

“A Good Day To Die” Indian Wars in the American West



Course Outline



- Week 1: What Came Before (*From Christopher Columbus to Manifest Destiny*)
- Week 2: A House Divided (*Genesis of the Western Wars*)
- Week 3: The Opponents (*The US Army and the Natives*)
- Week 4: Red Cloud's War, the Lakota, and the Northern Plains
- Week 5: Hancock's War, *Commancheria*, and the Southern Plains
- Week 6: The Long Struggle for *Apacheria* and the Southwest
- Week 7: The Forgotten Wars (*The Great Basin and Pacific Northwest*)
- Week 8: Finale (*From the Little Bighorn to Wounded Knee*)

“A Good Day To Die” Indian Wars in the West



OLLI “Spring” 2021

*Week 6: **The Long Struggle for Apacheria**
And the Southwest*

The Long Struggle for Apacheria



- 1) *Apacheria*
- 2) Before the Fire
- 3) Mangas Coloradas (1851-1863)
- 4) Cochise (1861-1874)
- 5) Geronimo (1876-1877)
- 6) Victorio (1879-1881)
- 7) Geronimo *Redux* (1881-1886)

PART 1: Apacheria

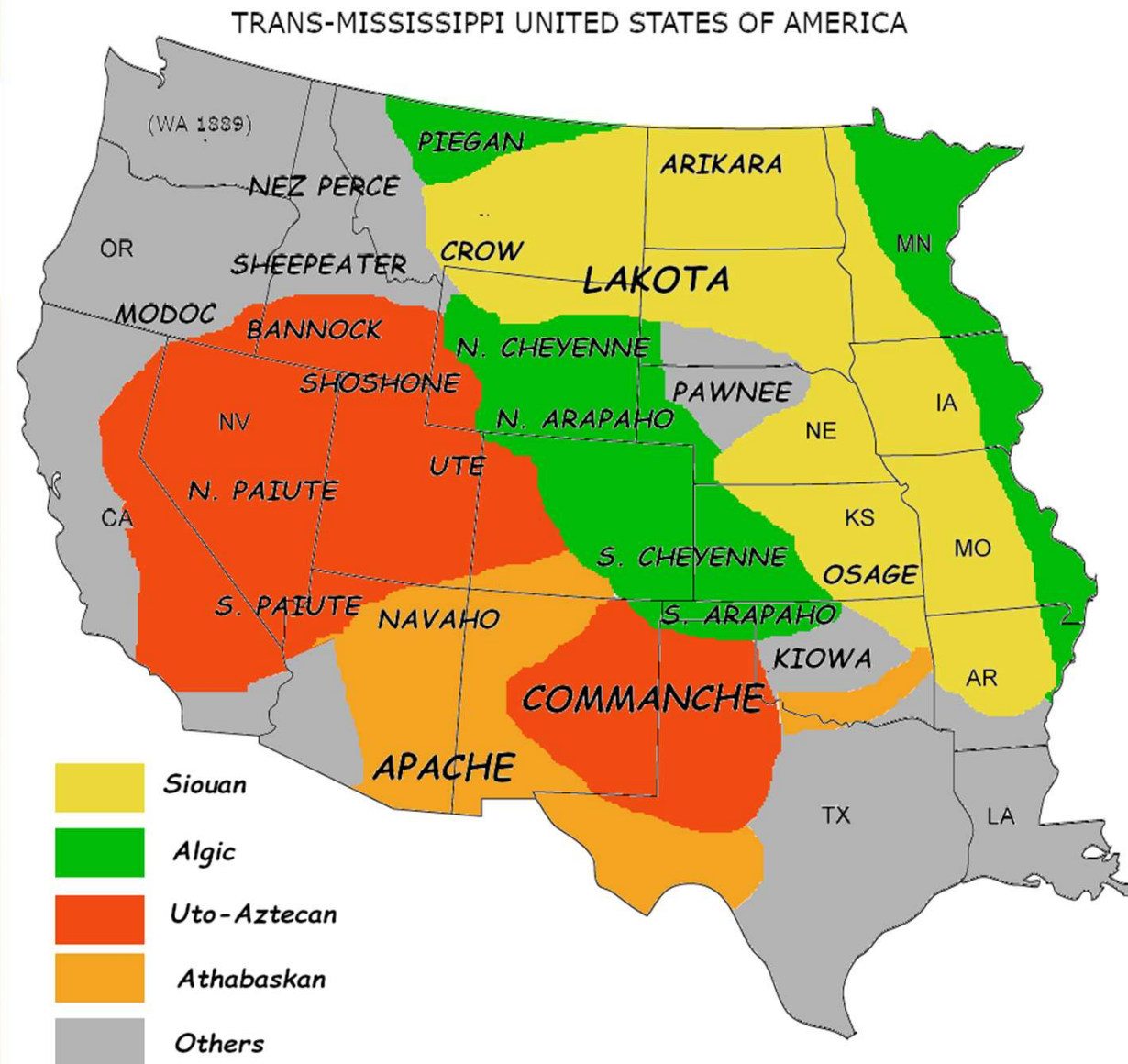


Native Geographic and Cultural Regions

- **Great Plains:** Rolling grassland, limited water. More suitable for grazing than farming. Excellent horse country.
- **Southwest:** Desert, little or no water.
- **Great Basin:** Surrounded by mountains, limited water, rocky and broken.
- **Rocky Mountains:** Tall, timbered mountains, mostly unsuitable for farming.
- **Northwest:** Mix of coastal farmlands and inland wooded hills and mountains.

