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GREAT CHIEF
Hashkeedasillaa of the White Mountain Apaches

by
Allan Radbourne

"He became a chief while he was still a boy"—Tl'oldilhil, alias John Rope

HASHKEEDASILLAA, once the most renowned and influential chief of the White Mountain Apaches, is almost unknown today. His activities and achievements, like those of the other nineteenth-century Western Apache leaders, have been overshadowed by the attention devoted to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apache chiefs Mangas Coloradas, Cochise, Victorio, and—most conspicuously—Geronimo. While their activities loom large in mostly Anglo-American accounts, Hashkeedasillaa's rich life and many accomplishments unfold through stories left behind by the Apache people who knew and respected him.

Hashkeedasillaa was, by the account of one of his daughters, born under a juniper tree at the place his people called "sloping tree spotted hill," better known today as Turkey Creek in central Arizona. The date was not recorded, but it seems likely to have been about midway through the first decade of the nineteenth century, when Spanish colonial power was waning and the Apache country was barely known to the Americans. Hashkeedasillaa spent his formative years on the East Fork of the White River and it was there that his natural leadership qualities became apparent. "He became a chief while he was still a boy, playing with other boys," recalled the White Mountain Apache Tl'oldilhil, later known as John Rope. "When these boys killed a lot of birds, they would pile them together and say to him, 'Come on, chief, divide these birds

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among the boys,' so he would. This is how he became a chief when only a little boy."[1]

These qualities attracted the attention Hashkeedasillaa's maternal uncle, an aging chief who began to educate the boy to succeed him. Consequently, even before Hashkeedasillaa reached the age at which he entered upon his apprenticeship as a warrior— the role in which all male Apaches expected to establish their adult status—he had been taught the attitude and language of a leader. "You will learn this talk so you can use it when you become a chief," the old chief explained. "Don't forget these words I tell you."[2]

His family's campsite at "walnut tree growing" on East Fork was chosen because it was less exposed to attack from the north by raiding parties of Navajos, known to the Apaches as the "People Above." To the west and northwest of Hashkeedasillaa's own "On top of mountains" people were the "Many go to war" and "At the foot of mountains" (Western White Mountain and Cibicue Apache) bands. To the west lived the Pinal and Arivaipa bands, respectively called "Big Gray Cottonwoods" and "Dark Rocks" people, and the San Carlos, Canyon Creek, and Apache Peaks bands. To the west and northwest of the Cibicue country lived the Tonto Apaches, called *dilje-e* for their distinctive speech and with whom Hashkeedasillaa's people had limited contact and occasional conflict.

Despite their territorial and minor linguistic distinctions, all of these Western Apaches were bound together by an intricate web of clans, whose members were obligated to support and cooperate with each other. Hashkeedasillaa was born to the "Slender peak standing up" clan, named for its origin site at the head of Bonito Creek and one of the largest clans among the White Mountain Apaches.

The "On top of mountains" people traded with their northern neighbors, the "Houses on rocks" (Hopi) and "Painted Black" (Zuni) people. Beyond their eastern boundary lived the Mimbres, Mogollon, and Warm Springs Apache bands, with whom they maintained generally friendly relations, as they did with the Chiricahua Apaches, who lived on the southeastern edge of their territory, near Mexico. All of these they called "East People." There was little contact and occasional conflict with Chiricahuas who lived farther south, in Mexico, as there was with the Mescalero Apaches living farther to the east.[3]

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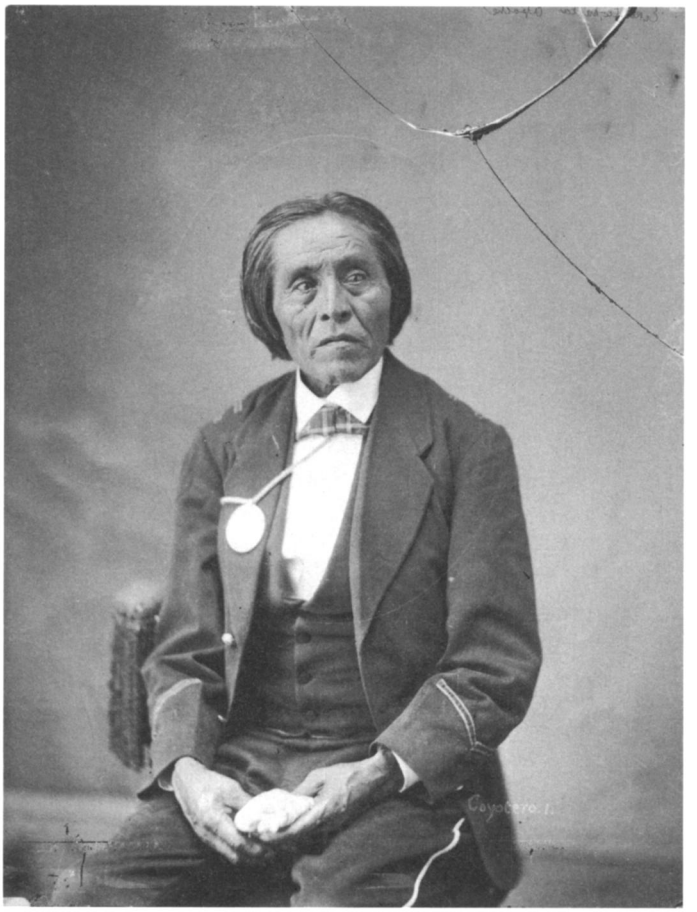

Alexander Gardner's 1872 portrait of Hashkeedasilla. Courtesy National Anthropoligical Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Neg. #gn_02541a.

A similar relationship existed on the west with the Southeastern, Northeastern, and Western Yavapais, who spoke a different language and were generally known as *gó·h* for the rough, mountainous country they inhabited. The Pimas and Papagos (Tohono O'odham), whose homes were to the southwest, beyond the Arivaipa country, also spoke a different language and were traditional enemies of the Apaches. As a leader, Hashkeedasillaa would eventually come into contact or conflict with all of these people.[4]

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By the beginning of the 1820s, Hashkeedasillaa was old enough to begin training as a warrior. This began with four days of instruction by an experienced elder in the practicalities, ritual language, and religious observances of the forthcoming raid. A war cap was made for him, decorated with quail and oriole breast feathers, downy eagle feathers, and hummingbird pin feathers. The latter were to endow him with speed. He was also given a drinking tube and scratching stick, the proper use of which he must strictly observe. In this period, young Hashkeedasillaa was discouraged from having any thoughts of violence or war. When he left on the raid, he would carry no shield; only a bow and four wooden pointed bird arrows for hunting. No instruction was offered in "enemies-against power," as such knowledge was considered inappropriate, and even dangerous, for a novice warrior.

On the morning that the raiding party prepared to leave, the novice passed between two rows of men, women, and children, who cast tule pollen over him and prayed for his success and safe return. During the first four days on the trail, he walked ahead of the warriors, following the war chief. His role was to carry extra supplies, perform the menial camp chores, and most particularly, to observe the taboos taught him by his instructor. The warriors encouraged him to run in the morning for exercise and to sleep with a rock beneath his head at night. When the party reached the raid site, he was sent to find a high vantage point, from which the older man who accompanied him would explain their comrades' strategy and tactics as they pounced on the enemy's herd. As he helped drive the stolen stock homeward, the novice warrior was sometimes called upon periodically to draw a ritual line across the raiders' back trail to ensure that no enemy would catch them. After accompanying a second raid, the novice Hashkeedasillaa became one of the warriors.[5]

The old chief's sponsorship of Hashkeedasillaa was probably a major factor in helping him advance in a fairly short time to becoming a leader of raids. This same maternal uncle now instructed him in "enemies-against power" and leadership skills. An elderly Apache explained, "A war chief on the warpath never hauled wood or water, and never did camp work. They wanted him to keep quiet. But he was always in the lead. He would talk to the men while they were on the way, how they should attack the enemy, how they should

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look out for snakes. While he was in the lead, they called him 'he who destroys dew,' because he walked ahead and shook off the dew first." He added that "they used to think that a man like this was equal to twelve men." Hashkeedasillaa was such a leader. His daughter, Naajebaayé (Her Eyes Are Grey)—later known by the Anglo name, Anna Price—recalled that "Father was a good man, and had been down into Mexico many times. He had been shot in nine places on his body."[6]

Hashkeedasillaa's passage back and forth through the territory of the Chiricahua Apaches led to the development of some close associations. Their regard for him was such that "the Chiricahuas wanted to give him a girl in marriage, but he would not take her." They pressed the offer, however, and Hashkeedasillaa took the girl as his wife. It may be that this liaison was similar to the politically strategic marriages made by the formidable Mimbres chief widely known by his Spanish sobriquet, Mangas Coloradas (Red Sleeves). "By his Mexican wife Mangas had three really beautiful daughters," frontiersman John Cremony wrote, "and through his diplomatic ability, he managed to wive one with the chief of the Navajos; another with the leading man of the Mescalero Apaches, and the third with the war chief of the Coyoteros." If so, Hashkeedasillaa's marriage was only a short-term success, as he soon let the girl go, presumably returning her to her people before marrying a White Mountain Apache girl.[7]

By the mid-1830s, Apache raiding into Mexico had changed, following the disintegration of arrangements made to ration and control them during the last decades of Spanish rule. "The Apache attacks, which began in 1831, continued almost unchecked until the 1850s," writes one historian, explaining that "during the twenty years that the Sonorans faced the full fury of the marauders, the state presented a picture of appalling devastation."[8]

It was in the 1830s that Hashkeedasillaa succeeded his elderly mentor as chief of their local group, among which the predominant clans were his own "Slender peak standing up" clan and the "Sunflower" clan, named for an origin site at the foot of Round Top Mountain. When the chieftainship was offered to him, at a meeting of all the people from Eagle Creek and the East Fork of White River, Hashkeedasillaa said, "I don't want it. I am too young yet. There are lots of good men about here." But the assembly, led by

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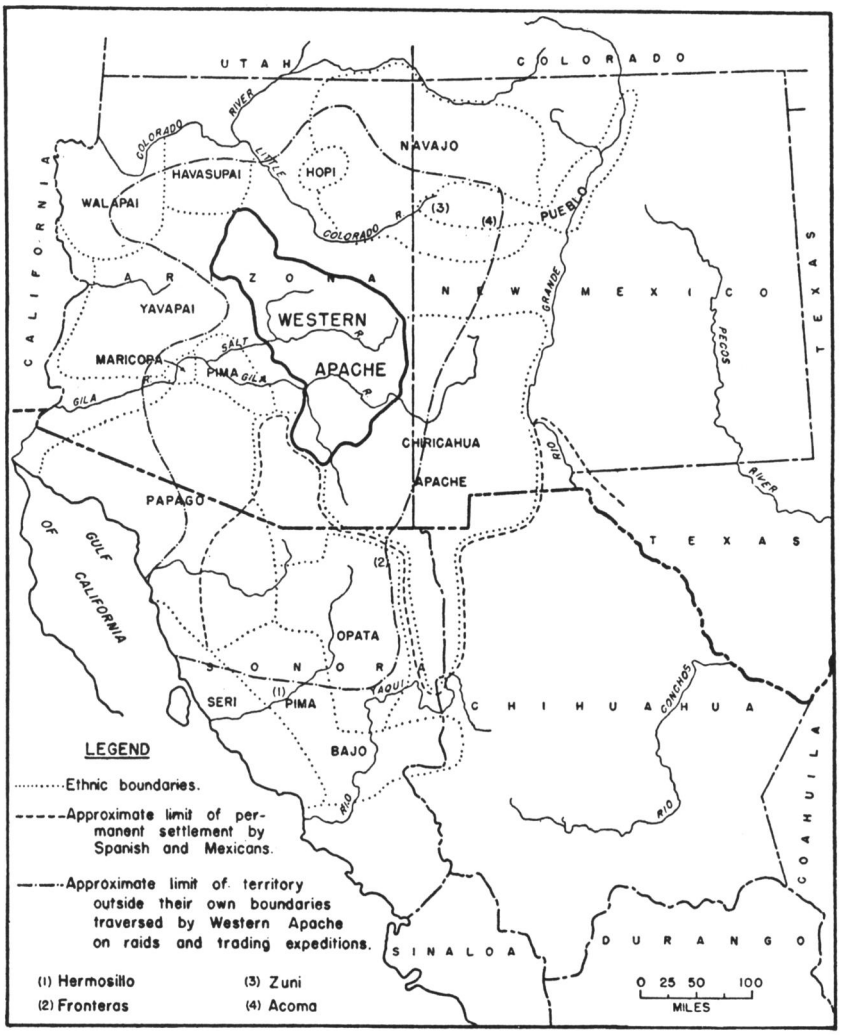

Country occupied by the Western Apaches and their neighbors. From Grenville Goodwin, The Social Organization of the Western Apache *(University of Arizona Press).*

his maternal uncles, insisted, telling him, "whenever you speak up, you always speak well. You are all right." Naajebaayé remembered that "my father cried about being made chief, because it was such a big responsibility and would mean hard work."[9]

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A major part of the chief's hard work was to ensure that his people were housed, clothed, and fed. Since their farming, gathering, and hunting did not guarantee subsistence, they sought a living in Mexico. "Our people used to go on raids down into Mexico to bring back horses, mules, burros, and cattle. This is the way we used to take the property of the Mexicans and make a living off them," recalled one veteran warrior. Indeed, the Apaches had come to look upon the Mexican settlements as their "ranches," and their regular routes became well-beaten trails notorious as "stealing roads."[10]

While their eastern neighbors preyed mainly upon the Mexican state of Chihuahua, the White Mountain Apaches directed their raiding principally against Sonora, where a former military commander estimated in 1835 that some 5,000 lives had been lost and a hundred mines, ranches, and haciendas destroyed over the previous fifteen years. In the mid-1890s a former raider told his grandson, "sometimes we would go near a Mexican town where they had Mexican soldiers garrisoned. This was when some of our relatives had been killed by the Mexicans on another raid before, and we had come back to avenge them. This time we would be looking for a fight." The chief, he explained, sent forward four of the most experienced men to draw the soldiers into an ambush. The old warrior then described the aftermath. "Now we all went to the town, because all the soldiers were killed," he recalled. "When we got there we pulled the women out of the houses by their hair, and killed everyone in the town. Then we set fire to the houses."[11]

It is hardly surprising that 1835 was the year in which Sonora re-introduced the former Spanish practice of offering bounties for Apache scalps. Ultimately, this "only intensified the bitter conflict between the Apaches and the Mexicans," observed one leading authority on the subject. Apache leaders like Hashkeedasillaa would certainly have found the scalp hunters a more formidable enemy than the Mexican rural militias, whom they were able to draw into ambushes of the sort described above.[12]

It was probably while traveling to or from Mexico that Hashkeedasillaa experienced another occupational hazard—an encounter with what seems to have been a party of unfriendly Chiricahua or Mescalero Apache warriors. "They shot him in the shoulder one time. They fought on horseback and shot him off his horse. As soon as he fell, he crawled behind a big rock. He fired his gun

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with one hand, resting it across his knee," his daughter recalled. A maternal nephew was shot and mortally wounded in the fight and, although the enemy captured Hashkeedasillaa's horse, the chief succeeded in killing one of his attackers. They recognized his voice and called out, "We know you," and threatened, "You are not going to live any longer." But he continued to fire at them until they eventually drew off and rode away. Such incidents of personal valor only enhanced his status and growing influence as a leader throughout the 1840s.[13]

Nevertheless, Hashkeedasillaa hardly conformed to the romantic European image of the "Indian Chief" as a tall, muscular figure bedecked in fringed and beaded buckskin and a flowing headdress. His normal costume would have been a breechcloth, buckskin boots, and headband or, when appropriate, a war cap decorated with eagle or turkey feathers. In maturity, he stood about five-and-a-half-feet tall (the average height among his people) and had a wiry build. He would have worn his black hair long and he had a determined set to his jaw, complemented by dark, expressive eyes. Hashkeedasillaa's old mentor still visited periodically to provide his nephew with instruction, teaching him "power that a chief should know." On one such occasion he explained, "You know you cannot look at the sun, because of its shimmering brightness, like a mirage," instructing Hashkeedasillaa to "speak of yourself as a mirage, and the enemy will not be able to see you."[14]

