who believed in the

movement would be raised off the earth in a cloud. Evil people would be left behind. Meanwhile, the earth would be changed; it would be rejuvenated. Then those who had been raised up would be lowered back onto the earth where they would live in a good land with plenty of food, no illness, and no death (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:393, 396, 404).

Big John apparently stated that the new world was for the use of "good people" whether White, Mexican, or Apache. Kaut, however, believes that this statement may have been made "explicitly for the benefit of the missionaries and reservation authorities who could still look back at the events of the "eighties and be suspicious about the intent of elaborate religious ceremonies" (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:389).

Sometime in 1905 three other medicine men began performing daγodiγa' ceremonies on the San Carlos Indian Reservation. As mentioned earlier, they were Charley Moccasin's oldest brother from Dewey Flat, Paul Nosey, and C. F. 38. While performing their own songs they were still under the direction of Big John.

By 1905 most of the medicine men involved in daγodiγa' had disciples. Big John is known to have had six. The Cedar Creek medicine man had twelve. Tasks performed by these disciples were varied. They encouraged the people to listen to the medicine man and to obey his commands; they policed the dance grounds to make sure no youths took advantage of the dance for illicit meetings. They also instructed the participants, telling them what to do, and when. Finally, the disciples conveyed messages from the medicine man to the crowd and helped him in the singing (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:394-395, 400,

403-404). Big John was reported to have spoken in an ordinary tone of voice to one of his disciples who in turn shouted the words to the crowd (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:394).

As the movement progressed, new elements were added by the various medicine men. The practice of giving dayodiya' participants new names was probably introduced by the medicine men on the Fort Apache Reservation. While some of the names made reference to physical characteristics of individuals, or to their social and economic attributes, most did not. Names given to women frequently included the Apache word for "white shell," while most of those given to men included the Apache word "turquoise." The white shell and turquoise were ceremonial items traditionally associated with the sexes. "The reason for giving new names was the same as why all the people were ordered to dress in new clothes. It was so that no connection with the past would exist" (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:396).

The Cedar Creek medicine man introduced other new elements into dayodiya'. For a while social dancing was stopped and only dayodiya' ceremonies were held. However, after participants complained that without social dances it was hard to stay awake and be enthusiastic, this practice was restored. In addition, for several dances, the Cedar Creek medicine man encouraged those in attendance to sing and dance as loudly as they could; this, he said, would speed up the anticipated event. Consultants from Carrizo insisted that they could hear the noise of dayodiya' dances all the way from Cedar Creek, a distance of over ten miles.

At San Carlos Big John also introduced additional elements to daɣodiɣa'. He ordered every man, woman, and child to carry a small pouch of hadntin at all times. These were to be tied to the front of the shirt or blouse or kept in a pocket. The pouches themselves were made from small pieces of buckskin, folded over and tied along the edges with a piece of buckskin cord. Big John informed his followers that they might have need for hadntin sometime, "so if anyone got sick, they would not be out of pollen. They would have some to put on the feet of a medicine-man along with the turquoise in the traditional way to get him to cure" (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:398). Big John encouraged the people to pray often if they expected to be raised up into the cloud on the fateful day. He also instructed the male participants to obtain new horses and saddles and bring them to the dance. The men would still own the horses and saddles in the new world but they would be improved. "Your horses will become better, and the saddles also, he said" (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:396).

By the end of 1905 the daɣodiɣa' movement was being regarded by the Cibecue Apaches with suspicion. Weary of dancing and waiting, concerned because many had spent much time participating in the movement to the neglect of economic pursuits, they began to pressure Daslahdn to bring the predicted events to pass. One winter day he called the daɣodiɣa' participants together near a wash not far from Cibecue. Proclaiming again the validity of his prophecy, the medicine man informed the crowd that he would have himself killed and in three days would come back to life. He instructed that his main disciple

should cut his head off, carry his body to a nearby ridge, lay it on a blanket, and leave it there. After three days had passed the people were to bring Daslahdn new clothes and food for by then he would be alive, ready at last to lead the people on a long journey. The disciple did what he was told. Three days later the followers approached the body only to see that it was a corpse, already partially eaten by animals. The Apaches fled in fear, leaving the remains of Daslahdn unburied. Consultants reported that for years afterwards the blanket on which the medicine man had been placed could be seen flapping in the breeze. His skeleton was said to be visible as late as 1933. With the death of Daslahdn the Cibecue Apache stopped participating in daɣodiɣa'.

Meanwhile, participants in the movement at both Cedar Creek and East Fork apparently started to become dissatisfied with daɣodiɣa'. In the opening months of 1906 the medicine man living at Cedar Creek held a large ceremony. It had been raining for several days when he called his followers together for a four-day, four-night ceremony. The medicine man, assisted by several others, proclaimed that the earth was about to come to an end. The Apaches were supposed to be dancing and singing when this happened, for only then would they be "taken up." On the morning of the fourth day they believed the moment had come; they would be raised aloft in a cloud. A fog, accompanied by drizzling rain, came in and began to cover the dancers. When the fog had surrounded the people some of them became frightened. The medicine man told the people not to fear, to keep on dancing and singing. But some

of them were terrified and began to wail. Eventually, the fog dissipated and the clouds burned off. The medicine man blamed the failure of the ascension on the fear of the people.

Suspicious of the movement, a wealthy Cedar Creek man, R-14, who possessed 'lightning power,' determined to identify the source of the 'power' used by the daɣodiya' medicine man. R-14 learned in this way that it had come from t'ciidnnant'an, 'chief of the ghosts,' a dangerous force.

> R14 up at Cedar Creek had lightning power, so he sang some lightning songs over the man who was head of the dahgodiɣah there in order to find out where his power was coming from. From this sing R-14 found out that it was not really thirty-two men in the sky telling him what to do, as he had thought, but it was one man who turned himself into thirty-two different ones just to deceive him. This was t'ci·dnnant'an and he was purposely misguiding the medicine-man to fool him. He told him that it was not the real thing at all. T'ci·dnnant'an meant to kill all us people by this. He did get all the medicine-men except Big John. The medicine man admitted that he had a dream about thirty-two people telling him things, but he would not believe R-14 about the rest and went ahead (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:403).