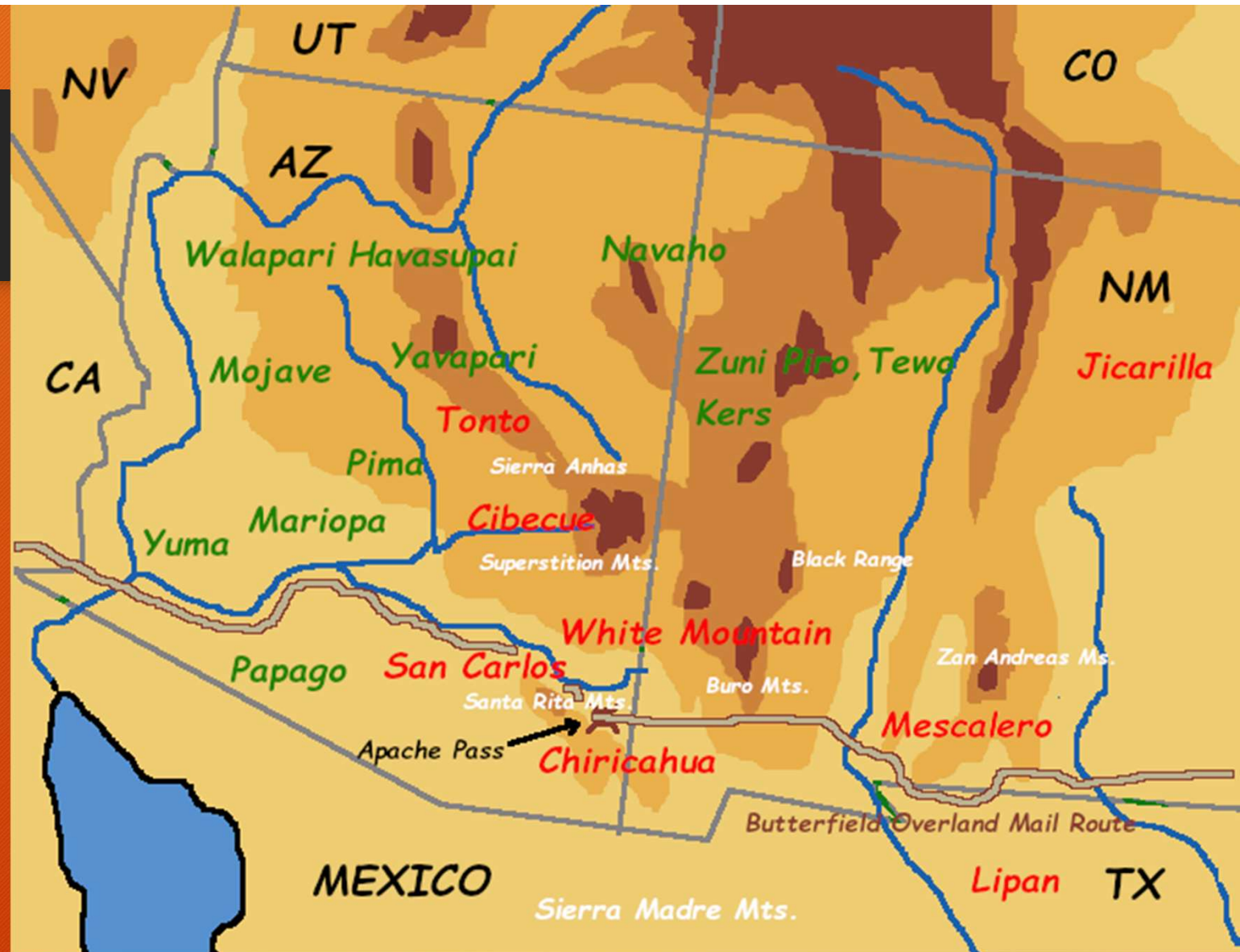


Major Linguistic and Tribal Groups



APACHERIA

- Red: Apache Tribes
- Green: Other tribes



Who Were the Apache?



- Originally same tribe as Navaho. Moved SE from northern Rockies
- Separated, broke into two distinct cultures. At war for some time.
- Apaches driven southwest by Comanches
- Conflict with Spain, then accommodation.
- No real accommodation with Mexico.
- Arrival of US in area produced immediate friction.

Who Were the Apache?



Numbers

- Peak population in 19th Century: About 8,000

Name

- Call themselves “Dine” or “Indeh,” meaning “the People.” (Name shared by the Navaho because same Athabascan language).
- “Apache” is the Zuni Indian word for “enemy,” but it fit so well almost everyone ended up calling them that. But they never called themselves that.



Who Were the Apache?



Tribal Organization

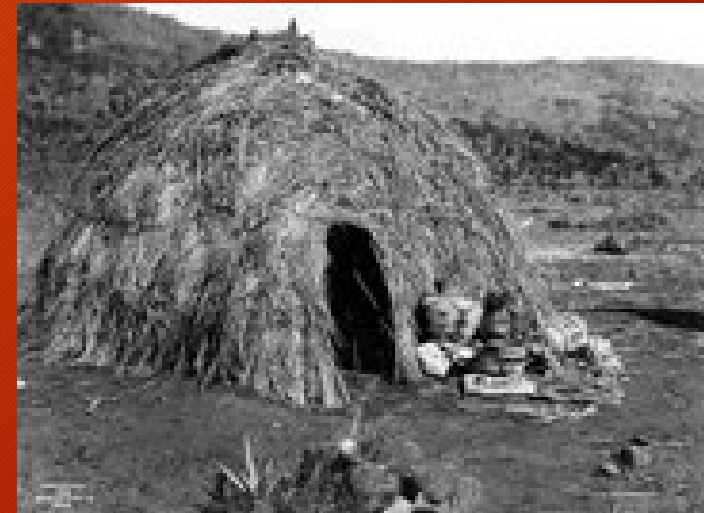
- Broadly divided into Eastern (more pastoral) and Western (more agrarian) Apache.
- Further divided into sub-tribes: Four in East, Five in West.
 - East: Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, Lipan
 - West: White Mountain/Coyotero, San Carlos, Cibecue, Northern Tonto, Southern Tonto
- Each sub-tribe divided into bands.
 - Chiricahua: Chihene/Mimbrenño, Chokonen, Nednai, Bedonkohe/Mogollon)
- Even this is overly organized. No real organization above the band level.
 - “Chiricahua” bands listed above had so real sense of unique identity within the Apache people.
 - Coyotero could refer to some bands of Cibecue Apache as well as White Mountain.

Who Were the Apache?



