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# Cochise: A Re-Imagination

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# COCHISE: A RE-IMAGINATION

By

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## INTRODUCTION

This is a fictionalized work that looks at Cochise's life, through a series of imagined scenarios.

My intention in writing this was to provide an intimate venue by which he not only comes alive as an extraordinary warrior and sage archetype, but as a human being who struggled with doubt, loss, and fear. Leadership, honesty, and honor are important themes that Cochise's life exemplified. Though soft spoken, he imparted volumes on leadership to his people and enemies through his spiritual, emotional, and physical presence.

Cochise was greater than most of his Apache contemporaries, as every warrior was free to choose the leader he wished to follow. In general, warriors followed leaders who brought them success and protection. To Cochise's credit, he was the last Apache who generated a groundswell of support from a wide field of prima donna leaders including Victorio, Nana, Lozen, Geronimo and Juh. Cochise embodied the best of both strategic and tactical leadership that even his mentor, Mangas Coloradas, hesitated to question him.

After his death in 1874, no one was able again to hold the different Chiricahua Bands together. This inability to unite fragmented the Apache response and allowed leadership to pass into the hands of the wild Chiricahuas or hesh-kes like Juh and Geronimo leading the Apaches on self-destructive paths until Geronimo and Naiche, Cochise's son, finally surrendered to Nelson A. Miles at Skelton Canyon in 1886.

The Cochise story is a narrative about the Chiricahua Apaches' heroic struggle to retain their way of life. They have much to teach in matters of guerrilla warfare or counterinsurgency. They were masters of the landscape, blending imperceptibly into the desert floor, or vanishing into the crevices of mountains. Their warrior qualities of endurance, stamina, courage, and patience were universally respected by their enemies.

The Apache culture, too, was designed to sustain a light carbon footprint: respect for the land, a strong community sense that involved caring for the needs of orphans, widows, and the poor, as well as acceptance of sexual differences. The Apache understanding of time, work, and education was a less harried, reflective, experiential view of life, whereas modern life sacrifices the present moment for past and future. These cultural values are central to the Cochise story and essential in our own times. To lose this tribal/collective wisdom about the intimated connection between man and Mother Earth jeopardizes our species existence as reflected in global warming.

Another dimension of the story places Cochise and the Chiricahua People into a global framework. Their struggle against American expansion was not an isolated event occurring within the Arizona and New Mexico Territories but rather, part of a much larger story of global European Imperialism characterized by nationalism, racism, colonialism, industrialism, and materialism.

What happened to the Chiricahuas was soon mirrored in Sudan, South Africa, India, Latin America, China, Philippines, and Southeast Asia. By 1870, Western Europe flexed its technological and material prowess, and set about spreading its version of Civilization to peoples of color throughout the world. Western Imperialism became immortalized by Rudyard Kipling's "White Man's Burden" in which he urged America to take on the burden of civilizing Filipinos during the Spanish-American War of 1898-1901.

The Apache Wars were a prelude to American global expansionism into the Caribbean and Pacific which marked the onset of the American Empire beginning with the Spanish-American War. The Apaches were just another tribe disrupted by Manifest Destiny, which advocated American expansion across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. Industrialization and Modernity were the twin engines that were destined to ride roughshod over indigenous cultures which were not viewed as compatible with the Western paradigm.

Cochise intuited the consequences of American expansion and first sought to live amicably with the invaders. Its inevitable failure forced him and his people to resort and master the art of guerrilla warfare, holding the American and Mexicans at bay for a decade. He realized soon that despite killing ten Pindah (whites) for every Apache killed, he could not win the war against an enemy grounded in a superior technology and numbers. Accordingly, he shifted to what Joseph Campbell described as a sage and healer archetype and attempted to negotiate a separate peace which did not survive his death in 1874. His departure presaged the futile Geronimo Wars in the 1880s, which just about destroyed the Chiricahuas.

Finally, what makes the Cochise story so unique and so relevant for America today is the friendship that evolved between him and Tom Jeffords. Both came from different worlds: Cochise, Red, grounded in nature, hunter-gatherers; Jeffords, white, modern, and technical, driven by money. Despite profound cultural differences they found their common humanity and became Blood Brothers in their first encounter. They melded so that Cochise at the end advised his son, Taza, to do nothing without first seeking out the wisdom of Red Beard Jeffords.

My approach to Cochise and the Chiricahuas is historical, cultural, and psychological. To understand Cochise is to understand him within a specific time and space framework: 1810 to 1874. To gain a deeper insight into Cochise's personality and evolution, the archetypal insights of Joseph Campbell on the *Journey of the Hero* have been woven into the narrative. Archetypes provide deep insights into motivations and behavior. *The warrior, orphan, seeker*, and *sage archetypes* embody qualities that influenced Cochise's choices at different stages of his life, giving him the flexibility and adaptability essential to survive and to protect his people.

My literary style consists of weaving historical biography with fictional vignettes into the narrative. This will enable Cochise, the Chiricahua People, and their times to become more alive to the reader. Here facts, historical events, and imagination are blended. As the Apache oral culture prohibited mentioning the name of someone who has passed into the spirit world, much of what Cochise felt and said must be inferred. These fictional vignettes will reflect momentous events in Cochise's life including Cochise's reaction to the hanging of his brother Coyuntura, or to the Camp Grant Massacre, or to his relations with Tom Jeffords. In some cases, these accounts will appear in a global context pointing to historical parallels between what was happening in Apacheria and what was happening elsewhere to other Peoples of Color. Flashbacks and memories of protagonists and antagonists alike will be part of the literary thread providing these fictional accounts with greater context and nuance. They are imperceptibly woven into the story. In all cases, they are grounded in the author's understanding of Cochise, the Apache culture, and the times they lived.

## ONE
## THE ENCOUNTER

*"Cut Through the Tent"*

--Jason Betzinez--

Apache Pass, Arizona / February 1861

As Cochise and his family approach Apache Pass, they see the white flag hanging over the tent of the Nantan whom they are going to meet. The day is cold, cobalt sky, with a slight breeze. Cochise feels the warmth of his blanket, turning to see how the others are doing. Getting nearer, Cochise observes the troops but feels comfortable with their presence. After all, he muses, for five years, he has been at peace with the Pindah (white Eyes) and has no reason to expect trouble.

He turns to his younger brother, Coyuntura, and wife, Dos-teh-seh, and says, there they are. His son and nephews are running behind, struggling, and giggling to catch up. Cochise relaxes, informally dressed. Except for a knife in his belt, neither he nor Coyuntura has any weapons.

As they approach the tent the troops come to attention and their leader emerges. Cochise gazes at him. The Nantan is quite young and at his elbow there is an agitated white man pointing his arm at the Apache. Still, Cochise remains calm. He is responding to the request of the Butterfield driver, Wallace, whom he implicitly trusts, that the new lieutenant simply wants to meet and greet him.

While language is always an issue in these situations, Cochise speaks and understands some Spanish, but little English. Over the years, because of his people's supplying wood at the Butterfield Apache Pass Station, he has learned a few phrases. As a courtesy Cochise says to the Nantan, "Buenos Dias," and turns, introducing his brother and wife, who is reining in the children.

The Lieutenant gives Cochise a stiff West Point response and has his translator, John Ward, in Apache, invite Cochise to enter the tent to sit and eat. Bascom introduces himself and offers Cochise a cup of coffee. Cochise fondles the cup, watching the body language of Bascom and Ward. In the Apache world, it is customary that light talk precedes serious conversation. Indirectness is important to saving face and preserving honor.

Cochise soon, however, feels his body tensing, he experiences an unwelcoming energy shift. He hears troop movement outside the tent as boots strike gravel. Dos-teh-seh pulls the children closer, and Cochise looks at Coyuntura with narrowing eyes. Bascom then, through Ward, begins to question Cochise about the disappearance of Ward's adopted son Felix, who Ward claimed has been kidnapped by Apaches. Bascom explains the loss of Ward's son. Cochise listens and then becomes angered by Bascom's sudden accusation: "You took the boy."

**Figure 1 Lieutenant George N. Bascom**

Cochise, in shock, responds, “It is not Chokonen. I have given specific orders to my people not to bother whites, and they obey me. We have protected the Tucson Road for years.”

Ward screams, “Yeah, how come the trail led in the direction of the Dragoons? I followed it for miles.”

Cochise, trembling, counters, “It does not mean it is my band; other Indians, like Coyoteros, often pass over this ground.”

Bascom, listening to the argument, hesitates.

Cochise interjects, “Give me time, and I will send out inquiries to other Apaches. I need two weeks.”

Bascom, now, shifts his eyes away from Cochise not trusting what the Indian has said.

He sees Cochise as ordinary, even dirty: he thinks, there is nothing noble about him or his family either in their bearing or dress except that Cochise is tall for a savage.

His biases, along with Ward’s, take over, as well as his desire for glory.

He thinks. Why not arrest Cochise, bring him back to Fort Buchanan, and make a big impression on my commanding officer and men.

Bascom turns and says, “I am putting you and your followers under arrest until the Ward child is returned.”

Cochise cannot believe his ears, recovers his poise, acts instinctively, draws his knife, leaps up and screams “follow me,” slashing the tent. But the soldiers are too fast, preventing Coyuntura and the others from fleeing. Cochise zigzags his way across the terrain, slightly wounded by a soldier’s shot, still holding the coffee given by Bascom as an act of welcome.

As Cochise catches his breath, looking down on the chaos below, he reflects on his life and how it has brought him to this moment.

His people immortalized this encounter as the 'cut the tent affair,' an event which triggered a twenty-five-year Apache War and transformed Cochise into an iconic figure.

Looking at the tent where his people are held, Cochise reflects on how fast the seasons have passed. He realizes taking his family to meet the Nantan in the Season of Ghost Face was a mistake.

He takes a deep breath from his reverie, conscious of the cup still in his hand, angrily throws it down and watches it bounce off the stone people. Quickly he proceeds to move to the camp in Pinery Canyon to gather his warriors and to warn his people about the soldiers.

Cochise upon reaching camp cries out for his lieutenants judging Bascom a fool who does not know the depth of Chokonen wrath over insult and family.

Yet he cautions himself not to act too impulsively as war with the white eyes could have disastrous implications. He remembers the counsel of Mangas Coloradas about American power.[1]

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[1] Terry Mort, *The Wrath of Cochise*, 237-251; According to Jim Gressinger, Southern Arizona Guide, "…it's easy to blame Bascom's poor judgment for the start of the Apache Wars. But it was not that simple. West Point did not teach cadets anything about first Americans, their culture, languages, or beliefs. So, who is to blame for that? I would say American willful ignorance and racial bigotry in general and the same well-established in the military chain of command." See also Paul Andrew Hutton, The Apache Wars, with its emphasis on Felix Ward/ Mickey Free as a central figure, 34-38.

## TWO
## CULTURAL BELIEFS/WARRIOR TRAINING

*"Dikohe means that you can't disobey, and you have to train yourself as your elders say."*

— Morris Edward Opler —

Birth

No information is available about exactly when or where Cochise was born or even the name of his mother. Tracing names among Apaches is difficult because of the Apache custom of changing names at different life junctures and never repeating the name of a dead person because of the belief that it impedes their entrance into the spirit world.

Even in life, the use of a personal name was done judiciously, as it implied an obligation or duty to the speaker of the name. In addition, the Apache culture was essentially property-less; there was no expectation of inheritance. At death, the possessions of the deceased were destroyed, usually by fire. These customs make it difficult to trace genealogy.

Cochise later went by the name of *Cheis*, Apache for wood. Later *Co* was added, meaning hardwood or oak, a perfect metaphor as it matched both his physical stature and spiritual prowess. He was known to his people as *Goci*, which meant nose, perhaps referring to the aristocratic quality of his presence.

Cochise was probably born in 1810 at a time of relative peace between the Apaches and the Spanish Mexicans. That peace lasted until the late 1820s, unraveling because of Mexican Independence and the growing American presence in Texas.

Cochise had two brothers, Coyuntura and Juan. He was closer to Coyuntura, who was his confidant and sounding board. Juan, ox in size, was the comic who made everyone laugh. Cochise had a sister; whose name remains unknown. She was one of very few who ever dared to challenge him.

Cochise was born Chokonen, the least-known band of Chiricahua Apaches. It was not until Michael Steck negotiated with Cochise in the late 1850s and the Butterfield Station was built at Apache Pass that the Pindah even became aware of the Chokonen as a separate band.[1]

Tradition has it that Cochise came from a royal blood line, that his family led the Chokonen for generations. This royalty manifested itself in his physical stature. Cochise was nearly six feet tall, unusual for Apaches, had an eagle-like face, black eyes, and was quite handsome by all reports, impeccably clean and dressed, with a slight stoop from a Comanche arrow. He was psychologically imposing, with an incredible presence. Known for his honesty, Cochise always stressed the importance of truth, speaking from the heart, and prided himself in never lying.

Since Chiricahuas always pierced their babies' earlobes, it is assumed that Cochise's ears were pierced. The ear-piercing ceremony was believed to increase hearing, a skill crucial to a society, whose survival depended on its auditory keenness in fighting, negotiating, hunting, and gathering. Listening was the key ability cultivated by the Apaches, and it was their skill in listening and hearing, in telling stories, which made them incredible bargainers, hunters, and adversaries.

When Cochise was two, he experienced the moccasin ceremony based upon the example of White Painted Lady and Child-of-Water. This Rite of Passage was a gateway into the Journey of Life in which the blessings and protection of Ussen, (Life Giver), were invoked symbolized by the sprinkling of pollen. Cochise's first steps were accompanied by drumming and song as he honored the Four Directions. It was popularly believed he was destined for greatness, coming from a unique family of leaders. His halting initial steps soon turned into firmness, to the delight of the relatives. Gifts of tobacco and other articles were then given to family members and friends by his parents, to the applause of the entire band.

He received the customary beaded pair of moccasins decorated with quills and other symbols from his mother.[2]

Creation Tale

Growing up, Cochise and his brothers, Coyuntura and Juan, often heard of White Painted Lady. They learned that Apache identity rested with her, as did their Creation Myth. The legend portrayed the majestic White Painted Lady as the progenitor of the Apache People: that after a great flood, she was washed up in an abalone shell in White Sands, New Mexico, and from this sacred geographic point, all Apaches descended. According to the Storyteller, Ussen forewarned White Painted Lady of an impending deluge. Cochise as a youngster, often wondered how the greater mysteries of Lightning and Water impregnated White Painted Lady. "You lie down on your back and take your clothes off out there. You must have a child in the rain. That boy, when he is born, you must call Child-of-the-Water."

From the stories, he learned that White Painted Lady gave birth to two boys: the elder, Killer-of-Enemies and the younger, Child-of-Water. It was the younger, to whom White Painted Lady turned to rid the world of Giant (evil) by making for him a bow and arrow which he used to slay Giant. Often, as Cochise played in the mountains with his brothers, he took on the persona of Child-of-Water, imagining his younger brothers as hideous monsters.[3]

Cochise as cultural hero, Child-of-Water, besides slaying Giant, had to rid the world of the mammoth Animals-Eagle, Buffalo and Antelope--who then dominated the Earth. These Giants made it impossible for the People to survive and prevented the world from being populated with four-legged animals and flora. Child-of-Water, despite his youth, ultimately freed the world of these monsters through ingenuity, discipline, courage, and the help of other animal people like gopher and lizard.

Cochise, too, learned from the ingenuity of the animal world. How Gopher showed Child-of-Water the way to burrow underground and Lizard the art of concealment; strategies which Cochise used successfully against his brothers in their many playful battles. From these fascinating tales, Cochise and others learned that landscape, camouflage, and deception can indeed minimize the superiority of numbers and technology.

Cochise's father, Pisago Cabezon, reinforced these learnings by emphasizing that the cleverness of the gopher was more than a match for brawn, just as the humility of the lizard trumped the arrogance of coyote, and that the foresight of Mother Eagle was indeed crucial to survival. Pisago taught his sons that having several rendezvous points rather than just one or two is a smarter way to protect the Eaglets (Band) from sudden attack by predators.

As the story unfolded, Child-of-Water, and his elder brother, Killer-of-Enemies, had a falling-out and split into different nations. Killer-of-Enemies became the Pindah, so-called because of the whiteness of their iris, in contrast to the doe brownness of the Apache. White Painted Lady instructed the Apaches to choose bows and arrows, to live close to the land on yucca fruit, pinon nuts, and all other wild plants as being the preferred Earth-Woman pathway.

For the Pindah, survival meant guns, living on corn, cattle, and yellow ore. Cochise realized as he matured that the cultural divide symbolized by the bow and arrow versus the rifle was profound--a chasm of cultural difference between his people and Pindah, about life, community, relationship, freedom, and nature.[4]

Conquistadores

Cochise remembers his father, Pisago Cabezon, and other village elders, sitting around the campfire discussing how the need to control and dominate is the most characteristic quality of whites, going back to the Conquistadores.

Everyone complained “How the Pueblos and other Indian bands were shattered by large dogs (horses), spears and muskets of these strange intruders. Worst of all, they brought diseases upon the tribes.”

“The People bereft, are left leaderless, with children, women and the elderly dying horribly from pockmarks and fever.”

Others point out that “The heavily dressed Churchmen in their brown and black robes and beads were worse than the plague, they talk about a magical god who saves, but in the process enslaved and stripped Indians of their nature and grace.

“Luckily,” the Elders concluded, “the Tinneh (Apaches) were spared these horrors by living in the mountains, far away from their infectious presence.”

As a youngster, Cochise is unable to grasp fully what was said about these strangers, but as he matured, he experienced, in his dealings with Mexicans, the same condescending prejudice, that Apaches were sub-human, wild animals.

With the arrival of Americans, prejudice becomes more pronounced, wrapped in sanctimonious racism. The Apaches are presented as ‘Red Savages,’ inferiors doomed to extinction, as are other people of color as Western Imperialism and Colonialism asserted its ugly message on the world in its desire to exploit the resources of Earth Woman.

Chiricahua Beliefs

Cochise, along with his brothers Coyuntura and Juan, were taught by sage elders that man is ultimately a spiritual being experiencing a temporary time and space journey before returning to the great mystery located in the stars. The measure of life, called the Red or Sacred Road, consisted of cultivating qualities of respect, endurance, persistence, truthfulness, and courage. Every life, especially Apache, was precious and part of a holy web that needed to be relished and sustained if possible. Raised on the belief that everything in nature, from the animals to trees to the rock people, is sustained by an underlying

mysterious energy, Apaches were taught to walk gently on the land, respecting Earth Woman in all her manifestations.

Apaches observed innumerable rituals and taboos to influence the Spirit world, as everything in nature was governed by forces of light and darkness, and by the principle of reciprocity. The women, when harvesting the mescal plant, a key food source, offered prayers and pollen to Father Sun, source of fire and life, asking Creator to intercede so that the mescal would be cooked properly and nourish the people.

They were taught to be respectful of lighting, the Thunder People, and never to plant in a field struck by lightning, believing that it would bring bad luck. Before a hunt or raid, the warriors abstained from salt, gathered around the fire to sing and dance. Prayers were offered to ask the spirit of the deer or antelope to sacrifice itself so that the band could survive. Without due respect, the deer and elk herds would not return, and starvation would stalk the land.

