

Indian Fighter:  
The Counterinsurgency Waged by General George Crook

By  
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During his two tenures as commander of the Department of Arizona, General George Crook waged a smart, and when necessary, brutal counterinsurgency against the Apache Indians. Crook deftly split off members of hostile Apache bands, negotiated them back onto the reservation, and relentlessly hunted those that remained in the field. By the end of his first term as commander, Crook had brought the entire Apache tribe onto reservations. Only incompetence and corruption on the part of the Indian Agency prevented the onset of real peace between the United States and the Apache nation.

Crook was the best Indian fighter in the army. He had waged several successful campaigns against the Shoshone and Paiute Indians of the Pacific Northwest as well as the infamous Sioux. He had also held several commands under Ulysses Grant during the Civil War. As such, he was a natural choice to command the Department of the Arizona. In April 1872, President Grant elevated Crook to the command of the department over the heads of several senior officers, despite the objections of the Secretary of War as well as William Tecumseh Sherman, General of the Army. Ironically, Crook was a great admirer of American Indians. To quote Captain John G. Bourke, a close confidant, ‘General Crook believed that the American Indian was a human being, gifted with the same god-like apprehension as the white man, and like him inspired by noble impulses, ambition for progress and advancement...’ [\[1\]](#)

The Apaches were judged by many Indian fighters to be the fiercest opponents the army had ever faced. The nation can be subdivided into several tribes. Among these are the Mescaleros, Lipans, and Chiricahuas. [\[2\]](#) When the American war on the Apache Indians began in earnest, the Apache nation numbered several thousand people in an area comprising what is now eastern Arizona, western New Mexico and northern Mexico. The land there is rough and arid, crisscrossed by mountains and cut by canyons. Apache territory is bracketed in the east by the Rio Grande and in the south by the Sierra Madres. The western reaches are bisected by mountain ranges and the Colorado Plateau.

This harsh country produced people accustomed to rough living, where physical hardship and pain was a way of life. Of course, Apache Indians knew every inch of the land they inhabited, roaming about it freely from a young age. Twice in his dictated memoirs, Geronimo talks of Apache children hiding from their parents in the countryside, with ‘ridicule’ being the punishment for being caught. [\[3\]](#) They were fond of a local fermented alcohol called *tizwin*, which they often consumed in dangerous quantities. The Apaches maintained dozens of *rancherías* throughout the region, small settlements where food and other goods were stored.

They were often recreationally cruel toward their captives.[4] The semi-nomadic Apaches had for centuries made war upon the town-dwelling Zuni or Pueblo people, and the Apache name is probably a Spanish corruption of the word *pachu*, Zuni for 'enemy'. [5]

When he took formal command of the Department of Arizona in April 1872, Crook met with Governor Sanford, an old friend of his, and other government officials. He also ordered every officer in the territory to report to him in Tucson. Crook interviewed each man, gleaning their knowledge of the terrain and the Apaches as well as their thoughts about how to deal with them. From there he made a grand tour of the territory, familiarizing himself with the region. The 'practice march', as Captain John Bourke called it, took Crook and his officers through the Mogollon Plateau, down the rim ( its western slope), and across the Tonto Basin to the western Arizona town of Prescott, a trip of about 675 miles. During this trip, Crook fought a small skirmish against the Tonto Basin Apaches and later had the first of many meetings with several chiefs and their followers at Camp Apache.

