



Apaches and the mining menace: Indian-White conflicts in southwestern New Mexico, 1800-1886

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APACHES AND THE MINING MENACE; INDIAN-WHITE CONFLICTS IN SOUTHWESTERN NEW MEXICO, 1800-1886

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Abstract—Compared to other areas of the West, full-fledged mining development in southwestern New Mexico did not begin until the late 1870s and early 1880s, due in large part to the resistance of the Southern Apaches, a branch of the Chiricahuas, to the encroachment of prospectors and miners onto their homelands. The “Apache problem” was in fact a “miner problem” that between 1830–1860 transformed peacefully-disposed bands like the Mimbres into hostiles. Strikes around Santa Rita and Piños Altos between 1850–1860 particularly escalated the conflicts. The outbreak of the Civil War temporarily left the field to the Apaches, but the recognition that New Mexico’s mineral wealth would remain inaccessible unless the Apaches were permanently subdued led at first to the army’s policy of extermination, then removal on temporary reservations at Cañada Alamosa and Tularosa, and finally to concentration of all Apaches tribes in Arizona. The Southern Apaches objected to being removed from their homelands, and as a result, the Apache wars continued until 1886 when the Chiricahuas, the fiercest opponents of the “mining menace,” were exiled from the Southwest.

INTRODUCTION

“Gold is where I ain’t.” (Miner saying)

Mining, which “incorporates economic, political, technological, labor, gender, ethnic, and environmental issues over the entire course of southwestern history” (Huggard, 1994, p. 317), has been traditionally seen in its pioneer phase through the eyes of the burro-pick-and-shovel prospectors and miners who may rub shoulders with the “lace-boot brigade” of engineers and geologists. These individuals are credited with discovering and opening up the great mineral wealth of the American continent, which remained hitherto unutilized or underutilized (Young, 1970). Theodore Roosevelt listed “the gold miner, the transcontinental railway, and the soldiers,” as the three pioneers of civilization (Roosevelt, 1900, p. 15).

However, all accounts of the triumph of civilization hide a darker side of the story. The impact of historic mining practices on the environment has only recently become a public concern in the West (Smith, 1987; Huggard, 1994). Just as the impact of mining on the environment has not been part of the standard histories of Western mining (Rickard, 1932; Jackson, 1963; Young, 1970, Spence, 1970; Paul, 1974, 1979; Malone, 1983), the consequences of mining activities on the aboriginal population of the West have not been weighed into the equation by mining historians (Paul, 1979; Malone, 1983), but remains a province for “Indian” historians.

The omission of Native Americans from standard accounts in mining histories might be ascribed to nineteenth-century ethnocentrism, but the same continues to hold true for the twentieth century, as a recent study of the impact of uranium mining on Navajo and Pueblo miners reveals (Eichstaedt, 1994). Just as we, the heirs to the environmental, health, and human costs of the extractive industries are only beginning to tally up the costs, a century earlier, these costs already mounted to considerable heights due to the violent encounters between the Native people and Euro-Americans. Such aboriginal conflicts have not vanished in the twentieth century either.

In the Southwest, the most bitter and the longest of these conflicts, the Apache wars, erupted well before the arrival of the Anglo-Americans and did not end until 1886 with the removal of the remnants of the Chiricahua Apaches to Florida. The causes of these bloody Apache wars, like many other Indian-white conflicts in the West (Limerick, 1987), are directly attributable to the

increased activities of prospectors and miners in the southwestern portion of New Mexico and neighboring Arizona, and to the inability of the military and the civilian authorities to deal effectively with the advance of the mining frontier into Apache territory (Ogle, 1970). As a result, accounts of the mining history in the Southwest uniformly cite Apache resistance as one of the reasons, along with isolated location and climate, for the comparatively slow development of mining enterprises, which did not begin to fully develop until the late 1870s and early 1880s (Browne, 1868; Jones, 1904; Christianson, 1975; Paul, 1974).

