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## He Is Constantly Angry

ESHKELDAHSILAH, WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE CHIEF

*Ron Dungan*

**T**he water cuts deep. It leaves tracks across the land. You can see this if you look closely, even in the heat of a June day when the ground waits and the sky remains cloudless. Rain comes by midsummer on the White Mountain Apache Reservation in eastern Arizona. It spills over red rock cliffs and makes its way through deep canyons, muddying up washes and creeks that flow into the Salt River. Snowmelt follows these tracks each spring. It has been this way for ages. The land dries up, the water comes. It cuts deep and you see the paths that remain. Washes. Canyons. Streams with deep banks.

The great White Mountain Apache chief Diablo grew up here. His people planted corn and hunted in the juniper hills, the pine forests, and the chaparral scrub. Anthropologist Grenville Goodwin, who lived among the Apaches during the 1930s and kept detailed records of what they revealed to him, tells of how Diablo rode south on horseback in 1864 to make peace with the White soldiers at Fort Goodwin. The chief set fire to brush along the way. He told his people that they would know he was safe as long as they could see the smoke. They watched him ride across the desert with a white flag, a wispy gray trail rising before them. They followed behind, and Diablo

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made peace with the White soldiers. Then the chief returned to the White Mountains with his people. He could do nothing more.<sup>1</sup>

To begin sorting through the trail of smoke left by Goodwin's rendering of this event, we must start with a name: Diablo. A chief by that name did not make that journey. The chief that Goodwin referred to was Eshkeldahsilah (He Is Constantly Angry). Diablo, a Cibecue Apache, came to power later when the Apaches settled into reservation life in the 1870s.<sup>2</sup>

Eshkeldahsilah was the greatest White Mountain chief of his time, and his gesture of peace was an important part of the Apache wars. Although Goodwin recorded a great deal of what we know about Eshkeldahsilah, his account of the chief's life remains incomplete. Goodwin died young, but left behind his life's works: a substantial anthropological study of Apache social customs and a work focusing on Apache warfare. Historian Lori Davisson also wrote about Eshkeldahsilah. After setting the record straight on his name and his standing at Fort Apache, her work shifted to the Battle at Cibecue Creek and the importance of clan relations in Apache life. Military records and writings by a few other observers also mention the old chief, but they too give us only brief glimpses of the man. Considering his importance in White Mountain Apache history, we know little about Eshkeldahsilah. We can learn a great deal about him by piecing the various sources together—enough to know that Goodwin had some of his information wrong. There is no reason to doubt that the Apaches remember the events in Eshkeldahsilah's life the way that Goodwin recorded it, but the story, as we shall see, is more complex.<sup>3</sup>

Although Eshkeldahsilah thought he had negotiated a lasting peace at Fort Goodwin, the man with whom he negotiated was soon transferred to another post. Eshkeldahsilah's offer was ignored and soon forgotten, and over time, he came to mistrust the Whites. This did not help him adjust to events as they unfolded. When the U.S. Army finally established a fort in Western Apache ter-



ESHKELDAHsilah  
(*Courtesy the Arizona Historical Society,*  
HD. 57864)

ritory, the other chiefs easily made friends with the soldiers. Eshkeldahsilah held a great deal of influence when American soldiers first arrived in Arizona, but his authority faded. As he grew increasingly distrustful of soldiers, he became uncomfortable dealing with them; eventually, Eshkeldahsilah lost his allies, his youth, and his influence.

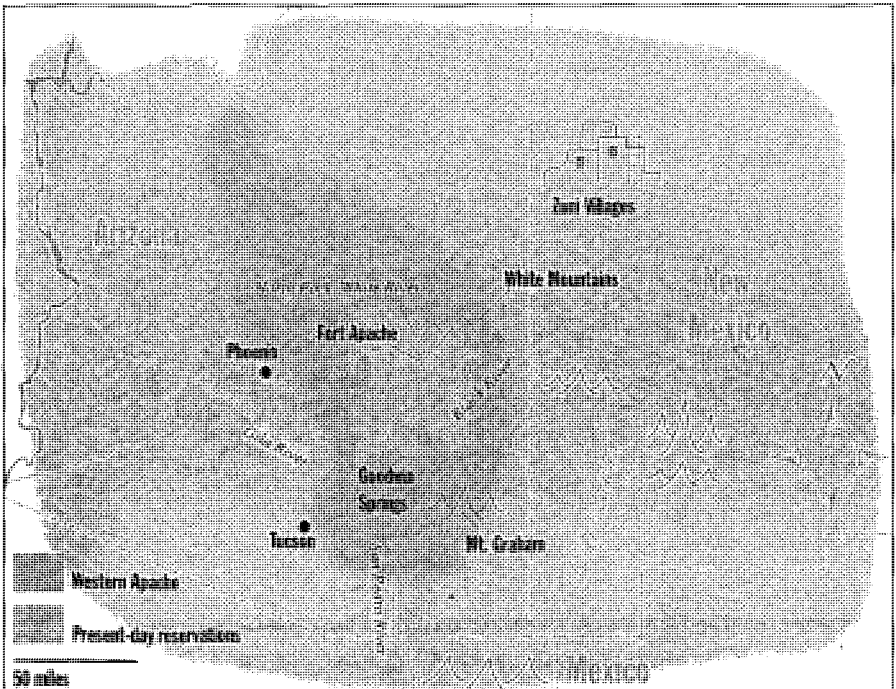
Eshkeldahsilah was born somewhere near Turkey Creek. He grew up in a society that prepared children for a life of running, horseback riding, fighting, and hunting. Every morning Apache mothers and fathers woke their children and sent them to bathe in mountain streams. On cold, icy mornings, the children broke through the ice and plunged into the water. They dressed, and raced uphill then raced back down again. This morning routine prepared them for the years to come. Apaches could run long distances. They became even more elusive when they learned to ride horses.