Material Culture

- Not as thoroughly horse-loving as the Plains Indians, but still a horse-based and culture.
- Far ranging for raids, but less nomadic than Plains tribes. Less reliant on buffalo, more on cattle and game.
- Western Apache more influenced by Pueblo culture, more agrarian. Eastern Apache more pastoral.
- Both retained a strong warrior culture.



Who Were the Apache?



Spirituality

- All things in nature were spiritual, and spirits (sometimes ghosts) walked the earth.
- **Usen:** the Giver of Life worshiped as the supreme spirit.
- **Coyote:** the “trickster” figured prominently in their myths, a figure of ambiguous morality, sometimes helping, sometimes opposing.
- **Power:** similar in concept to “Medicine” among the Plains tribes, but Power could not be asked for, acquired, or cultivated; it was given by Usen as a gift.
- **Balance:** Balance of person, family, band essential to spiritual and material wellbeing.

Who Were the Apache?



War and Peace

- Differentiation between “raiding” and “war”
 - Raiding: for profit
 - War: for revenge
- **Revenge** was not entirely personal; it was also a spiritual imperative. The death of an Apache upset the **Balance** of the family and tribe, and only revenge could restore that balance.
- War was *not* to ritually demonstrate the bravery of warriors, just to exact revenge. Stealth and strategy celebrated over bravado.

Who Were the Apache?



War and Peace (continued)

- Revenge did *not* mean a proportional response.
- “Ussen had not commanded that we love our enemies. Nana did not love his enemies; and he was not content with an eye for an eye, nor a life for a life. For every Apache killed, he took many lives.”

----Kaywaykla,

Chiricahua Apache who, as a boy, rode with Nana

- This meant that once a feud or war started, it went on for a very long time, until one side was crushed or both sides grew tired of killing.



Who Were the Apache?



War and Peace (continued)

- **Torture:** Common as an instrument of revenge.
- **Mutilation:** The Apache had a strong spiritual aversion to touching corpses, even of friends and family, but especially of the enemy. Never practiced mutilation until the Spanish introduced them to it. After that it was sometimes practiced, but infrequently.
- **Scalping:** Never practiced by the Apache except in very rare cases of personal vengeance. If so, the entire top of the skull was taken and displayed at a victory celebration, but was then immediately disposed of. Never retained as trophies.

Who Were the Apache?



Gender and Marriage

- Polygamous, in theory, but only very wealthy men took more than a single wife.
- Matrilineal, in that a young man married into his wife's band. Older, more established warriors (and chiefs), especially if already married, remained in their own band and their wife joined them.
- Wife built and maintained house, men hunted and made war.
- Chiefs drawn from men.
- Gender roles carefully defined, and yet . . .



Gouyen



- Birth name not known. (c. 1857-1903) Chihene/Mimbrenño band of Chiricahua. Married young.
- Early 1870s husband killed by Comanche chief in raid. Gouyen witnessed death and scalping of her husband.
- No male to avenge her husband. Packed food, water, and beaded maiden dress and followed Comanche trail on foot.
- Found camp, seduced drunken chief, killed him by biting his neck. Took scalp and heart, stole his horse and escaped back to village.
- Hailed as courageous warrior. Given the name Gouyen “One Who is Wise.”
- Later part of Victorio’s War, Nana’s Raid, and Geronimo’s band.

PART 2: Before the Fire



Before the Fire



- 1767: Spanish began efforts to militarily subdue Apache. Disastrously unsuccessful
- 1786: Spanish switched to tribute system to buy Apache peace. Low level raids continued, but outright warfare stopped.
- 1821: Mexican rebellion expelled Spain. Tribute payments stopped, Apache raids increased.
- Mexican authorities hired mercenaries, put bounty on Apache scalps.
- 1837 Mexican hired mercenaries massacred Apache camp in New Mexico, 20 Apache scalps taken.

Before the Fire



- The death of Chiricahua chief Juan José Compa in the New Mexico massacre elevated a young war chief named Fuerte as his successor as chief of the Chihene/Mimbrenño band.
- Fuerte led a series of revenge raids all through northern Mexico. Within a year all roads became unsafe, mines shut down, haciendas were burned, towns under siege. The success brought him the respect and loyalty of most Apache bands in the area and gave him a new name: **Mangas Coloradas** (Red Sleeves).
- One explanation for the name is that his sleeves were stained red from the blood of Mexicans slain in vengeance.



Before the Fire



- Mangas took a beautiful Mexican woman as his wife, and kept her in preference to his two Apache wives, even though this caused disputes with some of his in-laws.
- His Mexican wife gave him an abundance of beautiful daughters, and when they had grown to marriageable age, he married them to four tribal leaders.
 - One to a chief of the Navaho, with whom the Apache had been at war for generations. In doing so, he made a lasting peace between the Apache and Navaho.
 - Dos-Teh-Seh to Cochise in about 1860, a rising chief of the Chiricahua.
 - One to Kuta-Hala, a chief of the Mescalero.
 - One to Victorio, of the Chihene/Mimbrenño, whom he groomed as his successor.

Before the Fire



- 1846: Large band of Chiricahua invited to Mexican town of Galena to discuss peace. After pledges of eternal peace between the town and Chiricahuas, Mexican hired mercenaries massacred them killing 130 of them.
- Almost every band of Chiricahua had lost friends or relatives in the massacre, and so revenge was planned on an unprecedented tribal-wide basis. From then on the Apache people felt themselves in a state of continuous war with Mexico.
- 1848: The Southwest shifted ownership from Mexico to USA. The Apache were delighted to have a new ally in their war against Mexico.
- The Honeymoon was fairly short.

A Good Day to Die



•QUESTIONS?

PART 3: Mangas Coloradas (1851-1863)



Mangas Coloradas



- Born 1790. Birth name Kan-da-zis-tlishishen but also known as Fuerte, because of his impressive physique (over 6 feet tall). Born into Bedonkohe/Mogollon band. Married into Chihene/Mimbrenos (Red Paint People). Became very influential in band, and also with Chokonen and Nednai
- 1837 (47 years old.) Became chief after death of Chief Juan José Compa.
- Led many revenge raids against Mexicans.
- United many bands through marriage and diplomacy.
- Negotiated first peaceful relations with USA after annexation of Southwest.



