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Sitting Bull And Geronimo: A Comparison Of Their Military And Religious Leadership

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SITTING BULL AND GERONIMO: A COMPARISON OF THEIR MILITARY AND RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

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ABSTRACT

In the history of the American West, hundreds of books have been written about Indian Leaders. Two of the most famous leaders are Sitting Bull and Geronimo. However, every history looks at them as individuals and never compares the military and religious aspects of the two men. Both Sitting Bull and Geronimo fought against the westward expansion of the United States to protect their people's way of life. Each leaders' religious views influenced their decisions. While Sitting Bull felt that *Wakan Tanka* chose him to lead his people, Geronimo believed that his Power wanted him to continue his quest for vengeance. While they differed in their conceptions of religious goals, both men ultimately placed the welfare of their people first. Both Sitting Bull and Geronimo's people trusted them as leaders because of their bravery and "special abilities."

The two men chose to fight until they could no longer guarantee the safety of their people. After that point, they sought refuge for their people in foreign nations. Both men eventually surrendered to protect their followers. Once on the reservation, Sitting Bull and Geronimo continued to function as leaders. Both advocated

acculturation as a way to adapt their people to white society. While Sitting Bull's view of what aspects of white society should be adopted was narrower than Geronimo's, both men demonstrated exceptional qualities as military and religious leaders.

Their people chose to follow them because they trusted in both men's ability to protect them. Sitting Bull and Geronimo credited their continual success both on and off the battlefield to both their own leadership and faith in their religious abilities. For the two men the military and religious aspects of their lives were intertwined. The reputations that they made on the battlefield gave them a voice on the reservation. While the way they viewed their religious calling differed, both leader trusted that their chosen paths were the best possible options for their people. Clearly, both men had more in common than just an enemy.

ACKNOWLDEGEMENTS

The intent of an acknowledgement page is to thank everyone who helped with this thesis. However, it is also suppose to be a page. Therefore, I would like to thank everyone who contributed to this Thesis regardless of how small the contribution might have been. I would like to specifically thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Raymond Wilson for encouraging me and for refusing to tolerate any mistakes along the way. I would also like to thank Dr. Goodlett and Mr. Nolan for taking time out of their busy schedule to critique my thesis and participate in my committee. A very special thank you has to go out to the Interlibrary Loan staff at Forsyth Library and Patty in Special Collections who worked extremely hard on my behalf.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF APPENDIXES

Appendix

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Americans have always looked to the frontier. For generations the frontier offered endless opportunities and promised a bright future. Naturally, Americans assumed they had a God given right to the riches of the frontier. John L. Sullivan termed this attitude "Manifest Destiny." Once Americans began their drive to the west coast it was inevitable that they would come into conflict with the peoples living on the land that America now claimed.

As the white settlers moved west, they displaced the natives. Often the settlers resorted to force to remove the "hostile" Indians. As the tide of invaders eroded the Native Americans' hold on their ancestral lands, various leaders tried to unite and fight the white settlers. American culture has immortalized some of these leaders. Names like Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, Tecumseh, Chief Joseph, and Geronimo have become synonymous with bravery and defending one's way of life. Sitting Bull and Geronimo especially have connotations attached to their names, as they were two of the last Native Americans to oppose the United States expansion into their homes militarily.

Both Sitting Bull and Geronimo fought the United States military on many occasions. Luckily for historians both men fought against two of the premier Indian fighters of their era, Generals George Crook and Nelson A. Miles; since these men left behind autobiographies, letters, and reports dealing with the Indian campaigns. Both men also expressed their opinions of Geronimo and Sitting Bull. Miles said, "Sitting Bull was the greatest Indian that ever lived in this country."[1] While Crook left us with his opinion of Geronimo. During his trip to Mount Vernon, Crook asked the Apaches to explain why they fled in 1886 after surrendering to him. When Geronimo attempted to speak, Crook exclaimed, "I don't want to hear anything from Geronimo. He is such a liar that I can't believe a word he says. . . ."[2]

These labels that Crook and Miles applied to Sitting Bull and Geronimo influenced early histories about both men. Sitting Bull appeared as a wise, generous, courageous defender of his people and their lifestyle. On the other hand, Geronimo became a drunk bent on revenge whom no one

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[1] Don Diessner, *There are no Indians left but Me: Sitting Bull's Story* (El Segundo; Calif.: Upton & Sons, 1993), 155.

[2] George Crook, *General George Crook: his Autobiography* Ed. Martin Schmitt (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1946), 293.

could trust. While recent scholarship has disproved these extreme versions of the two men, no historian has yet examined the similarities between them.

Separated by a thousand miles the two men never met and yet both chose to fight rather than submit to America's reservation policy. Both Sitting Bull and Geronimo were leaders in both military and religious aspects of their tribes. Each leader would seek safety in another country before eventually submitting to reservations in order to feed their people. This thesis will explore the similarities between Sitting Bull and Geronimo by answering the following questions: to what extent their motivations were the same as well as what effect their religious views had on their actions? In addition, how effective were the two men as leaders, both before and after they accepted reservation life. Both Sitting Bull and Geronimo were motivated by a desire to protect their people and used the respect their people had for them as military and religious leaders to guide them. In addition, the two leaders used their religious beliefs as a justification for their actions and in the course of their lives demonstrated exemplary military and religious leadership.

Various well known authors have written books on Sitting Bull and Geronimo. Robert Utley, Alexander B. Adams, Peter Aleshire, Angie Debo and David Roberts have each contributed to our understanding of Sitting Bull and Geronimo and the various other characters of the Indian Wars. However, most of the histories focus on the military aspects of the leaders' lives. Some such as Utley's *The Lance and the Shield: the Life and Times of Sitting Bull* examine both military and social aspects of either Sitting Bull or Geronimo's life.[3]

Others such as Peter Aleshire's *The Fox and the Whirlwind*: *General George Crook and Geronimo, A Paired Biography* and *Gatewood and Geronimo* written by Louis Kraft, explore the relation between one of the leaders and one of the men they trusted.[4] These prove excellent sources for understanding the forces that drove both the Indian leaders and the men who opposed them.

Alexander B. Adams' books prove to be exceptionally useful in exploring the similarities between Sitting Bull

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[3] Robert M. Utley, *The Lance and The Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993).

[4] Louis Kraft, *Gatewood and Geronimo* (Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000); Peter Aleshire, *The Fox and the Whirlwind: General George Crook and Geronimo, A Paired Biography* (MA: John Wiley and Sons, 2000).

and Geronimo. Unlike most authors who have written about one of the leaders, Adams has written on both. In *Sitting Bull: An Epic of the Plains* and *Geronimo: A Biography*, Adams examines both Sitting Bull's and Geronimo's military campaigns and portions of their lives on reservations.[5]

The white contemporaries of the leaders also left their observations. Both Crook and Miles wrote about their experiences during the Indian Wars.[6] Members of their troops also published their own accounts of the hunt for Sitting Bull and of chasing Geronimo. Newspapers from across America published articles after the Little Bighorn trying to explain how Sitting Bull could defeat the 7th cavalry. Newspapers in Arizona told horror stories of Geronimo's rampage across the territory, sparking terror all along the Mexican-American border. These sources show how the whites perceived Sitting Bull and Geronimo.

Historians have also produced various Indian accounts of the two leaders. In 1959, Jason Betzinez published his autobiography *I fought with Geronimo*; it contains his own

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[5] Alexander B. Adams, *Sitting Bull: A Biography* (Toronto: Longman Canada Limited, 1973); Alexander B. Adams, *Geronimo: A Biography* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Son, 1971).

[6] Crook; Nelson A Miles., *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles*(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

version of events and his opinion of Geronimo. Ernie Lapointe, a great-grandson of Sitting Bull, recently published *Sitting Bull: His Life and Legacy*, which contains various oral histories gathered from the Lakota tribe dealing with Sitting Bull's life. In addition, this new history condemns Stanley Vestal's *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux*, which historians have been using since its publication in 1932.[7] Other authors have collected the various speeches by both leaders and published them in written form. This gives us insight into what drove the two men and what they valued above all else.

Research into Geronimo and Sitting Bull's religious lives is somewhat lackluster. Historians acknowledge that both Sitting Bull and Geronimo were medicine men. However, most books ignore this aspect of their lives in favor of their military and social leadership. Brief mention appears of the various special powers that both men demonstrated. Both Geronimo and Sitting Bull reportedly demonstrated precognitive visions. After the Sun Dance, Sitting Bull reported a vision of soldiers riding upside

[7] Jason Betzinez, *I fought with Geronimo,* ed. Wilbur Sturtevant Nye (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1959); Ernie LaPointe, *Sitting Bull: His Life and Legacy* (Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2009); Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932).

down into camp; a few days later Custer and a portion of the 7th cavalry died in the battle of the Little Bighorn.[8] Geronimo told his warriors that "tomorrow afternoon as we march we will see a man standing on a hill to our left. He will howl to us and tell us that the troops have captured our base camp."[9] The next day it happened exactly as foretold. In addition to being medicine men both men also reportedly possessed special powers granted by their spirit guardians.

These "powers" appear in every book written about the two men, but the impact that their beliefs had on Sitting Bull and Geronimo's decisions has not been fully examined. Instead their powers manifest themselves solely as reasons that other men where willing to follow them. Various books do explore Native American Religions. *The Study of American Indians Religions* by Ake Hultkrantz discusses the various areas researched and some conclusions that other authors have arrived at. R. Murray Thomas's book *Manitou and God: North-American Indian Religions and Christian Culture* explores the similarities between Native American religions and Christianity and examines how Native American

[8] Vestal, 150.

[9] Adams, *Geronimo*, 252.

religions have adapted when confronted with Christianity.[10] This thesis will help expand our understanding of just what influence religion had on both men and their decisions.

One of the difficulties in comparing the two men as military leaders lies in the varying tactics their tribes used. In Adams' book an army colonel describes the Apache as "the greatest infantry soldier the United States has ever known."[11] General Anson Mills declared that the Sioux "were the best cavalry in the world. . . ."[12] However, explaining the difference between Apache and Sioux warfare is impossible unless one understands the differences in cultural values between the Sioux and the Apache.

The Sioux lived on the Great Plains. Their territory stretched from western Iowa through both North and South Dakota. Unlike the Chiricahua Apache, the Lakota Sioux based their lifestyles on a nomadic culture following on the buffalo. However, during Sitting Bull's life the United States' desire for buffalo robes led to the extinguishing of that culture. The introduction of horses

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[10] Ake Hultkrantz, *The Study of American Indians Religions*, ed. Christopher Vecsey (New York: Crossroads Publishing, 1983); R. Murray Thomas, *Manitou and God: North-American Indian Religions and Christian Culture* (Connecticut: Praeger, 2007).

[11] Adams, *Geronimo,* 23.

[12] Vestal, 145.

transformed their culture, allowing them to range farther and eventually earned them the respect of their various foes. Vestal called Sioux warfare a "glorious mounted game of tag."[13] He was referring to a practice among the Sioux of "counting coup." This referred to a warrior riding up to an enemy and striking him with a stick, leaving the enemy unharmed. This was the highest badge of honor a warrior could gain; of course, the Sioux still killed their enemies. Bravery and courage were two of the most important qualities for a warrior to possess.[14]

For the Apache bravery was important but rashness was foolish.[15] Unlike the Sioux, the Apaches lived in the American southwest making their home in a region that stretches through what is now Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Upper Mexico.[16] Early in their history, the Spanish enslaved the Apaches; eventually the tribes rebelled and adopted a raiding lifestyle in dealing with the Spanish and later the Mexicans.[17] This series of raids and counter

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[13] Ibid., 11.

[14] Utley, *The Lance and The Shield*, 10.

[15] Adams, *Geronimo*, 72-73

[16] See Appendix I for maps relating to the Sioux and Appendix II for maps relating to the Apaches.

[17] Adams, *Geronimo,* 23.

raids would shape the Apache into a fearsome foe who would oppose both Mexican and American troops by the time of Geronimo. However, while the Apaches valued bravery, "trickery was more highly prized than bravery."[18] Accordingly, the Apaches mastered guerrilla warfare. The mountainous terrain of Arizona, New Mexico, and Mexico lent itself to this kind of warfare. The Apaches would disappear into their mountains whenever they were pursued, ambushing whoever followed.

This would earn them the respect of the commanders that faced them. Both Sitting Bull and Geronimo fought for their people, trusting in their special powers to lead them to safety. Both men battled the United States Army on several occasions and both fled across international boundaries. However, while Sitting Bull fled to Canada and attempted to adapt his people to Canadian law, Geronimo continued to pursue the raiding lifestyle of his people after fleeing to Mexico. By continuing to engage in raiding activities, Geronimo destroyed any chance he had of finding a sanctuary. Sitting Bull and Geronimo used the religious aspect of their lives to justify their course of action. Both men eventually accepted reservations and tried

[18] Ibid, 73.

to guide their people into the white man's world. Their reputation as military and religious leaders gave them the respect of their people which allowed them to function as leaders on the reservation. Where Sitting Bull fought against the loss of additional Sioux land, Geronimo fought for the right to return to his homeland.

CHAPTER 2

SITTING BULL:

THE MAKING OF A RELIGIOUS AND MILITARY LEADER

Sitting Bull is one of the greatest Native American leaders the world has ever known. He led his people against their enemies while at the same time administering to their spiritual needs. Far too often, people focus on Sitting Bull first as a military leader and then a political force on the reservation, while ignoring how important his religious beliefs were in shaping his life. The religious values of self-sacrifice and doing what was best for his people matured Sitting Bull from a warrior out for personal honor into a leader who was willing to sacrifice his own power for the welfare of his people. The records of the white contemporary soldiers often stated that Sitting Bull was "merely" a medicine man.[1] However, this ignores the role that a *Wikasa Wakan* played in Sioux society.[2]

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[1] Henry W. Daly, *The War Path* American Legion Monthly 3(1927): 16-18, 52-56 in Peter Cozzens, ed., *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890:* Vol 4, *The Long War for the Northern Plains* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004), 260.

[2] A true translation of this term is "Holy Man," though most popular histories translate it as medicine man, mainly due to the connotation of healing that is attached to these men. For more information see Paul War Cloud, *Dakotah Sioux Indian Dictionary* (Sisseton: Paul Warcloud Publications, 1989).

In Sioux culture, a *Wikasa Wakan* is responsible for spiritual leadership and practical healing; skillful use of these two abilities often led to political leadership.[3] In non-Indian societies, spiritual leadership is often separate from secular leadership but the Sioux expected their leaders to possess spiritual power. For Sitting Bull, his spiritual power provided insight into the movements of his enemies, foretold the future, and protected him from harm. While some might consider this mere luck, he and his people believed in his powers and their ability to keep the tribe safe.[4]

Sitting Bull exemplified the key values of Sioux society; courage, skill, endurance, fortitude, self-sacrifice, justice, and a code of honor are all values that Sitting Bull practiced throughout his life. From an early age, he demonstrated the courage, generosity, and respect for others that characterized him as a leader. His bravery in battle inspired his men and proved him a skilled warrior, trusted by his people to protect them. As a

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[3] Bill Yenne, *Sitting Bull: His Life and Legacy* (Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, 2008), 17-18.

[4] For the remainder of this thesis the "Special Powers" that both Sitting Bull and Geronimo demonstrated will be used to tie their religious beliefs to their actions. While some of their actions appear to have no scientific explanation it is important that one keep in mind that the Sioux and Apache believed in these powers and expected them from their leaders.

medicine man, warrior, and political leader Sitting Bull fought to preserve his people's way of life.

Even after he was defeated militarily, Sitting Bull attempted to adapt his people to the new "civilized" way of life to ensure their success in the white world, while at the same time trying to preserve their identity and remaining tribal lands. Despite Indian Agent James McLaughlin's characterization of Sitting Bull as a dull, obstinate, ambitious, suspicious, and scheming Indian, Sitting Bull fought for acculturation and opposed any attempt to force the Sioux to replace their culture with the whites.[5]

Sitting Bull was born into the *Hunkpapa* branch of the Lakota Sioux in the winter of 1831.[6] His father Sitting Bull named him Jumping Badger upon his birth.[7] However, most of the village called him Slow, due to his deliberate way of going about things. For example, when he received

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[5] Louis L. Pfaller, *James McLauglin: the Man with an Indian Heart* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), 90-92.

[6] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 3. The other branches of the Lakota Sioux are the Oglala, Brulé, Two Kettle, Blackfoot, Miniconjou, and Sans Arc.

[7] It is common for a Sioux to have different names over his lifetime. Sitting Bull's father was originally named Returns Again, and in a vision he received four new names from a buffalo: Jumping Bull, Sitting Bull, Bull stands with Cow, and Lone Bull. After receiving these names, he renamed himself Sitting Bull and eventually took on another name after he passed his name down to his son. For more information, see Vestal, 15-19.

food as a baby, he did not immediately consume it. Instead, he would study it, examining every angle before finally eating it.[8] This slow deliberate way of thinking helped to prevent him from making mistakes and would serve him well in the difficult years ahead.

He had a traditional Indian childhood. His martial training began early; by the age of three he had received his first bow, and at five his first horse. For the next five years, Slow honed his horsemanship and archery until he excelled at both. During his tenth year, Village Center, a famous bowyer, organized an archery contest for the boys in the band. During this contest, Slow demonstrated both his skill in archery and his ability to make peace.

The goal of the contest was to shoot the most beautiful bird. Slow set off with a companion and eventually ran into two boys who were trying to hit a bird nestled in a cottonwood tree. One of the boys had gotten his best arrow stuck in the tree and offered another arrow in exchange for getting it down. Slow shot an arrow at it and knocked the other arrow out of the tree. Unfortunately, it shattered when it hit the ground. To

[8] Vestal, 3.

avoid a fight Slow gave the boy his own arrow in replacement. When it came time to turn in their prizes, a boy spoke up saying that Slow had demonstrated wisdom by avoiding a quarrel. Later that year Slow went on his first buffalo hunt. [9]

While necessary to feed the tribe, these buffalo hunts were extremely dangerous. It was a point of honor to kill a buffalo with only a single arrow. However, to penetrate a buffalo's hide, the hunter would have to ride alongside, guiding his horse with his knees and firing an arrow while the rest of the herd stampeded around him. During his first hunt, Slow killed a buffalo calf and gave his kill "to the poor that had no horses." This was the first major instance of the generosity that Slow practiced throughout his life.[10]

With these two events, Slow demonstrated generosity and wisdom, two of the four virtues of Sioux society. Four years after his first buffalo hunt, He began to establish himself as a warrior by proving his bravery. That day his father and twenty warriors set off to battle the Crows,

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[9] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 11.

[10] Ibid.

their traditional enemies.[11] Unbeknownst to them, Slow followed and joined them at the rendezvous point. When the warriors questioned his participation, Slow responded with the straightforward statement that "We are going to." In response, his father told him, "Try and do something brave. That man is successful who is foremost [and] you have a good horse."[12]

After a short ride, the war party came across a group of Crows and prepared an ambush. However, Slow charged the Crow warriors and ruined the ambush. Despite his overeager attack, the Sioux destroyed the Crow war party and during the battle Slow counted coup for the first time, which promoted him from a boy to a warrior.

After returning to the camp, Sitting Bull honored his son's new status as a warrior. During this ceremony Slow received four gifts from his father: an eagle feather marking his first coup; a new horse; a new name, *Tatanka-Iyotanka* or Sitting Bull; and finally his father's shield invested with special powers intended to keep its holder safe.[13] By the time Sitting Bull surrendered decades later,

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[11] Included in Appendix III is a map showing the general locations of the various tribes.

[12] Vestal, 9.

[13] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 15.

the shield and name had engraved themselves into the legends of America.