The White Mountain Apaches were part of the Western Apache group sometimes called *Coyoters*. They lived near streams and planted corn along small irrigation ditches, digging through the hard, rocky soil with sharp sticks. They remained near this crop until it began to sprout and then left to harvest wild agave roots, juniper berries, cactus fruit, acorns, and mesquite beans, occasionally returning to check their planted fields. The lower reaches of White Mountain territory gave way to desert, but the higher country held fertile ground. However, the entire region was given to fits of drought, heat, and hard times. The White Mountain band hunted deer, elk, and antelope, but did not eat bear or fish. Young men hunted small game. They did not raise livestock, but raided neighboring Navajos and Mexicans for cattle and horses. Sometimes, they carried out their raids so quietly that nobody noticed the missing stock for days. When alert herdsmen caught them and gave chase, Apache raiders scattered into the hills, taking what they could, fighting only if necessary. After a hunt or a raid, the chief divided food among his people. When Apache boys hunted small game, they shared their kill among themselves like adults. Eshkeldahsilah learned quickly:

He became a chief while he was still a boy, playing with other boys. All the boys used to call him "chief." When they went to hunt rabbits, they called him "chief." When they hunted wood rats, they called him "chief." When they went out to hunt birds, they called him "chief." When these boys killed a lot of birds, they would pile them together and say to him, "Come on, chief, divide these birds among the boys," so he would. This is how he became chief when only a little boy.<sup>4</sup>

When Eshkeldahsilah was a young man, the chief of his eastern White Mountain Apache band began to grow old. Nádots'osin (Slender Peak Standing Up People) came from as far as Eagle Creek and East Fork to discuss who should be the next chief. For this event, they butchered cows and talked late into the night. Only wealthy, influential men and women spoke; after talking it over for four nights they chose Eshkeldahsilah. "They sent for my father," said Eshkeldahsilah's daughter, Anna Price. "When he got there, he said, 'I don't want it. I am too young yet. There are lots of good men about here. I am just a boy. My mind is not good. I have none.' But the people said to him, 'Whenever you speak up, you always speak well. You are all right.' . . . My father cried about being made a chief, because it was such a big responsibility and would mean hard work."<sup>5</sup>

Eshkeldahsilah's maternal uncle, the former chief, taught him the things that a chief should know—how to talk, how to act, and "war power." One day he came to instruct the young Eshkeldahsilah about war power. At the



WESTERN APACHE LANDS  
(Map by and courtesy author)

end of the session, the uncle said he would return to teach Eshkeldahsilah more. The old man got sick and died a short time later while the young chief was away on a hunting trip. Eshkeldahsilah never got all of his power.<sup>6</sup>

Shortly after he became chief, Eshkeldahsilah married a daughter of Mangas Coloradas, the prominent Chiricahua Apache leader. When things did not work out with his new bride, he left her and married again, this time to Anna Price's mother, a woman from the Iyaa áiyé clan.<sup>7</sup> Eshkeldahsilah earned the respect of his people as he led successful hunting and raiding parties. His people planted corn along the White River and nearby streams. From time to time, the Coyotereros traded with the Hopis, Zunis, and Navajos, although they frequently clashed with and raided the Navajos, and once even joined White soldiers to fight them. When Navajo warriors killed Eshkeldahsilah's brother, he decided to wait awhile before striking back. He had work to do. The Apaches occasionally raided neighboring Pimas, Papagos, and Yavapais, but their real source of livestock was Mexico.

Historians argue that eventually Mexican settlement in Arizona collapsed under the force of Apache raids; yet, a handful of ranches were left alone for their livestock supplies. The Apaches considered Sonora part of their territory; "every mountain, town or spring of consequence has its Apache name."<sup>9</sup> Although the purpose of raiding was to acquire food, fighting inevitably broke out periodically, especially during Apache raids into Mexico. Spanish slave traders had sold Apaches to work in mining camps, and when Mexico won its independence, the new nation looked for ways to regain control of the northern provinces, one of which was to pay a bounty for Apache scalps. The Apaches raided to obtain food, but they did not hesitate to fight if the Mexicans discovered them stealing stock.<sup>10</sup>

Shortly after his brother's death at the hands of Navajo warriors, Eshkeldahsilah led a raiding party into Mexico. The party came across a well-defended mule train and a full-scale fight erupted. Eshkeldahsilah took a bullet in his right wrist. He grabbed his gun with his left hand, balanced it on his right arm, and rode into the battle. He was shot in the right shoulder but kept fighting, urging on his men. When the battle was over, the Apaches had killed seven Mexicans without losing a single warrior. Over the course of his life, Eshkeldahsilah was shot nine times. The raiding party sorted through the spoils—mules, horses, bread, cheese, and many blankets. Upon returning home, they distributed the booty to relatives, then to Apaches who came from Cedar Creek, Cibecue, and Carrizo. They held a dance to give blankets to the poor and gave the remaining items to the people of

Zuni Pueblo in New Mexico. As he told one of his friends about the raid into Mexico, Eshkeldahsilah's attention shifted north to Navajo country.

When his wounds healed, Eshkeldahsilah led his warriors northeast to avenge the death of his brother. The party rode until they saw the smoke of a Navajo campfire. They surrounded the camp at dusk and struck at dawn, then found another camp and attacked in the night just as the Navajos finished eating. The Apache warriors rode home with a string of Navajo horses. The scent of death trailed behind them. Both camps lay in ruins—hogans, sheep, looms, and blankets destroyed."

Eshkeldahsilah's intelligence, courage under fire, and generosity solidified his position among his people. Apache leaders did not rule through written law; they ruled by making sound decisions and helping others in their band. Their people could come and go as they pleased. Eshkeldahsilah started a family, and the band grew over the years until wickiups covered two ridges and the wash between them. The band's farms stretched out over five or six miles. Men removed their hats when they entered his wickiup, a courtesy not normally extended to tribal leaders. Seven subchiefs of Eshkeldahsilah's clan, the Nádots'osin, and an unnamed chief from another clan lived in the group. Although he did not remain married to the daughter of Mangas Coloradas, Eshkeldahsilah maintained ties to Chirica-



WICKIUPS OUTSIDE THE MUSEUM AT FORT APACHE

*(Photograph by and courtesy author)*

huas. He reared a Mexican boy given to him by Chiricahua leader Cochise. The White Mountain Apaches called the boy Indà (Enemy). Pedro, a Cibecue chief, brought his people to live near Eshkeldahsilah sometime around 1850 after a rival Cibecue clan—led by Miguel—drove them out of the Carrizo area.<sup>12</sup> Pedro and Miguel would patch up their differences over time, as we shall see, but for now, Pedro lived with Eshkeldahsilah. In addition, Eshkeldahsilah had a number of allies he could call on during times of war. Other Apache bands came to visit Eshkeldahsilah's band from as far away as the Graham Mountains, the San Pedro River, Cibecue, and Cedar Creek.

The fact that Eshkeldahsilah could call so many men to his aid and maintain friendships with Cibecue and Chiricahua bands demonstrates the depth of his power. Apache chiefs, however, did not have absolute authority over members of their band. A chief maintained power by making the right decisions and showing generosity to others. Apache leaders with influence that extended far beyond the local group rarely emerged, but they did exist. Mangas Coloradas held this kind of influence among the Chiricahuas, so did Cochise. It took a while for Americans to understand that Apaches could follow leaders calling for peace as well as those waging war. Even then, racism and ignorance framed American perceptions of Apache culture. Americans never fully grasped the depth of Eshkeldahsilah's power.