Mangas Coloradas



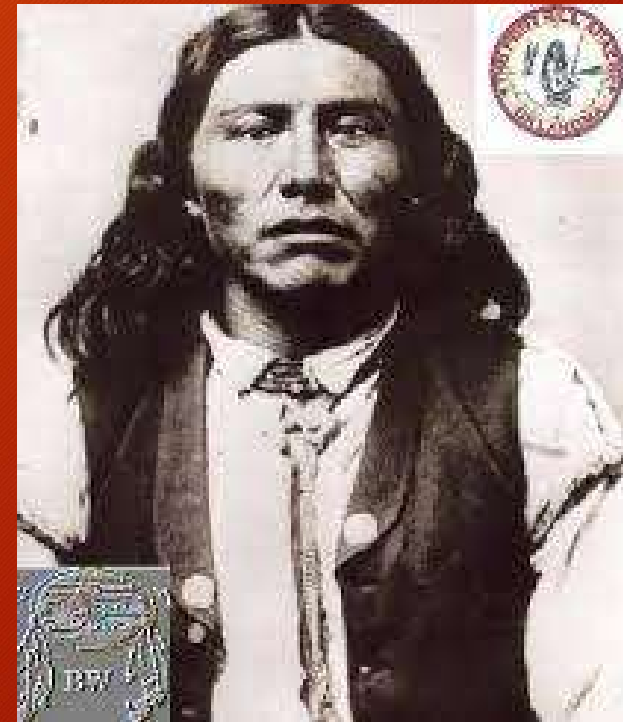
- 1850s: Mostly occupied with continuing war of revenge against Mexico, but based in southern Arizona and New Mexico.
- Uneasy peace with USA strained by influx of miners into New Mexico.
- December 1860, 30 armed miners attacked Apache camp, killed 4, captured 13 women and children.
- Mangus began revenge raids against Americans.



Enter Cochise



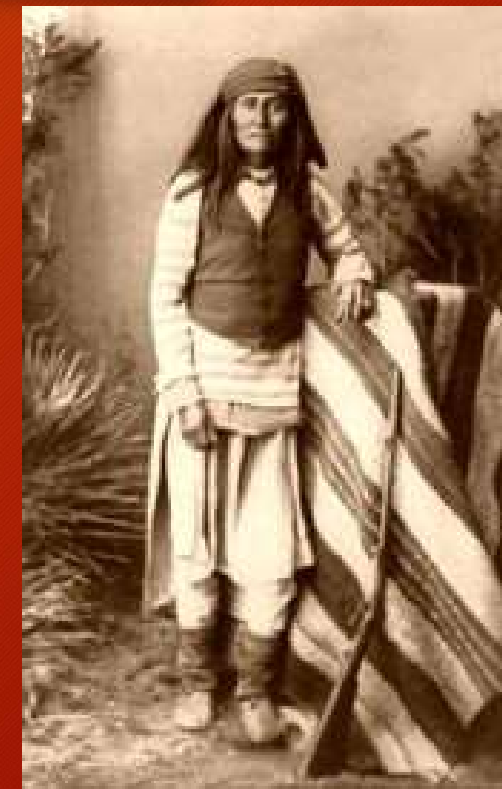
- Shi-Ka-She (Strong as an Oak Tree) Born about 1805. By 1860 was main chief of the Chokonen band of the Chiricahua.
- January 1861 the stepson of a local rancher was kidnapped by White Mountain Apache cattle thieves.
- Army detachment under a very young junior officer met with Cochise under a white flag and arrested him for the theft, refusing to believe his plea of innocence. Cochise escaped but army seized several hostages, including his brother and two other relatives.
- Cochise also seized hostages. Situation escalated with all hostages on both sides killed.
- Cochise now formed alliance with his father in law, Mangas Coloradas, to drive out the whites.



Mangas Coloradas



- Mangas and Cohise conducted a series of punishing raids against Americans, but Mangas was seriously wounded in the heat during a skirmish.
- After recovering, in summer of 1862 he sent word that he was interested in making peace.
- In January of 1862 Mangas met with Brigadier General Joseph R. West under a flag of truce, but was immediately arrested. West told the sentries assigned to guard Mangas that he didn't want him to survive the night.
- In the middle of the night, the 72 year old chief was shot to death "while trying to escape."



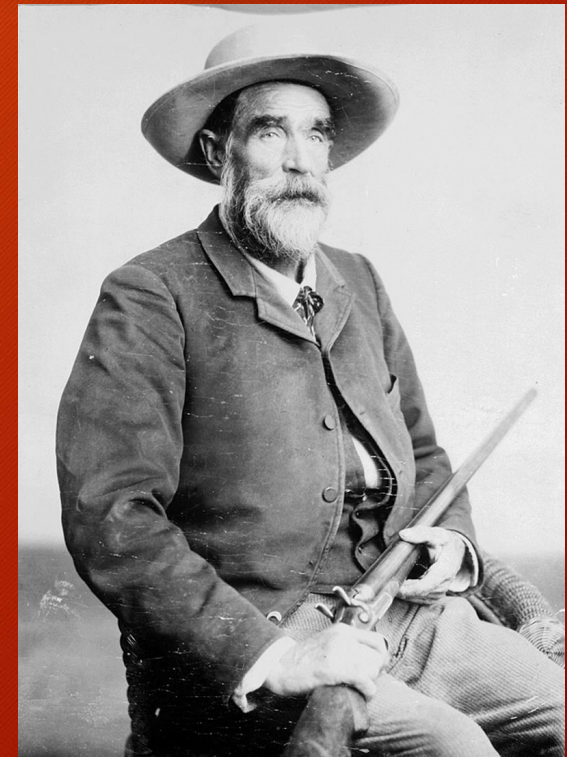
PART 4:
Cochise's War (1861-1874)



