

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

FORT APACHE AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT SCHOOL

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt School

Other Name/Site Number: Sakwtala (Hopi place name); Tl'oghagai (Apache place name); Fort Apache; Theodore Roosevelt Indian School; Fort Apache Historic Park / 47004 (FAIRsite).

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Approximately 4 miles south of Whiteriver, Arizona.

Not for publication:

City/Town: Fort Apache

Vicinity:

State: Arizona County: Navajo Code: 017

Zip Code: 85926

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: ___

Public-Local: ___

Public-State: ___

Public-Federal: X

Category of Property

Building(s): ___

District: X

Site: ___

Structure: ___

Object: ___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

27

16

2

45

Noncontributing

1 buildings

___ sites

27 structures

___ objects

28 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 47

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Defense	Sub:	Military Facility
	Education		School
Current:	Education	Sub:	School
	Recreation		Museum, Park

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Late 19th & 20th Century Revivals: Classical Revival
Late Victorian: Queen Anne

MATERIALS: Wood, Stone, Adobe, Stucco

Foundation: Primarily Stone

Walls: Stone, Wood Frame, Adobe, Clay Masonry, Heavy Timber

Roof: Wood Shingles, Corrugated Metal, Asphalt Shingles, Built-Up Roofing

Other:

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Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.¹**Summary**

The Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt (TR) School is nominated under NHL Criterion 1, as a property that is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to our past, and under the NHL Theme, Peopling Places. As a fort that became a school, Fort Apache/TR School provides an unparalleled site for a nuanced interpretation of the complex processes and dynamics that both shaped the Federal government's interactions with Native Americans and laid the foundations for the policies, institutions, and attitudes that define and distinguish Indian Country and much of the American West. During the mid-nineteenth century, military bases, such as Fort Apache, enabled the US Army to first defeat and then control Native populations. Following the confinement of tribes on reservations, assimilation through education became the focus of Federal Indian policy. Located on the site of the former Fort Apache, the Theodore Roosevelt School was one of 14 former forts re-developed as a school under this new policy. Among the 14 forts that became schools, Fort Apache/TR School's significant role in the history of the West marks it as one of the best sites for preserving and illustrating the strong connections between shifting and seemingly diverse Federal policies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Today, the school is a unique architectural compendium of overlapping efforts by the Federal government to address the "Indian problem" throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance

Located in central Arizona's eastern mountains, within the southeast quadrant of the White Mountain Apache Tribe's trust lands (a.k.a., Fort Apache Indian Reservation), the nominated district encompasses the sites of both the U.S. Army's Fort Apache (listed in the National Register of Historic Places on October 14, 1976) and the Theodore Roosevelt School, a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) institution created on the former post in 1923 to continue Federal Indian policy implementation.² The district encompasses 27 buildings, 16 confirmed sites, and two structures on 288 contiguous acres, plus the five-acre former military cemetery located about a quarter mile to the east.

The Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt School District retains historic character on the basis of high levels of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. The district:

- persists in its original location—a natural and largely untrammelled crossroads for transportation and settlement embedded in the Western Apache homeland and still occupied by descendants of Apache scouts;
- embodies and represents two distinctive Federal design templates—cavalry post and Indian school—in a manner that highlights each and evokes policy and practice continuities and differences between the two;
- remains unencumbered by substantial intrusions that detract from its setting and design;
- preserves numerous and diverse examples of Army and BIA structures that are replete with materials and workmanship modified only as required to accommodate policy-driven changes in district functions.

Most additions to the district since 1948 have been removed, and the place and its setting convey historic character and associations while challenging visitors. The only remaining noncontributing building within the

¹ One structure (lime kiln, #D) lost since the district's National Register listing in 1976. Two of the buildings (#17 and 24) listed in 1976 have burned. They retain integrity as archeological sites and are here proposed as contributing sites because of their interpretative and archeological values.

² Following various reorganizations, the Federal Office of Indian Affairs became the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947. Because the reorganizations are peripheral to the discussion, the most familiar referent, "BIA," is used throughout this nomination.

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district is *Nohwike' Bágowa* (House of Our Footprints), The White Mountain Apache Cultural Center and Museum, which was partially constructed ca. 1985 and rehabilitated for opening in 1997.³ The other noncontributing resources are 26 replica lamp posts and an obelisk memorial to soldiers killed in the 1881 fight with Apaches at Cibecue, discussed below.

Since 1992, the Tribal Council has established partnerships to ensure the preservation and interpretation of the district as the Fort Apache Historic Park.⁴ On February 20, 2007 BIA ceded responsibility for 24 of the district's 27 historic buildings, along with a \$12 million payment to the White Mountain Apache for management by the Fort Apache Heritage Foundation, a non-profit organization chartered by the White Mountain Apache Tribe in 1998. With the settlement agreement implemented, the U.S. (through BIA) retains management and trust responsibility for three of the historic buildings (the main TR School building, the kitchen and dining room, the now co-ed former girl's dormitory) and for the main athletic field (former military parade ground) and the primary paved roads within the district.

This nomination retains the external boundaries and resource numbering designated in Fort Apache's National Register documentation and presents as additional contributing resources the seven BIA buildings built for TR School, 1929-1948. These seven—the main school, cafeteria, BIA clubhouse, physician's quarters, a garage, and two dormitories—were less than 50 years old in 1976, when the district was listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Despite its central role in recent regional development, the district remains remote from major population centers. The nearest railroad stations are at Globe, about 50 miles southwest, at Clifton, about 60 miles southeast; at Willcox, about 140 miles south; and at Holbrook, 90 miles north. During the district's period of active military service, most supplies and personnel arrived via the Atlantic and Pacific (later Santa Fe) rail head at Holbrook, though patrol troops and the paymaster used the Southern Pacific station at Willcox, typically traveling to Fort Apache via rough roads over the Gila and Black rivers from Forts Grant and Thomas. In 2007 most travel to the district is from Phoenix (130 miles via Globe or Payson), Flagstaff (130 miles via Holbrook), Tucson (180 miles via Globe), or Albuquerque (230 miles via Springerville).⁵ Located in Navajo County (seat, Holbrook), the district is within a few miles of the borders of the other two counties sharing jurisdictions with the Fort Apache Indian Reservation—Gila (seat, Globe) and Apache (seat, St. John's). Other off-reservation communities nearby include Pinetop-Lakeside (20 miles north) and Showlow (30 miles northwest).

District Architectural Development, 1879-1948

Taken as a whole, the physical complex of Fort Apache provides numerous compelling reflections of the dynamic, 80-year history of U.S. government responses to priorities linked to its relationship with the American Indians. The Fort Apache and TR School Historic District encompasses definitive and distinctive characteristics of both a military post and a BIA boarding school. The district maps offer digitized representations of the five distinct and fully intelligible historical maps—1877, 1888, 1897, 1904, 1940 (Maps 2-6)—reduced to a roughly similar scale to facilitate comparison. The maps assist in understanding individual building histories and most site-level changes. Apparently due only to fate, the 27 surviving buildings reflect

³ John Welch, Nancy Mahaney, and Ramon Riley, "The Reconquest of Fort Apache—The White Mountain Apache Reclaims Its History and Culture, *CRM*, 23 (9).

⁴ Stan P. Schuman, Master Plan, Fort Apache Historic Park, Prepared for the White Mountain Apache Tribe and the US Bureau of Indian Affairs (1993); John R. Welch, "A Monument to Native Civilization: Byron Cummings' Still Unfolding Vision for Kinishba Ruins, *Journal of the Southwest*, 49 (1) 2007: 1-94; John R. Welch, "The White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program: Origins, Operations, and Challenges," in *Working Together: Native Americans and Archaeologists*, edited by Kurt E. Dongoske, Mark Aldenderfer, and Karen Doehner, (Washington D.C.: Society for American Archaeology, 2000), 67-83.

⁵ Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988).

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the full spectrum architectural types, styles, and functions served by buildings within the district during its period of significance. The sole exception are the hospital facilities, of which only foundation ruins and walkways remain.

The temporary camp that became Fort Apache was established May 16, 1870.⁶ Troops and officers were initially housed in tents. During 1871 and 1872, as part of a major construction campaign, log squad huts and other facilities were built to support the troops, officers, supplies, stock, and administrative functions. The Army used local pine and fir logs and imported hardware, finished lumber, and other supplies over rough wagon roads (primarily from Tucson via Camp Goodwin and San Carlos, and later, via the railroad and Holbrook). General Stoneman's 1870 letter reports that "The officers and men were living in tents, and the only houses were those used by the quartermaster and the post trader. The trader had a fine house nearly completed for a brewery and store, and was making the first lager ever brewed in that region."⁷ A letter in the *Tucson Citizen* on February 25, 1871 states that the troops were housed in cabins, with 2 Cavalry troops occupying eight cabins each, and one infantry troop in 5 cabins—a total of 21 cabins. By this time, a new company building, 30' by 100', had been completed. The Quartermaster's storehouse known to be under construction in December 1870 was also likely in use.

The buildings defined a defensible and ordered rectangle accessible at the corners, with the long axis oriented east-west and a parade ground in the center. As the Army added stables and other support functions, the toe of an "L" extended south from the rectangle's east edge. The north edge of the rectangle, located about 150 yards south of the East Fork gorge, is delineated by the externally oriented officer's row (quarters, #s 1-12). On the opposite (south) side of the parade ground was a row of enlisted men's barracks with an inward focus on internal courtyards; only the adobe ruins of the last-remaining barracks (#17) and the first guardhouse (#18) survive.

District Changes, 1876-1904. July 1, 1879, the beginning of the Army's 1880 fiscal year, marked the change from temporary Camp Apache to "permanent" Fort Apache. Only three buildings (#s 1, 15, 18) predate this change. All other structures built prior to 1879 have been lost to fire or replaced. In 1876, an adobe adjutant's office (#15) and a stone guardhouse (#18) were constructed. Most of the remaining military construction within the district was completed between 1882 and 1893. The major exceptions are the stables and granary, built in their present locations in 1904 after a 1903 fire destroyed their predecessors. In addition to the use of adobe bricks as construction materials, regionally Arabic-Hispanic influence on choices made by the district's builders include the modified central hallway or *zaguan* layout present in most of the officer's quarters and the courtyard orientation of the barracks and, later, the TR School building (#19).⁸

Will C. Barnes, post telegrapher sergeant and holder of a Congressional Medal of Honor awarded for valor in the defense of Fort Apache in the aftermath of the Cibecue battle in 1881, described the post as he remembered it in 1880:

The western military posts of those days were not forts in any sense of the word; rather they were mere camps for housing troops....The camp was laid out in a hollow square. The back doors of

⁶ Morris Harris, Camp Apache, Department of Arizona (December 1870). In Revised Outline Descriptions of the Posts and Stations of Troops in the Military Division of the Pacific, Commanded by Major-General John M. Schofield, Prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel R.O. Tyler, Deputy Quartermaster-General. Division of the Pacific Headquarters, San Francisco.

⁷ Document on file, White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office, Fort Apache All quotations and claims linked to specific documents but not to published literature citations refer to archival materials on file at the White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office, Fort Apache, Arizona.

⁸ Alison Hoagland, *Army Architecture in the West: Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D.A. Russell, 1842-1912*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 8.

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the officers' quarters, on the north side, opened into the box canyon of the river. They were all of logs, one story, and extremely primitive as to architecture and finish. To the west, the hospital, a long, rambling, whitewashed building of adobe, lay in the curve of the canyon, absolutely protected from ordinary attack. On the south side of the square ran four sets of barracks, built of slabs, but roomy and comfortable. At the southeast corner stood the stone guardhouse; next was the Quartermaster's warehouse, of slabs, and the commissary of adobe. At the northeast corner was the Adjutant's office, also of adobe. Between the Commissary and the office of Adjutant were two small log cabins; one the telegraph office, the other the operator's residence. Thus laid out, the buildings enclosed a parade ground, probably four acres in extent.

To the east stood the four cavalry stables and the Quartermaster corrals. Beyond these, and just at the tip of the hill where the road came up into the post from the east, was the Post Sutler store—a long, rambling, one-story, log and adobe building. Behind the barracks and corrals was “laundry row”—a line of nondescript structures of varied architecture and material, canvas, stone, adobe, log and slabs....As for defense, there wasn't a cannon in the post—not even a “sunset” gun. In the valley about a mile to the east was a steam saw-mill. The Post water-system was based on an immense tank-wagon, drawn by six snow-white mules. In this, the water was hauled from the river and poured into barrels standing at each set of quarters. Later on, a steam pump and gravity system was installed.⁹

In 1889 an unknown writer, probably an officer in the Quartermaster Corps, systematically described Fort Apache, including the following notes (reproduced verbatim, with omissions indicated):

The armament of the post consists of two light 12 pounder brass guns, one mountain howitzer and one Gatling gun.... The men have free access to the Post Library reading room during day and evening. Books are supplied by Quartermaster's Department. There are 651 volumes, 4 daily and 7 weekly papers, also there is a Sunday school and services are usually held on Sunday evening. Post Office and Telegraph Station at the post, the latter on Military Telegraph line, which runs hence to Fort Bowie, Arizona, via Forts Thomas and Grant (with branch from Fort Thomas to San Carlos) and crosses Western Union line at Willcox.... The occupation of the post has been continuous to date (1889) and garrisoned by from two to five companies. During the few years that have elapsed since its establishment the necessity of keeping troops in this part of the country is apparent, and steps have been taken to make this a permanent post. The post buildings, located a little south of the centre of the reservation, are sufficient to accommodate five companies of troops....

Buildings—Barracks. Five sets, four frame and one adobe; each 25 by 125 feet, with two Ls, 25 by 75 feet, and containing Squad. 1st Sergeants [quarters?], Store, Dining, Reading, Billiards and Bath Rooms and Kitchen. Porches on front and rear of main buildings. Officers' Quarters. Sixteen single sets, nine frame, one adobe, and six log. Frame and adobe contains hall, parlor, dining room, kitchen, two bed rooms, bathroom and servants room. Log house contains hall with room on each side, and kitchen in rear. Quarters on left of line have 2 additional rooms, and is occupied by the Commanding Officer.

Non-Commissioned Staff Quarters—Three separate houses for Quartermaster Sergeant, Commissary Sergeant and Hospital Steward. Hospital. Adobe, containing office, dispensary, store room, attendants room and two wards, each 24 by 40 feet, with detached dining room,

⁹ Will C. Barnes, *Apaches and Longhorns*, (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1941), 33-36.

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kitchen and bath room, main building surrounded by wide porch. The location of the post hospital is excellent and the drainage perfect. A few steps from the buildings the land slopes abruptly down to the cañons and river bottoms, so that in wet weather water cannot remain in the neighborhood longer than a few minutes. The post is adorned by a few pines and cedars which grow on the edge of the plateau, and from the door of the dispensary a fine view is obtained of the two forks of the White Mountain River, which effect their junction a few hundred yards below, after emerging from their respective cañons; this is probably the most picturesque piece of scenery about the post. Guard House, is built of dressed stone, 48 by 18 by 12 feet, and is divided into prisoner's room, 15 by 18 feet, guard room, 16 by 18 feet, officer of the guard's room, 7 1-2 by 12 feet, and three cells, 4 by 7 1-2 feet. Administration Building—Adobe, four rooms, 18 by 18 feet, and hall, 8 by 36 feet, occupied by offices of Commanding Officer, Adjutant, and Post Quartermaster. Telegraph Office—Frame, one room, 15 by 20 feet, Battery room, log 10 by 15 feet. Library, &c. frame 22 by 50 feet, contains Reading room, 22 by 22 feet, Court Martial Room, 20 by 22, Book Room, 8 by 10 feet and Hall, 8 by 12 feet. Quartermaster Storehouse—One frame building, 25 by 140 feet, with L, 25 by 60 feet, contains General store room, 25 by 115 feet, Issue and Shelf Goods Room, 15 by 25 feet, and Clothing Room 25 by 70 feet. One frame building, 24 by 60 feet, and frame Grainhouse, 24 by 150 feet. Acting Commissary of Subsistence Office and Sales Room—Frame, 18 by 30 feet, contains office, 10 by 18 feet, and Sales room 18 by 20 feet. Commissary store house, adobe, 130 by 23 by 11 feet, and cellar, 65 by 23 by 9 feet. Bakery—Frame 28 by 23 feet, contains two rooms, Work, Store and Bakers rooms. Magazine—Stone, 16 by 24 feet. Stables—Frame corrals, each 77 by 213 feet, with shed stables for four troops of cavalry, each has guard, saddle and forage rooms and saddler's shop. Quartermasters Corrals—Frame, 121 by 200 feet, with shed stables, Forage Harness and Teamster's rooms. Carpenter's Shop—Frame 40 by 20 by 10 feet. Two Blacksmith's Shops—Frame 40 by 20 feet. Packer's Quarters—Frame 14 by 38 1-2 by 9 feet, with wing of 12 by 39 feet. Laundresses Quarters, are a line of small huts, built of slabs and boards. Water is pumped from the river to reservoir on the hill, about 60 feet above parade-ground, and thence distributed to the quarters, barracks, stables and hydrants. Indians—In the vicinity of the post are White Mountain Apaches, numbering about 1500.... [They] do not receive rations and very little other assistance from the Government, except as such results from the purchase from them of hay and grain by the Quartermaster's Department. There are also between 3000 and 4000 Indian at San Carlos, 75 miles southwest of the post.¹⁰

This description provides a sense of Fort Apache up until the Army's withdrawal, when BIA Superintendent Stanion signed a receipt for 77 buildings transferred to civilian control. The significant buildings added between 1890 and 1923 include three masonry officer's quarters (#s 2, 3, 4) and the granary / hay barn (#32). The stables described in 1889 burned, and the Army replaced these ca. 1904; as of September 26, 1988, when a fire consumed one of the remaining two stables, only #25 survives. The documentary record indicates that maintenance and repair of Fort Apache's buildings and grounds deteriorated steadily after 1910 and that the post was dilapidated and almost unfit for occupancy when TR School was established in 1923.

Three Principal Structural Groupings

1. Officer's Row and Barracks Row Officer's row is the largest and most distinctive of the three building foci that define the district's character. Initial construction on officer's row, 1871-1872, was seven log huts, 18' by

¹⁰ U.S. Army, Fort Apache, Reservation Files, Fort Apache, Box 5 PI-17, Entry 464, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Records of Division 1800s-1916, (College Park, Maryland: National Archives Record Group 94).

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20'. From Girard and Young (1875) we know that six of the cabins were double units—two buildings subsequently joined by a ten-foot wide "breezeway" that was later enclosed with log walls. Kitchens were located about forty feet to the rear (north) of the living units. Only the westernmost of these log huts (#1) survives. This structure has been identified, at least since the 1930s, as "General Crook's Cabin." This cabin served as the post commander's quarters at least twice, first from about 1871 to 1874, and later, following the destruction by fire of the successor C.O. Quarters, from about 1886 to 1892. Although it is possible that Crook slept here in his capacity as Arizona's Department Commander, he never served as Fort Apache's commanding officer and would not have considered the cabin to be his quarters except on a temporary basis. A May 16, 1872 report from an unknown officer states that one of these six structures, a hospital, had recently been erected, but lacked a floor, and that the Quartermaster's storehouse did not have a roof. The same reporter also commented that the post's recently arrived sawmill (not extant) was operational but lacked a competent manager, a perennial problem that resulted in recurring shut downs and disastrous fires. Martha Summerhayes' recollections of Camp Apache in 1874 include mention of domestic life with her husband in one half of a log officer's quarters duplex near the East Fork canyon rim.¹¹ They had a small room (18' by 20') with a hall separating them from the other room. Out back was a bare detached shed that served as a kitchen. She also notes an enormous stable, several government buildings, a sutler's store, and games of tennis played at the post. The earliest frame quarters was constructed in 1874 for Camp Apache's commanding officer, bringing the number of officer's quarters to eight (seven log cabins and one frame quarters). These eight buildings stood as a linear grouping until 1882, when Congress appropriated funds for the construction of multiple, one-story frame quarters. Of the five frame units built 1882-1883, two survive, buildings #8 and #8a. By 1889, the Army had added eight more frame quarters and removed all of the old log units, except #1. Four of the 1888-1889 frame quarters remain in presentable condition: #s 6, 9, 10, and 11.

A fire in 1891 destroyed five of the frame quarters. The Army replaced these with three stone quarters in 1892, the largest of which (#4) served as the commanding officer's quarters. The three masonry and four frame units remained in use through the end of the military occupation and were assigned new uses in support of TR School operations. At various times following the site's 1923 transfer to BIA control and before about 1990, BIA renovated each of the quarters at least twice. Installations of modern bathrooms and kitchens, electricity, drop ceilings, and alternative heating systems resulted in major alterations to the quarters. Probably in conjunction with renovations, BIA reconstructed the frame quarters (except #6 and #10) on concrete slabs, generally retaining their original extramural footprints and appearances, most original construction materials, and the floor plans modified ca.1925 to provide for electrification and intramural kitchens and bathrooms. In 1930, one of the frame units was demolished to make way for a two-story stucco apartment-type building (#5) for single teachers, the "BIA Clubhouse." In 1933, TR School added a stucco masonry quarters (#12) at the eastern terminus of officer's row. Running perpendicular to officer's row and about 200 yards to the east of the adjutant's office is another linear grouping, featuring the massive adobe commissary (#13) and, to the south, the masonry guardhouse (#14), used as a powerhouse and ice plant in the early years of TR School.

The former barracks row, today dominated by the TR School administrative and cafeteria buildings, enhances the distinctive residential and authoritarian character of officer's row by mirroring the trees-road-sidewalk-trees- porches-building theme on the opposite side of the parade ground. By 1889, the Army completed the last (#17) of seven barracks along the southern edge of the parade ground. Four of these were frame buildings; three were adobe. All were of a similar size and shape, and as of 1985, all have either burned or been removed. The ruins of #17 have been partially stabilized to preserve the residual character and enhance the interpretation of barracks row.