At the time American mining activities commenced, the Southern Apaches had neither treaties or reservations set aside for them, and would have none for 20 years, which therefore made the miners trespassers. However, the attitude to the miners to such technicalities, as one historian stated about an earlier mining rush, was simple: “Like all frontiersmen, ...miners felt that the natural resources of the country were theirs for the taking.... They professed not to see anything illogical about breaking the law in trespassing on Indian land and stripping it of its riches before the government possessed it...” (Dick, 1970, p. 89).

Although New Mexican miners often spoke of venturing into “Indian country,” or the *Apachería*, a name for a vast area coined by the Spanish (Thrapp, 1967), the mental leap that they were indeed entering the Indians’ “country,” rarely occurred. An account of the famous Lost Adams mine, purportedly located near Socorro, New Mexico, offers a revealing attitude of pioneer prospectors and miners. The writer states that the lucky seekers struck bonanza in Apache country, in an unnamed stream, filled with “free gold.” The writer does not explain whether the miners saw this as the legal or the physical condition of the metal, but he further reveals that Geronimo and the Apaches were at first friendly with the miners—only to become inexplicably hostile when the miners commenced to construct a house (Byerts, 1988).

Similarly, recollections of a pioneer miner in the Black Range, known then as Sierra de Los Mimbres (Myers, 1968), juxtaposes the recognition that the Apache regarded the Sierra as their home and expresses an understanding of why the Apache would not want to be moved from his “strongholds of these sylvan beauties.” Yet the miner saw it as only fair that prospectors and miners such as himself should have received government pensions for their efforts to remove the Indians from the very same “sylvan beauties” (McKenna, 1969).

The idea that *Apachería* was a homeland and not simply a place

where the miners could “exploit natural resources under conditions of maximum freedom,” (Paul, 1974, p. 41) was completely foreign to the prospectors and miners, as well as chroniclers of Western mining. An early description of the mining potential of Arizona by J. Ross Browne in 1868 noted that the land where minerals may be found “...produces a picture of savage nature, quite in keeping with the fiendlike Apaches who make their dens in its fastness....” (Browne, 1868, p. 471, 474). A mining guide to New Mexico at the turn of the century repeatedly described certain areas such as the copper-bearing Burro district, remaining long unexplored because “...these mountains were the strong hold of the savage Apaches and it was a common belief that no prospector ever returned who chanced to wander into the region” (Jones, 1904). Even more recent accounts of western mining speak of the Indians as being an “obstacle” and “menace” to the miners, rather than vice versa, treat Indian attacks on miners as a condition, rather than the consequences of mining activity, and popularly refer to the Southwest as being “infested” by the Apaches (Young, 1970; Paul, 1974; Christiansen, 1975).

To the Apaches, the mining frontier’s invasion of their homeland was a stark reality. The Apaches knew it, and acted upon it. In his recollections of his early years, a Warm Springs Apache remembered: “At first the lure was minerals in our mountains; later the land itself was wanted for grazing. It was the prospectors and miners whom we considered most objectionable, for they grovelled in the earth and invoked the wrath of the Mountain Gods by seeking gold, the metal forbidden to man. It is a symbol of the Sun, of Ussen Himself, sacred to Him. Apaches wear silver ornaments, but not gold” (Ball, 1990, p. 46).

In a field that as a rule lacked sympathy for the Indians, it is surprising to find a voice contrary to conventional wisdom. It comes from Thomas A. Rickard, member of a family of professional western mining engineers, an engineer himself, an avid student of history, an author and an editor. In 1932 in his leading work, *A History of American Mining*, Rickard did not mince words: “...we may pause and recognize the fact that the land belonged to the Indians, that the Spaniards and other later adventurers from Europe were invaders, and that the refusal of the Indians either to submit to the foreigners or to surrender their patrimony is entirely to their credit” (Rickard, 1932, p. 264). Ironically, Rickard, an independent Cornishman, showed little sympathy for the plight of mine labor (Spence, 1970).