After marrying his White Mountain wife, Hashkeedasillaa had lived with her people at Canyon Day. Later, he moved to the East Fork of the White River to be near his brother-in-law Jaa'o'áhá (His Ears Stick Up), another influential chief. Eventually, he moved farther upstream, explaining that "I am going away because I have so many children now." Naajebaayé recalled that "the farms of our local group were scattered along East Fork for five or six miles." Tl'ołdiłhił added that "all of [Hashkeedasilla's] married daughters lived under him, because he was a great chief. . . . Even his married sons brought their wives to live under him." By the end of the decade, Hashkeedasillaa's family and following had grown considerably until his was the largest of all the local groups, with seven sub-chiefs who voluntarily deferred to him. "In the local group of Hack e l da si la, he was the biggest chief, the boss, the biggest chief all over," explained a man who had grown up under his leadership.[15]

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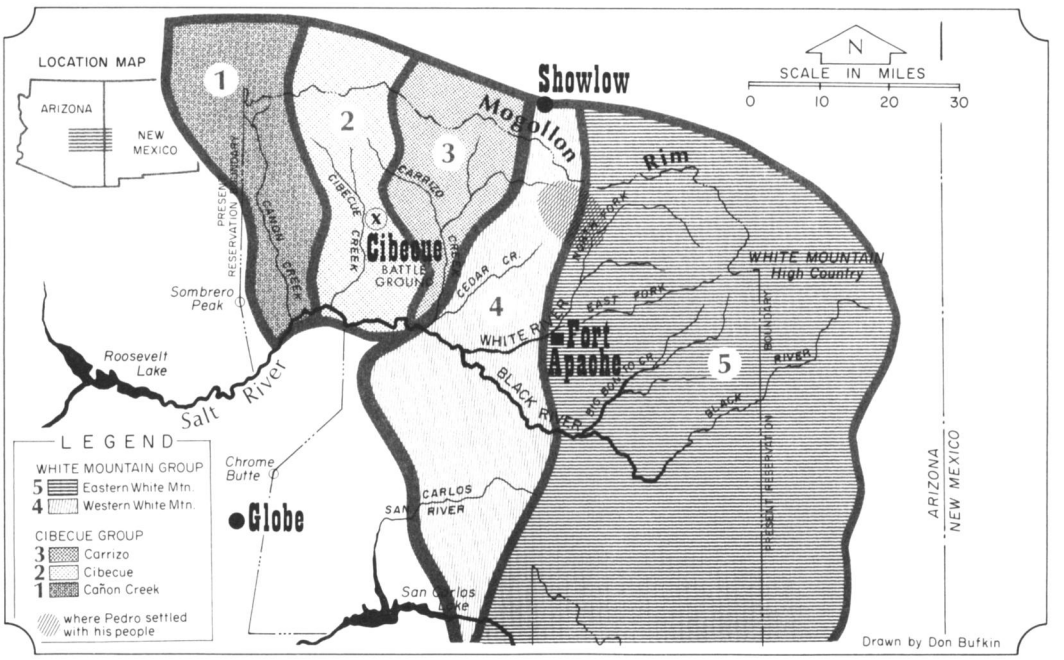

Western Apache sub-tribal groups. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society.

Because of Hashkeedasillaa's status, his womenfolk were among the head women of the local group. "Two of my father's sisters were head women, and also my mother," Naajebaayé remembered. "The mother of Jaa'o'áhá was one," she added. "I called her 'maternal grandmother,' and she knew all of the legends of her clan. Being the mother of Jaa'o'áhá and his wealthy brother, she was also a rich woman. Another such woman was father's mother." Naajebaayé described how the head women spoke to their menfolk before a war party set out, attended the chiefs' councils (although they did not speak there), and took the lead in food-gathering expeditions. Naajebaayé also elaborated that "my mother was not the leading woman just because she was father's wife. Father's two sisters were the most influential and strongest of the head women because they had each accompanied a war party in revenge for the slaying of brothers."[16]

In addition to dealing with external enemies, it was the chief's responsibility to maintain order within his group. The unusual

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extent of Hashkeedasillaa's local group inevitably meant that it was more diverse than some others; and that circumstance could give rise to conflicts every bit as deadly as those with outside people. A particularly destructive feud erupted from a dispute over who had scored the winning points in a hoop-and-pole game played on the East Fork of the White River. Matters degenerated into an argument and then a fight, in which one man received a fatal knife wound. As he fled, the assailant killed one of his pursuers, as well as two men he encountered along the way. A party on its way to the game caught the killer and soon the relatives of combatants on both sides were fighting. "Twenty men got killed on our side and only one of our men escaped," Naajebaayé stated, explaining that, "this was my uncle and he was shot in nine places, in the chest, in both arms, and in the legs."

The wounded man was brought to the camp and word of the altercation was sent to Hashkeedasillaa, who was away hunting. The irate chief returned immediately, exclaiming, "when I leave my place, they always start some kind of trouble in camp but when I am here nothing ever happens, I wish I had been here when this trouble started today." The killers had fled, so Haskeedasillaa's people destroyed their corn and looted their camp. Haskeedasillaa then arranged to move his camp to a more defensible location and looked after his wounded brother. "Two of my father's brothers had been killed in the fight and that's why he was so mad about it," Naajebaayé continued, describing how her father organized a party to "go on the war path, looking for the ones who had killed his relatives."

After a long search, the fugitives' camp was found. As he prepared to launch an attack, Hashkeedasillaa directed his men to "point your guns and arrows all at these men and don't miss any." Although he urged his followers to "kill them all at once," about half the enemy warriors escaped. "So now my father's bunch had killed seven men and captured three women," Naajebaayé recalled. Hashkeedasillaa's band started for home, killing on the way the horses they had captured. They finally arrived back at camp after a month's absence.[17]

As expected of a wealthy man, Hashkeedasillaa took into his family young male relatives who had lost their parents. Just as he was under obligation to provide for them, they also were expected

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to accept certain responsibilities and perform designated tasks. Naajebaayé described how Hashkeedasillaa instructed a young man to fetch in a cow for him. "No, I have too much to do," the youth responded. "I can not do it for you." According to Naajebaayé, "my father kept him staying with our family all the time to look after his horses and cattle. He had a saddle and horse that father had given him. Father took these from him and ran him out, because he would not mind him." Citing similar examples, Naajebaayé explained that "neither the sub-chiefs in our local group or Jaa'o'áhá drove out people this way"—only her father, who "had no other way to punish his men when they would not obey him."[18]

Such affronts to Hashkeedasillaa's status and authority were fairly easily dealt with, but sometimes lesser chiefs posed similar problems. One such man, Hashkee-na-inla (He offers something slender), had neglected his distant farm site, and was bemoaning its having become overgrown, when the chief happened by. "Well, if you want to go back there and farm, go ahead," urged Hashkeedasillaa. "I think you don't like living in this local group much. You [had] better go back there to your farm and farm it. Cut the grass and weeds. You are always talking about it." Although the chief had not actually driven the man out of camp, he had nonetheless "put him in the position where he had to go."[19]

* * * *

"When you get home, tell your people about me and call my name"—Hashkeedasillaa

During the three decades from the early 1840s to the beginning of the 1870s, Hashkeedasillaa became the most powerful and influential chief among the White Mountain Apaches. He was an outstanding leader, warrior, hunter, and diplomat. He also was a gifted orator, whose words were listened to by the leading men of the neighboring Apaches, as well as by the Yavapais, the Zuni, and representatives of the New Mexican authorities at Santa Fe. He went among almost all of these people and their leaders, in turn, were welcome in his camp. Occasionally, these visitors had ulterior motives. "One time the Mescalero [Apaches] came to my father's camp near White River," Naajebaayé recalled, "they came to get corn from us and to look around our country. I think they must

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have intended to spy out the land because they later returned and fought us."[20]

It was unusual that Hashkeedasillaa had a particular friend, Ni'gosdog (Hot Earth), among the Yavapais. Naajebaayé recalled an exchange of visits between the two. "I am homesick for my partner," her father said. "I would like to drink some saguaro juice with him." Two days later, Hashkeedasillaa set out, accompanied by seventeen relatives and associates. "I was a little girl then, only about eight years old," Naajebaayé explained, "and I cried when we started off." Because they were passing near the country of their traditional enemies, the Pima and Papago, her father's view was: "I don't want to go alone. We will take a bunch with us so that if we have to fight we can."

Several days later, they were greeted at the Yavapai camp with the gift of saguaro fruit cakes. The next morning Ni'gosdog addressed his people, saying: "My friend has come to see me from far off. I want you my people to gather enough prepared fruit for them." The Yavapais fed their visitors well and gave them mescal liquor to drink. After two days, Hashkeedasillaa said to his friend, "I will stay two more days and then I will leave you," explaining that "I am in a hurry because some Zuni have promised to visit me, and maybe they are there now." Ni'gosdog expressed his pleasure at the visit and asked for a favor in return. "If the Zuni should come to visit you with blankets, save one for me," he requested. "I'll be over there in the fall to get it."

When Ni'gosdog and a party of his people returned the visit that autumn, Hashkeedasillaa presented him not only with a Zuni blanket but also with a saddled mule, onto which cloth and a buffalo robe had been loaded. "All of my relatives, people living here," Hashkeedasillaa explained, "this is my friend who has come from far off to see me. I am going to spread two large cowhides on the ground. I want you to bring some corn over and dump it on these cowhides, so there will be enough for all of them." Naajebaayé described how the Apaches brought corn, cloth, and blankets. Her father "had many relatives, so the piles of gifts were high."[21]

Hashkeedasillaa's relations with other Yavapais were less cordial. On one occasion, he led a mounted party east across the Black River to gather piñon nuts on the mountain slopes of the Blue Range. One morning, they awakened to find all of their horses gone.

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Yavapai moccasin tracks indicated that they had been stolen. Back at camp, Hashkeedasillaa's warriors began making rawhide shoes for their horses as they prepared to hunt down thieves. "Come over to my camp in two days," Hashkeedasillaa commanded his followers. "Count yourselves out about thirty strong; I want some thirty to go." The Yavapai horse stealing was an open challenge and an invitation to trouble. "We didn't steal their horses but they have stolen ours, so we will go over there and let them see what we are like," Hashkeedasilla announced.

On the morning of the fourth day after setting out, Hashkeedasillaa's war party fell upon a party of Yavapai women roasting mescal. They killed all but one of the women. "If you hadn't bothered me and had let my horses alone, I wouldn't be over here," the chief explained before releasing the survivor with the admonition: "You can tell this to your people when you get home." The Apaches soon found a Yavapai camp. "Here they had a big fight and shot at each other," Naajebaayé recalled. "My father said he knew he had killed at least one at the camp and after that our men left because the Yavapai were in the rocks."

A week after their departure, the war party returned to the camp on Black River. "I am satisfied now," Hashkeedasillaa said. "It was just as if they asked us to come over to their country," he stated. Naajebaayé observed that "the Yavapai never came back after our horses again."[22]

During his many raids and war parties, Hashkeedasillaa fulfilled all of the Apaches' expectations of a chief—planning effective strategies, counselling his men wisely, and leading by example. One hazardous enterprise turned out to be the most profitable of them all. "This time when his party went into Mexico, they got into a fight with the Mexicans and father got shot in his right wrist," Naajebaayé related. "But anyway he grabbed his gun in his left hand. . . . While he fought he told his men not to run but to go at the Mexicans. He was talking loud to them and went close to the Mexicans. There he got shot in the right shoulder. That day they killed seven Mexicans and none of our party got shot at all, only father, two times." Naajebaayé went on to say that, "after they won the fight, they captured the whole Mexican pack train, with lots of mules and horses, and aparejos [pack saddles] with big leather sacks, and many Mexican blankets, striped in colours."

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This Apache warrior, photographed by A. F. Randall ca. 1883, wears traditional costume, including a feathered war cap, and is armed with a lance. Courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Neg. #02010800.

Hashkeedasillaa then led his men homeward by a long, circuitous route, avoiding a Mexican attack, to eventually arrive back in their own territory. When word of their approach reached camp, some boys went out to help herd the horses and mules. Arriving about midday, Hashkeedasillaa, with "his wounded arm tied up . . . , told someone to hold his horse while he got off," Naajebaayé recalled. "Mother cried and ran to him and put her arms around

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him and lifted him right off his horse." It was not until the next morning that the boys arrived with the huge herd of horses and mules, strung out for almost a mile, and noon that day before all of the plunder was unpacked. "In the packs were lots of Mexican blankets and shawls," Naajebaayé explained, recalling that "when they were all piled up this way, the pile was about three feet high."

After the participating warriors had received a generous share, blankets were given away to their relatives and then, when word spread, to visiting Apaches from the Cibicue, Arivaipa, and Tonto country. But still the supply was not exhausted, and Hashkeedasillaa instructed, "We will make a place for a dance tonight," explaining that, "what is left we will give away to the poorer people, who need it most." Even after the dance there were still some blankets left. Naajebaayé observed that, "Those things they brought back from Mexico went a long ways and some of the blankets and mules even got to Zuni."[23]

The relationship between the Western Apache and the Navajo was complex, involving trade, raiding, and occasionally violent conflict. For example, a Navajo party visited Hashkeedasillaa's camp while the chief was away hunting, and traded sheep hides and blankets for mescal, which the Apaches dried into sheets after cooking. They then surrounded and attacked Hashkeedasillaa's hunting party while the Apache warriors were eating supper, killing two Apaches and losing one of their own men. "Two days after the hunters returned home they sent word among all the people to assemble," Naajebaayé recalled. "They made a dance there, a war dance," she added. Her father told the assembled warriors: "We are going after the Navajo. I don't know why they attacked us. We always treated them right before, but now we might just as well go and see them—fight them all."

Two days later, Hashkeedasillaa and his men found the Navajo camp. In a pre-dawn ambush, the Apache warriors killed all of the Navajo men and captured a boy, who led them to another camp. By noon, the Apaches attacked again, killing all but one of their enemies. The solitary survivor revealed that a Navajo raiding party, who "went against the White people," was expected back at any time with two herds of cattle. Hashkeedasillaa's scouts found two boys preparing meat at a spring, where the chief and his warriors ambushed the returning Navajos about an hour after sundown,

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killing all except the guards over the stolen stock who managed to escape. "Fifteen of you take those cattle home," Hashkeedasillaa instructed his men. "We want to fight more. There is another herd of cattle coming. The rest of us will go and fight them again."

The next day, Hashkeedasillaa's warriors ambushed the Navajos driving the second herd of cattle as they were watering at a spring between two hills. Hemmed in between their attackers and a steep bluff, most of the Navajo warriors were killed. "I have killed your men many times and left their bodies for the coyotes," one of two seriously wounded Navajos exclaimed. "But now you have done the same to me." Hashkeedasillaa responded that they had asked for this fight. "You have done well for me and brought lots of cattle from the warpath," he boasted. "You can just sit there and tell your people." Hashkeedasillaa killed the more dangerously injured captive, and then gave water to the man with whom he had spoken, saying: "When you get home, tell your people about me and call my name. Tell them I am the one who got your cattle."[24]

Another raid against the People Above was almost as profitable as Hashkeedasillaa's attack on the Mexican pack train—only, in this case, the booty was a large flock of Navajo sheep. Naajebaayé described how some of her people were not fond of eating mutton. Because of this, her sister went r husband, sister-in-law, and father-in-law to hunt deer. Navajos attacked the party while it was camped at night. The father-in-law was hit by two bullets, after which the attackers began firing arrows. "My sister grabbed a gun and fired it at the Navajos," Naajebaayé recalled. Her sister tried to run as they fell back, but "the Navajos set fire to the grass, so that there was lots of light and I don't see why my sister wasn't caught that night but she wasn't."

Hashkeedasillaa hunted in vain for his daughter. Despite being deserted by her husband and sister-in-law, she made it home unharmed, although wearing "no skirt and no moccasins, and only a blanket that she had tied around her." Naajebaayé explained that, back in their own country and across Black River, the Apaches "bunched all the sheep and split them in three herds, there were so many of them, to make it easier to drive them." Later, people came "from all over, wherever they heard that we had these sheep, they came to get some."[25]

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The killing and scalping of one of his brothers prompted Hashkeedasillaa's bloodiest encounter with the Navajos. A war party organized to avenge the death surrounded a Navajo camp at night. As his warriors prepared to launch their assault early the next morning, Hashkeedasillaa exclaimed: "Soon we will start to fight with the Navajo, so don't run away but stay with them. At this place we will meet my brother again. It is as if they had stolen my brother but I am going to show my brother how I am going to do." According to Naajebaayé, "that morning they killed all the Navajo in that camp, men, women, and children, and also captured a girl and killed all the Navajo sheep."