¹¹ Martha Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

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Officer's row is a major determinant of the district's sense of place. By the 1880s, row porches and a tree-lined avenue separated quarters from the parade field. White picket fences defined front yards, contributing to the non-Indian experience of small town safety, familiarity, and harmony. A boardwalk illuminated by a row of wrought iron kerosene lamps ran between the picket fence and the rutted dirt road, with wooden sidewalks leading to each house. The BIA retained and reinforced officer's row as a distinct axis of authority by constructing a clubhouse and school physician's quarters along the row, at the same distance set back from the road. Officer's row retains and evokes historic character, presenting a tidy alignment of 12 buildings that illustrate military quarters building styles, 1872-1892, as well as TR School's two 1930s stucco buildings.

2. Stables Complex The military stable and warehouse area on the high ground at the southeast corner of the district also offers a distinctive grouping. This cluster of primarily military-era buildings rehabilitated for school uses was separated from the parade ground-focused rectangle by the East Fork Road, which runs parallel to portions of wagon roads built by the Army, 1870-71. The road first appears on the 1897 map (Map 4) and the route today serves as a major reservation arterial (BIA Route 46). Farther south, the dominant building visible when approaching this group from the north or west is the last remaining stable (#25), a frame building with a corrugated roof. A massive fire in early 1904 destroyed most of the stables area and surrounding buildings. Prior to that fire there were five stables, each with a north-south orientation. Rebuilding ensued almost immediately, and four new stables were soon ready for use. In an effort to avert a similar conflagration, the replacement stables were reoriented 90 degrees to make them perpendicular to the prevailing winds. Each building now had its roof axis running east-west and the row of buildings extended south from East Fork Road. Foundations of the removed stables (#s L, K, M) have been preserved for interpretation.

Clustered with the stable are five complementary historic structures. A new granary (#32) was also built in 1904 to replace those lost in the fire. A frame building with fire-resistant corrugated metal siding and roof, it stands east of the 1889 Quartermaster's storehouse (#30), a cement-plastered adobe with a corrugated roof. Half of the frame 1884 Quartermaster's corral (#29) with a corrugated roof survives. The 1886 sandstone and limestone magazine (#26) has a corrugated roof and shows minor modifications for use by the school as an abattoir. The 1933 school maintenance building and garage (#31) is a plastered block structure with a cement/asbestos shingle roof. After 1904, the military invested little in construction or improvements at Fort Apache. The post began a general decline. Based on comparisons of maps from the period, various buildings were lost due to fire or lack of maintenance.

3. TR School The main TR School buildings stand out from the military architecture to provide a third distinctive grouping, one that unmistakably transformed Fort Apache into a school campus while expanding its capacity to evoke Federal authority and impose new iterations of Indian policy. Major construction in support of TR School operations did not begin immediately, but by 1929 substantial modifications were underway. The four major TR School buildings, unambiguously designed to impress student entrants and their families with the integrity and magnitude of Federal power, came to dominate the east, west, and south sides of the former parade ground. The main classroom and administration building (#19), completed in 1929, is a large stucco structure built along the former barracks row, on the southern edge of the parade ground. The building's layout echoes and expands upon the double-"L" or "U-shaped" barracks' footprint, employing the open space defined by the two wings (a courtyard in the barracks) to host the TR School gymnasium.

In 1931, taking advantage of open terrain at the western reach of the former parade ground, the BIA built the girl's dormitory (#23) to further define the TR School campus. Construction became a priority when the previous girl's dorm, which had earlier served as the post hospital, burned in 1930. Opposite the girls' dormitory site, along the east end of the parade field, were two lines of buildings that had filled Army supply and administrative functions. Of these, only the adjutant's office (#15) survived the 1932 construction of a

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boy's dormitory (#16) to face the girls' facility. TR School boys had previously been housed in dilapidated barracks. Both dormitories are massive, two story, edifices made of sandstone locally quarried by masons linked to Works Progress Administration programs. The boys' building features imposing entry pillars and both dorms include quarters for staff members assigned to monitor student conduct, adjust behavior, and punish infractions. It is likely that, circa 1936, the BIA erected the entry gateposts, built of plastered red sandstone rubble, at their locations southwest of the current site (since 1997) of the Tribe's cultural center and museum. The 1940 map indicates an entry road transecting this area. In 1948, BIA constructed a stone dining room and kitchen (#21) near the school building south of the parade field, the final BIA addition to the district. It assumed the food service functions previously situated in the next-to-last remaining adobe barracks, which was located immediately to the west of the new cafeteria.

In the later 1960s, as TR School enrollments dropped and the maintenance budget declined, many of the district's buildings were demolished or abandoned to the elements. Instead of investing in the rehabilitation of the long-serving structures within the district, the BIA installed and then removed several generations of modular classroom and residential structures. The 1975 National Register nomination documents three noncontributing buildings that were removed prior to 1993: # 7, a residential trailer; # 20, a portable classroom; and # 22, another temporary facility. Also during this period the BIA demolished two senior, non-commissioned officers residences associated with the stables complex: # 27 and # 28. Available evidence suggests that the Lime Kilns (designated "D" in the 1975 National Register nomination) were either washed away or buried by the major floods that impacted central and southern Arizona and surrounding regions in September 1983.

The 1975 National Register nomination resource listings remain generally accurate and appropriate, with the following amendments. The infantry barracks (#17) and the cavalry stable (#24) burned in 1985 and 1988, respectively. These resources are here assessed and listed as contributing sites because they retain integrity in location, materials, and workmanship, including substantial above-grade wall and foundation segments as well as in-situ archaeological deposits. Both sites are important elements in the current and prospective interpretive programs. The 1975 nomination erroneously listed the cafeteria-dining hall (#21) as #19, which is the correct designation for the Theodore Roosevelt School building.

Preservation Activities since 1985

A fire in January 1985 changed the course of the district's preservation. The fire severely damaged the only surviving Army barracks, which was at the time functioning as the Tribal Cultural Center and Museum (Davisson 1977a, 1978a). Insurance money funded the shell of a replacement building at the west end of the district, the location of the post Hospital / Girl's Dormitory that had burned in 1930. The fire also refreshed recognition of the historical values of the district's structures and of the lack of BIA stewardship.

Unwilling to allow the district to deteriorate further, in 1993 the White Mountain Apache Tribe developed a *Master Plan* for the district that envisioned the creation of a historic park to facilitate and integrate historic preservation, Apache cultural perpetuation, first-person interpretation of district history, and tourism-based economic development. In 1996, building #1, the log cabin, was rehabilitated for adaptive use as an Office of Tourism for the Tribe and as exhibit space for the interpretation of military history. The 1997 opening of the Nohwike' Bágowa Cultural Center and Museum and the rehabilitation of a masonry residence (building #3) to serve as an Elders Center were crucial steps in *Plan* implementation.

In 1992, frustrated with spiraling declines in the quantities and qualities of the historic architecture the White Mountain Apache Tribe initiated a partnership with the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and

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BIA to conserve and interpret the district. Since the Tribe's adoption of the *Master Plan for the Fort Apache Historic Park*, preservation treatments to grounds and individual structures have emphasized restoration to ca. 1930, the period following district electrification and the installation of indoor bathrooms and kitchens. Recent landscape treatments respect the transformation of the military post into a school campus and also emphasize the 1930s as the decade of the most momentous and enduring alterations to the district's appearance since the 1870s. As of late 2007, the district clearly conveys historic character, while challenging visitors to explore and untangle Army and BIA contributions to the district, the White Mountain Apache People and Tribe, the Southwest, and Indian America. With preservation and interpretation programs expanding rapidly since 1993, the district's history is becoming increasingly accessible to visitors. Among the priorities under pursuit by the tribe are the identification, documentation, evaluation, and interpretation of communication links (trail and telegraph corridors) and other infrastructure that supported Army operations, as well as the detailed histories of the military buildings adopted and adapted for new uses by TR School. In the meantime, there is little on the ground that detracts from integrity and significance in the district's setting and architecture, with the loss of some early buildings reflecting the Federal government's determination to use and manipulate properties on an existing site to reflect a new purpose.

Since 1999 the former Girl's Dormitory, several more quarters, and the former Adjutant's Office have received extensive preservation treatment and been given new roles. Building #2 today serves as the tribe's Historic Preservation Office and headquarters for the Fort Apache Heritage Foundation, the nonprofit chartered by the tribe to facilitate the district's redevelopment. As the Tribe pursues the return of Fort Apache to active duty in service to the community, the district has re-emerged as a context for the negotiation of changes and the exchange of technologies. New generations of Apaches are acquiring skills relating to history and historic preservation, cultural heritage resource management and interpretation, museums, archives, and tourism-based enterprise development.

Contributing Buildings (27) (Numbered per 1975 National Register Nomination)

1. Log Cabin (Early Commanding Officer's Quarters), 1871 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 101 / 202)

Size & Roofing: 2,567 sq ft; one story; wood shingles
 Exterior Wall: Log with wood frame board and batten addition in rear
 Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 double hung wood; five panel wood
 Foundation: Sandstone with concrete masonry units for rear addition
 Uses: Probable office for Dr. Walter Reed (1877-1881); Quarters for Army and BIA personnel and Tribal trapper (1871-ca. 1964); TR School home economics building (?); Tribal museum (1965-1976, 1985-1994); Tribal tourism office with interpretive and exhibition space (1996-present)

2. Captain's Quarters, 1892 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 102 / 203)

Size & Roofing: 3,630 sq ft; one and a half story; wood shingle
 Exterior Wall: sandstone, random coursing
 Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 double hung wood; wood panel
 Foundation: Sandstone
 Uses: Quarters (1892-1920s); TR School home economics building (?-1950s); Tribal museum (1994-1997); Tribal historic preservation office (2000-present)

3. Captain's Quarters, 1892 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 103 / 204)

Size & Roofing: 3,630 sq ft; one and one half story; wood Shingle

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Exterior Wall: Sandstone, random coursing
 Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 double hung wood; wood panel
 Foundation: Sandstone
 Uses: Quarters for Army and BIA (1892-1994); Tribal elderly feeding center (1997-present)

4. Commanding Officer's Quarters, 1892 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 104 / 205)

Size & Roofing: 4,045 sq ft; two story; wood shingle
 Exterior Wall: Sandstone, random course
 Windows & Doors: Primarily 2 over 2 double hung wood; wood panel
 Foundation: Sandstone
 Uses: Commanding Officer's Quarters (1892-1922); TR School principal's quarters (1923-1980s?); WMAT education office (1980s); Interpretation (1993-present)

5. BIA Clubhouse, 1931 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 105 / 206)

Size & Roofing: 6,693 sq ft; two story; asphalt shingles
 Exterior Wall: Wood frame with cement plaster
 Windows & Doors: Primarily 6 over 6 double hung wood; wood panel
 Foundation: Sandstone
 Uses: Social space and unmarried teacher quarters (1931-1970s); Office space and Tribal juvenile court (1980s-ca. 1994); Storage and Interpretation (1994-present)

6. Officer's Quarters, 1888 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 106 / 207)

Size & Roofing: 2,434 sq ft; one story; wood shingles
 Exterior Wall: Wood frame with shiplap siding
 Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 double hung wood; Primarily four panel wood
 Foundation: Stone / brick
 Uses: Quarters for Army, BIA, School, Tribal personnel (1888-present)

8. Officer's Quarters, 1883 / 1930s (Tribal / BIA Numbers 107 / 208)

Size & Roofing: 1,952 sq ft; one story; asphalt shingles
 Exterior Wall: Wood framing with board and batten siding
 Windows & Doors: Aluminum, fixed with lower section sliders; Wood
 Foundation: Concrete
 Uses: Quarters for Army, BIA, School, Tribal personnel (1888-present)

8a. Officer's Quarters, 1883 / 1930s (Tribal / BIA Numbers 108 / 209)

Size & Roofing: 1,842 sq ft; one story; asphalt Shingles
 Exterior Wall: Wood framing with shiplap siding
 Windows & Doors: Double hung wood and aluminum; wood panel
 Foundation: Concrete and 8" CMU
 Uses: Quarters for Army, BIA, School, Tribal personnel (1883-present)

9. Officer's Quarters, 1888 / 1930s (Tribal / BIA Numbers 109 / 210)

Size & Roofing: 2,310 sq ft; one story; asphalt shingles
 Exterior Wall: Wood framing with Masonite clapboard
 Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 single hung aluminum; wood panel
 Foundation: Concrete
 Uses: Quarters for Army, BIA, School, Tribal personnel (1888-present)

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10. Officer's Quarters, 1888 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 110 / 211)

Size & Roofing: 2,130 sq ft; one story; asphalt shingles
Exterior Wall: Wood framing with shiplap siding
Windows & Doors: Double hung wood; wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Quarters for Army, BIA, School, Tribal personnel (1888-present)

11. Officer's Quarters, 1888 / 1930s (Tribal / BIA Numbers 111 / 212)

Size & Roofing: 2,410 sq ft; one story; asphalt shingles
Exterior Wall: Wood framing with Masonite clapboard
Windows & Doors: Fixed / slider aluminum; wood
Foundation: Concrete / CMU
Uses: Quarters for Army, BIA, School, Tribal personnel (1888-present)

12. BIA Physician Quarters, 1933 (Tribal / BIA Numbers: 112 / 213)

Size & Roofing: 1,579 sq ft; one story; asphalt shingles
Exterior Wall: Masonry with cement plaster finish
Windows & Doors: Steel sash casement; wood
Foundation: Brick stem wall, concrete footing
Uses: Quarters for BIA, School, Tribal personnel (1933-present)

13. Commissary Storehouse, 1889 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 113 / 214)

Size & Roofing: 7,930 sq ft; one story with basement; corrugated metal
Exterior Wall: Adobe with cement plaster finish
Windows & Doors: Wood; wood
Foundation: Sandstone and concrete
Uses: Army and BIA equipment and supply storage and distribution (1889-present)

14. Guardhouse, 1892 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 114 / 223)

Size & Roofing: 2,656 sq ft; one story; corrugated metal
Exterior Wall: Sandstone, random pattern
Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 double hung wood; wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Army post security post (1892-1922); BIA power and ice plant (ca. 1924-ca. 1960); Storage and interpretation (ca. 1960-present)

15. Adjutant's Office, 1876 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 117 / 225)

Size & Roofing: 1,637 sq ft; one story; wood shingles
Exterior Wall: Adobe with cement plaster
Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 double hung wood; wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Army administration center (1876-ca. 1920); U.S. post office (85926) (ca. 1920-present)

16. Boys' Dormitory, 1932 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 116 / 226)

Size & Roofing: 23,436 sq ft; raised two-story with full basement; asbestos shingles
Exterior Wall: Sandstone, random ashlar pattern
Windows & Doors: Steel sash; hollow metal

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Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Male student residence (1932-ca. 1979); Storage and interpretation (ca. 1980-present)

17. Enlisted Men's Barracks, 1889 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 115 / 227(A))

Size & Roofing: 9,997 sq ft; one story; None (wood shingle roof burned in 1985)
Exterior Wall: Adobe with cement plaster
Windows & Doors: Double hung wood; Wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Army barracks (1889-1922); Older male student residence (1923-1932); Leather tannery and arts and crafts studios (ca. 1933-1975); Tribe's museum (1976-1985); Interpretation (1976-present)

18. Old Guardhouse, 1876, 1929 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 115a / 227(B))

Size & Roofing: 2,656 sq ft; one story; corrugated metal
Exterior Wall: Sandstone veneer with brick / wood framing with wood siding
Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 double hung wood; wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Army post security post (1876-1892); Toilet annex for barracks and boys dorm (ca. 1893-1932); Storage and interpretation (ca. 1933-present)

19. Theodore Roosevelt School, 1929 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 118 / 229)

Size & Roofing: 20,085 sq ft; one story; asphalt Shingles
Exterior Wall: Masonry with cement plaster
Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 double hung wood; wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Use: School offices, classrooms and gymnasium (1929-present)

21. School Cafeteria / Dining Hall, 1948 (Tribal / BIA Numbers: 119 / 230)

Size & Roofing: 5,550 sq ft; one story; asphalt shingles
Exterior Wall: Sandstone, random ashlar pattern
Windows & Doors: 6 over 6 wood double hung; wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: School kitchen and cafeteria (1948-present)

23. Girls' Dormitory, 1931 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 120 / 231)

Size & Roofing: 25,780 sq ft; two story; asphalt shingles
Exterior Wall: Sandstone, random pattern
Windows & Doors: Steel sash; metal
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Girl's dormitory (1931-ca. 1990); Co-ed dormitory (1999-present)

25. Cavalry Stables, 1904 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 121 / 217)

Size & Roofing: 9,094 sq ft; one story; corrugated metal
Exterior Wall: Wood frame with board and batten siding
Windows & Doors: None; wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Stables (1904-ca. 1922); Dairy Barn (ca. 1930-ca. 1966); Storage (ca. 1966-present)

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26. Magazine, 1886 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 126)

Size & Roofing: 557 sq ft; one story; corrugated metal
Exterior Wall: Sandstone
Windows & Doors: None; none remain
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Ammunition and explosive storage (1886-1922); Butchery (ca. 1924-ca. 1966); Interpretation (1993-present)

29. Quartermaster's Corral, 1885 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 124 / 218)

Size & Roofing: 3,569 sq ft; one story; corrugated metal
Exterior Wall: Wood frame with board and batten siding
Windows & Doors: Wood shutter; wood gates
Foundation: N/A, wood post structure
Uses: Preparation of cavalry troops for field duty (1885-1922); Support for school livestock programs (ca. 1923-ca. 1969); Interpretation (1993-present)

30. Quartermaster's Storehouse, 1889 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 122 / 219)

Size & Roofing: 5,261 sq ft; one story; corrugated metal
Exterior Wall: Adobe with cement plaster
Windows & Doors: 6 pane awning wood; wood
Foundation: Sandstone
Uses: Army and BIA equipment and supply storage and distribution (1889-present)

31. School Maintenance Shop, 1933 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 123 / 222)

Size & Roofing: 2,705 sq ft; one story; asbestos shingles
Exterior Wall: Adobe / hollow clay tile and cement plaster
Windows & Doors: Steel sash; wood and steel
Foundation: Concrete
Uses: School maintenance shop and storage (1933-present)

32. Granary / Hay Barn, 1904 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 125 / 221)

Size & Roofing: 4,680 sq ft; one story; corrugated metal
Exterior Wall: Corrugated metal
Windows & Doors: None; wood sliding
Foundation: Sandstone piers
Uses: Army feed storage (1904-1922); BIA equipment and supply storage (1923-present)

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Contributing Sites (16) (Designated per 1975 National Register Nomination)**A. Stone quarry, 1874-ca. 1940**

Dispersed ca. 2-acre site of source of sandstone for construction in district and, possibly, nearby structures.

B. Reservoir, ca. 1886

Site of concrete-lined water storage for post.

C. Reservoir, date not determined (currently in use)

Steel cylinder water storage for district.

E. Petroglyphs, ca. 1000-1950

Ancient and historic animal, anthropomorphic, and geometric figures, names, and dates

F. Masonry ruins, ca. 1000-1200

Ancestral Pueblo room-block—long, narrow, rectangular remains of 4-6 rooms; archeological site.

G. Machinery foundations, ca. 1880s-1890s

Concrete and reinforced concrete walls and equipment bases marking the location of steam-powered lumber mill and pump station. Site is a featured element on the circum-district interpretive trail.

H. Old military cemetery, 1870

Site includes approximately five acres partially enclosed by a sandstone masonry wall. Diverse grave markers and depressions indicate the locations of many dozens of graves, and the site continues to receive occasional burials of veterans with close ties to Fort Apache. The Army relocated most remains of regular Army personnel, a total of 86 soldiers and 65 others, mostly dependents, to Santa Fe circa 1931.

I. Granary, ca. 1888

In situ sandstone and limestone masonry foundations with associated archaeological deposits.

J. Granary, ca. 1888

In situ sandstone and limestone masonry foundations with associated archaeological deposits.

K. Infantry stable, 1904

In situ sandstone and limestone masonry foundations with associated archaeological deposits.

L. Infantry stable, 1904

In situ sandstone and limestone masonry foundations with associated archaeological deposits.

M. Infantry stable, 1904

In situ sandstone and limestone masonry foundations with associated archaeological deposits.

O. Parade field, 1870s

Field left open after removal of the initial log squad huts; encroached on the west end by the Girl's Dormitory and on center by running track.

24. Cavalry stable, 1904 (1988 fire transformed structure into site)

In situ sandstone and limestone masonry foundations with associated archaeological deposits.

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Not formally designated. Apache scout camps, 1870-ca. 1920s

Numerous cleared areas, trash concentrations, rock piles, and an occasional rock ring (“wickiup circle”) define the areas where Apache scouts camped with their families while associated with the Fort Apache garrison. Descendants of these families continue to live in the district vicinity.

Not formally designated. Hospital, ca. 1890s

Although authoritative documentation remains elusive, it seems that heavy equipment was used to “scalp” the site (and push much of the burned refuse off adjacent escarpments) following the 1930 fire. A confusing array of concrete and sandstone walkways and other features, including possible substantial archaeological deposits remain in situ despite reuse of the site for the Cultural Center and Museum.

Contributing Structures (2) (Listed per 1975 National Register Nomination Designations)**N. Entry gate posts, ca. 1930s**

Sandstone masonry with cement plaster, red sandstone rubble core. The twin posts marking the original district gateway are 30” by 30” columns with poured concrete caps, 35” by 35” by 8”. The points of the hipped caps are about 68 inches above grade and the posts are 20 feet apart.

P. Sidewalks, ca. 1930s

Approximately 1200 linear feet of concrete walkways exist, most of which replaced and expanded earlier boardwalks and sidewalks used during the military occupation. At least some of the sidewalks were laid by the Public Works Administration and the Indian Emergency Conservation Work program of the Civilian Conservation Corps, but detailed analysis would be required to identify the various installation periods and types.

Noncontributing Building (1)***Nohwike' Bagowa* Apache Museum and Cultural Center, 1986 / 1997 (Tribal / BIA Numbers 127 / N/A)**

Size & Roofing: 7,850 sq ft; One story; Metal standing seam
 Exterior Wall: Steel frame with concrete stucco
 Doors: Steel, glass (no windows in the building)
 Foundation: Concrete

Noncontributing Structures (27)**Resource Name: Cibecue Battle Monument**

Designation: BB

Description: Memorial to soldiers killed at the Battle of Cibecue, August 30, 1881. Currently located (since 1997) near log cabin. Previously located at Cibecue (1985-1997), current location near log cabin (ca. 1971-1985), and Santa Fe National Cemetery (ca. 1931-ca. 1971), Fort Apache cemetery (ca. 1916- ca. 1931).