The Apaches, as well as other Native people, might have had a reason to resist this turn of events, as some contemporary American officials recognized, but that right became untenable because their lands simply became too valuable to others. The determination of prospectors and miners to enter these lands led to the escalating reliance on the U.S. military to break Apache resistance. As Rickard put it: “...to hold a pick in one hand and a rifle in the other might be deemed heroic, but it was incompatible with profitable industry” (Rickard, 1932, p. 267). It should be noted that despite the miners’ outlays of manpower and gunpowder, the costs protecting this profitable industry, were all borne by the American taxpayers.

Ironically, the calls of prospectors and miners for military protection against the Apaches whose homelands they were invading truncated what was shaping out to be a relatively peaceful transition of some Apache bands occupying southern New Mexico from nomads and raiders into settled agriculturalists. As a result, the precious minerals brought up from the earth came at a terrific cost. In short, “...the failure to exercise good judgement in this matter delayed the development of our mineral resources, caused the loss of thousands of lives needlessly, and bespattered the pages of our frontier history with ugly patches that sadly disfigure its romantic features” (Rickard, 1932, p. 266).

DISCUSSION

The Spanish-Mexican Phase, 1800–1846

The arrival of the Americans into the southern portion of New Mexico came on the heel of an established, if sporadic Spanish and Mexican presence in the area that had already generated conflicts with the local Apache bands. Still, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Spanish authorities were successful through a system of warfare and *reduccion* (an early version of reservations) to compel the Mimbres Apaches to take up sedentary lives. The process was however interrupted by the chaos of the Mexican bid for independence from Spain (Thrapp, 1974).

In 1800 the generally disappointing Spanish quests for gold were marginally vindicated by the discovery of the Santa Rita copper mine. Before the Civil War this copper mine, reportedly discovered by an Indian, or Indians (Jones, 1904), served as the hub of sporadic mining activity in southwestern New Mexico. More importantly, however, the mine was located in the middle of the homeland of the Mimbres Apaches (Thrapp, 1974). As time would reveal, the Apaches’ homeland also contained other bonanzas of silver and gold, waiting to be discovered (Thrapp, 1967).

Unfortunately, the entire area of southwestern New Mexico and southern Arizona was the homeland of the several Southern Apache bands including Mimbres, Gileños, Warm Springs, and Mogollons, who belonged to the eastern branch of the redoubtable Chiricahua Apaches (Myers, 1968; Lamar, 1977; Thrapp, 1967). Yet the initial contacts between the miners and the Apaches were surprisingly peaceful. According to some sources, the leader of the Mimbres, Juan José, a man with a smattering of education (Thrapp, 1967), gave his consent for the establishment of the Santa Rita mine, a move which split the tribe into two factions. Those who lived in the vicinity of the diggings became known as the Copper Mine Apaches. The other branch, the Warm Springs or Ojo Caliente bands remained more leery of the newcomers (Wellman, 1935).

The Santa Rita operations consisted of extracting native copper and smelting it into 150 lbs. ingots, which were transported on muleback to Chihuahua (Rickard, 1932). The activities proceeded without hindrance until the 1830s, but between 1827–1834, a new lessee introduced a new element into the picture—about a hundred families of farmers to feed the miners who located themselves in the heartland of the Mimbres country, in the Mimbres valley itself, about 9 mi east of Santa Rita (Christiansen, 1975).

By then, relationships between Apaches and non-Indians began to turn sour. The governors of Sonora and Chihuahua decided to pay a bounty for Apache scalps, rather than pacifying their owners with rations and gifts at the *presidios* (Thrapp, 1974; Spicer, 1976). American fur trappers appeared on the Gila River in the 1820s, and some of them were happy to harvest scalps as well as furs (Spicer, 1976). The relationship further deteriorated when the Mexican military killed 130 Mimbres and took 90 prisoners when these Apaches showed up for their rations at Janos (Cremony, 1983).