Through such actions, Sitting Bull proved his bravery as well as his generosity and wisdom. While recognized as a warrior and respected by the *Hunkpapa*, Sitting Bull lacked access to the leaders of his tribe. For a Sioux warrior, membership in a warrior society was necessary to advance within his tribe. [14] These societies spread word of the deeds of its warriors and, more important, each year the chief would choose one society to enforce the various "rules and regulations" instituted by the leaders. These warrior societies offered one of the few paths to power in Sioux society.[15]

Early in 1850, Sitting Bull joined both the Kit Foxes and Strong Hearts warrior societies. The Kit Foxes honored cunning and tried to aid the poor and helpless; during times of war their duty was to "defend the old, weak and helpless."[16] It is interesting to note that no historian

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[14] For more information on the Warrior societies and the qualifications that a warrior had to have to join, see: Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux; Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); J.R. Walker, Raymond J. DeMallie, and Elaine Jahner. *Lakota Belief and Ritual* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

[15] Hassrick, 16.

[16] Walker, DeMallie, and Jahner, 269-270.

has explicitly made a connection between this duty and Sitting Bull's actions in protecting the women and children during the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The Strong Heart society was one of the most prestigious of the warrior societies as only the most skilled and brave could join. Within this society, Sitting Bull quickly advanced in rank until he was elected to the office of "sash bearer." These sash bearers were second in command to the leaders and would stake themselves down in battle and refuse to move until released by a fellow warrior.[17]

During the next several years, Sitting Bull established the Midnight Strong Heart society composed of the elite of the Strong Heart society. Throughout his life, he continued to raid the Crows and Assiniboines, gaining glory and a reputation of bravery and excellence as a hunter and warrior. As his reputation spread to the other tribes, members of his society began to scream "*Tatanka-Iyotanka tahoksila* (We are Sitting Bull's boys)" at their enemies to demoralize them.[18]

Sitting Bull soon had far more than Indian warfare to contend with. As the white settlers moved west, they displaced other Indian nations. This influx of "new"

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[17] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 18.

[18] Ibid, 19.

Indians led to a decrease in the buffalo herds the Sioux depended on to feed their people.[19] To deal with these shortages the Sioux opted to expand their hunting grounds. Under Sitting Bull, the Midnight Strong Hearts pushed the Crows, Assiniboine, Shoshoni, Rees, Mandans, and Hidatsa back, and by 1864 they had severely weakened three of these tribes.[20]

During this period, Sitting Bull also came into his own as a spiritual leader. Ever since his vision quest years earlier, Sitting Bull had been able to talk to animals, and one of the most famous examples of this is when a meadowlark told him to lie still to avoid a grizzly bear.[21] Later in 1856, Sitting Bull danced the Sun Dance, one of the most important rituals in Sioux society, and became a Holy Man.

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[19] There is some speculation that the Native tribes practice of hunting the buffalo led to their failure to establish an ecological balance with their environment. This would mean that the buffalo herds were already declining because of the pressures that the tribes native to region were already applying. For more information on this argument see Dan Flores, "Bison Ecology and Bison Diplomacy: The Southern Plains From 1800 to 1850." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (September 1991): 465-485.

[20] Vestal, 32.

[21] Ibid, 20. A vision quest would occur between the ages of ten and fourteen. A boy would fast and meditate until a vision occurred. A *Wikasa Wakan* would help interpret the vision and explain what patron animal would protect him during his life. While accounts are silent on what Sitting Bull saw during his vision quest, he did belong to the Buffalo Society and the Thunderbird Society. The Thunderbird is one of the most powerful patron animals in Sioux society. For more information on patron animals and what they represent see Hassrick's book.

One of the reasons that this event is so important is that until a warrior dances the Sun Dance he is not eligible to be a leader of a war party or a chief, and to become a shaman "one must dance the Sun Dance suspended from a pole so that his feet will not touch the ground."[22] Sitting Bull hung from the Sun Dance pole until he tore himself free and experienced a vision. This made him a *Wikasa Wakan* responsible for healing illnesses, conducting rituals and seeking visions to guide his tribe.[23]

The need for the Sioux to protect their newly expanded hunting grounds from other tribes led to the formal creation of the office of war chief. The holder of this office was responsible for leading raids and defending the tribe from its enemies. A group of elders picked Sitting Bull, and the people of the tribe accepted him as a war leader.[24]

Sitting Bull now held power in both the secular and spiritual worlds. He was a brave warrior who demonstrated wisdom and put the welfare of the tribe before his own. In

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[22] Walker, 181-182. For the Sioux, a chief meant an *Itancan* or a leader who could enforce strict discipline and demand uncompromising allegiance, as long as they had the respect of the tribe. For more information see Thomas E. Mails, *Dog Soldiers, Bear Men, and Buffalo Women: A Study of the Societies and Cults of the Plains Indians* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Pretence Hall, 1985).

[23] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 28.

[24] Ibid, 22.

these two roles, Sitting Bull confronted the greatest threat the Lakota Sioux had ever faced: the westward expansion of the United States.

The discovery of gold in California led to waves of settlers traveling across the Great Plains. In 1849 alone over 90,000 people emigrated to California.[25] Fears of Indian attacks on the wagon trains led to the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851. This treaty called for the signatories to "abstain in future from all hostilities. . . to make an effective and lasting peace." It also gave the U.S. government the right to establish roads and military posts, outlined what territory the Indian tribes controlled, and promised to protect the tribes from "all depredations by the People of the said United States."[26]

In this treaty, the United States assumed mistakenly that the chiefs who signed were speaking for the entirety of the Indian nations they represented. Only the Brulé, Two Kettle, Yankton, Miniconjou, and Sans Arc Sioux signed this treaty. The United States also failed to understand how

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[25] Sucheng Chan, "A People of Exceptional Character: Ethnic Diversity, Nativism, and Racism in the California Gold Rush." in *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California,* ed. Richard Orsi, Kevin Starr (Berkeley: University of Los Angeles, 2000), 57-61.

[26] "Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, ETC., 1851." 1851, in Charles J. Kappler, ed. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* vol. I (Laws) (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 594-595.

embedded intertribal warfare was in the Great Plains tribes.[27] For the young the only way to gain power and respect in their tribe was to prove their bravery in battle. The chiefs had no chance of stopping the young warriors from fighting even if they wanted to. These factors made the Great Plains a ticking time bomb that exploded in 1854.

A young warrior visiting Conquering Bear's camp killed an immigrant's cow, which had wandered away from camp, and to appease the settler, Lieutenant John L. Grattan led a small band to demand the chief hand over the warrior. When Chief Conquering Bear hesitated, Grattan opened fire. While Conquering Bear died, the camp's warriors eliminated Grattan's command. In response, the United States dispatched General William S. Harney to punish the Indians, and by October 1855 Harney had done so.

Harney forced the Sioux to sign a new treaty and, while the United States senate failed to ratify it, the provision that allowed the army to enforce compliance with the treaty alarmed the chiefs. As soldiers continued to

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[27] Oliver Brown, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Office Indian Affairs, Nov 27, 1851." in *The Congressional Globe for the First Session, Thirty-Second Congress: Containing Speeches and Important State Papers* ed. John c. Rivers, (City of Washington: Printed at the office of John C. Rives. 1852), 30-33.

march into the Lakota lands for the next several years, Sitting Bull began to understand just what the whites intended. In a speech in 1857, Sitting Bull argued that "He [the Whites] is thinking about the next war, after telling us to make peace, but our enemies will not keep the peace. . . . [All we want is to be] let alone."[28] This early recognition of how whites broke their treaties would lead Sitting Bull to oppose any treaty that would set limits on the Lakota.

Despite how the treaty alarmed the tribes, the memory of Harney's campaign helped to keep the peace until 1862. The assassination of Bear Rib, a government chief, marked the end of this peaceful era between the Sioux and the U.S. government. The Eastern Sioux had also signed the Fort Laramie Treaty. The Dakota suffered from a harsh winter and in 1862, the government failed to send their annuities. The Dakota Indians were starving and on August 17, 1862, four warriors killed a group of whites. Knowing that the soldiers would soon arrive to punish them, the Dakota agreed to launch a war to push all the whites out of their land.[29]

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[28]Diessner, 32.

[29] Kenneth Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society, 1976), 5-12.

The Dakota Sioux uprising triggered in 1862 led to the United States dispatching General Alfred Sully and General Henry Hastings Sibley to put down this rebellion in 1862. The Dakota who escaped fled to the Lakota and told tales of the white soldiers. Rather than being frightened, the Lakota sent a messenger to the army post stating that "The whites. . . have been threatening us with soldiers. All we ask of you is that you bring men, and not women dressed in soldier's clothes." The Army's 1863 campaign against the Lakota proved uneventful as the Lakota were able to avoid the slow moving army.[30]

In 1864, the Sioux massed their forces at Killdeer Mountain and prepared to fight Sully in open battle. The Sioux fought bravely but lost. Despite seeing the power of the army, Sitting Bull remained committed to defending his home. While he warned against continuing a futile battle against the soldiers, a brief exchange with the Army's Crow Indian scouts made his position clear. "The Indians here have no fight with the whites," declared Sitting Bull and "Why is it the whites come to fight with the Indians? Now we have to kill you. . . ."[31]

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[30] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield,* 51-52.

[31] Ibid, 59.

Sitting Bull would not seek a fight with the soldiers, but as long as they were on the Sioux land he would fight. While avoiding Sully's main army, Sitting Bull attacked a wagon train and, though injured, the Indians won a victory.

With the defeats of 1864 fresh in their minds, the Sioux attempted to make peace. However, in a letter General Sully blames Sitting Bull for ending this peace movement.

> At one time the feeling was very strong to come in and surrender. . . . [However,] a chief called Sitting Bull hearing this. . . went out through the different villages cutting himself with a knife crying out that he was just from Fort Rice; that all those that had come in and given themselves up I had killed, and calling on the nation to avenge the murder.[32]

While the failure to make peace led to continued fighting along the forts, Red Cloud's War soon eclipsed it.

The war was fought over the Bozeman Trail and the forts the army built to protect it. This particular Indian war is notable as the only war in which the U.S. Army willingly burned their defensive positions to appease the Indians.[33]

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[32] Sully to AAG Department of the Northwest, Fort Berthold, August 8, 1865, O.R. series 1, vol. 48, part 1 quoted in I*bid*, 67-68.

[33] For more information see James C. Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965); Robert W. Larson, *Red Cloud: Warrior-Statesman of the Lakota Sioux* (Norman:

During Red Cloud's War, Sitting Bull's efforts remained focused on Fort Buford. This fort was deep inside Sioux territory, opposite the mouth of the Yellowstone, and threatened the Lakotas' ability to practice their way of life. Sitting Bull began his offensive in August 1866. By using skirmishers to harass the loggers, travelers, and mail carriers, the *Hunkpapa* were able to pressure the fort without massive loss of life. In December, Sitting Bull actually seized and burned the fort's sawmill and icehouse.[34] During the two years of battle, Sitting Bull communicated with the fort in a series of notes demanding they leave.

Within this period, during a conversation with Charles Larpenteur, a trader at Fort Union, Sitting Bull also gave his opinion on reservations. At this meeting, Sitting Bull also addressed some agency Indians, saying that "Whites may get me at last, as you say, but I will have good times till then. You are fools to make yourselves slaves to a piece of fat bacon, some hard-tack, and a little sugar and

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University of Nebraska Press, 1999); and Red Cloud *Autobiography of Red Cloud: War Leader of the Oglalas,* ed. R. Eli Paul (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1997).

[34] Utley, *The Lance and the Shield,* 71-72.

coffee."[35] To Sitting Bull, reservations seemed a far worse fate than death. As Red Cloud's War ended, the United States attempted to get the *Hunkpapa* to sign the treaty as well.

Fear of what the Lakota would do if a soldier led the negotiations forced the army to turn to Father Pierre de Smet, a Jesuit missionary, to head the peace party. [36] De Smet's reputation for fair and honest dealing with the Indians had reached Sitting Bull. Pleased, Sitting Bull sent the following message: "we shall meet him and his friends with arms stretched out, ready to embrace him. . . . We wish to shake your hand, and to hear your good words. Fear nothing."[37] Sitting Bull's word proved true and in June 1868 he escorted De Smet into camp.

The next day the conference began. Sitting Bull opened the discussion with a speech detailing why the war had began:

> I [can] hardly sustain myself beneath the white man's blood I have shed. [They]provoked the war; their injustices, their indignities to our families, the cruel. . . massacre at Fort Lyons. . . shook the veins

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[35] Ibid, 73.

[36] For more information on Father Pierre De Smet see Father Pierre De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J. 1801-1873* ed. Francis P. Harper (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1904); John J. Killoren *"Come, Blackrobe": De Smet and the Indian Tragedy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

[37] Vestal, 99.

> which bind and support me. . . . I will listen to your good words. And bad as I have been to the white men, just so good am I ready to become toward them.[38]

De Smet relayed the new treaty to the chiefs in attendance. Sitting Bull responded with a counter offer. His demands were simple, "I do not want anyone to bother my people. . . . I wish for traders only, and no soldiers. . . . I will not have my people robbed. . . . We do not want to eat from the hand of the Grandfather."[39] As the conference went on, Sitting Bull continued to express his willingness for peace as long as "[they did not] sell any part of my country. . . .[and] those forts. . . must be abandoned."[40] The bands present enthusiastically supported Sitting Bull's position.

To sign the treaty the *Hunkpapa* dispatched Gall, another prominent Sioux warrior. During the treaty signing, Gall made a speech declaring, "If we make peace, the military posts on the river must be removed and the steamboats stopped from coming up here."[41] However, the actual treaty that they signed called for peace between the Sioux and the U.S.; compulsory schooling for their

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[38] Ibid, 102.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Diessner, 53-54.

[41] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 82.

children; the relinquishment of the tribes' right to occupy territory outside the reservation; and their acceptance of all military posts and railroads.[42] The U.S. would later point to this treaty as evidence of Sitting Bull's broken promises, though at no time did the Indians agree to the actual stipulations within the treaty.

With the new treaty, the Sioux had three choices: surrender their freedom and move onto reservations; use the reservations ration system and continue to follow the buffalo herds; or reject all relations with the whites and hold onto the old ways. Four Horns, Sitting Bull's uncle, remained one of the most respected leaders of the *Hunkpapa* bands. However, he realized that the nonreservation Lakota needed strong leadership and unity of command to deal with this new threat. Therefore, he proposed to create the position of supreme chief not just for the *Hunkpapa* but for all the nonreservation Sioux.

He invited the Sans Arc, Minneconjou, Oglala, Blackfeet, and Cheyenne to meet to discuss this new position. Unsurprisingly, Four Horns nominated Sitting

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[42] "Treaty with the Sioux---Brulé, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee--- And Arapaho, 1868." Republished in Charles J. Kappler, ed. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* vol. I (Laws) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 998-1007.

Bull. The later was well qualified. His personal bravery had been established by his 63 plus coup counts; he had been a tribal war chief since 1857, and in dealing with the treaty he had received public acclaim for his uncompromising position. The supreme chief would be responsible for all matters of concern to the people and gave Sitting Bull authority over all decisions of war and peace.[43]

At first glance, any position of supreme authority among the Sioux appeared ludicrous. In Sioux society, individuals, bands, and tribes gloried in their ability to do as they pleased. The tribes created rules by consensus or by the will of a highly respected chief and, even then, some warriors always chose their own path. Despite these issues, Sitting Bull was able to unify the "hunting bands," or "hostiles," that refused reservation life into a confederation that would worry the U.S. government until 1891.

For the white world, Sitting Bull became the commander in chief of the hostile Indians, responsible for every attack on the settlers. While this exaggerated his authority, he was first among the chiefs, as Wooden Leg

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[43] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 84-87; Yenne, 62-64.

stated: "The chiefs of different tribes met together as equals. There was only one who was considered as being above all the others. This was Sitting Bull. He was recognized as the one old man chief of all the camps combined."[44]

While Sitting Bull did not give up on his desire to remove the whites from his world, from 1870 on he adopted a more defensive strategy. For the remainder of his life Sitting Bull would fight only when the whites trespassed on his territory. However, two events in the 1870s forced Sitting Bull's hand and began one of the last great Indian war.

The first of these events was the planning and survey of the Union Pacific Railroad. The proposed Northern Pacific line would run up the Yellowstone Valley straight through the heart of Lakota territory. Both the Indians and the Bureau of Indian Affairs understood that this meant war.[45] Sitting Bull attempted to prevent the war from breaking out by calling for a peace conference between the

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[44] Thomas B. Marquis, *Wooden Leg: A Warrior who fought Custer* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1931), 205.

[45] U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870), 11.

United States and the Lakota. This conference took place at Fort Peck in November 1871.

Sitting Bull's representative Black Moon stated the terms necessary to avoid war: the removal of whites from Sioux lands, abandonment of forts, and the redirection of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Once again, Sitting Bull had made his position clear: leave the Lakota alone or face war. However, during the conference Black Moon did make an interesting statement. While the Indians did not want white civilization, they would accept "something to eat."[46]

Earlier, the Lakota had expanded their hunting grounds to feed their families. However, the white population had increased massively since the 1850s. Expanding the hunting grounds again would lead to massive loss of life. Instead, Sitting Bull chose to use the ration system at the reservations to feed his people.[47] With this decision, Sitting Bull moved from a warrior looking for personal glory to a *Waikasa Wakan* willing to put his tribe's welfare first. In fact, a report by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior remarks on this:

> Sitting Bull [has]. . . sufficient influence to control his people, and sufficient courage. . .to act

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[46] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield, 95.*

[47] Ibid.

> upon his own idea of what is best, regardless of the actions of his braves. If he does make peace. . . it will be a lasting one.[48]

The white leaders took this change in attitude as a sign of acceptance of their plans.

As the whites continued to forge ahead, Sitting Bull and his warriors fought battles against the Crow and the Flatheads. In each battle, Sitting Bull demonstrated his bravery by counting coup on enemy warriors. However, a few days before his attack on the Flathead camp, Sitting Bull revealed a vision of a great victory against enemy warriors in the next two days. The next day his scouts located the camp, and the day after the Sioux won a victory. While not that great a victory, it did validate Sitting Bull's vision and helps explain why his people had so much faith in his powers.[49]

Another point that marked the change from a warrior to a leader who cared for his people was the creation of the Silent Eaters. A semi-secret group of which only the wisest and bravest warriors could be a part, this society

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[48] U.S. Commissioner of the Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1872* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 467.

[49] Ibid, 96-100; LaPointe, 54.

dedicated itself to the welfare of the tribe as a whole.[50] The organization of this group might stem from the ideas of the Kit Foxes, only now applied to the whole tribe, rather than just the needy.

The Battle of Arrow Creek also showcases the change as well. Major Eugene Baker's command was escorting a survey team when the Lakota attacked them. The soldiers had enough time to take defensive positions. A *Waikasa Wakan* named Long Holy believed he had made the young warriors bulletproof and began racing around the soldiers. Sitting Bull recognized that this attack was futile as the warriors were not bulletproof. When he ordered them to stop because too many warriors were wounded, Long Holy challenged him by saying, "perhaps [Sitting Bull] has forgotten what it takes to be brave."[51]

If unanswered, a challenge to a warrior's bravery would destroy his credibility as a chief. Therefore, Sitting Bull dismounted, took a blanket, pipe, and tobacco, and walked out between the lines before sitting and inviting others to join him. Sitting Bull smoked slowly and ignored the bullets flying by before unhurriedly returning to his men. Every warrior there remembered this

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[50] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield,* 101.

[51] LaPointe, 55.

event; it was bravery beyond that of a *coup*, and it reestablished the respect that the warriors had for Sitting Bull. When he returned, he simply said, "That's enough! We must stop! That's enough!" and the warriors accepted it and stopped. This prevented greater loss of life and enabled Sitting Bull to end any talk of being bulletproof.[52]

The second of the two events occurred when Lt. Colonel George Armstrong Custer's expedition in 1874 confirmed that gold existed in the Black Hills. This discovery led to waves of prospectors invading the Lakotas' holy land. Nothing else the government could have done would have brought conflict on sooner. In answer to the prospector's demands for protection from the Lakota's attacks, on December 6, 1875 the United States informed their Indian agents to "notify said Indians that unless they shall remove within the bounds of their reservation before the 31st of January next, they shall be deemed hostile and treated accordingly by the military force."[53]

Winter made it impossible for the Sioux to comply and on February 7, 1876, the government declared Sitting Bull and his people hostile. General George Crook began the war

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[52] Vestal, 126-130.