Directed by the girl captive, Hashkeedasillaa's war party arrived at another Navajo camp just as the sun was setting and while the occupants were finishing their evening meal. "So as soon as the Navajo were about to quit eating they [Hashkeedasillaa's warriors] started to attack them and killed all of the Navajo in the camp, except one woman," Naajebaayé said. Although Hashkeedasillaa sent three men in pursuit, the woman made good her escape on Hashkeedasillaa's own horse. Meanwhile, the Apaches killed the sheep in the corral and destroyed everything in the camp, including part-woven blankets still on the looms. Then, they headed home with the Navajo horses.[26]

These encounters with Mexicans, Yavapais, and Navajos certainly become widely known and can only have enhanced Hashkeedasillaa's reputation throughout the Apache country. "Sometimes Cibicue group chiefs would decide to come and visit father," Naajebaayé recalled, explaining that Hashkeeba (Aware of His Anger), the chief from Carrizo Creek, was the first to arrive. The other leaders who followed in his footsteps included Hashkee-yànìltł'ì-dn (Angry, He asks for it), who also lived on Carrizo Creek. The two men were similar in status, but differed greatly in age and appearance. Hashkee-yànìltł'ì-dn was a six-foot-tall, rawboned man, several years younger than Hashkeedasillaa, while Hashkeeba, who was blind in his left eye, was more than a dozen years younger and a little taller than the White Mountain chief. By the latter half of the 1840s, the two Carrizo Creek chiefs and their respective followers were involved in a clan dispute that degenerated into a prolonged and violent feud. Eventually, Hashkeeba's "Row of white canes" clan overcame the "Red rock

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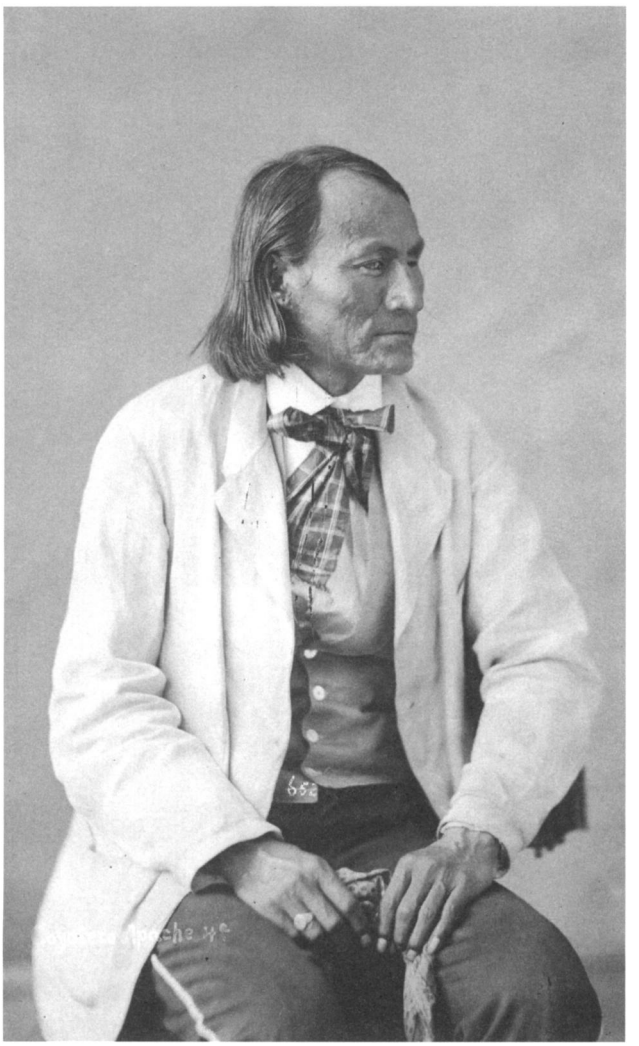

Haskeeba (Miguel). Alexander Gardner photograph, 1872. Courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Neg. #gn_02546b.

strata" clan and drove Hashkee-yànìltł'ì-dn and his people out of the Cibicue territory.[27]

After some two years during which his people were wandering outcasts, Hashkee-yànìltł'ì-dn turned up at East Fork to seek from Hashkeedasillaa some land on the North Fork of the White River upon which to settle. He also asked Hashkeedasillaa to tell Hashkeeba "to stop his people from killing us any more." Hashkeedasil-

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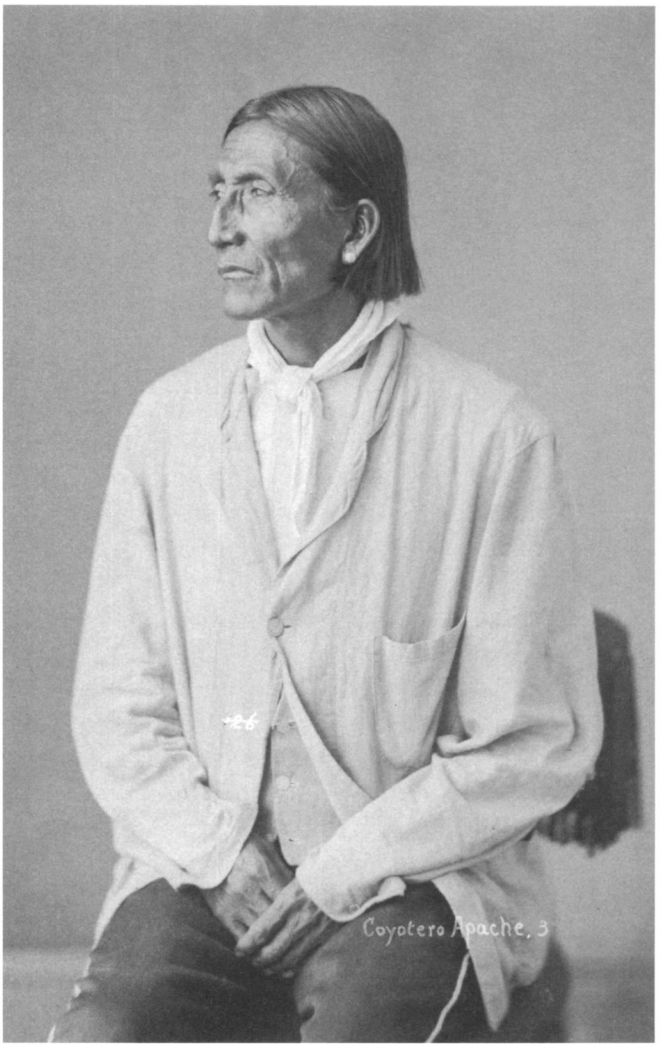

Hashkee-yàiltłʼì-dn (Pedro). Alexander Gardner photograph, 1872. Courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Neg. #gn_02548b

laa agreed and traveled to Carrizo Creek, where he told the Row of white canes clan leader: "I want you two not to fight from now on. There are lots of little hills here but they will be made level. It is all good now. I am going to give the [Red rock strata clan] land to settle on over in our country." This arrangement brought the fighting to an end, and there is no better illustration of the extent of Hashkeedasillaa's influence by the early 1850s than both clans'

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willingness to accept his arbitration. Despite the self-perpetuating nature of most feuds, the peace that he brokered lasted for twenty years, until it was finally undone by forces beyond his control.[28]

* * * *

"The White Mountain band of Coyoteros is by far the best and most reliable division of the Apache tribe" —Michael Steck

Hashkeedasillaa's first contact with these alien forces probably grew out of his visits to the "Painted Black People" of the Zuni pueblos. He would say to his men, "Go hunting. Kill some deer; dress them; make buckskin to take to Zuni to trade for blankets so we will be warm in the winter; get ready before the cold weather comes." He also received visits from his particular friends among the Zuni, two chiefs the Apaches called Jaa'yo'ááł (He Carries His Ears) and Baajiláhé (You Give It To Him). "The Zuni gave him lots of their blankets, and some buffalo robes, and calico," Naajebaayé remembered. She also recalled that Baajiláhé "gave to my father also a [muzzle-loading] gun, this was what we call a female gun. He brought also a percussion lock gun. We gave back to him some baskets and burden baskets for his wife to use. We got our iron hoes from the Zuni also." Professor Edward H. Spicer notes that, "in 1852 an agreement for peace was made at Acoma Pueblo with some Apaches who were probably Coyoteros from the White Mountain region." The authors of this agreement were civil and military authorities from the recently established New Mexico Territory, which encompassed present-day Arizona.[29]

Later, Hashkeedasillaa was visited by a New Mexican trader who lived near Fort Defiance in the Navajo country but appears to have been acting as an emissary for the authorities at Santa Fe. "Nant'án Bishdohé (Chief Who Loses His Temper), who was a friend of father's, came to father's camp," Naajebaayé recalled. "He gave father two pack horses loaded with blankets, and some iron hoes," and in return received some recently gathered saguaro cactus fruit and mescal. He also brought a rifle for Hashkeedasillaa, who subsequently put it to good use hunting deer. "This man used often to come from his home to visit us, and bring us things," said Naajebaayé, who remembered him wearing "old rough brown pants and a long, black coat, with long coat tails on it." [30]

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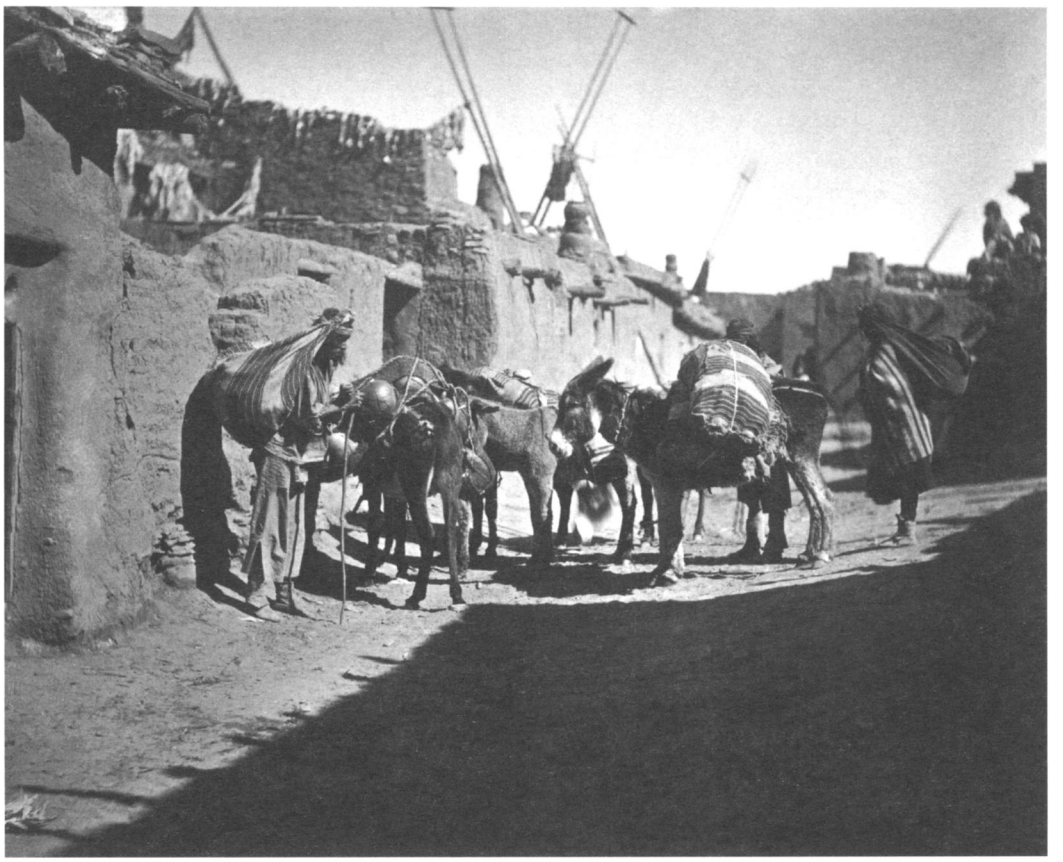

Scene in Zuni. John K. Hillers photograph. Courtesy Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Neg. #005037.

By contrast, in the same period various military expeditions intruded into Western Apache territory. A two-pronged foray, in the spring of 1857, traveled from New Mexico in search of Apaches from the Mogollon Mountains thought to be responsible for the death of a Navajo Indian agent. On May 25, one column came upon a huge herd of stolen sheep being driven by a band of Mimbres Apaches, whom they scattered in a surprise attack, killing several warriors including the chief known by the Spanish soubriquet, Cuchillo Negro (Black Knife). A second column, following the Gila River westward, surprised a camp of unsuspecting White Mountain Apaches near Mount Graham on June 27, killing forty men and

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capturing forty-five women and children. Quite by chance, the murderer of the Indian agent turned up among the dead.

In November and December of 1859, a similar expedition ranged through the Pinal Apache country, killing a few men and taking twenty-three captives. Naajebaayé described how the soldiers surrounded the Apache camp on top of Mount Graham while her father was away raiding in Mexico. "Now we got scared and two men went out to bring in the mules and horses. It was dawn now and we could hear someone coming," she recalled. "We started packing as fast as we could and only just finished when the white soldiers came up on us." Naajebaayé went on to relate how: "They shot at us and when they did this we all started out of there, as fast as we could. There were a lot of children in our camp and women also but none of us were killed there, we got away." The Apaches scattered and made their way to a pre-arranged rendezvous, where Hashkeedasillaa, alerted by messengers of the attack, abandoned his stolen Mexican cattle and joined his people.[31]

These contradictory actions, exemplifying the Indian policy of the period, must have presented Hashkeedasillaa with a troubling picture of the pale-skinned newcomers, who began in the late 1850s to build military posts south of his territory.[32]

While these army outposts were being built in what is now southern Arizona, former military surgeon Michael Steck, Indian agent for New Mexico, began making contact with the Chiricahua Apaches and their western neighbors. In September 1858, he composed a brief description of the Mimbres, Mogollon, Mescalero, and Chiricahua Apaches. "Of the Coyotero I can give you no positive information as I never have visited their entire country," he noted. "They are by far the most powerful division of the Apaches." Steck went to say that, "from the best information I have been able to obtain from their own chiefs and traders who have visited their country their number will not fall short of 3,500 [and] of this number seven hundred are probably men. This division is less warlike than other bands of Apaches and cultivate corn, wheat, beans, etc., extensively."[33]

In December 1858, Steck held a conference with the influential Chiricahua Apache leader Cochise at Apache Pass. While there, he encountered a White Mountain Apache raiding party on their way to Mexico. Steck easily persuaded them to return to their people

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and assemble them for a council at which Steck would distribute rations.

On January 22, 1859, Steck, escorted by Capt. Richard Ewell and a small detachment of U.S. dragoons, arrived at the agreed meeting place—"a spring called Santa Domingo about seventy-five miles N.E. from Fort Buchanan"—where they found the Apaches already encamped. "All the captains of the White Mountain Coyoteros were present and one hundred and seventy of their warriors and about one hundred women and children," Steck reported. He reminded them of an earlier agreement they had made with the government and expressed his satisfaction that they had kept their promises to remain at peace. He then distributed goods and rations as a reward for their good behavior. It was almost certainly Hashkeedasillaa of whom Steck wrote: "The principal chief followed with a long harangue in which he complained that they had suffered unusually in the last campaign but wound up by saying that the past should be forgotten and henceforth we would be friends and that he and his people would not be the first to disturb the rock of peace (a figure used by the chief)."

