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American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches 1874-1886. By Edwin R. Sweeney.

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/009870tp>

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 36(2)

ISSN

0161-6463

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Publication Date

2012-03-01

DOI

10.17953

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lingers today: the Stockbridge Mohicans, who obtained an Oneida parcel not far from the Brothertown Nation at about the same time, are pursuing a land claim against the Oneidas.

By 1805, Stockbridge Mohican Indian leader Hendrick Aupaumut had identified land in Indiana where harassed eastern nations might relocate. The attempts of the Brothertowns and the Mohicans to move to this land in Indiana failed when the United States purchased a large parcel in 1818. The Delaware Indian owners maintained that they had not deeded land to the incoming Brothertown Nation. Therefore, they said, upon an offer of a large payment from the United States, they were free to sell. As a result, the Brothertowns and the Stockbridge Indians had to look farther west for a place to live.

After losing a later proposed tract on the Fox River in present Wisconsin (then Michigan Territory), and despite objections from Menominee landowners, during the 1830s the Brothertowns finally came to rest on the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago. Then issues of land ownership and US citizenship arose. Traditionally, community land was rotated to families within the nation by tribal leaders and reclaimed by the tribe as needed. Citizenship, however, permitted individuals to sell their land. When, in order to obtain title to their community territory, the Brothertown members did become US citizens, their tribal leaders could not agree to the sale of community land to outsiders. Tribal leaders worked hard to keep land and tribal identity intact by restricting ownership within Brothertown families. They also succeeded in authorizing some land to be held in trust for the nation.

Despite a history of strong national identity, Jarvis reports that the Brothertown Nation has not succeeded in obtaining federal recognition as an Indian nation. This richly researched book should help substantiate future petitions.

Shirley W. Dunn
Author

From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches 1874–1886. By Edwin R. Sweeney. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. 640 pages. \$39.95 cloth.

Author Edwin Sweeney has produced a unique masterpiece of compilation, a peerless, seven-hundred-page volume that addresses the Apache wars between the years 1874 and 1886. Forty years ago, Sweeney's mentor Dan Thrapp (*The Conquest of Apacheria*, 1967) began a detailed inquiry into the battles that have characterized the Chiricahua Apaches. Acquiring the extraordinary amount

of information that Sweeney amassed for this volume was improbable when Thrapp was investigating, but absent Thrapp's inspiring, groundbreaking effort, Sweeney's book might not have been written. In an arena intimidating in its complexity and detail, Sweeney has now gone beyond Thrapp's research, and the torch has been passed. This excellent, exacting depiction of the Apache wars should stand for quite a long while as the definitive work on the subject.

All the familiar Chiricahua leaders are here—Cochise, Naiche, Geronimo, Nana, Loco, Mangas Coloradas, Juh, and Chatto—names that historians have heard, read, written, investigated, examined, denigrated, disputed, and praised. Each of them is framed within particular continuing exploits that portray the murders and plundering in graphic descriptions of such brutality that it is sometimes difficult to absorb. Other names appear also—Perico, Fun, Seeltoe, Sundayman, Bonito, Martine, and Kayitah—each important in his own right. Along with their leaders, Sweeney depicts these men as significant participants in the Chiricahua Apaches' monumental, but ultimately unsuccessful, fight to remain free.

Despite the surrounding commotion and confusion, the Chiricahua Apaches never doubted that the Creator selected the site that would become their home (339). Through this process, they believed, he spiritually and physically anchored them and their culture in the high desert hills, mountains, valleys, rivers, trees, and stones of the region. But the occupiers had no regard for the Apaches' spiritual or cultural beliefs, thus begetting the hatred, vengeance, and killing that Sweeney so ably describes. Another strong motivation for the ferocious Apache reaction to the intrusion was the loss of family. As more and more wives and children were captured, the Apaches increased the intensity of their resistance in the hope of reuniting with their loved ones. In time the fighters recognized that this response was futile, and thus began the slow physical and psychological descent into submission.

Politicians appear now and then, but the military and their adjuncts from both sides of the border are always here—the bureaucratic and battlefield generals, officers, packers, trackers, killers, and negotiators—a panoply of egos acting out across a vast southwestern landscape.

Given all that is laudable in this book, I still wish for an author's preface in which Sweeney might tell us how and why he undertook this huge project. While it is axiomatic that research, particularly on this scale, places distance between the scholar and his readers, sharing some of those reasons and events that occurred during this enormous effort would certainly benefit the audience and dispel any mistaken notion that the author is an emotionally distant reporter. As it is, without such background information a reader is left with a "cold" piece of work, albeit one of superb value.