Wolves, coyotes, and foxes were considered taboo, four-legged tricksters that could bring harm and should be avoided. Apaches never ate fish, believing it related to snakes and reptiles, crawlies, which were unclean. The rattlesnake was lethal making snake-healers high in demand. Rattlesnake presence, along with scorpions, cacti, rocks, and stones explained the distinctive Chiricahua moccasin which reached to the thigh and curled at the tip of the toe to protect the People against the harshness of the terrain. Cochise understood early that night traveling, the time of Ghost Owl, symbol of death, was best avoided.[5]

Medicine Wheel and Duality

Cochise learned that Time for the Apache was cyclical. It had peaks and valleys embodied by the seasonal movements found in the Medicine Wheel. The Medicine Wheel, along with the number 7, captured the totality of existence, including the four directions and Ussen, Earth Woman and the People. The number 4 was sacred, as it implied the basic life

pattern of birth/growth and death/rebirth as well as embodying the 4 cardinal directions: east/west, north/south; the 4 colors: black, yellow, red, white; the 4 seasons: spring, summer, fall, winter; the 4 elements: earth, air, fire, water; the 4 ages: infancy, adolescence, adulthood, elderliness; and the 4 conditions of man: physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual.

The Medicine Wheel was a powerful tool used by the shaman or di-yin to heal, to find people, to predict the future, and to interpret dreams. It was even called upon to invoke rain, provide insight into planting and harvesting, and to resolve clan and band relationships. The people followed a Moon Calendar delineated by four main seasons Little Eagle (spring), Large Fruit (late summer), Reddish Brown (fall), and Ghost Dance (winter).

More difficult for Cochise to understand was the theme of duality, shadow, and light, which Apaches believed permeated everything. The Medicine Wheel pointed to an underlying natural unity and interconnectedness characteristic of the Life Web. It provided clues on how to re-connect with Ussen by discovering and following the moral principles of the Red Road (Spiritual Path). Its wisdom taught Apaches ways to master and channel their darker impulses by studying the subtle meanings of the four directions and seasons, by striving to live in the heart, and refrain from bringing dishonor to kin and band.

Apache Migration Story

Storytelling was a popular Apache tradition that was most pronounced during the Ghost-Face season of winter when the People gathered around the campfires to hear tales of the Tinneh and the world before the appearance of either the Spanish or Pindah. Stories were the primary vehicle by which Apaches were introduced to their social mores, norms, and values. These stories, many going back thousands of years, embody wisdom, humor, morals, and lessons.

Apache Story-Teller starts with the customary, “A long, long time ago the ancestors driven by snow, wind and rain begin to move south from the bitter north cold to seek a warmer, hospitable land. Our grandfathers and grandmothers embarked on a journey that carried them over many miles and adventures. These migration stories are important threads to our identity.

“We call ourselves Tinneh or Dineh, Apache for the People. Our identity was shaped by this trek as we had to rely on ourselves as one People pulling together to survive.”

Cochise remembers how the Story-Teller added color and excitement to the tale by shifting his pitch and intonation, “Legend has it that the People traveled along the western slope of a huge Mountain Range until they arrived in a warmer country comprised of desert, mesas and mountains.

“One tale has it,” Storyteller continues, “that the Tinneh landed at Ojo Caliente or Warm Springs, New Mexico, and our ancestors spoke what whites call a language (Athabaskan) that is apparently shared by other tribes in Alaska, Saskatchewan, Oregon, Northern California and the Southwest.

“Exactly when we arrived is disputed. The Pindah say we came about 1500 CE: the elders say much earlier. Who knows? Whites never understood our time sense.”

He continues, “As hunters-gatherers, we were quite mobile, traveling with lightweight baskets to carry grain, firewood, and personal goods.

“Our shelters, we call wickiups, consist of a few slender poles of willow or oak arranged in a conical shape covered with branches or hides and grasses. We, the Tinneh, slept on grass pallets with covers made of deerskins. In the center was a fire pit for heat; our possessions were simple, consisting of basic tools: bows, knives, spears, protective amulets, and later saddles with the arrival of horses.

"What we discovered upon arriving in our homeland was that there were already Native communities scattered throughout. The Spanish called them Puebloan. According to their traditions, Puebloan are descendants of the Ancient Ones or Anasazi. They built a sophisticated string of complex multi-story dwellings revolving around Chaco Canyon centering on agriculture. Their culture reached its zenith before our arrival and then mysteriously disappeared, perhaps due to drought.

"Their descendants soon transformed themselves into a network of villages that encompassed much of Arizona and New Mexico between the Colorado and the Rio Grande Rivers. Major settlements being Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, Jemez, Santa Fe and Taos pueblos.

"Their pueblos or small towns were essentially farming villages, raising beans, corn, and squash. But we learned a lot from them, weaving their knowledge about food, planting and the larger topics of Creation, migration, heeding, magic, and duality, into our practices and ceremonies."

Cochise and other listeners, somewhat bored, find their ears perking up again when storyteller declares, "When climate and hunting became difficult, we raided the pueblos."

"It is the Puebloan who named us Apaches. In the Puebloan language Apache means stranger or enemy as we both trade and fight. Later, when the Mexicans and Americans came Apache took on a deeper sinister meaning, embodying cruelty, cunning, and treachery. Our enemies call us the wolves of the Southwest. For us, this is a name of honor and distinction, proudly worn."[6]

Coyote Tales

The most popular tales were the Coyote stories. Coyote, a trickster, was an Apache metaphor for their own foolishness, ignorance, and stupidity. Coyote often looked for devious shortcuts in relationships, trade, and sexuality. Inevitably, Coyote's selfish machinations backfire, bringing him and others terrible harm. These tales, too, provided

deep spiritual and psychological insights into the strengths of the People, about how-to live-in harmony with nature, practical tips in survival, fighting, living in community, and healing. Basic Coyote Tale themes revolved around death, family, animals, truthfulness, self-reliance, and the perils of arrogance and pride.

One story enjoyed by Cochise was that in which Coyote decided to test whether the Rock People were alive and could run by defecating on one. To Coyote's surprise it could. Coyote was pursued by the Rock; for no matter how fast he ran or maneuvered, he was unable to get away from the Rock. Coyote realized he had better go back and apologized by cleaning up his mess. The moral here was that the People had to be reverent toward nature in all its guises.[7]

Then there were the Foolish Men tales, which demonstrated how dumb Apaches or how greedy Americans could be in certain circumstances. One story, which brought lots of laughter, was that a warrior who loses his food bag, trails it to a bluff, but fails to look over to see if it is there.[8] The Money Tree story also brought great amusement as it narrated how easily Coyote tricked greedy Pindah into buying a worthless tree for all their possessions.

Other insightful stories dealt with the Power of Nature when Wind and Thunder fought over which was more important. Wind departs, the land dries up, and the people suffer horribly. Wind, however, was persuaded to return and to reconcile with Thunder, thus ending the drought showing the interdependence and reciprocity of earth, air, fire, and water to life.

These tales provided insight into healing, into the power of plant medicine like sage or pollen. They likewise provided practical remedies into the medicinal benefits of rubbing fat on legs or showed how to cure ghost or snake sickness by eliciting the power of healers who through a combination of songs, drumming, turquoise and herbs could bring about incredible recoveries.[9]

More central for Cochise, however, was the question of personal and cultural freedom as embodied in the tales of the Snake and the Eagle. The Snake represented the baser qualities of life, fear, and control. Snake sought to ensnare other animals by preying on these insecurities. In one tale, the manipulating Snake tried to convince the skyward-bound Eagle that food would be scarce, and to physically survive, the Eagle needed to abandon his spiritual freedom to the Snake in exchange for the security of flour.

As he matured, Cochise remembered this tale as a metaphor for the three-hundred-year struggle of the Apache to remain free, proud, and independent, first from the Spanish, next the Mexican, and then the Pindah. As he liked to say, the higher law of freedom always trumps the lower law of the stomach.

Band Formation

One of Cochise's favorite tales consists of how the Chiricahua separated into different bands and took their names from the landscapes in which they settled. He never tired of hearing it.

As Cochise and his brothers approach the campfire, they hear sounds of the People gathering around the Elder who explains the separation of the Apaches into different bands drawing their names from the unique landscapes in which they settled.

The Elder, despite his great age, with great animation, invites everyone to come and sit. In a loud voice, he discusses how the Apaches spread across Apacheria by drawing in the sand a map showing the movement of the different Bands.

Pointing to the east he explains: "There are Jicarilla, Lipan and Kiowa-Apaches in New Mexico and Texas, who the Chiricahua rarely encounter."

Using an arrow, he creates a rough picture of southwestern New Mexico; central and eastern Arizona, proclaiming: "There are our neighbors the Navajo, Mescalero, White

Mountain or Coyotero, Tonto, and Cibecue. Peoples who we don ‘t always get along with leading to conflict and raiding.”

Shifting inflection, the Elder boasts of the prowess of Chiricahua and how “they, a mountain people, are the greatest of Apaches.”

He continues, “Chiricahua literally means Mountain of Wild Turkey, consisting of four bands. The Eastern Band is led by Mangas Coloradas and Victoria, called Mimbres or Chihennes, are found in southwest New Mexico.

“The southern band called Nednhis occupied Sierra Madres or Blue Mountains of northern Mexico and is headed by Juh.”

Proudly he concludes. “The central Chiricahua lead by Pisago Cabezon is called the Chokonen, or Sunrise or People of the Forest. We are the fiercest and most admired band; and the only group properly known as Chiricahua, home for us centers on the beautiful and formidable Dragoon and Chiricahua Mountains.”[10]

Cochise nods to his brothers and exclaims with enthusiasm. “See, I told you, we are indeed the greatest band led by father.”

Warrior Training

Cochise remembered and internalized these stories as intrinsic to his cultural identity and as a prelude to being a warrior leader. From well-nigh his first breath, the art of leadership and warfare were inculcated.

At the age of 6 or 7, Cochise was taken under his father and uncle’s wings, given a bow and arrow, and taught how to defend himself. The basic philosophy of his training was that although outgunned or outnumbered an Apache should never be outfought or outmaneuvered. Training was crucial for survival, and it was essential as future leader to minimize warrior losses considering the larger populations of their Mexican and American

enemies. Cochise's mentors instilled the value of life in these words: "it is better to fight another day than to die meaninglessly by risking the lives of five or six warriors."

Cochise, as heir to Pisago Cabezon, was placed under an even more intense warrior regimen than his peers. It consisted of racing before dawn for ten miles without swallowing any water, swimming in icy streams, strengthening his body by wrestling, expanding physical agility through hand-to-hand combat, and developing dexterity through horsemanship. Coordination and flexibility were heightened by throwing stones through rolling hoops or shooting arrows at birds, squirrels, and rabbits, or organizing slingshot battles with his brothers and other playmates.

Above all, he was taught the importance of mastering psychological and physical pain. Pain, the elders taught, was good medicine, for by controlling it a warrior can keep his mind clear and steady in combat. Cochise and his brothers burned sage on their bodies to practice it. It was discipline that enabled Apaches to run fifty miles in spirit, ignoring the terrible burning in their chest and lungs. During these runs, he followed the custom of breathing through his nose to conserve moisture, and often felt the sensation of floating in space, motion became effortless; completeness embraced him. Self- control, too, taught him to remain motionless for hours so as not to draw the attention of either enemies or to scare off elk or deer. He was particularly impressed by the silence of the quail which taught him the importance of stillness, of emptying one's thoughts prior to acting.

Cochise was constantly reminded by his mentors: 'You must have your arrows and your bows where you can grab them. Keep your knife beside you. Have your moccasins ready. Be on alert in peace or war. Do not spend all your time sleeping. Get up when the morning star comes out. Watch for that star. Don't let it get up before you do.'

From age 10-14, he was taught the necessity and art of self-reliance. Pisago Cabezon instructed:

My son, you know no one will help you in this world.

You run to that mountain and come back. That will make you strong.

My son, you know no one is your friend, not even your sister, your father, or your mother. Your legs are your friends; your brain is your friend; your eyesight is your friend; your hair is your friend; your hands are your friends-you must do something with them. When you grow up you live with these things and think about it.[11]

Novitiate

At sixteen, Cochise, now a warrior novice, studied the deeper psychological aspects of warfare, focusing on quieting the mind, and imbibing the importance of obedience and listening. Under the guidance of a spiritual elder, di-yin, Cochise embarked on a four-day Seeking Power Quest to acquire clarity about his identity and power, as well as insights into his dark side or fears that needed recognition and harnessing. While fasting, Cochise fell in and out of altered states of consciousness. Within these dream states, he experienced his Power Medicine. In one dream an animal messenger appeared, who instructed him on how to prepare for battle, and what amulets to wear to protect him from the enemy.

His protective war charms consisted of a stone, a turquoise necklace, an eagle feather, and a war shirt covered in lightning. He was given a sacred word or mantra to be spoken before and in battle was to carry sage and pollen in his medicine bag for protection. Cochise was told by a village elder woman that he would never be harmed by the enemy's fire. Coming off the Mountain, he shared the content of these spiritual experiences with the Medicine Man, who helped him decipher their meaning. Cochise's novitiate ended by participating in four raids. During those times, Cochise invoked the persona of Child-of-Water and reenacted the ancient Creation Story of slaying of monsters.

Cochise and his brothers learned the art of making arrows, stringing bows, and shooting arrows. Bows and arrows were treated with respect. They were prayed over, oiled, wrapped, and placed in a sacred place. The brothers became so adept that they could release seven or eight arrows before a Mexican or American could reload a musket. It was only after the appearance of the repeating rifles in the 1860s that the advantages of the Apache bow were offset by the Winchester, the Henry, or the Spencer.

Sexual intercourse was taboo during novitiate. Cochise ate only cold food, avoided horse injuries, and drank water through a special straw. These warrior practices were established to enhance self-control in battle. His role was limited to gathering wood, watching horses, and clearing campsites. Upon successfully completing his last raid, Cochise was accepted as a member of the warrior's elite circle.

During this apprenticeship period, Cochise learned other important points: never to travel in the desert at daylight as it raised too much dust, to approach springs only in the stillness of night, rest at night in hollows where the enemy would never think to look, and when caught in the open desert imitate the lizard and cover oneself with sand. According to his contemporaries, he was an expert in the art of reading tracks. Each track, unique in size and weight, carried vital information about the movement of enemies. He was instructed to move away from gunfire by circling around like a hawk. His weapon of choice was the spear, a symbol of leadership, which was appropriate to his role as leader of Chokonen.[12]

The Spanish had brought the North African Berber horses to the New World and by the seventeenth century large mustang herds began to move across the plains. The Apaches became the first people to domesticate the horse, but it was their Comanche counterpart on the Staked Plains of western Texas and eastern New Mexico who brought the breeding and riding of ponies to a high art. Comanche knowledge was quickly learned by other Plain tribes. The Apache attitude toward ponies was pragmatic. They rode ponies only if they

helped in raiding or in a conflict and abandoned them without sentimentality to fight on foot when that proved more effective. Ponies, not Apaches, were expendable. Apache training emphasized the absolute need to rely on self. Pony meat was considered a delicacy and often roasted. When General Otis Howard met with Cochise in 1872, he was fed pony.[13]

Hunting/Raiding

Fall was the best time to hunt. Hunting deer and elk was a necessary communal activity. Apaches were great hunters and used the bow and arrow extensively. Cochise remembered his excitement when his father, Pisago Cabezon, presented him with a powerful mulberry bow and an elegant quiver made from the hide of mountain lions. Cochise carried 20-40 arrows in the quiver. He developed into a noted hunter, whose kill was skinned and butchered by the women on the spot, and the hides transformed into clothing, containers, and a host of other items. Manifesting compassion, he shared the game among the elderly, widows, and orphans. His generosity was just one more trait in his emerging leadership.

Raiding was a natural extension of the Apache hunting and gathering tradition. Raids occurred in the winter season (Ghost-Face) when food supplies were low. Parties varied in size depending on the adversary and the situation. Cochise participated in many raids in which Mexican villages, rancheros, or mines were targeted for their large herds of livestock: mules, cattle, horse, sheep, and blankets. Other goals included taking Mexican infants or young children, especially male, back to Apacheria to be raised Apache to replenish losses or sold into slavery to other tribes.

Another form of raiding consisted of avenging personal loss. Apaches raised on the ethic of collective guilt, considered the death of an Apache at the hands of a Mexican or Pindah to be the total responsibility of the enemy. Holding the community liable was the Apache version of justice and was intensified by the enemy's shared perception of Apaches as animals, sub-humans who should be hunted down like dogs. These avenging raids were

preceded by a war dance where participants wore amulets and protective caps and received medicine bags of pollen to guarantee success. When the raid was victorious, there was a four-night celebration, otherwise, the return was subdued.

Warriors were masters of intimidation and instructed to conduct raids with cunning and stealth by moving slowly and quietly into a Spanish, Mexican, or American town. Approaching the site, they were to speak in a special code, use hand signals and mirrors, and stay out of sight, often dressed in the clothes of their enemies. Dawn was the best hour to attack, as Mexicans and Americans were still groggy from sleep. The raiding party then divided into smaller units, with two or three warriors responsible for running off the livestock. Once they gathered the animals, they drove them hard to a rendezvous point and then traveled to the rancheria by dividing again to avoid capture. Scouts fanned out in all directions to protect the raiding party.

A favorite Apache tactic adopted by Cochise against his enemies involved creating the illusion of larger numbers by having his warrior's ponies kick-up great clouds of dust by racing back and forth. Surprise and terror were other tactics to cow the enemy, accompanied by simultaneous shouting, yelling, and taunting with the images of a horrible death. Capture often led to either being devoured by ants or quartered on a wagon wheel with the cries of the tortured shaking the resolve of the defenders.

Cochise was taught that every Apache warrior was worth 10-15 American/Mexicans. Though often outnumbered, Cochise mentors insisted that he could still win. "Each warrior is to be a self-contained fighting unit; masters at using the desert/mountainous landscape to their advantage. No one is better in climbing cliffs than the Apaches."

Cochise later prided himself on his ability to disappear into the sand, or to vanish at night into the mountains. Many later considered him possessed of an inner power or medicine or knowledge. Showing no fear for his safety, Cochise always rode bat-like in

front of his warriors. His exploits were legendary, which explained why so many followed him despite their individual fickleness.[14]

Truly nothing went on within Cochise's territory that he was not informed about, making him a wily adversary. No one was better in providing sentinels with mirrors and signal fires over great distances to protect his People from attacks. Rarely was he spotted or his rancherias taken by surprise. His flawless communications network enabled him to know every troop movement happening between Tucson and Fort Bowie. This helped explain why he eluded capture and remained a phantom throughout the 1860s. Many false sightings or rumors of his death made him a veritable Arizona legend.

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[1] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 3-14.

[2] Peter Aleshire, *Cochise, The Life and Times of the Great Apache Chief*, 17-22.

[3] Morris Opler, *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians*, 1-21.

[4] Ibid., 14-18.