Although Eshkeldahsilah sometimes pretended to be angry when dealing with people in camp who complained too loudly or too often, he maintained his composure. Anna Price once said, "I never saw Father really mad." She may have forgotten the story she had once told about when her father came home and found that twenty-two men had died in a fight that erupted over a hoop and pole game, the tribe's traditional game of chance.<sup>13</sup> Eshkeldahsilah was angry then, although there was little he could do about it. In any case, the White Mountain chief had reached a level of power seldom attained by his people. His alliances reached far and ran deep, but his influence would not last. The Apaches faced hard times in the years to come.

In 1864 the Apaches still controlled most of eastern Arizona and nothing indicated that this would change anytime soon. The leader of the Chokonen faction of the Chiricahua, Cochise, commanded a large number of warriors, and roamed freely from New Mexico and Arizona into the Sierra Madres in Mexico. For years Americans focused on the movements of Cochise. From 1865 through 1868, fear of Cochise escalated to the point that Americans blamed him for Apache raids throughout the Southwest. Historians now know that Cochise spent most of these years in Mexico.



When he did live in the states, soldiers unsuccessfully chased rumors of him. White settlers, backed by soldiers in blue coats, continued to move across the hard, broken land of the Southwest.

Few Americans understood the differences between the various Apache bands. The prevailing view about Apaches focused on the idea of race and tribe, and settlers feared Apaches as a *tribe*. The U.S. government and Army made policy decisions based on this erroneous belief. Apaches spoke one language, worshipped the same god, and coexisted in relative peace, but Apache life revolved around the clan and the local group. A number of Apache bands tried to make peace with the U.S. government on several occasions, but Americans could never overcome barriers of racism, language (Apache is difficult for Whites to learn), and cultural misunderstanding. Although a few soldiers and government officials slowly grasped that many Apache bands wanted peace, some Arizona settlers were harder to convince. Historians have even suggested that settlers, who made money off of Apache conflict by selling supplies to the military, wanted the war to continue.

The Western Apaches had lived for years where the water cuts deep and leaves its tracks across the land. They regarded the Americans as another group of interlopers, and had no way of knowing the size of the U.S. Army and the number of American settlers that would come. The Apaches respected Whites more than past intruders because their soldiers were more disciplined, but they would deal with them as they had the Mexicans—driving them out of the Southwest if necessary. The Apaches, however, had more than White soldiers to think about. Their world revolved around the land, a land carved by rain and snow.<sup>14</sup>

In the mid-1860s, the water stopped flowing. Crops failed. Streams ran low. By 1864 a severe drought strained Apache resources and several bands had to adjust. By abandoning farming and moving to different territories, Eshkeldahsilah's local group remained near the east fork of the White River or Bonito Creek. As the drought took its toll, soldiers pressed the edges of Western Apache territory.

Indian agents in the region reported that some tribes faced starvation. The Moquis traveled hundreds of miles looking for food at the Pueblo agency in New Mexico. Although the U.S. Army of the West directed most of its strength at fighting tribes on the Great Plains, it established a number of forts in southern Arizona, which the Western Apaches began to visit. One time an officer distributed gifts—blankets, big brass kettles, copper wire for making bracelets. “A whole pile of things he gave us,” said one observer.<sup>15</sup>

While soldiers distributed gifts and tried to maintain the peace, settlers sometimes lured Apaches with gifts and then killed them. In the summer of 1864, some Americans near Goodwin Springs, Arizona, handed out poisoned meat, killing a number of Apaches. Eshkeldahsilah lost important friends and allies to this tragedy. Grenville Goodwin does not list the victims, but refers to them in passing so we can pick up a name or a description in his narrative: Hæké dòldis, half brother of chief Djà'ò'áhá, Eshkeldahsilah's most trusted friend; an unnamed parallel cousin of Eshkeldahsilah, described as an influential man; Hackí nà' inlá, a subchief who once lived in Eshkeldahsilah's local group; and Nà gínít'á', an ally who lived near Mount Graham and remained friendly with the Chiricahuas. Eshkeldahsilah never forgot this incident. Even as he worked to maintain the peace with White soldiers, the chief never completely trusted them.

In 1864 Gen. James Carleton, who had just completed a campaign against the Navajos that ended in their forced march to Bosque Redondo, took over the Apache campaign. He claimed that he could subdue the Apaches quickly, promising in April 1864 to end the Apache conflict by Christmas. The government added hundreds of troops to the Arizona command, and Carleton sent them into Apache territory. He never delivered the victory he promised, nor did he find Cochise, but he managed to inflict damage on some of the White Mountain bands, Eshkeldahsilah's people among them. "We were always afraid," Anna Price said of Carleton's campaign. "There is a kind of bird that lives in the pines . . . and this used to always be scaring us, because he whistled just like the soldiers signaling to each other."<sup>16</sup> Carleton never ended the conflict because his troops wasted their time chasing peaceful Western Apache bands.

When Anna Price was fifteen, the Nádots'osin camped in the Graham Mountains to gather and roast mescal. A company of soldiers came upon them and gave chase. As they scattered, Price and her niece ran into a cluster of oaks, then into the thick brush of a canyon choked with catclaw, which tore at their legs. Bullets cut their dresses and hair, but they ran until they came to a pond. They grabbed some brush, put it over their heads, and hid in the water along the bank. When they got back to camp, Price counted nine bullet holes in her dress. Eshkeldahsilah, relieved to see his daughter still alive, cried and said he would have gone to Camp Grant to fight the soldiers if she had been killed. His men wanted to go anyway, even though the soldiers had stolen their horses. Eshkeldahsilah's men returned to the White Mountains instead. Historians have traced the wrath of two

Chiricahua warriors, Geronimo and Cochise, on their path of vengeance. Eshkeldahsilah never joined the two famed Apache warriors; if he had, it would have been on this day.<sup>17</sup>

Eshkeldahsilah and his people stayed on their guard. They planted additional farm sites along the Black River to increase their food reserves, and Eshkeldahsilah tried to keep his men mentally prepared: "If any trouble comes to us, and some of you should run off and leave your women and children behind, then you will not be men. Then you will not be in my mind as good men any longer. You better stand against any enemy, all of you, if they should come." Eshkeldahsilah knew that his men would not risk losing his respect, Goodwin writes. However, Eshkeldahsilah watched as his neighbors—the Tontos, the Chiricahuas, and the Mimbres in New Mexico—fought the Americans; the futility became more apparent as time passed. The White Mountain Apaches were "anxious to avoid the fate that had befallen their neighbors." Drought continued to take its toll on the region as well. The combination of a lack of food and the desire to avoid warfare drove the White Mountain Apaches to seek peace.<sup>18</sup>