Jeffords



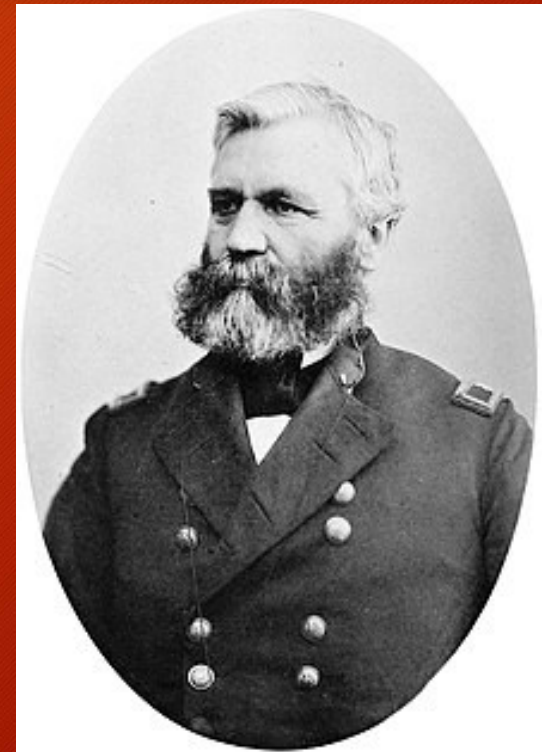
- Thomas J. Jeffords (born 1832) was a manager for the Butterfield Overland Mail between 1867 and 1869, during which time he travelled alone to Cochise's camp to negotiate a safe conduct for his mail carriers.
- Cochise was apparently as amused as he was impressed by Jefford's bravery or foolishness, but he agreed to the safe conduct truce for he mail.
- Jeffords was the only white man to become a close friend of Cochise.



Howard



- 1871: President Grant sends General Oliver Otis Howard to end the Apache Wars.
- Howard was a decorated (and one armed) Civil War veteran who previously headed up the Freedmen's Bureau. Principled, fair-minded, and courageous.
- Early efforts to settle Apaches on reservations are only partially successful. No lasting peace without Cochise.
- Howard persuades Jeffords to take him to speak with Cochise.



Howard's Peace Mission to Cochise

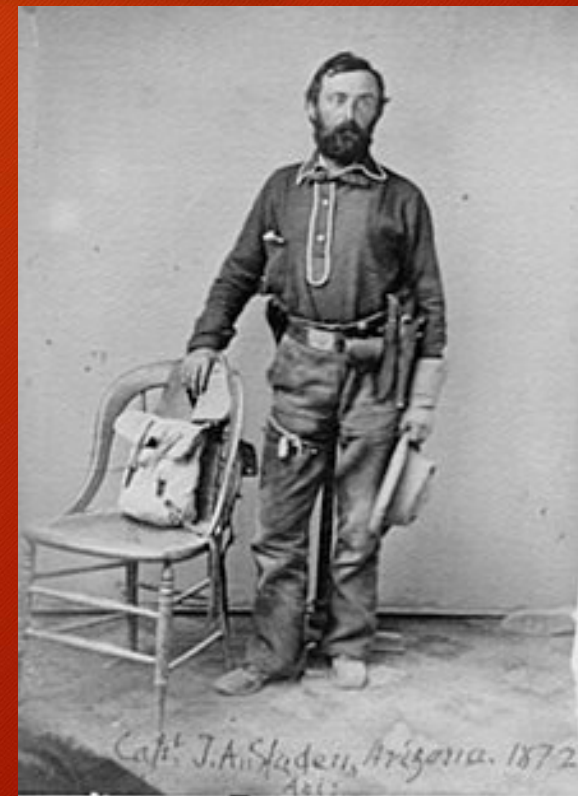


- 1872: Howard, his young aide Captan Sladen, Jeffords, and several escorting Apache warriors, including the chief Victorio, found Cochise and, as soon as the chief understood the mission, he said, “No one wants peace more than I do.”
- Howard proposed relocating Cochise’s band, but Cochise wanted to stay in their traditional land around Apache Pass. “We will make sure no Whites are molested passing through.”
- Howard had *carte blanche* to negotiate a treaty and so agreed.
- Cochise set one other condition: Jeffords must be their agent. Howard readily agreed.

Captain Sladen



- To avoid the army over-reacting to the sight of Cochise's entire band, he insisted Howard go ahead and inform the local commanders directly. Jeffords and Sladen would stay with Cochise. Howard objected to Sladen acting as a hostage.
- Cochise laughed and shook his head. "Our young women will look after the young Captain," he said. The women nearby who heard this laughed and began clapping. "Tell the Captain that I will send off and get some *tiswin* and we will all get drunk and have a good time tonight."
- And they did.



Peace (for a moment)



- By Executive Order in December 1872, President Grant established the Apache Pass Indian Reservation, with Jeffords as Agent. Cochise's Chiricahua were relocated there and Indian raids fell off dramatically.
- 1874: Cochise died of natural causes, believed to be abdominal cancer.
- 1875: Locals remembered Jefford's friendship with Cochise and demanded his removal. Jeffords was removed as Agent and the Chiricahua were moved to the hated San Carlos reservation.
- For two years, sanity had prevailed. Now another decade of war, and thousands of deaths, lay ahead.