Resource Name: Electric Light Poles

Designation: CC

Description: 26 black metal electric light posts erected around the district, ca. 1999, to replace utility pole lighting with replicated historic fixtures.

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.**Summary**

Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt (TR) School is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 for its association with events that have made a significant contribution to the nation's past. The Fort Apache/TR School District reflects several decades of highly influential national policy targeting American Indian sovereignty, land, culture, and education. The interconnected history, contributing resources, and symbolic associations between Fort Apache and the Theodore Roosevelt School closely parallel the twists and turns in the Federal government's relationships with American Indians across eight dynamic decades. The site currently serves as a unique architectural compendium of efforts by the Federal government to address the "Indian problem" throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As a fort that became a school, Fort Apache/TR School provides an unparalleled site for the interpretation of the complex processes and dynamics that both shaped the Federal government's interactions with Native Americans and laid the foundations for the policies, institutions, and attitudes that define and distinguish Indian Country and much of the American West. During the mid-nineteenth century, military bases, such as Fort Apache, enabled the U.S. Army first to defeat and then control Native populations. Following the confinement of tribes on reservations, assimilation through education became the focus of Federal Indian policy and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) developed and maintained schools designed to "kill the Indian...and save the man." Located on the site of the former Fort Apache, the Theodore Roosevelt School was one of 14 former forts re-developed as schools under this new policy. Among the 14 forts that became schools, Fort Apache/TR School's significant role in the history of the West marks it as one of the best sites for preserving and illustrating the strong connections between shifting and seemingly diverse Federal policies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The legislative, executive, and judicial branches have each played critical roles in defining, implementing, and ending four broadly defined eras of Indian policy: *Removal* (1830-1850), *Reservation* (1850-1886), *Assimilation* (1886-1934), *Reorganization* (1934-1948), *Termination* (1948-1970), and *Self-Determination* (1970-present).¹² The United States initially pursued its Indian policy objectives through the Army, only later determining the need for a civilian agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Across the *Removal* and *Reservation* eras, the Army retained general responsibility for Indian relations and specific duties for monitoring, containing, policing, and occasionally attacking or defending Native nations. As national boundaries expanded, Native-controlled territory contracted. Even as subjugation campaigns wound down, disputes over land tenure persisted and were at the core of most conflicts with American Indians. In 1849, Congress created the Department of the Interior (and the BIA therein) and began to reserve lands for the exclusive use and benefit of Native nations. Shortly thereafter, the BIA was charged to serve as the peacetime liaison to and fiduciary for the rapidly contracting Native America.

The ongoing encounter between Native America and the United States is not, however, always easily partitioned chronologically, geographically, or thematically. The transition from military to civilian Federal authority varied in duration and character, generally depending on levels of Native resistance and qualities of Army and BIA leadership. Policies and practices dictated in Washington and interpreted in Army and BIA offices, often with great latitude, gave rise to complex and overlapping initiatives, actions, attitudes, and

¹² See, for example, Jon Reyner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); David Wilkins and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law* (Omaha: University of Nebraska, 2005).

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tangible resources. Struggles for moral and political authority within and between the Army and BIA further compounded this situation.

The Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt School District's period of national significance extends from the Army post's founding in 1870 until 1948 when assimilation gave way to termination as national Indian policy, the last TR School building was completed, and the last Apache scouts retired from the Army at Fort Huachuca. Spanning most of the *Reservation* (1850-1886), *Assimilation* (1886-1934), and *Reorganization* (1934-1948) eras in Federal Indian policy, Fort Apache marked the transition from primary determination of Indian relations by Congress through treaty ratifications to relationships determined primarily by presidential directives and executive branch policy interpretations of statutes and court decisions. Today, the district continues in use as both the TR School and the Fort Apache Historic Park. The White Mountain Apache Tribe manages the site, balancing cultural perpetuation, historic preservation, tourism-based economic development, and intercultural education and reconciliation.

During the late nineteenth century, Fort Apache became the most important base of Apache scout recruitment and operations and a crucial node in the dynamic network of forts established in support of westward American colonization. Apache scouts, who gained both national and international renown, sought peace and status through collaboration with the U.S. Army.¹³ The Army's success in enlisting men from various Western Apache bands to support campaigns against both other Western Apaches and the more resolutely resistant Chiricahua Apache profoundly affected many aspects of America's longest, costliest, and most controversial conflicts with American Indians.¹⁴ In large part due to the Apache scouts' contributions to General George Crook's relentless military campaigns in 1871-75 and 1882-86, Fort Apache played a fundamental role in the "Apache Wars," a series of military conflicts spanning the last half of the nineteenth century. Fort Apache also served as a base for Buffalo Soldiers. Four of the Army's African American regiments, specifically, the 24th and 25th Infantry and the 9th and 10th Cavalry, were associated with the Fort Apache garrison, and the Buffalo Soldiers stationed here played no small role in controlling the area for the US military.

Prior to its "surrender" to civilian authorities after World War I, Fort Apache was the last non-mechanized Army facility in the United States, anachronistically operating with notoriously undersupplied African-American soldiers and Apache scouts, and without armored or artillery units. More significantly, Fort Apache was also the last active Army fort dedicated specifically to Federal Indian policy implementation and enforcement. Fort Apache's diverse roles as a nationally significant military base have already been recognized through listing in the National Register of Historic Places, documented in historical studies, and even celebrated in popular media.

In 1923, the BIA inherited the post for use as the Theodore Roosevelt School. One of only 14 forts to become a school, Fort Apache changed names, methods and supervisors but its core mission---Indian control and assimilation---remained the same. In 1923, 250 Navajo and Hopi children replaced enlisted men as barracks occupants. The enrollment of non-Apache students and students from tribes characterized, at best, by antipathy toward one another reflected the Federal government's emphasis on breaking down tribal loyalties. Moreover, although located on Apache lands, TR School was intended to address what the government called the "Navajo situation."¹⁵ The Navajo were among the most resistant of all tribes in sending their children to Anglo-

¹³ For a full discussion, see Michael Tate, *Apache Scouts, Police, and Judges as Agents of Acculturation*, (Doctoral Dissertation, Department of History, University of Toledo, 1974); Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-1890*, (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

¹⁴ Robert Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891*, (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1973).

¹⁵ *Hearing Before Subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department, Appropriations Bill, Sixty-Seventh Congress*, (Washington DC: GPO, 1922), 187.

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American schools.¹⁶ The founding of TR School, a boarding school, at a period when the BIA was moving away from the boarding school model,¹⁷ reflected the Federal government's aggressive attempts to bring all Indian tribes, including and specifically those who had been the most resistant to Anglo-American schooling, into line. If Carlisle illustrates the starting point of the Federal government's policy of educating Indians at off-reservation boarding schools, TR School illustrates both how long-lasting this policy was and the efforts which were made to maintain this policy, even as the Federal government had begun to question this approach to Indian education and assimilation.

The BIA occupation and reuse of the post as a school co-opted and refocused the district's structured layout and feeling of military discipline through the addition of a barracks-inspired classroom building, two massive sandstone dormitories, a BIA clubhouse, a physician's quarters, a garage, and additional structural and administrative barriers separating Natives from non-Natives, students from their families, and boys from girls. Fort Apache's military culture lingered as student drill teams now marched on the former parade ground, and students now served as laborers for district farms, orchards, shops, and other infrastructure. The school did not exist in a vacuum and shifts in Federal educational policy during the 1920s, 30s, and 40s also shaped important changes at the TR School during this period.

The overlaps as well as the continuities and differences in military and civilian implementation of Federal Indian policy are clearly evident in the nominated district. Located in the heart of Indian Country, this property both embodies and compels examinations of national policy dictates in regard to American Indians.

The White Mountain Apache Tribe and the Establishment of Fort Apache

For centuries prior to the 1870 establishment of Fort Apache, the White River watershed and surrounding areas was the home of the White Mountain Apache, a group of the Ndee Nation known to anthropologists as the Western Apache. Said by most non-Indian scholars to have occupied regions today known as the Mogollon Rim and White Mountains of east-central Arizona since sometime between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, the Ndee have different perspectives on their history and social organization, regrettably little of which have been adequately recorded.¹⁸ Generally, Ndee know that they have, since time immemorial, lived on their reservation lands and adjacent territory.¹⁹

Prior to 1870, the Ndee were fiercely independent and self-sustaining. The White Mountain Apache, the easternmost of the Ndee subgroups, ranged over a wide area bracketed by the Pinaleño Mountains on the south

¹⁶ The Hopi and Navajo were among the most resistant to sending their children to Anglo-American boarding schools. Jon Reyner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 38. TR School and Fort Wingate School, founded at the same time, were both intended to address the problem of Navajo and Hopi education.

¹⁷ Although modeled on the government's first Indian boarding school (Carlisle), TR School actually opened five years after Carlisle had closed. At the time of the founding of TR School, Congressional legislators did ask why a boarding school was necessary. *Hearing Before Subcommittee of House Committee on Appropriations, Interior Department, Appropriations Bill, Sixty-Seventh Congress*, 187.

¹⁸ Noteworthy exceptions to this generalization are works by Grenville Goodwin, "A Native Religious Movement among the White Mountain and Cibecue Apache," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* (10) 1954: 385-404 and Keith Basso, *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Grenville Goodwin*, (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1970).. See also John Welch, "White Eyes' Lies and the Battle for Dzil Nchaa Si An," *American Indian Quarterly*, 27 (1) 1997: 75-109; John R. Welch, "The White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program: Origins, Operations, and Challenges" in *Working Together: Native Americans and Archaeologists*, Editors Kurt E. Dongoske, Mark Aldenderfer, and Karen Doehner, (Washington D.C.: Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C., 2000), 67-83; and John R. Welch, "'A Monument to Native Civilization,' Byron Cummings' Still-Unfolding Vision for Kinishba Ruins," *Journal of the Southwest* 49 (1) 2007: 1-94.

¹⁹ Many Ndee are perplexed, and occasionally even offended, by the "subgroups" identified by anthropologists, preferring instead to emphasize classifications of the Ndee Nation through the dialectical variations they hear and the matrilineal clan relations that structure their social relations.

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(near Safford) and by the White Mountains and Little Colorado River on the north (near Snowflake). Between 1850 and 1870, White Mountain Apaches intensively utilized farm sites along the East and North Forks of White River. Except for early spring, when farm plots were seeded in the mountains, and early fall, the time of harvest, the White Mountain Apache were often on the move. Because they could not rely on crops throughout the year, permanent residences were seldom established.²⁰

Following two centuries of episodic and generally hostile relations with Spanish and Mexican governments, regular Ndee contact with Euro-Americans began during the first half of the nineteenth century. Relations were tentative during the incorporation of Ndee territory into the U.S., which came as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. Although the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo stipulated the U.S. government responsibility for restraining Apache raids from within the expanded boundaries of the United States (Article 11), Article 2 of the Gadsden Purchase released the US. from these responsibilities. Despite the political uncertainties, Euro-American populations in and around Apache country remained low and the years immediately following the Gadsden Purchase were fairly peaceful. The Butterfield Overland Mail and the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company in Tubac made peace pacts with Mangas Coloradas, one of the last Apache leaders to command broad interregional respect and allegiance from Ndee and Chiricahua Apache groups.²¹ In 1860, with the Civil War looming, the Bascom Affair²² thrust Cochise and the Chiricahua Apache into war with the Americans. As Federal troops were withdrawn from the Southwest to fight the Confederacy, the region was left to deal with a multilateral Apache war with little prospect of nonviolent resolution.²³ Ndee warriors were frequent participants in Chiricahua Apache conflicts with Americans and Mexicans and conducted their own raiding expeditions, occasionally venturing as far south as Durango, Mexico.²⁴

Union forces reoccupied Arizona in April of 1863, bringing a renewal of efforts to contain or destroy indigenous peoples in general and the Apaches in particular.²⁵ The zone of operations in the "Apache Wars" embraced the territories of Arizona and New Mexico, western Texas, and Mexico's northern provinces. So long as populations and commercial interests remained low, the region was of secondary significance to political leaders in the United States. Hostile Apaches were few and far between; they also lacked over-arching organization. Despite these realities, enmity between Apache and Euro Americans emerged through a series of self-perpetuating cycles of offensive actions, retaliations, and punitive responses. Largely on the basis of superior knowledge of land and resources, Apaches were able to tie down sizable U.S. Army forces and to command national and international media attention for most of three decades. Apache conflicts then dominated the Southwest's political, economic, and emotional landscapes until the 1886 exile of Geronimo and all other Chiricahua Apaches to Florida and Alabama prison camps.

These conflicts left the Western Apache clinging to a fraction of their homeland in what was to become the State of Arizona. As of 2007, four Federally recognized tribes, all located in Arizona, represent the Ndee (Western Apache) cultural tradition: the San Carlos, Tonto, and White Mountain Apache Tribes, and the Yavapai-Apache Nation. Nine primary White Mountain Apache settlements exist on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Five of these settlements, and the majority of the population, cluster in the east-central part of the reservation within a ten-mile radius of Fort Apache, with Cibecue, Carrizo and Cedar Creek located well to the west, and the former logging town of McNary near the reservation's northern boundary with the Sitgreaves National Forest.

²⁰ Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), *passim*.

²¹ Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), *passim*.

²² The Bascom Affair, which began with a raid on the ranch of a Euro American in 1861, quickly escalated into a series of skirmishes, ultimately triggering the Apache Wars.

²³ See Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria*.

²⁴ See Keith Basso, *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Grenville Goodwin*.

²⁵ The Arizona territory had been seized by Confederate forces in 1861.

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Western Apache and Federal Policies of Containment and Control

Conflicts with American Indians were hardly new, but the scope and intensity of the conflicts beginning in the late 1860s, coupled with the rise of peace and reform movements in the aftermath of the Civil War, led to calls for a new Indian policy. Over the preceding decades the U.S. government had upheld few if any existing treaties and in 1871, the government formally ceased to make treaties. At the same time the Federal government was ignoring treaties made with various tribes, the Euro American-style education of Native Americans was pursued by missionaries, many of them under contract with the Federal government. One humanitarian group, the Friends of the American Indians, came to believe that the only answer to the "Indian problem" was to assimilate Native Americans into Euro American society. Education was identified as the means to accomplish this goal and added to the arsenal of tools and weapons used by the Federal government to control Native Americans.²⁶

In the aftermath of the April 30, 1871 massacre of Western Apaches living along Aravaipa Creek near Camp Grant, humanitarian concerns for American Indians became linked to the Grant administration's demands for reforms. Grant's response was to refresh and reestablish a "Peace Policy" by dispatching religiously grounded civilian and soldier diplomats to negotiate with unsubjugated Native nations. Congress suspended consideration of all Indian treaties, and the Army delayed offensive operations against Apaches, grudgingly supporting Vincent Colyer's (1872) Peace Commission visit to Arizona Territory.

Following the Civil War, and in pursuit of expanded and consolidated U.S. political and economic interests, the Army established dynamic networks that included about 70 different forts in Arizona Territory and surrounding areas.²⁷ The post planned for the southern flanks of the White Mountains was specifically intended both to provide a better location than that of the malaria-ridden Camp Goodwin on the Gila River and to limit White Mountain Apache involvement in conflicts to the east, south, and west.²⁸

In 1869, Brigadier General E.O. Ord dispatched Brevet Col. John Green on two reconnaissance trips north of the Black River. Basing his strategy on intelligence accumulated through a series of auspicious encounters with the Ndee chief Miguel and his band, Ord instructed Green to find a site "for a healthy reservation of sufficient extent to hold the friendly Apaches and afford them a field to hunt in and land to cultivate; and...report on the probable expense of establishing a post in that vicinity." On the second trip, in November, Green marched from Fort Thomas on the Gila River with a small expeditionary force. Instructed to seek and destroy "predatory hostiles," Green instead found peaceful bands of Apache farmers and a place of awesome beauty. He wrote:

I have selected a site for a military post on the White Mountain River which is the finest I ever saw.... It seems as though this one corner of Arizona were almost its garden spot, the beauty of its scenery, the fertility of its soil and facilities for irrigation are not surpassed by any place that ever came under my observation.... This post would be of the greatest advantage for the following reasons: It would compel the White Mountain Indians to live on their reservation or be driven from their beautiful country which they almost worship.... It would make a good scouting post, being adjacent to hostile bands on either side. Also, a good supply depot for

²⁶ Margaret D. Jacobs, "A Battle for the Children: American Indian Child Removal in Arizona in the Era of Assimilation," *The Journal of Arizona History* 45 2004: 31-62.

²⁷ Most of the posts were short-lived; only Fort Bliss and Fort Huachuca remain active. The historic integrity and national significance of the resulting properties is detailed in the comparative discussion that concludes this statement of significance.

²⁸ Camp Goodwin was located near a spring about two miles south of the Gila River. Today, only farmland remains on the site, along with a historic marker placed by the Bureau of Land Management that marks the original site of the camp's flagpole.

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scouting expeditions from other posts, and in fact, I believe, would do more to end the Apache War than anything else.²⁹

Green's words prove prophetic, and the White Mountain Apache's acceptance of cooperation with Army officials marked the beginning of the end of patterns of land- and clan-based lifeways that had sustained them since time immemorial.

Established as Camp Ord in 1870, Camp Apache gradually emerged as an important tactical, supply, and policing post, employed by the Army to end the independence of the Western and Chiricahua Apaches of the majority of their independence and remove them from their aboriginal lands, placing them under the jurisdiction and control of the Federal government. Following a September 7, 1871 council among Vincent Colyer and Apache leaders at Camp Apache, Grant established the White Mountain Apache Indian Reservation by Executive Order on November 9, 1871. At its maximum extent, the reservation extended 10 miles south of the Gila River and east to coincide with the territorial boundary between Arizona and New Mexico. By 1874, between 4,000 and 6,000 Apache—many of whom had been forcibly relocated—were obliged to remain within the White Mountain Apache Reservation.³⁰ Although reservation establishment represented a shift in Federal Indian policy, the establishment of Apache reservations in Arizona entailed appalling violence, with most of the casualties being Apache.³¹

By the mid 1870s, the Army had given the district the distinctive layout that persists today, with alignments and groupings of buildings and landscape elements (roads, trees, sidewalks, etc.) defining a roughly 10-acre parade ground (TR School assembly and athletic field since 1923). Radiating outward from this physical and symbolic hub for both the built and the social environment are—to the north and south, respectively—officer's and enlisted men's quarters, gardens, and kitchens, then—to the west and east, respectively—the hospital and the offices and storehouses, then—farther to the south—the shops, stables, laundress operations, and, finally, Apache scout camps and trails leading into backcountry. More generally, Fort Apache's basic plan evolved to embrace frontier fort layout conventions repeated across the American West and traceable to the Roman military compound or *castrum*.³²

The Apache Wars:

Probably the most important individual link between national policy and local implementation during the "Apache Wars" was Gen. George Crook. Crook was a relentless opponent of the Indian on the battlefield and a steadfast friend off it. He served two tours of duty in the Southwest, 1871-1875 and 1882-1886.³³ Crook's early service as the commander of the Army's Department of Arizona entailed many visits to Camp Apache. At

²⁹ Quoted in Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Chains of Command: Arizona and the Army, 1856-1875*, (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1981), 172.

³⁰ William S. Collins, Melanie Sturgeon, and Robert Carriker, *The United States Military in Arizona: 1846-1945*, (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1993), 26, 30.

³¹ John R. Welch, "White Eyes' Lies and the Battle for *Dzil Nchaa Si An*," 75-109.

³² Horst De La Croix, *Military Considerations in City Planning: Fortifications*. (New York: George Braziller, 1972); Willard B. Robinson, *American Forts*, (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1977); Alison K. Hoagland, "Architecture and Interpretation at Forts Laramie and Bridger," *The Public Historian*, 23 2001: 27-54; and Alison K. Hoagland, *Army Architecture in the West: Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D.A. Russell, 1842-1912*, (Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

³³ Charles P. Elliott, "An Indian Reservation Under General George Crook," *Military Affairs* 12 (2) 1948: 91-102; William Greenberg, *General Crook and Counterinsurgency Warfare*, (MA Thesis: US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KN, 2001), (<http://cgsc.cdmhost.com/cgi-bin/showfile.exe?CISOROOT=/p4013coll2&CISOPTR=424&filename=425.pdf>, accessed 15 December 2007).

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Camp Apache, Crook organized highly mobile strike forces under experienced officers. He then launched these forces in concerted campaigns supported by Apache scouts and mule pack trains.³⁴

Following Congress' 1866 authorization of the enlistment of up to 1000 Indian scouts (usually from "friendly" or already contained groups or from enemies of tribes targeted for Federal subjugation), Crook employed Apache scouts.³⁵ In the Tonto Basin campaign, these Apache scouts led cavalry columns in pursuit of those Western Apache remaining beyond reservation boundaries. Operations during the winters of 1872-73 and 1873-74 resulted in the subjugation of recalcitrant Apaches and in Medal of Honor presentations to 12 of the scouts.³⁶ With most Western and Chiricahua Apache respecting their reservation boundaries, Crook departed a now generally peaceful Arizona to command the Department of the Platte in 1875.³⁷

Crook's departure created a power vacuum, which was filled by less able and sometimes corrupt military and civilian representatives of the Federal government. By 1876 a familiar dynamic—friction between the War Department and the Department of the Interior over the implementation of U.S. Indian policy—was exacerbating inherent tensions between Indians and non-Indians in Arizona.³⁸ Because the Department of the Interior handled administration of Indian affairs while enforcement responsibilities remained with the Army, power struggles were common. In his 1879 Congressional testimony Crook described the situation as "having two captains on the same ship."³⁹ The ensuing lack of coordination and power struggles between the BIA and the Army created numerous problems in Apache country, obliging Crook to return to Arizona in the early 1880s.