In the spring of 1865, the Apaches began seeking supplies at Fort Goodwin, a new post along the Gila River built on ground so swampy that eventually the army abandoned it because the troops there kept getting sick. Maj. James Gorman told the Apache visitors to send their head chief to negotiate a peace agreement. Gorman did not expect to see the Apaches again, and in any case, he had other things to think about. The post had not seen any grain for its horses in over five months, and several animals had died. The remaining horses were in no shape for rugged duty in the mountains. When Eshkeldahsilah arrived at the gates of Fort Goodwin carrying a white flag with four hundred Eastern White Mountain Apaches, Gorman had no idea what to do. He had no food to give to the Apaches, so he talked to them and told them to go in peace. However, Gorman's supervisor, Gen. John S. Mason, thought that the Apaches had lied about their peaceful intent and that Gorman was a drunk and was unfit for command. A short time later, Mason transferred Gorman to Fort Bowie. Eshkeldahsilah and his people left the fort with the impression that they had negotiated a lasting peace, but the military soon forgot about the talks between Gorman and Eshkeldahsilah.<sup>19</sup>

By 1869 little had changed. Arizona settlers wanted Cochise brought to justice. They believed that his capture would end the violence. Although much of the nation began to call for reform in Indian policy, the Southwest rejected this thinking. Some Americans believed that the extermination of

Indians would be the only solution for peace. As the events unfolded, the U.S. government had no coherent Indian policy for Arizona. It had yet to establish a single Apache reservation.

The Coyoteros continued to live far away from American settlements, and, save for the occasional stock raids (mostly in Mexico), avoided these settlements altogether. Eshkeldahsilah grew uneasy as time passed and the soldiers continued to ignore his offer of peace. U.S. Army soldiers kept pressing for military control of the region. The Whites had poisoned three of his allies and other Apaches gathered at Goodwin Springs. Meanwhile, Eshkeldahsilah's influence began to decline and the fortunes of others improved.

Although Miguel had driven Pedro out of Cibecue territory earlier, the two chiefs settled their differences. Pedro no longer lived among the Nádots'osin. Miguel and Pedro did their best to uphold peace with the Whites. Miguel maintained cordial relationships with some White settlers. When two frontiersmen, Corydon Cooley and Wood Dodd, asked Miguel and his younger brother, Diablo, to lead them to a lost mine, Miguel agreed. Cooley became so friendly with the Cibecue bands that he later married two of Pedro's daughters. Still, most Arizonans viewed all Apaches as one cohesive tribe and Cochise remained at large. When word got out that Cooley and Dodd lived among the Cibecues, it led to rumors that they had sold fire-arms to the Apaches.

In July of 1869, Lt. Col. John Green led his troops into the White Mountains as a demonstration of force and to investigate rumors of an illegal gun-running operation. Green knew little about the Western Apache bands at the time; few Americans did. Before Green's campaign could get very far, Miguel approached the soldiers and said his band wanted peace. In response Green sent Capt. John Barry and fifty soldiers to Miguel's camp with vague instructions that included exterminating the village if necessary. When Barry arrived at the camp, a white flag hung from every wickiup. Men, women, and children came out to greet the soldiers and cut corn for their horses. Barry's party never fired a shot. Green's troops destroyed a cornfield in the area, but when Barry reported on the peaceful reception that his troops had experienced at Miguel's village, Green began to rethink his stance on the Coyoteros. Green ventured into Apache land believing what most Americans did: Apaches acted as one tribe, and a hostile one at that. Green, a traditional military man who had little use for critical thinking about the differences between various bands, began to question his assumptions about Apaches. He passed this information on to his superiors. Miguel had even

volunteered the services of his men as scouts. Green became convinced that Miguel was friendly, and that Cooley had nothing to hide.<sup>20</sup>

In November Green and his men again rode north to the White Mountains to explore the possibility of building a wagon route through the region. Upon his arrival, Green tried to establish contact with the Western Apache chiefs and he met with Miguel. A couple of days later, Eshkeldahsilah showed up at Green's camp. They shook hands, smoked, ate, and talked. Green later described the chief as elderly but handsome and dignified looking. Eshkeldahsilah spent the night at Green's camp and prepared to leave the next day. When Green asked about the wagon route, Eshkeldahsilah recommended a route through the Zuni villages to the east and provided a guide.

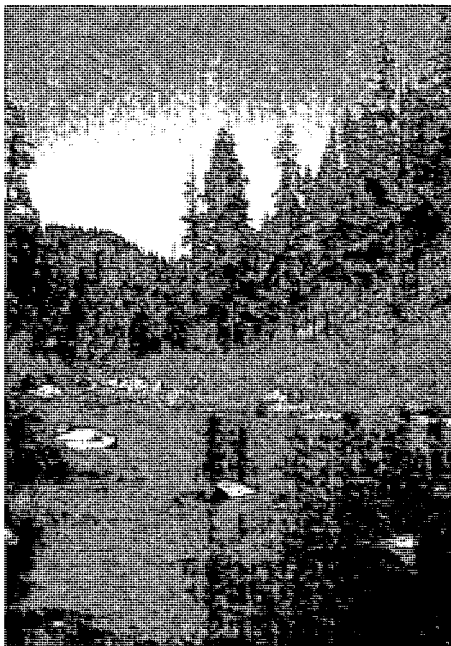
A few days later, Eshkeldahsilah traveled to the White River with about ten men and sixty-five women to visit a detachment of Green's forces led by Capt. William Kelly. When Eshkeldahsilah arrived at the soldier's camp the two men shook hands. The chief asked for food to supply his people. The soldiers then watched as the Apaches camped next to them and danced until well after midnight; Eshkeldahsilah later began a speech to his people that would last until dawn. In the morning, the women gathered berries while the men and boys played sports. The *Nádots'osin* remained there for several days. Later, the Apaches turned over a Mexican woman to the soldiers. The woman had lived among them for years and did not want to leave, but the Apaches, perhaps aware that this violated U.S. policy, released her to the troops.

Satisfied that he had found a suitable wagon route, Green led his troops south back to Camp Grant. A number of the Apaches followed them, but Eshkeldahsilah remained suspicious of the soldiers and stayed behind.<sup>21</sup> Green also never completely trusted Eshkeldahsilah. He described numerous events in his report that raised his suspicions of Eshkeldahsilah, but he failed to fully explain his distrust for the Apache chief. Green thought that Cochise may have been in the area, and that Eshkeldahsilah had warned the Chiricahua chief of the presence of U.S. troops. Cochise may have been near, but Green learned from the freed Mexican woman that the White Mountain band had not helped him in battle for a number of years. The two bands traded stolen stock from time to time, she told him, but otherwise the White Mountains did not have much contact with the Chiricahuas. Green did not understand the relationships of various Apache bands, shifting alliances, or the possibility that the chief may have wanted to maintain concurrent friendships with both Cochise and the Whites. Green was so impressed with the Coyoteros as a

whole and their intentions to remain at peace that he later recommended the United States establish a reservation and military post in the White Mountains. Gen. Edward O. C. Ord, one of the commanders in the region, called the suggestion “interesting and important.”<sup>22</sup>