[53] Ibid, 139.

with an assault on Two Moons' camp.[54] The survivors eventually arrived at Sitting Bull's village. This event forced Sitting Bull and the Sioux to fight. While before the battles had been about defending what the whites had taken, this attack made it clear that the whites were now waging war against the Sioux nation itself.

Sitting Bull sent runners out to all the major camps calling for the Sioux to "Come to my camp at the Big Bend of the Rosebud. Let's all get together and have one big fight with the soldiers!"[55] When they arrived, the Sioux nation expected Sitting Bull to take the lead. Wooden Leg provided the clearest explanation why:

> He had come into the admiration by all Indians as a man whose medicine was good---that is, as a man having a kind heart and good judgment as to the best course of conduct. He was considered as being altogether brave, but peaceable. He was strong in religion. . .[56]

Sitting Bull unified all the hunting bands into a single village capable of fighting the soldiers.

During this year, Sitting Bull had a series of visions that would guide him and his people. The first of these occurred between the 21 and 24 of May 1876. This vision consisted of a storm made by soldiers heading west towards

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[54] LaPointe, 60.

[55] Vestal, 141.

[56] Marquis, 178-79.

a cloud resembling an Indian village; when the two clashed the storm dissipated, leaving the cloud intact. Sitting Bull proclaimed that while the soldiers were coming from the east, this foretold a great victory.[57] Forewarned, the tribes dispatched scouts to watch for the soldiers from the east. Although nothing occurred, none of the warriors lost faith in Sitting Bull's vision as every member of the tribe accepted his visions as true.

During June 1876, Sitting Bull organized a Sun Dance. This time Jumping Bull removed one hundred strips of flesh from Sitting Bull's arms before he danced in front of the pole for two days to bring on a vision. This vision consisted of

> Many long knives falling into camp. They looked like grasshoppers with their feet above their heads and without ears. Below them were some natives also falling with their feet in the air and without ears. He heard the voice telling him, "I give you these Long Knives because they do not have ears. They will die, but do not take their belongings."[58]

The entire tribe listened to his vision and began to organize for this large battle.

As Sitting Bull was stepping back from the life of a warrior and moving primarily into the role of holy man for the Sioux, another warrior was emerging. Crazy Horse, an

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[57] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield,* 136.

[58] LaPointe, 64.

Oglala Sioux, served as Sitting Bull's right hand man beginning in 1868. The Battle of Rosebud in 1876 established his reputation as one of the greatest warriors of the Lakota nation.[59] This fight pitted General Crook's army of over a thousand men against 500 men under Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. While Sitting Bull was unable to fight effectively due to his wounds from the Sun Dance, he offered encouragement as he rode up and down the lines. After a daylong battle, the Indians withdrew and Crook declared it a victory before retreating to his encampment.[60]

Though the Sioux celebrated, Sitting Bull warned that this battle was not the victory that he had seen. The tribes stayed together why they waited for the great victory that he predicted. The battle in the vision occurred on June 25, 1876 eight days after the Battle of the Rosebud. The Sioux remember this fight as the Battle of the Greasy Grass, though the United States calls it the

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[59] For more information on Crazy Horse see Kingsley M. Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008); Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* 3rd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); and Larry McMurtry, *Crazy Horse: A Life* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999). For maps of these battles see Appendix IV.

[60] Yenne, 83-85; *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 139-142; Vestal 152-153. Crook declared the battle a victory because military doctrine stated that the one who holds the originally contested ground after the battle ends is the victor. However, The Indians had successfully attacked a force double their size, which forced Crook to retreat to his encampment to await reinforcements.

Battle of the Little Bighorn. The Seventh Cavalry under Custer attacked the camp that morning. Custer used the tactic of converging columns to approach the Indian camp from three sides. While splitting his forces in the face of a larger enemy proved unwise, he was using the tactics that General Philip Sheridan and General William T. Sherman had made famous during the Red River War.[61]

Custer dispatched Major Marcus A. Reno and 175 men to scout and assault the encampment from the southeast. This brought the *Hunkpapa* into immediate conflict with them. Sitting Bull gathered his weapons and rode out with the younger warriors in a counterattack to push Reno away from their families. Shouting, "Brave up, boys, it will be a hard time. Brave Up," Sitting Bull led the Indians in a concerted desperate attack against Reno. As they forced Reno to retreat, word came that scouts had spotted more soldiers to the north of the encampment. Sitting Bull told his nephew One Bull, "[we] had better go back and help protect the women and children." When Reno's attack began, the women and children had fled to the north. [62]

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[61] William E. Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 198-99; *New York Herald*, July 22, 1874.

[62] Vestal, 162-167; *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 150-160.

For Sitting Bull protecting them was his top priority. As a chief and a member of the Kit Foxes and Silent Eaters, the welfare of his tribe came first; protecting the helpless was an overriding priority. The accusations of cowardice for this decision during the later reservation years came from the need of the whites to diminish his standing within the tribes, or the lies that agency chiefs told to make themselves appear stronger.

Once the Lakota destroyed Custer's command, the Sioux looted the corpses despite Sitting Bull's warning of future disaster should they do so. The shock of Crook and Custer's defeats galvanized the U. S. into unleashing the army and tasked them with using a winter campaign to achieve "the unconditional surrender and entire submission of these Sioux."[63] While the army was readying forces to attack Sitting Bull's hostiles, Sitting Bull and the other chiefs were discussing the possibility of retreating to Canada.

Sitting Bull opened his remarks by stating that the Americans were everywhere and they had two options: "go now---to the land of the Grandmother, or to the land of the

[63] U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1876* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1876), 27.

Spaniard." After some debate, he offered his opinion that "we can find peace in the land of the Grandmother; we can sleep sound there, our women and children can lie down and feel safe." While others remained unconvinced that this was the proper course of action, Sitting Bull had made his views known.[64]

The actions of General Nelson A Miles, known to the Indians as Bear Coat, would prove Sitting Bull correct. The merciless assault throughout the winter drove the Indians from their homes and destroyed their winter rations. Unlike previous wars, the soldiers intended to stay until they forced the Sioux to admit defeat. The soldiers were ultimately successful in forcing the vast majority of Indians to surrender. However, by June 20 1877 Sitting Bull and over 1,000 of his followers had found refuge in Canada.[65]

With the backing of Great Britain, Canada chose to grant asylum to Sitting Bull and the Sioux who had crossed into their territory.[66] During his stay in Canada, Sitting

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[64] Vestal, 181-182.

[65] U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1877* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), 16.

[66] Joseph Manzione, *"I am Looking to the North for My Life," Sitting Bull 1876-1881 (*Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 71, 105-107.

Bull dealt with Major James M. Walsh of the Canadian Mounted Police. Walsh rode out to Sitting Bull's camp shortly after he arrived. After Walsh explained that if the Sioux broke any Canadian laws they would have to return to the United States, Sitting Bull expressed his desire to remain and swore that he would be peaceful.

During the next four years, Sitting Bull remained steadfast in his desire to remain in Canada. The first unofficial attempt to get Sitting Bull to return to America came on June 7 1877. Led by Abbot Martin Marty of the Catholic Church the peace conference opened with Sitting Bull refusing to leave the land of the Grandmother. Abbot Marty eventually threatened Sitting Bull, telling him "they had better return before they starved or lost their reservation in the United States."[67]

Despite this threat, Sitting Bull remained where he felt safe. As James Macleod, Commissioner of the Northwest Mounted Police had said, "[it is as if] a wall raised up behind them that their enemies dare not cross."[68] General Terry and A. J. Lawrence arrived for the first official

[67] Ibid, 50.

[68] Ibid, 100.

conference on October 11.[69] Terry simply read the terms of surrender to Sitting Bull and once again Sitting Bull rejected them, saying that unlike our old land you wanted, "this country does not belong to your people.... this side belongs to us."[70]

Sitting Bull felt that that this new land satisfied his earlier desire for a place where the whites could not harm his people. The official result of this conference was that "Sitting Bull and his adherents are no longer considered wards of this government."[71] From 1877 to 1881, Sitting Bull remained in Canada. During this period, he adapted his people to Canadian law and tried to outlaw the trading of whiskey to his people as he felt that it was detrimental to their wellbeing.[72]

By 1878, the Indians faced starvation as the buffalo herds were dwindling and the Canadian government refused to give them any food. Even so, Sitting Bull remained steadfast in his position that "I would never again shake

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[69] U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1877* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), 17.

[70] Manzione, 103.

[71] U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1877* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), 17.

[72] Manzione, 117.

the hand of an American. . . [and would] remain [here]. . . until I die."[73] By 1881, the Lakota were so hungry that Sitting Bull finally accepted the necessity of surrendering. On July 19, 1881, Sitting Bull arrived at Fort Buford. He formally surrendered to the government the next day with this statement:

> I surrender this rifle to you through my young son, whom I now desire to teach in this manner that he has become a friend of the Americans. I wish him to learn the habits of the whites and to be educated as their sons are educated. . . I was the last man of my tribe to surrender my rifle. This boy has given it to you, and now he wants to know how he is going to make a living.[74]

No longer was Sitting Bull the proud unbending warrior that had opposed American expansion into his territory. Now he was a leader striving to discover some way that his people could survive.

Major Thomas Brotherton of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police promised Sitting Bull that he could live at Standing Rock with the rest of his people. However, the army moved Sitting Bull to Fort Yates and then further down the Mississippi river to Fort Randall. A reporter overheard

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[73] Ibid, 133.

[74] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 232.

Sitting Bull respond to this change with "All right, it is all of one piece. They have always lied to me."[75]

From September 1881 until April 1883, the soldiers at Fort Randall kept Sitting Bull under guard. Surprisingly, Sitting Bull broached the subject of gaining farming tools from the government within a week of his imprisonment, though they denied his request. This request does show his willingness to lead his people in adapting to the new reality in which they found themselves.

By August 1882 Sitting Bull had written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs begging to be sent to live with his people at Standing Rock were he would conduct himself peaceably and obey the rules of the Indian services.[76] Despite this statement, Sitting Bull remained committed to the idea that "nothing a white man has. . . is as good as the right to. . . live in our own fashion.[77] Sitting Bull was willing to compromise and adapt to white ways, but he also wanted to examine the white culture to

[75] Ibid, 236.

[76] Ibid, 245.

[77] Ibid, 247.

determine what would harm "our children and grandchildren."[78]

Sitting Bull's unwillingness to accept this alien "civilization" unconditionally placed him at crossroads with Agent James McLaughlin. McLaughlin believed the Sioux must assimilate into the white culture and forget their barbarous customs. This idea guided all of his actions as Indian agent of Standing Rock. Sitting Bull's resistance to assimilation led McLaughlin to label him a non-progressive and troublemaker.

However, Sitting Bull's actions poke holes in this characterization. His homestead consisted of fields of oats, corn and potatoes, twenty horses, forty-five cattle, eighty chickens, and two attached buildings for tools and stock. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, McLaughlin charged that Sitting Bull prejudiced other Indians against the schools by withholding his own children. However, Agency records reveal that all five of Sitting Bull's children went to the Congregational day school on the reservation.[79]

While he did not convert to Christianity, Sitting Bull was tolerant of others converting. However, on one point

[78] Ibid, 240.

[79] Ibid, 255.

McLaughlin was accurate in characterizing Sitting Bull as a troublemaker. The breakup of the Great Sioux Reservation was something that Sitting Bull opposed. The 1882 Land Treaty, which several members of the tribe had signed, broke the reservation into seven portions; six of these portions went to the Sioux, while the government opened the seventh for white settlement. The U.S. senate deemed this treaty illegal as it lacked the three-fourths majority needed to ratify it and dispatched a commission to investigate. During the commissioner's conference with the Sioux, Sitting Bull's failure to recognize the power whites had over him led to Senator John A. Logan, of Illinois scolding him as one would a child. Though humiliating, the conference still offered a pointed reminder of how much power Sitting Bull retained over his tribe. As recorded in the minutes, "Sitting Bull waved his hand and at once the Indians left the room in a body."[80]

While the leaders of the Americans were trying to destroy his position among his tribe, entertainers were trying to capitalize on his fame. Alvaren Allen convinced McLaughlin to allow Sitting Bull to travel with him in 1884. In this travelling show, Sitting Bull gave a speech

[80] U.S. Senate Reports, 48th Congress, 1st session, no. 283, Serial 2174, (New York: Readex Microprint, 1970), 72.

on the idea of peace and the need for education; however, the interpreter grotesquely altered this speech into an explicit and inaccurate account of the Little Bighorn.[81]

Buffalo Bill Cody received permission to hire Sitting Bull for his Wild West Show in 1885. During the single tour, Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull became good friends. After returning to the reservation, Sitting Bull and the Sioux went to the Crow Reservation in Montana to make peace in 1886. During the festival after the two tribes had made peace the Crows suddenly decided against allotments.[82] When Henry E. Williamson investigated, he discovered that the Crows had asked Sitting Bull what he thought of allotments; in response he had said, "he did not want his lands allotted yet and had asked the agent to delay." This statement by Sitting Bull reversed the momentum at the Crow Reservation for several months, revealing just how highly

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[81] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield*, 263; L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians: 1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 172.

[82] Under the 1887 General Allotment Act, championed by Senator Henry L. Dawes, the Indians would have their reservation broken up into plots, usually of 160 acres that would be held by the United States government for 25 years, before being returned to the owners. This also gave the Indians citizenship and allowed for the sale of the surplus land to white settlers. For the text of this act see Charles J. Kappler, ed. *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties vol. IV* (Laws) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927), 33-36.

respected he was by all Indians, even his enemies.[83]

When the allotment question reached the Standing Rock Agency, Sitting Bull stayed away from the deliberations for seven days. On July 30, 1886, fearing that the Indians would sign, Sitting Bull rode into camp and within a few hours the council swore to *Wakantanka,* the major Sioux deity that they would not sign. Once again demonstrating the respect his people had for his counsel. On August 1, Sitting Bull spoke publically for the first time, urging his people "not to give in simply because the commission would not leave, but to push for adjournment so they could get back to their farms." The commission left on August 21, with twenty-two signatures. The final report of the commission urged that the government implement allotments on the reservation without the Sioux's consent.[84]

This was unacceptable and the U.S. Senate called for the chiefs to come to Washington, D.C. to negotiate a compromise. During the negotiations, Sitting Bull stayed in the background and used his influence to keep the Sioux chiefs united in the face of the government pressure to sell their land. He spoke of the need to hold out for more money for the land the government was trying to buy. The

[83] Ibid, 266-267.

[84] Ibid, 273-274.

chiefs settled on a price of $1.25 an acre, to be paid immediately, and refused to compromise. The government rejected this deal and sent the chiefs back home.[85]

The next year the government sent General Crook to gain the necessary signatures to pass the Sioux Act of 1889. This act offered the $1.25 an acre that the Sioux had agreed on previously. However, the Sioux now presented a united front that completely rejected any sale of their land. Unlike the previous commissions, Crook seemed to promise the Sioux what they wanted and McLaughlin continued to try to convince the various leaders of the tribe to alter their positions as well. In the face of Crook and McLaughlin's manipulations, Sitting Bull was unable to keep the chiefs unified in opposition; his impassioned pleas "[to] stand as one family as we did before the white people lead us astray" fell on deaf ears. Crook's ability to create and exploit factionalism among the Indians enabled him to persuade seventy-eight percent of the Sioux nation to sign the treaty.[86]

The year 1891 marked the last in Sitting Bull's life, that year saw him focus more on his spiritual side.

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[85] Ibid, 276-277.

[86] *Utley, The Lance and the Shield, 274-280;* Yenne, 212-229; Vestal, 258-262.

Predicting a drought that would "burn up everything" he was proved right, and once again his power among his people appeared on the rise. As Sitting Bull had warned, nothing good came of signing the white's treaties in that no money came into the reservation. The government reduced had the rations, though the Sioux were starving.[87]

Into this desperate situation came the Ghost Dance Religion, which promised to return the buffalo and bring the Indians back from the grave and remove all the whites from the land.[88] Among the Sioux, the Ghost Dance took on militant overtones that alarmed the residents of South Dakota. Their concerns were that the Sioux were planning to break out of the reservation and go on a rampage appears in newspapers of the period.

The most striking example of these concerns appeared in the *Black Hills Daily Times,* which stated that "The Indian must be killed as fast as they make an appearance and before they can do any damage. It is better to kill an innocent Indian occasionally than to take a chance on

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[87] Vestal, 264-268; *Utley, The Lance and the Shield,* 279.

[88] For more information see Paul Bailey, *Ghost Dance Messiah* (Los Angeles: Westenlore Press, 1970); James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), Rani-Henrik Anderson, *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

goodness. . . ."[89] This fear of an armed uprising motivated the United States to act.

While Sitting Bull did not fully believe in the Ghost Dance, he allowed others who found comfort in it to practice. This calm acceptance of the religion led to McLaughlin characterizing him as the "high priest and leading apostle of this [religion]."[90] This also gave McLaughlin the excuse he needed to remove Sitting Bull from the reservation as a troublemaker. However, McLaughlin received a letter on December 12 indicating that Sitting Bull intended to go and investigate the religion, which is rather strange for a high priest to have to do.[91]

Fearing that Sitting Bull might escape, McLaughlin dispatched his Sioux Indian police to arrest him on December 14 with orders that included a P.S., stating "you must not let him escape under any circumstance." The next morning the Indian police arrested him; during the confrontation a fight broke out between the Indian police and Sitting Bull's friends and supporters. When the

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[89] Editorial, *Black Hills Daily Times*, Nov, 26, 1890, in Lee Miller, ed. *From the Heart: Voices of the American Indian* (New York: First Vintage Books, 1995), 256.

[90] James McLaughlin to Hon T. J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 17, 1890, quoted in Pfaller, 128.

[91] Vestal, 283-285.

gunfire had ended, eight ghost dancers, six police officers, and Sitting Bull lay on the ground dead.[92]

Sitting Bull's death at fifty-nine ended his long career as a warrior, politician, and religious leader dedicated to doing what was best for his people. He fought against the United States until circumstances forced him to choose between feeding his people and remaining committed to his opposition to reservations. Once he accepted reservation life, Sitting Bull continued to use the respect his people had for him as a spiritual and secular leader to unite them in opposition to any sale of their tribal land and to help them adjust to the new world in which they found themselves, without giving up the traditions that made them Lakota Sioux.

While Sitting Bull is legendary for his opposition to America's expansion into the Great Plains, another religious and military leader equally shrouded in myth and legend for his exploits in the Southwest emerged in the same period. History knows this Apache as Geronimo.

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[92] U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary of Interior 1891* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 129.

CHAPTER 3

Geronimo:

THE MAN BEHIND THE "TERROR OF THE SOUTHWEST"

White newspapers categorized him as a merciless cold-blooded scoundrel rampaging across Arizona, New Mexico, and Mexico. Papers as far away as Florida published articles stating that "[they] would be strongly in favor of court-martialing and shooting the officer or soldier who captures Geronimo. . . The man to be rewarded is the man who brings in his corpse."[1] However, the popular image of Geronimo as a lying bloodthirsty drunkard ignores the effect the United States and Mexicans had on Geronimo's life. The fierce warrior whom General Miles ranked among the, "worst, wildest and strongest" of the Indians came from a history of treachery and guerrilla warfare. This environment helps explain the fears that drove Geronimo to make the leadership choices he did in protecting his people.[2]

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[1] *Florida Times-Union,* April 30, 1886 in Omega G. East and Albert C. Manucy, "Arizona Apaches as "Guests" in Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 30 (1952): 295.

[2] C. L. Sonnichsen, ed., *Geronimo and the End of the Apache Wars* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 8. Apache is a name that was given to them by Don Juan de Oñate, a Spanish royal colonizer, sometime between 1598 and 1610. The Apaches referred to themselves as N'de which translates roughly to the people. I will be using the term Apache to refer to the N'de as a whole. For more information on the early period of the Apache see James L. Haley, *Apache, A History and Culture Portrait* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1981), 25-26.