At Santa Rita, these events had a bloody counterpart. Even though the miners there had experienced no problems with the Mimbres, in 1837 American scalphunters fired a howitzer into a group of about a thousand Mimbres whom they had invited to a feast, killing among the four hundred, the one friendly chief, Juan José. (Cremony, 1983; Thrapp, 1967; Spicer, 1976; Rickard, 1932; Cremony, 1983). The murder of Juan José and his party reunited the Mimbres and the Warm Springs Apaches under a new leader, Mangas Coloradas (Wellman, 1935). Mangas Coloradas then launched a full-scale war against the Mexicans, killing the residents of the copper mine and thereby eliminating non-Indian presence from southwestern New Mexico until about 1850 (Ogle, 1970).

The American Phase, 1850–1886

The 1850s turned out to be a crucial decade for both the Apaches and for the non-Indians. New Mexico had passed into the hands of the Americans as a result of the Mexican-American war, and in 1853 the Gadsden Purchase formally transferred the “Apache problem” to the American government. In the 1850s, the relationship between the Apaches and the U.S. was actually also friendly, with the Apaches distinguishing between their mortal enemies, the Mexicans, and the Americans. But several developments strained the embryonic amity: American officials’ insistence that the Apaches cease their raids into Sonora and Chihuahua, the arrival of the Argonauts heading for Californian gold fields, the appearance of the Mexican boundary surveyors, the opening of the Overland Mail route in 1858, and the galling return of miners into the Santa Rita del Cobre area (Ogle, 1970; Spicer, 1976).

After expelling the miners from Santa Rita, the Apaches became uneasy when the Bartlett boundary survey team appeared at Santa Rita in 1851. When the surveyors proceeded to refurbish some fifty adobe houses of the previous owners, the Apaches, as a member of the party recounted, watched the proceedings with “great interest and unfeigned anxiety... [and] frequently asked whether we intended to remain at the Copper Mines, and as frequently received a reply in the negative...; but they could not conceive that people should take so much pains to build houses and render them comfortable only for a short residence...” (Cremony, 1983; Lamar, 1977).

The Mimbres had a reason to be skeptical. In 1851, about 150 miners rushed into a brand new gold field discovered at Piños Altos, near Santa Rita. New Mexico’s Indian agent-governor James S. Calhoun received a report from Charles Overman, one of the miners, that the work on the gold diggings had proceeded smoothly for three months with the military doing everything possible to “protect us from the Indians.” He reported that no Apache depredations had occurred until recently and asked the governor to raise a militia force to replace the departing military. Overman saw the situation clearly: “The Country here, from the Rio Grand (sic) to the Rio Gila cannot be surpassed by richness by any other part of New Mex. and the mines all about here, are very rich in Gold, Silver, Copper, Led (sic) &c.; in gold I do not suppose that California can surpass it...And if your Excellency should not send any troops here, the place will have to be deserted and most likely such an opportunity of subduing the Indians will never occur again” (Calhoun, 1915).

Six months later, Overman and his companions got their wish, as General E. V. Sumner established posts of Fort Fillmore, Conrad, and at the “Copper Mines, in the Apache Country,” (Fort Webster) with the expectation that they would “effectually” (sic) curb the tribe (Calhoun, 1915). Nothing in fact could be further from the truth. The renewed presence of the miners and soon the adjunct farmers and settlers indeed required the construction of posts and the deployment of the military, but this combination only introduced a cycle of Apache-American conflict (Myers, 1968). The Mescaleros Apaches were one of the first Apache groups to face military retaliation for their raids against Rio Grande settlements in 1854–55 (Hays, 1992). During this time, conflicts between the miners, the military, and the Southern Apaches escalated as emboldened miners began to spread outside the Santa Rita/Piños Altos area and throughout the southwest corner of New Mexico.