By the time Crook arrived, the United States had already been at war with the Apaches and their great chief, Cochise, for more than a decade. Throughout the 1860s, Cochise had run wild through Arizona, raiding dozens of ranches and killing scores of American citizens. The government's Board of Peace Commissioners dispatched Vincent Colyer, a Quaker Indian agent who had previously met with the Apaches in 1869. Colyer established several reservations in the area and crisscrossed Arizona, meeting with various chiefs and supposedly getting them to agree to a truce. Notes Crook, '...the Indians just immediately behind him left a trail of blood from the murdered citizens.' [6] Just after Colyer finished his grand tour, a stage coach was intercepted by Apache raiders. All eight occupants were murdered. Rather than unleash Crook, President Grant dispatched General O.O. Howard, another Civil War veteran, to try to negotiate. Howard succeeded in talking a few hostile bands onto the new reservation at San Carlos and even brought some chiefs to Washington, where they met with President Grant. On a second peace tour, Howard met with Cochise and negotiated an end to hostilities. The government's threat of force and promise of peace had convinced most of the Apaches, including the dreaded Cochise, to come onto the reservation. [7]

The lone exception was the Tonto Basin tribe, led by the great chief Delshay, who, according to Crook, 'had the worst reputation amongst all the Indians for villainry and devilment.' [8] Crook resolved to bring Delshay and his warriors onto the reservation by force. His campaign was a textbook example of how a regular army should engage insurgent forces in the field. He organized six columns, each composed of a few troops of cavalry, a body of scouts, and a pack train. Wrote General Crook, 'While they were sufficiently large to prevent disaster, they were small enough to slip around out of sight of the hostiles.' [9] These would march into the Tonto Basin and engage whatever rogue Apache elements they encountered. If the Tonto Basin Apaches had still not surrendered, the columns would branch out in all directions in pursuit of the enemy until they had been captured or killed, preferably the former. Commanders were ordered to take prisoners rather than kill and to avoid killing women and children at all costs. That said, if Apache warriors wanted a fight, commanders were to give them one.

The Tonto Basin is bracketed in the west by the Hualapai Mountains and in the east by the White Mountains. The Verde River, on which an army post had been built, cuts across the

center. West of the Verde lay the Black Hills and the Chino Valley. The Mogollon Rim marks the Basin's northern boundary.

Crook's campaign got underway in November 1872. Deep snow was already on the ground. While the snow hindered the army's movements, it, of course, made tracking the Apaches easier. More importantly, by campaigning in the winter, Crook caught the Apaches at their weakest, when their food stores were low and the effects of severe weather were taking their toll on their stamina and health. Three columns set out from Camp Hualapai and marched east toward Verde.<sup>[10]</sup> Aside from one skirmish fought in the vicinity of the Chino Valley, in which a dozen warriors were killed, there was little contact with the Apaches. Instead the scouts led the army to Apache hideouts and *rancherias*, which the army destroyed.

The columns arrived at Verde on 30 November.

After a short rest and reorganization into five columns they set out again and marched against Apache holdouts to the west in the Black Hills. Another small battle was fought east of the Chino Valley, with the army killing 13 warriors. These columns looped back around and returned to Verde. After another short respite, two columns set out again on 23 December, marched south and then turned north and marched to the Mogollon Rim. At the same time a column out of Fort Apache worked its way west across the lower Tonto Basin, meeting a raiding party at a place called Bad Rock Mountain, where they fought a two hour battle, killing 14 warriors. This column later found a still-occupied *rancheria*, which they quickly attacked and overran, with 11 warriors killed.

Another column out of Camp Grant, which Bourke accompanied, marched north into the basin. It too, had fleeting contact with the Apaches, though scouts exchanged shots with warriors on several occasions. Finally, on 27 December, the Camp Grant column cornered a band of Apaches at the bottom of Salt River Canyon. After a suicidal charge, in which the army killed at least 20 warriors, the Apaches remaining in the cave refused to surrender. The soldiers resorted to rolling boulders down the valley into the cave. After this barrage, those that had survived, woman and children mostly, finally surrendered. 'It was exactly like fighting with wild animals in a trap,' Bourke commented. After the cave battle, the Apaches were more willing to talk, though several skirmishes were still fought.<sup>[11]</sup> Several parleys between army officers and chiefs were held. Several minor chiefs surrendered after direct negotiations with Crook. Delshay rejected the general's terms and did not come in until being cornered in the Maztal Mountains in April 1873.<sup>[12]</sup>