The first Europeans the Apaches encountered were the Spanish. Moving quickly, the Spanish enslaved the native populace in New Spain. While the Pueblo Indians fell to the Spanish, the Apache's nomadic culture allowed them to avoid slavery. By 1673, Apache raids had even led to the abandonment of several Spanish settlements. These setbacks helped instigate the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, which led to the Spanish withdrawing from upper Mexico. For a hundred seven years, the Spanish and Apaches engaged in periods of peace followed by intense warfare. Bernado de Galvez took over as governor of the Interior Provinces in 1787 and instituted one such peace policy. This policy consisted of giving the Apaches antique, poorly maintained firearms and "as much liquor as they could hold. . . ."[3]

While this policy failed to turn the Apaches into lifeless drunks, it did keep the peace until the Mexican Revolution in 1821. After the Mexicans established their own government, they abandoned this policy of appeasement. Naturally, this led to a resumption of the old cycle of raiding and counter-raiding. However, the Mexicans added a new twist by offering a bounty for Apache scalps in 1835. This policy of extermination helps explain the continual

[3] Haley, 24-41.

cycle of hatred that existed between the Apaches and Mexicans.[4]

While it was part of Apache culture to hate Mexicans, Geronimo's hatred had a personal dimension. He placed his birth at the headwaters of the Gila in Arizona in the 1820s,[5] his grandfather was chief of the Nednai, but Geronimo's father gave up his right to inherit his own father's position when he married into the Bedonkohe Apaches, a division of the Chiricahua Apaches.[6] He gave his son the name Goyahkla, which translates as "One Who Yawns."[7] Goyahkla had a typical childhood for a Bedonkohe Apache. He learned long distance running, accuracy with a bow,

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[4] Ibid, 49-52.

[5] Geronimo, *Geronimo His Own Story,* ed. S.M. Barrett & Fredrick W. Turner III, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1970), 70. Though Geronimo places his birth in 1829, more recent work has cast doubt on the date and location. Angie Debo provides an argument as to where and when Geronimo was born. I agree with Debo's argument and have used her dating system instead of Geronimo's. Debo's argument can be found in *Geronimo: the Man, His time, His Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 7-8; Edwin Sweeney's work in examining the Mexican sources also provides additional evidence in support of Debo's timeline.

[6] The Apaches are broken down into seven main divisions: Chiricahua, Jicarilla, Lipan, Mescalero, Kiowa-Apache, Western Apache and Nednai Apache. These groups are further subdivided into bands. The Chiricahua Apaches have six subdivisions: Mogollan, Mimbreños (Chi-Hen-ne), Eastern, Central (Cho-Kon-en), Southern (Bedonkohe), Warm Springs. Some of the tribes have more divisions. I will list both the main and any subdivision where applicable for each leader.

[7] Occasionally, his name is also translated as shrewd.

stealth, and survival techniques.[8] Two events of importance happened during Geronimo's childhood.

The first was his meeting with Juh. Juh's father was a chief of the Nednai Apache; Juh eventually married Goyahkla's sister Ishton. During their childhood, the two men formed a bond that lasted the rest of their lives. The second was the death of his father after a long sickness. With his father dead, Goyahkla became responsible for caring for his mother. Shortly after burying his father, the two set out to visit Juh and their relatives in the Nednai band. During his time with the Nednai, Goyahkla turned seventeen, which made him an official adult who could join the warriors on raids and, more important, marry. Goyahkla immediately married Alope, whom he described as "the greatest joy to me." Alope and Goyahkla had three children. Once married, Goyahkla moved his family back to the Bedonkohe Apaches.[9]

In 1850, various Apache tribes made peace with the Mexican state of Chihuahua. This agreement allowed the Apaches to trade in peace with the towns in the area. While Goyahkla claimed that "[his people were] at peace

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[8] Haley, 116-121,132-134; Debo, 13-19; Adams, 47-52.

[9] Geronimo, 80-82; Debo, 25, 30-31; Betzinez,, 14-17.

with the Mexican towns . . . ," the records indicate that not all Apaches were at peace. In 1849, Apache raids in Sonora killed sixty-four Mexicans. The government tried various commanders before finally placing Colonel José María Carrasco in charge of the campaign against the Apaches. Carrasco crossed the border into Chihuahua in 1851, believing that Janos was the base for the Apache raiders. By this point, Goyahkla's entire tribe had moved to trade with the Mexicans at Janos. On March 5, Carrasco attacked the camp while the men were trading at Janos.[10]

On their way back to camp the men encountered a few women and children who told them, "Mexican troops from some other town attacked our camp." The Apaches immediately withdrew to their rendezvous point, as the night went by Apaches trickled, though not everyone arrived. Goyahkla's wife, children, and mother were among those missing. This lost devastated Goyahkla, as he recalled years later: "I did not pray, nor did I resolve to do anything in Particular, for I had no purpose left." After following his tribe back to their home, Goyahkla saw "the decorations that Alope had made-and there were the playthings of our

[10] Debo, 33-34; Betzinez, 16-17; Edwin Sweeney, "'I had Lost All': Geronimo and the Carrasco Massacre of 1851" in *Geronimo and the End of the Apache Wars*, ed. C.L. Sonnichsen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 35-51.

little ones." Goyahkla burned everything that remained of his past. From then on, he "was never again contented in our quiet home. . . . I had vowed vengeance upon the Mexican troopers . . . whenever I . . . saw anything to remind me of former happy days my heart would ache for revenge upon Mexico."[11]

Goyahkla's chance for vengeance materialized quickly. When his people reached their camp in the United States, Chief Mangas-Coloradas called for a war party to punish the Mexicans. He selected Goyahkla as the emissary to the other tribes to request their assistance in the attack. Goyahkla convinced Cochise's Chokonen (Chiricahua) Apaches, Juh's Nednai, and Baishan's Warm Springs (Chiricahua) Apaches to join the raid. This party reached Arispe in northern Sonora and engaged Mexican soldiers in a small skirmish. The following day, the Mexican cavalry moved out to attack the Apaches. [12]

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[11] Geronimo, 85-88.

[12]Geronimo, 89; Debo, 38-39; Betzenez, 4-9; Mangas Coloradas and Cochise were some of the most influential chiefs the Apache ever had. For more information on Mangas Coloradas see Edwin Sweeney, *Mangas Coloradas: Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1998). For more information on Cochise see Edwin Sweeney, *Cochise Chiricahua Apache Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); Edwin Sweeney, *From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches, 1874-1886* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

Due to Goyahkla's loss, the chiefs gave him the honor of leading the warriors in battle. He arranged his warriors into "a hollow circle" and stationed them in the timber. The Mexicans advanced and began firing. Goyahkla led a charge against them while "sending some braves to attack their rear." Consistent with Apache oral tradition, Goyahkla earned his new name during this battle. Throughout this fight, Goyahkla was constantly in the thick of battle spurred on by the loss of his family. At one point, two Mexican soldiers killed the three warriors with Goyahkla, only to be killed by Goyahkla in turn. The soldiers were crying out for Saint Jerome's protection and Goyahkla's tribe began to call him "Geronimo" because of this.[13]

The loss of his family also brought out Geronimo's Power. The Apaches are different from most other tribes in their path to Power. Other tribes might seek out Power via spirit quests or rituals, but Power sought out the Apache. Power might choose any man, women, or child to wield it, provided that they would. Another point of interest about the Apache's Power is that they believed that their Power

[13]Geronimo, 92; Debo, 39; St Jerome is the patron saint of translators, librarians, and students in the Roman Catholic Church. St Jerome is honored by a week of feasting in late September. This festival corresponds with the attack in later summer.

would set limits on its use. In addition, each Power was unique in the gifts and restrictions that it brought. Accounts differ as to what Power Geronimo wielded, some accounts grant him *indah Keh-ho-ndi* (power against enemies), while others labeled his power as Coyote Power.[14] Either way, Geronimo's Power did grant him certain benefits, which in part explains his courage in battle. When Geronimo's Power first spoke to him it said, "No gun can ever kill you. I will take the bullets from the guns of the Mexicans, so they will have nothing but powder, and I will guide your arrows."[15]

While some early histories state that Geronimo was a chief, it is important to note the inaccuracy of that statement. For the Apache, chiefs had to have certain qualities, the most important being the ability to "preach to the people," as Apache *nantan* (chiefs) had to persuade their followers to act as he wished. A *nantan* did not need either Power or a reputation as a skilled warrior. Geronimo was renowned enough for his actions to organize

[14] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua*, 98-99; Haley, 63-66; Both powers granted great gifts in war. However, Coyote Power seems the better fit as it is characterized as a double edged sword. Geronimo's power would protect "him," but not the men who rode with him. This fact would limit Geronimo's ability to ascend to the office of chief as his Power was unable to protect the warriors who would follow him.

[15] Sam Haozous interview January 27, 1955 in Debo, 38.

raiding parties, but his inability to bring back everyone who joined limited his ability to advance to the rank of *nantan.* However, by the 1880s his people were willing to follow Geronimo as his decisions and Power had proven capable of protecting his people, despite his obsession with revenge.[16]

Sometime after this first raid, which granted him his name and Power, Geronimo convinced two warriors, Ah-koch-ne and Ko-deh-ne, to raid with him into Mexico. Unfortunately, all this raid accomplished was to get both of the warriors who accompanied him killed. Despite this setback, Geronimo organized another raid, but he was forced to turn back to defend his village. The final raid that he led that year consisted of twenty-five warriors who attempted to ambush a Mexican cavalry unit. While the Apaches were successful in eliminating the Mexicans, their own loses were so heavy that "there really was no glory in our victory."[17]

It is important to keep in mind the backdrop of Geronimo's life, especially the relationship between the

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[16] Harry W. Basehart, "Mescalero Band Organization and Leadership" in *Apachean Culture History and Ethnology,* eds. Keith H. Basso and Morris E. Opler (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1971), 43-46; Adams, 73; Haley, 155.

[17] Geronimo, 93-97; Debo, 48-50. Debo places the first two raids in 1852 and the third in the summer of 1853.

United States and Mexico. In 1848, the United States and Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. This treaty ended the Mexican War and established the boundary between Mexico and the United States. For this thesis, the most important article of the treaty is Article eleven. This called for the United States government to "forcibly restrain . . . any incursions . . . by savage tribes" upon Mexican territory. While this treaty officially made the government responsible for the Apache raids, by 1852 Secretary of War Charles Conrad and Commander of the Ninth Military Department Edwin V. Sumner recommended to the 32nd Congress that the United States Army should abandon the New Mexico Territory, as the intractable populace had led to skyrocketing defense costs.[18] In addition, Sumner argued that the populace was "thoroughly debased and totally incapable of self-government . . . [nothing] can ever make them respectable citizens."[19] The army was more concerned about the other problems that were developing inside the nation than a few raids by the Apaches into Mexico.

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[18] "Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," February 2, 1848, United States www.ourdocuments.gov/www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=26&page=transcript (accessed, February 10,2011); Robert Wooster, "'A Difficult and Forlorn Country': The Military Looks at the American Southwest,1850-1890," *Arizona and the West* 28, no. 4 (1986): 339.

[19] Lt. Col. Edwin Sumner, *Report of Sumner* in Wooster, 341.

Geronimo led another raid in 1854 with twelve warriors after seizing a pack train and heading back to Arizona; a Mexican unit ambushed them while they were eating breakfast. Though Geronimo escaped, he was shot twice. These wounds forced him to stay at home until they healed. However, while the other warriors were out hunting, a Mexican troop attacked the camp and killed Geronimo's new wife and child, further fueling his hatred of the Mexicans. These unsuccessful raids did little to eliminate Geronimo's ability to organize raids or his desire to kill Mexicans.[20]

The following year Geronimo organized another raid and took a Mexican pack train with no casualties. On the way back to their camp, the warriors captured an American pack train. Unlike previous successful raids, the Apaches set sentries around their camp this time. This enabled them to spot the Mexican troop approaching and gave them ample time to arrange an ambush. Geronimo led one wing of the warriors, while Mangas-Coloradas led the other. In the ensuing battle, the Apaches were able to kill ten Mexicans while losing only a single warrior. This was the beginning

[20] Geronimo, 96-100; Debo 49-52; Adams, *Geronimo*, 106-107.

of a series of successful raids by Geronimo against the Mexicans.[21]

Three more raids occurred in which Geronimo succeeded in capturing various Mexican goods. The second raid provides a counterpoint to the image of Geronimo as a drunkard. When the warriors captured a pack train loaded with mescal they immediately began drinking once they made camp. While Geronimo admits that "[he] drank enough mescal to feel the effect of it," when the Indians began to fight, he attempted to stop the fighting and institute some order. When no one listened to him, he waited until they had all drunk themselves into a stupor before he poured out the mescal, attended to the wounded, and guarded the camp all night.[22] Geronimo would drink, and it would sometimes impair his judgment, but he never allowed it rule his life.

Over several years, Geronimo raided the Mexicans five times, four times as the leader and once under Mangas-Coloradas. The four raids that he led himself were successful and brought back enough food, horses, and goods to support the tribe for years. These successes helped boost Geronimo's reputation among the Apaches. While the

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[21] Geronimo, 101-105; Debo, 52.

[22] Geronimo, 104-105; Debo, 53.

tribes considered him too focused on revenge, his experience and success as a raider assured that both his people and the chiefs would listen to his council.[23]

One of the reasons the United States was not overly concerned with the Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico was that the inhabitants seemed peaceful. From the early encounters with John Bartlett and the Mexican-United States Boundary Commission up to the establishment of the Butterfield stage at Apache Pass, the Chiricahua Apaches had proved friendly and willing to accept the limited American presence in their territory. However, the Bascom Affair shattered the Chiricahua's tolerance.

The event that ended the era of peace between the Chiricahua Apaches and the whites began with a case of mistaken identity. In 1861, a group of Apaches raided the farm of John Ward and captured his son Felix Ward. The elder Ward blamed the Chiricahuas, and Lt. George Bascom asked to meet with Cochise. Accompanied by his wife, son, brother, and two nephews, Cochise went down to speak with Bascom. Bascom accused Cochise of kidnapping Felix and placed him under arrest until the Apaches returned the boy. Cochise cut his way out of the tent and escaped to the

[23] Geronimo, 106-109; Debo, 53-55.

hills. Over the next month a tense hostage crisis developed; Bascom held four hostages while Cochise was able to capture three. Rather than trading the hostages as his sergeant wanted, Bascom wired for reinforcements. Unwilling to fight the soldiers, Cochise killed his hostages before withdrawing, while Bascom hanged his.[24]

As Geronimo recalls in his autobiography:

> after all this trouble all of the Indians agreed not to be friendly with the white men any more. . . . this treachery on the part of the soldiers had angered the Indians and revived memories of other wrongs, so that we never again trusted the United States troops.[25]

As the Apaches began to raid against the United States, they believed they were winning as troops left the area. However, the movement of American troops was in response to the secession of the southern states from the Union, not the Apache raids.

Throughout the Civil War, the Confederacy and the Union forces fought over the Southwest territory to the advantage of the Apaches. When the Confederacy withdrew, Brigadier General James Henry Carleton found himself in

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[24] Adams, 109-121; Debo, 62-63; Haley, 225-229. Felix Ward was captured by the White Mountain Apaches and would later serve as an interpreter/scout for the Army under the name Mickey Free. Cochise was innocent and logically viewed Bascom's actions as treachery by the Americans. This event is one of the contributing factors that played into the Chiricahua's distrust of the United States army.

[25] Geronimo, 125.

charge of the Department of New Mexico. Carleton was not interested in making peace with the Indians and issued orders to his troops to "punish them [Indians] for their treachery and their crimes."[26] This order to punish the Indians led to the murder of Mangas Coloradas.

Lured in by the promise of peace talks, the soldiers captured Mangas and tortured him before shooting him six times. Geronimo and the rest of his people were awaiting news from Mangas regarding the success or failure of the peace talks when the U. S. Cavalry attacked their camp. After withdrawing, Geronimo and the remainder of his people joined Cochise's Apaches for a while. It is important to keep these instances of treachery in mind as they had a major impact on Geronimo's thinking during his later years.

After a short time, Geronimo and Cochise split again and Geronimo moved closer to an old camp that the United States troops had overran earlier. Sometime after arriving, a cavalry unit attacked the Apaches, "capture[ing] all our supplies, blankets, horses, and clothing and destroyed our tepees." With winter

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[26] Debo, 68. For information regarding the Civil War in the West see Ray C. Colton, *Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959) and Alvin M. Joseph Jr., *Civil War In the American West* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

approaching, Geronimo led his people to Chief Victorio's camp of the Chihenne (Chiricahua) Apache. Geronimo stayed for about a year before his people had enough supplies to live on their own.[27]

While Geronimo moved around, the Apaches continued to raid. With the election of President Ulysses S. Grant in 1869 the United States moved towards a new Indian policy based on moving the Indians to reservations, Christianizing them, and eventually making them citizens. This policy of peaceful coexistence is now known as Grant's Peace Policy.[28]

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[27] Geronimo, 129-131; In his book *From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches, 1874-1886* Edwin R. Sweeney places this attack in 1876, while the standard chronology places these events before General Howards visit to the Apaches in 1872. Debo places these events in 1870-71, as that corresponds with the period of peace that Geronimo mentions in his autobiography. Sweeney places it in '76 as that corresponds with an attack reported by Lt. J.A. Ruckers on an Apache camp. Neither uses the only other clue present in Geronimo's account as he mentions "it was the coldest winter I ever knew." This is a point that could use more research before any chronology can be established as the correct one. Looking at the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1876 Indian Agent Thomas J. Jeffords mentions "extreme heat" but none of the Apache Agents mention a harsh winter. Reports of Superintendents and Agents, Thomas J. Jeffords in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1876* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1876), 3-4. In a report from November 1871, Captain W. McC. Netterville of the 21st Infantry Division mentions that the Apaches he encountered were "suffering very much from the cold." Report Captain W. McC. Netterville, November 2, 1871 in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1871* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1871), 53. Because of this information, I have rejected Sweeney's chronology in favor of the standard chronology.

[28] For more information on Grant's Peace Policy see Lawrie Tactum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); Norman J. Bender, *New Hope for the Indians: The Grant Peace Policy and Navajo Indians*

The first application of this policy came in 1871 with Vincent Colyer's visit. Colyer was the choice to apply Grant's Peace Policy to the Apaches because of his work with the United States Christian Commission. Coyler's mission established interim reservations at Camp Apache, Camp Grant, McDowell, Verde, Date Creek, and Beale Springs in an attempt to bring peace to the region. However, an attack later that year indicated that peace was elusive. In 1872, Grant dispatched Brigadier General Oliver O. Howard to make peace with the Apaches. Surprisingly, Howard was successful in improving relations. His agreement to move the Warm Spring Apaches from Camp Grant to a more suitable location near Alamosa satisfied the Warm Springs Apaches. In addition, he recommended a new reservation at San Carlos. Buoyed by his success, Howard set off to find Cochise.[29]

Cochise and Geronimo had been camping near each other at Apache Pass for the last year. Howard contacted Cochise with the assistance of Thomas J. Jeffords, a trader whom Cochise trusted. After a conference, Cochise and Howard

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(Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); Peter J. Rahill, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954).

[29] Haley, 264-278; Debo, 83-86.

agreed on a reservation at Apache Pass, with Jeffords serving as Indian Agent. Geronimo was especially impressed with Howard and remembered him later in life as a "pure, honest white man" whom they "could have lived forever at peace with. . . ."[30] For the next two years Cochise discouraged raiding into Mexico and protected the trails and ranches as he had agreed to during talks with Howard. From 1873 to 1874, Geronimo raided off and on in Mexico before returning to the United States.

Cochise was so successful in keeping the peace that in 1875 Arizona's Governor Anson Stafford stated, "Comparative peace now reigns throughout the Territory, with almost a certainty that no general Indian war will ever occur again."[31] However, with Cochise's death in 1874 the Apaches were far more restless than they appeared to be. While Cochise's son Taza did his best to keep the peace, circumstances soon made it impossible. Two issues led to discontent and open warfare by the Apaches.