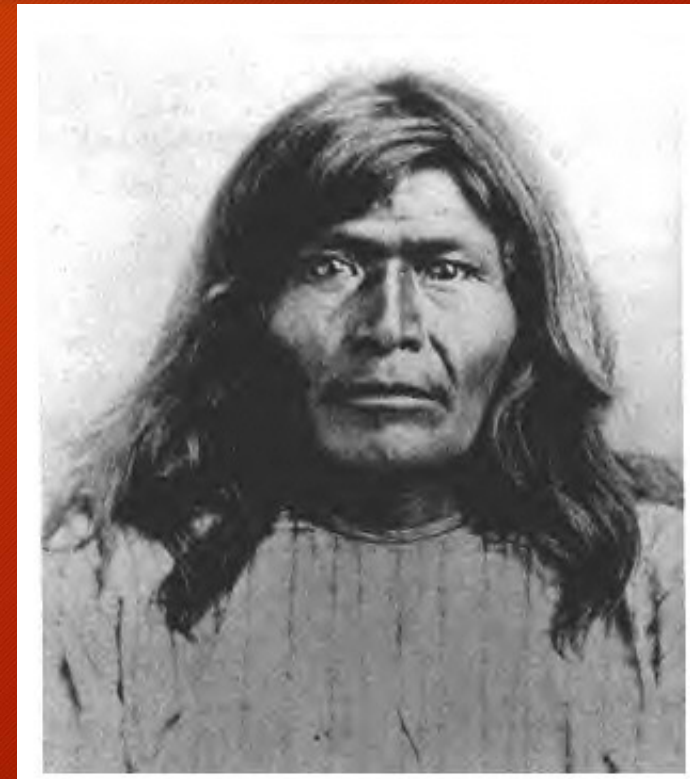
**PART 5:
Victorio's War (1879-1881)**



Victorio



- Victorio (Bidu-Ya), son-in-law of Mangus Coloradas and chief of the Chihene/Mimbrenos after death of Mangus.
- Accepted reservation life in the Warm Springs area.
- 1877: When ordered to relocate to San Carlos reservation, offered to stay at Warm Springs with only half the agreed to ration allotment, but offer refused.
- Moved to San Carlos, but immediate friction with White Mountain tribe caused Victorio and many of his band to leave and return to Warm Springs, but without violence.



Victorio's War



- 1878: Again moved back to San Carlos, again left and relocated to Warm Springs. Local Army commander allowed the band to stay and tried to negotiate a permanent home for them. After a year they were ordered back to San Carlos.
- 1879: Victorio and his band leave Warm Springs and move south into Mexico beginning Victorio's War. He had sixty warriors with him, one of whom was the crippled 70 year old senior warrior Nana, and one was his sister Luzan. Eighty more warriors, mostly Mescalero Apache, joined them in northern Mexico.

Lozen



- “Lozen is my right hand. Strong as a man, braver than most, and cunning in strategy, Lozen is a shield to her people.” --Chief Victorio
- Younger sister of Victorio. Unmarried warrior and medicine woman.
- Her name meant “Dexterous Horse Thief.”
- Learned to ride at 7 years old, a crack shot, deadly with a knife.
- Also had the power to detect approaching enemy.

Victorio's War



- December 1879, December: Mexican Army launched a major campaign against Victorio.
- 1880, January: Victorio slipped across border into US, clashes with US troops in San Andres Mountains, then escapes.
- April, converging columns of cavalry almost surrounded Victorio, but he fought his way out.
- May, raided all through central New Mexico and into southeastern Arizona. US Army Apache scout company found Victorio in the Black Range and killed about 30 of his warriors and wounded him.
- Victorio headed south to Mexico.

Victorio's War

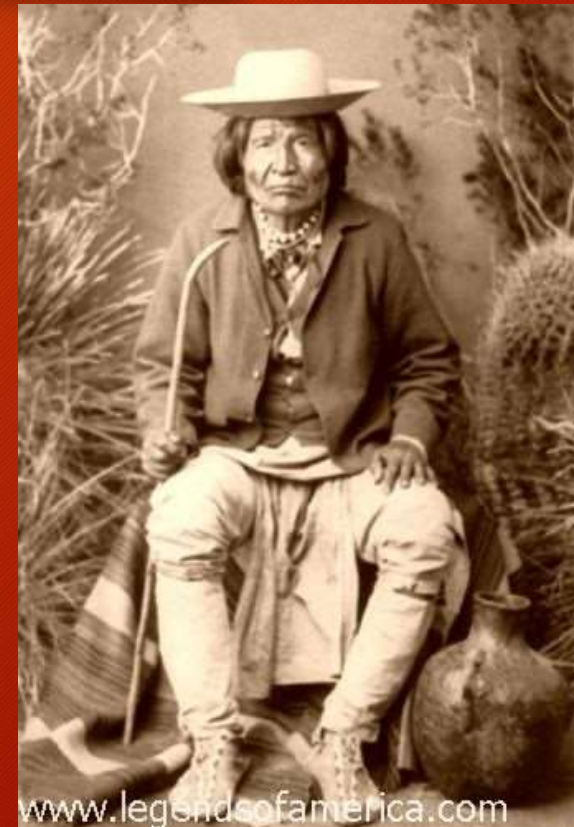


- Summer, chased by 500 Mexican troops, Victorio tried to cross into Texas, but was stopped by a network of 10th Cavalry Buffalo soldiers defending every water hole in the area.
- After several more months of skirmishing, raids, and narrow escapes, Victorio was caught by a large Mexican force at a site called Tres Castillos.
- Several members of the band, including Lozen were away trying to find ammunition.
- Victorio's band fought until their ammunition was exhausted, then fought hand to hand, but in the end were overrun. Victorio, 60 warriors and 18 women and children died.

Nana



- The detached ammunition hunters, including Lozen, returned with ammunition, but too late. Nana had also survived, and so he now led the survivors: 15 warriors, two of whom were women: Lozen and Gouiyen.
- Astziden (Broken Foot), born about 1800 to 1810. Better known by his Mexican Spanish nickname Nana (Grandma). Between 70 and 80 years old. (One account says almost 90.) He was bent with arthritis and half blind, but his mind was still sharp and he could ride.
- 1881, July/August, Nana swept through southwestern New Mexico, pursued by 1,000 US Army troops and 300 to 400 civilian volunteers, killed 30 to 40 Americans and as many Mexicans, captured 200 horses, fought at least nine separate skirmishes, and did not lose a single warrior killed.
- After a one thousand mile chase, he slipped back into Mexico and the Sierra Madre mountains. Here he joined forces with another famous war chief.