Delshay and the Tonto Basin Apaches were stunned at the relentlessness of Crook's pursuit. One chief told Crook, 'You see, we are nearly dead from want of food and exposure... I am glad of the opportunity to surrender, but I do it not because I love you, but because I am afraid of General [Crook].'<sup>[13]</sup> Delshay himself told Crook of the fear his pursuing columns struck in the hearts of his warriors, saying that even the slightest distant noise caused them to 'get up and dig out, thinking it was we who were after them.'<sup>[14]</sup> Having subdued the Tonto Basin Apaches, Crook organized the Apache reservations, set them to work farming and tried to improve the lot of their women, most notably by banning the practice of slicing off their noses for disobedience. Cochise remained on the Chiricahua reservation at the foot of the Dragoon

Mountains in southwestern Arizona in relative peace (his warriors did raid into Mexico) until his death in 1874.

With Arizona secured, in 1875 Crook was reassigned to the Department of the Platte, where he fought the Sioux. Because the reservations were badly mismanaged by corrupt Indian Agents, the system failed to keep the Apaches at peace. When the Bureau of Indian Affairs ordered the reservations to be consolidated at San Carlos, the Chiricahua refused to go and bolted. One group was led by a previously unknown Apache warrior named Geronimo, who took a band of loyal warriors and their families into the Sierra Madres.<sup>[15]</sup> In 1877, Victorio, the chief of the Chieenne Apache, bolted from the San Carlos reservation and raised havoc in Arizona. After being cajoled back to the Ojo Caliente Reservation (their traditional tribal lands) in 1878, Victorio led raids against Arizona and Mexico. In October 1880, the Mexican army finally hunted down and killed Victorio in the Tres Castillo Hills.

The American government's troubles were not over, though. In 1881 an Apache medicine man named Noch-ay-del-klinne became something of a cult figure among the Apache nation. Noch-ay-del-klinne had actually been one of Crook's scouts and had even visited Washington. He preached resurrection of the dead (a possible fusion of Christian theology he was exposed to in the East) and a return to Apache glory. This could be brought about by a special dance. The Indian Agent (J. C. Tiffany, about whom more will be said below) was so concerned about the furor being whipped up by the medicine man that he dispatched an Army detachment to the San Carlos reservation to arrest him. When they found Noch-ay-del-klinne at Cibicu, the detachment commander arrested him and tried to take him back to San Carlos. Understandably angry Apaches surrounded the detachment. A fight broke out (just who exactly started it is unclear) in which the medicine man was killed. Most ominously the Apache scouts mutinied and joined their brethren in the battle. By the time the fighting was over, seven troopers were dead, as were 18 Apaches.<sup>[16]</sup> The Chiricahua attacked Fort Apache, to little effect, and also raided several nearby ranches. They did not bolt from the reservation until Army reinforcements appeared a month later. Scared warriors took their families and rode for the sanctuary of the Sierra Madres.<sup>[17]</sup>

A desperate government recalled Crook, who took command of the Arizona Department on 4 September 1882. As he had in 1873, Crook's first act was to tour the department and speak with Army commanders. More importantly, he visited the San Carlos reservation and held a series of meetings with the various Apache chiefs, first at Black River Canyon, and then again at San Carlos proper. Because he had dealt with them justly in the past, when he sat down with the Apaches, Crook had their ear and their trust. He listened to their grievances – the uprooting, the pointless arrests, official graft. Crook reported the Apaches' complaints to the Secretary of the Interior, who responded by firing the Indian Agent and purging the Agency. Crook also issued strict orders to his officers telling them to treat Apaches as they would white people, to listen to and address their concerns, and to be wary of using force.<sup>[18]</sup>