In the years following Crook's first departure from Arizona, the reservation system favored by Grant's peace policy and made possible through Crook's vigorous military efforts had led to dramatic changes to traditional Apache lifeways. Employing Fort Apache as a center for operations, the Army now obliged Apache households to relocate to within reach of government outposts (most notably Fort Apache and San Carlos) and to rely for their subsistence on government rations.⁴⁰ Once it had the clear upper hand, the government systematically closed or reduced the size of all of the Southwest's Apache reservations, relocating all Western and Chiricahua Apaches to San Carlos by 1876.⁴¹

By 1879, when it officially became Fort Apache, the post was in the midst of a major period of construction. The virtually self-sustaining post included a steam-powered sawmill—apparently the first in eastern Arizona—stone quarry, limekiln, blacksmith shop, laundry, granary, meat plant, dairy, hospital, and bakery (only foundations and other traces of some of these facilities have survived). The soldiers also constructed water

³⁴ These tactics, subsequently adapted, remain the enduring foundations for the counterinsurgencies that have dominated US Army field operations ever since. John M. Gates, "Indians and Insurrections: The U.S. Army's Experience with Insurgency," *Parameters* 13 1983, 59-68.

³⁵ Joyce Evelyn Mason, *The Use of Indian Scouts in the Apache Wars, 1870-1886*, (Doctoral Dissertation: Indiana University, 1970).

³⁶ (www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq61-3.htm, accessed 1 May 2006).

³⁷ Martin Schmitt, Ed., *General George Crook, His Autobiography*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1960).

³⁸ Congress delegated responsibility for Indian affairs to the Secretary of War in 1789, and in 1824 created a Bureau of Indian Affairs in the War Department. When the Department of the Interior was established in 1849, Congress transferred the Indian bureau to that agency.

³⁹ Quoted in William Gardner Bell, "Winning the West: The Army in the Indian Wars, 1865-1890," *American Military History*, Army Historical Series, (Washington DC: The Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Washington, D.C. 1969), 314.

⁴⁰ Similarly, beginning in the early 1900s, after many annuity and ration programs ceased, Federal officials would oblige Apaches to abandon former settlement systems and reside in towns in order to avail their children of formal educational opportunities.

⁴¹ Keith Basso, Editor, *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Grenville Goodwin* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971) and Keith Basso, "Western Apache," *Southwest: Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 10, Alfonso Ortiz, Editor and William C. Sturtevant, General Editor, (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), 462-488.

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reservoirs and developed irrigation ditches for the gardens they planted. Reflecting a pattern found across the nation as whites and Indians came into contact with one another, the ongoing construction of the Fort's officers' quarters, barracks, cavalry stables, offices, and storehouses exposed Apaches to Euro American architecture, tools, and organizations of labor and space. For Apaches, whose culture was centered on matrilineal family groupings and wood and brush structures easily assembled (by women) in proximity to far-flung resource localities, Euro-American construction and regimentation were foreign, as were artificial geographical limits on movements and resource uses. As was true throughout the West, the U.S. Army's arrival in the White River valley also accelerated and intensified the introduction of western technology and culture to the Apaches. Everything from wagons, guns, metal knives and cooking pots to foreign concepts, including institutionalized hierarchical authority, internationally institutionalized religion, and wage labor arrived in tandem with the soldiers.⁴²

By the 1880s, employing a variant of a system Crook invented to keep track of Apache scouts, Army officials designated heads of households using "tag band" numbers and requiring the designated individuals to appear for roll calls. There, they were required to present their engraved tags for ration distribution.⁴³ The Federal policy of deliberately increasing Indian dependence on government handouts was intended to allow for greater Army and BIA control over all aspects of Indian life; the events at Fort Apache were not unique. As was true throughout Indian Country, this policy forcibly interrupted elements of tribal sovereignty, including pre-reservation systems of political authority and religion. Deriving their authority from Fort Apache, Federal officials now sought influence in Apache politics by establishing alliances with missionaries⁴⁴ and other leaders. They also engaged chosen Apaches in discussions of Federal plans and policies, often sidestepping leaders selected by Apache consent. Army, BIA, and Christian religious authorities further conspired to discourage and eradicate longstanding Apache social and spiritual observances and limit Apache control over water, mineral and timber resources, and agricultural land.

Apache Scouts and African American Soldiers at Fort Apache

Between 1871 and 1923, hundreds of Apache scouts and soldiers from all four of the African American units (9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry) served at Fort Apache. Many of these soldiers and scouts spent the majority of their time with the Army at Fort Apache, and more than a dozen scouts and at least five African American soldiers lost their lives while assigned to the Fort Apache garrison.

Deprived of traditional roles by the introduction of reservation life, some Apache men sought alternative opportunities by enlisting as civilians to serve as Army scouts. The first enlistment of these Apache scouts, Troop A, took place at Camp Apache in 1871.⁴⁵ The Fort's scouts and troops engaged in duty during Crook's Tonto Basin Campaigns (1872-74), playing a decisive role in the defeat of the Diljene (Tonto) Apache at Turret Peak on March 27, 1872. Among the notable Apache scouts at that crucial battle were Alchesay, the first widely acknowledged "chief" of the White Mountain Apache (scout enlistment and tag band number A-1), and

⁴² In addition to the Army regulars, detachments of the Quartermaster Corps, Signal Corps, and Apache scouts were usually part of the Fort Apache command. Exclusive of the Army's civilian employees and contractors (packers, teamsters, suttlers, laundresses, etc.), the number of Army personnel at the post typically varied between about 300 to 550. S.C. Agnew provides detailed information on the infantry and cavalry units that constituted the Fort Apache garrison prior to 1900. S.C. Agnew, *Garrisons of the Regular US Army, 1851-1899* (Arlington: Council on Abandoned Military Posts, Arlington, 1974).

⁴³ John G. Bourke, *On the Border With Crook*, (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1891): 213; Carl-Eric Granfelt, "Indian Scout Identification Tag," *Military Collector and Historian*, 25 (2) 1973; and Carl-Eric Granfelt, "More on Apache Band Tags," *Military Collector and Historian*, 27 (1), 1975.

⁴⁴ Leonard E. Brown, "The Arizona Apaches and Christianization: A Study of Lutheran Mission Activity, 1893-1943," (MA Thesis, Department of History, University of Arizona, 1963).

⁴⁵ Joyce Evelyn Mason, *The Use of Indian Scouts in the Apache Wars, 1870-1886*.

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Nockaydelklinne, who a decade later led a religious movement and was killed by troops from Fort Apache at the Cibecue Battle. Fort Apache scouts endured some of the most strenuous field assignments of any Army unit in the 1870s and 1880s, including pursuit into Mexico of Victorio in 1879 and Geronimo in 1883, 1885, and 1886.⁴⁶ In 1916-17 Apache scouts under Pershing's command participated in the punitive expedition into Mexico in search of Pancho Villa.⁴⁷ In addition to sending scouts, Fort Apache served as a funnel for troops and supplies into these and other field operations.

General Crook (1886) attributed much of his success during his Arizona duty tours to scouts from Fort Apache. Knowledge and skill developed through pre-reservation battles fought alongside Chiricahua warriors and raids into Mexico made Western Apache men ideal Army scouts. Hundreds of Western Apache scouts, stationed at forts Apache, Bowie, Huachuca, Verde, and elsewhere guided and served as troops in tactical operations and played central roles as peacekeepers and community liaisons within reservation boundaries.

Racial prejudice shaped the relationships between both the Army and its Apache scouts and the Army and its African American soldiers. Scouts and Buffalo soldiers generally excelled in field duties and commitments to Army goals, but often suffered for lack of officers willing to accept the challenges of commanding individuals so different from themselves in background and training.⁴⁸ Most officers believed assignment to a black regiment or scout detail would be interpreted as an indication that they were capable of commanding only "inferiors." Many preferred to remain a second lieutenant in a Euro-American regiment rather than advance as captain of a black regiment. Numerous examples indicate that when Apache scouts or African American soldiers were matched with quality officers, the results were unsurpassed. Predictably, outstanding successes of either Apache scouts or African American soldiers were typically interpreted by Army officials and civilians as reflections of superior leadership instead of unit excellence.

Reports from the Army Inspector General highlight the often miserable conditions at Western forts and suggest that Indian scouts and African American soldiers suffered the worst of the worst.⁴⁹ What little variety in food the Euro-American troops enjoyed—canned tomatoes, dried apples and peaches, molasses, potatoes, onions—was sometimes withheld from African American soldiers; Indian scouts typically received rations and equipment rejected by regulars or when scouts were dispatched for prolonged field campaigns. Although Army Quartermasters did not routinely give black regiments and scout units the lowest priority in the issuance of equipment and supplies, there are many instances of discrimination that impacted the material as well as spiritual condition of black trooper's lives.⁵⁰

Like the former slaves that made up most of the black regiments, the Apache scouts were almost completely illiterate. Generally lacking English language skills and challenged in verbal communications with officers, both Apache scouts and African American soldiers were generally obliged to entrust Euro-American officers to handle the paperwork associated with enlistments, duty and pay rolls, discipline, and performance reports. Individual Indian scouts and African American soldiers having aptitude for written English typically advanced quickly within both the Army and their respective communities.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Michael L. Tate, "'Pershing's Pets': Apache Scouts in the Mexican Punitive Expedition of 1916," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 66, (1999): 49-71.

⁴⁸ William A. Dobak and Thomas A. Phillips, *The Black Regulars, 1866-1898*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Robert Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 27.

⁵⁰ William H. Leckie, with Shirley A. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Black Cavalry in the West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 15.

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Comparable pride in military service existed among African American soldiers and Apache scouts and persists as a tradition of proud military duty among White Mountain Apache service men and women into the twenty-first century. Similar in respects to the adoption by former slaves of the surnames of individuals they admired, Apache scouts adopted the names of respected officers. Many sons of Apache scouts have followed in their footsteps, and military careers remain disproportionately popular today among Native Americans in general and Apaches in particular.⁵¹ Most of the longstanding residential clusters around the Fort Apache and TR School Historic District perimeter have military associations that began with scout enlistments.

Fort Apache's famed scouts were incorporated into the enlisted ranks on June 30, 1921 and transferred to Fort Huachuca in 1922, where a slowly dwindling number remained on Army rolls until 1947, when the Army forced the retirement of the last four.⁵² In addition to diverse photographic and documentary records of the Fort Apache scouts, there are substantial material indications of at least three "Scout's Rows" camp locations within the district: southeast of the Granary, east of the Commissary Storehouse, and on the north bank of the East Fork canyon, north of Officer's Quarters #8.

The Apache choice to serve the Army was no doubt, a result of, and a response to pressures on Apache families to become government wards. It is little wonder that, within Apache communities, serving in the military has long been regarded as one of the limited number of means for escaping a dependency mind-set and a career as a low-wage laborer or recipient of government handouts.⁵³ Scouts and other Apaches first participated in a cash economy at Fort Apache, where a sutler's store offered manufactured and processed articles for sale on a cash basis. Fort Apache scrip was also accepted at the sutler's store, and Apaches could earn cash by cutting and delivering fuel wood for heating or fresh grass to feed the Army stock.

Pratt, Carlisle, and the Military Roots of Federal Indian Education Policy

Reflecting general trends in Federal Indian policy during this period, early reports from the government agents routinely recommend establishment of schools.⁵⁴ Before 1879, when Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz reported to Congress that he welcomed discussions of non-military solutions to the "Indian problem," education was overlooked as an explicit element of Federal Indian policy. Most of Indian schools remained firmly under the control of religious institutions.⁵⁵ Schools and their personnel were increasingly viewed as potential instruments for policy implementation and education became part of the Federal government's strategy for subjugation, control, and assimilation of the Apaches and other American Indians.

The assimilation policy advocated by one religious organization, the Friends (a.k.a. Quakers), was both comprehensive and compulsory. The Friends argued for abolition of the reservation system and creation of government-run schools that would emphasize vocational training. These schools were intended to teach Native youth marketable skills, leading to self-reliance in American society. The Friends found a champion in Captain Richard Henry Pratt. With Quaker support, the government selected Pratt, a veteran of the Indian Wars, to launch a new approach to assimilation. Beginning in April 1875, Captain Pratt took charge of 72 prisoners from several tribes and transported them from the plains for imprisonment in Fort Marion, near St.

⁵¹ <http://www.army.mil/americanindians/>, accessed 10 December 2007.

⁵² Rein Vanderpot and Teresita Majewski, "Forgotten Soldiers: Historical and Archaeological Investigations of the Apache Scouts at Fort Huachuca, Arizona," *Statistical Research Technical Series* 71, (Tuscon:, Statistical Research, Inc., 1998).

⁵³ William Y. Adams and Gordon V. Krutz, "Wage Labor and the San Carlos Apache," in *Apachean Culture History and Ethnology*, Editors Keith H. Basso and Morris E. Opler, *Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona*, 21, (Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press, 1971), 115-133.

⁵⁴ Charles Cook, "A History of San Carlos and Fort Apache Indian Reservations," Defendant's Exhibit C-1, *San Carlos et al. v. United States*. Docket Number 22-H, (Washington DC: Indian Claims Commission, 1976), 29.

⁵⁵ Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education*, 72-73.

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Augustine, Florida. Pratt had twice commanded Indian scouts and believed Indians to be honorable, respectful of appropriate authority, and more than sufficiently intelligent to learn Euro-American ways. However, Pratt also consistently subordinated Indian people and culture to Euro-Americans and Euro-American culture. Pratt's belief that education could "elevate" Indians provided a seminal point of departure for nearly a century of Federal Indian education policy and practice.

Employing the Prussian military school as a model at Fort Marion, Pratt developed a "prison school" to acculturate his wards and immerse them in Euro-American culture. Pratt provided Euro-American clothing, created daily work routines to foster an appreciation for the Euro-American sense of time and labor, and obliged the prisoners to pursue opportunities to learn marketable skills and use them to make money. Pratt regarded Christianity as a crucial tool for pacification and education and held weekly prayer gatherings, eventually encouraging the prisoners to attend denominational services in St. Augustine. Pratt also saw the elimination of Native language as critical to his efforts and focused intensive instruction on English reading and writing.

The Fort Marion experiment ended in 1878, with the War Department's decision that conditions on the plains were peaceful enough to allow the "students" to return to their families. Believing that the freed prisoners would benefit from additional education, Pratt persuaded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia to accept them.⁵⁶ Twenty-two of Pratt's charges agreed to continue their education; seventeen enrolled at Hampton while the remaining five enrolled at other schools.

Pratt was also assigned to Hampton, and dedicated his brief tenure to additional experiments in Indian education. In 1879 Pratt convinced the Secretary of War to allow him to establish an Indian school at an out-of-service military post in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. On November 1, 1879, Pratt founded the multi-tribal, co-educational Carlisle Industrial Training School, designated a NHL in 1961. The school's operating goals were to isolate students from tribal cultures, encourage hard work, and promulgate a Euro-American lifestyle. The school employed military discipline to teach English, basic academics, vocational skills focused on agriculture, the importance of manual labor, and the need for remunerative employment. Pratt reinforced his approaches with an "outing system," in which student labor was contracted out to local farmers and other businesses, with the student receiving a share of their earnings. As at Fort Marion, Native languages were banned and Christianity promoted.

Although there were diverse schools scattered across Indian County prior to 1879, only through adoption of Pratt's model and its promise of assimilation as the crucial companion to rigorous control did the government make a serious and sustained commitment to Indian education.

Elected officials, who saw Carlisle as an alternative to expensive and bloody Indian Wars, joined with humanitarian and Christian reformers, who embraced Indian assimilation to rally behind Pratt and the Carlisle model for Indian education built upon military subjugation and control. In furtherance of American Indian assimilation, the General Allotment Act of 1887—more commonly referred to as the Dawes Act—incorporated the Carlisle model into Federal policy by dividing many reservations into individual Indian allotments, thus breaking down reservation boundaries and encouraging the development of public school systems. The *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1887 claims 68 boarding schools hosting 5,484 students, 90 government day schools providing for 3,115 students, and five industrial boarding schools with 1,044 students.⁵⁷ Because the Apaches were judged as ill-prepared to manage privately held real estate, their reservation lands were not allotted. Government investment in education continued to expand in the decades following the Dawes Act until the establishment of a public school system in the 1960s.

⁵⁶ Hampton was founded in 1867 to supply mechanical training to newly freed African Americans.

⁵⁷ Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education*, 73.

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Chiricahua Apache Containment and Control

By the early 1880s the “Indian Question” had been answered, conclusively, almost everywhere except Arizona. The 1881 Battle of Cibecue appeared to prove that a spirit of active resistance prevailed among the Apache. Spurred on by regional politicians and industrialists, the Federal government moved deliberately to obtain a final resolution to the recurring uncertainty.

On August 30, 1881, U.S. Army officials arrested a spiritual leader, Nockaydelklinne, thus sparking an incident which came to be known as the “Cibecue Massacre.”⁵⁸ The arrest occurred at a time of social and spiritual unrest, and led to a firefight that claimed eight troopers and approximately 18 Apaches, including Nockaydelklinne and his brother. In the skirmish, which is remembered by historians as the only recorded Indian scout mutiny and by some Apache as the scouts’ reaction to Nockaydelklinne’s unprovoked decapitation by a soldier, some Apache scouts who accompanied the cavalry apparently joined the battle against the troops.⁵⁹ The battle had enduring effects for non-Indian perceptions of Apache people in general and of Cibecue in particular. In the unrest that followed the battle, Fort Apache was briefly under siege—the only documented Apache attack on a U.S. military post. The aftermath included the apprehension of three scouts, who were tried and subsequently executed for their role in the affair.⁶⁰

The government’s first step was to deal with the immediate aftermath of the Cibecue fight. Seeking to eliminate the prospects for an escalation of the violence, Army commanders ordered massive troop movements across the Southwest. The appearance of large numbers of new soldiers across Apache country provoked unrest that would not fully dissipate until the Chiricahua surrender and removal in 1886. The most notable interim event for the Western Apache was the 1882 Battle of Big Dry Wash. In this bloody affair, a group of Apaches led troops from Fort Apache and surrounding posts on a bloody chase that culminated in a fight at Big Dry Wash, where most of the Apache resistors died.⁶¹

Following this fight, the last pitched battle between the Army and Western Apaches and the last substantial armed conflict within Arizona Territory, Fort Apache’s tactical focus shifted south, toward the resolution to the problems between the U.S. and the Chiricahua Apache. Beginning with the 1881 completion of the railroad to Holbrook, Fort Apache’s isolation and supply problems were largely solved. Fort Apache became more active in assisting Fort Bowie (NHL, 1960) and the newly established Fort Huachuca (NHL, 1976) by restricting Apache movements in general and providing supplies and troops for specific peacekeeping and field operations against the Chiricahua. In spite of improved access to construction materials, and presumably because of a resurgent national interest in concluding the conflict with the Chiricahua, there was apparently insufficient troop time available for many construction projects.

In response to ongoing Chiricahua conflicts, the Army increased the number of posts and the size of garrisons, recalling General Crook to command the Department of Arizona. Although Crook spent less time at Fort

⁵⁸ John R. Welch, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, and Mark Altaha, “Retracing The Battle Of Cibecue: Western Apache, Documentary, and Archaeological Interpretations,” *Kiva* 71 (2), 133-163.

⁵⁹ Willim B. Kessel provides two accounts, the official Army record and that of Tom Friday, the son of a participating Apache scout. William B. Kessel, “The Battle of Cibecue and Its Aftermath: A White Mountain Apache’s Account,” *Ethnohistory* 21 (2) 1974: 123-134. See also John R. Welch, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, and Mark Altaha, “Retracing The Battle Of Cibecue: Western Apache, Documentary, and Archaeological Interpretations.”

⁶⁰ Among the sources for diverse perspectives relating to the Cibecue fight are works by E. Edgar Guenther (1928), John P. Clum (1930), Smith (1956), Dan L. Thrapp (1964), Harold B. Wharfield (1971), Lori Davisson (1980), and C. Collins (1999). Grenville Goodwin and Charles Kaut (1954) and William B. Kessel (1976) place the battle in the context of a series of Apache religious movements.

⁶¹ Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria*.

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Apache than during his previous tour of Arizona duty, his 1882 return meant the beginning of a coordinated, Federal response to the Chiricahua situation and an end to many years of brazen fraud and mismanagement by civilian authorities on Apache reservations. For the Western Apache, Crook's second tour emphasized efforts to restore confidence in Federal administration among the Apaches and to encourage Apache movement along the paths of civilization. Crook also realized the futility of forcing the Chiricahua to live in close proximity to Western Apaches and sought a safe and acceptable place for the Chiricahua to live. By early 1884, Crook had arranged for about 500 surrendered Chiricahua, including Geronimo, to take up residence and farming along Turkey Creek, about seven miles southeast of Fort Apache.

But peace was short lived. As was true in the past, a misalignment of Federal and territorial policy objectives allowed powerful commercial interests to perpetuate hostilities. By 1885 Geronimo and his diminishing group of resistance fighters and supporters were back in Mexico. Crook's focus now became military, and he took to the field with large contingents of scouts, cooperating with Mexican officials to cross the border. Crook met with Geronimo just inside Mexico in March of 1886 to negotiate surrender. The terms brought in all but Geronimo and a few followers, who backed out precipitously in response to a rumor that they were to be handed over to civilian law enforcement authorities and tried for murder. When superior officers refused to back Crook in the conditions on which he had negotiated the surrender, Crook asked to be relieved of his command. General Nelson A. Miles replaced Crook, and expanded operations to the largest military force ever fielded against Native Americans. In September, Lt. Charles B. Gatewood entered Geronimo's mountain stronghold and arranged a final surrender, bringing organized conflict between the U.S. and Apaches to a close and facilitating the containment, subjugation and removal of the last free-ranging Native American group.⁶²

In his *Personal Recollections*, General Nelson A. Miles recounts his visit to Fort Apache, which he described as being situated in "a beautiful and picturesque country of lofty mountains, pine and cedar forests, and near a great rushing, roaring mountain river full of trout." Crook's successor attributes much of his decision to banish all Chiricahua from Arizona to his brief visit to the post, where he found,

over four hundred men, women, and children, belonging to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Indians, and a more turbulent, desperate, disreputable band of human beings I had never seen before and hope never to see again. The Apaches on this reservation were called prisoners of war, yet they had never been disarmed or dismounted. Some of them had a little land under cultivation on which they raised barley, out of which they manufactured 'tiswin,' a most intoxicating liquor, which has the peculiar characteristic of rousing all that is turbulent and vicious... When I visited their camp they were having drunken orgies every night, and it was perfect pandemonium. It was dangerous to go near them, as they were constantly discharging their pistols and rifles....

