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*Truth* that for pragmatists, “the desire for objectivity is not the desire to escape the limitations of one’s community, but simply the desire to extend the reference of ‘us’ as far as we can” (23). The research described in *Community-Based Archaeology* does just that, making archaeological research something to which all can contribute while learning together.

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**Geronimo.** By Robert M. Utley. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012. 376 pages. \$30 cloth.

My first reaction when asked to review this book was, “What more could be said about this iconic Chiricahua Apache than what has already been written?” A second reaction after reading it was realizing the difference in perspective a historian such as Robert M. Utley has of Apaches and their actions when compared with that of an anthropologist such as myself. I will address both reactions as I continue.

This book consists of a table of contents, preface, prologue, twenty-eight chapters, epilogue, appendix, list of abbreviations, notes, bibliography, and, according to the table of contents, an index. However, the advance copy I was given did not have an index and needed a variety of editorial corrections that I hope were taken care of in the final edition. These included repetition of some paragraphs, various contradictory statements, omission of authors’ names in the bibliography, and no page numbers in the notes that referenced page numbers in the chapters. The first two chapters give some not particularly well-informed cultural background to the Geronimo story, and the rest are named primarily for particular events in Geronimo’s life.

Utley’s prologue addresses my first reaction by saying that since the 1976 publication of Debo’s *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place*, new material has become available which leads him to a different interpretation of Geronimo than Debo. Certainly a number of books have been published since Debo, especially Sweeny’s 2010 work *From Cochise to Geronimo: The Chiricahua Apaches, 1874–1886*, whom he cites frequently, but other than Sweeny’s material I was unclear as to what specific new sources the author was using.

Utley also differentiates this book from other recent treatments by rejecting the notion of resistant American Indian leaders as heroic “freedom fighters” and rather more akin to “terrorists.” This is in line with the current US Army’s view of Apache as insurgents. Geronimo and the Apache war is worthy of study because of its tactics and results; in preparing for this review I found

four recent military papers that consider the Geronimo campaign comparable to contemporary counterinsurgency actions. Utley blames Dee Brown's book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970) and Vine Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) as the source of viewing the Indian as hero, a view that he links to the "noble savage" image, and he explicitly rejects this view (3). I do not understand how American Indian resistance, by whatever means the various tribes used, can be seen as anything but justified. I have always found the lack of collective shame on the part of Americans for the American Indian holocaust and the theft of the continent difficult to understand except in terms of the propaganda linked to manifest destiny and the notion of American exceptionalism.

I am sure that Geronimo did not see himself as part of a resistance movement, since that would require a knowledge of national politics that were no doubt foreign to his localized worldview, yet I fail to see how we cannot laud his futile attempt to keep the army and settlers at bay. Utley justifies the army's repression of the Apache as a tactic for protecting settlers, but what right did settlers have to lands in the Southwest in the first place? Without doubt Geronimo's motives for resisting were more immediate and pragmatic. He took revenge for family and friends killed by Mexicans and Americans and economic gain based on the belief that he and his tribe had a right to whatever strangers brought to their land because in fact it was their land, not the Europeans', a land that was taken by force of arms and blatant conquest. Geronimo also seems to have been a very bitter and unforgiving man.

Although Utley makes some use of ethnographic sources he fails to use ethnographic and anthropological insights to interpret or question actions by Geronimo and other Apaches. Ample material is available relating to leadership and political action in Apachean groups, but I see little of this in Utley's interpretation. All ethnographic discussions of Apachean leadership emphasize the importance of charisma and verbal skills in achieving and maintaining a leadership position. Even *nant'an*, the term for leader, derives from a verb, *-ǰ* meaning "a round object moves" as the head does in animated public speaking (Young and Morgan, *Analytical Lexicon of Navajo* 1992, 11–12). Ethnographic sources also emphasize the relative lack of control leaders have over their followers. This emphasis on talking is linked to the Apachean need for consensus in decision making and the option for dissenters to absent themselves when consensus cannot be reached. This emphasis on consensus and talking explains the repeated instances in the book of lengthy conferences, all-night councils, and the need for independent discussions with the various headmen (*nant'an*) when confronted by military demands to surrender and come into a reservation. The creation of consensus through dissenting persons leaving is also an explanation for Geronimo's repeated breakouts.