Crook followed up the administrative housekeeping with a march to southwestern Arizona with the goal of beginning a dialogue with the Chiricahua. None was forthcoming, and Crook was forced to return to San Carlos and make ready for a campaign. His first effort was south into Mexico against the Indian bands hiding in the Sierra Madre. These bands had been

raising hell in Arizona, attacking mining camps, raiding ranches, and intercepting stagecoaches. In one case they murdered a federal judge and his wife. These raiders had also swept down on the San Carlos reservations and forced the Chiricahua loyal to a chief named Loco to come out with them. Later, they fought a bloody battle against pursuing US Cavalry commanded by Captain Tullias C. Tupper, who caught the raiding party in camp and managed to kill 14 before the rest escaped.<sup>[19]</sup> This action more or less ended the raid, and the Chiricahua party returned to their stronghold in the Sierra Madres.

The Chiricahua raiding party was led by two warriors, Juh, and his childhood friend, the legendary Geronimo. Up until this point, Geronimo had been almost unknown to the Indian Agency and the Army, but now he would dominate the Apache wars until the end. Geronimo had spent most of his adult years fighting the Mexicans, whom he loathed. (During the infamous Kaskiyah massacre of 1850 the Mexicans had murdered his wife and children.) In the personal war which followed, Geronimo became a revered leader, though never a chief, who won the loyalty of many Chiricahua warriors. In one battle against four companies of Mexican troops, Geronimo deployed his warriors in a crescent, drew the Mexicans into the center, and closed the crescent around them; a massacre ensued.<sup>[20]</sup> Throughout the 1860s, Geronimo launched summer raids against the Mexican states Chihuahua and Sonora and occasionally against Arizona.

After meeting with Mexican officials Crook began his campaign on 1 May bringing with him two troops of cavalry and 200 Apache scouts. By mid-month the column penetrated the Sierra Madres and discovered several Apache *rancherías* which they destroyed. There were also several short skirmishes with renegade Apache warriors. Wearying of the chase, by 18 May, Apache renegades began surrendering, as did groups of women and children. On 21 May, Geronimo himself opened negotiations with Crook. Crook promised him safe passage back to San Carlos but also emphasized that peace with the Americans meant peace with the Mexicans. Geronimo agreed, and on 24 May the combined Army/Apache column began the return march to San Carlos.

For the next two years or so the Apache reservations were in relative peace. Captain Bourke notes that the various farms were producing great amounts of barley and hay, and he quotes the report of the new commander of San Carlos, Captain E. F. Pierce, 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry, 'The Indians also conduct themselves properly, and all citizens with whom I have conversed speak very highly of their conduct...'<sup>[21]</sup> That said, Geronimo and the Chiricahua were not happy. The new Indian Agent, C. D. Ford, was, in the words of Lieutenant Britton Davis, commander at Fort Apache, 'a man with little knowledge of Indians in general, and especially ignorant of anything concerning an Apache.' He was, moreover, interested in asserting his control over the agency, which brought him into conflict with the Army.<sup>[22]</sup> Another source of conflict was General Crook's insistence that the Apaches stop beating their wives and refrain from drinking *tizwin*. While reservations had been commanded by competent officers like Captain Charles Gatewood and Lieutenant Britton Davis, Captain Francis Pierce at San Carlos had no experience dealing with the Apaches.<sup>[23]</sup> This had disastrous consequences when, on 15 May 1885, he received an urgent telegram from Lieutenant Davis, stating that the Chiricahua of the Fort Apache reservation had confronted him and demanded the Army allow them to drink and treat their wives as they saw fit.