The first issue was the new policy of concentration. Intended to save the government money, this policy advocated closing the various reservations in Arizona and

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[30] Geronimo, 131; Debo, 86-89; Haley,279- 282.

[31] David Roberts, *Once They Moved Like the Wind: Cochise, Geronimo and the Apache Wars* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1993), 151.

placing all of the Apaches on a single reservation. This process occurred slowly as the Army gradually moved the Apaches to San Carlos as their agencies were closed. The other point of particular interest for Geronimo was the appointment of John P. Clum, a young, idealistic college graduate with no experience managing Indians, as San Carlos's Indian Agent. By 1875, John Clum had over 4,200 Apaches, many of them hostile to each other, on a single reservation.[32]

The incident that led to the closing of the Chiricahua Reservation occurred in 1876. Two brothers, Skinya and Pionsenay, opposed Taza's leadership, and after drinking whiskey sold to them by a white trader, they killed the trader, his assistant, and another white man before escaping to the Dragoon Mountains in southeastern Arizona. This incident led to calls for "unrelenting, hopeless, and undiscriminating war . . . until every valley and crest . . . shall send to high heaven the grateful incense of

[32] Debo; 92-97; Roberts, 152-155; Haley, 303-311. John P. Clum has been cast as two different men by historians: one is the successful manager of the San Carlos Reservation who showed respect for the Apaches' customs and protected their interests, while the other focuses on Clum's "vanity . . . and grandiose resolves" and how this mentality led to him exaggerating his success and undermining Indians rights. Haley argues for the first version of Clum, while Roberts argues for the second. For an excellent discussion of the two points of view see John Dibbern, "The Reputation of Indian Agents: A Reappraisal of John P. Clum and Joseph C. Tiffany," *Journal of the Southwest* 39, no. 2 (1997): 201-238.

festering and rotting Chiricahuas."[33] Clum received orders to remove the Chiricahuas in May 1876.

One month later, Clum arrived to take the Chiricahuas to San Carlos. Clum first convinced Taza to move his Apaches to San Carlos. However, Geronimo and Juh proved difficult to convince. According to Clum, during the conference Geronimo agreed to move his people to San Carlos, but said he would need two weeks to gather all of his people. Rather than keeping his word, Geronimo and Juh left the reservation, with Juh going to Mexico and Geronimo heading to Warm Springs. Geronimo argued years later, that "[he] never belonged to those soldiers at Apache Pass, or that I should have asked them where I might go." Clearly, the Apaches under Geronimo did not yet understand that by accepting reservations they had given up their rights to move across their ancestral land.[34]

Geronimo's failure to obey resulted in Clum branding him a renegade. Over the next year, various Apache bands raided from the Warm Springs Reservation down into Mexico, Arizona, and New Mexico. It is probable that Geronimo was involved in some of these raids, though none of the

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[33] *Arizona Citizen,* April 15, 1875 in Debo, 97.

[34] Debo, 98-99; Geronimo, 132-133; Roberts, 156-157.

documents prove his involvement one way or the other. Regardless, the "renegade" Geronimo received blame for the depredations, and on March 20, 1877 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ordered Clum to "take Indian Police and arrest renegade Chiricahuas at Southern Apache Agency . . . remove renegades to San Carlos and hold them if possible."[35]

Clum arrived in Warm Springs on April 20 and sent out a messenger to Geronimo that he desired a friendly talk.[36] Clum hid eighty of his men in the commissary and waited for the Apaches to arrive. When Geronimo and his compatriots arrived, Clum addressed them stating, "if they would listen to my words with 'good ears' no serious harm would come to them." Geronimo's "defiant attitude" led to Clum dispatching his forces to surround Geronimo's people. Hopelessly outnumbered and with women and children to protect, Geronimo agreed to speak with Clum. During the conference, Clum berated Geronimo and ordered him to the guardhouse. Geronimo jumped up in anger, but Clum had him disarmed and shackled before sending him back to San Carlos.[37]

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[35] Sweeney, *From Cochise*, 81.

[36] Geronimo, 133.

Geronimo later recalled this as "unjust imprisonment, which might easily have been death to me." Geronimo's fear that he might be killed as Mangas-Coloradas had been continued to play on him for the remainder of his life. Whenever there was even a rumor that the United States might be attempting to imprison or kill him, he would flee. Geronimo spent four months in chains at San Carlos, while Clum waited for the sheriff to claim him for his trial and eventual hanging.[38]

The sheriff never arrived to take Geronimo away, and Clum soon resigned after the army gained the upper hand in the feud over who should be in charge of the reservations. This debate had begun years earlier, after control of the Indians was transferred from the Department of War to the Department of the Interior. The Department of War felt that they were more qualified to manage the Indians and campaigned to take back the responsibility from the Department of the Interior. Each time an Indian breakout

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[37] John Clum, *Apache Days and Tombstone Nights: John Clum's Autobiography 1877-1887* ed. Neil C. Carmony (New Mexico, Silver City: High-Lonesome Books, 1997), 121-133; Roberts, 164-169; Debo, 103-111.

[38] Geronimo, 133; Debo, 113-114.

occurred, the Department of the Interior lost ground in the feud over the management of the Indians."[39]

As conditions worsened on the reservation, the Apaches began to breakout, seeking better conditions for their people. Victorio and Loco led 323 of their followers off the reservation in 1877.[40] Geronimo and his people stayed behind. Part of the reason for this, might be a promise to remain on the reservation, which Geronimo made to the Indian agent after he released him. However, the worsening conditions, outbreaks of smallpox among the Chiricahuas, and encouragement by Juh led to Geronimo and his followers breaking away from San Carlos and heading towards Mexico.[41]

On their way to Mexico, Geronimo and Juh captured a wagon train and fought off a troop of soldiers who tried to prevent them from crossing into Mexico. Geronimo, Victorio, and Juh continued to raid across Mexico and Arizona. By 1879, various members of the San Carlos tribes had tried to convince the Apaches to return to the reservation. Because of the Mexican army's continual

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[39] Debo, 113.

[40] For more information on Victorio see Kathleen Chamberlain, *Victorio: Apache Warrior and Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007) and Dan Thrapp, *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,1974).

[41] Haley, 318-324; Betzinez, 47-49.

pressure, the Apaches eventually agreed to meet the Americans for peace talks. Captain Henry Haskell met the Apaches under Juh and Geronimo on December 12. During this meeting, Haskell agreed to settle the bands at their own sub-agency and treat them better.[42]

While the Chiricahuas settled at San Carlos, Victorio continued to raid for the next year before he was killed at Tres Castillos in 1880. After appealing to the new Indian agent Joseph Tiffany, Geronimo and Juh received permission to move to a better area on the reservation. With Victorio dead, peace appeared to be at hand. However, a religious movement soon ended that hope. This movement began with Nok-ay-det-klinne, a White Mountain (western) Apache and his reported ability to bring the old chiefs back and make the white man disappear. This religious movement quickly gained converts and, though Geronimo, Juh, and their followers remained aloof, the growing number alarmed Agent Tiffany, who sent for the army when Nok-ay-det-klinne refused to come in as ordered to.[43]

The officer who received Tiffany's message was Colonel Eugene Carr. Carr had been doing his best to avoid

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[42] Sweeney, *From*, 118-144; Debo, 119-123.

[43] Haley, 336-342.

trouble, even going so far as to issue an order warning his command to stop "foolish and wicked" boasts that the army was preparing to attack the Indians. However, when Carr arrested Nok-ay-det-klinne, his Apache scouts turned on him, opening fire. During the ensuing battle, Nok-ay-det-klinne was killed by a group of soldiers. This rebellion by the scouts marked the beginning of an uprising among Nok-ay-det-klinne's followers. After the scouts rebelled, other Apaches attacked the troops and forts in the region for a few days. Carr's forces succeeded in defeating the rebel Indians in a few weeks. However, the army had no idea how many hostiles were committing acts of violence, and General William T. Sherman ordered General Irvin McDowell to end "this annual Apache stampede . . . [use] every available man in the whole Army if necessary."[44]

As the army concentrated its forces on San Carlos, the skittish Apaches began to seek assurances from Tiffany that the soldiers were not there to arrest them. Tiffany assured them the soldiers were seeking only the bands that had attacked Carr's forces. Unfortunately, when the soldiers tried to arrest two of the leaders of the resistance, the leaders escaped to Juh and Geronimo's band.

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[44] Sweeney, *From,* 178-180.

This attempt by the army to arrest the "troublemakers" provoked the fears of Geronimo, Juh, and Naiche that the army was planning to hold them accountable for their previous actions. As Geronimo said years later, "we thought it more manly to die on the warpath than be killed in prison."[45]

This fear led the Chiricahuas to bolt from the reservation on October 2, 1881. Over the next five days, the Chiricahuas conducted a running battle against the army and settlers. When they finally crossed the border, they had captured for the 375 members of the band guns, ammunition, horses, and over 350 head of cattle. The Apaches continued across Mexico until they reached the Sierra Madre Mountains where Nana, a Nednai Chief, had a camp.[46]

Shortly after reaching the safety of the Sierra Madres, the chiefs decided to send a group to bring Loco's band to Mexico as well. Years later the Apaches gave various reasons for this risky venture, the most common being the need for reinforcements against the Mexicans. Another argument that some Apaches remember Geronimo making

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[45] Sweeney, *From*, 181-184; Debo, 131-133; Geronimo, 134-135.

[46] Sweeney, *From,* 185-191; Geronimo, 135.

frequently was the need to save their relatives from "the sickness, starvation, and discomfort they would experience with the approaching summer. . . ." Over a year passed before the Apaches were confident of their chances for success in this endeavor. On April 12, 1882, the Chiricahuas sneaked across the border into the United States.[47]

Four days later the raiders came upon a sheep herd. Accounts differ widely in the details, but all agree that Geronimo and his men tortured and killed seven herders, two women, and two children. One of the Apaches present saved one of the survivors from Geronimo's wrath.[48] Geronimo left the area and continued towards the reservation. That night he sang four songs to consult his Power on the raid. According to his Power, the raid would be successful, and to ensure success it put the agency employees into a deep sleep.[49]

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[47] Debo, 139-140; Sweeney, *From*, 192-199.

[48] John Clum, Jimmie Stevens, Rope, and a contemporary newspaper description from the survivor make up the various accounts of this massacre. The other three accounts are secondhand from a White Mountain Apache present. I have used the newspaper account published in Dan Thrapp, *Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 237.

[49] Debo, 141-142; Morris E. Opler, *An Apache Life Way: The Economic, Social and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Apaches* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 200.

The Chiricahuas rode into Loco's camp around dawn, shouting "Take them all! No one is to be left in the camp! Shoot down anyone who refuses to go with us! Some of you men lead them out." The shock and surprise of their sudden appearance allowed the Chiricahuas to get Loco's camp moving almost immediately. As Jason Betzinez later remembered it, Geronimo "was out front guiding us east" when the Indian police chief was ambushed and shot down. When they learned of this, Loco's band headed to Mexico. Betzinez remembered it simply, "the agency would blame us for the killings which occurred . . . we could not safely return."[50]

After a few hours, Geronimo turned north towards the Gila Mountains, where they stopped when the sun went down. After only a short rest, Geronimo led them to another spring. While various chiefs were present the group relied on Geronimo, as he was "the most intelligent and resourceful. . . vigorous and farsighted."[51] As the march continued south along the Gila, a few warriors went out to gather the sheep from the herd the Apaches had stumbled

[50] Betzinez, 56-57; Sweeney, 210-213; Debo, 142-144.

[51] Betzinez, 58.

across earlier. Later that day, the group rested and feasted.[52]

By this point, it was clear that Loco's people would need mounts as they could not maintain the grueling pace that allowed the Apaches to cover "fifty to seventy-five miles a day." The chiefs dispatched men to gather horses from the surrounding ranches. When they returned they began another night march. The next day Lt. Col. George Forsyth attacked the Apaches. Rather than engaging him, the Apaches conducted a brief holding action before fading back and disengaging. This was the last time the Apaches saw the army before they crossed into Mexico two days later.[53]

Believing themselves safe from the U.S. Army, the chiefs neglected to post sentries and began to dance and make merry. This continued for two days before the army located them in Mexico. Disregarding the international boundary, the army's Apache scouts quickly located the Chiricahuas, and the army unit set up an ambush. However, shooting began before the cavalry was in position, spoiling the ambush. Geronimo shouted to his warriors to push the

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[52] Betzinez, 58; Debo, 143; Sweeney, 214.

[53] Betzinez, 63-67; Debo, 145.

soldiers back. By the end of the day, the Apaches had forced the soldiers to pull back and the former escaped. Less than two days later Mexicans attacked the Apache column. As the Apaches scattered, Geronimo led a group of warriors straight into the Mexicans to give the women and children time to escape.[54]

Once Geronimo's initial assault drove the Mexicans back, the Apaches established a defensive line by digging foxholes. Each time the soldiers pressed forward, the Apaches drove them back. During one of the charges, the Mexicans even yelled, "Geronimo, this is your last day!" However, the Apaches eventually forced the Mexicans to withdraw. Their success in battle had come at a heavy price. When the Mexicans withdrew they had taken thirty-three women and children captive. These captives would be a constant source of worry for the Apaches for the next four years.[55]

The next day the Mexicans and U.S. soldiers both turned back, leaving the Apaches free to continue on their journey. The Apaches finally reached the Sierra Madre Mountains on May 7, 1882. One of the first things the

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[54] Betzinez, 72; Debo 150-151; Sweeney, *From*, 222-229.

[55] Geronimo, 116-118; Betzinez, 72-75; Sweeney, *From*, 225-233.

Apaches did was establish a place to trade. Geronimo and Juh set out to reestablish relations with Casas Grandes in the northwest part of the Mexican state of Chihuahua. This town had enjoyed peaceful relations with the Apache in the past, though this time the Mexicans planned treachery.

Under the command of Joaquin Terrazas, the Mexican forces schemed to ambush the Apaches after getting them drunk. His attack began at dawn, though Geronimo and Juh were able to rally some of their people and withdraw to a defensive position on higher ground. After their successful ambush, Terrazas' forces withdrew. The two Mexican attacks had inflicted staggering losses on the Apache. Over thirty-five Apaches were now in captivity. Seeking safety once again, the Apaches withdrew into the far reaches of the Sierra Madres.[56]

The Apaches trusted in their ancestral stronghold to protect them from everyone. However, as they continued to raid on both sides of the border they set in motion the policies that led to their capture. On September 4, 1882, General Crook returned to the Department of Arizona, where he began planning an assault on the Sierra Madres. For the next year, the Apaches trusted in Geronimo's power to guide

[56] Sweeney, *From*, 233-237; Betzinez, 76-80; Debo, 156-166.

them to victory in raids on both sides of the border and to keep them safe from Mexican troops.[57]

On May 1, 1883, General Crook was finally ready to assault the Apaches in their stronghold. Crook used Tsoe (Peaches), an Apache Scout who had been with the Apaches in Mexico, to lead his army into the Sierra Madres. Fifteen days later, Crook's scouts attacked Geronimo's camp, capturing it easily. At the time of this attack, Geronimo and his warriors were 120 miles away, completing a raid on the road near Casas Grandes. What occurred that night is still unexplainable. Geronimo was sitting down to eat when he suddenly jumped up and shouted, "Men, our people who we left at our base camp are now in the hands of U.S. troops! What shall we do?" No messengers had arrived and no smoke signals appeared. Somehow, Geronimo knew that his people were in trouble. Betzinez and the rest of the men set off immediately trusting Geronimo's word completely.[58]

Geronimo and his warriors arrived two days after this vision occurred, which was also two days after Crook

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[57] Sweeney, *From*, 240-278. During this period, Geronimo led seven raids and on several occasions predicted where and when the Mexican troops would appear. By the time they led the last raid in 1883, Mexicans sources claimed that the Apaches had killed 93 to 115 Mexicans.

[58] Sweeney, *From*, 299-309; Debo, 168-182; Betzinez, 112-114.

captured the camp. Surprised by the presence of General Crook's forces, Geronimo and his warriors agreed to a parley with Crook. The discussion took place over four days before Crook succeeded in convincing Geronimo that it was best he return to the reservation. Crook promised Geronimo he would be allowed to return to the reservation and live in peace. After Geronimo accepted this deal, he sent messengers out to the other camps to tell them to come in. Over the next several days, Apaches trickled in until Crook had 325 Apaches on his hands. Running low on rations, Crook began to travel towards the border. Geronimo asked for a few extra days to gather the rest of his people and Crook granted his request.[59]

Crook arrived in Arizona on June 10, 1883 and settled the Apaches at San Carlos. However, Geronimo and his band did not surface. Geronimo, Naiche, and their bands had been raiding across Sonora, gathering horses and food. The other reason they remained in Mexico was to attempt to trade for the Apaches that the Mexicans had captured. Over a three month period from August to October 1883, the Apaches tried to negotiate with the Mexicans at Casas

[59] Debo, 182-192; Sweeney, 234-240.

Grandes. However, the Mexicans were dealing in bad faith and the Apaches withdrew.[60]

Always cautious, Geronimo sent his son Chappo in to see the conditions of the reservation before Geronimo was willing to travel there with his people. One month later, Chappo set off to return to Geronimo and to bring him to the reservation. Before leaving, he told Captain Emmet Crawford, chief of the Apache scouts, that his father "feared troops and the possibility of being put in the calaboose." Chappo indicated that Geronimo had intended to travel to Eagle Creek, but Crawford convinced him to go instead to Guadalupe Canyon. Crook dispatched Lt. Britton Davis to the border to wait for Geronimo.[61]

Geronimo arrived on February 26, 1884, driving a large herd of cattle ahead of him. According to Davis, Geronimo was angry and "demanded to know why there was need of an escort for him and his people to the reservation. He had made peace with the Americans, why then was there danger of their attacking him?" Davis was able to deflect this question by explaining that the soldiers were to prevent an

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[60] Sweeney, *From*, 329- 337.

[61] Ibid, 338-355.

attack by drunken Americans.[62] As they drove the cattle slowly towards the reservation, a marshal, who intended to arrest Geronimo, intercepted Davis. Rather than risk the Apaches bolting, Davis convinced Geronimo that he should pull a "joke" on the marshal by having "the Indians with all the cattle and ponies . . . disappear" during the night.[63]

This action by Davis allowed the Chiricahuas to reach the San Carlos Reservation without trouble. Once there, Geronimo requested that "the past be blotted out" and his people allowed to settle at Eagle Creek. However, that was outside the boundary of the reservation, and the Chiricahuas instead settled at Turkey Creek under the care of Lt. Davis. During the next year, Geronimo lived quietly several miles from Davis. When the "tiswin controversy" erupted on June 21, 1884, Davis was confident that Naiche and Geronimo would keep their people uninvolved in the trouble.[64] Davis's assumption proved correct, as the two leaders were earnest in their desire for peace.

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[62] Davis Britton, *The Truth About Geronimo* (New Haven: University of Yale Press, 1927), 84-85.

[63] Britton, 98. Sweeney, *From*, 356-358.

[64] Britton, 123-130; The controversy was sparked by General Crook's order to ban the brewing of Tiswin, an Alcoholic drink. This

By spring 1885, the Apaches were learning the white man's style of farming. Davis believed that Geronimo was typical of the Apaches' attempt to learn to farm. Geronimo had displayed a small blister on his hand to Davis and asked him to visit his farm. When Davis arrived, he saw Geronimo "sitting on a rail in the shade of a tree. . . Two of his wives were hoeing." However, Betzinez remembers Geronimo sowing barley that year, so Geronimo was trying to adapt.[65]

While adaptation was the goal, the Apaches had a difficult time accepting the limits placed on their freedom. The banning of tiswin was the primary issue for the group at Turkey Creek. Davis had already arrested one man for breaking the ban on tiswin the previous year. Chihuahua held a massive tiswin drinking party in which seventy percent of the tribe joined in. The next day the Apaches set out to confront Davis over the issue of the drink. Chihuahua was the only one still drunk and he dominated the discussion asking, "why they were being punished for things they had a right to do so long as they

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was a traditional drink of the Apaches made from corn, normally consumed on festive occasions. General Crook banned the drink to cut down on drunkenness on the Apache Reservations.