After fully considering the condition... I became more fully convinced than ever of the necessity of removing that band of Indians to some region remote from Arizona.⁶³

Shortly after Geronimo's surrender, a detachment of 10th Cavalry African American troopers were withdrawn from the campaign and ordered to escort the approximately 400 Chiricahua Apaches at San Carlos and Fort Apache—most of whom had remained at peace on the reservations for several years—to Holbrook, Arizona, where they were loaded on trains as prisoners of war and exiled to Florida and, later, Alabama and Oklahoma.

⁶² Dan L. Thrapp, "Evolution, Use, and Effectiveness of the Apache Indian Scouts," *Fort Huachuca Historical Museum Newsletter*, No. 4 1975: 9-10; Robert Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891*, 397.

⁶³ Nelson Miles, *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles* (New York: The Werner Company, 1896), 496-497.

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Consolidation of Federal Authority in Pursuit of Assimilation

Although Federal Indian education policy was not yet directly affecting Apache country, changes were coming. Thomas Jefferson Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1889-93) vigorously supported the Carlisle model and public school systems promoted through the Dawes Act. Upon appointment he announced: "When we speak of education of the Indians, we mean that comprehensive system of training and instruction which will convert them into American citizens, put within their reach the blessings which the rest of us enjoy, and enable them to compete successfully with the white man on his own ground and with his own methods." A Baptist minister, Morgan invoked missionary terms: "We must either fight Indians, feed them, or else educate them. To fight them is cruel, to feed them is wasteful, while to educate them is humane, economic, and Christian." Thus armed with Pratt's Carlisle model, Morgan, his cohort of President Harrison appointees, and his successors sought to develop "an orderly progression of Indian children filing first through a day school, and then through an on-reservation boarding school, before spending at least three years at an off-reservation school."⁶⁴ The obvious next step was a non-Indian life beyond reservation borders. The ultimate goals were the dissolution of distinct Native American life ways and, eventually, the dismantling of the reservations.

The assimilationist policy reflected Pratt's call "to kill the Indian but save the man." In accordance with the beliefs of the dominant Euro-American society,

Many social reformers believed [Indian] schools, buttressed with their superior machinery for remaking Indian people in the dominant American image, held the promise of a viable means of assimilation and an effective formula for solving America's venerable Indian problem. Blending strange bedfellows—elements borrowed from science and religion and joined with military strictness and Christian love—Indian educational policies were to radiate with the humanitarianism needed to lift the nation's original peoples from the miserable condition in which they had become mired.⁶⁵

As in other areas of Indian Country, when fighting subsided, educating began, and, for the Western Apache, the use of schools as vehicles for assimilation began well before establishment of TR School. As early as 1879, the Post Quartermaster report for Fort Apache lists a "school room, 20x72 feet," located in one of the log company kitchens (now demolished), along the south side of the parade ground, just behind the barracks. Again in 1882 the Post Quartermaster stated that a school was present, this time in the Adjutant General's Office (#15), which also housed a library. It is unclear for whom this school was intended but in a report on his visit to San Carlos in October 1883 as a representative of the influential Indian Rights Association, the principal of the Hampton School, S.C. Armstrong (1884) observed, "The weakest point at this agency is a lack of a boarding-school, for which adobe buildings are already provided, now used as military headquarters. The agent is opposed to opening the school, but I can see no good reason for this course."⁶⁶

A year later in 1885, another representative of the Indian Rights Association, Robert Frazer, specifically referred to the lack of education for the Apaches living near Fort Apache in his recommendation that "a school

⁶⁴ Margaret Jacobs, "A Battle for the Children: American Indian Child Removal in the Era of Assimilation," 33; See also Edwin Chalcraft, *Assimilation's Agent: My Life as a Superintendent in the Indian Boarding School System*, Editor Cary C. Collins (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi.

⁶⁶ S. C. Armstrong, *S.C. Report of a Trip Made in Behalf of the Indian Rights Association to some Indian Reservations of the Southwest* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1884).

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should be established upon the reservation at once.”⁶⁷ Apparently in prompt response, the 1886 Quartermaster report listed a salary for a teacher and the 1887 report on Fort Apache mentions a one-story frame library and schoolroom. Available documentation suggests the new school was located near one of the barracks. No unambiguous structural remains of the early educational facilities within the district have been identified, but it appears that the Army—its containment and subjugation missions largely completed and its policing efforts increasingly routine—had begun to assume limited and occasional responsibility for the education of Apaches. The 1887 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs affirms the presence, at (Old) San Carlos (about 60 miles south of Fort Apache) of a boarding school with 50 students and four teachers, but it is less clear whether BIA educational facilities were available locally.

An informal historical summary of the Chiricahua deportation included in the 1890 Inspector General report for Arizona paved the way for expansion of Native American educational opportunities by indicating the need for separation of military and civilian powers relating to Native people. The report recommended establishment of the Indian agency headquarters away from Fort Apache. Implementing this recommendation led to the creation, four miles to the north of Fort Apache, of the agency town of Whiteriver—which has become the Tribe’s seat of government. The Inspector General further suggested that a “good school should at once be established...as the Indians are in constant dread of being forced to give up their children to be sent to distant schools.” The Inspector also added, “If proper schools are opened in their midst where they can observe their children advance gradually toward civilization, the influence will be far more advantageous, and make them less distrustful by allaying the fear of separation from their families.”

The Inspector General’s recommendation concerning the placement of schools within prospective students’ communities was one of several Federal perspectives concerning Native education. While some agents regarded schools as necessary institutions for Native American advancement, others viewed Indian education as futile. In the 1890 *Reports of Agents in Arizona*, Agent P.P. Wilcox stated his opposition to establishing schools on the Apache reservations: “until the Apaches cease to be nomads and acquire some knowledge of and pleasures in such permanent habitations as are distinguishable from the lairs of wild beasts; until they have been taught to practice habits of industry that will insure for themselves and their families such simple articles of food and raiment as will entitle them to the distinction of having taken one step in the march of civilization—the introduction of books and teachers will be worse than useless.”⁶⁸

With similar vehemence, Wilcox supported off-reservation schools over on-reservation facilities, stating, “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 schoolmaster.” Apparently in disregard of Wilcox’s opinions, beginning on January 24, 1894 the first day school opened in one of Fort Apache’s unoccupied barracks, with 18 boys and 14 girls in attendance, some of them boarders. At this forerunner of the TR School, boys were taught how to take care of the grounds and work in the sawmill, water systems, and other facilities. The girls took care of making the beds, washing all clothes and linens, and cooking for their schoolmates. One part of the Fort Apache school was used as a kitchen-dining room and sleeping room for the girls and two women employees, the Cooley sisters. The other part of the building, still unfinished, was used as a sleeping room for the boys and two male employees, both Chinese-Americans, who worked as the school’s cook and laundryman.

⁶⁷ Robert Frazer, *The Apaches of the White Mountain Reservation, Arizona* (Philadelphia: Report to the Indian Rights Association, 1885).

⁶⁸ *Annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs, for the year 1890, Reports of Agents in Arizona* (Washington DC: Office of Indian Affairs, 1890), 1-14.

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Later in 1894, BIA established a permanent agency in Whiteriver, about four miles north of the post. Agency facilities eventually expanded to include a hospital, numerous employee quarters and storage facilities, and the Fort Apache (Agency) boarding school. It is likely that once this BIA agency school was in operation in Whiteriver, the school in the barracks at Fort Apache, five miles to the south, was closed to Apache students. Possibly due to a repeated confusion in the records between the Fort Apache post and the Fort Apache BIA Agency, which administered the Fort Apache School and, after 1923, the TR School as well, it is often unclear whether reports refer to the agency school in Whiteriver or Fort Apache proper.

Regardless, comments about the Apache students' school performance support the predictions of the Inspector General over the concerns of Agent Wilcox. In his 1894 *Annual Report to the Superintendent of Indian Schools*, Superintendent B.F. Jackson described the Apache students: "I have found the children to be very tractable and inquisitive. They are natural imitators and readily take to many customs of civilization. With equal opportunities for scholastic achievement, I think there are few, if any, Indian children who would make more rapid progress than the White Mountain Apache." In response to the increasing administrative burdens of BIA agency operations, and in recognition of the difficulties associated with a single Indian agency covering the entire White Mountain / San Carlos Reservation, the Congressional Act of June 7, 1897 divided the single, large (more than 3.5 million acres) Apache reservation into two separate jurisdictions of almost the same size. Cleaving the jurisdiction at the mid channel of the Black River / Salt River was intended to increase management efficiency and underscore the separation of civilian and military authorities. The division paved the way for the recognition three decades later of two separate Western Apache tribes made up of related families from the same cultural tradition.

By 1899, although school attendance was ostensibly mandatory, classroom education had become only slightly more acceptable to Apaches. Increased enforcement efforts resulted in the average attendance of 73 pupils for the year—50 boys and 23 girls—a nearly three-fold increase in five years. Unfortunately, the school was only equipped to accommodate 60 pupils. BIA estimated about 550 school-age Apache children on the reservation.⁶⁹ Within two years, the Fort Apache Day School's attendance had increased to 100, still without additions to accommodate extra students. Perhaps due to overcrowding, the 1901 school year witnessed the first reported health crisis. Early that fall, the grippe, an acute and contagious viral fever, left several students hospitalized for months. One boy died of cerebral-spinal meningitis, and tuberculosis was detected as a persistent and occasionally epidemic problem. During the 1901 fall break, six girls died in their family camps. The deaths were attributed to students' failure to adapt to the environment of their family homes; alternatively, the tragedies may have resulted from weakness or disease attributable to the crowded school conditions.⁷⁰

Federal Indian Policy, Education, and TR School

In 1901, Estelle Reel, who became head of BIA education programs in 1898 and served through 1910, concluded that previous assimilation efforts had failed and that, whatever talents an Indian child might have, BIA education had done little to cultivate, or to otherwise contribute to Native "civilization." Changing ends but not means, Reel decided to emphasize student health,⁷¹ to reprioritize vocational training over academics, and to seek to make Indians "self-supporting as speedily as possible." Reel believed that "literary instruction should be secondary, and industrial training of primary importance." Although the general increase in Indian

⁶⁹ Charles Cook, *A History of San Carlos and Fort Apache Indian Reservations*, 109.

⁷⁰ See John H. DeJong, "Unless they are kept alive:" Federal Indian Schools and Student Health, 1878-1918," *American Indian Quarterly* 31(2), 2007: 256-282.

⁷¹ Jean A. Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922*, (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002), 216.

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participation in public schools continued—driven by ongoing allotments of reservation lands—Reel focused her attention on the schools under her control.

Reel's 1901 curriculum, the *Uniform Course of Study* for Indian Schools, was modeled in part on practical learning methods employed at Tuskegee and Hampton Institute, focusing on agricultural and domestic skill development.⁷² These methods generally proved to be an effective means for encouraging the initial development and practical application of basic reading and math skills. But the challenges were limited, especially for bright students, and the methods effectively encumbered education-based economic advancement and limited the individual students and their collective communities to lower social strata. As was the case for other segregated institutions in the U.S. and around the world, the net effect of Indian education, during this period and for decades to come, was the creation and maintenance of a perpetual underclass.

Reel's 1901 *Course*, unlike Morgan's *Rules*, did allow for the teaching of Native American art forms.⁷³ The motive for these courses, however, was primarily political and economic. There was no intention or effort to promote or perpetuate cultural practices except as they added value in terms of the dominant society. Native arts were pursued in isolation from their essential cultural context and in order to satisfy the markets Reel had identified for craft products. In particular, Reel thought basket weaving and similar skills could facilitate Indian economic development and promote self-sufficiency. As early as the first grade Indian girls were taught sewing, weaving, and lace work, at the expense of English language and reading. Reel viewed arts and crafts as a more viable source of income than agriculture for tribes occupying desert lands. Although Reel left her post in 1910, prior to TR School establishment, her influence persisted in Indian boarding schools for decades. A 1915 revision of Reel's *Course* further limited the academic curriculum, drawing criticism from public school reformers. National and regional policies to integrate arts and crafts training into BIA school curricula were abandoned by the 1920s.⁷⁴

A chronicle of the many challenges to early twentieth-century Indian education in Arizona suggests only a small percentage of Native children spent significant time in any classroom and reports that from 1918 to 1921 the number of Indian children in Arizona's public schools increased from only 19 to 182.⁷⁵ BIA suspended operation of the boarding school on San Carlos Apache lands in 1882 due to local resistance. According to Watt and Basso, as the police enforced attendance at the Fort Apache School in Whiteriver and facilities expanded, "by 1910, Apache police rode west from Fort Apache to hunt down children at Cibecue and Oak Creek, more than thirty miles away—a healthy distance on horseback and, for the youngsters, a grim eternity."⁷⁶ In part because of truancy problems, the 1906 annual report of the Fort Apache Agency Superintendent, C.W. Crouse, asserted: "For Apaches, the day school is not as profitable as the boarding school. Fully 95% of Apaches do not want school of any kind, and that particular kind that requires the least of them is the most popular." Such a view seems to have run counter to the prevailing BIA policy of day school creation (there were four on White Mountain Apache lands by 1910).

⁷² Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education*, 98-99.

⁷³ See K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Tersea L. McCarty, *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ James E. Officer, *Indians in School: A Study of the Development of Educational Facilities for Arizona Indians*, (Tuscon: American Indian Series Number 1, Bureau of Ethnic Research, University of Arizona, 1956), 14.

⁷⁶ Eva Wat and Keith H. Basso, *Don't Let the Sun Step Over You*, (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 2004): 306 n.12.

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By 1918 the BIA operated for the White Mountain Apaches one boarding school and three day schools for students through sixth grade.⁷⁷ The Lutherans operated two mission day schools. The total capacity was 450, leaving about 75 eligible students without a place on a roster. In the same year, the new boys' dormitory at the Fort Apache School in Whiteriver burned with all of its contents. The event obliged reuse of inadequate residential facilities for the boys. By 1926, reportedly in response to community requests, BIA expanded curriculum at their schools to include seventh and eighth grades.

The lack of educational success perceived by BIA officials through the creation of day schools may have contributed to the next major policy initiative for Federally sanctioned Native American education on the White Mountain Apache Indian Reservation—the establishment of Theodore Roosevelt Indian Boarding School. By 1921 there were reports that Fort Apache was soon to be decommissioned. The response included vehement objections from contractors and businesses linked to Fort Apache.⁷⁸ Other Federal agencies offered proposals to make use of the about-to-be relinquished Army facility. Both the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior presented bids to Army officials. At several Western forts—notably Fort Lewis, outside of Durango, Colorado—Department of Agriculture proposals prevailed; at Fort Apache, Interior won. The following correspondence from the Secretary of the Department of the Interior to the Secretary of War, dated July 26, 1922, outlined plans for the reuse of Fort Apache.

If the retention of the Post be not absolutely essential for military purposes, I wish to request that the entire property be duly set aside for the use in the establishment of an Indian training school for Indian youth in accordance with the Act cited.⁷⁹

On November 13, 1922, Fort Apache Agency School Superintendent Ralph P. Stanion wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, enthusiastically supporting reuse of the military reserve for a new school complex:

[I recommend] the Fort Apache Military Reservation, in its entirety, be secured to the uses and purposes of the Theodore Roosevelt School, as the segregation of any part of it from the school site proper... would impair the efficiency of the school. The garden and agricultural lands are situated in small tracts.... The balance of the reservation is grazing land of a very fair quality and of sufficient area to support a considerable herd of dairy and beef cattle....

An Off-Reservation Boarding School on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation

In 1923, when Congress transferred ownership of Fort Apache from the War Department to the BIA, intentions to assist Native nations along the path to civilization gave rise to yet another institution. Assistance was to come through education, and education was to serve as handmaiden to Federal policies of assimilation and self-sufficiency. The shift in Federal Indian policies reflected, in part, labor needs linked to the post World War I economic boom.

Federal policies in more integrated parts of Indian Country had successfully emphasized public and BIA day schools over BIA boarding schools. Across most of the Southwest, however, few reservations had been subjected to allotment and distances between Indian and non-Indian communities were typically daunting. Accordingly, public schools would not play significant roles in Indian education in Arizona until the 1950s.

⁷⁷ This is according to Charles Cook's review of BIA Report as illustrated in Charles Cook, "A History of San Carlos and Fort Apache Indian Reservations, Defendant's Exhibit C-1," *San Carlos et al. v. United States*. Docket Number 22-H. (Washington DC: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D.C. 1976): 220.

⁷⁸ Darlis A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989).

⁷⁹ 22 Stat. L, 181.

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Although the tides of professional and public opinion were turning away from boarding schools, the BIA lacked budgetary support to provide day schools for every community, a particular challenge on the massive and populous Navajo reservation. As a result, BIA viewed the adoption of former military facilities as one expeditious and economical means to pursue the Federal agenda of assimilation and economic self-sufficiency.⁸⁰ A total of 14 forts became Indian Schools. At Fort Apache—as at Carlisle Barracks; Forts Defiance (Arizona), Wingate (Arizona), Mohave (California), Lewis (Colorado), Totten (North Dakota); and elsewhere—the Federal government barely broke stride as it shifted from using soldiers to using teachers as the primary agents of local social control and policy implementation.

The Theodore Roosevelt School's earliest role was as an off-reservation boarding school.⁸¹ With minimal deviation from the policies and programs established by Pratt for Carlisle four decades earlier, the BIA's expressed initial intent at TR School was to provide for the education and assimilation of Navajo children and later (following apparent satisfaction of U.S. treaty obligations to the Navajo through the construction of day schools in the Navajo area) to Apache and other Native American children from across the Southwest. There was significant momentum behind a national reform movement focused on Indian Affairs in general and Indian education in particular, but it would be many years before this movement brought positive significant change to Arizona's remote Apache lands.

When the TR School opened in 1923, enrollment consisted of 250 Navajo and Hopi children. According to Hammond, pupils were divided into five grades, taught by five teachers.⁸² The departments organized by 1923 were limited to the girls' industries, engineering and plumbing, and farming. Curriculum and instruction included English conversation and oral exercises, reading, literary society work, and religion. Physical training consisted of sit-ups in the morning, group games after school, and military drill after supper with occasional campfires and more group games. Extracurricular activities included Junior Red Cross, weekly socials, and band.

A leap of faith is required to reconcile Hammond's report, Superintendent Stanion's 1922 opinion that the facilities were in an "excellent state," and contemporary reports from TR School and elsewhere of the miserable condition of quarters, health, and supplies at BIA schools.⁸³ Most evidence suggests Fort Apache was badly run down by April 1923, when the BIA School Superintendent signed a receipt for 73 buildings plus the infrastructure. Only the adobe barracks at the east and west ends of the row were deemed fully fit for transfer to BIA. Two of the former officer's quarters required demolition in 1927. Several reports note that when groups of children arrived from Navajo lands to the north the dormitories (old Army barracks) were already overcrowded. Several sleeping porches had to be constructed to accommodate the boys, but even these were unfinished, lacking screens and doors for several months after school began.

⁸⁰ Alice Littlefield, "Learning to Labor: Native American Education in the United States, 1880-1930," in *The Political Economy of North American Indians*, Editor, John H. Moore, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 43-59.

⁸¹ The name was probably intended to commemorate the 26th president's interest in Arizona and Indian policy. As noted, the "Fort Apache School" name was already in use. Roosevelt, who had died only three years previously, assured his regional popularity through at least four visits to Arizona, including Fort Apache on at least one of these itineraries. Although Roosevelt is primarily remembered as a "pro-cowboy and anti-Indian" president, his tenure as U.S. Civil Service Commissioner (1889-1895) included cooperative communications with Herbert Welsh, a founder and driving force of the Indian Rights Association and adversarial relations with R.H. Pratt, who fought to retain discretion over personnel matters at Carlisle Institute. See, William T. Hagan, "Civil Service Commissioner Theodore Roosevelt and the Indian Rights Association," *Pacific Historical Review* XLIV(2) 1975:187-200; and Jon Reyner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education*.

⁸² E.H. Hammond, Condition Report and Recommendations Regarding TR School by Supervisor of Indian Schools, NARA Documents: Theodore Roosevelt School Records, 1923. On file at the White Mountain Apache Historic Preservation Office, Fort Apache, Arizona.

⁸³ See DeJong, *passim*.

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Additionally, supplies were insufficient and basic foodstuffs like flour, sugar, and fruits had not arrived. The boys lacked underwear; overalls, uniforms, and sheets were scarce. The failure to build and fund BIA schools, and the reuse of an outmoded, ill-functioning, and out-of-repair military installation as an instrument for assimilation-through-education policy implementation reflected the inadequate Federal response to American Indian needs and interests.⁸⁴

After several years of desultory operation, funding and supply problems were addressed when BIA received an appropriation to construct the main TR School Building. Completed in 1929, the single story school was built of stone and stucco. The facility held ten classrooms, an auditorium, a gymnasium, principals' and teachers' rooms, washrooms, and a basement. As would also prove true following the completion of the dormitories in the early 1930s and significant enhancements in the 1940s and 1950s, upgraded facilities did not translate into markedly improved education. The lack of bedding and clothing probably contributed to TR School's first major health crisis—body lice. Whether the problem's source lay in the School's re-use of the Army barracks or in the students' importation of lice and pathogens, among the most enduring and widespread negative memories of early TR School students is being involuntarily immersed in "sheep dip" or dusted with pesticides. Initial reports indicate that children from various Navajo jurisdictions displayed undernourishment and several Hopi students had arrested tuberculosis. As might be expected for pre-teenagers under stress, several students were also possessed by the "evil of bed-wetting." TR School staff treated bed-wetting as a habit that had to be broken. Typically, the treatment consisted of dorm attendants waking the child hourly until the "evil" was stopped.⁸⁵

Apache complaints targeted the education of Navajos on Apache land at a time when local students lacked classrooms and teachers.⁸⁶ In a comment included in the U.S. Senate Report on *Improvement of Conditions on Indian Reservations in Arizona*, Chief Baha remarked, "we would like to have a larger school here. I think we have a good school and why not keep all our children here? It is just as good as outside schools. Also these boys are growing here and if they go outside this reservation they might be thinking of their home.... We do not like lots of things at an outside school. If they get sick they might die and never come back here. First thing when the children go out, lots of Apaches go to Albuquerque. Half have died and never come back. For this reason we want no children to go outside the reservation and we would like to have a larger school here."⁸⁷

Apparently in response to similar grievances, a visiting BIA Agent presented his views in a December 30, 1926 letter to the Secretary of the Interior that insightfully exposes the prevailing disjunction between the TR School's mission and legal status: "[It is my understanding] that this is the only instance wherein a military reservation within an Indian reservation has not been turned back to the direct purposes, benefit and control of the tribe of Indians within whose boundaries it is located. This fact presents to us at the outset a wrong psychological situation. We have an instinctive feeling of opposition from the Apache...and should be devoted to their interests and benefit and not to the benefit of Indians of another tribe..."