Although information on this point is scanty, two consultants suggested that the followers of daɣodiya' living at East Fork were beginning to exert pressure on their medicine man to produce more tangible results. Sometime in 1906 he died, apparently of natural causes. Soon after his death the Cedar Creek medicine man also died (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:394). After their deaths, daɣodiya' died out on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation.

Meanwhile, on the San Carlos Indian Reservation the death of Daslahdn and his failure to come back to life had important

repercussions. More and more Apaches began to question the movement and it generated less enthusiasm than before. Convinced, however, that the end of the world was at hand, Big John continued to hold dances. When several Apache families moved to camp near Yellow Jacket, Big John directed the construction of their wickiups. He told them to build their camps with the wickiups oriented north and south in four parallel lines. Each wickiup was to have two doors, one facing east, the other towards the west. The dwellings were oriented in such a way that when the doors of one wickiup were opened a person could see through it into the wickiup next in line. Big John ordered the families not to move into the newly constructed wickiups, because they were to be occupied only after the earth had been purged (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:394).

But Big John and the other San Carlos daγodiγa' medicine men were unable to stop the growing dissatisfaction with the movement. Several individuals who attended the dances openly expressed their disbelief in the efficacy of the ceremony (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:399, 401). One highly respected medicine man from Dewey Flats, C. J. 37, publicly stated that Big John was not to be believed for the earth was not going to be changed for some time (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:399).

After the deaths of Daslahdn and the medicine men from East Fork and Cedar Creek, the San Carlos daγodiγa' medicine men, including Big John, stopped holding dances. "I think Big John quit because he got scared for himself and thought if he kept on he would get the same thing as the three up at Fort Apache did" (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:394).

In 1907 or 1908 Paul Nosey and Charley Moccasin's brother, two daɣodiya' medicine men under Big John, also died of natural causes.

In 1910 or 1911 Big John, recently divorced and remarried, moved to Canyon Day near Fort Apache. Goodwin and Kaut (1954:394) believe that he made the move because of hostilities stimulated by his divorce. It is also possible, since the Apache frequently practiced matrilocal residence, that Big John went to Canyon Day to live with his new wife's relatives.

Apaches on the San Carlos Indian Reservation offered various reasons to explain why the predicted events failed to occur. A common explanation was that three of the medicine men had been illicitly involved with women.

> I do not know why it was that we never got there. It fell through. I guess it was all true all right, but we did not get it because Big John deserted his wife and got another one. That is the way it goes all the time. Whenever a medicine-man comes into great power and influence, he always goes wrong on a woman. Big John did. Charley Moccasin's brother was only a boy, but as soon as this thing started he got married, even though he was not old enough. Paul Nosey did the same (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:396-397).

In 1908, less than a year after Big John held his last ceremony daɣodiya' was only a memory in the minds of the Apaches.

> The next year after we quit the dance, we had great rains that washed out all the roads and cottonwood trees along the river. As soon as the floods had gone, new cottonwoods sprang up and there were wonderful crops all over. Seeds of all kinds, many acorns and grasses. But the people took only the acorns. They did not want to bother with the old-time foods. So I said jokingly to the others, "Well, all this is what we must have done all that dancing for." It seemed to me that something went wrong somewhere and that a mistake was made. Instead of a new earth being made for us, we had wonderful crops on the earth we kept living on (Goodwin and Kaut 1954:399).

CHAPTER 6

'AAɣODE'

The term 'aaɣode' is a Western Apache lexeme meaning 'it is going to happen,' and is the name applied by the Apaches to the third religious cult movement to be dealt with in this study. It began in the summer of 1916 and extended a few months into 1917. 'Aaɣode' was started by a Turkey Creek medicine man, P-1, and soon spread throughout the White Mountains, being adopted by numerous medicine men in almost every part of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Although the movement received little formal opposition from Whites it was soon abandoned because of the inability of the medicine men to produce satisfying results.

Historical Context of 'Aaɣode'

During the period extending from the end of daɣodiɣa' in 1906 or 1907 until the rise of 'aaɣode' in 1916 the Apaches on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation were under relaxed scrutiny by the military. By the turn of the century virtually all vestiges of armed conflict had been erased, and the Apache realized that only swift defeat would result from open hostilities. However, the Apaches were still feeling the disruptive effects of assimilation. To make matters worse, this was a period in which unusual and severe natural catastrophies were experienced on the reservation.

While the Apaches on the Fort Apache Reservation were allowed to engage in hunting and gathering activities, they were not able to make a living as they once had. In the Cibecue area, Apaches who before 1900 had spent the winters at lower elevations were prevented from wandering too far away from the schools, missions, and trading posts. Consequently, they were forced to spend the full year in the area around Cibecue and began participating more and more heavily in cattle raising and agriculture (Griffin, Leone, and Basso 1971).

At Fort Apache many Apaches still engaged in limited hunting and gathering, especially of traditionally important foods such as deer and acorns. However, they, too, were directed to remain fairly close to the agency. Between 1907 and 1916 the Apaches were becoming more heavily involved in wage labor and entrepreneurship. One man, Silas John Edwards, was making a healthy living during this period by skinning rattlesnakes and making belts, hat bands, and watch fobs which he sold to the Negro soldiers at Fort Apache. This same individual, along with other Apaches, also raided the nests of bees and sold honey to agency and military personnel. As was the case in the earlier period, numerous Apaches were making a living cutting firewood for the Whites on the reservation. One consultant recalled the tremendous traffic in wood during this period.

> The people down at Canyon Day used to camp on the south side of the Fort Apache up along the hill there and up on top, and they used to chop wood into three or four foot lengths and put it on a burro and then walk the burros down to the east side of Fort Apache and back there and they would stack. But the people that had wagons and horses, they would go up

> on top of ID and they would chop those trees up you know--cord size. And they would drive it into Fort Apache (female Apache consultant).

Numerous Apaches were also making a living cutting wild grasses and hay which were needed at Fort Apache and other Anglo centers. Aged consultants easily recall the spectacle made by Apaches hauling hay.