Seeing that all the Chiricahua were armed, that they had posted guards on the high ground throughout, and most ominously, that the women and children were nowhere to be found, Davis sent an urgent telegram to Pierce warning him that the Chiricahua were about to go on the war path. Not knowing what to do, Pierce consulted Al Sieber (see Appendix) who dismissed it as a 'tizwin drunk' and told him not to worry about it. Three days later, Geronimo bolted from San Carlos with more than thirty warriors and their families. When Davis tried to notify Pierce of the breakout, he found the telegraph wires had been cut.[\[24\]](#)

The last chapter of the Apache war was a months-long chase which wrecked the careers of several prominent Army officers. Davis rounded up several Indian scouts and went after Geronimo, not in the hope of catching him, as he knew this would be impossible, but simply to pick up his trail for the long pursuit which lay ahead. While the Army was getting into the field, Geronimo and his renegades rode into the Mogollon Mountains and split up into several small groups. Some went south into Mexico, while others tacked north. Geronimo and his men killed 17 civilians during this phase of the chase.[\[25\]](#) With the Arizona press howling about Apache atrocities and the public in a state of near panic, Crook put 20 troops of cavalry and 200 Apache scouts into the field. Few actually joined the chase. Instead they were deployed along the Mexican border and at waterholes throughout Arizona. Lieutenant Gatewood led

a body of 100 scouts into the Mogollon. At the same time Crook sent his two best men, Captain Emmet Crawford and Lieutenant Davis, after Geronimo.

Davis's was a long, fruitless, and thankless pursuit. He led a troop of the 4<sup>th</sup> Cavalry and several dozen scouts south, encountered a renegade group near Skeleton Canyon, and fought an inconclusive battle with them. Soon after he met and linked up with Crawford, giving them a combined force of 40 cavalry troopers, 100 Apache scouts, and two pack trains.[\[26\]](#) Together they plunged into Mexico. They twice came close to overtaking the fugitive Apaches, fighting a skirmish on 28 July [year?] and again on 7 August in which they killed a few warriors and captured some women and children.[\[27\]](#) After these actions, Crawford turned back to the Sierra Madre, where about this time, Crawford and Davis encountered a third Army scout party (commanded by Lt. Mathias Day), which had been chasing Geronimo, and learned that he had ridden east, into Chihuahua. Crawford commanded Davis to take Al Sieber and 40 Apaches east in pursuit. Geronimo took Davis on a wild goose chase east through Chihuahua. At one point, Davis and his party made 125 miles in three days but did not even come close to catching up with Geronimo. At the end of the trek, Davis encountered a column of Mexican army troops, who themselves were chasing Geronimo. By treaty, Davis was forced to give up the chase and head back to the United States. 'We were at the end of our rope,' he remarked. He marched to El Paso and took a train back to Arizona. Fed up with the never ending chase, Davis resigned his commission.[\[28\]](#) The invaluable Al Sieber was also through with the Army.

Crawford, however, continued the pursuit in the Sierra Madres in conjunction with a column commanded by Captain Wirt Davis (4<sup>th</sup> Cavalry). While Crawford searched in vain for renegade Apaches, a Chiricahua named Josanie led a band of a dozen warriors on an epic raid though New Mexico and Arizona. Despite being pursued by four troops of cavalry, Josanie covered 1,200 miles and killed 38 people before slipping back into Mexico.[\[29\]](#) At the same time, Crawford was in Mexico meeting with some success, as on 9 January he found a

Chiricahua camp, overran it and captured most of their herd. Tragically, soon after Crawford and his scouts encountered the Mexican army, who assumed they were hostile Apaches and opened fire, killing Crawford in the process.[\[30\]](#)

Ironically, a few days after the friendly fire incident, a pair of Apache women came into the Army camp and said they wanted to negotiate. Thereafter, 22 warriors, including the great Nana, came into camp. The new commander, Lt. Marion Maus, 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry, rode north and informed Crook of the news. Crook came south and in March began a series of negotiations with Geronimo, meeting the great warrior face to face. While 75 Apaches agreed to return to the reservation, Geronimo and 23 other warriors left the talks in the dead of night and returned to the warpath. When Crook informed General Phil Sheridan, the latter speculated that the loyal Apache scouts had let Geronimo leave and insisted Crook fire them. In another telegram, Sheridan ordered Crook to stop using Apache scouts and abandon his pursuit of Geronimo, instead concentrating on defending the people and property of Arizona. Crook explained that protecting every square inch of the territory was impossible. 'Troops cannot protect property beyond a radius of one-half mile from their camp. If offensive movements against the Indians are not resumed they may remain quietly in the mountains for an indefinite time without crossing the line...' He then requested to be relieved of command. Sheridan did just that, transferring Crook to the Department of the Platte.[\[31\]](#)