⁸⁴ David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1995), 106.

⁸⁵ E. H. Hammond, Condition Report and Recommendations Regarding TR School by Supervisor of Indian Schools, NARA Documents: Theodore Roosevelt School Records, 1923. On file at the White Mountain Apache Historic Preservation Office, Fort Apache, Arizona.

⁸⁶ For the same reasons the White Mountain Apache community persistently disapproved of TR school, Navajo leaders exhorted Federal officials to build more schools. See Jon Reyner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education*, 155 and Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 74

⁸⁷ *Senate Report on Improvement of Conditions on Indian Reservations in Arizona* (1929), 30.

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The TR School inspection filed by Frank Christy, Assistant Supervisor of Indian Education, in his May 4, 1930 letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, suggests a “marked change in the morale of the students.” Perhaps as a result of the recently opened classroom facility, he observed “a lively sense of responsibility has been developed among the boys, who are allowed a large measure of self-government.” Troops of boy and girl scouts were also organized at the time and appeared to be very popular among the students. The inspector noted the results of the new programs and new responsibilities: “The two most noteworthy results have been the almost entire elimination of desertion and of the use of the Navajo tongue among the boys. The latter achievement has been accomplished only after strong opposition on the part of a conservative section of the students, in the overcoming of which the loyalty and determination of the student officers has played a prominent part.” 1930 national statistics suggest that education was a success among BIA programs. “Almost 90 percent of all Indian children were enrolled in school. Approximately half of these children attended public school; a little over a third of them were in schools operated by the Indian Bureau; and almost 10 percent were in private or mission schools. Of those who attended Indian Bureau schools, an equal number were enrolled in off-reservation and reservation boarding schools, and a much smaller percentage were in day schools.”⁸⁸

What these statistics do not suggest, however, are the serious problems with the system that had, by the mid-1920s, given rise to vocal objections to the quality of Indian education. “Reformers and policymakers considered Indian boarding schools obsolete institutions long before 1930.”⁸⁹ Almost all Indian children were, indeed, attending school, but unanswered questions surrounded the brutal methods used to ensure and maintain attendance and good behavior, what the children were learning, the impacts on the students’ families and communities, and how many children were graduating with the knowledge and skills to define and achieve their individual goals in a rapidly changing world.⁹⁰ Helen Lawhead who taught Navajos at TR School observed that rote memorization was no substitute for education and recommended the continued use of Estelle Reel’s sand tables as means for linking English language to Native experience.⁹¹

Public interest in these questions escalated, and Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work contracted with the Brookings Institute to investigate. In 1928 the Institute published *The Problem of Indian Administration*, commonly referred to as the *Meriam Report*. The *Report* found over-centralized and antiquated BIA schools employing rigid and discredited curricula. Criticizing facilities, health care, discipline, reliance on student labor for income and maintenance, and underlying philosophies, the *Report* concluded that Indian students were receiving neither effective academic instruction nor useful vocational training.

The *Meriam Report* argued that education should be the BIA’s first priority and called upon the government to completely reinvent Indian schools. The overarching recommendation was the replacement of assimilation with the goal of a child-centered educational approach that would maximize vocational and academic achievement. To accomplish this, the *Report* called for investment in on-reservation day schools, in public schools located near reservations, and in the incorporation of key elements of Indian culture into curricula. In effect, beyond simply advocating for parity in the education of Indian children, the *Report* endorsed multi-cultural, community-based education to allow each Native child to retain the best elements of their tribal culture while also facilitating development of their Euro-American defined academic potential. The *Report* served as the primary guiding light for Indian educational policy until the 1948 emergence of tribal termination as Federal Indian policy.

⁸⁸ Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 2.

⁸⁹ Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879-2000*, (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000), 134.

⁹⁰ See Margaret Jacobs, “A Battle for the Children: American Indian Child Removal in Arizona in the Era of Assimilation.”

⁹¹ Helen Lawhead, “Teaching Navajo Children to Read,” *Progressive Education*, 9 1932: 131-135.

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In addition to serving as a guide to school reform, the *Meriam Report* became a lightning rod for criticism of assimilation focused Federal Indian policy. Studies revealed that neither industrial training nor home economics programs led to assimilation. Public support for the *Report* escalated when *Good Housekeeping* ran a series of muckraking articles on Indian education. Embarrassed into action, the Hoover administration budget almost doubled spending on Indian schools between 1928 and 1933, charging Indian Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads with system overhaul. Most of the money was dedicated to improving school facilities, as well as student's diet and medical care. Rhoads also prioritized on-reservation education over off-reservation boarding schools, leading to several closures (e.g., Mount Pleasant). In 1931, in response to the predictable resistance to needed changes, a BIA reorganization placed education at the same level as other major programs (e.g., forestry, irrigation) and led to the appointment as program director of the first professionally trained educator, a Quaker and Swarthmore College professor by the name of W. Carson Ryan. Although material conditions improved, the *Report's* curricular and management recommendations were often ignored, especially at out-of-the-way schools like TR School.

In a convergence of national policy and local (Apache and non-Native) preferences, TR School began the still-ongoing transformation, without changing locations, from an off-reservation school to an on-reservation school. By about 1929 the composition, character, and health status of the TR School student body had changed significantly. First, while the number and educational level of students attending school remained generally constant, the age and ethnicity of the students did not. Apache students enrolled for the first time at TR School, and the suggestion was made to eliminate kindergarten and first grade and add eighth and ninth grades. Carl M. Moore, Supervisor of Indian Education wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 26, 1929, commenting on changes in the student body: "Old tribal grudges might have justified at one time the existence of separate schools for the Apache and the Navajo, but I feel there is little necessity for this at the present time. There are at present some twenty-five Apache pupils here and no one reports any difficulty in their living peacefully in the same school with the Navajos. In view of this fact and in view of the superior material plant here I would strongly advise developing this school into a school which will eventually offer only Senior Vocational courses."

Beginning about five years into BIA stewardship of the former Fort Apache, and apparently in response to the *Meriam Report* and the availability of additional funding, BIA made plans for additional new facilities at TR School. The limited records available indicate that rehabilitation and remodeling of the existing buildings and infrastructure were part of an ongoing process. By 1931, inspectors revealed several changes in the appearance of the school complex. The original girl's dormitory (the former 1875 Hospital building), forage master's office, and the granary all burned down by 1930. Although the Boy's Dormitory was the next scheduled construction project, the loss of the Girl's Dormitory obliged a reprioritization. In 1931 the government built both the Girl's Dormitory (#23) to house female students and the BIA Club building (#5), where unmarried teachers and other personnel lived and took their meals while not on duty. Funding for the Boy's Dormitory (#16) followed, and construction was completed in 1932.

The two massive sandstone dormitories, built on the eve of the New Deal's public works programs, anticipated both the process—i.e., importing skilled tradesmen and training local laborers—and the products—i.e., monumental structures conveying Federal authority—of the Works Progress Administration.⁹² As had been true on a smaller scale in the creation of the military facilities, the overbuilt school buildings asserted upon school entrants an emphatic break with both the past and the "wild" places immediately outside the district. Compounding earlier structural impositions, the new dormitories formalized the separation between girls, who spent most of their non-classroom time at the dormitory and home economics building at the west end of the district, and boys, whose dormitory and vocational training facilities clustered at the east end of the former

⁹² William Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks, 1999).

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parade ground. In a manner consistent with this gender axis, the main school building, the kitchen-cafeteria, and the parade/play field formed a common and closely supervised zone.⁹³ The parade ground continued to serve as the central nexus for regular and rigorous reinforcement of the district's underlying authority systems for more than 130 years.

A school garage (#31) was completed on the rise adjacent to the old Quartermaster's Storehouse (#30) and near the stables in 1932. By this time most of the buildings had been provided with water and sewer facilities as well as electric service. It seems apparent that the five year period immediately following the *Meriam Report* was dominated by extensive renovations and the building constructions. The three major building projects were the first within the district to make extensive use of industrial materials, notably many box car loads of asbestos-containing roof shingles and floor tiles, transported via the Apache Railway to the on-reservation timber town of McNary, then trucked the remaining 30 miles to TR School. There are no indications of building relocations within the campus, but elements of the post Chapel were removed for use in the construction of the Canyon Day Lutheran Church, located about two miles west of the school.

The construction projects at TR School in the late 1920s and early 1930s would be the last within the district until 1948 and among the last major construction efforts in support of a BIA boarding school anywhere for many years. Change was in the air as the nation confronted the Depression and the BIA confronted the failure of 50 years of assimilation policy. Revolutionary approaches to economic recovery, governmental expansion, Indian policy, and community oriented education came within reach during the progressive period of public administration wedged in between the Depression and World War II.

Collier's Reforms, Trachoma, and TR School

BIA school reform, in particular, benefited from the *Meriam Report*. But the changes suggested by the *Meriam Report* would not have become so far reaching without the dedication of Carson Ryan (a *Meriam Report* author who retained his appointment under the first Franklin D. Roosevelt administration), John Collier, and Williard Beatty, whom Collier appointed as Ryan's successor in 1937.⁹⁴ Collier, a widely known Indian advocate, became Roosevelt's Indian Commissioner in 1933, serving for 12 years under Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. Collier believed that the dominant society had sacrificed the "passion and reverence for human personality and for the web of life and the earth which the American Indians have tended as a sacred fire."⁹⁵

Putting this perspective into action proved difficult. However, Collier and Ryan sought to replace boarding schools with "community" schools. Among their goals was increased community participation in BIA education; a modification in the curricula, vocational training, and disciplinary systems to meet national standards and specific community and student needs; a push to encourage pride in Native historical and cultural accomplishments, and finally, the provision of special teacher training to enable them to understand and communicate with their students.⁹⁶

These modernizing and decentralizing goals met with some success. Particularly popular advances included the incorporation of Native arts and folklore in curricula and the elimination of severe corporeal punishment and compulsory religious training throughout most of the system. Collier and Ryan oversaw the closure of about 25 of the BIA's 75 boarding schools and supervised a vast expansion in the number of day schools. Collier's

⁹³ Highly structured and imposing architecture and spatial arrangements made clear non-Indian values and distinctions between crooked and straight, then and now, pagan and Christian, chaotic and organized, male and female.

⁹⁴ Kenneth Philip, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977).

⁹⁵ John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas: The Long Hope*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1947), 17.

⁹⁶ Williard Beatty, *Education for Cultural Change*, (Washington DC: US Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1951),

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greatest and most enduring achievement was the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA), which meant the political and symbolic—though not practical operational—end to assimilation as the objective of Federal Indian policy and BIA educational practice. Although the IRA contained only minor provisions directly affecting education, by empowering tribes to assume most governance responsibilities, it made tribal control over BIA school systems, including contract schools and schools operated by the BIA under the direction of a tribally appointed school board (e.g., TR School after 1990) possible.

Despite the government's stated intentions, the budget allocations and institutional changes required for Collier and Ryan to fully implement the *Meriam Report's* recommendations never fully materialized. The ingrained attitudes and institutions forged during the half-century experiment with Pratt's educational model persisted among rank and file BIA educators. Individual school superintendents retained substantial independence, often ignoring blanket directives and resisting specific reforms. The poverty associated with the Great Depression, the daunting distances between schools and rural populations, and the slow pace of public school integration in rural areas and on large reservations lacking allotments or non-Indian in-holdings obliged many tribal members to rely on boarding schools for decades to come. TR School, as an institution existing outside of both the public eye and the bureaucratic norm, changed little in response to Meriam's *Report* or Collier's reforms. At least until World War II, TR School, as was true at other Indian boarding schools, continued Reel's 1901 vocational education program.

At TR School both the assimilationist curriculum and the general military regimen inherited from previous Indian policies survived into the 1950s. The Pulitzer Prize recipient and Indian rights crusader Oliver La Farge decried Indian boarding schools as "penal institutions—where little children were sentenced to hard labor for a term of years to expiate the crime of being born of their mothers."⁹⁷ The BIA was well aware of the problems with boarding schools, but lacked the vision, financial support, and power necessary to create viable alternatives. An article in the October 15, 1936 edition of *Indian Education*, an organ of the Education Division, Office of Indian Affairs reported:

Ignoring completely the tribal differences which have been discussed in earlier issues..., the infant representatives of hundreds of tribes were thrown together indiscriminately. The better to encourage the learning of English, the speaking of tribal languages was forbidden. The ban was enforced through corporal punishment—occasionally of a brutal nature. Little children, barely seven years old were torn from their parents, shipped sometimes thousands of miles from home, without understanding what it was all about, and then housed in vast, ugly, friendless dormitories where sixty to a hundred and more children shared a single room....

Thus did we undertake to 'civilize' our wards—in an atmosphere which made the most primitive of Indian homes appear as paradise....⁹⁸

Although some of the national policy issues raised in this article remain current, the more fundamental struggle within individual institutions focused on providing adequate food, health care, supervision, and instruction for Native students. Even when and where change was attempted, it was often thwarted. For example, as part of the initiative to replace boarding schools with community-based day schools, in May 1933 Collier decided to "suspend" TR School operations beginning in July. Writing to Senator Henry F. Ashurst on May 24, Collier justified his decision, asserting, "We have been careful to confine our reductions almost exclusively to the mixed blood areas [multi-tribal student populations]...What is ultimately contemplated at Fort Apache is a combination of the two school plants [TR School and the Fort Apache School, Whiteriver] to make one Apache school to head up a system of small local schools throughout the area....there has been serious overcrowding at

⁹⁷ Oliver La Farge, *The Enemy Gods*, (New York: Literary Classics: 1937), 233.

⁹⁸ *Indian Education* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1936), 6.

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the Fort Apache School, which was probably responsible...for the serious meningitis epidemic. At the same time, we are making it unnecessary for Navajo children from as far away as Tuba City to come down to Apache Country....we shall be able to take better care of these Navajo children by building up facilities in the Navajo area.”

Collier encountered the brisk and vigorous opposition to the decision to close TR School that had greeted other proposed suspensions. The response was predictable more because of the proposed closures’ implications for regional economies than any concern with reductions in the quantity or quality of educational opportunities for American Indians. With a local economic impact estimated at between \$300 and \$400 per student per year, few Depression-era communities could afford to lose Federally funded schools.⁹⁹ On May 29 and, again, on June 14, 1933, the Fort Apache Agency BIA Superintendent William Donner appealed to Commissioner Collier to operate TR School at least at partial capacity, until additional day schools could be established. Donner noted the ongoing need for boarding facilities to serve the Apache population located both within and beyond the reservation borders and tactfully noted that TR School provided, for 30-40 Apaches, employment that would not be replaced if the School were closed. Donner offered two more powerful arguments, noting that TR School had just undergone almost five years of major capital improvements and arguing that, even if the school had to be closed, the BIA buildings should continue in operation as a sanatorium, and the Army outbuildings should be used to support the Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW) program (the Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps).¹⁰⁰ Records indicate that TR School would have been closed had it not been for the substantial recent Federal investments in the school and dormitory facilities.

With the plan to close TR School thwarted, and the idea of an alternative use of the facility planted (through Donner’s letter), Collier saw TR School as part of the solution to a new challenge presenting itself at the time. In the early decades of the twentieth century over one-half of all children in off-reservation boarding schools suffered from trachoma, a chronic and highly contagious bacterial conjunctivitis infection of the eyelids and inner eye socket. Trachoma is easily contracted and spread and, if left untreated, causes blindness in approximately one percent of its victims and persistent vision losses in others). Until the development of an effective treatment in 1937, the disease was widespread among poor populations, very difficult to cure, and a particular menace in Indian Country.¹⁰¹ TR School inspection reports from 1929 and 1930 indicate that trachoma had become the most serious health problem.

Based on this information and growing concerns on the part of surrounding communities, the TR School was designated the regional trachoma school/sanitarium. An April 9, 1929 letter from H.J. Warner, District Medical Officer, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs suggests a containment program whereby TR School would first enroll all trachomatosis children from the San Carlos and Fort Apache reservations and then fill the rest of the school’s beds with trachoma children from the Navajo and Hopi reservations. While the overall operation of the school was altered to emphasize medical treatment, the curriculum and school plant changed little if at all in response to the school’s altered mission.

From 1934 until 1939, TR School served as a special facility in which the BIA treated and sought to continue the education of Indian children suffering from severe trachoma. At the time trachoma was so widely feared

⁹⁹ See Margert Szasz and Darlis Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861-1885*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989).

¹⁰⁰ See Jon Welch, “A Monument to Native Civilization’: Byron Cummings’ Still-Unfolding Vision for Kinishba Ruins,” 1-94.

¹⁰¹ Robert A. Trennert, Jr., “Indian Sore Eyes: The Federal Campaign to Control Trachoma in the Southwest, 1910-40,” *Journal of the Southwest* 32:121-149; Jean A. Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922*, (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002).

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that it was one of the few diseases listed as grounds for exclusion from the United States.¹⁰² Ralph F. Wesemann's *Theodore Roosevelt Trachoma School, Fort Apache, Arizona: Report of School Work Accomplished School Year 1937-1938* provides a glimpse into school operations: "as much academic and vocational work was accomplished as possible without injuring the medical procedure. All pupils received eye treatment in the morning followed by a 30 minute eye rest. They received treatment six days each week."¹⁰³ Before the introduction of sulfanilamide, treatment entailed anesthetizing the eyelid with cocaine and the then scraping the inflamed granulations off the eyelids and lining of the eye; treatment was often prolonged, with multiple scrapings being performed.

A generation of Apaches and Navajos remember living in fear of both the dread eye disease and the treatment.¹⁰⁴ James Hancock, a Special Physician with the U.S. Indian Service who visited TR School stated, "For the little more than 2 years the school has been running, 150 children have had their eyes [healed] up and sent back to other schools, 109 of these have been positive cases and 41 suspicious cases.... At present the enrollment at the school is 208. This may appear as quite a number left with the 50 arrested cases, but new cases have been brought in from other schools on the reservation: 3 government and 2 Mission schools. All children in these schools are examined every 2 to 3 months and any new cases found or old cases found that have flared up are transferred to Fort Apache. Fourteen cases having flared up and having to be re-admitted since the school has been in operation may seem like a good number, but considering the homes the children go back to, I think we are lucky to have no more readmissions than this."¹⁰⁵ According to the BIA and Wesley Forster, Dr. Fred Loe and other physicians working with afflicted youths at TR School and with research support from Columbia University, first discovered and refined the effectiveness of sulfanilamide (sulfa-based antibiotics) in treating trachoma.¹⁰⁶ Given the fact that trachoma was widespread in the United States at the time and that even the suspicion of trachoma was sufficient to bar entry to the U.S., this discovery and subsequent refinement significantly shifted the shape of American public health and even barriers to immigration into the U.S. from abroad.

The trachoma epidemic subsided, leaving behind a large number of permanently vision-impaired Native people. By the start of the 1939 school year plans were underway to re-equip TR School as a vocational high school where all upper grade pupils could attend on either a day or boarding basis. Students would be trained in agriculture, home relations, shop work, and home economics. Wesemann's 1938 report also provides insight into the kind of instruction and activities provided at the school. "[For the 240 students enrolled], the school day consisted of reading, art, arithmetic, music, and language. Vocational activities consisted of woodshop,

¹⁰² The disease was highly contagious and widespread in Europe, Asia and North America (especially in Appalachia). To prevent its spread, the U.S. Public Health Service had classified it among smallpox and syphilis as grounds for exclusion to the United States; both potential immigrants and even travelers to the U.S. were barred entry to the country if they were suspected of having trachoma.

¹⁰³ Ralph F. Wesemann, *Theodore Roosevelt Trachoma School, Fort Apache, Arizona: Report of School Work Accomplished School Year 1937-1938*, Report Prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, on file, White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program, Fort Apache, Arizona.

¹⁰⁴ Ramon Riley, Personal Communication, May 2003.

¹⁰⁵ James C. Hancock, "Trachoma Treatment at Fort Apache Trachoma School, *Southwestern Medicine*, 21 1937: 81.

¹⁰⁶ Before the end of World War II and the development of the Nuremberg Code (1947) ethical codes regarding medical experimentation were nonexistent in the United States; up through and during the 1940s and 1950s, medical ethics and the enforcement of these ethics tended to be lax. Vulnerable populations, such as children, tended to be used in diverse medical experiments throughout this period. See, for example, Susan E. Lederer, *Subjected to Science: Human Subject Experimentation in the US Before the Second World War*, (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). In a January 31, 2006 interview with Jon Welch, Rev. Arthur Alchesay Guenther stated that his sister, Winifred Guenther, a non-Apache, was also used in Dr. Fred Loe's experiments: "I remember being with her when they took the bandages off. It was just like in the movies when a little blind girl realizes she can see again....When she died at 84 she'd never worn glasses." See also, Jas. G Townsend, "Disease and the Indian," *Scientific Monthly*, 47 (6) 1938 and Grace G. Engleman, "Trachoma Nursing in the US Office of Indian Affairs," *The American Journal of Nursing*, 42 (4) 1942: 383-389.