> You see the cavalry post was at Fort Apache and the Indians brought hay, day after day. You'd see loads most all on burros. Maybe you'd see six, eight, nine, burros in a row so loaded full of this fresh mountain hay that you could just see the heads and that's all of the burro (female Apache consultant).

Besides cutting wood and hay most of the Apaches living near Fort Apache were engaged in agriculture to a limited extent, planting small gardens for themselves and sometimes larger plots whose yield was sold to Whites.

With the money they earned the Apaches were able to buy items such as cloth, coffee, tobacco, and tools. However, the Indian traders charged exorbitant prices. Nevertheless, every Apache who remembers this period asserted that the people were no longer hungry. Industrious individuals had money and almost everyone had enough to eat.

As was the case in the earlier periods, disease was rampant on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation between 1907 and 1916. During this period epidemics of influenza and measles swept across the reservation. However, these were mild compared to the ominous presence of tuberculosis, eye diseases, and whooping cough. In 1911, fifty-eight percent of the White Mountain Apaches examined by agency physicians had tuberculosis, and an estimated sixty-five percent were affected by eye disease. In 1914 an estimated thirty-three percent of the Apaches

were reported to be suffering from trachoma. The next year tuberculosis was blamed for sixty percent of the reported deaths (Everett 1971:73-74). Perhaps the worst epidemics involved whooping cough and pneumonia. Reverend E. E. Guenther, the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran missionary living at East Fork, vividly reported one such epidemic that occurred in December of 1914 and the early months of 1915.

> In the early days, with the breaking out of an epidemic disease our Apaches would pack up at twilight and head for the valleys in the foothills after dark to prevent the sickness from being able to follow them.
>
> Stepping out one snowy wintry morning, I noticed an absence of campfire smoke over the camps in our neighborhood. From this I judged something to be wrong, for our Indians are early risers. . . .
>
> When we rang the school bell on the aforesaid morning only a few children put in their appearance, and from them we learned that almost every family with children had moved to a hiding place in the foothills to escape whooping cough and pneumonia. Their fears were well founded for these maladies soon swept across the entire Reservation. My wife and I spent many weary days in the saddle from morning till dark trying to find our people so that we might minister to their children. We were led to many a temporary abode by smoke rising from camp fires; others we came upon merely by chance. Having no medicines of any kind I trapped skunks, rendered the fat and mixed it with turpentine and coal-oil. To give the concoction a pleasant odor my wife added some of her precious perfume. For containers we begged extract and other bottles from the Officers' wives at Ft. Apache. For chest pads we cut up every spare piece of warm cloth on hand and when that was used up our long winter underwear was dedicated to the cause. Humanly speaking we saved the lives of many youngsters; everyone of our school children survived, but several hundred others died throughout the Reservation for lack of proper care. For weeks we were awakened almost every morning by a rifle shot announcing that another family had lost one of its little ones (E. E. Guenther 1956:112).

During times of illness and epidemic the Apache turned to their medicine men (E. E. Guenther 1929:8). However, diseases such as

measles, tuberculosis, and whooping cough were recognized by the Apaches as having been introduced by the Whites and were ailments for which the Apache had few traditional cures. Medicine men such as Big John were able to bring satisfying results for some patients. However, others were less successful. When all else failed Reverend Guenther was approached and asked to administer Anglo medicine. On one occasion a medicine man brought his deathly ill daughter to Reverend Guenther and asked him to save the child's life. He did. During this period the Apaches rarely turned for help to the agency physician. Reverend Guenther again described the situation which existed during the whooping cough and pneumonia epidemics.

> As a rule, the Indians used only little of the medicine which the white man gives to them, but this time they were longing for a person in whose hands they could have put the fate of their children. For a long time they had lost all confidence in the agency doctor. Because he is embarrassed (considering it below his dignity to be seen on horseback) he could visit almost none of the sick, and those he visited died. So the Indians were afraid to have him come because all those he looked at died afterwards. Even if they accepted something harmless from him, they immediately afterwards came to me and had me smell the medicine and make sure it was not harmful (E. E. Guenther 1915).

During the decade following the daɣodiɣa' movement agency personnel felt that one of their main tasks was to educate the White Mountain Apaches. From their point of view boarding schools were more successful than day schools because many of the Apache families were still seminomadic and frequently day school children were reported missing, having gone off with their parents.

> Well, they did have trouble keeping the children in day schools because the parents moved of necessity. They lived along the river and their fields in the summertime. And then as soon as it got cold, and their crops were in they all moved up the mountain, where they were more sheltered and there was more wood. They moved, instead of hauling the wood down, they moved closer to the source of fuel. And then in fall, you know, they would practically migrate at a certain time all down to Oak Creek Spring, that Oak Creek Flat, and gather acorns and like that. At different seasons they went to different places and gathered crops (female Anglo consultant).

Forced education was regarded with fear and suspicion by the Apaches. Numerous consultants remembering this period admitted that they were afraid to go to school because they felt they might be killed by the White people. Other consultants recalled that both parents and medicine men were opposed to sending children to school because they were needed in subsistence pursuits and feared that while in school the youngsters might become too much like White men. The medicine men were also afraid that, removed from the influence of their Apache elders, the children would have no desire to learn to become medicine men. In many respects their fears were well-founded. Mrs. Guenther, wife of the Lutheran missionary reminisced on the situation as she saw it during this period.

> But that's what the whole education was, they had to do it like the white man, believe like the white man, live like the white man. Now there was nothing wrong with the way they were living. You know many of them kept nice clean camps, they were happy with their way of doing things. They were forced to change, to live like the white man (Minnie Guenther personal communication 1974).

Nevertheless, education was made mandatory. Apache police served as truant officers. In order to evade these men, mothers often

gave explicit advice to their children on where to hide. One woman recalled that she had been told that whenever a certain Apache policeman came around she was to hide in a wash or arroyo. One day, while in hiding, it began to rain and as the water in the wash began to flow she was forced to expose her position. Other families moved high up into the mountains where the chances of their children being found were less likely. Apaches who did attend school frequently found it traumatic. Whipping was an accepted form of discipline. Finally, older students in school for the first time found themselves in the same classes as six-year old children, a source of acute embarrassment.