The fragile nature of American-Apache relations became clear when U.S. troops killed seven people in an attack on a group of White Mountain Apaches roasting mescal. Eshkeldahsilah moved his people to the Black River, away from their traditional White River farms. At night women and children slept under brush for safety while the men stayed at camp. When Eshkeldahsilah confronted some of the soldiers he trusted regarding the attack, they explained that the soldiers who assaulted his people originated from an outpost in another region and assured him that such an incident would not happen again. He moved his people back to White River.<sup>23</sup>

Eshkeldahsilah and his people faced an uncertain future. Old alliances had crumbled as chiefs died or moved away, and he had lost considerable influence. To make matters worse, Eshkeldahsilah’s authority frequently went unnoticed among White soldiers, either because they did not know of his reputation or because they had disregarded it. In the eyes of U.S. soldiers, Pedro and Miguel’s willingness to offer their men as scouts elevated their status as leaders. In July of 1870, Green received orders to build a post on the White River. By this time, Coyotero food supplies had diminished. Green had destroyed much of their crop in the fall and a June frost killed the next crop. So many army patrols rode through southern Arizona that the Apaches feared traveling too far to gather mescal. A drought had also reduced game herds. Without mescal, corn, and venison, the Apaches had very little to eat. The situation at Camp Apache became so severe that children asked soldiers for their saddle blankets to keep warm at night.<sup>24</sup>



BLACK RIVER

*(Photograph by and courtesy author)*

Gen. George Stoneman visited the area in the fall of 1870 and spoke to each of the four principle Western Apache chiefs: Eshkeldahsilah, Pedro, Miguel, and Captain Chiquito. John Huguenot Marion, a reporter for the *Prescott (Ariz.) Miner*, traveled with the general and later wrote about these encounters. Miguel impressed the reporter as a shrewd, intelligent leader, but Eshkeldahsilah failed to impress him at all. Although Marion realized that Eshkeldahsilah had lived peacefully for years, he pointed out that it was “not for any love they have for us, but from motives of policy.” Marion wrote that Eshkeldahsilah’s reputation as a leader sank to “insignificance” over the years, even though the chief had once been known as “Captain Grande.”

The soldiers completed their survey of the new post, and the chiefs addressed them as they prepared to leave. Eshkeldahsilah annoyed the soldiers when he announced that “he had much to say, and was going to say it.” Anxious to get on the road, the soldiers squirmed as the chief continued. Marion said, “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.” Eshkeldahsilah said he was glad that God had brought them all together again so they could smoke in peace, which the soldiers took as a “gentle hint for some cigarritos [*sic*], which were immediately furnished and passed around.” Impatient, racist, and arrogant, the soldiers and Marion rightly assessed that they held the upper hand. It would be many long and bloody years before the United States subdued the Apaches throughout Arizona. Had they listened respectfully to Apache leaders, they might have prevented the further loss of life. Each of the leaders lamented the loss of their former prosperity. Eshkeldahsilah said that his band once owned a large amount of livestock and had corn in their fields, but now they had nothing. Miguel said that God had made the White man rich and the red man poor. Pedro also complained of lack of food for his people and warned that he might raid the Navajos to help solve this problem. Marion hardly could contain his contempt.

The fact that the Apaches had no food largely because they discontinued raiding to remain at peace with Americans seemed lost on Marion and the soldiers. Raiding had always been a source of food when crops had failed and game had grown scarce. They had endured drought and attacks from outsiders before. Raiding provided what nature could not. Now that the soldiers had successfully halted Apache raiding, they seemed uninterested in the fate of Apache subsistence and survival. The soldiers saw this as the government’s problem, and although they pointed it out periodically, the government responded slowly.

Gov. Anson P. K. Safford visited the reservation in August and found the White Mountain territory rich in resources—timber, water, game, fish, and grazing land—“with sufficient arable lands to satisfy the want of the Indians and not enough to excite the cupidity of the whites.” However, the Western Apaches, he said, remained poor. The governor met with Eshkeldahsilah and walked away convinced that the Apaches would live peacefully if the right person supervised the reservation.<sup>25</sup>

The Apaches still had no reservation. Camp Apache remained a military post, and Eshkeldahsilah and his people lived close to the soldiers while government discussions about reservation boundaries continued. Throughout the Arizona Territory, formal Apache reservations did not exist. As White soldiers patrolled the field, the thorny question of what to do with Apaches who did not wish to fight remained a central concern. South of Camp Apache, a number of Aravaipa Apache bands led by Chief Eskiminzin had also surrendered to American authorities and lived outside Camp Grant while soldiers awaited further instructions.

Racism and hatred continued to influence events. White settlers in Tucson still thought of Apaches as one cohesive tribe and viewed all bands with suspicion. The idea of a group of Apaches living under the protection of troops did not sit well in Tucson. On 28 October 1871, a group of about one hundred Mexicans, Anglos, and Papagos left Tucson with nothing more in common than a shared hatred of Apaches. They approached Camp Grant at dawn and killed about 120 Aravaipas in their sleep. News of the massacre spread quickly. The public outcry was enormous. Vincent Colyer, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, traveled to the Southwest to help carry out Pres. Ulysses S. Grant’s Peace Policy, a measure aimed at placing Indians on reservations, teaching them the fundamentals of Christianity and farming, and preparing them for citizenship. Colyer tried to meet with Apache leaders, but had difficulty locating them.<sup>26</sup>

News of the Fort Grant Massacre rattled Eshkeldahsilah. He considered the Aravaipa chief Eskiminzin a friend and ally, and more than likely considered the implications for his own band. If the troops could not protect Eskiminzin’s band near Camp Grant, then how could they protect Eshkeldahsilah’s people at Camp Apache? In mid-May Eshkeldahsilah took about six hundred of his people and fled into the mountains. In order to escape, they stole horses from the soldiers. One Apache killed a soldier standing guard over the Camp Apache herd. Initially, Green thought that only Eshkeldahsilah’s band had left, but only Miguel and about 275 Apaches