This penetration of the mining frontier deeper into the *Apachería* served as one of the reasons for the repeated failures of American officials to establish reservations where the Apaches could be segregated from contact with the Anglo intruders (Ogle, 1970), even though territorial and Bureau of Indian Affairs officials throughout the 1850s undertook the negotiation for several treaties with the Apaches (Utley, 1984). In 1853, Governor W. C. Lane

promised to provide the Apaches with supplies, food, and livestock for the next three years. In the manner of the Spanish officials a century earlier, Lane convinced a number of the Mimbres to settle near Fort Webster (located by then in the Mimbres valley), as the first step in weaning these tribes from raiding (Thrapp, 1967; Myers, 1968; Ogle, 1970; Spicer, 1976).

The Senate unfortunately failed to ratify all of these treaties, funds for the support of the Indians soon ran out, and the Apaches returned to raiding (Ogle, 1970; Thrapp, 1974). Congress did not appropriate funds until 1855, but when it did, the new agent for Southern Apaches, Dr. Michael Steck, induced the Gila Apaches to take up farming, which they commenced and carried on with some success for three years, despite the fact that they had no reservation (Ogle, 1970; Thrapp, 1974).

The same year Steck reported more success when he concluded a treaty whereby the Mimbres and the Mescaleros would settle on two reservations on the Mimbres River. The only problem was, as Steck broached the subject delicately, the Santa Rita mine, situated in the middle of the proposed refuges, to which private individuals staked a grant claim. Steck suggested to move the Apaches to a remote valley at the headwaters of the Gila, but the two prominent Mimbres chiefs, Mangas Coloradas and Victorio, did not appear at the negotiations, because they feared being forced to leave their lands. The Senate, mindful of a grant claim with mineral potential, again did not ratify the treaty and thus the Southern Apache remained landless in their own lands (Thrapp, 1974). That situation worried Steck who warned the government that his charges ought to be collected on reservation and civilized if for no other reason than that such as an approach was cheaper than fighting them: “when the saving to life and property is considered, the additional cost will be a matter of [trifling] consideration,” he prophesied accurately (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1857, p. 291, 294–296).

In the meantime, although the Mimbres and Mogollon bands had no treaty and no reservation, they settled down and planted about 150 acres on the Rio Mimbres and “Rio Pamos.” At the same time, these peacefully-disposed Apaches were not prospering. Steck reported that the Mimbres, Mogollon, and Mescaleros were exceedingly poor and decreasing in numbers. Steck pointed out that the Apaches were already victims of theft, whiskey peddlers, and sporadic attacks. The Mimbres were particularly upset about the settlements on the Mimbres River, including Mowry City, which consisted of a handful of shacks and two whiskey distilleries (Thrapp, 1974). Then, a new strike of copper and silver at Hanover, situated near the headwaters of the Mimbres river, about 6 mi east of Ft. Bayard, drew a new wave of miners into the area (Taylor, 1868; Jones, 1904), and at the same time, a major gold strike at Rich Gulch, near Piños Altos in May of 1860 by a party of ‘49ers, attracted some 1500 miners. The miners were not about to leave soon, not as long as the placers yielded promising returns averaging \$10–15 per day (Rickard 1904). Unfortunately, the strike was also in the area Mangas Coloradas regarded as his homeland (Jones, 1904; Utley, 1984).

On December 4, 1860, 28 miners, the “majority... Texans,” attacked a group of Mimbres for killing and eating a mule belonging to one of the Texans; among the dead laid a chief friendly to the whites, called Elías (Thrapp, 1974). To head off further conflicts, and no doubt to forestall what was clearly shaping out to be permanent American presence, Mangas Coloradas arrived at Piños Altos to persuade the miners to leave the area by telling them of fabulous bonanzas in remote Sonora. The suspicious miners seized Mangas Coloradas and flogged him to get him to expose his ulterior motives, thereby earning his and his followers’ undying enmity (Thrapp, 1974; Utley, 1984; Cremony, 1983; Ball, 1990).