A few families took advantage of the educational system. Some consultants stated they were encouraged to attend school because they would be fed and clothed. One Apache recalled that at school he was issued new underwear. When he returned home on weekends he would give the garments to his brothers. Then he would return to school, get new underwear, and the process would repeat itself.

Meanwhile, the Lutheran missionaries continued their work on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. After years of instability and rapid turnover of personnel, the Lutherans found a missionary who would stay. In April, 1911, Reverend E. Edgar Guenther and his wife, Minnie, arrived in East Fork. Guenther immediately found an interpreter who spoke good English and knew some Biblical stories. Using his interpreter, Jack Keyes, Guenther preached a sermon on the Easter message. He was well received by the few Apaches in attendance. Shortly after Guenther arrived in East Fork, Otto P. Schoenberg, who

had been the teacher in the now defunct East Fork mission school, was transferred to Cibecue and in 1912 opened a school there. Able to speak Apache, Schoenberg met with moderate success. However, he was recalled in 1913 due to personal problems and replaced by Reverend Zuberbier who remained at Cibecue valley until 1919 (Brown 1963:88-89).

In 1911 Guenther was given instructions by the mission board to reopen the school at East Fork. His efforts were severely hampered by a total lack of funds and resistance from Apaches. Many Apache parents would allow their children to attend only if they were fed and clothed (Guenther 1956:93). Eventually, Guenther did open the school and parents in the vicinity found parochial education superior to boarding schools. Guenther had no authority to force attendance and parents were permitted to withdraw their children when they desired.

Besides preaching and teaching at his church and school in East Fork, Reverend Guenther spent much of his time riding from camp to camp talking to the Apaches and administering to their needs. By about 1914 he had established good relationships with most of the Apaches living near East Fork. The reasons for his acceptance were several. First, he rarely openly condemned Apache customs and practices. Like his predecessor, Mayerhoff, Guenther believed that his job was to present Christ to the Apaches and they would be led by the Holy Spirit to accept Christianity. Second, he made a serious effort to learn the Apache language. Finally, he played a role functionally analagous to that of a medicine man -- praying for the people, diagnosing, and curing their ailments. One consultant, however, noted that his family

was suspicious of Guenther because traditional medicine men received goods or money for their services while Guenther refused such payment.

Nevertheless, Guenther found himself in competition with the medicine men. Many of the local medicine men began holding dances on Sundays trying to draw the Apaches away from the Lutheran church, thereby affirming the idea that Christianity was a religion for Anglos and not Apaches.

While agents among the White Mountain Apache during this period were more tolerant of Apache customs, they still worked to change the Indian culture. According to Anglo observers, drinking was a serious problem. Police were instructed to break up _tułpai_ drinking parties and arrest Anglos who provided Apaches with liquor.

About 1915 the U. S. Indian Service encouraged the Apaches to adopt an Anglo-American system of naming. The task of "straightening out the Apache names so that members of one family would all have the same surname" fell on Vincent Natalish from New York (M. Guenther 1968a:2). Natalish first determined the Apaches genealogical relations and then designated family surnames.

Various consultants recalled that during this period the frequency of witchcraft accusations increased dramatically. Individual Apaches who committed antisocial acts, who became drunk too often, or who acted "too much like white men" were blamed for various hardships and difficulties. Similarly, several consultants noted that a division was occurring between Apaches who were willing to accept certain Anglo

practices and goods and those who refused to do so (E. E. Guenther 1956:110).

Besides a changing economic system, disease, forced education, missionization, increasing witchcraft accusations and growing factionalism among the Apaches, the period between 1907 and 1916 witnessed several unprecedented natural events. In 1910 Halley's Comet appeared in the sky. Apache consultants recall that it frightened the Indians, and medicine men were hard put to explain its existence or meaning. Other consultants also recall a time when it "rained stars," and meteorites were observed hitting the earth near Canyon Day, Amos Wash, and the North Fork River. Other meteorites were seen shooting across the sky. It is impossible to pin point this event precisely, but it was probably a meteor shower that occurred on July 19, 1912. Panic spread among the Apaches who were fearful that the earth might blow up like a bomb. (The image used by the Indians to describe this event was to liken it to the cannon being shot off at Fort Apache.) The reason given for the rain of stars was that the Apache had done something wrong, and that the deity bik'ehgo'ihi'dan was mad at them and wanted to move the earth somewhere all "busted up." To prevent this the Apache were encouraged to pray.

Three years later another frightening event occurred. On April 17, 1915, at 5:40 in the morning a major earthquake shook the White Mountains. The estimated epicenter of the quake was put at 34.4° north latitude and 115.5° west longitude, about five or ten miles south of Show Low, Arizona (Sturgul and Irwin 1971:8). One Apache recalled

that he was a boy in Carrizo when this occurred. "Early in the morning before sunrise, it was daylight already, bang, bang, bang, bang, the earthquake. And man, everybody jumped -- jumped and they wondered. Everybody ran out of their wickiup. Some of our camps slipped down, wickiups." Other consultants reported that they were awakened by the earthquake and that cans full of tułpai were overturned. The most common explanation for the earthquake was that it was the one which had been predicted earlier by the daγodiγa' prophet. It was taken as yet another indication that the earth was to be destroyed.

Nine months later, in January 1916, the White Mountain Apache experienced the heaviest falls of rain and snow that any of them could remember. The U. S. Weather Bureau reported that January of 1916 was the wettest month since the establishment of the Arizona climatological service in 1892. Precipitation fell continually from January 15th to the 21st and from the 26th through the 30th (Meaker 1916:3). A retired Army sergeant, George J. Henry, who lived along the Black River near West Poker Mountain, kept an accurate diary of the daily temperatures and precipitation. Between January 15th and 20th he measured well over twenty inches of rainfall and almost fourteen inches of snow. Meanwhile, the temperatures remained above freezing. The heavy rain and snowstorms, coupled with the high temperatures, resulted in vast flooding along most drainages in the White Mountains. Apache farms and summer wickiups were washed away, as were several houses and bridges (Guenther 1967:9).