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leather shop, a tannery, and home economics. Also, by the way of assemblies, a school paper, correspondence units, glee club, and harmonica club the children felt a greater desire to improve their English.”¹⁰⁷

TR School thus followed national policies by employing vocational training to do more than merely subsidize the school’s maintenance and subsistence requirements. Throughout the 1930s the Collier and Ryan push for vocational training closely tailored to local opportunities had, at TR School and elsewhere, been tempered by the Depression-era reality that jobs were scarce and subsistence skills useful. To this end TR School maintained, into the 1960s, a school farm (adopted from the Army garrison and modified for school training needs) that provided important dietary supplements. During World War II, the TR School’s retention of old style vocational training focused on raising crops and livestock, would allow adequate meals to be served at a time when school budgets had been slashed to pre-Depression levels. As noted by Szasz, “the training born of necessity during the Depression came to fruition the following decade.”¹⁰⁸

The War Years and the Failure of Assimilation as Pretext for Termination

Collier’s progressive agenda and attempts to allow Native cultural foundations to serve as the basis for subsequent institutional development did not always find support in Indian communities hungry for the opportunities they increasingly believed would come from education. Individual Indian leaders, including Chee Dodge (Navajo) and Baha-Alchesay (White Mountain Apache) advocated for more, rather than fewer boarding schools.¹⁰⁹ By 1940 U.S. efforts to manage and educate Indian children were reflected in a large and complicated system of facilities that included approximately 18 off-reservation boarding schools, 27 boarding schools located on reservations, 21 day schools, 6 sanatorium schools, and 99 hospitals and sanatoria that had capacities for long-term care for youths.¹¹⁰ Of the roughly 75,000 Indian children of school age, local public schools provided for the education of 33,608; 13,659 were in Federal day schools, 5,402 attended off-reservation boarding schools; 4,771 attended on-reservation boarding schools; 6,963 were enrolled in church, private, or state-funded day and boarding schools, and 10,243 were not enrolled.

Both the vocational training program and the military regimen that served the TR School (if not always the students) since its establishment would be used through the first half of the 1940s. Although progressive policies and practices had upgraded more publicly visible Indian schools elsewhere, and TR School had received four major new buildings, TR School remained, as did many Indian schools, mired in the nineteenth century. The BIA’s implicit policy of supporting Indian integration into public school systems only where the linguistic, cultural, and geographical barriers were easily manageable meant BIA resistance to public schools for the White Mountain Apache until the 1960s.

In much the same way that Fort Apache had been a self-supporting military post, TR School was a largely self-supporting boarding school. Students were obliged to help maintain and sustain the school by assisting faculty and staff with day-to-day operations and logistics. Diverse chores and tasks were reinforced and expanded upon through the school’s curriculum, which made little effort to teach critical thinking skills, science, or social studies. As at most other Native American boarding schools, the standard round of elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic often took the back seat to classes emphasizing vocational training and industrial arts.¹¹¹ TR School students were also involved in band, chorus, and team sports. Although these recreational activities

¹⁰⁷ Ralph F. Wesemann, *Theodore Roosevelt Trachoma School, Fort Apache, Arizona: Report of School Work Accomplished School Year 1937-1938*, Report Prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, on file, White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program, Fort Apache, Arizona.

¹⁰⁸ Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928*, 111.

¹⁰⁹ Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History*, 233.

¹¹⁰ “Indians Today,” (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1940).

¹¹¹ Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*, (University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

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were intended as part of an "Americanization" process, many former students fondly reminisce about playing football, basketball, and baseball with fellow students and against other Indian schools. Even as inter-school athletic competitions provided common ground for Indian and non-Indian youth, the programs also seem to have intensified tribal affiliations and highlighted tribal and Indian group boundaries.

Girls were trained in all aspects of home economics and learned how to make clothes, prepare meals, clean houses, and assist with basic health care. The curriculum entailed retraining girls from life in and care for gowah (Apache timber and brush structures often referred to as "wickiups") to the attitudes and skills linked to Euro-American styles, homes, and dormitories. Sewing was no longer done with awls, laundry and dishes were no longer cleaned with water from creeks and streams, and cooking was not conducted over open fires. The girls of TR School learned to use new technology in home-making, including sewing machines, clothes and dishwashers, dryers, stoves, vacuums, and can openers. These experiences prepared the girls for careers as housewives, domestic servants, and occasionally as nurses and teachers.

The young men's curriculum focused on farming, animal husbandry, wood- and metal-working, tanning leather, and maintaining automobiles and other machines. The boys learned how to cultivate unfamiliar crops like tomatoes, potatoes, and watermelons and to raise chickens, pigs, and cows using new technology. The boys had access to a fully equipped machine shop and industrial arts building where they learned how to work with wood and metal and tan leather. Many boys were encouraged to become adept at working at the school's sawmill, irrigation systems, and school gardens. They also worked on local ranches branding and de-horning cattle and helped run the school's dairy and poultry operations, butcher shop, and bakery. Boys departing TR School were best prepared to help run small-scale farming-ranching operations and to serve in the military.

Recent History and TR School

The recent history of TR School is beyond the scope of this nomination. Nonetheless, the period following 1948 merits summary consideration to underscore parallelism in developments across Indian Country and to highlight the property's exceptional prospects for preservation and interpretation. The history of the Fort Apache and TR School District since 1948 features Apaches and other American Indian families seeking to participate in educational experiences that not only afford graduates opportunities in the non-Indian world, but give them the pride of partial ownership of and responsibility for cultural traditions and historical accomplishments.

World War II was a major catalyst for change in Apache country and elsewhere in Native America. The war provided the point of entry for thousands of tribal members into education and employment challenges beyond reservation boundaries. Ironically, although the war encouraged American Indian interaction with non-Indians in general and educational opportunities in particular, Indian leaders in the postwar years were obliged to focus their attention not on education, but on "the long fight against termination."¹¹²

Federal pursuit of tribal termination featured efforts across most of the country to extend state jurisdictions across reservation boundaries. In 1960 the BIA contracted with the Arizona State Department of Education to educate Apache children. The state promptly constructed Alchesay High School and Whiteriver Elementary School in Whiteriver. This change transformed TR School into an elementary school for grades three through eight. Fewer Navajo and Hopi students attended (public schools were also available closer to home), but more students from tribes that had not benefited from BIA-Arizona contract arrangements—Hualapai, Havasupai, Yavapai, Mohave, Pima, Maricopa, and Papago (Tohono O'odham after ca. 1984)—enrolled at TR School.

¹¹² Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928*, 6.

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Comparisons with Similar Properties and Conclusions

The following comparisons review all 14 known cases of forts that were subsequently adopted as schools. Fourteen identified U.S. Army facilities were adopted for subsequent use as American Indian schools.¹¹³ Relevant dimensions for comparisons include the ability of the property to convey the complexity of Federal Indian policies as well as its integrity. Taken as a whole, the 14 properties unambiguously indicate that TR School was not alone in its inheritance of military legacies, both tangible and intangible. Forts that became schools embody an astonishing and ongoing story of Federal capacities to swiftly adapt and respond to political, social, and medical needs, demands, and contingencies. However, among these properties, the Fort Apache and TR School District ranks high in terms of its ability to convey the overlapping nature of seemingly diverse Federal Indian policies as well as its integrity in terms of its architectural compendium of resources.

Fort Defiance (Arizona) and Fort Yuma (California) may be considered together as forts, established in the 1850s, that have served diverse Federal and local functions and survive as recognizable historic properties. Neither property has been subjected to a systematic assessment of its national significance or historic integrity, possibly because each has been modified and amended, both extensively and intensively, for the last century. A small number of Fort Yuma's historic structures are being preserved and used in support of the Quechan Tribe's culture and history programs. At Fort Defiance, however, the entire complex, which appears at first glance to include many historic structures, remains dedicated (since 1900) to the support of an Indian Health Service hospital. Neither site has ever been managed with consistent or primary attention to preservation. Both properties merit further study, but neither compares favorably to the nominated district in terms of the property's ability to convey the diversity and complexity of Federal Indian policies.

Fort Wingate is included in this comparison because of its proximity and historical connections to Fort Apache and its parallel functions in the containment and subjugation of American Indians. Fort Wingate continued to play diverse roles as a Federal military and civilian facility. The Army has recently undertaken a comprehensive assessment of its historical significance and integrity in conjunction with environmental hazard mitigation.¹¹⁴ Fort McDermitt bears mention as a Nevada post that was converted into a BIA school and is interpreted only via a roadside sign.¹¹⁵ Neither Wingate nor McDermitt possess a breadth or depth of association to Federal Indian policy at a level similar to the nominated district and neither possesses either Army or BIA resources that compare favorably with the nominated district in terms of their historic integrity.

Following their abandonment by the military, Forts Lapwai (Idaho) and Lewis (Colorado) each served for about 18 years as BIA schools before being adopted for other institutional purposes (i.e., Lapwai became a health facility, Lewis an agricultural experiment station).¹¹⁶ At Fort Lapwai, only about 6 historic structures have been preserved.¹¹⁷ The history of Fort Lewis reflects a compendium of both Federal and Colorado state political machinations relating to changing perceptions and commitments to the welfare of American Indians.¹¹⁸ Regardless, Fort Lewis' use, since 1927, as a state agricultural experiment station seems to have resulted in the destruction or irrevocable alteration of most or all of the property's historical structures.

¹¹³ See Table 5. It bears mention that a number of BIA schools not given further consideration here—e.g., Fort Belknap, Idaho; Fort Hall, Montana; Fort Peck, Montana; and Fort Sill, Oklahoma—assumed their name from an Army post or local place without making use of fort grounds or structures.

¹¹⁴ <http://stinet.dtic.mil/oai/oai?&verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA175825>, accessed 7 March 2007.

¹¹⁵ http://dmla.clan.lib.nv.us/docs/shpo/markers/mark_144.htm, accessed 27 February 2007.

¹¹⁶ Herbert Hart, *Old Forts of the Northwest*, (Seattle: Superior Press 1963); Robert Frazer, *Forts of the West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965).

¹¹⁷ <http://www.nps.gov/archive/nepe/adhi/adhi3d.htm>, accessed 20 March 2007.

¹¹⁸ <http://oldfort.fortlewis.edu/indian.htm>, accessed 20 March 2007.

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Forts Mohave (Arizona), Shaw (Montana), and Stevenson (North Dakota) may be considered together as military facilities that were transferred to BIA for use as Indian Schools.¹¹⁹ Each of the three played regionally significant roles in military and civilian implementation of U.S. Indian policy, but none for as long as the Fort Apache and TR School. Because none of the three has been preserved, further comparisons with the nominated district are unwarranted.

Forts Simcoe (Washington), Spokane (Washington), and Totten (North Dakota) are the identified historic properties, other than the Fort Apache and TR School District, where a western Army fort became a BIA school that has survived with variable integrity. Each of the three has since been shielded from many intrusions and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Fort Simcoe's significance in relation to American Indian education seems not to have been fully evaluated, perhaps because the educational components of the BIA compound have not been preserved. Three of the seven BIA buildings that survive have been relocated, and the site's identified period of significance is restricted to the Army occupation, 1856-1859.¹²⁰

Interpretive media and National Register documentation available for Fort Spokane¹²¹ and Fort Totten acknowledge functional overlaps between military and civilian administration. The Fort Spokane NR nomination includes the district's use as a BIA boarding school within its period of significance. However, Fort Spokane was abandoned for 30 years beginning in 1930, and most or all facilities were dismantled or otherwise scavenged.¹²²

Officially the Fort Totten State Historic Site since 1960, Fort Totten assisted with the containment and subjugation of the region's American Indians (Sioux) in the surrounding Devil's Lake Reservation. With specific policy functions paralleling those of the TR School, the Fort Totten School promptly transitioned to service as an Indian industrial boarding school (1890-1934), a regional tuberculosis school (1935-1940), and a community school (1940-1959). The historic integrity of the Army parade square and associated buildings serve as reflections of regional military significance while only the metal flagstaff (1912) and the 1923 gymnasium survive as resources reflecting the property's association with the nationally significant theme of Indian education policy and practice. Six buildings immediately surrounding the parade square (9.8 acres) remain.¹²³

Among these properties, Fort Apache/TR School presents one of the best places to tell the multilayered history of Federal Indian policies. Both the diversity of events associated with Fort Apache---which ranged from the use of Indian scouts when the property was a military base to the school's use as a medical facility---and the nature of the architectural compendium of property types ensure that this property is one of the best places to convey not only the emergence and development of Federal Indian policies but also the nuances associated with these policies.

Conclusion

As a fort that became a school, Fort Apache/TR School provides an unparalleled site for a nuanced interpretation of the complex processes and dynamics that both shaped the Federal government's interactions

¹¹⁹ Herbert Hart, *Old Forts of the Northwest*; Robert Frazer, *Forts of the West*.

¹²⁰ Douglas Whisman, Fort Simcoe Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination 1971, see also Herbert Hart, *Old Forts of the Northwest*; and Robert Frazer, *Forts of the West*.

¹²¹ Herbert Hart, *Old Forts of the Northwest*; Robert Frazer, *Forts of the West*; and Stephanie Toothman and Cathy Gilbert, Fort Spokane Historic District National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination, 1986.

¹²² (<http://www.nps.gov/archive/laro/webdirectory/culturalandscape.htm>, accessed 20 February 2007).

¹²³ Hart, *Old Forts of the Northwest*; Frazer, *Forts of the West*; and Nelson 1992, www.state.nd.us/hist/totten/totten.htm, accessed November 12, 2005.

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with Native Americans and laid the foundations for the policies, institutions, and attitudes that define and distinguish Indian Country and much of the American West. During the mid-nineteenth century, military bases, such as Fort Apache, enabled the US Army to first defeat and then control Native populations. Following the confinement of tribes on reservations, assimilation through education became the focus of Federal Indian policy and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) developed and maintained schools designed to “kill the Indian...and save the man.” Located on the site of the former Fort Apache, the Theodore Roosevelt School was one of 14 former forts re-developed as a school under this new policy. Among the 14 forts that became schools, Fort Apache/TR School’s significant role in the history of the West marks it as one of the best sites for preserving and illustrating the strong connections between shifting and seemingly diverse Federal policies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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In 1998, in anticipation of expanded and enhanced interpretive programs focused on the district, the White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program and Historic Preservation Office facilitated interviews with Apache elders who attended the TR School as students. Transcripts of these interviews, along with the unpublished sources referenced in this nomination, are archived at the White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program, Historic Preservation Office. At the same repository, within the Lori Davisson Archive, *File 120 – Schools*, are copies of many Federal and miscellaneous records employed here. All references cited in this nomination, together with additional published documents deemed relevant to the district and its significance, are listed below.

The *Chronicle of Events and Processes in the History of the Fort Apache & Theodore Roosevelt School District*, attached to this nomination as Appendix C offers additional details, with particular attention to information focused on education as an area of district significance.

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Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.

Previously Listed in the National Register.

Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.

Designated a National Historic Landmark.

Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #

Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

State Historic Preservation Office

Other State Agency

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- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other (Specify Repository):

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10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 288 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	12	593170	3739760
B	12	594390	3739760
C	12	594390	3738560
D	12	593170	3738560
E	12	594560	3739060

Verbal Boundary Description: Starting at the NW corner of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 26, T5N, R22E, Gila & Salt River Base Meridian, AZ, then 2640' E, then 3960' S, then 3029' W, then 1484' N, then 931' W, then N to centerline of the East Fork White River, then follow river centerline upstream (NE) until it intersects with the W side of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 26, then N to point of origin. The approximate center of the Fort Apache post cemetery is referenced by UTM point "E."

Boundary Justification: Following delineated patterns, the boundary encompasses all contributing resources associated with the historical development of Fort Apache and the Theodore Roosevelt School and excludes lands not associated with the fort or school. The proposed NHL boundary for the Fort Apache and TR School District is identical to the boundary established through the 1976 listing of Fort Apache in the National Register of Historic Places, including the boundary of the Fort Apache post cemetery, a non-contiguous contributing resource. The boundary coincides on the south, west, and north with the surveyed perimeter of TR School lands. This boundary was delineated in the 1960 Congressional Act, which reduced to 410 acres from 7,579 acres the administrative area set aside for TR School use (see Table 1; Maps 1, 7). The approximately 122 acres of lands on the east side of the property that were included in the 410 acre TR School perimeter (per the 1960 Act) and excluded in the 1976 National Register listing were never incorporated into TR School operations and have, since 1960, been surrendered by BIA for dedication to other uses by the White Mountain Apache Tribe.

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
May 13, 2011

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Appendix A:**Background of *U.S. v. White Mountain Apache Tribe* (2002/2003)**

U.S. v. White Mountain Apache Tribe offers a poignant glimpse at the contemporary consequences of historical policy decisions. The TR School's unique jurisdictional and management history sowed the seeds of conflict between the White Mountain Apache Tribe and its trustee. Although *U.S. v. WMAT* has unfolded outside of the district's period of significance, the litigation has roots deep in the district's past, is a contemporary manifestation of Federal Indian policy dynamics, and will profoundly influence district preservation and interpretation for the foreseeable future.

The dispute arose from how Congress resolved a jurisdictional inconsistency relating to the district's 1922 transfer from the Army to BIA. The Executive Orders of January 26, 1877 and February 1, 1877 withdrew 7,579 acres from the reservation land base for the Army's exclusive use (see Table 1). Although the Executive Order of October 4, 1922 and Department of the Interior appropriations bills authorized the Secretary of the Interior to assume administrative control of the former fort, the thousands of acres of surrounding land remained held in fee simple by the US, legally separate from the surrounding Fort Apache Indian Reservation (see Maps 1, 7).

This inconsistency between the land's legal status (as a military reserve) and actual use as a BIA school persisted until the late 1950s, when Congressman Stewart Udall (later Secretary of the Interior under J.F. Kennedy) and Senator Hayden recognized that the TR School had no legitimate need for 7,579 acres embedded in the White Mountain Apache Tribe's trust lands. In a 1960 effort to address inconsistency, Congress passed Public Law No. 86-392 (74 Stat. 8, 25 USC 277), restoring all 7,579 acres to the White Mountain Apache Tribe to be held in trust by the U.S. In furtherance of the district's importance in American history and promise for eventual use by the Tribe's tourism enterprise, P.L. 86-392 included the unusual provision of placing TR School's 410 acres, together with *all improvements*, in perpetual trust status for the Tribe's exclusive benefit. In conveying full equitable title of the district to the Tribe and establishing a Federal trust duty, Congress obliged the Secretary of the Interior to care for the district in accord with fiduciary principles and standards. The bare legal title to the land remained held by the United States, subject to the right of the Secretary to use the district for school or administrative purposes for as long as needed.

Prior to the 1960 Act, students at TR School attended an "off-reservation" school in the midst of Indian Country. The new law transformed the TR School overnight into an on-reservation boarding school enjoying the extra protection of trust status. Although the change seems not to have been noticed by students, faculty, or administrators, as the public school district expanded and TR School enrollments dropped, BIA was stuck with an unfunded mandate to maintain the fragile district. In the late 1970s, the TR School campus began to fall into disrepair. Instead of dedicating the maintenance budget to existing buildings, BIA began importing modular classrooms and dormitories. BIA also attempted without success to transfer ownership of rapidly deteriorating buildings to the Tribe, but the Tribe refused to accept the structures unless and until they were made fully available for safe and beneficial use. Following unsatisfactory discussions with Secretary Bruce Babbitt and other Interior officials, in March of 1999 the Tribe filed a lawsuit for damages in the U.S. Court of Federal Claims. Robert Brauchli, the Tribe's long-time attorney, served as lead counsel throughout the eight years of proceedings.

The trial court promptly dismissed the Tribe's claim on the grounds that the BIA remained in ongoing control of the trust assets at the TR School. On appeal, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the lower court's

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decision. However, as the Court of Claims prepared to re-hear the case, the U.S. petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to clarify its trust obligation to the Tribe regarding the buildings. The Supreme Court granted the U.S. petition and heard oral arguments on December 2, 2002. On March 4, 2003, in a 5-4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the Circuit Court of Appeals ruling that the Federal government had a trust obligation to protect, preserve, and repair the Tribe's trust property while under BIA control.

The high court's decision set the stage for the May 4, 2005 approval by the White Mountain Apache Tribe of a settlement of the Tribe's damage claim. Dallas Massey, Sr., Chairman of the Tribal Council, stated that the settlement, "paves the way to restore the legendary Fort Apache military post which has long been recognized as an endangered, historical monument....Fort Apache brought together in one place, Army Generals, Anglo-American soldiers, Chinese workers, African-American Buffalo Soldiers, Apaches, Hispanics, and others. The Post has stood as an enduring symbol of the history of the Old West for the Tribe and the rest of the world. With the settlement, the Tribe can now protect and preserve the Fort, and establish it as one of Arizona's finest tourist destinations."

In early 2007, the U.S. and the Tribe completed the Congressionally approved settlement. Use and control of the property no longer needed by the Secretary for school or administrative purposes has been transferred to the Tribe, along with a one-time cash payment of \$12 million dollars to be used exclusively for district maintenance and preservation. The three buildings still being used by TR School—main classroom and administration building, kitchen and cafeteria, and former girl's dormitory—will remain under BIA control, as will district roads and the parade ground. The agreement designates the Fort Apache Heritage Foundation as the management authority to assist the Tribe with the district's preservation and redevelopment.

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**Appendix B:
Apache Experiences at TR School**

Federal policy determined programmatic and financial parameters for TR School, but neither students nor their parents were passive victims of education-focused assimilation campaigns. Instead, their experiences of the district were and continue to be informed by their individual attitudes, actions, and reactions as well as by their diverse circumstances. The TR School students of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s are today's elders, and several agreed to go on the record regarding their experiences. Not surprisingly, these experiences run parallel to those reported by many other participants in the BIA boarding school system. These common experiences not only continue to influence tribal members' perspectives regarding the Federal government, Euro American education, and the Fort Apache and TR School District, but also united several generations of students from diverse tribal backgrounds who struggled as individuals and groups to make the best of often difficult situations. Presented here are a number of themes that pervade discussions of BIA schools and provide the most direct revelation of what life was like at TR School until the 1970s.

Federal Indian education policy contributed to the tremendous tensions within Native populations. On Apache reservations, mandatory school attendance entailed, for many families, abandonment of outlying residential, farming, and food collection areas that had been used for countless generations as hubs for networks of social and economic networks. This forced many fathers and mothers to seek wage-based employment beyond reservation boundaries.

Traditionalists strongly opposed sending children to distant schools to learn the "white man's" ways. They rightly understood that the objective of the schools was completely antithetical to tried-and-true lifeways. Wary parents told their children that owls, bears, and Euro-Americans would harm them, leading the children to flee at the sight of non-Indians. In 1998 Edgar Perry suggested that "mothers didn't want their kids to go to school, so they would tell their children to hide in the mountains all day. That way people coming and looking for school age kids wouldn't find them. They couldn't really make that many changes. The Apache children already knew how to hunt, plant, sing, dance, run, catch and ride a horse, make bows and arrows, butcher cows, and make whistles and sling shots." In many cases, even if the parents voluntarily agreed to send a child to a boarding school, the child resisted, fleeing home and hiding with sympathetic relatives.