[5] Thomas E. Mails, *The People Called Apache*, 247-53, 283-92.

[6] Ibid., 25; 251-52.

[7] Opler, *Myths and Tales*, 49-50.

[8] Ibid., 84-86.

[9] Ibid., 91.

[10] Eve Ball, *Victorio: Recollections of a Warm Spring Apache*, xiv.

[11] Tanya Landman, *I am Apache*, 84.

[12] Aleshire, *op. cit*., 8-25.

[13] Frank J. Sladen, *Making Peace with Cochise*, 81-82.

[14] James L. Haley, *Apaches: A History and Cultural Portrait*, 116-121; Dustin Craig & Sarah Colt, *We Shall Remain: Geronimo*, American Experience

## THREE
## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION/COMMUNITY

*"The power of White Painted Lady offered the pubescent girl (the Sunrise Ceremony) longevity and the physical capabilities of someone perpetually young."*

-- Thomas E. Mails--

Apache Women

Apache women, the symbol of rebirth, stood at the heart of their culture because of the fragility of life in the southwest. They bore and raised children, maintained the wickiups and were responsible for feeding, cooking, and making clothing for their children. Apache women demanded and received profound respect. They were often consulted about important matters affecting the welfare of the band. It was dishonorable to be impolite, short, or irritable with women.

When men married, they became responsible for caring, hunting, and protecting their wife's progeny and clan. The custom was that everything he gets on the hunt goes to them. Men were to treat their spouses and relatives with respect and reverence as exemplified by Child-of-Water. Apache men exhibited a healthy deference to in-laws, particularly the mother-in-law. They were never allowed to have any physical contact with, or even speak directly to them. Avoidance was the norm and was enforced to minimize the possibility of incest, an act deemed ruinous to band life.

Modesty in speech, polite behavior, and gender decorum were inculcated values. Many Coyote stories deal with sexual behavior and the consequences of illicit activity. Adultery was at times punishable by death. A woman could lose her nose as an embarrassing indicator of adultery or be killed. Men were exiled for breaking the sexual taboo. Incest was considered the work of deranged witches[1]

The centrality of the feminine emanated from the mythical status of White Painted Lady and her role as nurturer in sowing, gathering food, and childbirth. In the fall, Cochise's mother dug roots and gathered prickly pears, acorns, pinon nuts, mesquite bean, and the banana fruit of the yucca. In spring and summer, she filled her baskets, either light shallow trays, or tall flat-bottom burden baskets, with wild onions, greens, grass seeds, berries, and cactus fruit for transporting or storing. Of all plants, the mescal was the most desired. Mescal was baked in ovens, stored in hidden caches, and mixed with berries, nuts, and walnuts for added nutrition; it was the mainstay of the Apache diet.

The Apaches enjoyed a substantial, nourishing, and organic, food supply that included berries, potatoes, corn, grapes, and honey, along with a variety of meats including elk, antelope, deer, and pony. Most meat was prepared by boiling it over an open fire, though some was baked in pits. Fish was avoided as it was identified with snakes, which were considered taboo, along with lizards, frogs, and tadpoles. Later, the Apache balanced diet was drastically altered by the Pindah menu with its emphasis on white flour, starch, sugar, and salt. These foods in the modern era led to obesity, alcoholism, diabetes, and heart disease.[2]

Women provided moral backing by praying for the good fortune of their men when they were away on raids: "Bring them back safe, protect them from weapons," they cried. Whenever Cochise's mother pulled a pot from a morning campfire she paused and held a silent remembrance for protection and success. She was careful, too, in the stacking of wood, as it was believed that scattered kindling brought bad luck.

Apache women cheered their men, prayed for their safety in battle, raids and hunts, and honored them on their return. They dressed in their finest clothes to greet the triumphant warriors and lit the fires as the horsemen entered the stronghold. They called out their names to honor them for their courage and resolve. The women prepared the victory dance celebrating their return and made the tiswin beer that was drunk by the men.

Cochise reveled in this ceremony. It brought great honor to him and his followers. It united the band and created a powerful synergy binding the generations. Cochise recalled one occasion, when he approached the trail into the stronghold from a successful raid, he could hear his name echoing off the canyon wall: “Here he comes, he rides before them, and his name is Cochise, Cochise, and Cochise.” At the celebration, he recounted the key events of the raid and concluded by honoring the fallen: “This is the last time we will mention their names, for to do so would impede the fallen from entering the Happy Land. It’s finished.”[3]

Families of the fallen then went into a period of mourning. Women cut their hair and covered their bodies with ashes or wore dark buckskin for one year to keep away ghosts of the departed. Often, it was the women who demanded justice when one of their own was killed, and they could be quite brutal with Mexican or American adult captives, using axes, needles, and knives to kill them[4]

Women Warriors

Women not only acted as healers and herbalists but were skilled in defending themselves against attack using the warrior arts of knives, bows and arrows, spears, and guns. Dos-teh-seh, Cochise’s wife, was taught the arts of war by her elder relatives. Self-defense was critical to female survival after scalp hunting became a Mexican and American policy. Bounty hunters, soldiers, and trappers often decorated their saddles with the private parts and the scalps of Apache women or sometimes sold into bondage. The women, by necessity, had to master the tactics of rendezvous, camouflage, tracking, and horse riding.

One story told how a group of captured Apache women was able to escape from Baja California, Mexico, and walked their way back to Apacheria by traveling at night and staying off the main trails. They lived off the land, displaying a keen geographic understanding of the stars as well as manifesting a survival instinct equal to any warrior.[5]

Lozen, the younger sister of Victorio, fought like a man. She was described by James Kaywaykla "as a ... magnificent woman on a beautiful horse." She urged the women and children to cross the treacherous Rio Grande River after Victorio's band fled from the hated San Carlos Reservation. Lozen never married but had the gift of clairvoyance, able to determine where the enemy was by a tingling in her palm. As she stated: "I see as one from a height sees in every direction."[6]

Sunrise Ceremony

One of the most beautiful Apache ceremonies is the Sunrise Ceremony, celebrating puberty, the passage of a young girl into adulthood. The Ceremony takes place in the summer. It is a four-day ritual accompanied by song and dance commemorating the legend of White Painted Lady, who was impregnated by Lightning and gave birth to Child-of-Water, the founder of the Apache people.

The Sunrise Ceremony began with the medicine man singing four ancient songs invoking the Gaan or Mountain Spirits. Each dancer holds wooden wands on the second and third day.

During the ceremony, the girl dwells in a wickiup and literally becomes the incarnated White Painted Lady gifted with healing power. With the help of a di-yin or medicine man, she invites White Painted Lady to teach her how to live honorably and usefully. She wears an abalone shell on her forehead to commemorate the shell that protected White Painted Lady during the flood. The buckskin dress she wears is soft yellow, the color of pollen, the symbol of fertility. She dances for long periods, and the Gaan appear to drive evil away and to guard her against illnesses. As the living incarnation of White Painted Lady, the initiate becomes a healer, and tribal members are invited to seek relief from physical and mental pain. She was mysteriously bestowed with the powers of White Painted Lady to heal, and magically prepares to assume the duties of adulthood through the ceremony.[7]

The Ceremony concludes with a giveaway. By shaking and throwing away the ceremonial blankets, the initiate ensures that she will have plenty of warmth in the future, and that her wickiup will be clean. On the fifth day at sunrise, the ceremony ends, and her hair is tied by a piece of shell or turquoise indicating that she is now a woman. When she marries, she wears her hair long.

Cochise participated in the Sunrise ritual and the other healing observances in which the Gaan were invoked. He remembered the beauty of his only sister's service, and how proud he was of his daughters. Cochise was awestruck by the beauty of the dances, and how they transformed all present, especially his sister and daughters. He took advantage of these sacred healing moments by invoking the blessings of White Painted Lady and asking her to provide him with guidance, insight, and wisdom in leading the People.

Marriage

Apache society was polygamous. It was quite common for a man to have several wives. This practice was connected to the hunter-gatherer and raiding lifestyle in which males were often killed, leaving widows and orphans. Cochise had three wives. Dos-teh-seh was his primary wife and the mother of Taza and Naiche who were born in 1842 and in 1857. There is some evidence that Cochise married Yones, the wife of his brother Coyuntura, who was hanged at Apache Pass in 1861. By another wife, Nahlekadeya, he had two daughters, Dash-den-zhoos and Naithlotonz (Naiche-dos).[8]

Apache marriages were arranged and always negotiated, and it was expected that the male would provide a handsome bride price to the family. Geronimo reportedly offered 14 horses for his first wife's hand in marriage, Alope, who was later brutalized and killed by Mexican troops in 1850. The death of his wife made Geronimo an implacable enemy of the Mexicans.[9]

Cochise in the spring of 1840, remembered his first encounter, with Dos-teh-seh (Something Already Cooked by the Fire or Open) at the Santa Lucia Camp. He caught her shyly looking at him as he rode into Mangas Coloradas' camp with his brothers, Coyuntura and Juan.

Wow, he thought, "Who is that tall delicate girl with lovely hands, raven-dark hair, and beautiful brown eyes?"

**Figure 2 Dos-teh-seh**

He finds himself drawn to her, spending more and more time at Mangas' camp.

As his desire increased, Cochise became impatient waiting for the evening social dance to start. When the dance begins, Dos-teh-seh tapped him on the shoulder, and his heart

jumped as he joined her and rhythmically danced in a dazed state to the beat of the drums as they move around the campfire.

He gifted her later with an abalone necklace. She responded kindly, smiling radiantly.

In time, their love deepened. Cochise was taken by her intelligence, knowledge, and wisdom.

Mangas Coloradas watched this blossoming relationship with deep pleasure, for he saw in his Chokonen friend an emerging leader who he planned to bind to his tribe through marriage to his daughter.

At the proper time, Cochise approaches Mangas Coloradas for Dos-teh-seh's hand in marriage. She, with her mother, prepares a honeymoon wickiup where the couple will consummate their love and become one.

The Apache marriage ceremony is a simple and beautiful ritual characterized by these insightful lines:

"Now you will feel no rain for each of you will be shelter to the other. Now each of you will feel no cold for each of you will be warmth to the other. Now there will be no loneliness for you for each of you will be companion to the other. Now you are two persons but there is one life before you. Go now to your dwelling place to enter the days of your togetherness and may your days be good and long upon the earth.

Treat yourselves and each other with respect and remind yourselves often of what brought you together. Give the highest priority to the tenderness, gentleness, and kindness that your connection deserves. When frustration, fear or difficulty assail your relationship - as they threaten all relationships at one time or another - remember to focus on what seems right between you, not only on the part that seems wrong.

In this way, you can ride out the storms when clouds hide the face of the sun in your lives-- remembering that even if you lose sight of it for a moment, the sun is still there. And if

each of you takes responsibility for the quality of your life together, it will be marked by abundance and delight.

Go now to your secret place to consummate the union."[10]

The honeymoon period was magical. The two made new discoveries about each other every day. They swam, walked, embraced, and shared their hopes and visions.

Cochise is fond of the intimacy of having Dos-teh-seh brushing his thick black hair and plucking his facial hairs. Hair held Power-- a sacred aspect of personality.

"It ends all too soon," he laments to Dos-teh-she, to which she counters, "it's the Chiricahua tradition that the honeymoon lasts only ten days."

Upon their return to the Rancheria, tradition had it that the husband was to blend into the wife's family circle. Cochise broke custom, however, by bringing Dos-teh-seh to the Dragoon and Chiricahuas considering his Chokonen leadership role.

Children

Apaches prized children. Failure to have children was often a reason for divorce. Divorce was as simple as the woman placing the man's possessions outside the wickiup. No-fault prevailed, as women and men kept their respective possessions, with the women keeping the wickiup and the children. In some cases, separation could be wrenching, a source of shame to the husband and his family, splitting the band into factions. When this happened, village elders were brought in to heal the tension among the relatives.[11]

During pregnancy, an Apache woman's life slowed down so as not to jeopardize the baby. Cochise insisted that Dos-teh-seh not stack wood or ride ponies during her pregnancy. Her family watched over her and Cheis became more caring. When birthing begins, the pregnant woman is assisted by a mid-wife and family members. The women squat to facilitate the birth. Pollen is sprinkled to the Four Directions for blessing, and the umbilical cord is gathered, wrapped in a blanket, and then placed on the branches of a fruit-bearing tree

as a symbol of renewal. Cochise and Dos-teh-seh considered Taza's birthplace sacred, and every year, they visited it to thank Ussen for this miracle of life.[12]

Children were raised under a strict moral code. The importance of being honest, respectful of elders and visitors, and not being greedy or self-serving were emphasized. Community interconnectedness, reciprocity, oneness and wholeness, and sacredness of the land were the key values children learned. Gender roles came into play soon after the teeth showed, and the child was weaned.

Sexual abstinence between the parents was encouraged until the child was walking. The People scorned any man who got his wife pregnant too soon. This pattern was reinforced by ecology. Apaches lived in a harsh environment and were aware that they had to exercise a light footprint to survive. This involved limiting wickiup size. Most Bands were small. Cochise's Band, the Chokonen, were probably never more than a thousand.

This rigid birth control explains why it became a common Apache practice to bring Mexican boys back from raids, and to raise them in their tradition. In most instances, the captives acculturated to the Apache lifestyle and became important players within the tribe. However, not all captives were happy. In 1859, Grijalva Merejildo, who had been captured and raised by Cochise, fled with the help of Michael Steck, an Apache Indian Agent. Merejildo soon became one of Cochise's greatest adversaries as a scout for the US Army.[13]

Apaches were very indulgent of their children, believing that experience was the best teacher. They were appalled by the American custom of whipping youngsters. When an infant cried, it was the Apache custom to place the infant in its cradle basket and hang it in a tree until it learned the virtue of stillness. The Cradle Basket made it easier for Dos-teh-seh to carry and care for her children. During berry harvest or while cooking meals, it taught the children the importance of being alone and still, qualities critical to survival. The cradle basket was tied to the saddle pommel whenever the mother rode a pony.

Family/Village Activities

Cochise, Dos-teh-seh, Taza and Naiche, and other relatives enjoyed coming together to tell stories, cook, talk, play, laugh and participate in games. Cochise and the boys particularly enjoyed the game of Shining, a ballgame in which a buckskin ball was the center of action. The ball thrown in the air was to be hit by a stick. The goal was to hit it between two trees or rocks. The game often lasted for hours with both sides laughing, yelling, and cheering each other on. Cochise was exceptionally good at it and often there were sideline bets over which side would win. When the game ended there was a lot of celebration with lots of eating and drinking. As Cochise said, "It's a really good time, bringing the village together." He was particularly proud of Taza who scored the winning point one afternoon, but kept still about it until bedtime, embracing Taza and whispering what a terrific hit. Racing, wrestling, and Hoop-and-Pole were other popular games that brought the village together and solidified relationships.

Village life was full, relationships deep, and the community strong. Cochise often mused "it is good to be an Apache."

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[1] Morris Opler, *An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Apaches*, 168-169, 250.

[2] Ibid., 354-368.

[3] Elliot Arnold, *Blood Brother*, 11-16.

[4] Morris Opler, *Life-Way*, 351.

[5] Jason Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, Chp. 2

[6] Peter Aleshire, *Warrior Women*, 54-57.

[7] San Carlos. "Sunrise Ceremony: Coming of Age the Apache Way," https://tinyurl.com/53nfjk5j (Accessed, 2012); Bruce. D. Itule, "Growing up Apache," 20-25, *Arizona Highways*, Sep. 1992; Eva Ball & James Kaywayka, *In the Days of Victorio*, 35-44.

[8] Sherry Robinson, *Apache Voices; Their Stories of Survival as Told to Eve Ball* 62-64.

[9] Angie Debo, *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place*, 31-35.

[10] "Apache Wedding Blessing" came from the motion picture *Broken Arrow*.

[11] Opler, *op. cit*., 411-414.

[12] Opler, *op. cit*., 8.

[13] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Merejildo Grijalva*.

## FOUR
## FORMATIVE YEARS

*"(Cochise) was both physically and mentally superior to even the superior people (Apaches). According to our standards he was a very handsome man. That meant primarily that he was of physical perfection, but we did not disregard pleasing features and appearance. Cochise had those, also."*

-- Daklugie, Son of Juh--

The Allure of the Mountains Spirits/Gaan

Cochise loved his homeland, marked by the Dragoons, characterized by the East and West Strongholds. Other rancherias centered on the Chiricahuas, described by the Apaches as the Land of Standing-Up Rocks. Mount Graham to the northeast, near the city of Stafford, was considered sacred, and the Dos Cabezas Mountains were linked by Apache Pass Road to the Chiricahuas. These were the four sacred mountains of his people. Another favorite mountain site was the Pedregosa located in the southeastern corner of Arizona, not far from Canyon de los Embudos where Geronimo and Naiche, Cochise's son, surrendered to General George Crook in 1886.

These mountain fortresses, located in an ocean of desert were populated by pine, oak, juniper, and aspen. They afforded Cochise and his people tremendous protection against their Indian, Spanish, Mexican and American enemies, while providing plenty of game and plants. Rising more than 10,000 feet above sea level, and characterized by canyons, streams and huge rock formations, these natural fortresses made it well-nigh impossible for Cochise's enemies to pursue an attack or take him by surprise.[1]

**Figure 3 The Dragoon Mountains from the South by Mark A. Wilson (Source Wikimedia Commons)**

The Chokonen landscape was rife with stories of wisdom and history of encounters, battles, failures, and successes, that held many lessons for a young man groomed for leadership. It was this unique landscape that provided the People with their identity. Cochise imbued these stories and relied on their messages to guide his people into the future. For him, the sacredness of the Mountains related to the Gaan, the mountain spirits who roamed there, protecting the Apaches from their enemies, and bringing them abundance.

These Mountain People or healing spirits were sent to earth by Life-Giver to teach the Apaches how to live peacefully among themselves. Cochise honored the Gaan in all major ceremonies and celebrations. The Gaan's representatives, the Crown Dancers, were beautifully marked and clothed in elegant regalia, including eagle feathers, wands, wooden head dresses, and painted Black Masks covered with brass buttons. They sprinkled their bodies with intricate images of rainbows, moon, and zigzag lightning as they sang, prayed, and danced. The Crown Dancers took on Gann power for healing, prophecy, and warfare. These ceremonies emphasized the importance of the Gaan for the People. Any disturbance of the land angered these Spirits precipitating earthquakes or terrible lightning storms.

Drumming, singing, and dancing were integral to many healing ceremonies involving the Gaan.[2]

Often the di-yin was enlisted by the Band to blow away the evil spirits that had entered the camp, either through white contact or trade with the Mexicans, exposing the People to terrible outbreaks of measles, mumps, and fever. Even Cochise sought the supernatural powers of the Gaan in facilitating his recovery from serious wounds.[3]

Cochise viewed the Gaan as veritable mentors who helped him to understand the deeper spiritual mysteries of interconnectedness, wholeness, oneness, and duality embodied in the Medicine Wheel.