The Apaches attributed this catastrophe to three different sources. Reverend Guenther, trying to convince the Apaches that the Christian God was the ruler over all things, proclaimed that God had sent the rain for some as yet undetermined reason. Several consultants said that they accepted this explanation. Another explanation was that some Apaches, stingy with their food resources, had been unwilling to share them with those in need. As a consequence, a giant snake, tł'iiš čo ('snake, big') came down the river bringing flood waters with him. Finally, other Apaches attributed the flood to witchcraft. One woman said that a sorcerer had been killing Apaches with his 'power.' He had killed a medicine man, she observed, and that was what caused the flood.

For all the reasons mentioned above, the period between 1906 and 1916 was characterized by considerable unrest among Apaches living on the Fort Apache Reservation. Further reduction of hunting and gathering activities, severe epidemics and widespread disease, problems with forced formal education, the unceasing efforts of Lutheran missionaries, and an increase in witchcraft accusations -- all these factors operated to produce anxiety and fear. In addition, four major natural events (Halley's comet, the meteor shower, the earthquake, and the flood) were experienced by the hapless Apaches. Less than seven months after the flood waters had subsided the 'aaɣode' movement began.

The 'Aayode' Prophets

Although the 'aayode' movement lasted for less than a year, it attracted some of the most important medicine men on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. The movement was started by P-1 at Turkey Creek and soon spread to various other medicine men throughout the reservation, including P-6, A-99, John Taylay, and unnamed medicine men in Canyon Day and Cedar Creek.

The medicine man who introduced 'aayode' was a man whose Apache name was As-ka-da-de-del-du or Es-day-daht-a-de according to military records. However, he was more commonly known as P-1, P-George, or Chief George. Little information is available on P-1 that pertains to the first thirty years of his life. Census records show that he was born in 1851. Sometime during his youth he married a White Mountain Apache woman named Nah-al-tu-lay who was born in 1853. In 1875 P-1 became the father of a son named Is-kil-al-zay or P-6. The boy later became an 'aayode' medicine man also.

Although P-1 lived in relative obscurity for three decades, the events at Cibecue in 1881 brought him to the forefront of Anglo attention. In the winter of 1880 and 1881 census taker Charles T. Connell (1921) reported that there was a band chief living on the Black River named Chief George. The members of this band, twenty-six White Mountain Apaches, had procured passes from the San Carlos agency and had moved to an area near Fort Apache. They overstayed their passes there and were designated "absent without leave." On August 30, 1881, the Battle of Cibecue took place. Within hours, news of the event reached

Chief George. The next day Apaches killed several Anglo civilians and soldiers only a few miles southeast of Fort Apache. The Indians credited with the killings included Chief Bonito and a band of four Chiricahuas, Chief George and his twenty-six member band, a few Apache "outlaws," and seven of Pedro's band, including Alchesay and Uclanny (Thrapp 1972:43). The next afternoon a group of Apaches opened fire on Fort Apache. George's band was said to have played a major role in this attack (Thrapp 1972:44). By mid-September George's band saw the futility of fighting and decided to return to the San Carlos subagency near Camp Thomas. George and Bonito agreed to go to the subagency and surrender to General Willcox. The two chiefs were temporarily paroled (Price 1881:ix-x; Thrapp 1972:46-47). Yet, only five days later, General Willcox declared an end to their parole and sent the cavalry, clad in battle attire, to arrest the chiefs and bring in their followers (Thrapp 1964:221-222). Realizing what was happening, George and his band fled into a remote area of the reservation. Later they were arrested (Thrapp 1972:49-50).

The next information on P-1 dates to 1884. On April 15 he enlisted in the Apache Scouts for a six-month tour of duty. He was described as being five feet six inches tall and about forty-three years old (which would put his birthdate at 1841 instead of 1851). Upon enlistment, George was appointed sergeant of "E" Company Indian Scouts by Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood. He was discharged at Fort Apache when his enlistment expired and was cited as "an excellent Scout." He reenlisted two more times and served again as sergeant of

"E" Company. He was finally mustered out of military service on October 31, 1885.

After this P-1 dropped out of sight for a decade. In 1895 he was listed in a White Mountain Apache census as maintaining a farm along Turkey Creek. His family possessed ten horses, eight cows and one mule, indicating that he was quite wealthy by Apache standards. The census also listed him as the brother of P-4, P-5, and P-9 who were "all no good." At some point during the next ten years his wife died. P-1 was also well-known as a medicine man to Apaches living at Turkey Creek and East Fork. Exactly what type of 'power' he had is uncertain, but it appears that his 'power' came to him in a dream. Later, and immediately before the 'aaɣode' movement began, he received another dream in which the prophecy of the movement was revealed to him. The 'aaɣode' movement began in the summer of 1916 when P-1 announced to his people that at a certain date in the fall he would lead his people to a new world. This event failed to occur and the doctrine was modified. Only a year later the followers abandoned the movement, and P-1 returned to his farm on Turkey Creek.

P-1's son, P-6, was also directly involved in the movement. He was born in 1875 and later married a White Mountain Apache girl named Na-le-ya-la. P-6 and his wife had three children, and in 1895 were living comfortably with twenty-eight horses, eight cows, and one mule. Although P-6 was a medicine man like his father the source of his 'power' is not known. In 1916 and 1917 he took an active part in the 'aaɣode' movement, particularly at Turkey Creek and East Fork.

Another medicine man who conducted 'aayode' ceremonies was A-99. His father was Uclanny who, as has been noted, played a prominent role in the events surrounding the Battle of Cibecue (Thrapp 1972: 43; Tiffany 1881:10). During his lifetime Uclanny had three wives (Cole-lay, Ne-tol-yay, and Nah-lene-cha-ne) and a total of eleven children. One of these children, a boy, was A-99 (also known as To-thlay or Chisay), born in 1877. Unfortunately, little is known of his early life, except that he married a White Mountain Apache girl named Chris-cronie who bore him a son and a daughter. On April 26, 1896, A-99 joined the Apache police force as a private. Exactly how long he worked as a policeman is unclear. Most Apaches agree that by 1915 he was a well-known and highly respected medicine man. A contemporary White Mountain Apache medicine man labeled him "a real heavy weight singer" who had 'lightning power.' In 1916, when the 'aayode' movement began, A-99 was living along the North Fork of the White River. He conducted 'aayode' ceremonies at North Fork and East Fork. After the movement stopped, he continued on as a respected medicine man.