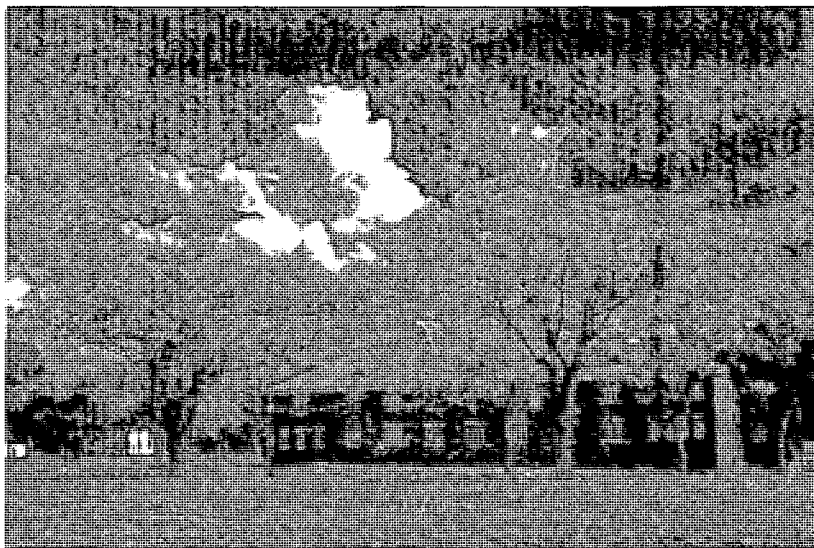
remained at the post. In July of 1870, Green had estimated that fifteen hundred Coyoteros lived in the area. Green saw himself as a soldier, not a diplomat. He came into Apache territory to fight Apaches, and had taken a risk when he argued in favor of a White Mountain reserve in the first place. He felt betrayed by the breakout, and contemplated “exterminating” the entire tribe.<sup>27</sup> At first Green cut off contact with Miguel and then demanded that the chief arrest the man who killed the soldier. When Miguel insisted that the man was not a member of his band, Green persisted. To atone for this loss, Miguel had one of Eshkeldahsilah’s men killed.

By September Colyer had given up on finding any Apache leaders in New Mexico to meet with, so he moved west to Camp Apache. He sent for Eshkeldahsilah and Miguel and tried to smooth things over. Eshkeldahsilah admitted stealing the horses from the soldiers, but he complained that someone outside of his band had killed the soldier, and he was angry that Miguel had retaliated by killing a member of the White Mountain band. The two chiefs stood forty feet apart, arms folded. Eventually, Colyer, Green, and an interpreter convinced them to shake hands, and Eshkeldahsilah moved his people back to the camp.<sup>28</sup>

In June of 1871, Gen. George Crook took charge of operations in Arizona Territory and patiently waited for the Peace Policy to run its political course. As Colyer traveled throughout the state, Crook quietly organized his forces. One of the changes Crook would make was to enlist Apaches as scouts. Historians have written about the importance of these scouts in the years that followed.<sup>29</sup>

In December the government set boundaries for the White Mountain reserve, and in the spring of 1872, Gen. Oliver O. Howard visited Camp Apache. Although he found that the Cibecue and White Mountain bands were “not very friendly to each other,” eventually they overlooked their differences and agreed to treaty terms he presented them. Howard then invited the Western Apache chiefs to Washington, D.C., for a talk with the president. Eshkeldahsilah was the oldest of the three, Howard said, and “enjoyed the reputation of loving peace.” The chief told the general to look into his “large clear eyes to assure there was no badness in him.”

The party of soldiers and the Western Apache chiefs set out for Washington on a Saturday. On Sunday Howard, who was a religious man, insisted that the party stop and rest to observe the Sabbath. Miguel grew bored during the delay and left, promising to return. He rejoined the party three days later. They continued eastward and encountered the sorts of trouble one



FORT APACHE

*(Photograph by and courtesy author)*

would expect on such a journey: an outfitter kicked by a mule and sent flying into the Rio Grande, a river shore so muddy they had to abandon the mule team, and soldiers getting drunk in Santa Fe. When the party finally boarded a train, Howard recounted, the Apaches grew afraid, but their fear quickly turned to wonder after the train moved a few miles, and they soon began to count the passing hills and mountain peaks.<sup>30</sup>

When the Apaches arrived in Washington, the government supplied fresh clothes, food, and a place to stay. Four days later, President Grant spoke to Eshkeldahsilah. The Apache chief complained to the president about the soldiers who had burned his cornfields and killed his people. Grant apologized and promised to send him cattle and horses. He showed Eshkeldahsilah a rock and promised that the peace between the two nations would last as long as that rock, a promise that Whites had been making to Indians throughout their shared history. The president gave Eshkeldahsilah a good repeating rifle and cartridges, some calico, sugar, coffee, pots, and silverware.<sup>31</sup>

When the Apaches returned to the White Mountain reservation, however, the differences between the bands surfaced once again. Eshkeldahsilah grew more and more isolated. Miguel and his band camped on the east side of the White River with the soldiers. Pedro's people also stayed on the east

side, Cooley and his new Apache wives lived among them. Eshkeldahsilah stayed on the opposite bank and frequently quarreled with his Cibecue neighbors. One day a fight broke out between the Nádots'osin and Pedro's Tcá tci dn clan. The two chiefs, Eshkeldahsilah and Pedro, sat together peacefully smoking and watching their people fight. Eshkeldahsilah stood up and told his men not to be afraid, to go in and attack. Then he sat back down. Pedro stood up and also encouraged his men.

Eleven men died that day. Pedro was among them, but Goodwin does not say exactly how he perished. From that point on, the American government viewed Eshkeldahsilah's people as troublemakers. Occasionally, restless young Apaches from the White Mountain band left their reservation to join Chiricahua bands on raids. The tracks of stolen herds occasionally led back across the reservation border. Eshkeldahsilah sensed his power slipping away. It had been diminishing for years. For a long time, he and neighboring chiefs Pedro and Miguel had sought peace with the White soldiers while struggling to retain control over their people, over events, over anything. The fate of these three chiefs bound them together, and though they remained civil to one another over the years, their real obligation was to their local group or clan. Loyalties shifted to suit their needs. Eshkeldahsilah could once call on a number of chiefs to help him fight, but he began to lose allies starting in 1863 with the poisonings at Goodwin Springs. Háké di le, an important Eastern White Mountain Apache ally to Eshkeldahsilah, left the region as soon as soldiers started building their fort. Háké di le never returned.

The soldiers built their fort on White Mountain Apache homelands, while the Cibecue chiefs won the White man's favor, returning to their traditional lands when it suited them. Events had pushed this situation beyond the control of any one chief as the Apaches tried to balance the old ways and the new. Marion said that Eshkeldahsilah "sank into insignificance and disrepute," but he may have overstated the situation as he had a tendency to do. There is no indication that the chief had lost respect among his own people, but clearly he had lost influence over others around him. His power did not reach as far as it once did. Perhaps he looked back on the day his uncle died so many years ago, before he had finished his training.