The resumption of mining activity, the unchecked trespass of

miners and settlers onto the lands of the Southern Apaches, the killing of Elías and the humiliation of Mangas Coloradas threw New Mexico and Arizona into turmoil. In 1861, peace with Cochise's Chiricahuas, engineered by Steck three years earlier, was shattered by Colonel G. N. Bascom (Sweeney, 1989). Next came the outbreak of the Civil War, the withdrawal of officials and most of the Union forces from the Southwest, and the invasion of New Mexico by the Confederates (Ogle, 1970; Spicer, 1976; Utley, 1984). The power vacuum gave the Apaches a chance to reclaim their homelands.

On September 27, 1861 a war party under Mangas Coloradas and Cochise attacked Piños Altos. The Apaches, the *Mesilla Times* reported, "seem to have united, and their tribes have gathered in hosts, and commenced a war of extermination against the whites in earnest." The war party launched a daring attack on a town of 200–300 in open daylight. In the bitter fight, the miners prevailed, but the town was virtually wiped out. The miners blamed the Texans for inciting the Indians (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1861; Christiansen, 1975). After Piños Altos, the Apaches turned on the settlements in the Mimbres valley: they "drove off miners and farmers from their mines and homes, and all that region of country in the neighborhood of Piños Altos where rich and valuable mines were successfully worked, which is one of the richest mineral regions in the known world for copper, silver, and gold, had to be abandoned on account of the savage and unrelenting warfare waged against its inhabitants by these Gila Apache Indians" (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1867, p. 193; Ogle, 1970, p. 45).

Although some sources argue that Piños Altos was not abandoned because of the raid, but rather because the news of strikes near Prescott (Myers, 1968; Thrapp, 1974), the spectacular successes of the Apaches in depopulating southern New Mexico resulted in a full-scale war against them, undertaken in 1862 by the newly arrived General J. H. Carleton. Carleton proclaimed a war of extermination against all Apaches warriors, and from a new post called Fort West, established at the headwaters of the Gila, he launched a vigorous campaign against the Mimbres, virtually decimating them. Ironically, on one of the scouts, a detachment from Fort West discovered a new rich gold region (Myers, 1968; Utley, 1974; Thrapp, 1974).

One of those killed during the Mimbres campaign was Mangas Coloradas. He was captured at Piños Altos when he came to negotiate under white flag by Joseph Walker, a mountain man and prospector who wanted a safe passage to California. The septuagenarian Mangas was turned over to the military at Fort McLane, where he was shot "while attempting to effect his escape from the guard house." In fact, a couple of his guards shot their prisoner when protested against having his feet and legs burned by their heated bayonets. The dead chief's head was cut off, its flesh boiled off, and ended up as a specimen of a phrenologist who declared the skull larger than Daniel Webster's; those Mimbrenos who sought surrender were shot by the army (Thrapp, 1967; Thrapp, 1974; Cremony, 1983).

The policy of extermination did not bring about peace to the American Southwest, any more than it brought peace to the Mexican Southwest. In Mangas' stead, Cochise and Victorio took up the positions of leadership.

Piños Altos remained virtually abandoned until the end of the Civil War. During that time, the Apaches in Arizona had joined with the Southern Apaches in a general war against the Americans as a result of the rush of gold miners into the area around Prescott (Ogle, 1970). In New Mexico, the only success Carleton marked against the Apaches was the decimation of the Mimbrenos and the temporary removal of the Mescaleros to Bosque Redondo. But the gold bonanzas awaiting in New Mexico's mountains were not forgotten.

An effort to repopulate the mining region failed in 1864, but in 1866 the Piños Altos Mining Company built a 15-stamp mill, second such in the territory; and 1868–1869 saw great deal of mining activity, which led to the location by September 1869 of 213 quarry lodes (Jones, 1904). A. B. Norton, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico, declared that the miners were back in great numbers, under the protection of the newly established Fort Bayard. The return of the miners renewed the thorny question of what to do with the Indians who so inconveniently encumbered these valuable lands. "Their country is rich in mineral wealth, and already adventurous miners and penetrating their fastness," Norton warned, again arguing for the establishment of a reservation for the Apaches: "It removes the Indians from large tracts of country desirable for mining and cultivation, thereby extending the area of civilization and productiveness, and also recommends itself to all Christian men as the only means of preventing the entire extermination of the Indians..." (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867, 1868).