The other major medicine man who participated in the 'aayode' movement was C-1, also known as John Taylay, from Cibecue. Taylay was born in 1865. On November 22, 1882, he enlisted as a corporal in "E" Company of the Apache Scouts. He served until January 1885, by which time he had worked his way up to the rank of first sergeant. He was described upon his discharge as "an excellent scout." In April 1887, he reenlisted in the Scouts and served for one year before being mustered out of the Army. In 1898 John Taylay enlisted in the Apache

police at the rank of private. In September 1898, the agent at Fort Apache made John Taylay Chief of the Apaches living on the Cibecue Creek.

John Taylay's first wife was called Te-go-ha. She bore him four children, one of whom died shortly after birth. Te-go-ha died in 1904 and John Taylay remarried. He became the father of three more children.

Apache consultants recall that Taylay received his 'power' through dreams. In 1916 John Taylay was living in Cibecue and was the major _'aaɣode'_ medicine man on the western end of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. After the movement stopped he continued as a medicine man and raised cattle. He died in 1940 of natural causes (Niemann 1940:129-131).

In addition to the major _'aaɣode'_ medicine men (P-1, P-6, A-99, and John Taylay) contemporary Apaches recall that other medicine men played minor roles. There was an _'aaɣode'_ medicine man at Cedar Creek who gathered a rather large following in 1916, but exactly who he was is uncertain. There was also an _'aaɣode'_ medicine man at Canyon Day.

'Aaɣode'

The White Mountain Apache term which labels the religious cult movement that occurred in 1916 and 1917 is _'aaɣode'_. It comes from the verb _'aɣo_ and roughly glosses as 'it is going to happen."

Two consultants credited John Taylay with the beginning of the _'aaɣode'_ movement, but most asserted that the founder was P-1. From

P-1 and his son P-6 the movement soon spread throughout the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. The details of the ceremonies vary from area to area, but the basic doctrine behind 'aa_ode' was everywhere the same. Participants were instructed to dress in white clothing and to participate actively in dances. At some point, followers of the movement would be lifted off the earth by one of several Apache deities or by Jesus Christ. Meanwhile, the earth would be destroyed. Those lifted up would be transported to a happy, heaven-like place known as goẑooyo -- 'goodness, where it is.' There they would live in peace. There would be no fighting, death, or hunger and the dead would be resurrected.

The 'aa_ode' movement began in June of 1916 under the leadership of P-1. P-1's initial revelation came from a large white bird which told him that in the fall, just as the flowers were beginning to wilt, the world would come to an end. There would be no more God or Devil. ". . . the dear Sun will destroy them and then forever look down upon us with its life-generating warmth" (E. E. Guenther 1916a). The former would be recognized by their appearance and behavior. First, they were to purchase small buckskin sacks filled with hadntin from P-1 and pin them to their clothing. Second, each member was to be morally and physically clean.

> . . . but P-1 also says that one has to prepare oneself. He says that we must put on white clothing, wash our heads, get rid of vermin, keep our fingernails clean; there must be an end to lying, drinking and gambling; otherwise, we will not be worthy to enter the new world with him (E. E. Guenther 1916a).

When the appointed day arrived and the projected ascension into the new world failed to occur, P-1 and his son P-6 introduced a new prophecy. On a certain Friday at a prescribed location "the long-deceased mother of an old Scout would come back to earth dressed all in white mounted on a white horse, to carry back the worthy ones to the new world" (E. E. Guenther 1956:133). After this event also failed to materialize the medicine man issued a final prophecy to the people. The believers were to gather together dressed in white. They would participate in dances and then, suddenly, they would be taken off the earth to enter a new world. P-1 and P-6 held several ceremonies near Turkey Creek and informed the participants that the fateful day would occur in the spring.

Reverend Guenther described in a mission report (1916b) the progress of 'aaɣode' in the late fall of 1916. "As long as the weather permitted, they went in masses out to Turkey Creek every Friday, neglecting everything else. The chief of all the Apaches, A-1, and others have snatched up the tune and now spread it on every end of the reservation." That winter the White Mountain Apaches made ready for the coming spring. They bought all the available white cloth from the trading posts and procured bleached flour sacks. White clothing was made for both men and women.

P-1 and P-6 made a concerted effort to keep news of 'aaɣode' from the Anglos. In the summer of 1916 anthropologist Pliny Goddard (1917) noted that a dance was scheduled but because of his presence was postponed. Similarly, Guenther noted that P-1 would not speak in the

presence of any of the parochial school children and threatened death "in hell" to anyone who disclosed some part of 'aayode' to White missionaries. Finally, when Guenther tried to purchase a bag of hadntin from P-6, the medicine man exclaimed that his supply had run out (E. E. Guenther 1916b; 1956:133).

Not all of the Apaches in the vicinity of Turkey Creek and East Fork were attracted to the teachings of P-1 and P-6. During the fall and early winter of 1916 Reverend Guenther realized that his policy of simply proclaiming the Christian message and not condemning native teachings had to be changed. He therefore vigorously instructed those Apaches living near the East Fork Mission of the spiritual dangers involved in following the 'aayode' teachings. His efforts apparently succeeded, for he later boasted that none of the school children had been "seduced" by the new teachings. Besides Guenther there were two particularly outspoken Apache critics of the movement. One was Jack Keyes, the long-time interpreter for Lutheran missionaries. Keyes refused even to discuss the subject of 'aayode' with other Apaches and by his silence indicated his disapproval of the movement. More verbal was Y-23, a close friend of Reverend Guenther. Y-23 continually joked with the followers of the movement in a sarcastic fashion. To those who followed the medicine men Y-23 said, "You can go on your way and I will become a rich man from all the ponies and cattle you will have to leave behind" (E. E. Guenther 1956:133).

By the spring of 1917 the 'aayode' movement had spread throughout the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Dances were being performed by

A-99 at North Fork, by John Taylay at Cibecue, and by several other less well-known medicine men at Canyon Day, Cedar Creek, and, perhaps, Forestdale.