In his dreams, the Gaan reminded Cochise that life was essentially a mystery leading back to Ussen in which each season was magically interwoven and sacred. He recognized that his youthful decisions would come to fruition in autumn, and that he had to exercise prudence in the flush of young adulthood so as not to be too rash or impulsive. He became aware of the danger of his dark side, and the need to balance its explosive temper, as it was complicated by a brooding temperament which could place him, his family, and People in jeopardy.[4]

Rock People

The deep wisdom of the Gaan was grounded in the primeval nature of the Rock People that the Elders claimed went back to the beginning of time. Knowledge was best absorbed by sitting in silence and simply contemplating the mysterious rock figures that dotted the Chiricahua Mountain landscape. These ethereal formations with their complex lines existed before time and held deep truths about the mysteries of life. By meditating on them, Cochise often slipped into altered states of consciousness, where the stone figures came alive and spoke to him. Often, Cochise turned to their silent counsel and direction in stressful times.

The Rock People played a significant role in the Sweat Lodge Ceremony as its purification and healing rites brought clarity and insight. The heated Rock People were placed in a pit, and then sprinkled with sage, sweet grass, and water. This combination of healing properties, accompanied by song and smoke, penetrated the circle of the two-legged. Cochise found renewal in the sweats as they refreshed his energy and allowed him to make better decisions for the safety of his people.[5]

In time, Cochise, guided by the Gaan and Rock People, came to recognize that life was imbued with mystery, and unforeseen consequences. He became aware of the complexity of the life's web by studying the movement of nature. Whenever he dropped a pebble into a pond, he watched how its concentric circles spread out endlessly. Its indefiniteness manifested itself likewise in the vast night sky with its eons of stars and constellations. Water and the heavens provided a cautionary tale for being prudent and taking the long view in decision making. In tribal councils he heard the elders often ask the question-–How will the pursuit of this course of action impact the seventh generation?

Cochise, ever thoughtful and reflective, wrestled over the question of leadership, destiny, and truth. Given the uncertainties of a warrior and hunter lifestyle, his religion became truthfulness, for without its guidance life was meaningless and existence perilous. He was aware of how powerful words were; they had wings that could either unite or divide the Tinneh. He had to be careful about what he said, and more important, what he thought. Inner listening preempted speaking. Words interfered with reflection.

Seeking insight Cochise, along with Coyuntura, often bounce their thoughts off each other.

Cochise gives voice to this question from Coyuntura, "Is it not true brother that being whole, to be fully human, requires living from the heart as Child-of- Water exemplifies, and not from the head, so common among the Mexicans and Pindah?"

Not waiting for a response, Cochise comments. “Oh, how strange the Mexican and the Pindah are living in square framed houses, trying to fence everything-- it is like lassoing the wind.”

Coyuntura chuckles at the imagery of the lasso and turns fondly to his elder brother.

Cochise continues, “I am burdened by the expectations being placed on me as a future leader. It is a big responsibility, maybe too heavy.”

Coyuntura frowns and counters with “There is nothing you cannot do; I have watched your confidence unfold and how the People hold you in respect.”

Just then the brothers are disturbed by the slow movement of deer grazing on nearby grasses. Both sit very still so as not to frighten the herd off, watching as they move gracefully up the canyon floor.

Returning to the conversation Cochise asks. “What makes one person a leader and another a follower?”

Coyuntura responds: “A leader must always put the welfare of the People before his own, and must be truthful, courageous, and prudent. You are learning these behaviors in caring for Dos-teh-seh. The people will follow one who exhibits and lives these qualities.”

Cochise is pleased with his brother’s words and thinks, I am aware of a growing Power within me--the People listen.

He often hears the People say, “You can trust Che, for he speaks from the heart, never tolerating lying in himself or others, he is destined for greatness.”

Rising, Cochise hears the camp sounds, women cooking, children playing, men laughing, the smell of wood burning, and turns to Coyuntura. “It’s good to live in the mountains. Let us go back and see what brother and sister and Dos-teh-seh are up to.”

Cochise enjoyed contemplating the circular motion of the heavens and looking at the stars. The Chiricahua and Dragoon Mountains made the Milky Way appear intimate, even

touchable, as it brought the various constellations into sharp relief, Father Sun, and Sister Moon. Both were other-worldly. They were made even more mysterious by their occasional disappearance. Cochise often wondered if the stars held his destiny.

Being of the Rising Sun Band he began each day in prayer to the sun as it spread its multi-color rays over the mountains as softly as the wings of a butterfly. For Cochise, the daily rising of the sun symbolized renewal, rebirth, and blessings—a metaphor for the People. The Spiritual Happy Land was often identified with returning to the star people. The waxing and waning of the Moon was another profound event woven into the calendar and psychology of the People. It embodied the seasons with their incredible complexity and challenges. The full Moon hung brightly over the land, often acting as a friendly light to a hunt or raid. Cochise turned to his followers and said, "We are so fortunate to be embraced and guided by the stars."

By the 1830s, although not yet a major figure in the Chokonen band, Cochise continued to hone his leadership skills. As warrior, his total personality-physical, mental and spiritual-was being challenged and tested by the harsh Apache regimen of self-reliance and learning how to outwit the enemy. His relationship skills were being expanded by his warrior training, and by his romance with Dos-teh-seh, which cultivated caring and protecting not only his immediate kin family but his extended band relatives who were essential parts of the communal tapestry. His concern over leadership led him to seek answers outside of himself. These deeper probing led him to the insightful mentoring of Mangas Coloradas and Miguel Narbona. They taught him how to be a creative and thoughtful leader—a style which would enable him to unite the various independent minded Chiricahua bands against the Americans triggered by the Bascom Affair.

Mangas Coloradas

Cochise's leadership was strengthened by his close relationship with his father-in-law, Mangas Coloradas (Red Sleeves). Mangas was the dominant Chiricahua leader until his treacherous death in 1862. Mangas, a Bedonkohe, married into the Red Paint Band of Chihennes, whose lands bordered Cochise's, with Silver City, Santa Lucia Springs, and Mimbres Mountains as its heartland.

Mangas went by two names: Fuerte, Spanish for strong, brave, or stout, and later Red Sleeves because of his penchant to wear red. According to one legend, he covered his right arm in the blood of his Mexican enemy.[6] Mangas enjoyed the limelight and tended to be flamboyant. This characteristic flowed in part from his great physical size of 6'6, with a massive torso and head. In 1851, Mangas received, a frock coat lined with scarlet and ornamented with gilded buttons, from John R. Bartlett, U.S. Boundary Commissioner. It gave him immense pleasure in displaying to his people until he lost it to a fellow Apache while gambling.[7]

**Figure 4 Magnas Coloradas (Source Arizona Historical Society. Licensed in the Public Domain)**

After his marriage to Dos-teh-seh, Mangas' daughter, Cochise drew closer to Mangas than to his father Pisago Cabezon. Mangas taught him how to think strategically, to weigh all sides, and to exercise prudence and discernment in making war. Mangas warned that if the Apaches were to survive, they would have to abandon their inter-tribal rivalry and unify. It was with this strategy in mind that Mangas married his daughters to key Apache and Navajo leaders.

Mangas' keen geopolitical wariness and savvy enabled him to play the Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora off against one another. He used the lands and mountains of western New Mexico as impregnable vantage points to which he could retreat and launch future campaigns against Sonora and Chihuahua. Mangas' greatest military and diplomatic success, in which Cochise participated, was when he united the various bands against the Mexicans at Pozo Hediondo, Sonora, and defeated the forces of Captain Ignacio Pesquiera and Manuel Martinez in 1851. Later, with the arrival of the Americans, Mangas struggled over how best to respond to this new threat. Like the Apaches, the Americans were a warrior culture but with a more advanced technological sophistication. This made them more formidable than the Mexicans.[8]

Miguel Narbona

Another Apache leader who had significant impact on Cochise's development was Miguel Narbona, who replaced Pisago Cabezon as war leader of the Chokonen by the 1840s. Narbona's biography embodied many borderland metaphors pertaining to the Apache and Mexican animus. He was a Chokonen by birth. In 1812, quite young Miguel was captured by Sonoran troops, under its famous military leader, Antonio Narbona, whose name he later carried.

In the war between Apache and Mexican, taking prisoners was frequent on both sides. For Mexican society, it created a lucrative slave trade spanning to the Caribbean by which

Apaches were sold to wealthy families as servants, or else worked in the harsh atmosphere of the mines. Mexicans captured by Apaches did better overall, as young Mexicans were raised Apache, women could marry Apache men, and even as slaves at times acquired independence.[9]

In 1822, Miguel Narbona, raised Mexican, ran away, and made his way back to his family band. His years of captivity enabled him to speak fluent Spanish and, to understand the Mexican lifestyle of patriarchy, sexism, and property. He was embittered by the racism he experienced as an Apache and shocked by the punishing nature of the Catholic God, so different from the compassionate Life Giver, Ussen. He never recovered from the restrictive and limiting architecture of Mexican rancheros with their square rooms, heavy furniture, and low-hanging ceilings. In contrast, the Apache lifestyle was one of openness, airiness and freedom as expressed by the circular, egalitarian design of the wickiup.

By the 1840s, Miguel emerged as war head of the Chokonen with Cochise as his lieutenant. Cochise's father, Pisago Cabezon, by now old and tired of war, sought accommodation with the Mexicans to the chagrin of Cochise at the very time the United States was invading Mexico. Cochise learned from Miguel many secrets about inspiring followers, winning their loyalty and allegiance. He gained insights into organizing successful raids, taking few losses, being generous with the distribution of booty, and above all else, bravery in battle. His many scars from Mexican and Pindah bullets bore ample testimony to Cochise's bravery.

From Narbona, Cochise learned that vision without action was meaningless. He mastered the secrets of campaign organization and planning, the tactical advantage of surprise by deceiving pursuers about Apache numbers and size, creating illusions of vulnerability to bait the enemy, and confusing pursuers by vanishing into the desert and mountainous landscape.

In 1848, Cochise became indebted to Miguel for saving his life. Like the coyote metaphor, he had become arrogant regarding his prowess against the Sonorans, viewing them as sheep that he could intimidate and cow. This cavalier attitude led Cochise to be trapped, captured, and placed in a cave at the Fronteras Presidio. Miguel, however, came to the rescue of Cochise. He rallied the Chokonen to strike back at Fronteras, starving the village into releasing Cochise by early August. Afterwards the residents of Fronteras, fearful of further Apache reprisals fled to the larger town of Bacoachi.

Cochise never forgot this incident, as he intimated to Narbona: “Pride, impulse, and arrogance can blind one to danger. It was so embarrassing. My death would have served the Mexicans, but not the People, who see me as their future.” From it, Cochise took away the importance of caution, and reconnoitering. He never allowed himself to be tricked or captured again except under Bascom at Apache Pass.

Narbona remained war leader of the Chokonen until his mysterious death in 1856. It was rumored he was killed by Mexicans. Cochise then assumed the leadership mantle for the next twenty years and led in an exemplary fashion, He drew heavily on the examples of Narbona and Mangas Coloradas.[10]

Mexican Nemesis

Other events unfolding outside Cochise’s world would have tremendous importance, further molding his personality and temperament. The resumption of Apache conflict with Sonora and Chihuahua became a critical issue when Mexico became independent from Spain on September 26, 1821. This political change dramatically shifted relations, as the newly formed Mexican Government was no longer able to sustain the Spanish policy of providing rations for the Apaches in the form of beef, grain, corn. and cotton.

The cessation of these supplies led the Chiricahuas to revert to their traditional raiding economy. It triggered a return to avenging Apache losses by attacking Mexican villages,

haciendas, ranches, and mines. Apache families cried out for avenging their fallen loved ones and organized retribution raids marked by killing, looting, and seizing Mexican children to be brought back and raised Apache. Mexican leaders retaliated by orchestrating military expeditions into Apacheria, killing, and capturing Apaches to work in the mines or as servants for the wealthy in central Mexico. The slave trade, an integral part of the Apache Mexican trade, intensified their mutual hatred, as each lost loved one heightening their retribution.

The Sonorans were particularly hostile to the Chiricahuas and by the 1830s, had implemented a policy that was particularly cruel and harsh. It involved the hiring of Mexican and Indian bounty hunters, with Pindah in the lead. Whites came into the southwest first as hunters, trappers, and miners. Later as traders who did business with the Apaches, providing them with guns, whiskey, and vital information about the movement of Mexican troops.

The Fifty-Year war with Mexico became increasingly ugly and continued until the surrender of Geronimo in 1886. Hotspots were Fronteras in Sonora, Janos in Chihuahua, and the hated Santa Rita del Cobre mine in western New Mexico, located in the heart of Mangas Coloradas' territory. Apaches loathed the crude, vulgar miners, who had no respect for the Gaan living in the mountains. Apaches feared that mining would anger the Gaan and they would lose their spiritual protectors.

Cochise watched the unfolding war with Sonora. And to a lesser extent Chihuahua, and experience how it pulled at the band's social fabric. Families were broken by death of their men and by the increasing number of widows and orphans. Cochise recognized that the struggle divided the People between leaders who favored continuing the war, versus those who sought accommodations. The war leaders included his mentors: Miguel Narbona and Mangas Coloradas.

The complexity of Cochise story is largely nuanced by Spanish Mexican presence on Apacheria. Both societies fed off the other, with lots of cultural borrowing and imitation while being at war over a lengthy period time. Language, horses, guns, and clothes were central to their commerce. The two peoples, nevertheless, saw their identity being based on distinctive values. The European invader grounded in Church, crown, and gold. The Apache on Earth Woman, Ussen, and freedom. This value difference was the basis for the intense conflict that marked their relationship.

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[1] *Voices of a Desert* a beautiful video brings to life the magic of the saguaros and desert life; Chiricahuas: *Mountain Islands in the Desert*, an international wildlife film award winner that dramatically presents the flora/fauna of the Chiricahuas.

[2] Thomas E. Malis, *The People Called Apaches*, 292-303.

[3] Morris Edward. Opler, *An Apache Life-Way*, 267-280.

[4] Peter Aleshire, Cochise: *The Life and Times of the Great Apache Chief*, 88.

[5] Opler, *op. cit*., 218-220.

[6] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Mangas Coloradas: Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches*, 68-108, Paul I. Wellman, Death in the *Desert: The Fifty Year's War for the Great Southwest*, 6-13.

[7] John C. Cremony, *Life among the Apaches*, 52.

[8] Sweeney, *op. cit*., 391-411.

[9] Aleshire*, op. cit*., 69-72, 91-92, *Edwin R. Sweeney, Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 406-407.

[10] Sweeney, *op. cit*., 59-64.

## FIVE
## SPANISH AND MEXICANS IN APACHERIA

*"The Mexicans again without mercy killed indiscriminately—women, children, old men and boys. The survivors were seized as prisoners, among these being Nah-thle-tla and her two small children."*

--Jason Betzinez--

Coronado

In 1540-42, another group of strangers appeared in the southwest, lighter in complexion, wearing heavy armor and riding strange-looking four-legged large dogs (horses). These were Spanish Conquistadores seeking the elusive Seven Cities of Gold. An expeditionary force led by Coronado, a Spanish soldier of fortune, traveled from Mexico to Arizona and New Mexico. They reached the plains of Kansas before returning empty-handed to Mexico.

In his search, Coronado sacked and destroyed many pueblos, including the alleged Zuni golden village of Cibola. On his way to Cibola, Coronado passed through Cochise country, including Sulphur Springs, the Dragoon and Chiricahua Mountains. Today, these ranges make- up part of the Coronado National Forest in Arizona.

For the natives of the southwest, Coronado's expedition was nothing more than a passing episode with little lasting impact. Spanish permanence in North America, began with Cortez's conquest of the Aztecs in 1520 and the destruction of the magnificent Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan with a population of 200,000. Tenochtitlan was described by one eyewitness, Bernardo Diaz, as breathtaking in its beauty, architecture, and waterways. It was twice as large as London, Rome, or Venice.

Though Spanish steel and arms made the Spanish conquest possible, it was white man's diseases-measles, smallpox and influenza-that brought the Aztecs to their knees.

Native populations throughout the Americas experienced a population collapse estimated at ninety percent by 1600, nearly erasing native culture. The Apaches, too, were vulnerable to these diseases, which often seriously weakened their bands, decimated their leadership ranks, and impacted their general society, ceremonies, and ritual.[1]

Spanish Motives

Like Coronado, later Spanish Conquistadores were motivated by gold and god. It is estimated that between 1500 and 1650, Spain extracted 20,000 tons of silver and 200 tons of gold from the New World. This treasure house of bullion made Spain the paramount European power of the era and laid the basis for a western money economy. The Presidio, or military garrison, was the main vehicle of controlling the indigenous populations of what later became known as New Spain. The Catholic Church was the other institution of control. Through Missions and missionary effort, it sought to exorcise the Indigenous populations of their spiritual beliefs by forcible conversion to Christianity.


**Figure 5 Coronado's Route (Source: CABQ.gov)**

Native people were declared pagans-soulless and sub-human by the Papal Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 that divided South America between Portugal and Spain. This papal sanction emboldened the Spanish state authorities to exploit and abuse the natives in mines and estates, as exemplified by the encomienda system, and by the Church in the California Missions.

Racism further exacerbated the dehumanization of natives which was so destructive of Native populations that Spain and Portugal turned to the African slave trade. Millions were packed into slave ships only to perish on the Middle Passage where historians estimate that 1530 million people died of disease, malnutrition, and chains.[2]

New Spain's Social Order

Spanish North America, part of the far-reaching Spanish Empire, became part of the vice-royalty of New Spain administered from Mexico City. Composed of Conquistadores and their wealthy ranchero counterparts, they established great cattle ranches, mines, and sugar and cotton plantations. By the seventeenth century New Spain had established a rigidly stratified social hierarchy based on the example of Madrid, in which power, status and position were based on color, bloodlines and ancestry.

At the top of the social pyramid were the Peninsulares, Spaniards born in Spain, who controlled New Spain as vice-royals or governors. Closely aligned with them were the Crillos, Spaniards born in the New World, who occupied the second tier of power as mayors, military commanders, bishops and great ranchers or plantation owners. The next class in the colonial hierarchy was the Mestizos, peoples of mixed blood, primarily European and Indian, but in some cases European and African (mulattoes). Mestizos were craftsmen, traders, merchants, shopkeepers, and vaqueros (cowboys) who worked on the large cattle haciendas. Last were the peons, mainly Indian, who had no individual property, or were in debt and worked on the great estates or haciendas or in mines for paltry wages or food. The peons of

Indian African ancestry (Zambas), were the most discriminated against group of people in Mexico.[3]

The power elite were fair in complexion, blonde with blue eyes, whereas the Mestizos and peons were darker in color with brown eyes. They often experienced racial discrimination and prejudice from the ruling minority. The mestizos were the products of conquest and the reluctance of the Spanish women to come and build homes in the New World. The example was set by Cortez, whose mistress La Malinche, is considered by some to be the Mother Metaphor of Mestizo Mexico.

The Apaches also experienced Spanish racial prejudice, being described by Spaniards as *los barbaros.* In 1598, Juan de Onate, inspired by the *Seven Cities of Gold* mythology, led an expedition north, arriving at what later would become the capital city of New Mexico, Santa Fe. The Territory of New Mexico then included what we now know as western Texas, southern Colorado, the Oklahoma Panhandle, and southwestern Kansas. It was, at that time, teeming with various tribes who inhabited it - Puebloan, Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, southern Cheyenne, Arapaho. It was covered with great buffalo herds which grazed across the southern Plains.