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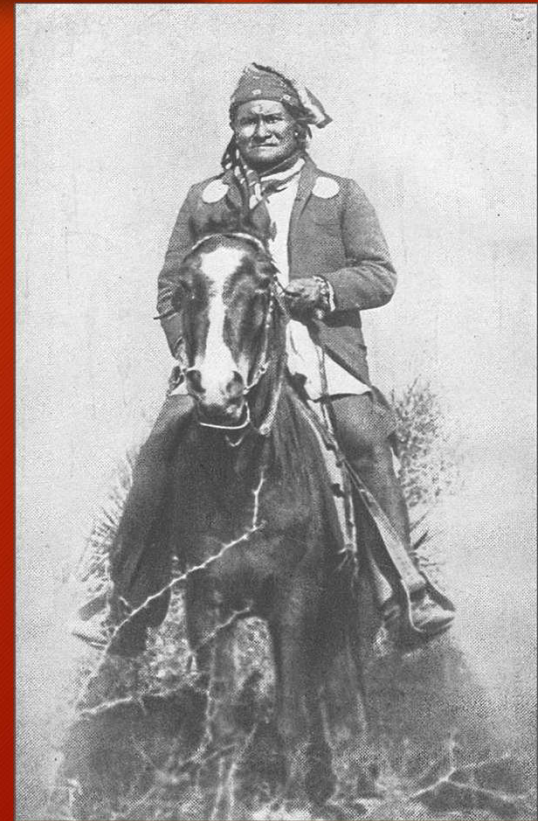
PART 6: Geronimo



Geronimo the Man



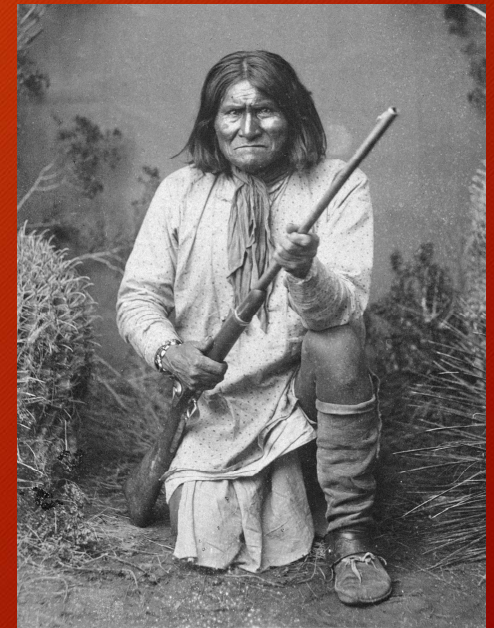
- Goyalé (One Who Yawns), born 1829, a Bedonkohe/Mogollon warrior and medicine man. At 17 years old married a Nednai woman, became part of that band, had three children.
- 1851: While the men of the band were trading in Sonora Mexico, Mexican militia attacked and massacred the undefended Apache camp. Victims include Goyalé 's mother, wife, and all three children.
- For the rest of his life he hated Mexicans with a toxic fury. Mexican victims fleeing his raids prayed to St Jerome to save them. An officer hearing this mistook it for the identity of the attacker, and so Geronimo received his other name.
- Also, he became a mean drunk, and he was drunk a lot.



Geronimo's First Campaign 1876-7



- Geronimo had been raiding regularly in Mexico, still pursuing his vendetta.
- When the Chiricahua were moved to San Carlos, and Jeffords was removed as Agent, over a hundred men joined Geronimo's band.
- Geronimo and his band fled south in Mexico, thwarting Army pursuit. They then broke into small raiding parties, some working the Mexican side of the border for livestock, others working the US side, killing ranchers and prospectors for ammunition and weapons.
- After a series of raids, Geronimo returned to draw rations from one of the Apache reservations, but was captured by soldiers and Apache reservation police.



Geronimo's Second Campaign 1881-83

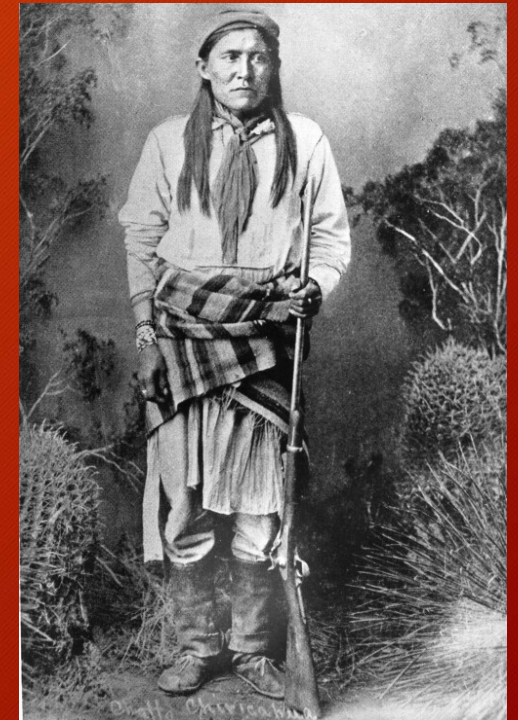


- September 1881: Mishandling of the arrest of a White Mountain Medicine Man plunged the San Carlos reservation into turmoil. In the rising chaos and hostility, Geronimo and 74 others fled the reservation and south into Mexico. United with Nana and the remnants of Victorio's followers.
- 1862: Geronimo's strength grew from additional warriors leaving reservations and coming south. He confined his raids to Mexico.
- General Crook, commanding in Arizona, recruited several hundred Apache scouts to track and engage Geronimo's force.