Sheridan gave the Department to General Nelson A. Miles, who fired the scouts and put several columns of cavalry into the field over the winter of 1885. In the face of the Army advance, Geronimo, like any good Apache leader, scattered his band and easily avoided fighting. Finally, in the spring of 1886 Miles ordered Gatewood to go into the hinterland, find Geronimo, and talk him into surrendering. Taking with him only a few white trackers and a troop of cavalry, Gatewood found Geronimo near Fronteras, Mexico. They had several meetings in which Gatewood vouched for Miles's character and described Geronimo's punishment, two years in Florida. Geronimo agreed and brought his little band back to the reservation with Gatewood. From Fort Bowie the Chiricahua boarded a train and went east to Florida, where they remained until the next year as they interned at Mount Vernon Barracks. In 1894, they were then transferred to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where Geronimo died in 1913.

## **Appendix**

### **The Mismanagement of the Reservations**

In theory, the reservations Crook left behind were places where the Apaches would be left to themselves, watched, and more or less cared for by the Army. But while the Army was responsible for security, the Indian Agency ran the reservation's day-to-day affairs. The agents, the 'Indian Ring', as Crook and Bourke liked to call them, were more interested in lining their own pockets. Supplies meant for Indians were inevitably subject to what Gatewood called 'leakage and evaporation' whereby contractors stole goods meant for the Apaches. He scathingly writes, 'When the Indian received his share, he found it to be not worth having. Ranchers, teamsters, employees, miners, cowboys & others wore the Indians' clothes, slept in his blankets & ate his rations, & the Indians knew it as well as they.'<sup>[32]</sup> In his own memoirs Davis noted that the Apaches received low quality beef which was weighed on lopsided scales; 'the contractor was getting paid every weeks for about 1,500 pounds of beef that he did not deliver.' Rations and goods for the Apaches were being openly sold at nearby towns and mining camps.<sup>[33]</sup>

The entire apparatus fell under the purview of the Indian Agency. During the 1870s the agency in Arizona was administered by a Christian firebrand named John Clum, who at the time was just 23 years old. His actual policies made sense – forming Apache police, introducing a court of justice, the insistence of western standards of hygiene. The initial progress made by Clum was quickly undone by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which in 1875 decreed that the various reservations should be consolidated into one big concentration camp of Indians at San Carlos. This bureaucratic order was disastrous, for it forced the various Apache sub-tribes, most of whom feared and hated one another, into close proximity. Some of the other reservations, notably Cibicu and White Mountain, were faring well. 'They were nearly self supporting, raised quite a little grain, and the mountains in which they lived were a game paradise...'<sup>[34]</sup> Even worse, the San Carlos reservation was not a piece of prime real estate. The place was considered too hot. The land was dry and fallow, the water running through it was brackish, attracting mosquitoes which, of course, led to malaria outbreaks. 'That was the worst place in all the territory stolen from the Apaches,' commented one warrior.<sup>[35]</sup> The management of a later agent, J. C. Tiffany was even worse, and led to an investigation of his term as Indian Agent. The document produced by the federal grand jury is breathtaking. 'Never until the present investigations of the Grand Jury have laid bare the infamy of Agent Tiffany could a proper idea be formed of the fraud and villainy which are constantly practiced in open violation of the law and in defiance of public justice,' their report stated. In one instance, 'Government contractors, in collusion with agent Tiffany, get receipts for large amounts of supplies never furnished, and the profit is divided mutually...'<sup>[36]</sup>