Many Apaches alive today attended the dances held by P-1 and P-6 in the spring and summer of 1917. One dance was held near Chino Springs. A few days before this ritual was to be held, messengers sent by P-6 informed Apaches at Turkey Creek and East Fork that 'aayode' would occur, and that the people should prepare themselves. The men took sweat baths and women prepared white clothing. When the day arrived, many Apaches made the trip to Chino Springs. The women wore regular camp clothes over their white dresses and when they arrived at the dance ground removed the outer garments.

Those who were not able to attend were also given explicit instructions. One young woman was left behind in East Fork to mind her younger siblings while her parents made the trip to Chino Springs. She was told to clean all the children, to have them all take baths, eat, and gather around them a few possessions. The children were then instructed to sit on a large canvas which had been spread out on the ground. It was believed that when the anticipated event transpired, the children and the young girl would be lifted up on the canvas.

For those who attended the dance the procedure was different. People who danced were instructed to throw their hands up and lift their feet high into the air. They were told by P-6 that they would be lifted up off the earth in a cloud. Meanwhile, the children who ringed the dancers were told to jump up; if anything happened they

should leap on a cloud and it would take them to a happy place. The dance, however, did not produce the promised results. There was a considerable amount of uncertainty about how the dance should be performed, and, while dancing in a circle, some participants changed direction, causing confusion. P-1 and P-6 blamed the failure on mistakes made by the dancers.

Despite this apparent setback the Apaches of East Fork and Turkey Creek were not discouraged. In April of 1917 Reverend Guenther (1917) reported "The devilish influence of P-1 is felt everywhere. He has indeed instructed his people in all virtues but with the result that the whole group is more defiant, more lazy, less reliable and more obstinate against the word of God than ever before."

During the summer of 1917 P-1 and P-6 held more and more _'aayode'_ dances. The majority were conducted at a site near Turkey Creek. Some of the dances lasted for two days and nights, others lasted for four. Almost all of the ceremonies involved praying to the medicine man and blessing him and the participants with _hadntin_. An eyewitness recalled one _'aayode'_ ceremony conducted by P-6 near Turkey Creek.

> Messengers said they're going to dance four nights and we're going up to heaven. They dress us good. They use powder this yellow powder, the blue stone and the feather, and they say, "All right, let's line it up." And the medicine guys over here, and they pray for us, do the best they can. We're going up pretty soon. Don't go to bed, don't go to sleep. Four nights wait. Little kids tired--nobody go to bed. Sit there four nights four days.
>
> Oh they lie you know--those guys. Didn't do it. Finally they get mad at each other, you know, those medicine men. "You damn lie. You don't know nothing," that's what they said you know (male Apache consultant).

At this particular dance P-6 described what was to become of this earth. It was to shake violently. There would be thunderstorms, windstorms, and the ground would shake. Rocks and tall trees would fall and the earth would be destroyed.

In spite of repeated failures by the medicine men to bring about entry into a new world, the Apaches following P-1 and P-6 continued to attend the dances. However, skepticism and opposition increased. In the Whiteriver, East Fork, Seven Mile, and Canyon Day areas four Apache families openly opposed the medicine men. Their main criticism came in the form of sarcasm. A woman who was just a girl in 1917 recalled her father's opposition to a 'aaą̨ode' participant.

> There was a time up there at Turkey Creek. I remember that because my father and everybody had a crop. X had a crop right in front of Y's house on that side. And they're all gone, everybody took off except us because, see, daddy wouldn't let us go to places like that. And when he saw X (X had lot of cattle and horses and things like that and lived right on top of the mountain there) and he passed by and daddy stopped him and said, "What happened? Going up on top to see the medicine man P-6 and his father?" He said, "can I have your corn crop in case you all leave?" And X said, "ha'oo, ha'oo 'you can have it.'" And when the corn was about ready to eat, two months later, we saw them going by. It didn't happen (female Apache consultant).

William Peterson, the superintendent of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation, became troubled by the fact that Apaches were not tending their crops in 1917. He could foresee a crisis in the winter when the Apaches would go hungry. Consequently, he ordered the police to break up the meetings in an effort to put an end to 'aaą̨ode'. Nevertheless, the dances continued into September. Participants attempted to follow all directives issued by the medicine men. They dressed in white and

wore the bags of hadntin. The women decorated their skirts and blouses with black or blue moon symbols made of cloth, and wore black, white, green, and yellow silk ribbons or scarfs which represented the four sacred colors. The men dressed in white pants and shirts and some wore medicine hats. The people took their horses, food, and other valuables with them and moved up from the river valleys to Turkey Creek leaving their fields unattended. The medicine men had told them that they need not worry about the future because in the new world -- gožooyo -- there would be plenty to eat and the people would no longer have to work and sweat.

However, the dances continued to fail to produce the new world. Several consultants recall a dance held in August 1917. A large crowd gathered at Turkey Creek. After being blessed with hadntin the people began to dance in a circle. The medicine men and their helpers sang to the beat of two drums. The participants, in obedience to the medicine men's command, danced and sang loudly, holding hands. Then, suddenly, a white mist covered the dancers. It was like a great thick fog. The participants felt that they were going to go up, but they did not. The failure was blamed on one or more individuals who got scared or did not believe in the prophecy.

Apparently, the earth was not going to come to an end. Some people accused the medicine men of being liars, of having been deceived by tc'iidnnant'an. Others argued that participants had broken certain rules and thereby spoiled the dances.

Although P-1 and P-6 were the only medicine men to conduct 'aayode' ceremonies in the summer and fall of 1916, several others began holding dances in 1917. One important medicine man who held 'aayode' ceremonies in 1917 was A-99. He held dances near Haystack, Rainbow City, Alchesay Flat, and East Fork.

Little is known about the 'aayode' ceremony A-99 held near Haystack, a site about eighteen miles north of North Fork. After about a week of preparations the dance was held, but the participants did not ascend from earth. Some of those who attended speculated that the medicine man and his helpers might have spent the week before the dance having sex with several young girls who were present.

Sometime in July, 1917, several weeks after the dance near Haystack, A-99 held another 'aayode' dance near what later became known as Peterson's Sawmill, a spot about one mile north of the present community of Rainbow City. A-99 told the people that during the dance, the participants would be lifted up into a happy place while the earth would be blown up. The happy place would be one of abundant food where everyone would experience good health. People with handicaps or illnesses would be cured; there would be peace and no worries.