Eshkeldahsilah's days as leader of the Nádots'osin were over. He passed his authority on to his nephew, Palone. But Palone could not control the young men any better than his uncle.<sup>32</sup> It would not have made much difference. The soldiers kept coming. The Americans gripped Apache lands. After defeating the Tontos, the military quickly turned its attention to fighting

Chiricahua bands. Eshkeldahsilah is not mentioned much in the records of the years that follow, and what happened to him remains unclear. Anna Price says that he was stabbed in the back during a fight about this time. Eshkeldahsilah's adopted son Indà killed the man responsible for stabbing him. The chief lay there for a long time before anyone knew he was alive. Price does not say what happened after Eshkeldahsilah was stabbed, but only that he could not ride a horse and was put on a litter strung between two burros and taken back to the camp. General Howard says that both Eshkeldahsilah and Miguel were killed a few years after their visit to Washington, during a "petty Indian outbreak."<sup>33</sup> Goodwin writes that Eshkeldahsilah moved to the Gila Valley and probably died in the late 1880s or 1890s. Neil Buck, a man that Goodwin described as a middle-aged Apache, saw the chief when he grew old. Buck gave the following description to Goodwin:

I remember him when he was a very old man living at Dewey Flat. He later died there. One time a big cloudburst 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 about 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."<sup>34</sup>

And so Eshkeldahsilah passed from view, a shadow on a land where he once lived freely, where the water comes and spills into deep canyons. We do not know how he died. Nevertheless, he was one of the greatest Apache leaders of his time. His peace offering to the United States was an important gesture that helped secure a reservation for his people, one that remains to this day. He made a promise with Americans but was powerless to stop the events that followed, events that unfolded because a revolving military leadership forgot the agreements it had made. The Chiricahuas waged their guerilla war but could not stop the culture of hate and racism that took control of Apache lands. Eshkeldahsilah watched the complexities of life and fate wrap around him after he made a simple promise to keep the peace. He never broke that promise, even as soldiers pressed in around him, the cornfields burned, and young men slipped away in the night. He never broke that promise.

## Notes

1. John Rope, interview by Grenville Goodwin, in *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Grenville Goodwin*, ed. Keith H. Basso (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), 100; and John Rope, interview, folder 32, box 2, MS 17, Grenville Goodwin Papers, 1929–1939, Arizona State Museum Archives, Tucson, Arizona [hereafter GGP-AZSMA].
2. Anna Price, interview by Grenville Goodwin, in *Western Apache Raiding*, ed. Basso, 34; Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (1942; reprint, with a preface by Keith H. Basso, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), 10; and Lori Davisson, “New Light on the Cibecue Fight: Untangling Apache Identities,” *The Journal of Arizona History* 20 (winter 1979): 423–44. In *Western Apache Raiding*, Goodwin and Basso refer to the White Mountain Apache chief as Haš kã dasila (He is Constantly Angry). In *Social Organization*, Goodwin calls him Häkë-tdàsìlì (Angry, Right Side Up). White visitors to the Apache camps spelled his name in a variety of ways including, Es-cult-ta-see-lan, Es-kel-de-say-la, and Es-kal-te-sela. Haske or Hacke was a common name frequently translated by White soldiers to Esk or Esc. The famous Aravaipa Apache chief Hacke-banzin, for instance, was better known as Eskiminzin. In this article, I use the spelling and translation used by Davisson and others, “Eshkeldahsilah.” When Rope mistakenly referred to Eshkeldahsilah as Diablo in a discussion, Goodwin repeated this error throughout his work. Davisson contends that the real Diablo’s Apache name was Esh-ken-lah.
3. U.S. Congress, House, *Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1865, HED 1, pt. 2, ser. no. 1248, p. 182; U.S. Congress, House, *Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 39th Cong., 2d. sess., 1866, HED 1, pt. 2, ser. no. 1284, p. 108; and John Rope, interview by Grenville Goodwin, in *Western Apache Raiding*, ed. Basso, 100.
4. Donald E. Worcester, *The Apaches: Eagles of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), xvii, 3–4; and Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 156–60. Extracted quote is John Rope, in Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 670 n. 1.
5. Anna Price quoted in Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 670–71.
6. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 671–72.
7. Divorce was permitted in Apache society. On Apache marriage, see Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 671–72.
8. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 72, 93; Palmor Valor, interview by Grenville Goodwin, *Western Apache Raiding*, ed. Basso, 52; Basso, ed., *Western Apache Raiding*, 119, 304–05; and Anna Price, interview, folder 37, box 3, MS 17, GGP-AZSMA.
9. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 93; and Basso, ed., *Western Apache Raiding*, 19.
10. Worcester, *The Apaches*, xv, 10, 34–41. Anthropologist Edward H. Spicer notes that Navajos also raided Mexican herds and fell victim to the Mexican slave trade. See 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, 1989), 213. James F. Brooks argues that slavery in the Southwest “produced a mutually recognizable world of violence and retribution, of loss and redemption

- that drew the protagonists together while forcing them apart” (p. 40). Slavery spread cultural values, broadened the gene pool, and changed the social fabric forever. See James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
11. Anna Price, interview, GGP-AZSMA.
  12. The man soldiers referred to as Pedro was Eshkeh-yan-ilt-klidn (Angry, He Shakes Something) of the Tcá tcì dn (Red Rock Strata People). The man soldiers called Miguel was Eshkeiba (Angry, He Goes to War).
  13. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 19–20, 181, 413, 672–79, 683; and Col. H. B. Wharfield, *Alcheyay: Scout with General Crook, Sierra Blanca Apache Chief, Friend of Fort Apache Whites, Counselor to Indians* (El Cajon, Calif.: published by author, 1969), 3.
  14. David Roberts, *Once They Moved Like the Wind: Cochise, Geronimo, and the Apache Wars* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 56–59; Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise, Chiricahua Apache Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 220–21, 226; and Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 122.
  15. Palmer Valor, interview by Grenville Goodwin, in *Western Apache Raiding*, ed. Basso, 59.
  16. Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 13–15, 655–56, 600, 610, 660–62, 675; Sweeney, *Cochise*, 220–21; *Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, ser. no. 1248, p. 182; Victoria Smith, “White Eyes, Red Heart, Bluecoat: The Life and Times of Mickey Free” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2002), 61; and Anna Price, interview, GGP-AZSMA.
  17. Ralph Hedrick Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848–1886* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 80; and Worcester, *The Apaches*, 112–15.
  18. Anna Price, interview, GGP-AZSMA; Basso, ed., *Western Apache Raiding*, 20; and Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 179, 659.
  19. John Rope, interview by Grenville Goodwin, in *Western Apache Raiding*, ed. Basso, 100; U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880–1901), series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, 1180–81; and Constance Wynn Althshuler, *Cavalry Yellow and Infantry Blue: Army Officers in Arizona between 1851 and 1886* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1991), 142–43. The ride to Fort Goodwin under a white flag by Eshkeldahsilah (who Goodwin mistakenly named as Diablo) is dated 1864 by Goodwin, and 1865 by military accounts.
  20. U.S. Congress, House, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1869, 41st Cong., 2d sess., HED 1, pt. 3, ser. no. 1414, p. 544; and Davisson, “New Light on the Cibecue Fight,” 430–31. Legend has it that Cooley would later play a game of cards for which the town of Show Low, Arizona, is named. The legend, more than likely, is not true. Cooley’s later activities included leading Apache scouts and operating a ranch where troops were always welcome.