Pueblo Revolt

The Spanish sought to win the support of the Puebloans by offering protection to them from the marauding Apaches and Comanches in exchange for their accepting Spanish rule and Christianity. The Spanish colony at Santa Fe saw dramatic numbers of Pueblo conversions, reaching more than 20,000 by 1626. Christian conversion, however, meant incessant labor on church lands at the expense of their own livelihood. By the 1670s, drought, disease, and Church teaching began to alienate the Puebloans, who believed that the hereafter was below, not in the heavens, and ultimately everyone, not just baptized persons, returned to the underworld.

The Franciscans, however, brooked no compromise in doctrine and targeted Puebloan medicine men, who were flogged, imprisoned, and executed for recalcitrance. These actions led to the Pueblo Revolt that drove the Spaniards out of Santa Fe and caused them to flee to El Paso in 1680. This Spanish defeat was the only time North American indigenous peoples succeeded in forcing Europeans to abandon large areas of territory. But the Pueblo victory was short-lived, as the Spaniards and Friars soon returned in 1692. They quickly re-established their control by appealing to the former Christian members who felt badly about their betrayal and participation in the Pueblo uprising. This about-face showed how easily Westernization could break tribal unity and divide Native peoples into traditionalists and moderns.[4]

Sonora/Chihuahua

Sonora and Chihuahua, located in northwest and northern Mexico, bordering Arizona and New Mexico played an incredibly significant role in the Cochise story. Sonora and Chihuahua were geopolitically valuable, springboards for Spanish expansion into Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas. Until the Mexican American War, they were integral parts of Mexico. Both Sonora and Chihuahua were dominated by the Sierra Madre Mountains and deserts, with rich deposits of gold, silver, and copper. These fertile valleys and rivers gave rise to the cattle industry and large ranchos.

Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca was the first Spaniard to enter Chihuahua in 1528. Soon after, Franciscans founded the village of Santa Barbara establishing a mission to convert the Indians, later leading to the further exploration of New Mexico. In 1540, Francisco Coronado traveled through Sonora and is credited with naming the territory. The Jesuits soon followed and began to convert the Pimas, Yaquis, Opatas, Tohono O'Odham, and Mayos.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Apache presence in the region grew. The Spanish, to protect themselves from Apache incursions, built significant presidios at Janos,

Chihuahua, Fronteras and Sonora. The Apache raids were so extensive that Captain Juan Mateo Mange reported in 1737:

> "Many mines have been destroyed, 15 large estancias along the frontier have been totally destroyed, having lost two hundred head of cattle, mules and horses, several missions have been burned and 200 Christians have lost their lives to the Apache enemy, who sustains himself only with the bow and arrow, killing, and stealing livestock. All this has left us in ruin."

By the 1740s, Cochise's ancestors, had become the scourge of Sonora and Chihuahua. To combat the raids, the government established a string of 23 presidios, but these proved to be ineffective against the elusive Apache. Apache depredation intensified to such a degree that Chihuahua began losing its population base. By 1780s, Theodor de Croix, Commanding General of New Spain, concluded that he would need 3000 troops along with Comanche assistance to subdue the Apaches.[5]

Apache Peace Policy

In 1786, Spanish authorities decided to abandon their ineffectual military solution for a peace policy with the Apaches. Bernardo de Galvez, Viceroy of New Spain described it as 'pacification by dependency' in which the Spanish would endeavor to make treaties with individual bands, persuade them to settle near military garrisons where they could receive food rations, and inferior weapons for hunting, and encourage trade. Pacification, too, enabled them to weaken the Apache unity by playing one band off against the other, or use other tribes against the Apaches.[6] The policy of pacification and dependence, nonetheless, created an era of relative peace which prevailed at Cochise's birth in 1810 and continued through his adolescence when conflict resumed between Apaches and Mexicans.

In 1822, the Spanish peace policy unraveled because of Mexican Independence from Spain, coupled with the increasing clamor of American settlers in Texas to separate from

Mexico. Termination of the peace policy and its loss of food and supplies forced the Apache Bands to return to commercial raiding throughout the southwest. Pisago Cabezon, Cochise's father, and Mangas Coloradas emerged as the new leaders and orchestrated the lethal Apache response to the Mexican shift in policy.

The conflict between the Mexicans and 'los indios barbaros' weakened Mexico's ability to respond to American expansionism, paving the way for the Mexican American War 1846-48, and the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, which brought the Americans into Apacheria. A serious Mexican weakness was the inability of Sonora and Chihuahua leadership to collaborate against the Apaches.[7] The Sonorans saw the Apaches as barbarians that had to be ethnically cleansed, whereas the Chihuahuas favored tempering war with peace. This ambiguity was connected to the Mestizo heritage of the Mexican state, making it difficult to wage a blatant race war against Indians, as America later did in the name of Exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny.

As the war between Apaches and the states of Sonora and Chihuahua intensified in the 1830s and 40s, Mexican authorities began to implement a policy of extermination as the smartest way to end the Apache problem. They turned to the American Pindah, who were appearing in the southwest seeking gold or trade or land and began to hire them as bounty hunters. The scalp bounty followed a sliding scale: 100 pesos for men, 50 for women, and 25 for children. In most cases scalps were never differentiated, and it was primarily Apache children, women, elderly and even friendly Indians who were most at risk. Apache children were raised on the belief that Mexicans roasted them.

Raiding to seek revenge intensified with the Spanish scalping of Apaches, which became official Mexican policy in the states of Sonora and Chihuahua. The result was the emergence of the Mexican and American bounty hunter industry. Participants got rich by

seeking scalps, often of children and women. Bounty hunting was a lucrative profession netting as much as $50,000 - $70,000 a year.

Apache response was swift and devastating. The family of the dead Apache demanded justice by cutting their hair, slashing their arms, and insisting that the spirit of the fallen be avenged by relatives and friends. Population dwindled as Mexicans fled from their towns and villages for larger cities or states. Transportation came to a standstill, paralyzing economic growth, as cattle and mining goods could not be shipped. Rancherias suffered from lack of vaqueros and field hands. Sonora and Chihuahua were turned into wastelands. An 1848 Sonora report indicated how extensive the psychological and material damage was by reporting the abandonment of ninety ranches, thirty haciendas, and twenty-six mines in the state.

Mexican War Intensifies

Cochise refreshes in the Rancheria eating venison with his sister. It is the winter of 1850, there is a light chill in the air. Snow lies on the Canyon peaks. His body tightens as he sees sharp light from the mirror signals flickering across the rim of the Eastern Stronghold. He hears the hoof beats of an approaching sentry announcing the arrival of a Mimbreno party.

He leaps to his feet knowing instinctively that something is afoot. Turning to his sister he asks her to call Coyuntura, Juan and other kin.

By now Cochise has emerged into a handsome leader: tall, erect, with sharp eyes, barrel chest, and hawkish nose. A commanding figure, whose energy marks an emerging charisma. He is in his prime, entering the summer of his life, and has gathered around himself a swelling number of followers who see in him qualities of greatness, honor, and respect.

He signals imperceptibly by moving his spear and fifteen warriors appear around him. He leads them to the rider. The courier tells the tale of how a Mimbreno village was attacked,

burned, and raped by Mexican soldiers and scalp hunters with many children, women and elders being slaughtered in the raid.

"It is a death of innocents," the rider shouts. "We implore the Chokonen to join with us to seek vengeance."

Cochise listens intently and asks: "When did this happen and where?"

"It was Mexican troops under Pesquiera in Sonora.."

"Who sent you?"

"Mangas Coloradas!"

By now his wife Dos-teh-seh appears and Cochise sees the concern that sweeps across her face for her people's safety.

Turning, Cochise sees Miguel Narbona arriving with his followers. They glance at each other, quickly mount, and make their way southwest down the San Pedro river toward Rio Sonora and Bacoachi, Sonora, where they join with Mangas forces. Other Chiricahua leaders are present, Ponce, Victoria, and Juh.

The Apaches soon unleashed a furious attack on Mexicans showing no mercy. Major pueblos are attacked from Arispe to Fronteras with large numbers of livestock and horses being taken.

It came to Manga attention that Captain Ignacio Pesquiera was organizing a formidable military party to strike against them near Pozo Hediondo. Mangas decided to bait the Mexicans rather than confront them. He asks for volunteers to set the trap. The strategy called for enticing the Mexicans into the hills of Pozo Hediondo by creating the illusion that the Apache raiders were lost, making for easy targets. Decoys are sent to lure the Mexicans into the hills. "Once there," Mangas says, "their escape will close as I will appear behind them with the main body of warriors."

Cochise steps up and agrees to lead the ruse. When the battle begins, Cochise orders, “Hand-to-hand combat, with no quarter given.” The battle lasts all day. By sunset, Pesquiera’s force of one hundred is nearly decimated with Cochise leading the final charge as the Mexicans flee from the area. The Apaches gathered their dead and leave Sonora,

Around the campfires, the storytellers describe Pozo Hediondo as one of the Apache’s greatest victories. Mangas is praised for his leadership in unifying the Chiricahuas.

Cochise returns to the Rancheria, where his exploits at Hediondo were feted, paving the way for his leadership of the Chokonen,

Tucson

During this time, Arizona and Tucson were just emerging as the geographic loci to the Cochise story. Arizona was probably named after a Tohono O’odham word for small spring, or from a Basque words aritz ona, the good oak. The name Tucson was derived from a Spanish version of a Tohono O’odham word meaning black base referring to the nearby black volcanic mountains.

At Cochise’s birth, Tucson was a sleepy Mexican Indian village center with a population of maybe 300-500. It is silver and gold that attracted miners and ranchers to the Santa Cruz River that ran southward from Tucson to Tubac and Nogales. Tucson was occupied by the Mormon Battalion during the Mexican American War, and then reverted to Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits established a Mission Church at Tumacacori located south of Tubac, which previously had been a Tohono O’Odham village site. In 1700, they founded the Mission San Xavier Bac, with its exquisite white Moorish architecture, south of Tucson. Later in the eighteenth century, the doctrinaire Jesuits were expelled by the Spanish Bourbons, and replaced by the more accommodating Franciscans. Because of growing

Apache pressure, the Tumacacori mission was abandoned at the end of the eighteenth century.

In 1752, the Spanish established a presidio in Tubac to protect the area from the various Indian tribes. It was from Tubac and Tucson that the Spanish launched their campaigns against the Apaches with their Indian allies, the Opatas, Pimas, and Navajos. The Tucson presidio was harassed by Apaches throughout the 1770s with the worse attacks occurring in the early 1780s. The Tucson population was essentially Mestizos. It was a Spanish and Mexican outpost in a sea of Indians. The ruling elite of Tucson, however, came primarily from Sonora, and were connected to the wealthy Spanish Crillos families there. Sonoran census of Tucson in 1831 listed only 465 Mexicans with an even larger, peaceful Apache presence of 486.

By the 1820s, Americans began appearing in Arizona, prospecting for furs, gold, and silver. Kit Carson, the renowned frontiersman, was one of the earlier hunters who came into the area. In the early 1850s, Washington showed a renewed interest in the lands south of the Gila River, as the topography of this region lent itself to the building of a railroad linking New Orleans to San Diego, thereby complementing the building of the Central Pacific from Sacramento to St. Louis and consolidating American control over the Far West.

In 1853, James Gadsden, American ambassador to Mexico, negotiated the $10 million land deal which brought the areas of Las Cruces, New Mexico, Tucson, and Yuma into the American frame. The Gadsden Purchase reshaped the destiny of Cochise as the treaty brought more Americans into the Chiricahua Apache heartland. Tucson changed from a sleepy Mexican Indian village to an American military, commercial, and transportation hub, as well as a major stop for the Butterfield Overland Mail, linking Missouri to California.[8]

For a while, Tucson acted as the western capital of the Confederacy until the Confederates were driven out by Major General James Henry Carleton's California Column,

making it a part of the Territory of New Mexico. In 1863, Arizona was organized into a Territory, with Tucson as its capital from 1867-1877. Tucson during these gold rush days evolved into a lawless pueblo attracting all kinds of unsavory characters from California to Sonora including outlaws, gunfighters, rustlers, gamblers, and gold seekers.[9]

Only after Tucson, built on a Hohokam site, became a major military center revolving around Fort Lowell, did it settle down. During the Apache period, it gave birth to the infamous Tucson Ring. It was a commercial ring largely responsible for fomenting the ethnic racism and fear that permeated white thinking about the Apaches.

For Cochise, Tucson, although somewhat outside his traditional lands, loomed personally important, as it was the center from which military strategies and forces were often orchestrated against him. It came to represent a nascent military-industrial complex. It was from Tucson that Cochise's deep relationship with Tom Jeffords would emanate. It was Jeffords' desire to protect his mail riders that motivated him to seek a meeting with the elusive Apache.

Cochise on various occasions rides to the outskirts of Tucson with Coyuntura, his brother, and Nahilzay, his son-in-law, to observe what is happening there in the desert. They ride from Dragoon Springs westward to the outskirts of Tucson, viewing its growth from the Catalina Mountains.

Cochise leads, guiding his favorite black pony along the narrow mountain pathways to get a better view:

"Every time we come here," he bemoans, "there is more buildings and people."

"This sudden growth bothers me. In particular, the arrival of white hunters, miners, merchants, and troops. The Pindah are different from the Mexicans and local Indians. They are aggressive, arrogant, and pushy. They show no respect for the land. For them, the land is

to be subjugated and controlled. The miners are the worse, frightening the Gaan. They spit on the land."

Pausing, he hears loud sounds lifting from the valley floor: teamsters screaming at the mules, drunken laughter, gunfire, hammering and raising of store fronts.

Cochise shutters disturbed by these noises and said, "We see the land as the Mother. As sacred, flowing through our blood. I fear for the future of my people and land if this upheaval continues."

Cochise and his kin look at the growth of Tucson with amazement, sensing that their world is unravelling. The challenge is knowing how best to respond to this gathering storm.

Cochise feels his stomach knotting as he reflects on the meaning of Tucson for the Apaches. He takes a deep breath turning to his companions and says, "Let us return to the Stronghold. Keeping these sights and sounds to ourselves to not worry the Tinneh."

On the way back, Cochise attempts to hide his concern by smiling at Coyuntura and talking about the sweetness of the mescal they will eat, the fun of playing cards, and of course the children.

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[1] John Upton Terrell, *Apache Chronicle*, 3-22. The film *Cabeza de Vaca* provides a fascinating account of the hardships experienced by Spanish explorers in the southwest.

[2] Charles C. Mann, 1491: *New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*, 105-145.

[3] Arthur Kane Scott, *Building of Nation: Pre- Columbian to the Closing of the West*, on-line, Berkeley Extension, 4-7.

[4] Terrell, *op. cit*., 26-42.

[5] John P. Schmal, *The State of Sonora: Four Centuries of Indigenous Resistance*, 2.

[6] Brian Delay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the US-Mexican War*, 141-164.

[7] C.L. Sonnichsen, Tucson: *The Life and Times of an American City*, 37-40.

[8] Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, Vol. II, 10-16

[9] Farish, *op. cit*., 58

## SIX
## EARLY PINDAH ENCOUNTERS

*"You must speak straight so that your words may go straight as sunlight into our hearts."*

-- Cochise--

Westward Expansion

The War of 1812 ended with the United States consolidating its control over the Indian lands of the Northwest Territories including the Great Lakes region of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and parts of Minnesota. This acquisition paved the way for the conquering of the west, ushering in the era of Manifest Destiny, which became a national policy under Andrew Jackson. His election in 1828 imagined an expansive America of independent, God-fearing, self-reliant WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) farmers grounded in the virtues of hard work and private property, who were prepared to enter the remaining wilderness. Jacksonian Democracy had a strong dose of racism in it, directed particularly at southern tribes.

It was this bias that led Jackson to implement the 1830 Indian Removal Act. This Act decreed that the Five Civilized Tribes of the southeast leave their homeland for Indian Territory later called Oklahoma, or land of the Red People. The Cherokees still lament this upheaval by commemorating the Trail of Tears in which 4,000 members perished trekking westward in 1838. Despite their efforts at cultural assimilation, they were removed from their lands at gunpoint and sent to Indian Territory.[1]

James Polk, a southern Democrat nationalist from Tennessee, was likewise committed to American expansion. Polk recognized that the United States' absorption of Texas into the Union in 1845 would never be accepted by Mexico. The real prize of a Mexican War, however, was not the New Mexico territories but California, as its possession would transform America into a transcontinental power and unrestricted access to the China Trade.

Another motive was to open the New Mexico territories to slave expansion, thus restoring the political 'geometry of balance' between free and slave states that had been offset by the acquisition of Oregon.[2]

The War Hawks insisted that Mexico was ripe for the taking, as it was governed by incompetent, inferior, swarthy Mestizos, who were barely more advanced than their Indian cousins. This American prejudice was reinforced by the historical political instability in Mexico City, characterized by revolving presidencies. Besides, gringos argued Mexico had even proven inept in managing Texas, leading to its loss. In 1850, the Mexican population was placed at about 7 million: 4 million Indian, 2 million Mestizos and 1 million Spanish, as compared to the more than 23 million restless white Americans ready to push westward.[3]

Johnson/Kirker Lessons

In addition to pressure coming from the trans-Mississippi area; two other events deeply scarred Cochise. These events were the John Johnson slayings in 1837 and the James Kirker butchery in 1846. They made him instinctively suspicious of the newly arrived Americans and reaffirmed his deep loathing of Mexicans.

John Johnson was a trader, who came from Missouri, married, and settled in Montezuma, Chihuahua, and became involved in trade. In 1837, Johnson with seventeen fellow Missourians and five Mexicans decided to pursue Juan Jose Compa's Mimbreno Band, which had allegedly stolen Mexican livestock and was making its way back to their stronghold in the vicinity of Santa Rita del Cobre. Governor Escalante y Arvizu of Sonora encouraged Johnson to go after the Apaches by offering Johnson half of whatever he took.[4]

Johnson caught up with the Apaches in the Animus Mountains, a favorite range for the Apaches as they moved into New Mexico from Chihuahua. After several days of trading and partying, Johnson brought out the whiskey and then unveiled a small hidden cannon and turned it on the Apaches as they approached the sacks of corn meal located in the center of

the plaza. The blast killed Juan Jose Compa and nineteen others. The irony was that Compa was a peaceful leader, who had been corrupted by Mexican handouts at the Santa Rita Copper mines owned by Robert McKnight. These mines were called `the place where they cry, ` as so many Indians had perished working there.