When the day of the dance arrived, the Apaches who planned to attend got ready. They took sweat-baths and put on white clothing. The men wore white G-strings or long underwear and those that owned medicine hats wore them. The women wore white camp dresses decorated with four black or blue crosses spaced evenly around the hem. The

dance was to last for four days and four nights during which time no one was to sleep. The ceremony began in the evening.

After the participants had arrived they lined up and A-99 put hadntin on them and prayed for them. The people also sprinkled hadntin on A-99 and prayed to him. During the entire ceremony the medicine man was accompanied by six youths and six young girls. They danced and prayed and took part in every 'aayode' ceremony conducted by A-99. On this occasion the people danced all night and the next morning again formed a line and were blessed with hadntin. After four days and nights the medicine man told the people to get ready and not to become frightened because they were going up. This was in the morning.

> They all started to pray and dance and they said it got kind of yellow, you know, like a sunset. Everywhere, everything got still. And they could see this yellow, just yellow like you turn on the light, it just got yellow. And then somebody got scared, and that yellow, that light just went out (female Apache consultant).

Late in the summer of 1917, A-99 held several 'aayode' dances at Alchesay Flat. These dances followed the same format as the one held at Peterson's Sawmill. The Apaches arrived and in the evening lined up. They were blessed with hadntin and in turn blessed and prayed to A-99. They then began to dance. The dancers, most of whom were dressed in white, took short steps and circled the fire. Meanwhile, A-99, accompanied by four drums, sang chants. He would sing a few verses, then pray, then sing again. Four times during the night the dancing stopped, and praying and blessing with hadntin took place. After the fourth night the people returned home. They were told to meet a week later and be ready to dance.

However, the end of the earth never arrived. Most of the Apaches blamed the failure on lack of belief. Some claimed that there were wicked individuals among the participants who did not believe the medicine man. Others claimed that certain individuals did not believe in the Apache deities bik'ehgo'ihi'dan, yoosn, and naaye'nez ane who had all been prayed to during the course of the ceremonies.

A-99 also bestowed new names on his followers. These names were to be used in the new world. All the names for women included Apache elements yoo' Ɫigai meaning 'bead, white' an item traditionally associated with women. One girl, for example, was named na'ilihn yoo' Ɫigai yineɫinel'ii, literally translated 'girl, bead, white, looks back at me.' Names given to men included the word for 'blue bead' or 'turquoise,' yoo dotɫiž.

According to Apache consultants, by the fall of 1917, A-99, like his Turkey Creek counterparts P-1 and P-6, was beginning to feel the pressure of dissatisfied 'aaɣode' followers. Consequently, he renewed his efforts to lead his people into the new world. He did this by changing the location of his dances to East Fork, and by adding new elements. He instructed four men, dressed in white, to ride on horses with blue, yellow, black, and white scarves tied to the horses' manes, tail and bridles. The four men would ride from North Fork to East Fork, informing the people of the forthcoming dance and warning them that the end of the earth was near. As they rode by they would not stop and talk to the people but instead would shout, "come on, come on along! We are going to tell you what the news; what the news is"

(male Apache consultant). The people were also told to take their horses and movable property into the new world.

The ceremonies themselves were typical of other 'aayode' ritual performances led by A-99. The participants, dressed in white, would arrive in the evening and line up. A-99 would bless each person with hadntin and call each person by his or her new name. The actual ceremony lasted for four days and four nights during which everyone was instructed to keep awake. A-99 told the participants that the end of the world was near, and that they would soon travel to gožooyo, the happy place. On one occasion in the fall of 1917 a dance had begun and A-99's helpers were singing. After a while the medicine man's presence was missed and the people began to search for him. Eventually they found him lying with an unmarried girl.[1] The dance immediately broke up and was never again attended. A-99's actions had betrayed him.

During the summer and fall of 1917 other medicine men besides P-1, P-6, and A-99 were conducting 'aayode' ceremonies on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. There was a medicine man from Canyon Day holding dances there as well as at a site in Bear Canyon. Unfortunately, my consultants knew very little about these ceremonies.

Neither is much information available about a medicine man who conducted 'aayode' dances at Cedar Creek. His first ceremony was held in the summer of 1917 along Amos Wash. After this he moved to the

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1. This action by A-99 constituted a severe breach of Apache custom. Medicine men were required to abstain from sex with their wives while conducting ceremonies. Furthermore, medicine men were expected to set an example for the people and be faithful to their spouses.

R-14 ranch near Cedar Creek. Prior to the dance at Cedar Creek, the medicine man sent runners to Carrizo to inform the people living there of the dance and to invite them to attend. Apaches who attended these dances were dressed in white with black, blue, white, and yellow ribbons sewn across their chests and shoulders in the form of crosses. Men who owned medicine hats wore them. The dances were held on a flat near R-14's ranch. Four posts, the tops of which were adorned with symbols representing the earth, moon, stars, and lightning, were placed in the ground. All the participants were instructed to dance within the circle defined by these posts. While the Apaches danced the medicine man sang. During the ceremony the participants were encouraged to sing loudly and dance. One consultant claimed that the noise generated at one 'aaɣode' dance was heard as far away as ten miles.

The dances at Cedar Creek near the R-14 ranch were held throughout the summer and into the fall. One of the reasons given for the failure of the prophecy was the same as in North Fork. It was reported that the medicine man had been having an affair with a woman.

Still another area of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation where 'aaɣode' ceremonies were held in the summer of 1917 was Cibecue. The medicine man conducting these dances was John Taylay, also known as C-1. Taylay reported to the people that he had received word from the supernatural through an eagle, "This earth that we live on is very, very old, useless, and it's not going to stand too long. The earth is just rotten [depleted] so it's going to be destroyed some way, and we're going to a better place" (male Apache consultant). Taylay gave

his followers eagle feathers and _hadntin_. He also had a spokesman. Consultants recall that Taylay would say something softly and his spokesman would relay the message to the crowd in a loud voice. By the fall of 1917 _'aayode'_ ceremonies at Cibecue had ceased.