Steck was highly satisfied by the meeting, writing that it "has fully confirmed me in the belief that the White Mountain band of Coyoteros is by far the best and most reliable division of the Apache tribe." Captain Ewell held a similar view. Steck passed along the Apaches' complaint that "they have suffered from hunger as the summer before last the troops destroyed their fields and last year they were deterred from planting beans [fearing] that another campaign might be made against them and their crops be again destroyed." Naajebaayé underscored their fear of attack, recalling that "at that time we were very scared of the soldiers and never slept in camp. We always took our bedding out in the brush at night and slept there, that is the women and children. Only the men stayed in camp."[34]

Steck had arranged for Agent John Walker to bring representatives of the Papago to the meeting and brokered an agreement for the mutual cessation of hostilities. Some Pinal Apaches were also present and agreed to bring their people in for a similar council. Steck assured New Mexico Indian Superintendent James Collins that he had held back enough goods to distribute to the Pinal band, advising him that "if Capt. Ewell should succeed in getting

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them in I will supply the articles without further instructions from the Supt."[35]

Subsequently, in February of 1859, Agent Steck met with the 300 Pinal and Arivaipa Apaches at Canyon del Oro near Tucson. In October of that year, he distributed gifts to some 800 Apaches in the Burro Mountains in preparation for a council with an estimated 2,500 Apaches near the site of present-day Safford. Apparently, most of the attendees were White Mountain Apaches. The Apache recollections of the New Mexican emissary [Nant'án Bishdohé] say that he told Hashkeedasillaa "to take his people down to Apache Pass" and that on arriving there they found "the officer with soldiers and freighting wagons full of supplies" from which this officer "issued red cloth, brass kettles, and food." These contacts were recalled as happening before the establishment of Fort Bowie and almost certainly refer to Dr. Steck's visits in 1859.[36]

Because the U.S. government lacked a coordinated Indian policy, soon after Agent Steck's visits Hashkeedasillaa's people were attacked again. A boy who hurried into camp to warn his elders of the approaching soldiers was dismissed with the comment: "No one will come after us, because it as if we belonged to the Government now." Five women, one girl, and an old man were killed and four women were captured in the ensuing assault.[37]

As a result of his contacts with the New Mexican authorities, Hashkeedasillaa received a message requesting that he join them in an expedition against the Navajos. Because his people had recently been involved in a fight with their old enemy, it suited their purposes to comply and Hashkeedasillaa led one hundred of his warriors north. Three days later, they met five companies of New Mexicans. "There was only one white man with them," Naabas' obiyé (He Owns His Hoop), a veteran of the expedition, recalled, suggesting that the majority may have been Ute Indians.

Naabas'obiyé, later known as Palmer Valor, described how the combined force traveled several more days before Apache scouts sighted a Navajo camp. The expedition leader advised the White Mountains warriors to wear something distinctive so that their allies would not mistake them for Navajos. He then turned to Hashkeedasillaa, remarking that "You are the chief of these White Mountain people and I understand you are a good fighter. Today, we are going to fight and we will find out about you." To this the

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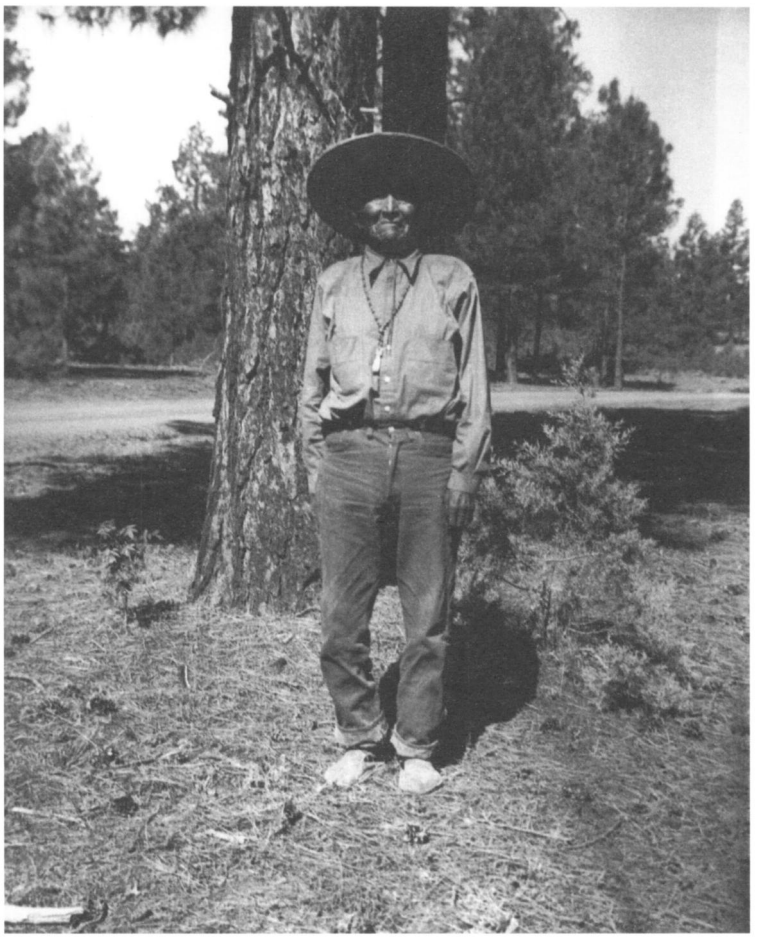

Naabas'obiyé, alias Palmer Valor, photographed by Grenville Goodwin, ca. 1920. Courtesy Arizona State Museum, Neg. #18261.

Apache chief responded, "all right you will find out about me." By the end of the fight they would know whose men were best.

"We went in front and the ones who were our chiefs rode at our head," Naabas'obiyé remembered. "The New Mexicans rode to the Navajo camp, but we didn't pay any attention to the camp and just tried to get hold of the Navajo horses." The Apaches intended to round up the enemy mounts, in order to prevent the Navajos from escaping, and then to fight. "I was on foot like a great many

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of us were," Naabas' obiyé recalled. "My legs were a great deal then. I roped on foot and caught one of the horses by the forefoot." In the end, only one Navajo warrior was killed and another captured, while the rest escaped on horseback.

The Apaches felt that they would have inflicted more casualties upon the enemy if the New Mexican fighters had helped them seize the Navajo mounts. Nevertheless, they captured five hundred horses, goats, and sheep. From past experience, the expedition commander was certain the Navajo would counter attack if he remained in the area. So the New Mexicans moved out, herding the captured stock. Two days later, they camped below Mogollon Mountain.

"I understand now, and know that you are a great fighter. Everyone is afraid of you. I know that is true," the New Mexico commander admitted to Hashkeedasillaa. "All your men captured the sheep and goats and the horses, but my men captured nothing at all. My name is no good and yours is best now." At his request, Hashkeedasillaa agreed to divide the captured stock, with both leaders overseeing the proceedings. The next morning, the sheep and horses were divided first, without incident. When it next came to the goats, the New Mexican officer gave a signal and then everyone piled in. "It sure was a scramble," Naabas'obiyé recalled seventy years later, "and the dust that we raised was so thick that we could hardly see at all." The Apaches parted from the New Mexican force and made their way home with their booty.[38]

This may have been a military action, but its character and personnel seem better to fit one of the militia expeditions which invaded the Navajo country in retaliation for the April 1860 attack on Fort Defiance—perhaps, in this case, led by Albert H. Pfeiffer, who was known for his association with the Utes.[39]

Other than for such important occasions, it is unlikely that Hashkeedasillaa, now in his fifties, continued to act as a war chief. Not only were his martial accomplishments ample, but his considerable following by this time included several prominent war chiefs, including Nagonita (He Scouts Just Ahead) and Gochaahá. Gochaahá's name, meaning "Big One," aptly described the tall, muscular warrior, widely known among the Mexicans and Americans as "Francisco." A contemporary observer described him as "a Mexican captive who has lived among the Coyoteros since boyhood [and] by his daring and successful exploits is looked upon

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as one of their war chiefs," adding that "he stands about 5 -11 , is well made, full-breasted and has a large roman nose; he talks in a bold, fearless, and commanding tone."[40]

A Mexican boy named José Mendevil was taken captive by Eastern White Mountain Apaches in 1857 but escaped seven years later. "[Their] highest chief is a person whose Indian title sounds like Askelthoselawh," José later reported, "but their active fighting chief is Francisco, a Mexican who was taken captive as a boy, whose power is so great that he kills offending Indians without accounting to anybody."[41]

Francisco often joined forces with the formidable Chiricahua Apache leader Cochise on raids into Mexico. When Cochise's friendly relations with the Americans broke down in February 1861, as a result of his being wrongly accused of abducting a boy in southern Arizona, Francisco and his warriors joined Cochise in his fight with U.S. soldiers at Apache Pass.[42]

The transfer of the Overland Mail route and the withdrawal of troops at the onset of the Civil War led to the abandonment of military posts in southern Arizona, which in turn caused farms and mines to be abandoned. Those settlers who did not leave the area entirely retreated to Tucson. After a brief occupation by Confederate troops in May, 1862, Tucson witnessed the arrival of Union volunteers from California. As they continued their march eastward, some of these troops fought Cochise and Mangas Coloradas's warriors at Apache Pass, where Fort Bowie was established in July. Gen. James H. Carleton, the commander of the California Volunteers, later launched punitive campaigns against the Navajos and the Mescalero Apaches. Following their pacification, both tribes were confined to a reservation at Bosque Rendondo, New Mexico.[43]

* * * *

"From that day on we were like brothers. It has been like that with all of us since that time."—Tl'ołdiłhił

From this time forward the lives of Hashkeedasillaa and his people would be dominated by their relationship with the Americans. But it would not have seemed so in the early 1860s, when there was little direct contact, although they would doubtless have heard from

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the Chiricahua Apaches of their continuing conflicts with white soldiers. News from the west told of the Americans establishing new military posts and settlements. In May of 1864, California Volunteers established a camp on the Gila River to serve as the base for a campaign against the Apaches. Although the campaign achieved little, the outpost—about 120 miles northeast of Tucson—became Fort Goodwin, from where more patrols were sent out to strike at the Indians.[44]

The vigilant Apaches, with no permanent camps to defend, could usually avoid the soldiers but, nonetheless, some contacts were made with the Americans. In July 1864, several small groups of Apaches talked with soldiers scouting from Fort Goodwin into the Pinal Mountains. Both parties stopped short of any real agreement and fighting later broke out over an orphaned Indian boy who tried to stay with the troops but was eventually taken back by the Indians. A few Apaches were taken prisoner. "Two of these were afterward hanged by order of Maj. [Thomas J.] Blakeney, the boy not being returned."

In August, Capt. John S. Thayer's command from Fort Goodwin rescued José Mendevil and destroyed a large corn crop, along with some bean and pumpkin fields. They killed a half dozen men, wounded three others, and took one man prisoner, "who was afterwards shot while attempting to escape." Yet another command, sent down from Fort Wingate, New Mexico, heard from some Apaches that they had been told by the Zunis that after the Navajos surrendered all of the men had been killed and the women enslaved. Despite all this, an Apache emissary arrived at Fort Goodwin in December to solicit peace. He returned with a message from the soldiers that his people must come in and lay down their arms.[45]

On March 4, 1865, one hundred and twelve Eastern White Mountain men, women, and children appeared at Fort Goodwin under a flag of truce. They told Maj. James Gorman, the post commander, that they wished to make a treaty. Gorman agreed and gave them four days to bring in the rest of their people. Then they left. When the deadline passed, Gorman set out to track down the Apaches. He found only a deserted campsite and returned empty handed. On March 22, Hashkeedasillaa, bearing a white flag, arrived at the post with more than 380 of his people to talk peace. The Apaches were well aware of the military campaigns underway

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all around their country. They had endured a bad winter, and did not wish to fight the Americans.

Although this was just the sort of development his superiors had been looking for, military command of Arizona had just been transferred to the Department of the Pacific, headquartered in San Francisco, and Gorman was no longer in a position to provide the rations he had earlier promised Hashkeedasillaa's people. Indeed, his command was itself short of rations and undermanned, with its stock in poor condition. Gorman hid his embarrassment, extracted the Apaches' promise that they would turn in to him any of their people who depredated, and agreed that they that should return to their homes until he received word from higher authority.

The following day, Hashkeedasillaa led his people back to the mountains. This inevitably proved to be a weak arrangement, with soldiers and Indians maintaining only sporadic contact. By that summer, Francisco was once again raiding with Cochise in southern Arizona and northern Sonora. At the end of June, a military column from Fort Bowie scouting the country around Mount Graham for Cochise's band found several campsites. The Apaches narrowly escaped from one as the troops advanced. Lieut. Col. C. E. Bennett reported that "this was the notorious Francisco's band. He made his appearance on the mountain and abused everybody; declared he never would make peace with the whites, and said the Apaches did not intend to." The soldiers recovered a herd of stolen cattle nearby.[46]

An Apache attack at the Cienega, some twenty miles east of Tucson, on July 11 resulted in the deaths of an entire German family and several Mexicans, as well as the looting of their wagons, stock, and gold. Gochaahá, alias Francisco, was implicated in the raid and arrested when he appeared at Fort Goodwin toward the end of 1865.[47]

Since the volunteer soldiers had experienced only limited success in finding and fighting the elusive Apaches, in late 1865 they devised a more devious method of dealing with the Indians. Informed that food would be distributed, large numbers of White Mountain, Pinal, and Arivaipa Apaches made their way to Fort Goodwin, only to be fed poisoned meat. This incident, and stories of the scores who died on the trail home, was so firmly fixed in the Apache memory that it was commemorated in a song that was

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still being sung fifty years later. Hashkeedasillaa was fortunate to have avoided the fate of so many of his people. His old New Mexican friend, Nant'án Bishdohé, had warned him not to go to Fort Goodwin. Nagonita was less fortunate and consumed the poisoned meat. At about this same time, on November 10, Gochaahá was shot and killed at Fort Goodwin, allegedly while attempting to escape. Former California Volunteer Charles Croft described him as the "Indian chief, Francisco the Butcher, whose scalp I had the pleasure of ripping from his cranium before I left [Fort] Goodwin."[48]

These events marked the low point in relations between the military and Hashkeedasillaa's people. Early in 1866, new approaches were made and the chief, again carrying a white flag, set out warily for Fort Goodwin. "As he travelled along with some other people, he kept burning the brush along the trail and making lots of smoke," an old Apache recalled. "As long as we could see this smoke, our people would know that things were going all right and that there was no danger. But if the smoke stopped, we would know this party had got into trouble with the White men."[49]

On February 3, Lieut. Col. Robert Pollock, the new post commander, made a treaty with Hashkeedasillaa and the other chiefs in the expectation that a reservation would be set aside and an Indian agent provided for the Apaches. "From that day on we were like brothers. It has been like that with all of us since that time," Tl'ołdiłhił recalled, explaining that it was Hashkeedasillaa "who made it this way with the White people for us." Unfortunately, authorities in Washington failed to capitalize on this opportunity by creating a reservation. Instead, Fort Goodwin became a "feeding post" at which the White Mountain Apaches, particularly the women and children, encountered Americans and their material culture for the first time.[50]

While his people drew rations and supplies from the military post—renamed Camp Goodwin in late 1866—Hashkeedasillaa continued to maintain his long friendships with his Apache neighbors throughout the late 1860s. Besides allying himself on the war path with the late Francisco, the Chiricahua leader Cochise had demonstrated his respect for Hashkeedasillaa by giving him a captive Mexican boy, who was named Inda (Enemy) by his new masters.

The White Mountain chief's other friends included the Arivaipa Apaches, with whom his relationship dated back to the 1830s, when

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one of his brothers had married among the Dark Rocks people. The extent of Hashkeedasillaa's influence with the Arivaipa is illustrated by an incident in which two reckless Arivaipa Apache warriors stole horses from their Western White Mountain Apache neighbors. Three of the victims pursued and caught up with the raiders. One of the horse thieves ran off, while his companion brazenly confronted his pursuers and was killed. Fearing retribution by the Dark Rocks people, the three Western White Mountain Apaches drove the horse they had recovered by a circuitous route to Hashkeedasillaa's camp. "The killing you have done is the fault of the Arivaipa, whether they want to make trouble about it or not," the chief assured them. The next morning Haskeedasillaa addressed his followers. "This is one of our friends who has come to our place because he killed an Arivaipa," he explained. "Anyone would have done so. . . . If the Arivaipa come over after him, we cannot let them take him. He has come here because this is a safe place, so look after him."[51]

Hashkeebánzín (Angry, men stand in line for him), an influential Arivaipa Apache chief born about 1830 and a member of the *Destcidn* ("Horizontally Red") clan, was one of the chiefs who periodically visited Hashkeedasillaa. Hashkeebánzín had experienced a similarly uneasy relationship with the Americans. At a time—probably in the mid-1860s—when his people were drawing rations from Fort Grant (established in 1865 on the San Pedro River) Hashkeedasillaa informed him: "I am going to send about twelve of my people over to get some flour from the whites; some white man's flour. They have never seen it before." Hashkeebánzín asked when they would make the trip. "All right," he promised, "I will tell the whites your people are coming."