Compa's death catapulted Mangas Coloradas into undisputed leadership, transforming Mangas into a relentless enemy of the Mexicans. Johnson's deception poisoned relations with the Apaches, alienating Mangas Coloradas, Miguel Narbona, and Cochise from the Pindah. It was at this time that Mangas replaced his name Fuerte with Mangas Coloradas and orchestrated his revenge on Americans and Mexicans for the death of Juan Jose Compa. He first struck at American trappers along the Gila River. Twenty-two trappers led by Charles Kemp were ambushed and mutilated by the Mimbreno. Three other Americans including Benjamin D. Wilson were cut off and captured, and then released by Mangas Coloradas as a warning to others to stay away from Mimbreno country. Perhaps this decision reflected a deeper struggle within Mangas as to how best to respond to Americans armed with their impressive firing guns.

Next, he turned his attention to closing the Santa Rita mines. In 1838, Mangas did this by starving out the Mexican mining community, which was dependent on supplies coming from Janos, Chihuahua. He destroyed all the pack trains entering and leaving Santa Rita. In time the inhabitants, numbering 300-400, had no other choice but to flee southward. They were so bogged down by material baggage that most perished before arriving at Janos. Soon, the mine was abandoned.[5]

For Cochise, far worse than the Johnson massacre was the James Kirker slaughter, involving the death of his father, Pisago Cabezon, his mother, and 130 other Chiricahuas at Galena in 1846. James Kirker was an Irish immigrant who opened a grocery store in St. Louis, Missouri. He became involved in the fur trade, which took him to Taos and Santa Fe.

He joined Robert McKnight at the Santa Rita copper mines where he served as teamster leader between the mines and Chihuahua City. As an intermediary, he learned to speak Apache, traded guns, whiskey, and cloth for contraband which he sold in Texas.

Kirker became a Mexican citizen, married, and settled in Janos. His relations with Mexican officials, however, tended to be erratic because of disagreement over trade with Apaches and bounty money disputes. In the 1830s, the Mexicans, nevertheless, turned to Kirker to implement their policy of ethnic cleansing by offering a lucrative bounty for scalps. Chihuahua even levied a tax to outfit Kirker's scalping enterprise. Throughout the 1840s, Kirker and his followers attacked different Apache camps with varying results.[6]

On July 7, 1846, the worst of these scalping parties occurred at Galena in which Pisago Cabezon, trusting Kirker from past dealings, was enticed to trade and drink under pretense of peace. On the third morning of the fiesta, as the Apaches awoke from a drunken stupor, they were greeted by Kirker and his band of scalp hunters with clubs, pistols, and knives. In the mayhem, Pisago Cabezon and Cochise's mother were scalped and mutilated. Mangas Coloradas escaped.

Galena intensified Cochise's Mexican hatred and increased his suspicion of the Pindah. Cochise saw Kirker as a crazed, wild-eyed American killer, whereas Kirker saw Indians as untamed animals, and their Mexican brown cousins as barely civilized. This massacre painfully impacted the Chokonen. It was described by Jason Betzinez "as the ghastly butchering of our families." Everyone was impacted. This tragedy temporarily unified all Chiricahua bands, ending the tension between war and peace leaders, who took up the call to avenge the death of their family members. It accelerated the emergence of Cochise as a major war leader, who at thirty- five was in his prime.[7]

Ironically, Kirker was never paid by the state of Chihuahua for his Galena scalps. He then joined the American Army, serving as a scout during the Mexican American War. When

the war ended, he left for California and died relatively unknown in Contra Costa County in 1852.

Following Galena, Miguel Narbona and Cochise would turn the northern frontier of Sonora into a wasteland. Fronteras, Cuquiarachi, and Chinapa were attacked. Villagers abandoned Cuquiarachi; Chinapa was burned to the ground. No one was spared. Even the powerful Antonio Narbona lost his life in Fronteras fighting his adopted Apache son, Miguel.[8]

Mexican American War

The Mexican American War severely weakened Mexico's geopolitical situation as it lost one-third of its territory. It simultaneously provided the United States with an incredible array of resources and territory. It transformed the United States into a nineteenth century transcontinental power.

The War was relatively short, but intense, and ended with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February 1848. Before the ink on the Treaty had dried, gold was discovered in California. The eastern portion of the boundary between Mexico and the United States was established along the Rio Grande River.

It, too, was driven by the belief that Americans were destined to expand across the continent bringing their special version of civilization; farms, cities, commerce, and industries, to lands inhabited by Mexicans and indigenous peoples. In the 1820s and 1830s, trappers and mountain men seeking furs entered these pristine, remote regions of the west. Soon they were followed by prospectors and later by wagon trains of settlers and families seeking gold, and homesteads.

Initially, the barren grasslands of the west, dominated by bison and Indians, were bypassed for the gold fields and the luxuriant, green valleys in California and Oregon. The Oregon and Santa Fe Trails extended from St. Louis, sitting on the mighty Mississippi, as its

primary axis, to San Francisco. By the end of the 1840s, a trickle of emigrants turned into a flood because of the California Gold Rush. This discovery brought hundreds of thousands of prospectors to California and Nevada. Many of these gold seekers traveled the southern Santa Fe route across Apacheria, passing through Mesilla and Tucson on their way to California. Though these gold seekers did not stay, their passing was ominous to Mangas and Cochise.

In time, these waves of fortune seekers had a devastating effect on native culture, an impact compounded by the emerging philosophy of Social Darwinism, which became an integral part of the evolving industrial, Civil War America. Social Darwinism added the new dimension of biology to race expressed in the notions of winning and dominating through a might makes right philosophy. This was best reflected in Colt 45 justice, and by the then popular phrase, `the only good Indian is a dead Indian. ` Native peoples were viewed as culturally inferior, and an impediment to the growth of civilization. They needed to be cleansed with impunity.

Stephen Watts Kearney

Though the Apaches had lived in the southwest for centuries, they were ignored during the treaty discussions between Washington and Mexico City. In 1846, their first formal meeting with the Pindah came during the height of the Mexican American War, when General Stephen Watts Kearney, along with Kit Carson as guide, was ordered to California. Kearney, with a force of 300 men, crossed the land of Mangas Coloradas, where he encountered the impressive warrior near the Santa Rita del Cobre copper mines. Mangas Coloradas, seeking to make a positive impression, offered to support the Americans in the Mexican War, but was rebuffed on the grounds that once the war was ended, the Great Father would not tolerate Apache raids south of the Rio Grande.

Mangas was surprised, if not stunned, by the American response, as the Mexicans were traditional Apache enemies. This display of Pindah arrogance made Mangas wary of

these newcomers, but he sensed they were tougher than the Mexicans, being well-armed and disciplined. Throughout his life, Mangas Coloradas' attitude toward the Pindah was mixed. It was this ambivalence and his reliance on diplomacy that would betray him, leading to his gruesome death in 1863.[9]

The war shifted the political and cultural landscape for the Apaches as their lands fell within the boundary of the United States. It was the American attitude of inevitable national expansion, grounded in technological and military superiority that Cochise and the Apaches confronted making their resistance and their twenty-five-year war even more heroic and incredible considering their limited human and material resources. The bow was hardly a match for a repeating Winchester.

Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was particularly harsh for Mangas and Cochise to swallow. The United States had agreed to protect Mexicans from Apache and Comanche raids without even knowing the long history of enmity, nor did the Americans appreciate the economic ties between the two peoples. The Apaches and Mexicans had developed a commercial symbiosis in which each depended on the other for its material needs of slaves, food, cloth, horses, cattle, and guns. Apache survival was indeed threatened by the new map.

Bartlett Commission

The next encounter of Apache and Pindah occurred in May 1851, with the appearance of the US Boundary Commission led by John Russell Bartlett and his guide John Cremony at the Santa Rita Del Cobre mine. The Commission was authorized by Washington to create a final boundary line between the United States and Mexico. This was a prelude to the Gadsden Purchase of 1853-54, in which the United States purchased the territory south of the Gila River for ten million dollars. Driving the deal was the desire to build a transcontinental railroad from New Orleans to San Diego, which would open Apacheria to southern

expansion, even though the deserts did not lend itself to either plantations, or slavery, or cotton.

Again, the Apaches were ignored by the Bartlett Commission even though the area being negotiated with Mexico ran through the Chiricahua heartland. Mangas Coloradas and Cochise were deeply offended by the continuing Pindah arrogance and lack of respect. Mangas Coloradas' desire to establish good relations with the newcomers was undermined by the general American attitude, shared by Bartlett and Cremony, that Apaches were uncivilized, destined for extinction, and marginal players in the game of Empire.

White man's arrogance, Manifest Destiny, and racism were so ingrained in the American psyche that reaching a modus vivendi between the two peoples was most difficult. This cultural divide was illustrated when two Mexican youth who had been captured and raised by the Apache sought asylum with Bartlett. Although he provided monetary recompense of $212 to the adopted Apache parents for their return, the exchange was looked upon as a terrible insult to Mangas, who in his hospitality had been feeding the Commission. The incident reflected American ignorance about Apache mores in which young captive Mexicans were raised Apache to replenish raiding losses. Powerful emotional and familial ties developed, too, that no amount of money could replace.

A worse incident occurred when Bartlett refused to turn over a teamster driver, who got angry and killed an Apache. Mangas demanded Apache justice, but Bartlett insisted that American law trumped Apache law. Bartlett offered twenty dollars to settle the matter with the aggrieved kin. This fell quite short of the moral equivalency that Apache jurisprudence demanded. Relations between Bartlett and Mangas Coloradas broke over this matter. Bartlett was forced to leave Santa Rita Del Cobre in June, when the Apaches raided his horses.[10]

Cochise, awaiting Mangas' visit, reflects on the growing intrusion of the Pindah on their lands. His instincts tell him that the Pindah are dangerous, and Apaches will have to be

careful in dealings with them. Like the Mexicans, they have a hunger for gold, silver, copper, and land, and are not averse to using guns or treachery to get their way-as their war with Mexico has showed.

Cochise remembers the elders recounting the arrival of the Spaniards with their iron jackets, muskets, and strange animals, and how they cruelly attacked the Pueblo people, the destruction of Acoma pueblo being one of the worst incidents. Cochise grimaces and wonders about his own people's fate.

Pausing in thought, Cochise rises, hears camp dogs barking, takes a deep breath of sweet pine air, watches his wife Dos-teh-seh prepare food. His oldest son Taza, about 10 years of age, arm-wrestles with a friend, kicking and biting to gain advantage.

"Best time is at dusk," Cochise muses. The reds, pinks, blues, and greens shimmer as the setting sun disappears in the direction of Whetstone Mountains. Birds are quiet, and life rests except for rattlesnakes that enjoy the coolness of the evening and hunt their prey.

Cochise reflects on the Apache concern about moving at night because of snakebites and recalls his many close encounters. It was snakes and sharp rocks that led the Chiricahuas to place deerskin shoes on their ponies' feet.

Cochise calls for Coyuntura, his brother and confidant. He implicitly trusts his brother's insight and discernment. Often, in a Sweat, he shares his concerns and fears about their future.

He asks Coyuntura, "What brings Mangas to our campfire?" Coyuntura replies, "Americans."

At that moment he hears horses approaching the stronghold and realizes it is Mangas, with his lieutenants Delgadito and Victorio.

Mangas appears, riding a superb grey, and easily dismounts, greeting Cochise. They gather around the campfire invoking the Great Spirit to bless their meeting, as it has serious implications for Chiricahuas.

Mangas is a generation older than Cochise. Because of his physical size, Mangas intimidates all he encounters, but not so the younger Chokonen whose inner gravitas is more than a match.

Cochise has come to realize Mangas' shrewdness about the need for tribal unity and has sought to strengthen the hand of the Chiricahuas by marrying off his daughters to other Apache leaders, including Katuhala, a White Mountain, and Cosito, a Coyotero.

Cochise has learned a lot from Mangas since his marriage with Dos-teh-seh, and Mangas sees in him a leader who has the sagacity and skill of the legendary Child-of-Water and hopes Cochise can realize his dream of bringing Apaches together.

After puffing a cigarette and passing it around, Cochise asks Mangas about the encounter with Bartlett. Mangas grabs a handful of sand and throws it on the ground with disgust.

"I went seeking understanding and peace," says Mangas, and they spit on me. I even offered to fight with them against the Mexicans, and then Bartlett insisted that we must stop our raiding of Mexicans, as the Pindah now are at peace with them. It is enough to make me sick. How dare they come into our lands and tell us what to do?"

The others in the circle feel the anger mounting within Mangas as he continues to speak, gesturing with his red sleeves. "They insulted us with the notion of white man's justice in which they think everything can be solved with money—as though we can eat money, or money can assuage hurt feelings over the death of an Apache."

Mangas pauses. Cochise respectfully asks. "What are we to do with the Pindah now that they claim our land as theirs?

Mangas hesitates and then replies, “Be the fox, play for time, learn as much as we can about these intruders from the East.”

What is not said is how well-armed the Americans are, with their breech loading rifles and revolvers that provide rapid firing power. As the Sun sets, Venus appears, logs crackle as the fire bums low, and Cochise motions for the counsel to end. After turning to Mangas, everyone slowly rises and makes their ways to their wickiup where they reflect on the meaning of Mangas’ story for the Apaches.

Cochise moves across the camp and winces as he hears the ominous hoot of an owl, and muses: A bad omen for the future of Chiricahuas.

Twilight Period

The 1850s can be viewed as a Twilight Period in Apache American relations. Each side was gauging the respective strengths of the other. Some Washington policymakers called for Indian extinction - humanely if possible, but if not, no quarter should be given. Others called for civilizing the Red Man by transforming them into farmers, ranchers, or miners. The Indian Agent, Sylvester Mowry, however, realized that reservations and acculturation would be devastating to the Apaches by exposing them to alcohol, disease, and prostitution. Reservations were administratively efficient from the government’s perspective, but culturally divisive for the various bands, many of whom were historical enemies. Crowding them all together in one specific place made it easier for Washington to play one band against another, but it certainly would not civilize them.

Other issues were the inadequacy of food and clothing provisions and the blatant thievery of Indian agents. As Charles R. Lummis lamented; “With the immense power wielded by the Indian Agent, almost any crime is possible...the Indians are neglected, half-fed, discontented and turbulent.”[11]

Making the reservations worse was that they were established on barren wastelands. Their poor locations made a mockery of the goal of transforming or civilizing the Apaches into ranchers, herders, or farmers as advocated by Indian Agent Michael Steck. The lands chosen were untillable. Ranching and farming were contrary to the Apache warrior ethos, a value embedded deep in their psyche. It was anathema to their sense of independence, freedom, and manliness. As the Mescalero Cadette expressed it to John Cremony, repetitious and routine work was not the Apache way:

"We call that slavery. You are slaves (to work) from the time you begin to talk until you die. But we are free as air. We never work. But the Mexican and others work for us. Our wants are few and easily supplied. The river, the wood, the plain yield all that we require, and we will not be slaves; nor will we send our children to your schools, where they only learn to become like yourselves."[12]

There were Indian bands including Tohono O'odham, Pimas and Maricopa, historical enemies of the Apache, who had been given reservation land south of Tucson with tools and grain for farming, and some were quite successful. In fact, their reservations were established as checks on the marauding Apaches. They were despised by the Apaches as tamed.

Michael Steck

From 1852 to 1860, Dr. Michael Steck, a graduate from University of Pennsylvania medical college, was appointed New Mexico Indian Agent for the southern Apaches. He was the best of agents, presaging Tom Jeffords' work with Cochise's people in the 1870s. Steck came to know Mangas Coloradas quite well and realized the Apaches had an outdated raiding economy. His blueprint called for teaching Apaches how to farm, and raise cattle, by establishing reservations in the Gila and Santa Lucia area, where they would be autonomous and secure from angry Pindah incursion.

Unfortunately, Steck's plans ran into political difficulty, as Congress was unwilling to formalize his negotiations with Mangas through an official treaty. Their refusal was based on the argument that America had already conquered and paid for the same land from Mexico. The other difficulty was logistics. Providing adequate and timely supplies of food, clothing, and tools to the Apaches until they became self-sufficient in farming and cattle raising would be expensive. Because of the uncertainty over the bi-annual supplies promised by the federal government, Mangas and Cochise decided to pull away from Steck and tried to work out better terms south of the border, even though the war there had intensified.

The conundrum facing Washington was that the historical Apache Mexican conflict, combined with the Apaches' raiding economy, made it impossible for the military to prevent Apache incursions south of the border, regardless of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In 1851, the military under Colonel Edwin Sumner decided to build a network of forts in Apacheria to stem the flow of raids into Mexico. The most strategic point was Fort Webster, built on the site of present-day San Lorenzo and Santa Lucia in the heart of Mangas Coloradas' Chihennes' land. But this base was later moved to the Rio Grande and renamed Fort Thorn.

Later Sumner decided to remove military garrisons from towns the size of Santa Fe. Instead, he established them in strategic frontier points in Apacheria to better monitor hostile movements and to pursue their elusive enemy in search-and-destroy missions. Cavalry patrols were to crisscross the territory as a way of neutralizing Apache raids, providing protection for teamsters, miners, and' wagon trains passing through or settling in the southwest.

Throughout the 1850s Mangas Coloradas and his protege Cochise struggled to weave a middle path between peace and outright war against the Pindah, as they intuitively sensed that they could not win against the technologically savvy Americans. Their need to conduct

winter raids into Mexico for supplies and labor had to be done quietly so as not to alienate the Americans.

In 1857, the technological superiority of the Pindah was made evident to the two leaders when Colonel Benjamin Louis Eulalie Bonneville launched an expedition of 900 soldiers against the White Mountain Apaches and the Bedonkohes Chiricahuas in the Gila Mountains for their incursions along the Rio Grande. This rather complicated tactical plan involved a three-pronged encirclement operation, which had limited success because of the Apaches' ability to vanish into the landscape. Yet it left a deep impression on Mangas and Cochise of American firepower, and the Pindahs ease in mobilizing large numbers of troops as compared to the more primitive weapons and the smaller number of warriors available to the Apaches.

As Cochise pointed out the Apaches had never developed a manufacturing capacity to meet their hunter and gatherer needs. They personally honed (not mechanically mass-produced) their bows and arrows, which was painstakingly done. It involved ritual prayers, selecting proper mulberry wood for bows, and cane shafts for arrows. Arrows were attached with three feathers for better flight and painted red, black, and yellow. Metal points were traded for. These processes were time-consuming and slow, unlike the mechanized factory system developing in eastern cities. Cochise had taken weeks to prepare a bow for Taza. Because of manufacturing complexity, living from hand-to-mouth, the Apaches relied on a raiding economy; they took from other Indians or Mexicans or Americans what they needed to survive. It had worked for centuries. Now Cochise worried if raiding could sustain the culture.[13]

Mangas Coloradas,' Chihennes were even more vulnerable to incursions from the Americans than Cochise's Chiricahuas, largely because of geography. In 1856, Michael Steck reported that the size of Mangas' band had fallen precipitously with their being more children

and women than men. It was estimated that Mangas Coloradas' band consisted of about 70 men with 450 women and children; the Bedonkohes of Geronimo had 125 men, and 500 women; the Chokonen of Cochise, 125 warriors, and 500 women and children. At the same time, the population of America was nearly 32 million, making future Apache resistance even more daunting and incredible.[14]

Cochise and Mangas often sought each other's counsel over how to handle the Americans and Mexicans. It was quite customary for Mangas' Mimbreno band to join with Cochise's Chokonen during the winter months to plot their joint raids into Sonora or Chihuahua. Both realized that the Pindah tolerated the continuing Apache raids into Mexico, as this spared them Apache depredations. It likewise confirmed the American prejudice that brown Mexicans were inherently weak and cowardly.