21. Green to Assistant Adjutant General, 6 December 1869, and Kelly to Green, 23 November 1869, r. 807, *Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, 1861–1870*, Microcopy 619 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Record Service, 1965), Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives [hereafter M619, RG94, NA].
22. Ord to Adjutant General, 13 January 1870, r. 807, M619, RG94, NA.
23. Anna Price, interview, GGP-AZSMA.
24. Gen. George Stoneman to Adjutant General, 9 April 1871, and Green to Commissioner, 7 July 1870, r. 4, *Letters Received by the Office of Indians Affairs, 1824–1881*, Microcopy 234 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Record Service, 1965), General Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1801–1952, Record Group 75, National Archives [hereafter M234, RG75, NA]. Before it was named Camp Apache, the post was briefly known as Camps Ord, Mogollon, and Thomas. In 1879 it was named Fort Apache.
25. John Huguenot Marion, *Notes of Travel through the Territory of Arizona, Being an Account of the Trip Made by General Stoneman and Others in the Autumn of 1870*, ed. Donald M. Powell (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1965), 24–27.
26. Worcester, *The Apache*, 124–33; Utley, *The Indian Frontier*, 122–33; and Ogle, *Federal Control*, 81, 87. In 1869 the United States directed most of the army's resources to the Sioux wars on the Great Plains. The bloodshed there drew the attention of eastern reformers, and Federal commissions named after their sponsors—Doolittle, Sully, Taylor—studied frontier Indian policy carefully. When the Peace Commission finally met in Chicago in October of 1868, the Republican nominee for president, Ulysses S. Grant, sat in on the meeting. After his election, Grant held court with a number of callers before his inauguration, among them a delegation of Quakers who urged the president to embrace a gentler Indian policy and to appoint religious men to Indian agencies. Grant listened carefully then asked them for the names of Quakers who would serve as agents. "If you can make Quakers out of the Indians it will take the fight out of them. Let us have peace." On the eve of his inauguration, Grant further surprised observers when he said: "All Indians disposed to peace will find the new policy a peace policy." Lost in the applause surrounding Grant's call for peace, however, was a warning from the ex-general: "Those who do not accept this policy will find the new administration ready for a sharp and severe war policy." The Peace Policy was not a policy at all. It was a catchphrase. Politics and events would guide actual policy. Grant would support the policy as long as it required little commitment or cost to his administration. Quotes in this note come from Utley, *The Indian Frontier*, 129–30.
27. Green to Assistant Adjutant General, 16 May 1871, and Green to Price, 18 May 1871, r. 4, M234, RG75, NA.
28. U.S. Congress, House, *Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 42d Cong., 2d. sess., 1871, HED 1, pt. 5, ser. no. 1505, pp. 50–51.
29. Crook to Adjutant General, 4 September 1871, r. 1, George Crook, *Letterbooks and Miscellaneous Papers, 1871–1890*, Microcopy (Freemont, Ohio: Rutherford B. Hayes Library, n.d.), available at the Arizona Historical Foundation, Tempe, Arizona;

- and John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (1891; reprint, Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1980), 143, 178. Colyer believed that the White Mountain Apaches were pressured into service as scouts, however, he does not say why. In a letter to Interior Sec. Columbus Delano, Colyer wrote that he was told about this goading of Apaches by a Mexican scout who he met at Ojo Caliente, New Mexico. The coercion of Apaches into service as scouts has been discussed among scholars and is often regarded as an injustice forced upon them. See Michael Tate, "Apache Scouts, Police, and Judges as Agents of Acculturation, 1865–1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toledo, 1974), v, vi, vii, 38. Thomas W. Dunlay points out that Native Americans had fought each other for many years, long before White soldiers arrived. Because Apaches saw themselves as a local unit, not as a tribe, they sometimes perceived threats by rival bands as greater than any threat posed by Whites. See Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860–90* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 2, 5, 110–11, 125.
30. O. O. Howard, *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known* (New York: The Century Co., 1908), 88–111; and O. O. Howard, *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington and Company, 1907), 163–83.
  31. Anna Price, interview, GGP-AZSMA.
  32. Marion, *Notes of Travel*, 24; Smith, "White Eyes, Red Heart, Bluecoat," 66–67; Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 52, 656–57, 660; and Davisson, "New Light on the Cibecue Fight," 430–34. Some accounts say that Cochise stayed near Bonita Creek in 1870. There were reports that Cochise looked into settling on the reservation, but decided against it. Historian Victoria Smith argues that it is possible that Eshkeldahsilah discouraged Cochise from pursuing a permanent settlement. Eshkeldahsilah was already dealing with threats to his power from his Cibecue neighbors and rebellious young men of his tribe. Eshkeldahsilah did not need a leader of Cochise's stature around. In 1875 when the American government asked Eshkeldahsilah if he wanted to move his people to the San Carlos Reservation, he agreed. His consent was later used to justify moving all the Western Apaches to the reservation south of the White Mountains, but not all of them wanted to move. Eshkeldahsilah's decision to move caused a great deal of pain among the Western Apaches, particularly the Cibecue bands. Some speculated that Eshkeldahsilah simply wanted to move closer to the Chiricahua bands who had their own reservation, which he traveled to at least once with a pass from the soldiers.
  33. John Rope, interview by Grenville Goodwin, in *Western Apache Raiding*, ed. Basso, 100; Goodwin, *Social Organization*, 413; and Howard, *My Life and Experiences*, 183. Goodwin's work on Apache culture was thorough and remains valuable. His historical research is valuable as well, but his oral sources were elderly, talking about events that had happened sixty years prior, and his reliance on them inevitably led to mistakes. "We don't remember our grandparents' times, just as you white people don't," one of Goodwin's sources, former Apache scout John Rope, once said. The Spanish names given to Apaches by White troops—Miguel, Pedro, Diablo—were not widely used by the Apaches themselves. Rope once mentioned



to Goodwin the location where Pedro died, referring to him as “the Chacheedn (clan) chief who had only one eye.” Lori Davisson points out that although Pedro was nearly stone deaf, “he had two good eyes.” It was Miguel who had only one eye (Davisson, “New Light on the Cibecue Fight,” 427–28). In addition to Rope, Goodwin’s other primary source was the chief’s daughter, Anna Price. A fading memory and the high regard she had for her father likely influenced the stories that Price told Goodwin. This may have led Goodwin to exaggerate Eshkeldahsilah’s importance in relations with U.S. troops.

34. Neil Buck quoted in Goodwin, *Social Organization*, vii, 660, 690.