Thus it was not until the late 1860s and early 1870s, that the officials began again to consider sites as possible reservation for the Apaches. One such location was Arizona. The others included the area along the Santa Lucia River (Mangas Creek), or a reservation located on the Mimbres River, first contemplated in 1855. However, because of heavy influx of miners and settlers toward Piños Altos and Silver Flats, the military opposed the establishment of a reservation at the latter location (Thrapp, 1974). Special Agent W. F. N. Army believed the Mimbres and Mogollons should be settled at Cañada Alamosa, which they regarded as their homeland. The proposed reservation contained plenty of agricultural land if the 200 Hispanic settlers who had moved onto the land could be bought out (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1871; Thrapp, 1974).

Nothing was done, however, and the following year the Southern Apaches were reported to be in poor condition, with little shelter and scanty clothing. The agent could issue only 280 blankets to 540 Indians. They had no reservation and were afraid to move from their camps to hunt because they feared that army scouting parties would attack them if they did. (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870)

The impass was finally breached with the arrival in 1871 of a special Peace Commissioner, Vincent Colyer. Dispatched as part of a new federal "Peace Policy," Colyer was to report on the causes of the Apache wars in Arizona and New Mexico. He quickly learned the cause of some of them at a public meeting at Rio Mimbres in Grant County. The citizens expressed their resolve to recover their stock and to kill any Indians or Indian sympathizer who stood in their way (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871).

Colyer decided that because the valley of Cañada Alamosa was already occupied by settlers, the reservation for the Mimbres, Mogollons, and other roving bands should be located in the Tularosa Valley about 20 mi from Alamosa (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871)

In November 1871, such a reservation was finally established, but the Apaches did not want to move from their lands. The Apaches protested their removal, which was finally accomplished with the use of the army, but only a handful were removed. The rest resumed raiding. Those Apaches who went to Tularosa, objected to the location as being unhealthy, with severe climate, and bad water, all of which was true, the officials acknowledged. The Apaches asked to be allowed back to Cañada Alamosa, but since only \$70,000 was appropriated for the collecting and subsisting of all the Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico, most of them left Tularosa as well to roam and commit depredations (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870, 1872, 1873).

Some of the victims of these depredations were miners such as John Bullard, who after discovering the Silver or Chloride district in 1871, was killed by Apaches west of Silver City a year later. That fate did not deter other miners such as those in the Mimbres district and the Lone Mountain district, where for two years they operated a 10-stamp mill (Jones, 1904).

In 1874, an Executive Order finally created a reservation for the Apaches at Ojo Caliente, a location near Cañada Alamosa, the area from which they were moved by Colyer in 1872. The Apache applied themselves to planting, and the following year, after a decade of warfare, the Southern Apaches were reported peaceful and well disposed, and cultivating land. "The entire community feel (sic) a sense of security for life and property that they have never before have felt," the agent reported with great relief (Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874, p. 311; 1875, p. 333-335).

The peace did not last long. In 1876, a disastrous policy of concentration removed all Apaches onto the San Carlos reservation in Arizona (Thrapp, 1974). Victorio and the Mimbresños, who long resisted their removal from their homes around Santa Rita, went on a spectacular spree of carnage throughout the Southwest until Victorio was killed in 1880 by the Mexican army. The remnants of the Mimbresños then joined Nana and Geronimo to continue sporadic resistance until 1886.

The Apache wars this time did not put an end to mining activities in southwestern New Mexico, although they interrupted them in certain areas. Ironically, military activities against the Apaches often led to discoveries of new rich deposits. The discovery of Mogollon district went to Sergeant James C. Cooney of the 8th U.S. Cavalry, sent from Fort Bayard to rescue part of the Wheeler survey team under attack by the Apaches. Upon the expiration of his enlistment in 1876, Cooney located a claim that became a rich claim, only to be killed during Victorio's outbreak, following the chief's refusal to be located on the San Carlos reservation (Christiansen, 1975).