[65] Britton, 136-137; Betzinez, 125.

did no harm to others." Davis sent out a telegram meant for General Crook asking what to do. However, Captain Francis E. Pierce disregarded this telegram on the advice of his chief of scouts Al Sieber.[66]

As the days went by with no response from Crook, the Apaches began to fear that "[they] were to be sent to Alcatraz as Kaahtenny was." This fear was further stoked by Nadiskay, a White Mountain Apache, who informed Geronimo that Davis had been "authorized to kill [Geronimo and Mangas (the son of Mangas-Coloradas)] if they resisted." Geronimo might have discounted this if Chatto and Mickey Free had not been "draw[ing] their hands significantly across their throats" whenever they saw Geronimo, Naiche, Nana, and Mangas. This pushed Geronimo into running again. Thirty-five men, 109 women, and children, along with Mangas, Nana, Naiche, and Chihuahua, left the reservation with Geronimo on May 17, 1885.[67]

Davis attempted to pursue but soon gave up hope. Crook called upon the Apache scouts to "go in pursuit" to ensure that the negotiations for their families would

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[66] Britton, 144-149; Debo, 233-236; In Sweeney's book *From Cochise to Geronimo,* 396-407, he provides a detailed day by day account. However, his account is slightly biased and must be read with special attention to the primary documents as a fact checker.

[67] Debo, 236-242.

continue. Around four hundred Apache scouts agreed and set off on May 21, 1885. On May 22, Captain Allen Smith walked into Geronimo's ambush at Devil's Canyon. This guerrilla campaign continued until June 10 when Geronimo and his people reached Mexico.[68]

For the next several months, Geronimo and his followers were constantly on the move as the Apache scouts overran their hideouts. Even then, Geronimo and his Apaches found time to raid in Arizona, and once they even raided Fort Apache to retrieve Geronimo's wife and two other women. But despite these successes, the army located him on January 9, 1886. Geronimo sent word to Crawford that he wanted to talk, and the two agreed to meet on January 11. However, on the tenth, a group of Mexicans attacked the Americans and killed Crawford. This delayed the conference until the fifteenth.[69]

Geronimo opened the talks by asking why Lt. Perry Maus was in Mexico, to which Maus replied, "I came to capture or destroy you and your band." Surprisingly, this pleased Geronimo, as he rose and shook Maus's hand saying, "he could trust him to report accurately to Crook." The two

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[68] Ibid; Sweeney, 416.

[69] Sweeney, 429-504; Debo, 247-250.

came to an arrangement to meet Crook in "'two moons' with a view to surrendering." The Apaches reached Maus on March 19.[70] Three days later the Apaches moved to Embudos Canyon to await Crook. By this point, General Philip Sheridan had given orders to Crook instructing him to demand the hostiles surrender unconditionally and accept removal to the East. On February 1, 1886, Sheridan again telegraphed Crook reminding him of this order and instructing him "not to make any promises, unless it is necessary to secure their surrender."[71]

The peace conference began on March 25. Crook started the conference by asking what the Apaches wanted. Geronimo was the first to speak. He began the discussion by explaining why he left the reservation:

> I was living quietly and contented, doing and thinking no harm, while at the Sierra Blanca. I don't know what harm I did to those three men, Chato, Mickey Free, and Lieutenant Davis. I was living peacefully and satisfied when people began to speak bad of me . . . . They said I was a bad man and the worst man there; but what harm had I done? I learned from the American and Apache soldiers, . . . that the Americans were going to arrest me and hang me, and so I left. . . . There are very few of my men left now. They have done some bad things but I want them all rubbed out now and let us never speak of them again. . . . I don't want that we should be killing each other. . . . Don't believe any bad talk you hear about me. The agents . .

[70] Debo, 251-252; Britton, 198.

[71] Sweeney, 512-520.

> . hear that somebody has done wrong, and they blame it all on me. . . . I want good men to be my agents . . . people who will talk right. . . . We are all children of one God.[72]

Once Geronimo finished speaking, Crook accused him of lying and demanded answers from him on why he had made his choices. Despite this confrontation, the two men agreed to talk again the next day. On March 27, the Apaches all surrendered to Crook. Geronimo surrendered last, stating "Once I moved about like the wind. Now I surrender to you and that is all." At this time, Crook cautioned Geronimo to "not pay attention to the talk you hear. There are some people who can no more control their talk than the wind can." This statement was to prove prophetic.[73]

While this should have ended the Apache wars, Charles Tribolet, a Mexican trader, sold liquor to Geronimo and his men. The combination of alcohol, fears of how they would be treated in Florida, and potential treachery by Crook proved too much for Naiche and Geronimo. On March 30, the two leaders gathered their people and vanished into the night. Geronimo and Naiche's decision to flee led to Sheridan chastising Crook for his decision to use Indian scouts to guard Geronimo. Eventually Crook requested a

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[72] Britton, 200-204.

[73] Ibid, 205-212.

transfer and Sheridan dispatched General Nelson A. Miles to take over the Apache campaign.[74]

Where Crook had used Apache scouts to track down the renegades, Miles had a different strategy in mind. Miles set out to use the army to bring the Apaches to heel. After discharging most of the Apache scouts, he garrisoned the points he judged the Apaches most likely to attack, along with the water holes. Miles also installed a heliograph system to speed communications and enable rapid redeployment of his troops. For the next four months, the Apaches raided on both sides of the border.[75]

Captain Thomas C. Lebo was the first soldier under Mile's command to encounter the Apaches. After trailing them for two days, Lebo led his command to engage the Apaches on May 3, 1886. After the Apaches withdrew, Lebo reported that his command "engaged eighty to one hundred warriors, slaying two and wounding one." In actuality Geronimo, Naiche, sixteen warriors, and two boys had pinned down Lebo's forces before withdrawing. On May 15, a Mexican unit captured Geronimo and Naiche's dwindling supplies after a brief battle. This victory was short

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[74] Sweeney, 524-534; Debo, 264-268.

[75] Sweeney, 534-535; Debo, 268-269.

lived; three hour later the Apaches ambushed the party and recovered their supplies after inflicting ten percent casualties on the patrol.[76]

This pattern of attacks and counter attacks continued. As soon as the Apaches lost some of their supplies, they replaced them, either by raiding the command that had captured the goods or by attacking a settlement. By the end of May, Miles realized that his troops were incapable of catching Geronimo's people. Accordingly, Miles asked his commanders if they knew of anyone who was willing to take a message to Geronimo. When the commanders were unable to find anyone for that task, Miles authorized a bounty of "two thousand dollars for Geronimo, dead or alive [and] fifty dollars for each warrior." While the War Department revoked this offer, it is a clear indication of the lengths to which Miles was willing to go to make progress.[77]

On June 17, 1886, a group of Mexican volunteers ambushed Geronimo. Geronimo ordered his band to flee, but he had to take cover after his horse stumbled. Moving to a cave, Geronimo killed three of the volunteers and wounded a

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[76] Sweeney, 538-541.

[77] National Archives, Record Group 393, Letters Received, Post at San Carlos, Miles to Pierce, May 24, 1886 in Sweeney, *From,* 548.

third before escaping at dusk.[78] By this point, Miles realized that diplomacy might be the only answer to bringing Geronimo in.

Accordingly, he turned to one of the men the Apaches trusted, Lt. Charles Gatewood. Alone of the soldiers deployed by Miles, Gatewood would prove instrumental in getting Geronimo to surrender. Gatewood set out with two Apaches, a packer, and George Wratten, a translator, on July 16. Gatewood wandered upper Mexico as his two Apache scouts followed Geronimo's trail. On August 24, Gatewood finally located Geronimo's current location.

Gatewood sent his scouts to talk Geronimo into coming down. Geronimo demanded the scouts tell him, "How do we know that Gatewood will keep his promise to take us to our families?" After he was told about the white flag and promise of safe conduct, Geronimo snapped, "Mangas Coloradas trusted to the white flag, What happened to him?"[79] Eventually, Geronimo agreed to meet with Gatewood. During the meeting, Geronimo asked "to return to the reservation, occupy the farms held by them . . .[and] guaranteed exemption from punishment for what they had

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[78] McCarty and Sonnichsen, "Trini Verdini," 154-63 in Sweeney, *From,* 550.

[79] Kraft, 158-159.

done."[80] While Gatewood was unable to agree to these demands, he did succeed in convincing Geronimo to travel with him to meet with Miles, after he revealed that the army had moved all of Geronimo's people to Florida. On September 2, Geronimo and Gatewood reached Skeleton Cañon and settled in to wait for Miles to arrive.[81]

When Miles finally arrived on September 3, the terms he stated were simple: they would be sent to Florida and there await final action by the president of the United States. Geronimo stood and shook hands with the general stating that "he himself was going with him no matter what the others might do. He followed our commander wherever he went, as if fearing he might go away leaving his captive behind."[82] On September 5, Geronimo and Naiche traveled with Miles to Fort Bowie. Miles immediately issued Field Order Number 89 sending Geronimo and his people safely out of Arizona.[83]

While federal officials believed the surrender was unconditional, Miles had promised the Apaches they "would

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[80] Charles Gatewood, *Lt. Charles Gatewood and His Apache Wars Memoir*, ed. Louis Kraft (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 139.

[81] Ibid, 140-152; Kraft, 164-188.

[82] Ibid, 153.

[83] Kraft, 194-199.

see their families in five days."[84] However, on October 19, Secretary of War William Endicott issued the following order:

> It is ordered that the hostile Apache adult Indians be sent under proper guard to Fort Pickens, Florida, there to be kept in close custody until further orders. . . . The remainder of the band captured at the same time, consisting of eleven women, six children and two enlisted scouts, you are to send to Fort Marion.[85]

This simple order began the twenty-four-year imprisonment of the Apaches.

Geronimo arrived at Fort Pickens, Florida on October 25 1886. However, as the fort had been unoccupied since the Civil War, the Apaches had to work restoring it. As Geronimo remembered, "they put me to work sawing up large logs."[86] The officer in charge of Fort Pickens, Lt. Loomis Langdon, proved to be an advocate for the Apaches. On several occasions, he recommended that the army transfer the prisoner's families to Fort Pickens.[87] However, it was

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[84] Geronimo, 143.

[85] Senate Exec. Doc. 117, 49 Congress., 2 sess., pp 25-26 in Debo, 308.

[86] Geronimo, 145.

[87] For more information on the other Apaches at Fort Marion see E.C. Whitney, *History and Capture of Geronimo and Apache Indians, Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Flordia, 1887* (New York: Times Union Print, 1887); O.K. Davis, "Our 'Prisoners of War,'" *The North American Review* 195, no. 676 (1912): 356-367; Omega G. East, and Albert

not until the Indian Rights Association, an influential group based in Boston dedicated to "bringing about the complete civilization of the Indians and their admission to citizenship," became involved that serious changes occurred.[88]

Soon after Langdon began allowing visitors into Fort Pickens, the government decided to reunite the prisoners with their families on April 9, 1887. For the remainder of their time at Fort Pickens, the Apaches were quiet. As one visitor put it, "I had good luck today . . . saw Geronimo. . . . He is a terrible old villain, yet he seemed quiet enough nursing a baby."[89] In fact, Langdon commented on his prisoners' "cheerfulness . . . zeal and interest show[n] in the duties assigned to them."[90] In May 1888, Geronimo and the other chiefs were finally able to join the rest of the Chiricahuas at Mount Vernon, Alabama.

C. Manucy. "Arizona Apaches as 'Guests' in Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (January 1952): 294-300.

[88] For a detailed discussion of the Government's decisions regarding the Apaches see David Micheal Goodman, "Apaches as Prisoners of War, 1886-1894" (PhD. Dissertation, Texas Christians University, 1986), 50-193.

[89] B.F. Cary, Personal Letter, Pensacola Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 2 (April, 1966) in Debo, 327.

[90] Consolidated File, Langdon's reports, June 28, August 9, 1887 in Debo 328.

Once the Apaches were at Mount Vernon, the government continued its policy of "civilizing" them. A group of women raised money and set up a missionary school for the Apaches. Geronimo was enthusiastic about this school, as he told General Howard when the general visited: "All the Children go to their school. I make them. I want them to be white children."[91] Another point of interest is that Geronimo proved to have an excellent mind for business. As an observer noted, "Geronimo has an eye to thrift and can drive a hard bargain . . . . He prides himself on his autograph . . . which he affixes to what he sells, usually asking an extra price for it." Geronimo also served as a Justice of the Peace. Although very severe at first, he eventually became more reasonable, and by 1891 Lt. William Wallace, Commander at Mount Vernon, felt his judgments were sound.[92]

When the government finally decided to relocate the Apaches to Fort Sill Oklahoma, in 1894, the officers in charge decided to ask the chiefs if they wished to move. Geronimo answered for the chiefs:

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[91] Oliver Otis Howard, *Famous Indian Chiefs I have Known* (New York: The Century Co., 1916), 361-362.

[92] Goodman, 220.

> Young men old men women and children all want to get away from here. . . . I remember what I told General Miles---. . . I told him that I wanted to be a good man as long as I live and I have done it so far. . . . Every one of us have got children at school and we will behave ourselves on account of these children we want them to learn I do not consider that I am an Indian any more I am a white man and w'd like to go around and see different places.[93]

With this statement, Geronimo is not totally abandoning Apache ways, but he realizes the need for his people to acculturate to survive in white society.

The Apaches arrived at Fort Sill on October 4, 1894. Once there, Captain Hugh Scott, Commander at Fort Sill, set out to instruct them in farming and cattle ranching. The army appointed Geronimo headman of his village and curious visitors frequently sought him out. Despite his fearsome reputation, nearly every visitor described him as a "kind old man . . . very gentle to his family and kind and generous to his tribesmen."[94] During this period, Apaches began converting to Christianity; Geronimo joined the Church briefly before announcing "I . . . am too old to travel your Jesus road." The church's disapproval of his

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[93] Hugh Lenox Scott, *Some Memories of a Soldier* (New York: The Century Co. 1928), 182-184.

[94] Elbridge Ayer Burbank, *Burbank among the Indians,* ed. Frank J. Taylor (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1944), 17-22.

gambling and drinking were also contributing factors in his decision to leave the church.[95]

After 1901, Geronimo had even greater contact with the whites as the government continued its policy of land allotments. In 1905, S. M. Barrett, a Superintendent of Education in Lawton, Oklahoma, began Geronimo's autobiography, which only served to increase Geronimo's fame. At every public appearance that Geronimo made during the later years of his life, he always pleaded to go home. The most famous of these came after he rode in President Theodore Roosevelt's inaugural parade. Four days after he rode in the parade, he addressed the president stating that

> Great Father, other Indians have homes where they can live and be happy. I and my people have no homes. The place where we are is bad for us. . . . We are sick there and we die . . . my hands are tied with a rope. My heart is no longer bad. I will tell my people to obey no chief but the Great White Chief. I pray you to cut the ropes and make me free. Let me die in my own country, an old man who has been punished enough and is free.[96]

However, the president decided not to return the Apaches to Arizona due to the enmity the people there felt towards them.

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[95] Debo, 428-435.

[96] *Vinita Chieftain*, April 20, 1905 in Debo, 421.

Though Geronimo never gave up the fight to return to his homeland, his age caught up to him. By 1909, it was clear that the old warrior was slowing down. On February 11, he rode into town, sold some of his goods, and purchased a bottle of whiskey. On the way home, he fell off his horse and lay on the ground all night which led to him contracting a severe cold that worsened into pneumonia. Six days later, he died waiting for his children to arrive. With this, he passed out of history and into legend as the last Native American to defy the U. S. Army.[97]

[97] Debo, 439-444.

Chapter 4

Sitting Bull and Geronimo:
Trusted Leaders in Military and Religious Life

Sitting Bull and Geronimo stand as mythic figures in American history. They are the last of the well-known Indian leaders who opposed America's expansion west. Both men used their religion and military aptitudes to fight against the "civilized" forces sent against them. Their lives were remarkably similar in that both were raised as traditional warriors, both became medicine men, and both fought to defend their people from what they perceived to be the threat caused by white society. Sitting Bull and Geronimo fought against the injustices created by white settlers' desire for land and against the United States Army when the government dispatched it to protect those settlers. Their inability to stop the flow of settlers and soldiers resulted in both Sitting Bull and Geronimo leading their people across international boundary lines in an effort to prevent the extermination of their tribesmen and their way of life.

At this point, the two leaders' forced exile diverges slightly more in the details. Though safe from the army in Canada, starvation forced Sitting Bull into submission. In

contrast, both Mexican and American troops hunted Geronimo. Additionally, starvation did not force Geronimo to surrender; instead, it was a desire to return to his people that finally convinced him to do so. Despite this inconsequential difference, what motivated the two men remained the same. Both Sitting Bull and Geronimo chose to surrender because they believed that surrendering was the best way to save their followers. Once they surrendered and resigned themselves to reservation life, Sitting Bull and Geronimo used their reputation, experience, and influence with their tribe to convince their people to adopt white ways and eventually used this acculturation to fight for the rights of their people.

Despite these obvious similarities, people remember them quite differently. History remembers Sitting Bull as the last great Native American chief, a man who fought bravely against white expansion and tried to lead his people to a better life while upholding the virtues of Lakota society. Others argue that these accounts are exaggerated and whitewash Sitting Bull's flaws. Geronimo's legacy is far more complex. Some characterize him as a villain, unable to keep his word to anyone; others

sympathize with him and stress how the trauma he suffered at the hands of the Mexicans colored his perception of Apache-American relations. Some see him as a symbol of the evils of alcohol; others argue that he is simply a convenient "renegade" the media could blame for any depredation committed during the period. All of these arguments have some basis in fact. Even today, there is no consensus even among his descendents about what Geronimo represents. Despite the differences in how people perceived them, both men were extremely skilled warriors and well respected religious leaders.

As military leaders, Sitting Bull and Geronimo were greatly successful. Unfortunately, it is somewhat difficult to compare their actions directly, as the two societies differed tremendously in the tactics and strategies used in battle. Nevertheless, one can use several points of comparison to judge them.

First, one can use the standards of their societies as a base line to evaluate Sitting Bull and Geronimo. For the Lakota one's personal valor determined success in war. An individual's own personal success meant far more than group

victory.[1] Warriors who fearlessly risked their own lives received the highest honors in Lakota society. Certainly, Sitting Bull proved his valor time and time again. By the time he retired from active warfare, he had counted *coup* over 63 times. In addition, as a young warrior the members of the Strong Heart Society elected him to the office of Sash-Bearer, second only to the leaders of that society. Eventually, his people elected him War-Chief. Clearly, his people felt he was a successful war leader.

However, the Apaches differed in what aspect they valued most in a warrior. This is not to say that Apache warriors were not brave; indeed, they would fight to the death if cornered. However, caution was the primary virtue of an Apache warrior. As one contemporary soldier reported, "If fifty of them were to approach a single armed traveler they would do so with caution." Unlike the Lakota, Apaches would generally fight only when they had to or when they were sure of victory. Trickery was also another prized aspect of Apache warfare. A warrior who captured twenty horses without firing a shot would receive far more praise from the tribe than one who captured forty

[1] Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 11.

horses and lost a warrior in battle. The tribes frowned upon any unnecessary deaths.[2]

Geronimo raided often and his raids were marked with both success and failure. On the raids early in his career, Geronimo was frequently the only survivor, forced to run after the Mexicans killed the other members of his group. Despite these early setbacks, Geronimo continued to raid and soon learned to temper his desire for revenge with the need to bring his men back alive. Geronimo's courage, knowledge, and success led to other warriors joining him and supporting his decisions. Both men were clearly successful as war leaders when viewed according to their society's definition of success in war as both men were able to gather followers whenever they decided on a course of action.

An additional way to judge their effectiveness as military leaders is to examine how their contemporaries viewed them. For this, the accounts recorded by the white soldiers and those recorded by their Indian allies exist. The contemporary newspapers also indicate how the American public and the world viewed Sitting Bull and Geronimo.