The Mexican Card

The Apaches historically had been adept at playing off the Americans against the Mexicans, and the Sonorans off against the Chihuahuas. At the time of the Bonneville military campaign, Mangas was negotiating with Janos. Cochise was doing the same with Ignacio Pesquiera, governor of Sonora at Fronteras. A factor motivating the Mexicans to parley and trade with Apaches was their fear that the Americans might ally with their historical enemies to seize northern Mexico for the United States.

Apache and Mexican relations typically followed a three-step pattern, war, followed by negotiations and peace, and then, resumption of conflict. Apaches needed Mexican food, livestock, horses, mules, equipment, guns, and markets. Mexican economy required trading with Apaches for gold, contraband goods, and horses. The Apache habit of taking young Mexican boys on raiding parties made trading arrangements bitter. Similarly, the Mexican ruse of enticing Indians with whiskey to get their trade goods for next to nothing, or to scalp them for money, or to turn captives into slaves added to this bitterness.

Making survival more difficult for the Apaches was the fact that the Mexicans in Sonora and Chihuahua had adopted a scorched earth policy of relentlessly pursuing Apache raiders. They used Indian scouts from tribes that loathed the Apache, hired mercenaries or bounty hunters to scalp, and used trickery and bio-chemical warfare, including whiskey and blankets laced with disease, to defeat and terrorize them. Strychnine sugar cakes were quite popular. In the winter of 1857-58, Mangas lost two sons in Sonora, leads him to join forces with Cochise to avenge their death with the intent of torching Sonoran villages.

Chiricahua War Party

Cochise's scouts see the steady rise of puffs of smoke to the northeast and quickly relay a message to their leader who shares his concerns about continued Mexican treachery and the growing Pindah presence in Apacheria: "Brown ones we have known for centuries, pale faces only recently. We have limited experience with the Pindah but the question that gnaws at the pit of my stomach is how long the mountain fortresses of the Dragoons and Chiricahuas can protect us"[15]

A runner brings the sad news that Mangas' two sons were killed and invites Cochise to avenge their death by meeting Mangas at Steins Peak.

Cochise at first hesitates, tightening his fist, and then turns to Coyuntura and grimaces "I must first tell Dos-teh-seh about the death of her two brothers."

He calls his wife to him, sharing the painful news in the Apache way. She immediately begins to wail, cuts her hair, and throws ash over her face in memory of her brothers.

Cochise gently says, "They are gone. We show respect by never mentioning them again, providing for their speedy release into the spirit world."

Cochise beckons his warriors, led by his trustworthy lieutenant Nahilzay. He quickly mounts his favorite black stallion, urging speed by waving his favorite spear over his head.

As he leaves the stronghold for Doubtful Canyon, the sounds of women wishing them success rings in their ears. They make their way down the narrow canyon trail, travelling rapidly and in small groups, Cochise's followers' rendezvous with Mangas' forces.

"Let's us prepare our revenge on the Mexicans for this terrible crime against my people and my family," Mangas screams in anguish as he re-experiences the death of his sons.

Fires are lit, and during the next four nights, warriors dance and pray around the campfire, preparing themselves for combat against their traditional Mexican enemy.

Mangas calls Cochise and other leaders to discuss strategy, and says, "Let us break into small groups, and gather near Fronteras where we will spring on the nearby ranches and villages at first sign of light. Let them taste the full fury of my pain as we avenge their treachery and deceit over the years."

Mangas and Cochise raised a large force of Apaches to avenge the loss of Mangas' two sons. During the spring of 1858, they conducted a series of devastating raids into Sonora, killing as many as 300 residents. Goyahkla, (one who yawns), a war lieutenant of the Bedonkohes Band joined them. He had lost his family to the Mexicans and swore revenge for the rest of his life. Often taking unnecessary risk that jeopardized the lives of his followers. He took his name, Geronimo, from the Mexicans.[16]

Another prominent Chiricahua was Juh (Long Neck), who came from the Nednhi Band, and was related to Geronimo through marriage to his sister Ishton (the Woman). He, like Cochise, was quite tall but much heavier. In counsel, he often relied on Geronimo to speak on his behalf, because of his stutter. Juh was quite intimidating and was often called "Whoa" (Mean Wolf).

Striking early, the Apaches caught the Mexicans off-guard and showed no mercy by burning, killing, and looting. After several days of raiding, Mangas and Cochise left Sonora

and returned to their respective strongholds to ponder their next step. The Apaches' need for revenge spent; Cochise returned to the Dragoon Stronghold with supplies for his people. Despite recent success, he understood the Apaches needed Mexican allies to offset the growing Pindah presence in Apacheria, and that he had to temper these raiding practices.

Cochise reflects "Mexican villages and towns are vital to Apache survival, to our trade and commerce, and our supplies of horses and guns."

He turns to Dos-teh-seh, letting her know how successful the raid has been but confides, "We may be doing ourselves more harm than good."

He enters the wickiup to dress himself for the night festivities in which the warriors will share tales of their bravery and success, followed by dancing and tiswin. Cochise knows his people desperately need these moments of celebration to recover from the growing pressure placed on their way of life.

He approaches the campfire and takes his place next to Coyuntura and Nahilzay. The rhythmic sound of the drumming places him in an altered state of consciousness in which he relives a village attack.

He sees in his mind's eye how quickly his warriors emerged mysteriously from the desert floor, fell on the unsuspecting Mexicans farmers as they entered their fields, and then rushed the Plaza.

It was over in minutes. The faces of the fallen reflected shock and surprise as they were felled by arrows, knives, or spears. So, it went from village to hacienda until Apache furor was spent, and Mangas signaled enough.

Hearing his name mentioned, Cochise breaks from his reverie and returns to the circle to listen to heroic tales of his men as they seek to win the attention of the Apache women gathering to listen. Gaan dancers appear, protectors of the Apache people, inviting the Spirit

World to provide abundance and long life to Cochise and the Chiricahuas. Dancing and drinking follow, and Cochise, wiping his mouth from tiswin, turns to Coyuntura, and says:

"Let us take an early sweat tomorrow to discuss relations with Sonora and Fronteras. We cannot afford to burn bridges there. Can we repair them?"

Father Sun rises brilliantly and casts his yellows, reds, and oranges paint across the eerie Rock People, who inhabit the Chiricahuas Peaks. Cochise and Coyuntura meet in an alcove of pine near a stream and watch as a medicine man constructs the sweat with willow branches and covers the roof with juniper and blankets. They bless themselves with sage and enter on their knees as a sign of humility seeking the healing mystery of Earth Woman. They gaze quietly as the fireman brings seven Grandfather or Stone People and places them into the pit. Once they are arranged, the ceremony begins.

The closing of the door plunges them into utter darkness, save for the light emanating from the fire pit in the center of the circle. Cochise, Coyuntura, Nahilzay, and several other elders, singers and medicine men participate. As he listens to the songs, drumming, and sharing that occur in each round, Cochise is engulfed by steam that magically embraces the lodge and allows him to let go. He thanks the Creator for the land, the four-legged, and winged creatures that provide food and act as spiritual guides. He asks for wisdom in leading his people and leaves refreshed, Cochise turns to Coyuntura and says,

"We need to return to Fronteras soon and re-establish trade with our Mexican neighbors. We cannot fight everyone. The Americans are tough foes, and we need Sonoran weapons and supplies to defend ourselves, but at the same time preserving our American connection."

Being uncertain about Pindah intentions Cochise returned to Chihuahua. Maria Zuloaga of Janos, an inveterate Apache hater and dominant Jefe or Chief in northwestern Chihuahua controlled the Corralitos mines. He feared an Anglo-Apache rapprochement in

which Apaches would receive American arms for booty. Zuloaga invited Cochise and Mangas to parley. Cochise sent Coyuntura's Spanish-speaking wife, Yones, to sound out the Mexicans. Yones returned with a few others and reported to Cochise and Coyuntura, about her impressions.

"Well?" Cochise asks.

Yones' replies. "They offer to meet on an upcoming French holiday, sounds like Bastille Day, promising a fiesta to celebrate a new beginning. Food, music, dancing, and mescal will be provided."

"Can the Mexicans be trusted? Cochise asks as his mind rapidly reviews past meetings that ended badly for Apaches.

Turning to Coyuntura, Cochise quietly utters. "Let's try it, but carefully."

The next morning dawns hot in the Apache camp. It is the season of Ripening, when crops mature and seeds, grasses, and corn become available. Cochise approaches, his hair is fastidiously groomed, hanging down over his shoulders in Apache fashion. He wears a beautiful turquoise cotton shirt tied at the waist by a silver Concha belt he acquired in a raid. He carries a beautiful Navajo blanket with thunder designs, and he motions to the people to gather around him.

Cochise instructs: "We all know that the Mexicans can be treacherous. To protect ourselves in Fronteras, let us now agree to be careful of drinking mescal, and if anything goes wrong, we should separate into smaller groups and travel to the stand of cottonwoods along Bavispe shaped like a herd of elk. From there we will make our way quickly northward to the Dragoons."

A dust whirl suddenly appears, casting a shadow as they ride to Janos.

Upon arrival, Cochise and his lieutenants rein their ponies in and approach the city leaders to exchange gifts as a sign of peace. Cochise offers the Navajo blanket. The Mexican delegation, Havana cigars.

Apaches and Mexicans mingle together on the plaza, accompanied by talking, music, shopping, tortillas, and mescal when suddenly Cochise hears shouting and crying.

Many of his people suddenly become sick, grasping their stomachs in pain, contorting their faces. He sees one of his own lieutenants go down.

He signals his people to leave immediately for the rendezvous.

The affair ends badly for the Chiricahuas, who lose ten men, and several women and children, succumb to poison. The betrayal sours Mangas on the Mexicans, leading him to return to his beloved Santa Lucia to work out a better agreement with Michael Steck.

Cochise returns to his Western Stronghold, trembling with rage over Janos, and his own blindness. He seeks counsel from his brother, Coyuntura, about a new strategy. They sit for some time in silence broken by the howling of coyotes in the distance.

“The defeat will be avenged, for Apache blood cries out for justice,” says Coyuntura.

Cochise adds a strategic nuance.

“War with the Mexicans involves seeking an accommodation with the Americans; once we work something out with the Pindah, this will create the impression that a joint initiative is underway making raids into Mexico safer and easier. Mexicans have always feared an Apache American combination. Now the question is how to resume relations with Pindah who we really do not know.”

By now, Cochise was approaching fifty and at the height of his prowess, but still struggling with the Pindah presence: Was it to be war or peace? Cochise is aware of their growing intrusion, yet reluctant to abandon a tenuous branch of peace for war.

[1] A.J. Langguth, *Driven West: Andrew Jackson and The Trail of Tears to The Civil War*, New York, 2010, 105-138.

[2] L.R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest*, 7.

[3] Ramon Eduardo Ruiz, "Manifest Destiny, and the Mexican War," from *Taking Sides: Clashing Views in United States History*, vol. I, Thirteen Edition, 269-276.

[4] Rex W. Strickland, "Birth and Death of a Legend, The 'Johnson Massacre of 1837," *Arizona and the West*, V 18, #3, Autumn, 1976; John Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches*, 30-34.

[5] Paul I. Wellman. *Death in the Desert*, 14-20; Edwin R. Sweeney, *Mangas Coloradas, Chief of The Chiricahua Apaches*, 80. Sweeney questions the veracity of whether there was a massacre.

[6] Jason Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 3-4.

[7] Ralph Adam Smith, *Borderland, the Life of James Kirker, 1793-1852*.

[8] Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 59-64.

[9] Cremony, *op. cit*., 47-58.

[10] Cremony, *ibid*, 59-72.

[11] Charles R. Lummis, *General Crook, and the Apache Wars*, xii.

[12] Sherry Robinson ed., *Apache Voices*, 116.

[13] Thomas E. Mails, *The People Called Apache*, 319-335.

[14] Sweeney, *Mangas Coloradas*, 290.

[15] *Ibid*., 363-66.

[16] S.M. Barrett, *Geronimo: His Own Story*, 75-91.

## SEVEN
## THE BASCOM AFFAIR

"(Cochise) was both physically and mentally superior to even

the superior people (Apaches)"

-- Daklugie--

Butterfield Company

In 1858, the Butterfield Company arrived in the southwest after receiving a $600,000 federal contract to develop an overland stage line connecting St. Louis to San Francisco, with stops at El Paso, Tucson, and Yuma. In all, Butterfield established 141 stations over 2,800 miles built at 20-mile intervals, and by 1859, there were stations in Chihennes and Chokonen country. Butterfield employed over 2,000 people in the entire system, one hundred in Apacheria alone, where nine stations were constructed at a cost of $100,000. These stations were erected to maintain peace with the Indians. They were well-built and equipped with Sharp rifles. Stations were established at Steins Peak, Soldier's Farwell, Ojo de Vaca, the Mimbres River, Cooke's spring and Barney's Station between Steins Peak and Soldier's Farewell.[1]

Events were unfolding in southern Arizona that led Cochise to interact with the Americans. Troops under Major Enoch Steen arrived and formally occupied Tucson, ending decades of Mexican authority. Steen soon left Tucson to establish headquarters at Fort Buchannan in the Sonoita Valley. This troop presence brought more Americans looking for gold and copper in the Tubac area.

Another significant development was an agreement with Cochise allowing the Butterfield Overland Mail Company to pass through the heart of his country. The Apache Pass station was established after Cochise's meeting with Michael Steck in December

1858. Until then, the elusive Chokonen leader and his band had remained relatively obscure to the Americans, who had focused primarily on Mangas Coloradas.

Eastern Stronghold

Cochise invited Mangas during Ghost Face to discuss the matter of the Americans at Apache Springs.

With the wind howling and snow blowing, Mangas and his inner circle made their way to Cochise's encampment. Cochise motions Mangas and the others to enter and to sit beside the warm fire.

Neither speaks for a while.

Mangas breaks the silence by asking, "So what have you decided?"

Cochise responds. "Their numbers are increasing, the game is frightened, miners are noisy. I met with Major Steen near Fort Buchanan and later with your Michael Steck who indicated the Pindah wants to build a road through Apacheria. We are not happy about that, but sense that resistance to it will bring a terrible storm to my People."

Cochise pauses and waits for Mangas to respond, "I, too, am talking with Michael Steck about a haven for the Mimbreno. But still carry deep physical scars from the miner's assault on my person. I plan to do nothing yet."

Cochise listens to the pain in Mangas' voice and answers, "I understand and wish you the best against the miners. But I will try the road of peace. I have agreed to supply wood and grass to the Butterfield line at Apache Pass. Let me explain why. The Pindah are different than the Mexicans. They are tougher, have better guns and there are so many of them, like ants. They are a big wind entering our land. We are like an oak, if it fails to adjust during a storm, it will be uprooted. We are that tree, the Americans, the wind.

"The People have had to adjust before to survive. We must learn to live with these Pindah, and adapt, as we have with the bear, rattlesnakes, drought, and lightening."

Mangas nods, slowly rises and as he leaves says, “I wish you luck.”

Mangas mounts and turns to Victorio.

“Well,” Victorio asks, “What did you think the silent one meant?”

Mangas responds, “Cochise is opting for peace even though he is aware of its many pitfalls and dangers. Complicating it, as even he admits, we do not know these strangers very well. Only time will tell if Americans speak from the heart.

“As you know, I am negotiating with Steck about a Mimbreno reservation for us, hut am doubtful of its outcome. Let us go! The white world may not be what it appears and this decision of Cheis could backfire as did his recent efforts at Fronteras.”

Cochise at that moment was wondering the same thing. Turning to Dos-teh-seh he exclaims, “Hopefully this path will be beneficial.”

She smiles encouragement and leaves Cochise in silence.

Apache Pass Station

Apache Pass Station was built of stone, blessed with a gurgling spring, located in the heart of Cochise country, between Dos Cabezas and Chiricahua Mountains. Tragically it was destined to have a devastating effect on Cochise’s life and the Apache people, precipitating twenty-five years of bloodshed. Throughout his life, Cochise would refer to it with deep bitterness and regret. If Cochise had any inkling of how this one station would dramatically change his life, he did not express it to Mangas. There were ominous signs gathering that relations between Apache and Pindah were edgy. Even the Spanish had called Apache Pass, Puerto Del Dado, the Gamble or Chance. The Apaches preferred the name Apache Spring.[2]

Cochise met with Steck to reaffirm his promise to supply wood for the Butterfield Line. But relations between Steck and Cochise had soured over inadequate supplies of cattle, corn, blankets, and kettles that fell far short of the fifteen promised wagonloads.

For remaining peaceful toward the Americans, protecting the Tucson Road, Cochise had expected rations, not empty words. Nor had he any intention of ending Apache raids into Mexico.

In November 1860, they met for the last time as Steck soon left for Washington. By then it became clear to Cochise that the Pindah were long on promises but were short in providing the essential tools to assist his people transition from hunters and raiders to ranchers and herders. Steck had failed to establish a reservation for either Cochise's or Mangas' people. Steck soon left the Apache scene, becoming absorbed in the Navajo War, where he argued with General James Carleton about the devastation of the Navajo Long Walk.[3]

James Henry Tevis

The Apache Pass Station was managed by James Henry Tevis from Wheeling, West Virginia. In 1859-60, Tevis had frequent contact with Cochise. In his memoirs, Arizona in the '50s, and his letter to the weekly Arizonian, Tevis provided insight into Cochise's mindset and the growing stress developing between the Apaches and whites. Tevis was simultaneously impressed and intimidated by Cochise's physicality, "as fine looking an Indian as one ever saw...who never met his equal with a lance."

According to Tevis, whenever the soldiers or stagecoaches left the station, Cochise would appear, often drunk on tiswin and threatening. Tevis and Cochise disliked each other immediately and sought to humiliate one another whenever possible. In one instance, Tevis mocked Cochise after a failed Apache raid into Sonora to supply his people during a harsh winter. He claimed that with half of Cochise's braves he would have been successful. Cochise challenged Tevis to a duel, his spear against Tevis' pistol. Tevis declined.[4]

Another sore spot was Tevis' part in assisting Cochise's adopted son, Merejildo Grijalva, to escape to Fort Thorn, New Mexico, where he became a translator for Michael Steck. In 1849, Grijalva had been captured by Miguel Narbona, was raised Apache, and became part of Cochise's extended family. Grijalva rose to be a warrior and acted as an interpreter for Cochise with the Butterfield people at Steins Peak. At Apache Pass, Grijalva met Michael Steck impressed by his linguistic skills, and enticed him to leave by offering him a position as translator.

Why Grijalva left Cochise remains unclear. One story has it that his bride gift was refused propelling him to leave camp in bitterness. While Cochise was away in Navajo land, Grijalva enlisted the help of Trevis to escape. He soon became an important scout and remained Cochise's nemesis throughout the war. Cochise was deeply offended by this blood betrayal for which he blamed Tevis more than Grijalva.[5]

Cochise's voice trembles as he speaks to Dos-teh-seh over the loss of Merejildo, or El Chivero (Goat Herder). They had practically raised him as one of their own. El Chivero had become part of their family, playing with Cochise's eldest son Taza, had eaten, and slept in Cochise's wickiup, and had received warrior training from Cochise.