During the same visit, Hashkeedasillaa warned Hashkeebánzín about the Pima, Papago, and Yavapai enemies living around him. "Don't sleep late in the morning with your children," he warned. "Wake up early and talk to them. Go about the camp early in the morning. The Pima might surround you in the night, and thus you will save your children." Although this somber note proved to be prophetic, it was atypical of the occasions when other Apache chiefs visited Hashkeedasillaa's camp. More often these visits were occasions for three or four days of feasting, drinking, sweat baths, and speech making. Much banter took place, with the chief assuring

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his guests that his was the best country of all, with the best water; they should all come and live there.

Although long and eloquent speeches were expected on such occasions, they sometimes could be overdone. Once, when Hashkeedasillaa and his wife visited a Pinal Apache chief, the host kept his guests up for three nights in an over-heated sweat bath, telling long stories and singing songs. An old Apache recalled that about a year later the Pinal chief paid Hashkeedasillaa a return visit. "They sat up all night and told stories," he remembered. Hashkeedasillaa "told how he and a lot of men had gone down into Mexico and captured many blankets, so many that some of the best fighters got fifty, the unskilled fifteen. Then, instead of returning directly home, they headed east far into New Mexico and back by way of the Mogollon and Blue Ranges. The Mexicans tried to cut them off but failed. It was a long story." The old narrator concluded, with some amusement, "That's the way he got even with that chief again."[52]

By 1869, Hashkeedasillaa's relationship with the Americans had improved sufficiently that he encouraged them to build a post in the heart of White Mountain Apache territory. Nevertheless, he remained wary of them and continued his friendship with Cochise, who was still hostile and remained at the top of the army's "most wanted" list. Among Haskeedasillaa's other friends, the Cibicue chief Hashkeeba was by this period also actively cultivating friendly relations with the Americans.

In November, Capt. William Kelly of the Eighth Cavalry encountered Hashkeedasillaa while examining the White River area for the proposed army post. In his report to Maj. John Green of the First Cavalry, Kelly wrote that "Es-kel-tes-ela with about seventy-five of his band came into camp, two of them were men.The others were women and children." The Apaches all seemed very happy, shook hands all around, said that they were delighted to meet the soldiers without fear, and then seated themselves. "The men with Es-kel-tes-ela and his wife formed a circle," Kelly wrote. "The women and children sat in the rear of them. Es-kel-tes-ela again said that he and his people were very happy to meet the soldiers in peace and hoped that this peace might continue as long as the rocks remained solid." In response to Kelly's inquiry about the whereabouts of the Apache men, Hashkeedasillaa explained that they were away hunting and would be back in a few days. He then

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Apaches gathered to receive rations at Camp Apache in 1871. Timothy O'Sullivan photograph. Courtesy National Archives.

requested some food. Kelly complied and the Apaches withdrew to their camp. "They had great rejoicing, dancing and singing that night until 3 O'clock a.m.," Kelly reported, "after which Es-kel-tes-ela made a speech which lasted until daylight."[53]

Two days later, at Captain Kelly's request, Hashkeedasillaa accompanied Kelly and an escort of ten soldiers up the river "to look at timber, stone and materials for building." According to Kelly, after a time the chief "began to suspect that I was looking for Cachise's [*sic*] trail, and told me that Cachise did not know this country, that he never came on these trails." After proceeding about five more miles, marked with fresh horse and mule tracks, Hashkeedasillaa complained that he was unaccustomed to riding and felt tired; and so the party returned to camp. "I heard afterwards," the captain reported, "that he feared I was going to kill him and leave him in the canon." Although he suspected that there was something further up the trail that the chief did not want him to see, Kelly had wisely turned back, realizing that "any appearance of a movement at that time would cause the Indians to leave and defeat the object of the expedition."[54]

"This chief [Hashkeedasillaa] had told the White officer he should put another soldiers' camp at the place where Fort Apache

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now stands," Tl'ołdiłhił recalled, describing how "they drove wagons drawn with oxen and made their road as they went." Hashkeedasillaa told his daughter Naajebaayé that "they used to round up the soldiers like horses, with a bugle" and used the same method to signal the end of the working day. She remembered that rocky places along the route had to be blasted out. "We never saw anything like this before and we used to go down and watch it," she recalled. "Those soldiers worked fast and before long had the road up as far as Ash Creek."

Eventually, it was necessary to bridge the Black River. "So they cut timbers and hauled them to that place with oxen," Naajebaayé explained. "They worked on the bridge from both sides of the river and finally got it finished. . . . [and] then they started to put up buildings." Supplies for the Indians arrived at this time from Fort Wingate, New Mexico, along with lumber with which the soldiers "made a store, a meat house, a ration house, [and] steer pasture. Now they had Fort Apache all made." The new post, established in May of 1870 at the forks of the White River, went through three changes of name before becoming Camp Apache in early in 1871.[55]

The location had been chosen as the center of another proposed reservation. In the meantime, the camp became the new "feeding post" for the White Mountain and Cibicue Apaches. "When I was a boy, there were no white people around this country. Later on, when I was old enough to understand things, I heard that the white people had put up an agency," recalled the Eastern White Mountain Apache later known as Samuel George. "We went down to that place and while living around there, I became fully grown. Then Hash-lsisl-da-si-la . . . showed the soldiers the way to come here. . . . That's the way they started Ft. Apache. Then we had a good agency." Tl'ołdiłhił explained that "we drew flour, sugar, coffee and meat," adding, "there were lots of our people and it took all day to draw their rations."

Major Green, the post commander, reported to the commissioner of Indian affairs that, "on my arrival the head chief, Eskel-te-say-lah, and several minor ones came to me. As the former met me, he shook hands and thanked God he had again met the white man in peace; he was full of protestations of friendship and declared over and over again his desire and that of his people to live at peace with the whites."

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Green characterized the location—the most suitable he had ever seen for an Indian reservation—as healthy, well away from the whites, and in "a country they [the Apaches] almost worshiped." A July 1 count of Indians present at the post listed: "320 men, 452 women, 271 children, total 1043." In addition, according to Green, "there were at the time about 200 men, women, and children at Camp Goodwin, and between 200 and 300 scattered in the mountains who could not be got in, in time. As near as I can judge, I should say this tribe numbers between 14 and 1500."[56]

* * * *

"You think Indians all bad; look in my eyes and see if you see any bad"
—Hashkeedasillaa

In September, 1870, Col. George Stoneman, the Department of Arizona's military commander, visited the new post. Among the two dozen men accompanying Stoneman was Prescott journalist John H. Marion. Marion, who had been in the territory since 1864, observed that "Eskelthesala and his followers have for years been friendly to us, not from any love they have for us, but from motives of policy." It was because of this accommodation with the Americans, the journalist claimed, "that Eskelthesala, whom they once reverenced and styled 'Captain Grande,' has sank into insignificance and disrepute among them." Marion described the White Mountain Apaches as "a hardy, good-looking, intelligent race of Indians," who conducted brisk trade with the Zuni and Hopi, while warring with the Navajo.

On September 13, Stoneman convened a conference with White Mountain Apache chiefs. Hashkeeba was the first to speak, reminding Stoneman that he had been a good man since making peace with Major Green. Hashkeedasillaa spoke next. "He commenced by saying he had much to say, and was going to say it, which remark made us feel uneasy," John Marion wrote. "But he continued and we were forced to listen to the old barbarian. The veins in his aged neck swelled until they were as large as a man's fingers, his mouth opened and he said he had 'heard a good deal about Stoneman and was glad to see him. God had brought them together to smoke in peace (a gentle hint for some cigarrittoes,

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which were immediately furnished and passed around) and what he (Eshkelthesala) had said or might say would be written on stone and he thought it would last.'" Hashkeedasillaa expressed his appreciation for the beef issued to his people, explaining that "he was always glad to get meat to eat, that snow would soon come, and his people would need clothing; once they were rich in horses, mules, asses, and cattle, and could trade with the Zunis for everything they needed—powder and lead included —now they were poor, the soldiers and frost having destroyed their crops, and they wanted assistance, aye, even powder and lead 'to kill game with.'" Finally, Hashkee-yànìlt'ì-dn stepped forward to complain of the Navajo raids against the Apaches and requesting that Stoneman provide a doctor and an Indian agent. Like Hashkeedasillaa, he also asked for guns, powder, and lead. In response, Stoneman promised to continue issuing rations and assured the chiefs that he would write Washington about an agent and a doctor. In the meantime, he urged them to assist the military in running down any "bad Indians." Stoneman and his party then left for Camp Goodwin, which he subsequently ordered abandoned.[57]

The presence of the newcomers, in due course, provided personal relationships for both Hashkeedasillaa and Hashkee-yànìlt'ì-dn, when their daughters married Americans. In Hashkee-yànìlt'ì-dn's case it was Camp Apache's interpreter, the onetime prospector from Virginia, Corydon E. Cooley, who first married one of Hashkee-yànìlt'ì-dn's daughters and, then, her sister. In 1871, George H. Stevens, a native of Massachusetts who had been in the Arizona Territory since 1866, married one Hashkeedasillaa's daughters, whom he renamed Francesca. Another of Hashkeedasillaa's daughters had already married Hashkee'bilhide (Anger is Chasing Him), a Chiricahua Apache who lived with his wife's people and was known to the Americans as "George."[58]

It is ironic that Hashkeedasillaa's conflicting alliances—with the military post and with Cochise—combined to save his life, whereas his seemingly compatible friendships— with Hashkeebán-zín and Hashkeeba—brought trouble down upon his people. A member of the extensive "Slender peak standing up" clan attacked his maternal uncle with a knife, killing him, but not before the uncle had wounded his attacker. The dead man was also a maternal uncle by clan to Hashkeedasillaa, whom the nephew next sought

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out, stabbing the chief so violently in the back that the knife broke and Hashkeedasillaa fell to the ground unconscious. The young Mexican captive, Inda, saw the assailant running away and confronted him. A desperate fight with knives ensued in which Inda's life was saved only by the fact that his opponent was wielding a broken blade. Inda finally cut the man's throat and killed him. "After a while some soldiers arrived with a doctor from the post," Naajebaayé recalled. "The doctor gave something to my father, so he could not feel the pain and removed the knife from his back. They took my father to the fort." In the meantime, the assailant's corpse was taken away from the camp, dry bush piled on it, and the body set afire. He was not given a proper burial "because he had almost killed a chief."[59]

Hashkeebánzín's people took refuge with their relatives and clansmen among Hashkeedasillaa's band following the April 30, 1871, dawn attack by a party of Papagos, Mexicans, and Anglo-Americans on Hashkeebánzín's village on Arivaipa Creek, near Camp Grant. Their presence exacerbated friction created in March when one of Hashkeedasillaa's men killed the Camp Apache post trader's clerk and was, in turn, slain by Hashkeeba and another chief. In May, some of Hashkeedasillaa's warriors—stirred up by the Arivaipa refugees—raided the Camp Apache beef herd and killed the herder before taking to the mountains. In August, the first enlistment at the post of Indian Scouts drew men from the bands of Hashkeeba, Hashkee-yànìltł'ì-dn, and the Cibicue Apache chief known by the Spanish sobriquet, Capitan Chiquito (Little Captain). They proved to be effective allies in running down the wayward Eastern White Mountain warriors, killing six and taking fourteen prisoners. The "Camp Grant Massacre" had provoked outrage in the east and President Ulysses S. Grant dispatched Vincent Colyer as peace commissioner to Arizona. Upon his arrival at Camp Apache, Colyer instructed Major Green to send for Hashkeeba, and dispatched the mail rider George Stevens to bring in his father-in-law, Hashkeedasillaa.[60]

On the afternoon of September 6, 1871, both chiefs visited separately with Colyer. The commissioner later reported that he found it "hard work" to get Hashkeedasillaa and Hashkeeba to reconcile. Eventually, with help from Major Green and Corydon Cooley, he succeeded. "The chiefs met, stood some forty feet apart,

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eyeing each other, with arms folded haughtily," Colyer explained. "The interpreter stepped up, and, leading Miguel forward, put his hand into the hand of Es-cet-e-cela, when they first shook hands and then embraced."

The next day, Commissioner Colyer held a council with the chiefs. Hashkeedasillaa expressed confidence that "to-night he will sleep well. He won't have to tread sleepless over the mountains, but has a plain road. Now they have grass, can hunt the turkey, and have what they need." Hashkeeba stated that he was well known as a man of peace and wished only to live quietly and farm on Carrizo Creek, explaining "that valley has been father and mother to him." Major Green's wife, "who has been a warm friend to the Indians," then distributed cloth, thread, needles, blankets, and clothing to Hashkeedasillaa and Hashkeeba. "Without being solicited to do so, the chiefs all dressed in coats and pantaloons," Colyer concluded. Before moving on, the commissioner confirmed the area laid out by the military as the White Mountain Indian Reservation.[61]

Despite Colyer's efforts, Indian raiding continued. In April of 1872, Gen. Oliver Otis Howard arrived in Arizona to hasten implementation of President Grant's "Peace Policy" before the new military commander, Gen. George Crook, took the field against Indians whom he considered "incorrigibly hostile." For Hashkeedasillaa, who had already traveled so widely, this visit from the man known as the "Christian General" launched the longest and most profound journey of them all.

Howard, who added a "San Carlos division" to the White Mountain Reservation, assembled an Indian delegation to take east that included Hashkeebánzín's father-in-law, known by the Spanish name Santos. At Camp Apache, he added Hashkeeba, Hashkee-yànìltł'ì-dn, and Hashkeedasillaa to the delegation. Howard later wrote that Hashkeedasillaa "was old and easy-going, but a good soul. His people quarrelled some with their neighbors, Major [Alexander J.] Dallas [the new Camp Apache commander] said, but on the whole gave little trouble." He went on to describe their first meeting: "Eskeltesela was handsome, with fine features and large, clear eyes. He dressed like a Mexican." Howard also recalled how, "Eskeltesela's wife shed tears at the prospect of his going so far away, but old Santos told her I was a great chief and would bring Eskelt['] back safely, so she was comforted."[62]

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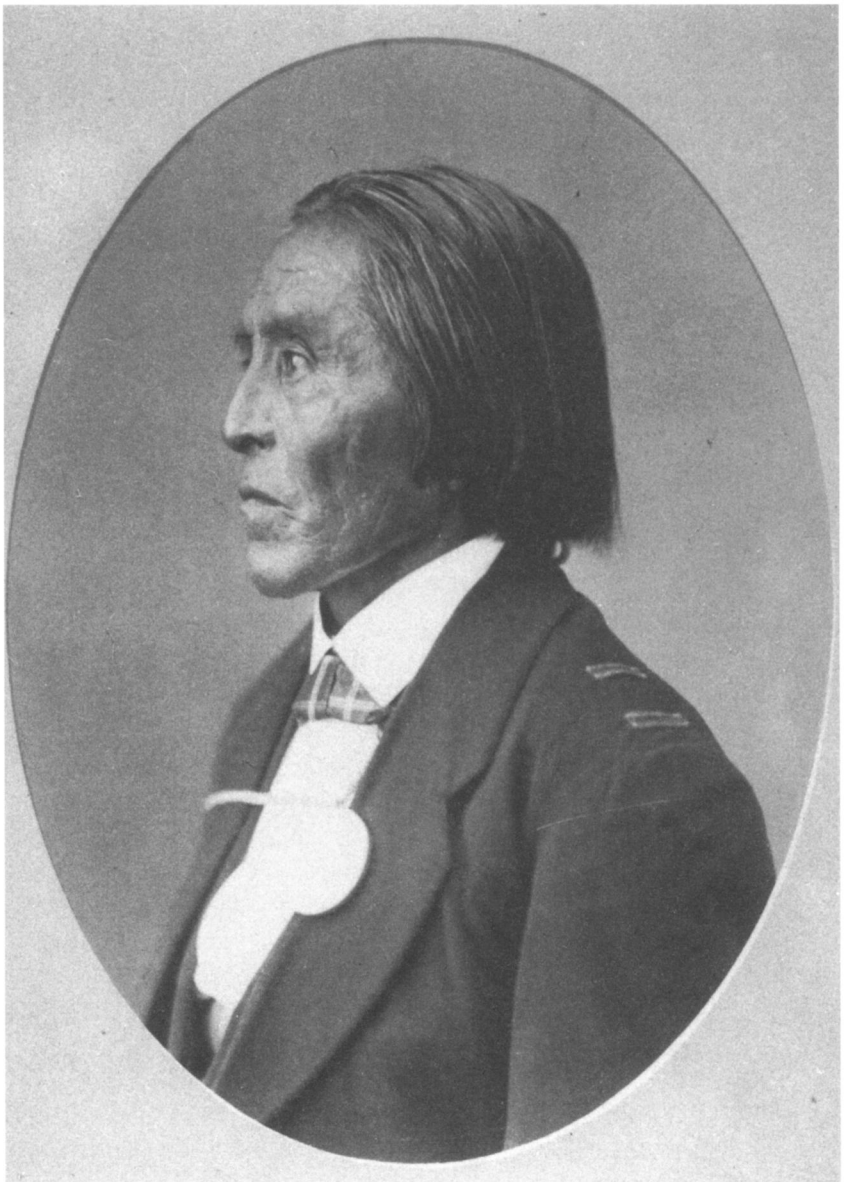

Haskeedasillaa in his "Washington suit," with his hair freshly trimmed and wearing a Grant peace medal. Alexander Gardner photograph, 1872. Courtesy National Archives.