### **Crook and the Apache Indians**

Crook had a definite approach for dealing with the Indians, what we today might call a program entirely separate from military operations. He understood Indian tribal structure and the strong bonds which kept them together. Crook sought, in the words of Captain Bourke, to 'de-tribalise' the American Indian, to turn him into an individual instead of a member of a tribe. The first step was to recruit Apaches to help fight the Apaches. There were fierce rivalries amongst the various Apache tribes. Given such, Crook was quickly able to recruit Apache scouts. The scouts were crucial to any pursuit, as only they could track their brethren. Using scouts also had a demoralizing effect on hostile Apaches, who took to the field knowing their own people were helping the United States Army. Leading the scouts was a white man, Al Sieber, a German immigrant and Civil War veteran who had settled in Prescott after the war.

Crook did not seek merely to herd the Apaches onto reservations and let them rot. Wrote Captain Bourke, 'He wanted to get the savages interested in something else besides tales of the warpath, and make them feel as soon possible the pride of ownership...' He kept friendly Apaches busy through irrigation and farming projects. At Crook's suggestion, the Apaches used their profits from farming to buy cattle and sheep from dealers in southern California. He also encouraged Apaches to establish their own stores and trading posts rather than rely on contractors of dubious reliability. Education was a key part of Crook's program. For decades, certain 'promising' Indians had been plucked from their tribes and put into Eastern schools and all but converted into whites. Crook sought to educate young Apaches, in Bourke's words 'as a generation', to train an Apache's mind without destroying his identity.<sup>[37]</sup>

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[1] Bourke, John. *On the Border with Crook*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971, 225

[2] Kraft, Louis, ed. *Lt. Charles Gatewood and his Apache Wars Memoir*. Lincoln: Bison Books, 2005, g 13.

[3] Barrett, S.M., ed. *Geronimo: His Own Story*. New York: Meridian, 1996, pg 59, 62. Henceforth referred to as Geronimo.

[4] Roberts, David. *Once They Moved Like the Wind: Cochise, Geronimo, and the Apache Wars*. New York: Touchstone, 1994. Roberts discusses the Apaches' views on pain and torture in Chapter Three of his book, specifically their views on pain on page 47.

[5] Kraft, 13.

[6] Schmitt, Martin F., ed. *General George Crook: His Autobiography*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press: 1986, 168.

[7] Cochise was afflicted by a series of stomach pains (perhaps cancer?) and died in 1874.

[8] Crook, 180.

[9] Crook, 175.

[10] Units involved in this campaign included elements of the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry Regiment, 5<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Regiment and 23<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment.

[11] One on 15 January, one in late January, one on 6 February.

[12] Thrapp, Dan. *The Conquest of Apacheria*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975, 119-130. For the cave battle, see Bourke, 190-200.

[13] Crook, 179.

- [14] Crook, 180.
- [15] Debo, Angie. *Geronimo*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, 98.
- [16] Debo, 198-200.
- [17] Roberts, 131—132.
- [18] Bourke, 442-443.
- [19] Debo, 134-146.
- [20] Geronimo, 82
- [21] Bourke, 465-466.
- [22] Davis, Britton. *The Truth About Geronimo*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, 138.
- [23] The previous commander, the highly regarded Captain Emmit Crawford, had been transferred to Texas at his own request.
- [24] Davis, 144-15.
- [25] Roberts, 258.
- [26] Davis, 154.
- [27] Thrapp, 330.
- [28] Davis, 189.
- [29] Thrapp, 337-340.
- [30] Thrapp, 341-342.
- [31] Thrapp, 349.
- [32] Gatewood, 30.
- [33] Davis, 42.
- [34] Davis, 44.
- [35] Roberts, 138.
- [36] Thrap, 257.
- [37] Bourke, 225-229