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[2] Adams, *Geronimo*, 74-75.

Those who knew Sitting Bull after his captivity characterized him as "a very remarkable man."[3] Ben Arnold, a translator employed by the army, called him a "straight-laced patriot. . . . He was not lured by the offers of presents, by positions of power, to deviate one jot or tittle [sic] from the strict adherence to what he considered the best interests of his people."[4] William F. Cody called Sitting Bull the "world's most famous Indian." Frank Grouard, an army scout who spent some time as a captive of Sitting Bull, admitted in his autobiography that "No man in the Sioux Nation was braver than Sitting Bull, and he asked none of his warriors to take any chances that he was not willing at all times to share."[5]

Agent James McLaughlin led the group that criticized Sitting Bull. McLaughlin called him a "crafty, avaricious, mendacious, and ambitious [Indian.] Sitting Bull possessed all of the faults of an Indian and none of the nobler attributes which have gone far to redeem some of his

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[3] Diessner, 148.

[4] Lewis F. Crawford, *The Exploits of Ben Arnold: Indian Fighter, Gold Miner, Cowboy, Hunter & Army Scout* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 297.

[5] Joseph De Barthe, *Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard* (Wyoming: Buffalo Bulletin, 1982), 105.

people. . . . Sitting Bull is a man of low cunning. . . . He is a coward and lacks moral courage. . . . He is opposed to everything of an elevating nature and is the most vain, pompous, and untruthful Indian I ever saw."[6] However, McLaughlin is one of the few who saw in Sitting Bull simply a hated adversary. Even those who fought against him, such as General Nelson A. Miles argued that "since the days of Pontiac, Tecumseh, and Red Jacket no Indian had had the power of drawing to him so large a following of his race and molding and wielding it against the authority of the United States. . . . Sitting Bull was the greatest Indian that has lived in this country."[7]

Other Great Plains Indians respected him. Wooden Leg called him "altogether brave, but peaceful. . . . [He was] a man whose medicine was good—that is, as a man having a kind heart and good judgment. . . ."[8] While some of the agency Indians opposed Sitting Bull, most chose to see him as a man who remained committed to his principles and beliefs. The newspaper coverage of him varies

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[6] Pfaller, 274.

[7] W. Fletcher Johnson, *Life of Sitting Bull and History of the Indian Wars of 1800-91* (Schituate, Massachusetts: DSI Digital Reproductions, 2000), 575.

[8] Marquis, *Wooden Leg*, 248.

tremendously. Immediately after the Battle of the Little Bighorn, newspapers published speculation that Sitting Bull was in fact a white man trained in West Point.[9] Few white could believe that an Indian was capable of annihilating an entire army detachment. It is clear that few newspapers focused on Sitting Bull during his active years as a military leader. For example, during Red Cloud's War, 1866-1868, the newspapers focused on Red Cloud, not on Sitting Bull's attacks on Fort Buford.[10] After the Battle of the Little Bighorn, newspapers took an interest in Sitting Bull but lacked any credible regarding him and therefore chose to make up stories about him and his alleged white ancestry or white military advisors.[11]

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[9] Johnson, 28-33. The discussion made Sitting Bull out to be a graduate of West Point named Bison. This was intended to explain his facility with French and his familiarity with Napoleon, which allowed him to lead his Indian Warriors to defeat Custer. This story is entirely fictional.

[10] The only reference to Sitting Bull's actions during this war comes from John W. Powell, *The Montana Post,* October 30, 1868. "The party of Indians which attacked the fort was that of 'Sitting Bull's'" This is one of the earliest mentions of Sitting Bull in the newspapers but is used simply as an identifier for the Indian band. Others such as the *Daily Phoenix*, August 6, 1871, simply report rumors, such as "A formidable Indian raid under 'Sitting Bull' consisting of 1,000 lodges, is raiding." The wild rumors that filled the papers of the time make it difficult to use them as an accurate judge of Sitting Bull's effectiveness as a military leader.

[11] New York Times Digital Archive, 1850-1909. Hugh J. Reilly, *The Frontier Newspaper and Coverage of the Plains Indian Wars* (Santa Brabara: Praeger, 2010). *The New York Times* archives provides an excellent discussion of articles they published on Sitting Bull;

Despite these wild stories, it is clear that both whites and his Indian contemporaries saw Sitting Bull as a successful war leader.

Geronimo's contemporaries also had mixed feelings about him. After the government relocated the Apaches to Florida, the Chiricahuas agreed to be interviewed. In the interviews that followed, the Apaches made it clear that they viewed Geronimo with both criticism and respect in equal measures. Charlie Smith, a Mescalero who traveled with Geronimo, said that "nobody who knew Geronimo could deny that he was a great fighter and a good leader of men . . ."[12] Sam Kenoi, a boy at the time of Geronimo's outbreak told Morris Opler that "Geronimo was nothing but . . . an old troublemaker. . . . He was as cowardly as a coyote."[13] These two contradictory images of Geronimo have prevailed ever since Geronimo first appeared in the public eye.

This second image of Geronimo as presented by Kenoi was a result of the imprisonment of the Apaches in Florida.

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however most of the discussion of Sitting Bull as a warrior is based on conjecture. Reilly also admits that most of the frontier newspapers accounts were based on speculation and changed depending on the public's perception of Sitting Bull.

[12] Sherry Robinson, *Apache Voices: Their Stories of Survival as Told to Eve Ball* (Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 9.

[13] Ibid, 43.

To the rest of tribe, Geronimo's actions caused the American government to remove them from their ancestral lands. However, as years went by, even the angriest Apache's hatred began to lessen. Kenoi eventually told Eve Ball that "lots of Indians say he was afraid, claim he was a coward. . . . But as I knew him it looked like he had the same virtues and faults of the average person."[14] General Miles declared that "Geronimo occup[ied] the same status as Red Cloud . . . Chief Joseph . . . [and] Sitting Bull."[15] General George Crook also made clear his opinions on the Apaches as a fighting force in his *Annual Report for 1883*.

> An Indian in his mode of warfare is more than the equal of the white man. . . . The Indian knows every foot of his territory; can endure fatigue and fasting, and can live without food or water for periods that would kill the hardiest mountaineer. . . . The Indian's eyes are as keen as the eagle's, and his natural instincts developed to the highest degree.[16]

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[14] Ibid, 55. Eve Ball was an author, teacher and historian who conducted interviews with the Apaches to get their stories about the various Apache wars. The information took her twenty years to gather and led to several books including *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988) and *In the Days of Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Springs Apache* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972).

[15] Miles, *Personal Recollections*, 167.

[16] General George Crook, *Annual Report* quoted in Dan L. Thrapp, *General Crook and the Sierra Madre Adventure* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 130-131.

Later General Crook would argue that the Apaches were the "fiercest and most formidable of all our Indians, when upon the war path. . . . I do not hesitate to put the Apache at the very head [of the Indians] for natural intelligence and discernment. . . . Were he a Greek or a Roman, we should read with pride and enthusiasm of his determination to die rather than suffer wrong."[17] While Crook respected the Apaches as foes, after failing to bring Geronimo in after his surrender Crook refused to listen to Geronimo for the rest of his life, calling him "such a liar that I can't believe a word he says."[18] Conversely, Jason Betzinez told those who would listen that Geronimo was "the man to be relied upon in times of danger."[19] Britton Davis, in charge of Geronimo at Turkey Creek, argued that Geronimo was not a chief and had no right to the office, but at the same time admitted, "his sheer courage, determination, and skill as a leader had won him the leadership of a

[17] General George Crook, Crook to Welsh, July 16, 1884, Hayes Collection quoted in Ibid, 177.

[18] Crook, 293.

[19] Betzinez, 58.

faction."[20] While some disliked his decisions and his actions most respected him as a military leader.

Newspapers recorded Geronimo as a monster capable of acts of horror. However, within these statements one can find respect for his military acumen. In 1899, *The Indian Advocate* in Sacred Heart Oklahoma observed that "Mexicans and greasers believed him to be a god. . . . His tactics were those of his red-skin ancestry . . . he never gave an enemy a chance for his life."[21] The *San Francisco Call* brought its readers' attention to the fact that Geronimo "kept some of the best Indian fighters in the United States hunting them across the arid plains . . . for more than a year."[22] Other papers such as the *Bisbee Daily Review* tried to destroy Geronimo's reputation by publishing stories such as the "Famous Apache Chief Described As a 'FourFlusher'---His Wife Frequently Beat Him"[23] Despite these outliers most

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[20] Davis, 113.

[21] "Geronimo, The Terror of Arizona is now Insane," *The Indian Advocate*, April 1, 1899, from http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/45043535/1899-04-01/ed-1/seq-20/ (accessed 3/20/2011).

[22] "Geronimo an Apache," *The San Francisco Call*, February 2, 1902, from http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1902-02-02/ed-1/seq-8/ (accessed 3/20/2011).

[23] "Geronimo not a Brave Man but Cunning: Famous Apache Chief Described As a 'Fourflusher'—His Wife Frequently beat Him," *Bisbee*

of the newspapers and contemporaries report Geronimo as an astute military leader.

The final point of evaluation that can be used to determine how successful Sitting Bull and Geronimo were as military leaders is how historians and their Indian descendents view them today. Historians have seen Sitting Bull as two people. The first image of him originated with James McLaughlin's attempts to portray him as a coward with no stomach for real warfare or desire to better himself or his people.[24] This perception of Sitting Bull as a coward willing to condemn his race to a backward existence lasted until the 1930s when Stanley Vestal published *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux*. While historians have criticized Vestal for idealizing Sitting Bull in his work, both he and Robert Utley present Sitting Bull as a superlative warrior deeply motivated by his religious beliefs and willing to do whatever it took to ensure his peoples' chance at a better life. Even Mark Diedrich, who criticizes Utley's work for

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Daily Review, February 25, 1909, from http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024827/1909-02-25/ed-1/seq-3/ (accessed 3/20/2011).

[24] Doane Robinson, *A History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1956), 452

his idealized portrait admits that Sitting Bull was a great warrior guided by his religious beliefs.[25]

Lakotas today remember him as an inspirational leader and fearless warrior guided by his belief in his power.[26] Ernie LaPointe argues that Sitting Bull was a great leader focused on protecting his people. Others have cast him as the first advocate of Native American rights in history. While this is an overstatement, Sitting Bull was a rallying point for Lakota nationalism.[27] Dr. Laurel Vermillion, President of Sitting Bull College on the Standing Rock Reservation, praises him for his desire to "provide for our youth and our young people, and for the generations to come."[28] Today people remember Sitting Bull for both his military victories and outlook on the future.

Histories of Geronimo are far more complex. Some historians focus on Geronimo as a warrior and portray him

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[25] Mark Diedrich, ed, *Sitting Bull: The Collected Speeches* (Rochester: Coyote Books, 1998), 11-38.

[26] PBS, "PBS- The West- Sitting Bull," The West Film Project and WETA, 2001, http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/people/s_z/sittingbull.htm (accessed 1/24/2011).

[27] "Sitting Bull: Chief of the Lakota Nation," produced by Craig Haffner (Biography Channel A&E 2005), http://www.metacafe.com/watch/hl-50117297/biography_sitting_bull_chief_of_the_lakota_nation/ (accessed 2/20/2011).

[28] Yenne, 352.

as a one-dimensional character motivated by revenge. David Roberts and Alexander Adams emphasize how revenge colored everything that Geronimo did. Angie Debo and Edwin Sweeney also portray Geronimo as a warrior but include a more humanistic portrait that shows Geronimo as a man. Sweeney goes farther to illustrate Geronimo's problems and shows how the other chiefs influenced his decisions. For example, Sweeney focuses on alcohol's effect on Geronimo and argues that the other chiefs were the ones who planned the raids and developed a long-term strategy for their people.[29] Despite the different portrayals of Geronimo, every history includes one fact: during the summer of 1886, Geronimo and his band of thirty-nine warriors plus women and children led 5,000 United States soldiers on a chase that ended only when the Apaches agreed to meet with them to surrender. No matter whether he was a villain or a hero, his military successes remain constant in every history of the Apache people. The ever-changing perceptions of Geronimo have resulted in uncertainty among his descendents about who he really was. The PBS American

[29] Sweeney, *From*, 396-407, 192-199.

Experience episode *We Shall Remain* clearly illustrates this.

As Tim Harjo explains at the beginning of the episode, "We have different perspectives on the person, on the man — who he was, how he lived his life, why he did what he did, and how that affected the rest of the tribe."[30] Nothing explains the contradictions present in Geronimo better than the following statement: Geronimo is "courageous yet vengeful, an unyielding protector of his families freedom, yet the cause of his people's greatest suffering."[31] Vernon Simmons, A Chiricahua Apache, expresses his admiration for Geronimo as a warrior, exclaiming, "He was a true blooded Chiricahua fighter." Tim Harjo agreed that "in times of danger he was the man to be with."[32]

Others focus on what resulted from his actions. Zelda Yazza blames him for what the Apaches suffered over the next twenty-seven years. Anita Lester believes that whites have focused on Geronimo and ignored the other heroes that

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[30] "Geronimo, We Shall Remain" American Experience, (PBS May 4, 2009) http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/weshallremain/the_films/episode_4_trailer (accessed 2/27/2011).

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

were with him. All these views are true, but each perspective illuminates only part of who Geronimo was. Geronimo was a skilled warrior motivated by both revenge and a desire to see his people survive.[33]

Each of these methods of evaluating Sitting Bull and Geronimo as a military leader has pointed to the fact that they were warriors trusted by their people to lead them. The army officers who fought against them might have disliked them personally, but they still respected their military prowess. Historians might differ on how they evaluate them overall, but they agree as well that both men were brave military leaders. Even today, their descendents see both men as respected military leaders. That historians often label Sitting Bull as a hero and Geronimo sometimes as a villain does not change the fact that both men fought for what they believed to be the best interests of their people.

It is easier to compare Sitting Bull and Geronimo as religious leaders as this aspect of their lives can be broken down into two questions. What effect did their religious beliefs have on them, and how did they lead their

[33] Ibid.

people in religious matters once they arrived on the reservation? Much has been made of this second question in the biographies of the two men. However, the first point is the more interesting one.

For Sitting Bull and Geronimo their religious offices and powers were a part of their secular life. Sitting Bull was a *Wikasa Wakan*, and he trusted to his power to protect him in battle, guide his decisions, and keep his people safe. Geronimo also used his Power for the welfare of his people. However, Sitting Bull felt that *Wakan Tanka* placed him on earth as "a big man to decide for them [his people] in all their ways."[34] Geronimo did not see himself in that way, though he did see his Power as a favor from *Usen*, the Apache's "deity." Geronimo's Power promised him "that no gun can ever kill you."[35] Apaches believed that Power would seek out a wieldier, one suited for it and willing to use it as it wanted.[36] Geronimo received his Power after Mexicans killed Alope, his wife, and his children.

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[34] Diedrich, 60.

[35] Debo, 37-38.

[36] Morris Opler, "Concept of Supernatural Power among the Chiricahua Apaches," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 65-70.

Geronimo believed his Power wanted vengeance against the Mexicans.

Sitting Bull also felt that the Great Spirit was on his side. In 1875, he told his people, "The Great Spirit has given our enemies to us. We are to destroy them. . . . they may be soldiers." In 1876, Sitting Bull went to a bluff and prayed to *Wakan Tanka,* asking him to "save me and give me all my wild game animals. Bring them near me, so that my people may have plenty to eat this winter."[37] In fact, over the next year Sitting Bull was constantly praying to *Wakan Tanka* to give his people victory in battle.[38] His predictions had come true enough times that he and his tribe believed they would have victory whenever he predicted it because *Wakan Tanka* supported him.

Geronimo also trusted in his Power to aid him in victory over his enemies. Fifty years after Geronimo led the raid on San Carlos, those who rode with him still spoke of how he could predict the success or failure of an expedition after singing four songs.[39] At other times,

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[37] Diedrich, 78.

[38] Ibid, 79-81; Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 144; Vestal, 149-51.

[39] Debo, 141-142; Opler, *An Apache*, 200.

Geronimo used his Power to predict the movement of enemies and on one occasion "he sang, and the night remained for two or three hours longer."[40] Unlike Sitting Bull, who felt that *Wakan Tanka* chose him to protect his people, Geronimo felt that his Power was a tool designed to aid him in leading his people.

After retreating across international boundaries, both Sitting Bull and Geronimo continued to use their powers to keep their people safe. In his speeches, Sitting Bull continued to call upon *Wakan Tanka* to bless his people all through his stay in Canada. In addition, he also felt that *Wakan Tanka* wanted him to move to Canada as that was the only place that could keep his people safe.[41] He believed that *Wakan Tanka* asked him to obey the Canadian laws. As he told the mounted police, "*Wakan Tanka* told me if you do anything wrong your people will be destroyed."[42]

Sitting Bull knew that Canada was the only place that he was safe from the Americans. This realization led to his attempt to adapt his people to Canadian laws in an effort to keep them safe: naturally, *Wakan Tanka* supported

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[40] Opler, *An Apache*, 216.

[41] Diedrich, 97-98.

[42] Ibid, 99.

that decision. Geronimo lacked this realization. Instead, he felt his people were safe in the Sierra Madres. This illusion of safety led to Geronimo's continual raiding. In this case, Geronimo's Power contributed to his eventual downfall. He trusted his Power to keep his people safe while he raided Mexico and the United States for supplies. This stirred up resentment and ultimately led to the Mexicans agreeing to allow the American Army free reign in chasing Geronimo across upper Mexico. Ultimately, the presence of the United States Army made it almost impossible for the Apaches to live as they had before.

In addition to these warlike aspects of Sitting Bull and Geronimo's religious beliefs, both men were also healers. According to One Bull, Sitting Bull "had mastered the techniques of healing. He knew which roots and herbs relieved which maladies, and he understood the role of ceremonies . . . in driving out malevolent spirits. . . ."[43] When Geronimo's sister Ishton was having difficulties in labor, Geronimo traveled to Juh's camp and prayed atop a mountain for four days. On the morning of the fifth day,

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[43] Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 28. Most discussion of Sitting Bull in the histories focuses on the supernatural aspect of his power. There are only a few interviews which point to him being called upon to practice medicine.

his Power spoke: "The child will be born and your sister will live; and you will never be killed with weapons, but live to old age."[44] Once the army transferred Geronimo to Fort Sill, he continued to cure illnesses upon request, by conducting a ceremony over the person.[45] Both men used their powers for the benefit of their people and while neither of them could ultimately keep their people free from the reservation system, both trusted their abilities to protect and heal their people.

For Sitting Bull reservation life proved challenging. While he desired a better life for his people, he did not want to surrender the traditional Lakota ways. Instead, he recommended a compromise to his people. They would learn the white ways but stay clear of the items and culture that would "harm our children and grandchildren."[46] This compromise led to McLaughlin labeling him a troublemaker. Geronimo accepted more of the white ways and encouraged his

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[44] Ball interview, July 26, 1971; Eve Ball to Angie Debo, November 13, 1972 quoted in Debo, 76-77. It is doubtful that Ishton was actually in labor for four days. However, this is how the Apaches remember it.

[45] Debo, 434-435. These ceremonies involved singing and were used to cure "coyote sickness," which was caused by contact with a coyote, and "ghost sickness", which is akin to haunting, and women who had seizures.

[46] Utley, *The Lance and the Shield,* 240.

followers to become active members of white society in an attempt to protect the Apaches.

While Sitting Bull continued his policy of adopting portions of white culture, he remained committed to his Lakota religion. Mary C. Collins, a Christian missionary, remarked that "he . . . found great satisfaction in taking my converts back into heathendom while of course I felt equal satisfaction in converting his heathen friends."[47] Sitting Bull remained secure in his beliefs and felt that there was nothing wrong in others experimenting with any religion or even a few parts of a religion. Sitting Bull remained aloof and did not encourage his tribe to adopt any particular religion.