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On June 1, Major Dallas advised Edward C. Jacobs, the Indian agent at Camp Grant, that: "General Howard left this post to-day for Washington City. Whilst here he consented to the request of Es-cet-a-sa-la and Pelone to remove their bands to your Agency." Dallas went on to explain that Howard "took with him to Washington Es-cet-e-sa-la. The family of this chief will accompany his band, the two bands being made the charge of Pelone during Es-cet-e-sa-la's absence. During that absence, General Howard promised that the rations of Es-cet-e-sa-la should be given to his wife."[63]

Howard and the Apache delegation traveled by wagon to Santa Fe and from there by rail to Washington, where they arrived on June 20. They subsequently visited New York and Philadelphia. On one occasion, Hashkeedasillaa said to Howard: "You think Indians all bad; look in my eyes and see if you see any bad." When the general looked, he saw only the chief's "frank, open face and bright, clear eyes." For one-eyed Hashkeeba, the visit to New York wrought a physical transformation when General Howard purchased a glass eye for him. While in Washington, the chiefs had their photographs made and were taken to meet President Grant. Pakota, the Yavapai delegate, later described Grant as "a short, thick built man" who shook their hands and "handed each one a written letter and a medal of his own likeness." Hashkeedasillaa said of the meeting: "I told the Great Father, I am old and I want to live with my people peaceful and happy, and the Great Father told me that is right, that I should not be afraid, that I had lots of friends, and to say this to my people. I told the Great Father the reason I came to see him. I wanted for my people food to eat and blankets . . . , and he said, all right, you shall have them. The Great Father said to me, I should stay at peace and be friendly with the whites and then I will always have to wear and eat plenty."[64]

In August 1872, the chiefs, clad in their "Washington suits" and wearing peace medals, returned to Camp Apache with General Howard, who then set out on his historic mission to make peace with Cochise. "I told my people on my return that I saw many wonderful things I never saw before in all my life," Hashkeedasillaa recalled. "I saw a little thin line [the telegraph] and they told me they talked to each other with this and at first I could not believe it. I got into the cars with many people in them, and I did not know where it was going, but I got back to the same place safely

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again. When I first saw the Rail Road I was afraid. I did not know what it was for; and when I went in the cars I looked about for the mules to draw them. I found it starting to make a big noise. I thought at first there was something in the ground drawing us along in the cars, until I asked about it . . . . After I was through in the cars, I found a wagon to take me in the water (Steamer). I asked and was told this is the horse to take me through the water. I found in that thing when travelling it went faster. I looked all around—and looked to see the horse ahead of the boat but could see nothing but water." Sadly but inevitably, these wonders must have remained incomprehensible to people who had never even seen a three-story building, let alone anything as strange as a locomotive or steamship.[65]

John Marion may have been premature in his earlier judgment, but it is probably true that from this point forward Hashkeedasillaa's influence began to wane among the skeptical Apaches. An army officer described how, similarly, his fellow traveler, Hashkee-yànìlt'ì-dn, "was allowed to tell of the wonderful things he had seen on his trip," but the people "listened to Pedro's stories with compassion & grieved that he was entering his dotage." That winter, General Crook finally launched his campaign against those Yavapais and Apaches who would never seriously consider peace until militarily subdued. Crook's most effective weapon was the deployment of Indian Scouts, many of whom were young men from Hashkeeba, Hashkee-yànìlt'ì-dn, and Hashkeebánzín's bands.[66]

After his return from the east, Hashkeedasillaa made at least one more trip to visit the Zuni and see his friend Jaa'yo'áát'ał again. He intended to give his friend a special coat. "Only my mother worked on the coat," Naajebaayé remembered. "She cut fringes about the edges of the sleeve and around its base. It was a greatcoat, like a soldier's coat. My father had been to Washington once, and the President had given him a coat made of cloth." So, Hashkeedasillaa assembled seventeen people to accompany him, saying: "Those who wish to go with me to Zuni can come and drink here. We are going to take this greatcoat to the Zuni country." Upon their arrival at Zuni, "He Carries His Ears" embraced Hashkeedasillaa. "Thank you brother," he said, "I am glad to see you come home. Where have you been all this time? I haven't seen you for a long while." Jaa'yo'áát'ał was

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delighted with the greatcoat, walking and dancing about in it and listening to the metal dangles attached to the fringes. Informed that Hashkeedasillaa's wife had made it, he said: "Thank you, my sister-in-law. You have made a coat for me. My sister-in-law has done good work for me." Jaa'yo'ááł reciprocated, presenting Hashkeedasillaa with a buffalo robe and a blanket, and extending Zuni hospitality to his guests. No wonder the White Mountain Apaches felt that "The Zuni were just like us, just like *ndé·*" (the Apache term for themselves).[67]

* * * *

"Nothing is afraid of me any more"—Hashkeedasillaa

In 1873, following the success of his winter campaign in the Tonto Basin, General Crook introduced a registration system to the Indian reservations. Each sub-tribal group (including the Eastern White Mountain Apache) was identified by a particular shape of metal tag, with each band within the group designated by a stamped letter (A, B, C, etc.) and each adult male in that band assigned a number, beginning with the chief as number one. These details were then entered in a register, and rations and other goods issued according to the entries. A former Apache Scout, who later received the anglicized name Newton Gale and whose tag number was Y-2, was the son of Nayadetale, alias Mary Gale. Newton recalled that "my mother married a brother to the *na do ts usdn* [Slender peak standing up] chief called Hack e l da si la, and so she went with her husband up to East Fork to live under Hack e l da si la who was now her chief." After her husband was killed by the Americans, Nayadetale married one of his relatives. "This was I tsa na dla," Newton Gale explained. "This was my father. . . . Then after I was born, Hack e l da si la was my chief also. Hack e l da si la became old. He said to my father. . . . I am getting to be an old man, so I guess you will be chief now. I will put you in." Almost seventy now and not registered as the tag band chief, Hashkeedasillaa undoubtedly became less conspicuous to the Americans and, consequently, less influential among the Apaches.[68]

The reservation system, with its population counts and designated ration days, gathered the different bands and clans of the Apaches together in combinations that they might otherwise

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have avoided. This inevitably led to friction and confrontation, as did the deployment of Apache Scouts as police after the winter 1872-73 campaign. The inadvertent result was the re-ignition of the old feud between Hashkeeba's "Row of white canes" clan and Hashkee-yànìltł'ì-dn's "Red rock strata" clan. Perhaps its earliest manifestations were seen in the killing of Pelone during a drinking party in May of 1873 and in the "drunken fracas" in which a young Indian Scout was killed near Camp Apache on July 16.[69]

One of the most serious incidents occurred when a fight broke out at another drinking party the following spring. Hashkeedasillaa and Hashkeeba were both cheering on their young men when the brawl escalated into a shootout. Hashkeeba, "the chief who had only one eye, was killed there," Tl'ołdiłhił remembered. "In all, nine men from the Cibicue group were killed and two White Mountain men." Hashkeeba's younger brother, Ishkiinlaá (Penis Boy), often known as Diablo, avenged his sibling's death. Ishkiinlaá was one of the young warriors who had served as Indian Scouts from their first enlistment at Camp Apache in 1871.[70]

In October of 1874, Ishkiinlaá told a visiting Indian inspector of his grief over his brother's death and said that all the bad Indians were now killed off. When it was Hashkeedasillaa's turn to speak, the old chief began by saying: "Before whites came in here, I lived in the mountains, but now I find I have many friends and brothers, every day more whites come in and shake hands." Hashkeedasilla described his Washington trip and the benefits of being clothed and rationed. "I am old and my legs are weak," he said. "I wish the Great Father would say and tell the Agent to tell me to stay in my house and not have to come every 5 days—to be counted." Hashkeedasillaa concluded his speech with the comment that "I never lived in a house before. I used to live in the grass and brush. I have a farm and raise beans, but I look at the [supply] trains that come from the Great Father's house to see if there is any sugar in them. I saw beef killed yesterday and this morning had plenty for my people—since you came here."[71]

By the end of 1874, the routine rotation of military units changed the commanders of the Department of Arizona and of Camp Apache. When established in 1870, the Camp Apache Indian Agency was in charge of the post commander who operated as acting Indian agent. General Howard placed the post surgeon in

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charge of the reservation until the civilian agent, nominated under the Peace Policy, arrived at the beginning of 1873.[72]

In 1875, a change in commissioner of Indian affairs was followed by a modification of the reservation policy in Arizona. Agencies would be closed and Indians concentrated at San Carlos on the Gila River. The Rio Verde Agency was the first effected, as the Yavapais and Tonto Apaches rationed there were removed in February and escorted, through the snow and rain, to San Carlos. Constant friction between the military and the Indian agent resulted in closure of the Camp Apache agency and removal of the White Mountain and Cibicue Apaches to San Carlos. All of the Apaches objected, but Ishkiinlaá most of all, appealing personally to the new military commander on the basis of the loyal service of the Cibicue Apaches as Indian Scouts and their willingness to forego rations to remain in their own country.[73]

The military opposed the closure but was powerless to prevent it. Needing one band to provide scouts for Camp Apache, the army chose to retain Hashkee-yànìltł'ì-dn's people, thereby leaving Ishkiinlaá feeling even more discriminated against. Col. A. V. Kautz, the new department commander, voiced his objections to the president, along with his belief that the Indians had not gone willingly to San Carlos. He thought that some of them had moved to be closer to the Chiricahua Apache Reservation. "Of these," he wrote, "a band of which Eskel-sa-law is the chief, one of those General Howard took to Washington, has consented to the removal and probably this is the principle foundation on which the movement was inaugurated as being desired by the Indians."

Clearly, the time had passed when Hashkeedasillaa wielded enough influence to oppose the will of the government. "Es-quet-es-chi-la, the hereditary grand chief now retired, is old and decrepit," wrote a military surgeon, explaining that "he was once a brave and fine looking Indian. He accompanied General Howard to Washington some years ago. He now takes great pride in showing a bible, an autograph letter and a photograph which the General gave him."[74]

Hashkeedasillaa became increasingly inconspicuous among the almost 5,000 Apaches and Yavapais on the San Carlos Reservation. Even so, an American visitor in 1877 wrote: "The following constituted the force of the Apachè in '76; under the following chiefs:

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Hashkeedasillaa's daughters, Anna Price (left) and Nancy Wright, photographed by Grenville Goodwin, ca. 1930. Courtesy Arizona State Museum, Neg. #18265.

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James Stevens (left), one on Hashkeedasillaa's grandsons, as interpreter for Apache delegation to the 1898 National Indian Congress in Omaha. F. A. Rhinehart photograph. Courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Neg. #gn_02537.

Is-kilte-shy-law [Hashkeedasillaa] with twelve hundred Warriors; Ma-guils [Miguel] with four hundred Warriors; Pedro with three hundred Warriors; Es-ki-min-i-gui [Hashkeebánzín] with—[*sic*] Warriors; Diablo [Ishkiinlaá] with three hundred Warriors." Among the 1,424 Mountain and Cibicue Apaches enumerated at San Carlos in the 1877 census, Hashkeedasillaa was probably the "Eskabachuletaw" listed as the leader of ninety-nine "Coyoteros."[75]

As his own role as a leader became less active in the 1880s, Hashkeedasillaa's influence would have passed to his sons, sons-in-

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law, and other close relatives. It is probable that, as a man of considerable status, he had several wives and a large extended family, but no one described it during this period. Nevertheless, we do know something about Hashkeedasillaa's daughters. Jimmie Stevens, the son of George H. Stevens and the wife he named Francesca, recalled that "Cochise called my mother sister"; but Stevens realized that their actual relationship was more distant than that. Jimmie Stevens, who became a noted interpreter, also described his first cousin as Chief Bylas, with whose band Hashkeedasillaa spent his later years. Anna Price and her sister, known in later life as Nancy Wright, were evidently the daughters of a different wife and probably not the same wife as the daughter of Hashkeedasillaa who married Chief George. In 1979, elderly residents at Fort Apache recalled that "Hashke dasela . . . was married to two Iya'ai [Sunflower clan] girls [and] had four daughters and one son all from one wife. It is unknown if he had children from the second wife." They added that "two of these daughters married A1 or Alchesay. The son became a Mr. Forrest who later fathered a daughter named Lillian. . . . The fourth daughter and Helen's [Helen George Adhay's] mother both married Isaac George . . . the son of P1, a.k.a. Henry George."[76]

Within a couple of years of their removal to San Carlos, passes were issued permitting the White Mountain and Cibicue Apaches to return periodically to their own country for hunting, planting, and harvesting. Ishkiinlaá, alias Diablo, was among the band members who did so, and his violent death in 1880 was a major factor in giving rise to the subsequent Cibicue Apache movement to resurrect their dead chiefs and the conflicts that ensued.[77]

While the old feud he had once settled with between "Row of white canes" clan and the "Red rock strata" clan of Hashkeeyànìltł'ì-dn was rekindled, Hashkeedasillaa's former alliance with the Eastern Chiricahua Apaches also began to crumble. The removal in 1877 of the Warm Springs Apaches from their homeland in New Mexico to San Carlos was a recipe for trouble. Among the consequences of collecting so many disparate bands in one area was a revenge attack by Chief Victorio's men upon a brother of Bylas.