Throughout, Sweeney quotes the three classic writers of the Chiricahua Apache experience, Thrapp, Morris Opler, and Eve Ball. He challenges Ball's informants and her accuracy, but examines neither Opler nor Thrapp in the same way. It may have been an oversight, but again, an author's preface could have explained this discrepancy.

Sweeney cites Opler's interviews to gain information about particular events, but some of today's Chiricahuas chuckle when Opler's name is mentioned. Oral history within families reveals that Opler paid his informants for their words, so when they needed a few dollars they would seek him out and start talking. One hopes the material they conveyed was valid and that it was not just the Apache sense of humor at work.

The author's heavy reliance on newspaper reports of the day is puzzling. It is no secret that frontier newspapers and other publications were hyperbolic on many occasions, exaggerating and misrepresenting battles and body counts that no one disputed. Because most readers do not have a filter to determine the credibility of an author's statements, they must depend on the writer for truth. Sweeney admits that at least one newspaper was unreliable in its reporting of Apache events but does not comment similarly on the many other newspaper items that form one of the important foundations of this work (518). Reassuring readers of the newspapers' veracity would have contributed to the plausibility of the information; some of the material—particularly the repetitive, constant, and random slaughters—is difficult to believe.

Last, but certainly not least, is the matter of Lozen, the famous woman warrior who rode with her brother, Victorio. Stories about her have been told and written often enough that by now she has become a legendary participant in the Apache resistance. Sweeney has ignored her in this work, except where he notes that her "remarkable exploits originate with Eve Ball whose primary source was James Kaywaykla" (659), purportedly Lozen's nephew and one of Ball's informants. The author disagrees with Kaywaykla's recollections (as stated to Ball) because "he was a boy of three or four years old when the events he talked about took place. Yet somehow he remembered conversations and events with clarity." Logically, however, Kaywaykla's recollections likely were not based on his personal memory, but on oral history he heard from tribal members. Sweeney's skepticism is understandable, especially because Lozen was not mentioned in his examination of thousands of documents describing Apache warfare or in interviews conducted by Opler during the mid-twentieth century. Still, despite the author's opinion, given the capriciousness of newspaper reports and the inherent bias of interviews and military reports, Sweeney's statements do not rise to the level of proof that Lozen was absent from warfare. Sweeney also claims that Lozen had "no role in the final Geronimo war of 1885–86," although eyewitnesses place her with Geronimo

just prior to the surrender (661; Ball, *Indeb: An Apache Odyssey*, 1980, 107, 110–11). These differences illustrate the conflict between differing sources—interviews and military records versus oral history. Perhaps this situation will be examined more closely in the future.

Nonetheless, if there ever was any doubt that Chiricahua Apache warfare literally depopulated northern Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and southwestern New Mexico during those years, Sweeney's masterful account dispels that suspicion. This exhaustive and exhausting volume should be required reading for all mature students and aficionados of western and American Indian history. To overlook this opportunity to learn about and appreciate the Chiricahua Apache experience, as depicted by Sweeney, would be an irreversible loss.

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Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733–1763. By John T. Juricek. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. 416 pages. \$49.95 cloth.

In this detailed analysis, historian John T. Juricek tackles the tricky issue of Anglo-Creek diplomacy during the first three decades after the founding of colonial Georgia. No one is better equipped to examine this complex topic than Juricek, who compiled, edited, and annotated two volumes of Indian treaties in Georgia and Florida from the early to mid-eighteenth century. The task took him two decades, during which time he clearly combed these documents, immersing himself in early eighteenth-century frontier diplomacy. The result is that *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks* offers a fine-grained analysis of the diplomatic successes, failures, and mistakes between Georgia authorities and various Indian authorities throughout three decades. Central to his analysis are the land issues that defined much about Georgia and Creek relations for years. Juricek's details regarding the questions concerning land, land rights, and sovereignty make this a remarkable contribution to our growing awareness that Creek politics were much more complicated than we previously understood them to be, and that Indian affairs weighed heavily on the minds of the European founders of Georgia.

Juricek parses the early treaties between Georgians and the Creeks to determine which lands, exactly, were ceded to Georgia and to locate the boundary lines. This is more difficult than it may seem, because oftentimes in these early treaties it was unclear who had the right to cede the lands and exactly which