Geronimo did not adopt a similar policy. He advised "all of my people who are not Christian, to study that religion, because it seems to me the best religion in enabling one to live right."[48] He mixed Christian beliefs with his Apache beliefs. After joining with the Christian church Geronimo told his friends that "the Almighty has

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[47] Mary C. Collins, "Some notes on Sitting Bull," quoted in Ibid, 255.

[48] Geronimo, *Geronimo: His Own*, 169.

always protected me."[49] This statement indicates his willingness to accept white civilization while still giving it some Apache flavor. Geronimo's preoccupation with gambling and drinking led to the church excommunicating him. While he attempted to rejoin it after Eva, his daughter, sickened, his continual drinking led to the church's refusal to accept him.

For the Apaches, consuming alcohol became an element of their culture after white contact and they saw nothing wrong with indulging their desires. Geronimo was no exception. Sitting Bull chose a different path in regards to this element of white society. He worked with the Mounties in Canada to ban the trade of alcohol with his tribe. Even Agent McLaughlin recognized that in the fight against alcohol he had an ally in Sitting Bull.[50]

Both Sitting Bull and Geronimo were successful in adopting the white agricultural life that the U. S. government's Indian policy demanded. In organizing resistance and unifying their people both Sitting Bull and Geronimo relied on their reputation as military and religious leaders. While they varied in tactics, they were

[49] Debo, 433.

[50] Utley,*The Lance and the Shield,* 255.

two of the last great Indian war leaders in the late nineteenth century. Additionally, the two men differed on what they believed was the best way to adapt to reservation life. Sitting Bull practiced and advocated a limited adoption of "civilized" ways, while Geronimo seemed to encourage his people to adopt white ways on a broader scale. Both leaders advocated acculturation, picking and choosing aspects of the dominant culture, in an effort to retain their Indian ways and to allow their people to function in white society. It is difficult to say which leaders' policies were the best for his tribe. In the final analysis, Sitting Bull and Geronimo shared far more than just a common enemy. They were exceptional military and religious leaders whose cultures dictated the leadership qualities they aptly demonstrated.

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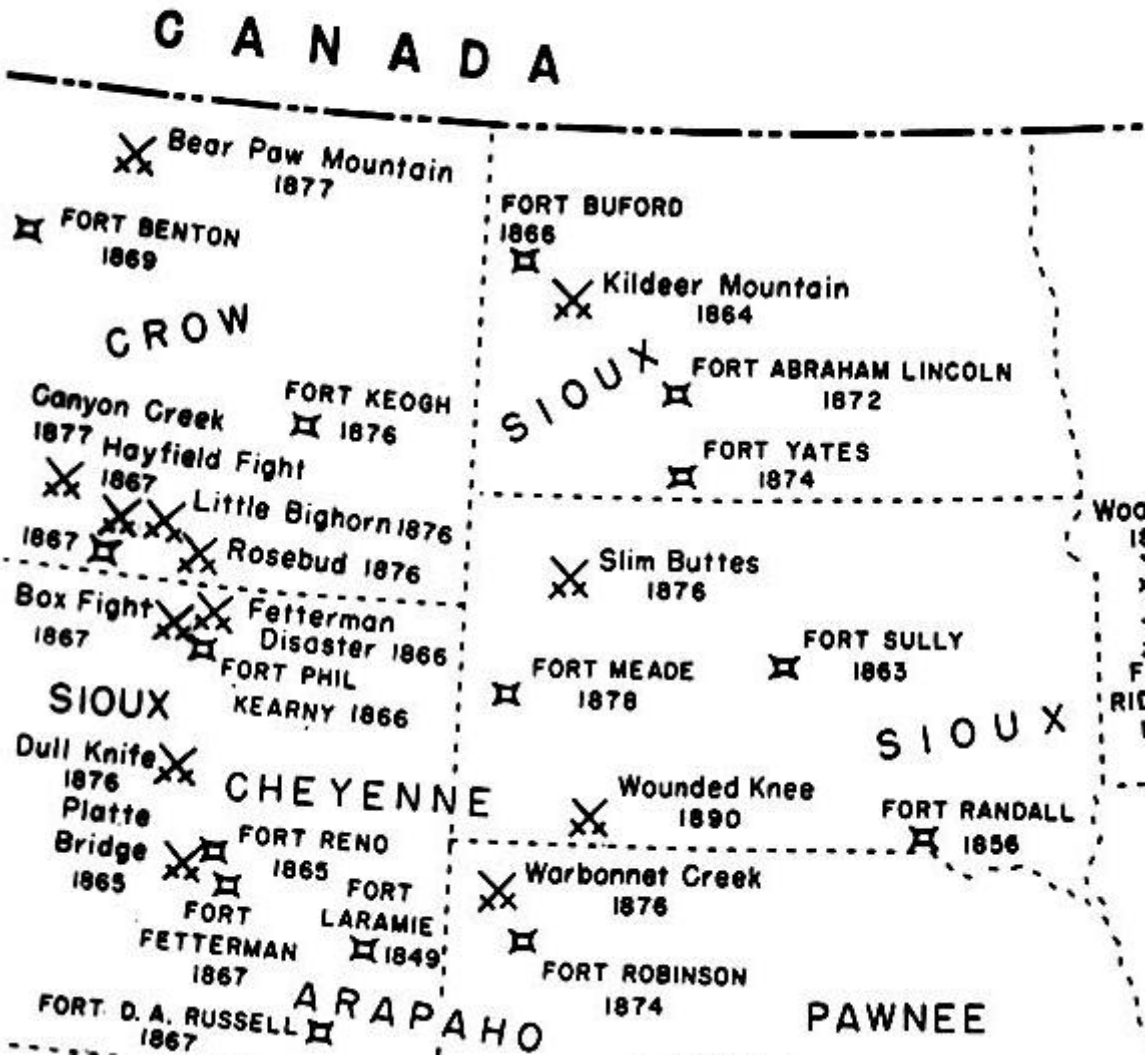
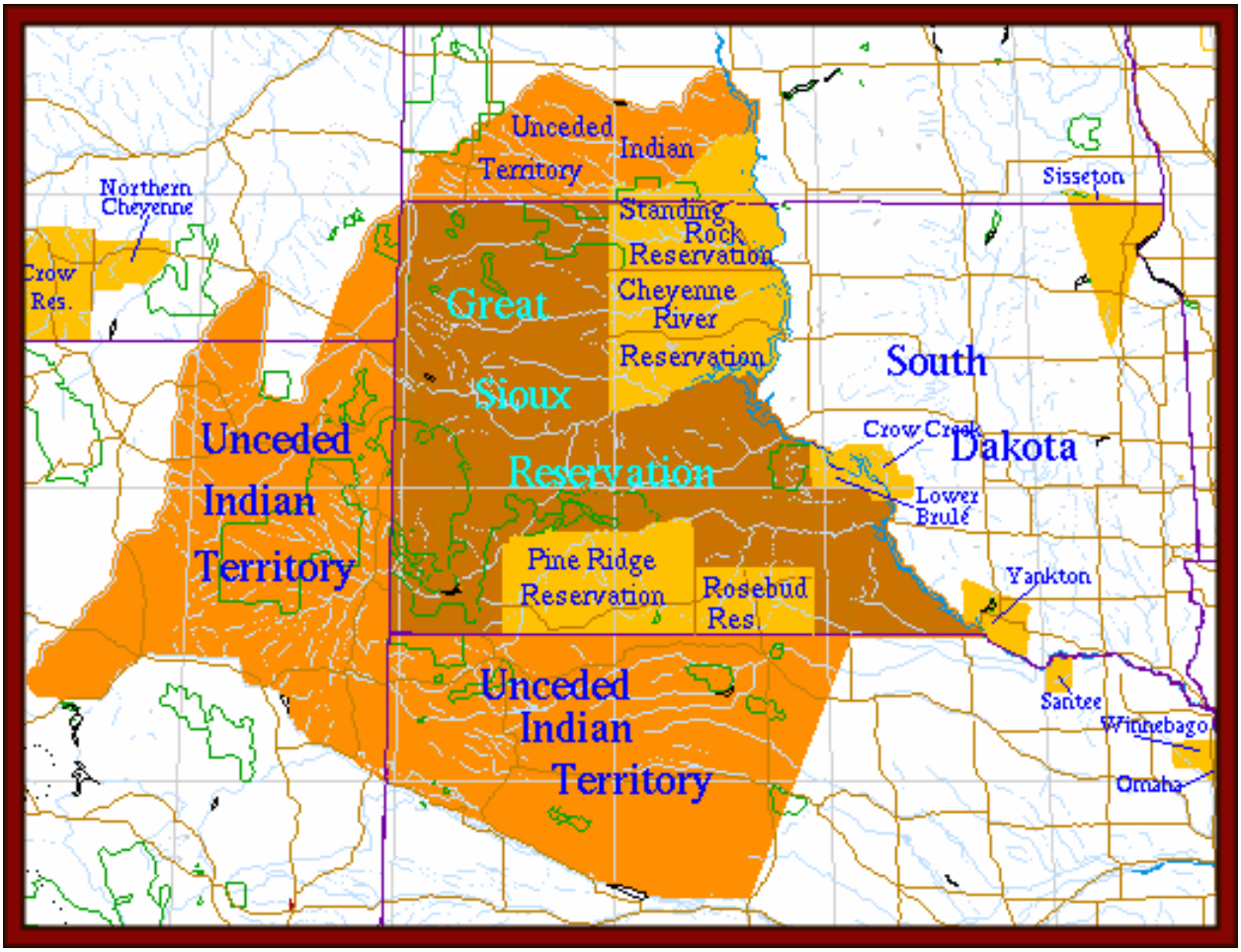
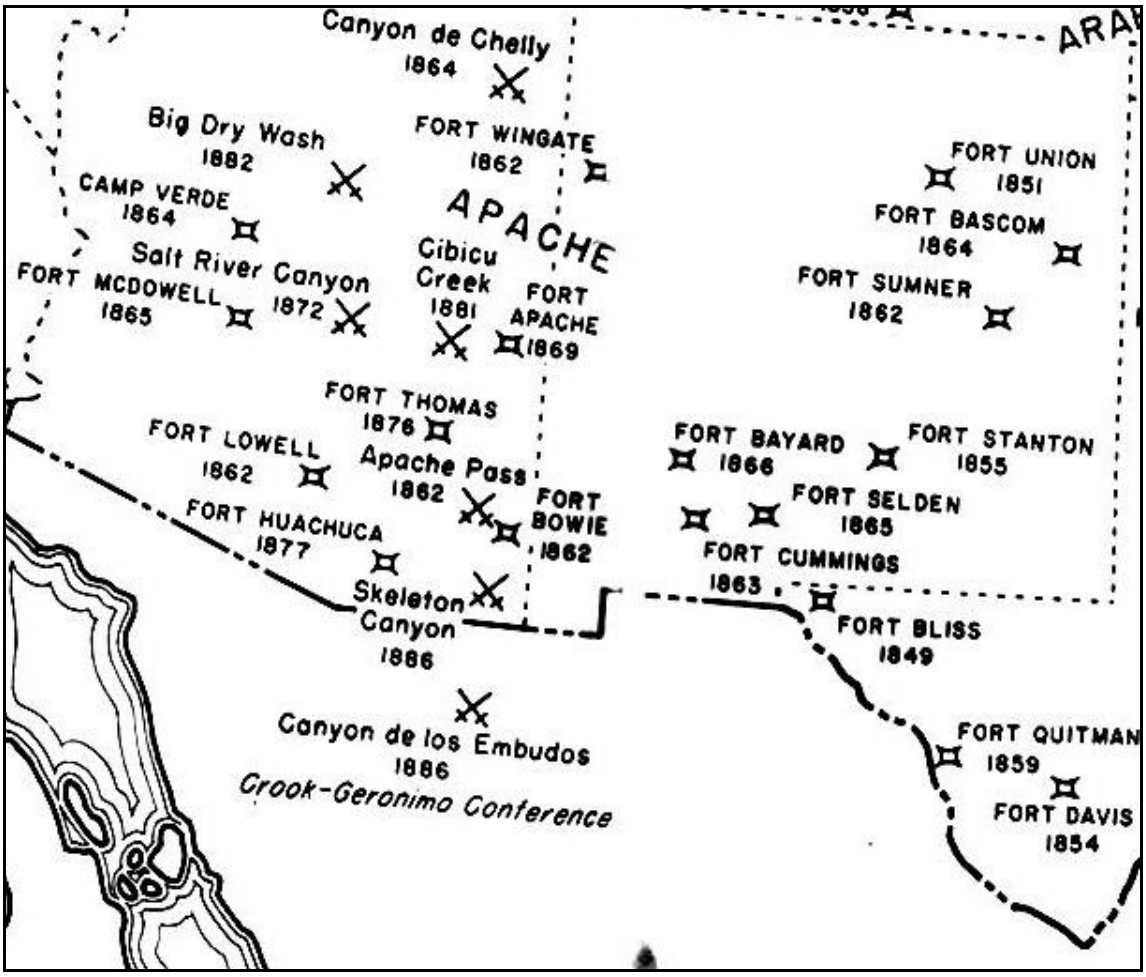


Points of interest in the Sioux Wars

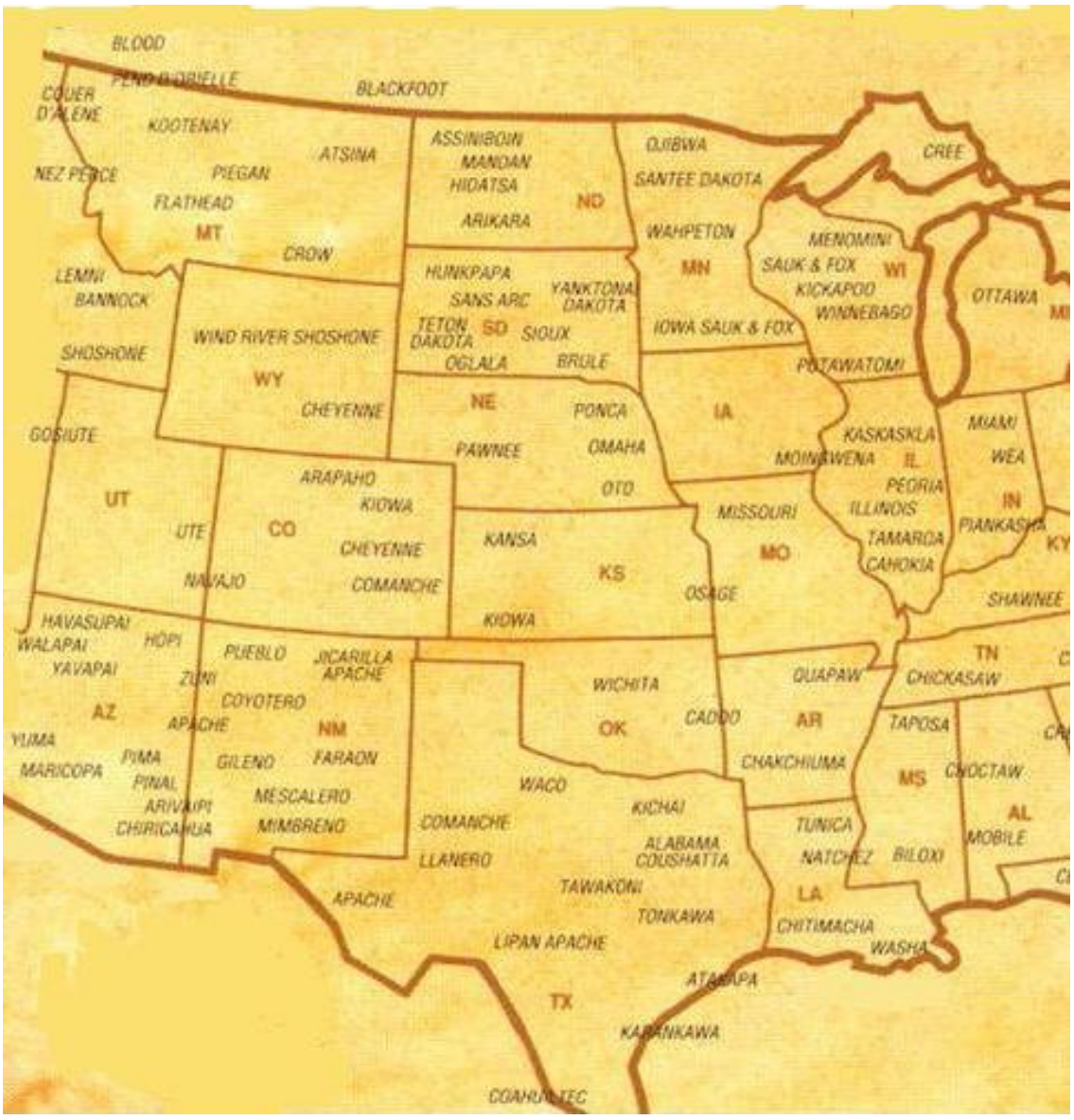
Sioux Territory and Reservations



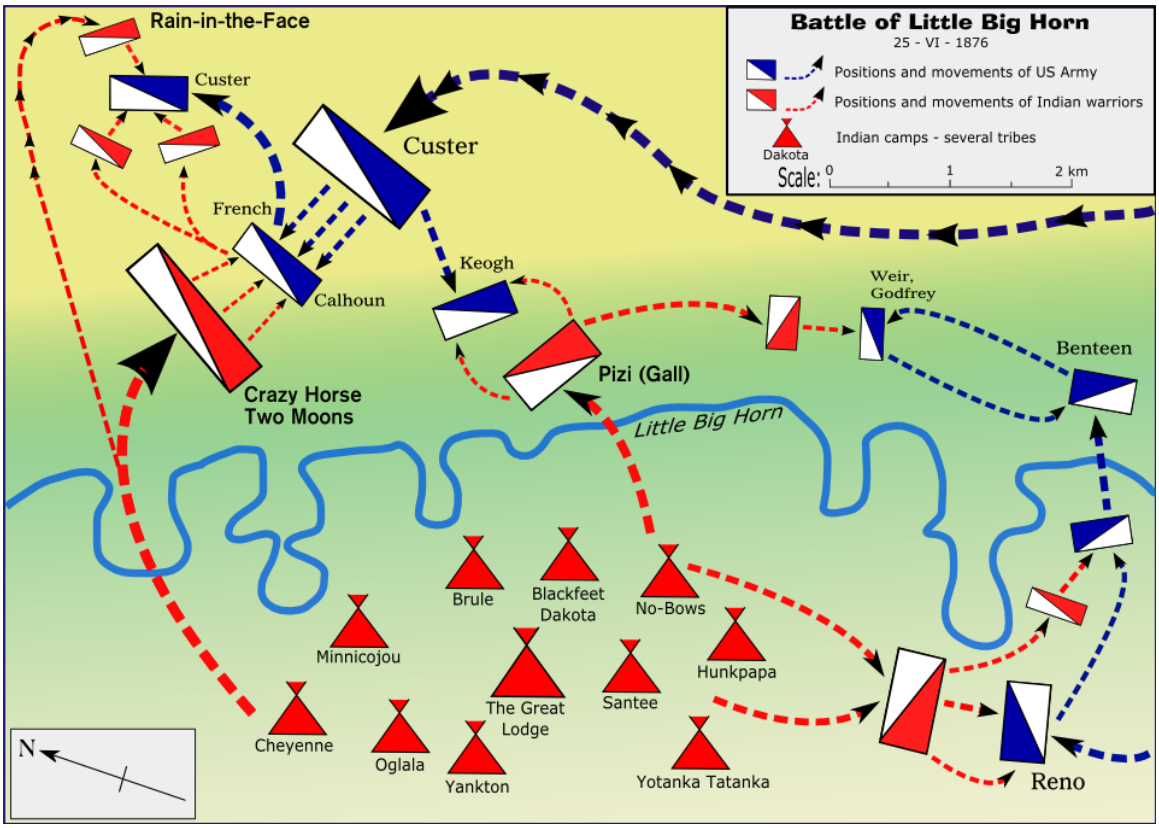
This map shows the extent of the Sioux Territory and indicates what land the government allowed them to keep.



Points of Interest in the Apache Wars.



General location of the Indian tribes



Battle of the Little Bighorn