Naajebaayé remembered that the Warm Springs Apaches "killed this chief, and his wife and their two children, related to me." Although taken by surprise and surrounded, "this chief understood about fighting; he was man," she said, recalling that he killed one

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of his attackers with a knife. Naajebaayé believed that he would have killed them if he had been able to reach his gun. The deaths spurred their relatives to enlist as Scouts during the subsequent Warm Springs Apache breakout. When Victorio's band raided toward the San Carlos Agency in May 1880, looking for a fight with the Indian Scouts who had pursued them, it was White Mountain Apaches led by Hashkeedasillaa's son-in-law, Chief George, who fought them and turned Victorio away. When Chiricahua Apaches led by Geronimo, Naiche, and Chihuahua raided the reservation in 1882, one of their principal targets was the ranch of Hashkeedasillaa's son-in-law George Stevens. Both Hashkeedasillaa's daughter Francesca and Bylas were present at the time and witnessed the slaughter of the Mestas family, who worked for Stevens.[78]

The majority of White Mountain Apaches were eventually permitted to move back to their own country and have their affairs administered from Fort Apache. The elderly Hashkeedasillaa remained behind, among those who "chose to settle at a place on the north bank of the Gila, opposite and little above Dewey Flats." The old chief lived until perhaps the early 1890s, and may well have been the "Askedasisla" enumerated with his wife, "Kohluldel," as members of Chief Bylas's band in 1890. "I remember him when he was a very old man living at Dewey Flat," a younger Apache told ethnologist Grenville Goodwin. "One time a big cloud burst came, and with it a wall of water descending the river. This old man was camped close to the river with other people. They left the bottom, seeking higher ground, forgetting the old man. I saw him coming along by himself, dragging his blanket, crying and saying, 'Nothing is afraid of me any more (the water). Long ago it was not that way. Then everything was afraid of me.'" This man thought that the old chief later died there, but Hashkeedasillaa's daughter, Naajebaayé, told Goodwin that her father died near Fort Apache and others from that area had a similar recollection.[79]

Some of Hashkeedasillaa's sons and daughters returned north of the Black River, while others remained along the Gila. As a result, his extended family was divided and, as time passed, their contact with one another grew less and less. By 1979, none of the elderly residents at Fort Apache, where Nahn-ol-te-yay and her husband Chief George had lived, were aware of their relationship to those at San Carlos. "It is thought that the reason people around Turkey

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Creek, 7-Mile and Eastfork did not know Anna Price . . . is perhaps because . . . a portion of Hashke dasela's family remained in San Carlos or Bylas and a portion of them returned to West Turkey Creek."[80]

Among his own people, Hashkeedasillaa had been the last leader accorded the respectful gesture of a man removing his hat, or a woman raising her hand, when they entered his wickiup. "Saluting a chief like this [was] an old custom, in use before my time," Naajebaayé related, "but my father was the only one to whom I ever saw such respect accorded." Laban James, an English-speaking Eastern White Mountain Apache educated at Carlisle Indian School, explained that "these small chiefs were not chosen by people or instructed like Hac-ke-l-da-sila—a real chief—was." Indeed, just like Newton Gale, Laban James stressed that Hashkeedasillaa "was the biggest chief, the boss, the biggest chief all over, as a matter of fact." With justifiable pride, Naajebaayé said "*nànt'ánntcà·h* ('great chief') is what they called my father." The sobriquet the Spaniards had given him had the same meaning. It seems unlikely that anyone who encountered Hashkeedasillaa in his heyday would have disputed the title.[81]

AFTERWORD

His decline during his last years should not overshadow the fact that Hashkeedasillaa was "credited unanimously by the Apache of his group as being the greatest White Mountain chief of his time." As a war chief, he led his people against the Mexicans, the Navajo, and the more distant Yavapai, and was well known and justly feared by his enemies. As a diplomat, he developed close alliances among the Chiricahua Apaches, the Zuni, and the Yavapai, and was held in high regard by these friends. Seven local group leaders chose to defer to his judgment, while his wisdom and qualities of leadership were such that leaders of other Western Apache groups sought his advice; his influence was sufficient to end a bloody feud and his word alone was enough to banish those who flouted his authority. Hashkeedasillaa's alliance with the New Mexican authorities in Santa Fe saved his life in 1865, and was doubtless where the Spanish sobriquet *Capitan Grande* originated.[82]

Similarly, his ability to overcome many setbacks and find accommodation with the Americans saved his people much of

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the conflict experienced by their neighbors in the late 1860s and early 1870s. The result was the establishment of the military post and Indian agency at Camp Apache, undertaken at his suggestion, within the territory that he controlled. The reservation was later expanded with the addition of the "San Carlos Division," which subsequently became the administrative center until the two were again divided in 1897.

Here was Hashkeedasillaa's most lasting legacy to his people, whose descendants still live today on the Fort Apache and San Carlos Indian reservations. He does not need a statue erected in his honor nor a mountain peak or a public building named for him. He may not even require the efforts of a well-intentioned biographer.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This article is affectionately dedicated to the memory of my late friend Lori Davisson (1933-2008), whose expertise, enterprise, and generosity as a researcher benefited so many people. The origins of this biography of Hashkeedasillaa date back to the mid-1970s, when Lori and I were striving to disentangle the true identities of what were evidently two different Apache leaders, both referred to in print as "Diablo." The original product of that research was Lori's article, "New Light on the Cibicue Fight: Untangling Apache Identities," *Journal of Arizona Hisitory* (Winter 1979). This is, at last, the other product. Sadly, it appears too late for Lori to see it in print. For source materials, information, and sound advice, I am indebted to archivists Alan Ferg, Arizona State Museum, Tucson, and Donald Burge, Center for Southwest Research, Santa Fe; to Professor Keith H. Basso, Heber, Arizona; and to author Edwin R. Sweeney, St. Charles, Missouri. Likewise, for their help and cooperation over many years in providing manuscript materials, microfilms, and photographs, I am grateful to the staffs of the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson; the National Archives, Washington, D.C.; and the British Museum, London.—*Allan Radbourne.*

NOTES

1. Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), p.670. His name has been variously written down as Eshkeldasila, Hack e l da si la, Es-kel-tes-ela, Hash-lsisl-da-si-la, Eskelthesala, Es-cet-e-cela, Es-quet-es-chi-la, Is-kilte-shy-law, Eskabachuletaw, and Askedasisla. The English translation depends very much

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upon just how it is spoken. Although "Angry, right side up" has sometimes been used, "His Anger is lying side by side" (Hashkeedasillaa) is employed here upon the recommendation of native Apache speakers. Hashkee (Eshke, Eske, Aske, etc.) is a term that prefixed the names of powerful, influential leaders. Although simply rendered as "angry," it refers to a state of mind that in English might better be termed "focused determination." Achieving this mental state in order to accomplish the leadership task at hand (hunting, raiding, warfare) might be manifested in anger, or bravery, or shrewdness, or whatever was appropriate and necessary; "lying side by side" was almost certainly a metaphorical term that cannot now be translated because "the knowledge required to do so has been lost." Tl'oldilhi (Black Rope), later given the American name, John Rope, was a Western White Mountain Apache, born about 1855 and the son of a chief. His personal narrative is in Grenville Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare*, edited by Keith H. Basso (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), pp. 93-185; Rope's recollections of his local group are in Goodwin, *Social Organization,* Appendix J, pp. 664-69.

2. Goodwin, *Social Organization.* This book is the principal publication resulting from the extensive field work of the remarkably enterprising and dedicated ethnologist (1907-1940), but was not published until after his tragically early death from a brain tumor. See, Morris E. Opler, *Grenville Goodwin Among the Western Apaches* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973). Hashkeedasillaa's story could not be told without the information Goodwin collected in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

3. Goodwin, *Social Organization,* pp.1-96; see also Edward Everett Dale, *The Indians of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949, 1971), pp.11-24. These Apache neighbors of Hashkeedasillaa identified among themselves four sub-tribal groups: the *Chokonen* (Chiricahua), *Nednhi* (Southern Chiricahua), *Chihenne* (Warm Springs), and *Bedonkohe* (Mimbres or Mogollon). For the wider anthropological and historical context, see Richard J. Perry, *Western Apache Heritage* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), and Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967).

4. The Navajo are of the same Athabascan stock as the Apache, speak a similar language, and were often allied with the Apaches against the Spaniards in the late-eighteenth century. Recognizing the power of this alliance, Spanish authorities invested great efforts in the 1780s to separate the Navajos from the Apaches. See Max L. Moorhead, *The Apache Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp.170-99; and Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), pp. 41-56, 245-90, 343-60. The Zuni and Hopi are Pueblo peoples; the Yavapai are of Yuman stock, as are their closely related western neighbors, the Yuma and Mohave. In the nineteenth century, the Yavapais were generally referred to by the Americans as "Mohave-Apache" and "Yuma-Apache."

5. Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding,* pp. 288-98; Goodwin, *Social Organization,* p.14. See also, Ralph A. Smith, "Apache Plunder Trails Southward, 1831-1840," *New Mexico Historical Review [NMHR],* vol. 37 (January 1962), pp. 20-42.

6. "The Life of Anna Price," folder 34, p. 145, Grenville Goodwin Papers, MS17, Arizona State Museum, Tucson; Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding,* pp.254, 270-72. Naajebaayé (Her Eyes Are Grey/Anna Price) was probably born in the early 1830s and was one of the most knowledgeable and co-operative of Goodwin's informants. His longhand notes of her extensive recollections are filed in folders 33 and 34 of his papers and typescript versions are in folders 37 and 73; the published version of Anna Price's account of her local group can be found in Goodwin, *Social Organization,* Appendix K, pp. 670-90.

7. Goodwin, *Social Organization,* p.671; John C. Cremony, *Life Among The Apaches, 1850-1868* (1868; reprint, Glorieta, N. Mex.: Rio Grande Press, 1970), p. 48. For a biography, see Edwin R. Sweeney, *Mangas Coloradas, Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). "Coyotero" was the term commonly used to designate the White Mountain, Cibicue, and sometimes Pinal Apaches and, later, misapplied to others. From the fact that Hashkeedasillaa maintained his good relationship with her people, it may be inferred that he returned the girl with all due care and attention to protocol.

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8. Robert C. Stevens, "The Apache Menace in Sonora, 1831-1849," *Arizona and the West [A&W]*, vol. 6 (Autumn 1964), pp. 211-12. Mexico had gained its independence from Spain in 1821, but struggled with economic and political chaos in the following decades.

9. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, p. 671. Spicer, *Paths of Conquest*, pp. 242-43, writes: "It is instructive to compare briefly the nature of Apache and Navajo contacts with the Spaniards. . . . Like the Navajos, the Apaches remained throughout the Spanish period quite marginal to the Spanish administrative-missionary system. Their country never became the scene of actual settlements of Spaniards. . . . The basic situation of freedom from Spanish domination was the same for Navajos and Apaches. This led to the selection of elements from Spanish and from Pueblo cultures on the part of the Navajos. . . . The Apaches also selected, but what interested them was different. They chose horses instead of sheep, but they never raised and bred horses. . . .The Apaches chose warfare as a way of life, somewhat as did the Plains Indians. . . . Over a period of 150 years the Apaches made warfare an integral part of their lives. It was this choice of warfare that constituted the revolution in Apache life stimulated by the contact with the Spaniards."

10. Naabas'obiyé, later known as Palmer Valor, in Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding*, p. 43, and pp.16-18 of Basso's introduction explaining the "sharp distinction" the Western Apache made between raiding and warfare. The former, usually motivated by need, was essentially an economic enterprise, undertaken by small parties drawn "almost entirely from the men of a single local group." The raiding party depended upon speed and stealth for its success, the chances of which would be greatly lessened by violent conflict and bloodshed. Warfare was usually undertaken to avenge the death of someone and directed against the group responsible. Instigated by immediate relatives, the war party was recruited widely among clan relatives from other groups and might sometimes number in the hundreds. Because raiding, if detected, might result in fatal casualties and because war parties often took stock and captives, the distinction between the two must sometimes have been much less clear to those whom the Apaches raided or fought.

11. Joseph F. Park, "The Apaches in Mexican-American Relations, 1848-1861," *A&W*, vol. 3 (Summer 1961), pp.129-146, quote on p. 134; Smith, "Apache Plunder Trails," p. 21; Ralph A. Smith, "Apache 'Ranching' Below the Gila, 1841-1845," *Arizoniana*, vol. 3 (Winter 1962), pp.1-17; Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding*, pp.16-19; Barney Tisle narrative, recounting the experiences of his *shi-cho* (maternal grandfather), folder 33, pp. 65-66, Goodwin Papers. Tisle's grandfather evidently belonged to same generation as Hashkeedasillaa.

12. Ralph A. Smith, "The Scalp Hunter in the Borderlands, 1835-1850," *A&W*, vol. 6 (Spring 1964), pp. 5-22.

13. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, pp. 84-85.

14. Ibid., p. 672.

15. Ibid., pp. 659, 672-73, 677 n. 4. The usual practice was for a man, upon marrying, to live with his wife's group. No source has been found for the number of Hashkeedasillaa's wives, but it is unlikely to have been less than two, and may have been four, as was the case of the San Carlos chief known by the Spanish name Cassadore; the Arivaipa chief Hashkeebánzín (commonly written, Eskiminzin) had three wives. Similarly, there is limited information to identify these sons and daughters, which reduces the opportunity to assess the inherited influence they are likely to have wielded in the 1880s and beyond. My own conclusions are presented in this paper. A list of the seven sub-chiefs is in notes from Y-2 [Newton Gale] on "Chieftainship," in folder 66, box 5, Goodwin Papers.

16. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, p. 681; see ibid., p. 224, for a specific examples of women accompanying war parties.

17. "Life of Anna Price," folder 33, pp. 297-300; folder 34, pp. 117-19. For a description of the hoop-and-pole game, see Thomas E. Mails, *The People Called Apache* (1974; reprint, New York: BDD Promotional Book Company, 1993), pp. 504-513.

18. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, pp. 679-80.

19. Ibid., p. 675.

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20. Ibid., pp. 85, 682-89. Communication with such non-Apache speakers as the Zuni and Yavapai was usually in Spanish, with Mexican captives used as interpreters.

21. Ibid., pp. 89-91. This friendship with Ni'gosdog was out of the ordinary and, therefore, illustrative of Hashkeedasillaa's singular status, as evidenced by Yavapai interviews characterizing as friendly only their more immediate eastern neighbors, the Tonto, Cibicue, and Pinal Apaches. W. E. Gifford, *The Southeastern Yavapai* (Berkeley: University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology 29: 3, 1932), pp.181-82;W. E. Gifford, *The Northeastern and Western Yavapai* (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology 34: 4, 1933), pp. 252-53. It is not clear which group Hashkeedasillaa was friendly with.

22. Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding*, pp. 33-34. This attack on the Yavapai must be characterized as warfare, and yet it was prompted by loss of stock—not life. The Yavapai women killed were pit roasting the fruit of the agave (also called maguey or "century plant"), similarly harvested and prepared by the Yavapai and the Apache, and commonly called mescal.

23. "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, pp.145-48.

24. Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding*, pp. 34-37. The Navajo boy captured earlier was also killed. While Nalta (a Western White Mountain Apache later called David Longstreet) also spoke of hostilities with the Navajo, he told Goodwin besides of his maternal grandfather being friendly with a particular Navajo chief and that they exchanged visits. David Longstreet, folder 32, p. 1, Goodwin Papers.

25. "Life of Anna Price," folder 37, pp. 100-101.

26. Ibid., p. 99.

27. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, p. 683. Hashkeeba, born about 1820, was known to the Mexicans and Americans as "Miguel," while "Pedro" was the sobriquet given to Hashkeeyànìltl'ì-dn, who was some years older.

28. Ibid., pp. 19-20; see also, Lori Davisson, "New Light on the Cibicue Fight," *Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 20 (Winter 1979), pp. 423-44.

29. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, pp.76-82, 678; "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, pp. 122-24; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, p. 246. See also Howard Roberts Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 93-94.The White Mountain Apaches made some baskets with handles, specifically for trading with the Zuni.

30. "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, pp. 137-38. This man perhaps acted as an agent of Governor James S. Calhoun or his successor, William C. Lane.

31. Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue* (reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), pp. 55-60; "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, pp. 153-56.

32. The first military posts were Fort Buchanan (1857), on Sonoita Creek, and Fort Breckenridge (1860), at the junction of Arivaipa Creek and the San Pedro River. They were intended to protect the overland mail route to California and the newly established farming and mining ventures near the Mexican border. See Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Starting With Defiance* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1983), pp.18-19; and Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Chains of Command* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1981), pp. 1-20.

33. Michael Steck to Sylvester Mowry, September 22, 1858, folder 8, box 1, Michael Steck Papers, Collection 134, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico Library, Albuquerque. Steck (1818-1883), a native of Pennsylvania, served as an Indian agent and superintendent in New Mexico from 1854 to 1865. See Dan L. Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography*. 3 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), vol. 3, pp.1361-62. See ibid., vol. 2, pp. 1029-30, for Sylvester Mowry (1833-1871), a former artillery officer actively promoting the formation of a proposed "Arizona Territory" and later well known for his ownership of the Mowry Mine and his support for the Confederate cause in Arizona.

34. Steck to Superintendent Collins, February 1, 1859, folder 9, box 1, Steck Papers; "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, p. 162. For Richard S. Ewell (1817-1872), the most widely admired soldier in Arizona at this time, see Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue: Army Officers in Arizona Between 1851 and 1886* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1991),

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p.125, and Percy G. Hamlin, ed., *The Making of a Soldier: Letters of General R. S. Ewell* (Richmond, Va.: Whittet & Shepperson, 1935). A short biography of Kentuckian John Walker (1800-1873), appointed Indian Agent to the Papago, Pima, and Maricopa Indians in 1857, is in Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography,* vol. 3, pp.1498-99.

35. Steck to Collins, February 1, 1859, folder 9, box 1, Steck Papers.

36. Ralph H. Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), pp. 42-43; Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue,* p. 159; "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, pp. 153-56.

37. "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, p. 161.

38. Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding,* pp. 52-59. The "New Mexicans" described by Palmer Valor may well have been Ute Indians, whose alliance with the New Mexican authorities was first forged by the Spaniards in the late eighteenth century.