Geronimo's Second Campaign 1881-83



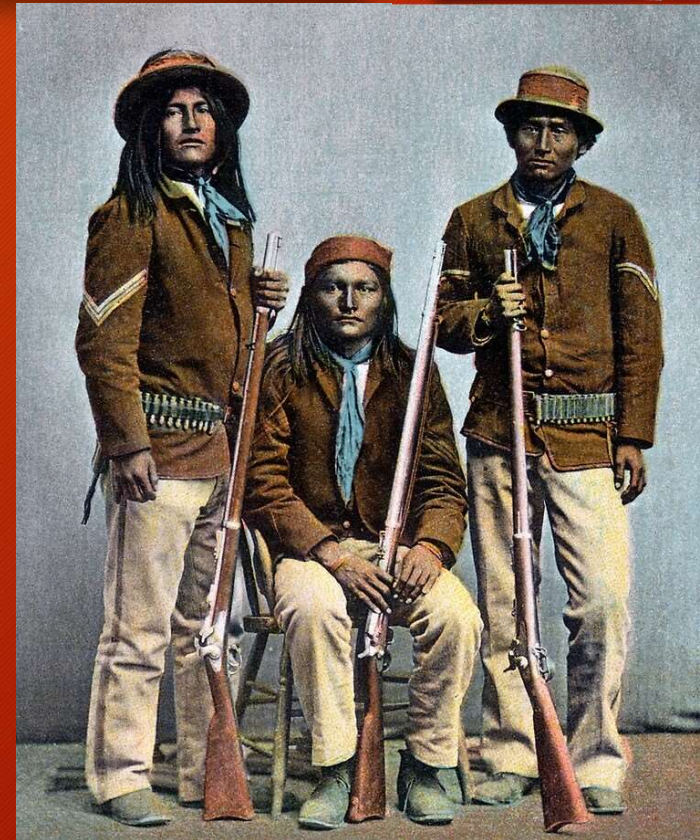
- 1883: Geronimo raids in two columns. He leads one south into Sonora while a second column under Chato heads north, to capture ammunition.
- Chato with 20 warriors cut across Arizona, killed about a dozen people, plundered several ranches, and slipped back into Mexico. Not one pursuing soldier ever saw them.
- General Crook ordered to pursue and destroy the hostiles with all necessary force and regardless of national boundaries.



Crook's Campaign



- Crook relied on three things to insure the campaign was successful.
- 1) Large numbers of small columns, each ordered to follow whatever trail found without rest. If horses gave out, follow on foot, but never stop the pursuit of a trail.
- 2) Great attention to mule-packed supply rains to keep troops in the field.
- 3) Strong reliance on Apache scouts, both to track the enemy and to engage them when cornered.



Crook's Campaign



- And it worked.
- By late 1883 Geronimo and his followers had had enough and all were straggling back north to the reservations.
- They numbered about 250 people total including all of Victorio's survivors.

Geronimo's Third Campaign 1885-86



- May 1885, Geronimo and others broke out of San Carlos Reservation. Rumors of a change in command that would lead to his arrest fueled by much drinking led Geronimo to flee the reservation.
- Pursuit into Mexico by mixed forces of cavalry and Apache scouts.
- Border patrols by more cavalry
- Long exhausting search.

Dahteste

- Dahteste (1860-1955) Chokonen Chiricahua
- Married with children. Rode with husband on raids. Noted horsewoman and linguist.
- Rode with Cochise's band until his surrender.
- Joined Geronimo in his third breakout. Became close companion of Lozen. Helped negotiate surrender of Geronimo.



Geronimo's Third Campaign 1885-86

- Crook's Campaign 1885–1886
- Jan 1886 Crawford's scouts catch Geronimo capture entire camp and all he horses and mules. Band escapes: 80 people of which 24 are warriors or large boys.
- Lozen arrives to parlay
- Next day Crawford attacked by Mexican troops led by same offer who killed Victorio. Both Crawford and Mexican commander killed. Geronimo looks on laughing.

Geronimo's Third Campaign 1885-86

- Negotiations for Surrender Lozen and Dahteste
- Most of band surrenders
- General Whiskey Takes Command, Geronimo flees (again)
- Crook resigns, April 1, 1886, replaced by Miles
- Miles' Campaign 1886
- General Howard negotiates the final surrender

And Then What Happened?

- Relocation of the Chiricahua to Fort Marion, Florida
 - 489 men, women children
- April 18, 1887, prisoners to Mount Vernon Barracks, near Mobile AL
 - 62 children to Indian School, Carlisle, PA
 - 45 remain at Fort Pikes: Geronimo's last adherents, and families
- May 1888: Geronimo and others from Fort Pikes to Mount Vernon Barracks

And Then What Happened?

- Tuberculosis and Malaria took 60 people at Mount Vernon, including Lozen
- Children returned from Carlisle
- 1894 to Fort Sill, OK.
- Many later to the Mescalero reservation in Texas

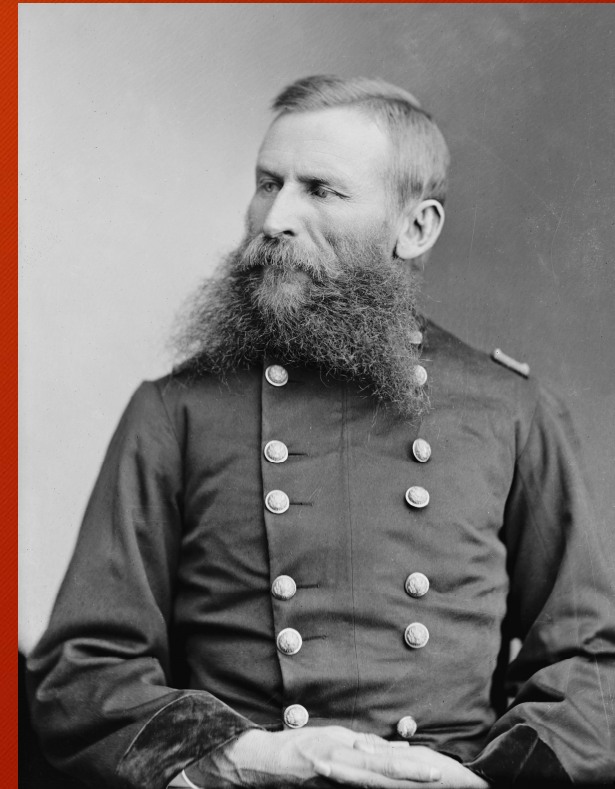
- Gouyen died as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill in 1903.
- Dahtese divorced her husband, moved to the Mescalero reservation, and remarried. She died in 1955 at the age of 95. She never stopped mourning the death of Lozen, who may have been the great love of her life.



A Final Word

- “I do not wonder, and you will not either, that when Indians see their wives and children starving and their last source of supplies cut off, they go to war. And then we are sent out there to kill them. It is an outrage. All tribes tell the same story. They are surrounded on all sides, the game is destroyed or driven away, they are left to starve, and there remains but one thing for them to do—fight while they can. Our treatment of the Indian is an outrage.”

--General George Crook



A Good Day to Die



•QUESTIONS?