For these and other reasons, there was little support for formal education from the Apache community.

Parents devised various means to keep their children out of school. Children had to pass physical examinations in order to be admitted to school. About two weeks before school started in the fall, the 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.¹²⁴

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

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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.¹²⁵

Despite heartfelt opposition, the grinding poverty and seeming hopelessness of reservation life caused many Indian parents to send their children to BIA schools—hopefully the beginning of a better life. Many families bitterly resented the control BIA officials exercised over their children, which extended to when and to what schools children were sent, when and under what circumstances parents could visit, and whether children would be allowed to return home. In general, student contacts with their parents and communities were limited in both quantity and quality. It was not until 1933 that off-reservation boarding school students were routinely allowed to go home for summer vacation. Parents understood that even if the school cared for their children's physical well being, a child's cultural and spiritual development would likely be irrevocably redirected.

The first days at school were, for Indian boarding students, typically traumatic. One student observed, “It is almost impossible to explain to a sympathetic white person what a typical old Indian boarding school was like; how it affected the Indian child suddenly dumped into it like a small creature from another world, helpless, defenseless, bewildered, trying desperately and instinctively to survive it all.” Many students never came to terms with boarding school life. Others flourished, learned, and made diverse and enduring friendships. Jerry Gloshey, Sr. remembered that he “went on the bus with my mother and came to Fort Apache. I was placed in the boarding school. I didn’t know any English. It was a very scary, frightening ordeal for me. I had never experienced running water from a faucet or bathrooms, or toilets. It was very strange to me. It was weird to sleep on a soft bed with sheets. There were lots of other tribes at the school, like Pima, Navajo, and so on. It seemed like the Navajo had it in for us Apache from the beginning, but it got better as we went along. My first teacher was a colored lady. We learned posture and how to take care of ourselves, like brushing our teeth” (1998).

Canyon Quintero, Sr., who worked for many years as a staff member of the White Mountain Apache Tribe Culture Center at the Log Cabin (#1) and Barracks (#17), offered these recollections in 1998: “I went to the boarding school when I was about seven years old in the 1930s....it was a good school as long as you behaved. We’d get up and get ready and get in a line and walk to school....Sometimes we were allowed when we were older to go see our parents, but not when we were little.”

English was the only language permitted in BIA schools and, until the 1920s, use of Native American languages was routinely and severely punished. In many schools children were obliged to take a "Christian" name in place of their Indian name. A child caught speaking their language might have his or her mouth washed out with soap or suffer some other, more extreme, penalty. Many students resisted the loss of their Native tongue. These students employed a variety of ways to maintain fluency in their mother tongue.

At the TR School, Mr. Quintero “learned some English, but hardly. I still don’t understand a lot. We were allowed to talk Apache with our friends during recess, but we tried to speak English. It would sometimes get us in trouble, though. We had to go to the classroom and do homework or wash blackboards and they would remind us never to speak our language.... They taught us to stay away from Apache things.... Teachers wanted you to learn English and Anglo ways.” As a TR School student in the early 1950s, Johnny Endfield, now a White Mountain Apache community leader, remembers sneaking around with his friends to speak

¹²⁵ William B. Kessel, “White Mountain Apache Religious Cult Movements: A Study in Ethnohistory” (PhD diss., University of Arizona (Tucson), 1976), 115.

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Apache: “the teachers were always watching us.” He said, “I learned to like the taste of that soap, and it never washed my language away.”

Daily life and material Conditions were also determined by *The Rules*. Students lived a quasi-military life, rising and going to bed at a signal, and marching from activity to activity. “We would wake up, go to the shower, the whistle would blow, and we’d walk from the boy’s dorm to the kitchen,” testified Mr. Wright, an Apache elder in a 1998 interview. Of her time at TR School, beginning in 1929, Marie Perry reported, “It was real strict. We had to get up early like soldiers. We couldn’t speak Apache or Navajo at Fort Apache.... It was really tough and we had mean teachers. We could sometimes go home Fridays and come back Sunday evenings. Everyone was lonesome for their home.” During a 1998 interview concerning TR School, another White Mountain Apache elder, Gladys Lavender recalled: “In the 1920s they were very strict; in the 1930s it wasn’t as bad. We could speak Apache on the playground. We had more freedom. In the 1920s it was more like a military school. We marched to school, we marched to church, and we marched to the dining room.” In general, half a day was spent in class and the balance was spent in "vocational" education, which could consist either of formal study or "work details" that contributed routine maintenance activities around the school. Students had very little privacy. They slept and ate in communal facilities. Correspondence either sent to or written by the student was routinely read by school staff.

Although living conditions were usually Spartan, many students’ familiarity with extreme poverty meant school circumstances were perceived as big improvements. “I had a lot of hard times....None of the parents had anything. We didn’t have any clothes, shoes, or hair grease. Our parents could only work for \$1.00 a day. It was good to go to school.”¹²⁶ By the early 1930s, school buildings at TR School and across the BIA system were typically run down and crowded. Students bathed once or twice weekly, otherwise washing in community troughs. Soap, in the words of the *Meriam Report*, "was rarely immediately accessible." The *Meriam Report* found toilets generally in poor repair and, in at least half of the toilets visited, lacking in toilet paper due to budgetary shortfalls.

Although most reports of the food quantity and quality at BIA schools prior to the *Meriam Report* indicate serious problems,¹²⁷ many students at TR School and elsewhere recall the food as being adequate. “We had good breakfast. Sometimes we got oatmeal, toast, and eggs. After breakfast we would get ready for school or play until the bell rang. Sometimes we would do chores around the boy’s rooms or the bathrooms, especially if we had bad behavior.”¹²⁸ Annie Ethelbah’s (1998) comments confirm that the TR School food was ample: “We had lots of beans! Eggs and bacon in the morning or sometimes toast and oatmeal. We had three meals a day.” The *Meriam Report*, however, was critical, suggesting widespread malnutrition among students and in some cases actual food shortages. The *Report* estimated that nutritional standards obliged the government to allow thirty-five cents per day per student, but the *Report's* staff calculated spending at only about eleven cents per day per student. The diet at the schools usually focused on meat and starches, with fresh vegetables or fruit rarely served. A typical supper might include bread, stew, or meat with gravy. This problem particularly irked many reformers because most of the schools emphasized the learning of agricultural skills and maintained substantial farming operations. It had become customary to produce cash crops to supplement the schools’ budgets rather than to raise crops to feed the students, but little evidence for this practice at TR School has surfaced.

¹²⁶ David E. Wright, Michael Hirlinger, and Robert E. England, *The Politics of Second Generation Discrimination in American Indian Education: Incidence, Explanation, and Mitigating Strategies* (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 1998).

¹²⁷ Eva Watt and Keith Basso, *Don’t Let the Sun Step Over You*.

¹²⁸ David E. Wright, Michael Hirlinger, and Robert E. England, *The Politics of Second Generation Discrimination in American Indian Education: Incidence, Explanation, and Mitigating Strategies*.

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In part because of the inadequate sanitary conditions and marginal diet, students' health was often poor. Health conditions were made worse, however, by the conscious decision to enroll sick children. Despite rules to the contrary, this practice was not uncommon at Indian schools as a means to rescue children from desperate conditions at home, facilitate access to school medical personnel, and boost school enrollments. As a result of this practice and an overall lack of proper health care, sanitation, and proper nutrition in Indian Country, epidemics of trachoma, tuberculosis, and other diseases were endemic. Deaths among students were frequent occurrences: "We slept in dorms, then the girl's dorm burned down.... We had disease come, like spinal meningitis, and some of the classmates died. We had to be quarantined then."¹²⁹

Punishments were meted out for inattention to the many rules, and included withdrawal of privileges or assignment of extra work details. For major infractions, students might be deprived of a meal. Girls were often forced to kneel for an extended period on a hard surface and boys and girls were occasionally beaten with a strap or rubber hose. Edgar Perry, the founding director of the White Mountain Apache Tribe Culture Center, reported hearing from his mother, Marie Perry that, "to punish a Navajo boy that ran away, they made him wear a dress for a week. Teachers downgraded the students, but the Apache kids were very smart."¹³⁰

Flogging and other extreme punishments were not banned by BIA policy until 1929, and some officials seem to have ignored the policy and continued to administer beatings. As Mr. Quintero recalled in 1998, "We had good teachers. We had colored men and women and some Spanish. They were mean, though.... If you ran away or fooled around with girls the principal would take the "education stick" and whip you. They could do anything they wanted to you. They were real strict and they were always watching you. I ran away one time and the basketball coach made me scrub the floor everyday for a month. They called it "punish." You don't talk back, if you do they would make you scrub walls. They put you in a corner with a bucket on your head and you stayed there for two days."

The most common reason cited for fleeing BIA boarding schools is homesickness rather than poor treatment. Probably because the area surrounding TR School was familiar to most Apache students, there are innumerable stories associated with running away. According to Ronnie Lupe, some students (including himself) routinely escaped, running away from TR School to participate in family or religious events. Mr. Lupe recalls being able to cover the roughly 40 miles between TR School and his home town of Cibecue in less than a day.

Solidarity among and between unlikely individuals and groups of tribal members developed as an unintended result of the Federal Indian educational system. Eva Watt reports numerous instances of Apache student and parent strategies and conspiracies to protect individual and family interests from rigorous BIA policies and educator practices.¹³¹ In addition to running away, students influenced their boarding school experiences by resisting teachers and, occasionally destroying school property. In *Education for Extinction*, Adams (1995) argues that the friendships forged across tribal lines facilitated the development of a pan-Indian cohesiveness central to ongoing advocacy and dynamics in Federal-tribal relations. Lomawaima (1994) notes that exposure to distinctly different tribal traditions often fostered students' appreciation for their own traditions. Mike (n.d.) posted a chat room comment that encapsulates the memories of many White Mountain Apache Tribal members concerning TR School:

¹²⁹ Keller's analysis of student health at the Sherman Institute, 1902-1922, reveals that although the health-related fears associated with sending Indian children away to boarding schools was prevalent, the Sherman staff were both diligent and effective in protecting student's from morbidity and mortality. Although the limited documentary evidence and the dearth of TR School student burials in the Fort Apache cemetery suggest that students who died while attending TR School were sent home for burial, Apache religious practitioners have noted the lingering presence within the District of the spirits of traumatized children. Jean A. Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922*, (East Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

¹³⁰ Lori Davisson, "The Old Log Cabin," *White Mountain Magazine*, 22/23 1977, pp. 71-77.

¹³¹ Eva Watt and Keith Basso, *Don't Let the Sun Step Over You*.

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It was once the Army headquarters and is now the ...Cultural center.... When day schools wouldn't work, they started day and night. The children had to stay there, and live there. No contact with any outside people.... They couldn't get the children there so agents would go out at night and early morning to homes all over. Including other reservations like San Carlos.... Many of the children from those times still have the marks on their backs and legs from going to school there. If the parents wouldn't give up the child they were beaten and taken. They had the right under laws to do this in the name of saving the child. This happened till 1944 then they would only throw the parents in jail.

Then in the fifties the school became too full so they started other schools near by for the tamer children.... Anyone like my oldest brother that had trouble had to go to the boarding school. Today the Government tried to turn the boarding school over to the Tribe, but they would not repair the school or provide funds for it. So there is a law suit today on it.¹³²

Table 1. Number of Federal Indian Schools and Aggregate Enrollments, 1880 – 1930¹³³

Year	Day Schools / Enrollment	Boarding Schools / Enrollment	Indian Enrollment in Mission & Private	Indian Enrollment in Public Schools
1880	109 / not available	60 / not available	not available	not available
1890	106 / 3,967	140 / 12,410	not available	not available
1900	154 / 5,120	153 / 19,810	1,275	246
1911	227 / 6,121	156 / 19,912	2,739	10,265
1920	204 / 5,765	143 / 21,659	3,518	30,858
1930	150 / 3,983	136 / 28,333	3,358	34,775

¹³² www.education-info.com/elementary_school/boarding_school_msg30871, Consulted January 2004

¹³³ From *Report on BIA Education* (1988:15; see also Jon Reyner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History*, Table 2). Lack of 1910 data obliged use of 1911 data. Boarding school data aggregates all federal, mission, and private boarding schools. Mission and private school data excludes schools operating under federal contracts. Public school enrollments exclude students living beyond BIA jurisdiction, i.e., outside of Indian Country.

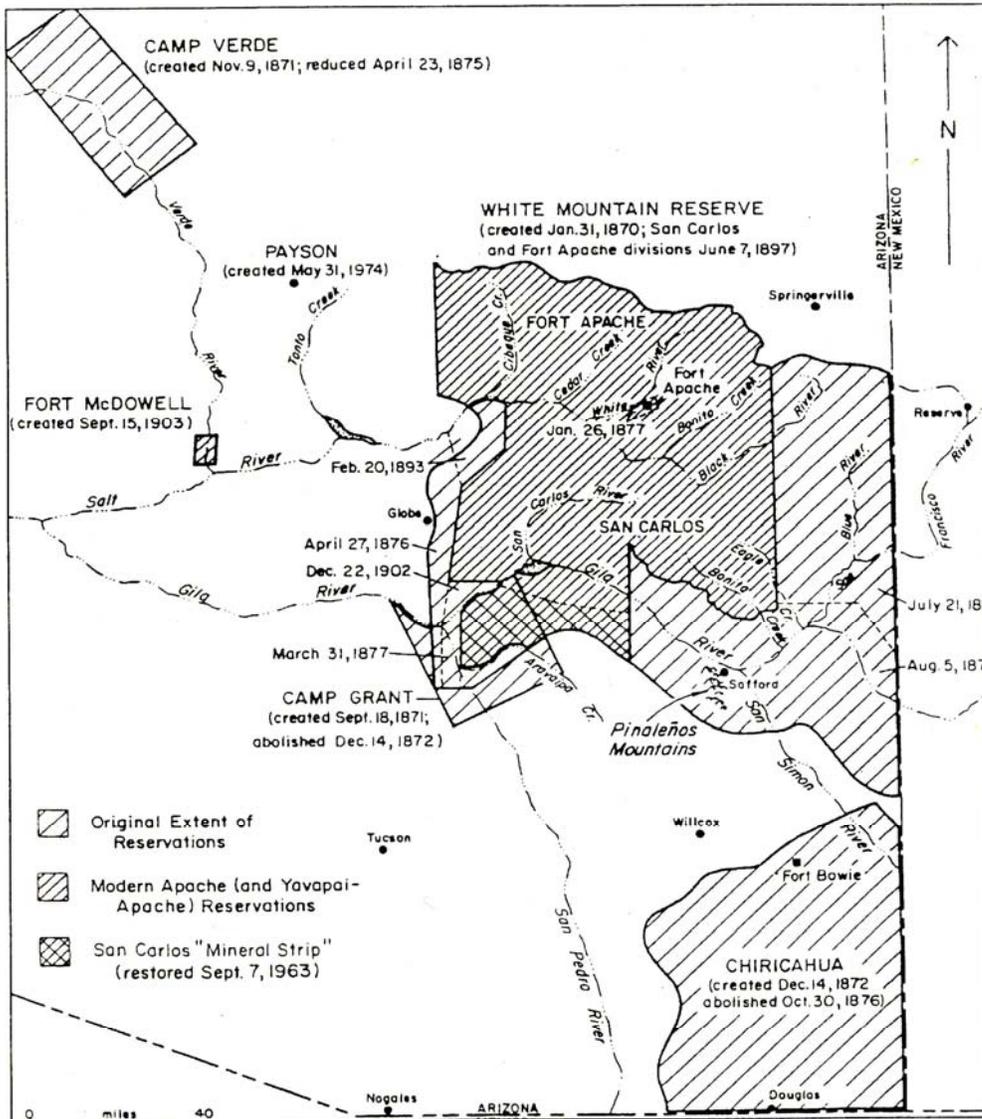
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Changing Boundaries of Arizona's Apache Reservations (from Welch 1997)

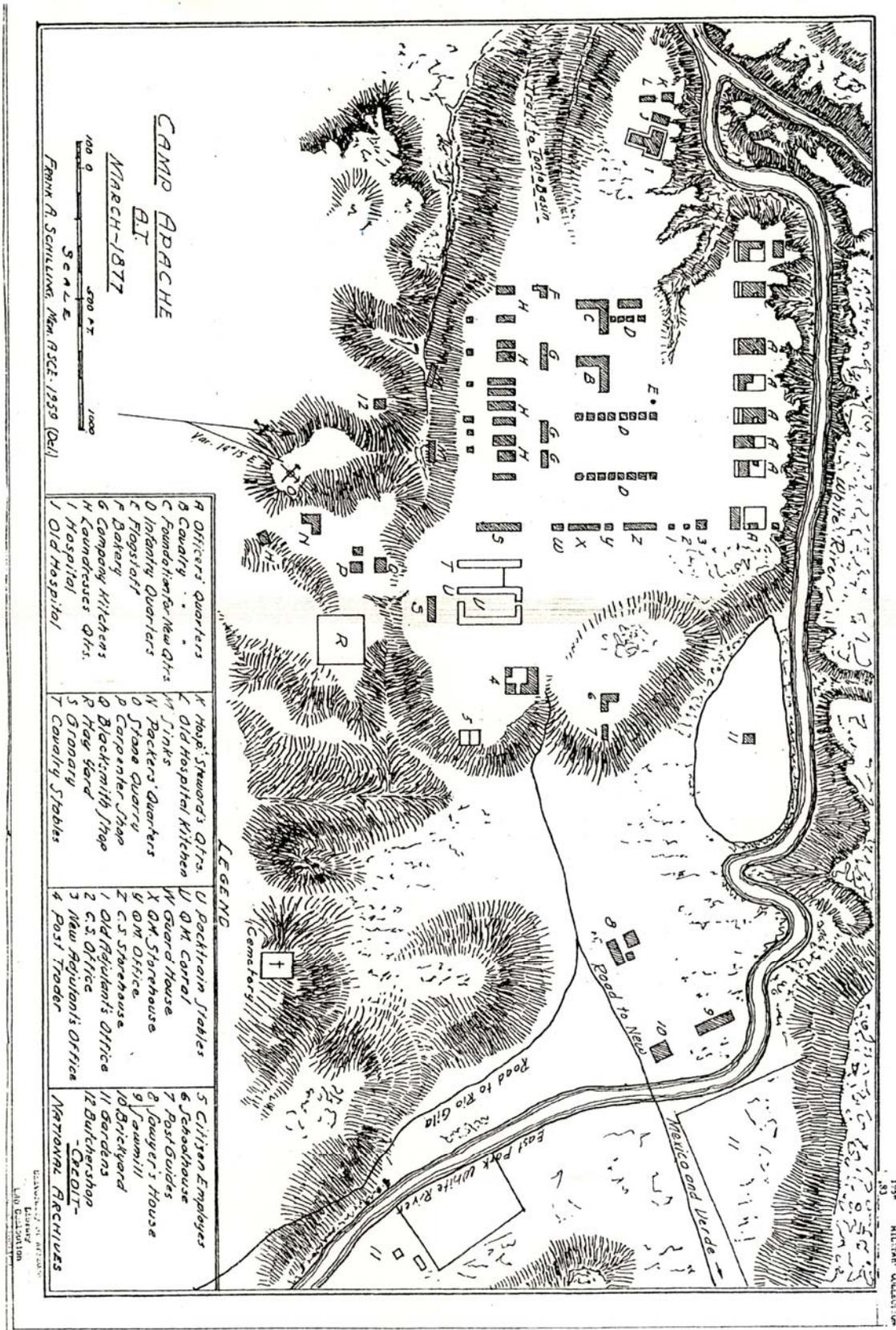


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Camp Apache A. T., March 1877 (1961). Photocopy of Map Redrawn by Schilling (1961) from maps in the National Archives.

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Oblique aerial view of district. View east with canyon of East Fork of White River in foreground, and view of white cone roof of Nohwike' Bagowa Museum on right center. John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.



Building #1, Log Cabin, view west, with replica historic fencing and Cibecue Battle monument. John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.

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Building #4, Commanding Officer's Quarters, view north, with reconstructed cupola and replica street lamp.
John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.



Buildings # 7-9, Officer's Quarters, view west-northwest along Officer's Row with replica lamps.
John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.

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Buildings # 17 and 18, Stabilized Men's Barracks, view north into the courtyard, with wood frame half of the Original Guardhouse/School Shop on left. John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.



Building # 24, Stables/Dairy Barn, view northwest, with silos attached to north façade.
John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.

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Building # 29, Quartermaster's Corral, view northwest, with Stables' silos in background.
John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.



Parade ground/TR School play field, view west along Officer's Row to Girl's Dorm (Building # 23).
John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.

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Building # 32, Granary/Hay Barn, view northwest, with debris from dump in foreground.
John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.



Cemetery, view northwest, with Apache scout headstones and portion of masonry perimeter wall.
John R. Welch, photographer, November 2004.

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Dine' (Navajo) boys participate in marching drill on Theodore Roosevelt School/Fort Apache parade ground, ca. 1928-29. Building nos. 1-4 visible in background. Bessie Kniffen Young Photograph Collection, Nohwike' Bagowa, White Mountain Apache Cultural Center and Museum.



Dine' (Navajo) girls with bead looms on front porch of hospital/girls' dormitory, ca. 1928-29. Foundation and sidewalk elements of this building survive. Bessie Kniffen Young Photograph Collection, Nohwike' Bagowa, White Mountain Apache Cultural Center and Museum.

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Oblique aerial view to southeast, with majority of district including East Fork of White River along bottom of image (excluding cemetery). John R. Welch, photograph, ca. 1999.



37°42' N
37°41' N
37°40' N

111°15' W
111°14' W
111°13' W
111°12' W
111°11' W

47°30' E
47°30' W

1.5 N.
1.4 N.
1.3 N.

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3736

GILA CO
NAVAJO CO

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F O R T

I N D I A N

East Fork White

MILITARY RESERVATION

SEVEN MILE

SEVEN MILE

SEVEN MILE

SEVEN MILE

Airport Tank

Fire Control Center

CH Tank

Fort Apache

Fort Apache Tank

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