39. Dale, *Indians of the Southwest,* p. 53; Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue,* pp.172-73. Albert Henry Pfeiffer, born in Holland in 1822, was of Scots-Dutch parentage and arrived in America in 1844. He died in Denver in 1881, having been prominent among early Colorado pioneers. A collection of his papers is in the Colorado State Archives. As an officer of the New Mexico Volunteers, he served under Kit Carson against the Navajo. Later, as a captain of the First New Mexico Cavalry, he was wounded while campaigning against the Apaches in Arizona.

40. Goodwin, *Social Organization,* pp. 661-62; N. S. Higgins, "Notes on the Apache Indians [1865]," p. 22, MS 180, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

41. San Francisco *Alta California,* February 20, 1865. The boy got away during a fight in August 1864 with a detachment of California Volunteers from Fort Goodwin. See Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona.* 8 vols. (San Francisco: The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Company, 1915-18), vol. 3, pp. 284-85.

42. Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise, Chiricahua Apache Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 52-60. Francisco may have been the "Fresco" that Agent Steck met at his council with Cochise in December, 1858.

43. For background sources on this period, see Allan Radbourne, ed., "The Battle for Apache Pass," English Westerners' Society *Brand Book,* vol. 34 (Spring 2001). For a summary of military operations, see Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue,* pp. 234-47; and C. L. Sonnichsen, *The Mescalero Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 89-119. Hashkeedasillaa's friend from Carrizo, Hashkeeba, was arrested during a visit to the Zuni in October 1864, and subsequently sent to Bosque Redondo. See Al Schroeder, "Savages As We Are," Santa Fe Corral of the Westerners *La Gaceta* (April, 1965), pp. 1, 3.

44. Altshuler, *Starting With Defiance,* pp. 27-28.

45. Charles Meketa and Jaqueline Meketa, *One Blanket and Ten Days' Rations* (Globe, Ariz.: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1980), pp. 51-62; Farish, *History of Arizona,* vol. 3, pp. 269, 285. For short biographies of Blakeney (1832-1907) and Thayer (1829-1918), see Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue,* pp. 35 and 329.

46. Meketa and Meketa, *One Blanket and Ten Days' Rations,* p.64; Altshuler, *Chains of Command,* pp. 36-37; Clarence E. Bennett to John Green, July 6, 1865, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* 128 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series 1, vol. 50, part 1, pp.415-19. See Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue,* pp. 29-30 for a biography of Bennett (1833-1902).

47. Sweeney, *Cochise,* pp. 232, 424; and Edwin M. Sweeney, *Merejildo Grivalva* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1992), p. 27.

48. Goodwin, *Social Organization,* p.14; Sweeney, *Cochise,* p. 424; Copy of Robert Pollock to John Mason, November 11, 1865, roll 3, Microcopy-234, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs (LROIA), Record Group (RG) 75, National Archives (NA), Washington, D.C.; Charles Croft, "Memorandum of a Tramp from Fort Goodwin, A.T., to Fort McDowell, A.T., November 13, 1866," p. 4, Charles Croft Papers, C.941, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson. To what degree the military at Fort Goodwin was actively involved with issuing the poisoned

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food is unclear, but the true circumstances of the death of Francisco may well have been similar to the case of Mangas Coloradas, who had been murdered in 1862 while "attempting to escape" as a prisoner of other California Volunteers. See Lee Myers, "The Enigma of Mangas Coloradas' Death," *NMHR*, vol. 41 (October 1966), pp. 287-304.

49. Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding*, p.100.

50. Ibid.; Charles A. Whittier, Fort Goodwin Inspection Report, March 9, 1866, RG 159, NA; Altshuler, *Chains of Command*, pp. 51-52. For Robert Pollock (1819-1901), see Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue*, pp. 264-65.

51. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, pp. 54, 56-57. The obligation to seek retribution for the death of a relative may already have been mitigated by the dead man having ignored warnings not to embark on this foray.

52. Ibid., pp. 54, 683-89, 184-85. For Hashkeebánzín (ca.1830-1895), see Jeanie Marion, "'As Long As The Stone Lasts': General O. O. Howard's 1872 Peace Conference," *Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 35 (Summer 1994), pp.109-140; Barry C. Johnson, "Randall, Adam, and Eskiminzin," *The Chicago Westerners' Brand Book*, vol. 27 (October 1970).

53. William Kelly to John Green, November 23, 1869, Miscellaneous Collection of Records Relating to Arizona Territory, AHS. See also Altshuler, *Chains of Command*, pp. 177-78, and 253.

54. Kelly to Green, November 23, 1869.

55. Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding*, p.101; "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, p. 174. See also Lori Davisson, "Fort Apache, Arizona Territory: 1870-1922," Tucson Corral of the Westerners, *The Smoke Signal*, No. 33 (Spring 1977), and Altshuler, *Starting With Defiance*, pp. 9-12.

56. Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding*, p. 101; Samuel George, folder 35, p. 49, Goodwin Papers. Samuel George was the son of the chief, Hashkee'bilhide, later named George, the son-in-law of Hashkeedasillaa [see note 58 below]. John Green to E.G. Parker, July 7, 1870, LROIA. Green reported that the Apaches had "little or nothing" beyond what was issued and pointed out that, "if we wish to make civilization a success, we must make the condition of those desiring it better than that of the hostile. For as long as the wild Indian lives better by marauding, than the tame one by planting, it is but little encouragement to him, and has a very bad influence." Although Hashkeedasillaa's people had undoubtedly suffered losses during the 1860s, they cannot possibly have amounted to 2,000 people. Green's more authoritative total exposes the over estimates made earlier. See Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue*, p.144, for a biography of John Green (1825-1908).

57. J. H. Marion, *Notes of Travel Through the Territory of Arizona*. Edited by D. M. Powell (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1965), pp. 23-29; Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue*, pp. 320-22 for George Stoneman (1822-1894). Marion may have overstated the degree to which Hashkeedasillaa's influence had waned.

58. H. B. Wharfield, *Cooley, Army Scout, Arizona Pioneer, Wayside Host, Apache Friend* (El Cajon, Calif.:. The author, 1966). As early as 1859, Superintendent James Collins wrote to Agent Steck from Sante Fe saying that he could "find none here that would understand the Indians," but had been told of "a man by the name of Cooley, who . . . was a good man." "Do you know Cooley?" Collins asked. "And would he do[?]." Collins to Steck, April 3, 1859, folder 9, box 1, Steck Papers. In 1880, Corydon Cooley was farming at "Show Low Creek." He gave his age as forty-four and his birthplace as Virginia. Cooley's family included his thirty-year-old wife, Mary; his daughters, Belle, Cora, and Lillie; and son, Freddie. *Twelfth Decennial Federal Census*, Apache County, Arizona Territory. For George H. Stevens, see Thrapp, *Encyclopedia of Frontier Biography*, vol. 3, p.1366. In 1880, Stevens was enumerated at Eagle Creek and described as a thirty-five-year-old farmer from Massachusetts, living with his twenty-five-year-old wife, Francesca, their ten-year-old son, James, and a daughter, Katarina, age six. *Twelfth Decennial Federal Census*, Apache County, Arizona Territory. Apache Biographical Sketches, folder 16, Dan R. Williamson Papers, AHS, gives the date of their marriage as May 27, 1873, at Camp Goodwin. "Huskayilthdedilthde" is also given as the Indian name of Hashkee'bilhide (Chief George, alias Henry George), who was born ca. 1850 and later designated tag band chief P-1. Apache and Yavapai Chiefs, Allan Radbourne Manuscript

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Biographical Files, author's collection. The 1889 San Carlos Indian Census, Fort Apache Population, p. 53, roll 461, M-595, RG 75, NA, lists him under the Indian name "Es day daht a de" as thirty-six years old, living with his wife "Nahn ol te yay," age thirty-five, and their twelve-year-old son "Is kal ole zay."

59. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, pp. 413-14. Although the narrator of this incident is not identified, it is apparent that this is the account of Hashkeedasillaa's daughter, Anna Price.

60. This summary follows Davisson, "Fort Apache," pp. 432-33. Vincent Colyer, *Peace with the Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona* (1872; reprint, Tucson: Territorial Press, 1964), p.12.

61. Colyer, *Peace with the Apaches,* pp. 12-13, 45-46. For Colyer's and Howard's missions, see Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches,* pp. 86-112. For the "Peace Policy," see Robert H. Keller, Jr., *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

62. O. O. Howard, *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known* (New York: The Century Company, 1908), pp. 93-98. In 1907, Howard had published his two-volume autobiography, as well as *My Life and Experiences among our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, Conn.: A.D. Worthington and Company, 1907).

63. A. J. Dallas to Agent Jacobs, June 1, 1872, vol. 38, Letters Sent, Camp Apache, 1872-1875, selected microfilm, RG 393, NA. Dallas gave the total number of persons in the two bands as 250. For Dallas (1830-1895), see Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow & Infantry Blue,* p. 92.

64. Howard, *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known.* Pakota's account is quoted in William T. Corbusier, *Verde to San Carlos* (Tucson: Dale Stuart King, 1968), pp. 120-23. J. Ferris, "Proceedings of a Council or Big Talk between Indian Inspector Daniels and the Heads of the Bands of Indians of the White Mountain Camp Apache Reservation, 10 October 1874," Letters Received, Dutch Reformed Church Mission Board, microfilm, AHS.

65. For the journal of Howard's aide, Capt. J. A. Sladen, see Edwin R. Sweeney, ed., *Making Peace with Cochise* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Ferris, "Proceedings of a Council . . . 10 October, 1874."

66. Louis Kraft, ed., *Lt. Charles Gatewood & His Apache Wars Memoir* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), p. 71; Martin F. Schmitt, ed., *General George Crook, His Autobiography* (1946; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), pp. 160-184. For an account by Crook's aide, see John G. Bourke, *On The Border with Crook* (1891; reprint, Glorieta, N. Mex.: Rio Grande Press, 1969), pp.176-214.

67. Goodwin, *Social Organization,* pp.77-79. This trip was probably undertaken in 1873 or 1874.

68. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook,* p. 219; Notes on "Chieftainship" fromY-2 [Newton Gale], J. H. [Joseph Hoffman], J. T. [John Taylor], and R. L. [Riley Lewis], p. 35, folder 66, Goodwin Papers; Goodwin, *Social Organization,* pp. 660 and 190. Neither the registers nor any of the metal tags from this period seem to have survived. The system was re-introduced in 1882, and continued in use into the early twentieth century. Some of the tags from that era have been found.

69. James Roberts to Commissioner of Indians Affairs, May 14, 1873, #B458, LROIA; Entries N.90, T.295, and E.64, Register of Enlistments . . . Indian Scouts, vol. 150, roll 70, M-233, RG 94, NA.

70. Goodwin, *Social Organization,* p. 52. A small, but significant, mistake is found in this story, when John Rope refers to "Pedro"—not Miguel—as the chief with one eye. It is doubtless as a result of similar confusion over Spanish sobriquets (which the Apaches rarely, if ever, used among themselves) that Goodwin erroneously refers to Hashkeedasillaa as "Diablo" when writing for publication. Similarly, the 1876 W. H. Jackson photograph published in *Social Organization,* p. 172, and *Western Apache Raiding,* p. 37, is not a likeness of Hashkeedasillaa or Diablo, but of Nylch-kay, alias Pinal. Diablo, however, was photographed on the same occasion—a visit to Washington, D.C., led by John P. Clum. In August 1871, Ishkiinlaá had been enlisted as "Es-ket-en-law." When enlisted for Crook's Tonto Basin campaign, his name was written "Esquetinlaw" and he was described as twenty years old and 5 feet 9 inches tall. His

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subsequent enlistments were as "Diablo." Entries E.27, E.38, D[191], Register of Enlistments . . . .Indian Scouts, Vol. 150; Entries D.91, D.99, D. 105, ibid., Vol. 151. Given the considerable difference in their ages, he was more likely to have been Hashkeeba's half-brother.

71. Ferris, "Proceedings of a Council . . . 10 October, 1874." Dr. John B. White, who served as a contract surgeon at Camp Apache and then as acting Indian agent at San Carlos, later listed "Names of Chiefs of Bands" in a manuscript intended for publication. Among the Eastern White Mountain Apache leaders he named was "Es-kil-tis-sil-law." Bureau of American Ethnology Manuscript 178-a-2, Smithsonian Institution.

72. For this period, see: Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches,* pp. 86-159; Keller, *American Protestantism,* pp.163, 191-92. For the military, see: Robert Wooster, *The Military & United States Indian Policy* (1988; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), pp. 144-73.

73. Davisson, "Fort Apache," pp. 437-39.

74. August V. Kautz to O. E. Babcock, October 20, 1875, Letters Received, Department of the Interior, P.518, RG 75, NA; L. Y. Loring, "Report on the Coyotero Apaches, January 11, 1875," Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. The outraged Ishkiinlaáled launched an abortive attack on Camp Apache in 1876, before retreating to San Carlos. He began returning there on a pass from San Carlos in the late 1870s, and, in 1880, was killed during a drinking party, just as his brother had been. It was in reaction to the desperate religious movement to resurrect Ishkiinlaáled (and the other dead Cibicue Apache chiefs) that the Americans were drawn into the feud they had rekindled. Consequently, they found themselves embroiled in the Cibicue Creek confrontation in 1881. See Charles Collins, *Apache Nightmare: The Battle at Cibicue Creek* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

75. E. Conklin, *Picturesque Arizona* (New York: The Continent Stereoscopic Company, 1878), pp. 232, 235; Martin A. Sweeney to Commissioner of Indians Affairs, July 28, 1877, roll 18, LROIA.

76. Ross Santee, *Apache Land* (1947; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), pp. 171, 181. It remains unclear whether Bylas was a son, son-in-law, or nephew of Hashkeedasillaa. Naajebaayé and her sister were born to the Sunflower clan, meaning that their mother was as well. George Stevens's wife (Francesca), and therefore her mother, were from the Roadrunner clan. Joyce L. Ema and Mary V. Riley, "Information Regarding White Mountain Apache and Cibicue Band Chiefs," collated from interviews conducted in 1979, author's collection. These four daughters from a Sunflower clan wife—Naajebaayé and her sister (same clan) from, probably, an older wife; Francesca from a Roadrunner clan wife; and Nahn-ol-te-yay (married to Chief George and perhaps of the Sunflower clan)—add up to eight daughters from three, possibly four, different wives. One son is specifically identified by the Anglo name "Forrest"; another by the English name "Jim" and identified as a brother of Francesca. Jim was killed while hunting by a man who thought he was the outlaw, Apache Kid (Williamson Papers, AHS). Anna Price speaks of the experiences, both as an Indian Scout and as a fugitive, of a brother she calls "Josh." But that nickname was applied to several men. "Life of Anna Price," folder 34, pp.186-93.

77. Collins, *Apache Nightmare.*

78. "Life of Anna Price, folder 37, p. 113, Goodwin Papers. See Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding,* p. 116, for corroboration by John Rope. Tucson *Arizona Weekly Star,* May 13, 1880; Globe *Arizona Silver Belt,* May 15, 1880. See Santee, *Apache Land,* pp.,167-77, for the recollection of Stevens's son, Jimmie Stevens; and Dan L. Thrapp, *Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. 237-38, for a contemporary eyewitness account.

79. Goodwin, *Social Organization,* pp.15, 690; "Life of Anna Price," folder 37, p. 27, Goodwin Papers; Coyotero bands, p. 6, San Carlos Indian Census, 1890, roll 461, M-595, RG 75, NA. The ages given are sixty-two years for Askedasisla and fifty-nine years for his wife, but underestimates are commonplace in nineteenth-century Apache censuses. For example, the age of Hashkeebánzín's father-in-law, Chief Santos (who was photographed in Washington in 1872 and 1888, and whose portrait E. A. Burbank painted in 1898), was given as sixty in 1888, sixty-five in 1892, and sixty-four in 1912! By that date, he was unlikely to have been younger than ninety years of age.

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80. Ema and Riley, "Information Regarding White Mountain Apache and Cibicue Band Chiefs."

81. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, pp. 678-79; Notes on "Tribal Organization" from Laban James, Notebook A4, folder 66, Goodwin Papers. James was the son of the scout and Indian policeman Loco Jim.

82. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, p. 15

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