Although Utley seems to imply that leadership automatically was passed from father to son (especially in his discussion of Cochise and Naiche, and Mangas Coloradas and Mangas), because of the emphasis on matrilineal ties in all the Apachean societies, leadership was as likely to go to the son of a man's sister as to his own son. What does seem to be true of all the Apacheans is that there was some kind of incipient class system with some families in the bands being more prominent than others. The Apache term *haldzil* built from the stem *dzil*, meaning "strong," was used to characterize these prominent families.

In *An Apache Life-Way* (1941), Opler quotes one of his consultants to emphasize that leadership was not automatic: "If the son of a leader is qualified, it is easier for him to become a leader. But it doesn't have to work that way. It's queer; I don't know just how to explain it. But those who become leaders are smarter. They are willing to come out and say what they think" (466). As Basehart summarizes the process in *Mescalero Apache Band Organization and Leadership*, 1970:

The leader exercised no power, but his contribution as catalyst in the development of decisions was of major importance. Typically, members of the band gathered at the leader's lodge in the early morning and the leader initiated a discussion of current problems. An exchange of views followed, with the leader proffering a suggested solution for the question at issue. Often the leader's proposal was accepted without debate; if opposition developed, a compromise might be attempted. When consensus could not be reached, the gathering simply dissolved. The leader's judgment and skill in persuasion was severely tested under these conditions, *as failure to assess adequately the disposition of his followers could result in the fragmentation of the band*. Particularly in large bands, the leader's conception of a program adaptive to public goals might conflict with the interests of segments of the group, so that it would be necessary for the former to weigh the importance of a proposed course of action for the group as a whole against the possibility of loss of members (101; emphasis added).

Utley is certainly right about Geronimo's personality. He was not well liked, particularly at San Carlos. There was fear of his supernatural power. I would guess that there were whispers of witchcraft associated with him since any Apache who was believed to have power could use it for good or ill, power itself being neutral. In fact, people with power might use it to intentionally take the life of a relative because they wanted to extend their own lives. They could do this through witchcraft by stealing other people's years.

From an anthropological standpoint, historians' lack of interest in or sophistication with linguistic issues such as Indian names is particularly irritating, and Utley commits this infraction. There are numerous Apachean dictionaries and a standard orthography useful for writing and translating Apache names;

moreover, any number of linguists who study these languages could have been consulted. Two examples are the names for Lieutenant Gatewood, Bay-chendaysen (“his nose is long”; 211), which in contemporary orthography is Bichijh Ndeezn, and General Crook, Nantan Lupan (“Gray Fox/Wolf”; 15). Yet the contemporary rendition of Crook’s name is Nant’an Libaahn, which has no morpheme in it meaning fox or wolf, but simply “Gray/Tan Chief.” In addition, several of the names of major characters in the book are Spanish, not Apache, but are not referenced as such. This includes Chatto (152) from Spanish *chato* (“flat”) and Chappo (153) from Spanish *chapo* (“stunted, short person”). Finally, transcription of Apache names is inconsistent. Some are given using hyphens (“No-po-so”; 15) and others without, (“Taslishim”; 6). The pattern of writers to use hyphens in American Indian words carries a condescending message that Indians speak in syllable-by-syllable units as do their characterizations in B movies.

I also take issue with Uteley’s approach to Apache religion. He implies that Usen, a name that derives from the Spanish word for *Dios* (Harry Hoijer, *Chiricahua Loan-Words From Spanish*, 1939, at 111), is almost a monotheistic deity. Yet probably of equal importance was Changing Woman, whose ceremony was performed each time a girl reached puberty, a ceremony so important that it was even performed while Geronimo was kidnapping Loco and his band and retreating to Mexico (Jason Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 1959, at 61). Changing Woman’s ceremony normally required substantial amounts of gifts and food (deer, cattle, horses) as part of the event, and leaders especially were expected to put on expensive ceremonies for their daughters. These ceremonies were so expensive that at least one anthropological writer has suggested they were a motive for raiding (Donald Cole, *The Chiricahua Apache 1846–1876: From War to Reservation*, 1988, at 23).

In sum, this new biography takes a highly ethnocentric view of Geronimo as a nineteenth-century Bin Laden that seems to add little to the Geronimo story.

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**The Indianization of Lewis and Clark.** By William R. Swagerty. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. 820 pages. \$90.00 cloth.

From the start of their journey, Lewis and Clark met Indians who played a major role in the successful survival of the Corps of Discovery expedition. In his two-volume work *The Indianization of Lewis and Clark*, William R. Swagerty uses an interdisciplinary approach to argue that the Corps survived