In the 1870s and 1880s, despite the raids of Geronimo and Victorio, the miners in southwestern New Mexico continued to fan out and to discover places like Burro Mountain, Shakespeare, Pyramid Lake, Hillsboro, Lake Valley, White Oaks, and Georgetown. In 1881, Lincoln, Doña Ana, Socorro, and Grant counties reported forty mining camps (Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1881).

Not surprisingly, occupants of many of these camps sometimes found themselves in the middle of Apache raiding parties. If the miners survived, they recounted the tale with great glee. At Georgetown, miners driven out of Hillsboro went around for a month without shaving or washing, not wishing to be caught out by the Indians. One intrepid miner, Jim Blaine, had dug a 10 ft deep prospecting shaft when Apaches bore down on him. Jim gamely shouldered a brand new shovel with a shiny new blade, managing to fool the attackers into thinking that he had a new kind of a rifle. Other miners credited hair-raising encounters with the Apaches for their instant, if temporary, sobriety, while some inebriated miners surprised by the Apaches saved their lives in mining tunnels (McKenna, 1969).

"Bugbear stories do not stop him [the prospector], neither do land grants, rattlesnakes, bears nor painted Indians," Governor Lew Wallace summed up the development of mining in New Mexico in 1879, aware of the passing of the frontier phase and the arrival of a new one. Mining history is divided into two parts, that of prospecting and that of production, he wrote, and prophesied that New Mexico would enter the latter stage in five years: "What can be had cheap to-day, will then cost a fortune," he urged on the miners (Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1879, p. 449). In fact, the miners did not need urging and the overall American inva-

sion of the Apachería had already cost a fortune, in lives and property. The census of 1890 lists 986 incidents of Apache "depredations" estimated at \$4.186 million. (Eleventh Census, 1890). This cost does not include the amount expended on the U.S. military to subjugate the Apaches, which has never been calculated. To those who uncovered the bonanzas of the Apachería, such question never occurred; they saw their discoveries offering far larger recompense of the process.

CONCLUSION

As T. A. Rickard recognized sixty years ago, conflicts between miners and Native Americans belong to the larger picture of the mining activities in the West rather than serving merely as an exotic sideshow. Mineral wealth of the West fueled the American industrial revolution and catapulted the United States to a position of world power and onto another level of power struggle, which could not take place without uranium mining. "...only the gods of science and technology succeeded in overcoming [the Apaches] and their desert gods..." one historian intoned about the nineteenth century struggle: "With the end of the Indian menace, the mineralized districts in New Mexico were freely and safely opened to the prospector, miner, businessman, and freighter, and another obstacle to mining expansion was removed," (Christiansen, 1975, p. 59).

To others, the conquest of the Apachería was, just in terms of human lives, the costliest war in American history (Thrapp, 1967). To the Southern Apaches, the costs were incalculable. In 1886, the Chiricahuas and the Southern Apaches were shipped to Florida, then to Alabama, and finally to Oklahoma. They and their descendants remained prisoners of war until 1913. By then, the original 489 exiles were reduced to 271. When finally released and given a choice, almost two hundred of them elected to be located on the Mescalero Apache reservation (Ortiz, 1983) where their descendants live today.

The Apache wars are over, but the struggle involving indigenous people and mineral resources is not past history. The role of multinational mining companies in aboriginal territories in place like Nigeria, Amazonia, and closer to home in Alaska and the Bisti Badlands of New Mexico raise questions that are not merely matters of technology or engineering, but those that are moral and ethical. Mining engineers who, according to their historian, have a surprisingly strong sense of history (Rickard, 1932), should perhaps consider the broader implications of their quest for hidden bonanzas, as should geologists and others associated with extractive industries.

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