Cochise reflected on the time he spent with El Chivero, strengthening his endurance by having him run with a mouthful of water to the top of the hill to teach him the benefit of breathing through the nose to conserve body fluids. Cochise took pride at how the Mexican boy adopted the Apache ways and had become a trusted interpreter.

Picking up his spear, Cochise shakes his head in dismay and Dos-teh-seh bites her lip, commiserating and asks, "What happened?"

Cochise utters, "It was Tevis. Maybe I will draw him into a fight, but he is too cowardly. Who does he think he is? He and Butterfield Station exist only at my pleasure. But my hands are tied; We cannot afford a conflict with the Pindah. I must eat my pride."

Cochise takes a deep breath and leaves the wickiup to reflect on the shadows settling along the rim of the stronghold wall as night falls. He shivers, experiencing a slight breeze carrying the pungent odor of mountain pine accompanied by the sound of a lonesome wolf from the canyon floor.

"My brother, the wolf," he muses to himself. "Maybe we are both doomed by the inroads of these Pindah who are maddened by gold and silver, who wish to cut up our lands into parcels, who are frightening the deer and the elk away, who see us as wild animals to be hunted down and killed like you, brother wolf, who like us simply wants to remain free."

Cochise hears footsteps approaching and recognizes his lieutenant's steps. Faithful Nahilzay, flanked by Skinyea and Poinsenay, brothers who though brave, can at times be foolish, but are loyal to Cochise. The trio comes with the news that Tevis has departed.

"Enju" (Good) Cochise utters, and hearing the wolf howl feels his confidence renewed. Perhaps his people and the wolf will survive this storm just as Child of Water had survived during the season of the Four Monsters.

The final straw in their strained relationship came when Tevis had an altercation with Cochise's brother-in-law over stealing sugar leading to the death of Cochise's kin and Tevis resignation. This act destroyed any possibility for reconciliation, Tevis left for the silver diggings at Pinos Altos.

In 1860, Tevis angered in part by his difficulties with Cochise at Apache Pass, and his loss of job, orchestrated an attack of 30 well-armed Texas miners on a peaceful Chihennes Band near Pinos Altos, allegedly as a reprisal for stealing. Four Apaches were killed, and 23 women and children captured. Though these captives were later released, the incident alienated Mangas Coloradas. This unprovoked action by Tevis only fueled a

growing disenchantment between the two peoples, making peace an increasingly difficult proposition as the new decade unfolded.[6]

Although Tevis described Cochise, "as being two-faced ... the biggest liar in the territory- would kill an American for any trifle, provided he thought he wouldn't be found out;" other contemporaries, John G. Bourke, indicated that Cochise got on reasonably well with whites, even supplying wood and hay to the station.[7]

Cochise was not interested in precipitating a Pindah war, given the losses he experienced in Janos. He could hardly afford more setbacks. The Apaches were already short of men, and their strict mores on birth and child-rearing did not lend itself to sudden spikes in population growth. This shortage of men explained why he was particularly upset by the loss of Grijalva. Cochise simply could not afford to enter a multi-front war involving the states of Sonora, Chihuahua, and the territories of New Mexico and Arizona. Maintaining peace with the Americans was crucial to recovering and healing.

Merejildo Grijalva relates a story of how intent Cochise was in keeping the peace at the time of the Howard negotiations that when he learned that members of his band had stolen ponies and mules from the Sonora Exploring & Mining Company near Patagonia, he killed one of the warriors involved and had the remaining animals returned to Fort Buchanan. According to Grijalva and Fred Hughes, Tom Jeffords' assistant, Cochise warned his warriors that although they could raid into Mexico, they were to let Americans alone. That Cochise was committed to preserving the peace was indicated to Michael Steck in their last meeting.[8]

Dark Clouds

As the 1860s began, however, relations with the Americans began to unravel, driven by the changing demographics. The Apaches were simply overwhelmed by the growing numbers of invaders. As Cochise intimated to Coyuntura, "The Pindah are

disrupting the fragile balance with the animal world, making it difficult to survive and to hold the warriors in line. Elk and deer herds once abundant became elusive, spooked by the new arrivals."

Cochise was also frustrated by the American interdict on Apache raids into Mexico. He found it laughable considering the inadequate supplies they provided. Cochise recognized that the five years of peace that he and Mangas Coloradas had maintained, although imperfect, was the only way. The Americans were like autumn leaves with too many resources.

The Tucson press, too, was a nagging thorn on the fragile peace, as it was Apache-phobic, repeatedly calling for Apache extermination, and accusing the military of being too lenient. Civilian pressure for greater protection was being exerted on the troops at Fort Buchanan along the Sonoita Creek. The press called for punishing the Apache indiscriminately, regardless of band. Cochise's Chokonen were often blamed for alleged raids and thievery between Tubac and Nogales for which other raiding groups were responsible.

In the late 50s, Fort Buchanan was headed by the seasoned Captain Richard Stoddert Ewell, nicknamed Old Baldy. Ewell, dissatisfied by the investigation of an alleged Chokonen sortie against the Santa Rita Mining Company near Tubac, decided to enter the sacred Chiricahuas Mountains, expecting to find proof of stolen livestock. Ewell's search failed to find any evidence of property theft, but it did exasperate whites and Cochise alike. Whites felt Ewell was soft on Indians, and Cochise resented military incursion into the Chiricahua stronghold, as it dishonored his word. Given the fluidity and uncertainty of American relations, Cochise deemed it wise to keep the Mexican card open, looking for better terms. On the horizon, another dark cloud was looming, the

American Civil War. Even-handed Ewell would be soon transferred to Texas and got enmeshed in the North/South conflict. He returned to Virginia as a Confederate officer.

Lieutenant Colonel Pitcairn Morrison, the new commander, replaced Ewell. He was nearing the end of his career, and complained in his, "Letters from Arizona," about Apache attacks. He called for pursuit and extermination. His attitude towards the Apache, unlike Baldy's, had no element of understanding, leading him to underestimate Cochise. He saw Cochise as an inconsequential savage.

These ingredients constituted the historical context within which Cochise met Second Lieutenant George N. Bascom, at the Butterfield Apache Pass Station, on February 4, 1861. (See, Chapter 1, The Encounter). Apache and Pindah relations were already unravelling and could easily be broken by any miscalculation or slight of word.

Both men were caught in the labyrinth of language and culture; neither really understood the other, each had his own assumptions and prejudices, and complicating their exchange was the need to translate their respective Apache and English tongues into an understandable Spanish through the ear of John Ward, an aggrieved victim.[9]

Felix and John Ward

In October 1860, Felix Ward, later known as Mickey Free, aged 14, was captured by a band of Coyotero, along with livestock. He was the adopted son of an alcoholic stepfather, John Ward, an Irish rancher who had put stakes down not far from Fort Buchanan after being driven out of California. Mickey's Mexican mother, Jesusa, had been captured by Coyotero Apaches and gave birth to Mickey. She escaped from her captives when Mickey was about six and became Ward's mistress. Ironically, the stolen Mickey later would be raised by the same Coyotero Band and re-emerged in 1872 as a scout serving with Al Sieber against Geronimo. Mickey died at the White Mountain Apache reservation in 1915. Mickey was viewed by the Apaches as repugnant, a lowlife

captive whose kidnapping had brought war to the Chiricahuas. Whites, too, including Al Sieber, considered him to be untrustworthy. According to Charles D. Poston, early Arizonian entrepreneur, he was about as infamous a scoundrel as those who generally adorn that profession (scouting).[10]

John Ward, known for his short temper and hatred of Indians, was not much better. In October 1860, Ward went to Fort Buchanan to let Colonel Morrison know that he expected the military to recover his stepson and stock. Ward was convinced that it was Cochise's band that had taken his adopted son, as the tracks he followed pointed to the Dragoons. It would not be until January that Morrison was able to act, with the arrival of 2nd Lieutenant George Nicholas Bascom of Kentucky, untested and fresh out of West Point.

Bascom was only 24, graduated nearly at the bottom of his class, yet arrogantly convinced of his military prowess and ability to deal with the Apaches even though his only previous field experience was in Utah at Camp Floyd, maintaining order amongst Mormons and Indians. His sentiments were probably like those of Captain W. J. Fetterman who claimed that with 80 men he could ride through the entire Sioux Nation, only to be ambushed and destroyed by Crazy Horse's Oglala Sioux in December of 1866.

Lieutenant George Bascom

Despite his inexperience in the field, Bascom like many others before him was motivated by romantic notions of Napoleonic grandeur, as well as by a rigid West Point curriculum that emphasized the superiority of mathematics and engineering, and the importance of obeying orders.

The Apache mind and organizational paradigm--democratic, consensual, flexible, and adaptable was antithetical to West Point's paradigm of hierarchy, command, and obedience. When Cochise arrived at Apache Pass, Bascom was disappointed by his casual

appearance, no feathers, and concluded he was interfacing with an insignificant Red Man or primitive. This was reflected in Bascom's tone. Bascom tragically was cast by Fate to be the wrong person at the wrong time in the history of the southwest

Bascom had been given the green light by Lieutenant Colonel Morrison to pursue, and to even use force against Cochise if he resisted. This rush to judgment by Morrison about Cochise's guilt was a by-product of Morrison's own biases about Indians and underestimating Cochise.

John Ward insisted on going along and was a mouthpiece for the growing hysteria about the Apache threat in the Tubac region. The problem was that for the Pindah all Apaches were essentially the same. Even though Cochise never allowed his people to attack or capture whites in his territory, this made no difference. The Chokonen did at times take stock, but never the life of Americans. Tragically, the fact that the trail led east to the Dragoons convinced Ward and Bascom that Cochise was the culprit."

Travelling on mules, Bascom and John Ward arrived with 54 troops of the Seventh Infantry at Apache Pass Station on Sunday, February 3, 1861. Bascom sent word through John Culver, the station agent that he would like to speak to Cochise about the matter of Felix Ward, under a white flag of peace.[11]

Cochise Prepares

Cochise listens to the north wind intensifying outside his wickiup and hears the snow mounting, making it difficult to walk. He is waiting for Coyuntura to join him and says: "Welcome, brother; sit with me by the fire." They sit in silence for a moment, each appreciative of the other's presence. Coyuntura gazes at the body of his brother and the many scars it carries from defending his people. He thinks how fortunate the Chokonen are to have a leader like this.

Cochise is similarly thankful for his brother's wisdom, guidance, and strength, exchanging pleasantries, waiting for their younger, physically larger brother, Juan, to appear. Juan always makes them laugh. He, the family trickster, opens the door and smiles as Cochise waves for him to join them gathering around the fire.

Cochise comments, I have word that soldiers have come to Apache Pass Station and want to see me on their way to Fort Bliss, Texas. We are told they tied a white flag over the tent. Let us visit tomorrow. I will bring Dos-teh-seh and Naiche.

Juan shakes his head that he cannot attend, but Coyuntura agrees to take his son Chie to accompany Naiche. There is a pause, and then Cochise speaks slowly.

"It's best to meet the new Nantan commander now. We have nothing to hide. We must be careful not to alienate the Blue Coats, as they fight differently than the Apache. They have guns that spit much fire. They seek and pursue relentlessly, giving no quarter; they make no distinction between warriors, women, and children. They fight in all seasons. What concerns me most is they will cut until the root of the tree is uprooted and we as a people disappear."

The storm rages outside as the logs crackle. Cochise stretches his shoulders slowly, rises, and says:

"Let us sleep so that we are in a good place tomorrow to meet with the Blue Coat. By bringing our families, we will convey our peacefulness."

Cochise Meets Bascom

The next day, Monday, February 4, Cochise arrived at dinnertime with his wife, his youngest son, Naiche, his brother Coyuntura and two nephews. Bascom immediately raises the matter of Mickey Free.

Cochise, shocked by Bascom's directness, considered rude by Apaches, denied responsibility, believed that the boy was being held by the Coyoteros, and that with time

he could negotiate a release. Bascom's imperious response to Cochise's comment was that he was a liar. Cochise looked at Bascom in disbelief. Bascom then ordered Cochise and his family arrested. Cochise stunned by the tone and gravity screamed out, "you will never take me," drew his knife and, as Geronimo relates "cut the tent" to safety.[12]

Although grazed in the leg, Cochise managed to escape, according to legend still retaining the cup of coffee handed him by Bascom. Unfortunately, Cochise's family was unable to move as fast, were arrested, and held in ransom. This fiasco triggered several days of anguishing negotiations between Cochise and Bascom.[13]

Cochise sends for his lieutenants Nahilzay, Skinyea, Poinsenay, and his brother to digest what has happened and strategize about how best to negotiate the release of his family members. Gathering around their leader, they feel the rage emanating from Cochise's body, as his voice rises and falls, recalling what happened inside the tent.

"Bascom is a fool! How dare he come into my land, insult me, accuse me of deceit, and then hold my family in ransom for something the Chokonen never did? He knows nothing about us, our history, language, and the tremendous sacrifices we have made to preserve the peace."

All nod in solemn agreement.

"Yet, I am reluctant to spit at peace, and tomorrow I will approach the foolish Nantan hoping to negotiate the release of my people. Send word to Mangas Coloradas, Francisco, our Coyotero friend, and tell others what is happening here at Apache Pass."

Cochise pauses, takes a deep breath, asks Ussen for guidance and insight. As he does so he experiences a sharp pain flowing from his wounded leg, reminding him of the seriousness of the situation.

He grimaces, annoyed at his decision to bring his family to Apache Pass. He should have been more careful, less naive.

Cochise Fails with Bascom

On the evening of February 4, Bascom decided to leave Siphon Canyon and return to the walled safety of the Butterfield Station. Cochise appeared the next day with a large band of warriors, carrying a white flag, asking for a personal meeting with Bascom to resolve the situation.

Cochise, with Francisco and two others, approach Bascom and Ward, flanked by Sergeants Smith and Robinson. “As I said yesterday, I had nothing to do with the missing boy. Let my people go and I will find the boy.”

Bascom, at the prodding of Ward, insist “that you must first find the boy.”

Unexpectedly, at this impasse, the Butterfield people, led by James Wallace, accompanied by Walsh and Culver, attempted to intervene on behalf of the Apaches, only to be seized by Cochise’s warriors, who saw their capture as an opportunity to bargain the release of Cochise’s family. Wallace’s seizure, however, triggered violence. In the confusion, Culver was killed by Apaches, and Walsh accidentally shot by Bascom’s panicky troops. The fragile web of peace was unraveling.

Mangas Coloradas soon arrived with his Chihennes, and Geronimo with his Bedonkohes. Gunfire exchanges increased on both sides, and that night as Mangas and Cochise talked, both expressed their concern about containing the crisis. Mangas asked what will you do? Cochise indicates “I’ll bargain Wallace for my family, hopefully that will satisfy him.”

At noon on Wednesday, February 6, Cochise, flanked by warriors, appeared with Wallace tied by a rope around his throat. Cochise offered Wallace for his family. To make the exchange more attractive, Cochise threw in 16 government mules, thinking that their release may possibly entice John Ward to take his side in persuading Bascom to agree to the deal. Bascom’s pride and stubbornness, however, were unshakeable. Cochise

stunned, shook his head in rage, whirling his pony around, dragging Wallace behind. To release his people, Cochise concluded he must up the ante in hostages.[14]

Luck then intervened on behalf of Cochise, as a Mexican wagon train carrying flour from Sulphur Springs with three Americans, appeared and was easily captured. The nine Mexicans taken died a gruesome death. They were turned upside down on wagon wheels and torched by blazing arrows. The three Americans captives were joined with Wallace as bargaining chips.

Cochise's instincts tell him he is losing control, he fears for his family and the Chokonen future. Realizing he is at a critical point, that night he grabs Wallace and has him write a note to Bascom which says:

"Treat my people well, and I will do the same by yours of whom I have three (four)."

Unfortunately, this note, which is tied to a bush on the same hill where Cochise had appeared before will not be found for two days. By then, it is too late.[15]

Time Running Out

On February 7, Cochise, awakened from a bad dream, experienced a knot in his stomach. He understood that Bascom did not plan to release his people for only four captives. He called Nahilzay, ordering him to acquire more hostages by attacking the Tucson stagecoach that was on its way to Apache Pass Station. Nahilzay and his warriors rode westward and proceeded to weaken a stone bridge about two miles away from the station, expecting it to collapse as the stagecoach passed. Miraculously, it held, allowing the coach to get to the other side despite Apache arrows and shots. Later that day, Cochise, not hearing a response from Bascom to his note, concluded that negotiations were futile, and that war was the only alternative.

As Cochise returned to the Chiricahua Mountains, Bascom sent out a call for help. In the camp, Cochise met with his leading warriors. He prepared himself by placing white, yellow, and black paint on his face, donned a single eagle feather, and then put protective amulets on his arms. Cochise drew a circle in the sand and outlined his strategy to release his people. The battle plan had two prongs. One was to attack the soldiers watering the livestock at the spring as a ruse to draw Bascom out from the stone station where Cochise's family was kept. The other prong, led by him, was to storm the station and free his family.

The next day, Friday, February 8, Cochise launched his trap, but Bascom refused to be baited. Although losing stock, he never sent out a relief column to the spring. Bascom did succeed in repulsing the attack on the station by holding his ground. Cochise realized he had no other choice but to abandon the rescue, as Bascom's forces were too well-armed and too many Apaches would die storming the building. Several Apaches had already fallen to American firepower.


**Figure 6 Apache Pass Spring by Arthur Scott**

Cochise disgusted ordered the death of Wallace and the three Americans, who were horribly mutilated by spears. The death of Wallace ended Cochise's detente. It was thrown to the wind. The Apache leaders scattered, with Cochise going into Sonora, and Mangas Coloradas and Geronimo returning to the Gila to reflect on their next steps.[16]

Bascom's forces were relieved by Lieutenant Isaiah N. Moore and by Army surgeon Bernard J. Irwin. On February 18, Bascom, Moore, and Irwin left Apache Pass Station. Irwin's group discovered the mutilated remains of Wallace and the other Americans. This triggered a heated debate about what to do with Cochise's family and the three Coyotero Apaches who had been captured by Irwin on his way to Apache Pass Station. Ward, Moore, and Irwin called for teaching the Apaches a lesson by hanging them all, which in the Apache culture was a horrible insult as it prevented entry into the underworld.

To Bascom's credit, he opposed this decision but was overruled by Irwin and Moore. Four oak trees were chosen, and the three Coyotero, along with Cochise's favorite brother, Coyuntura, and his two nephews were hanged. The bodies rotted in the trees for two years, and the area was considered taboo by the Apaches, to be avoided at all costs because of dark energy. Mercifully, Dos-teh-seh and Naiche were released, as was Coyuntura's son, Chie. Cochise always believed their fate was decided in a card game and had more to do with luck than compassion.[17]

For Cochise it was this specific act of desecrating his family by hanging that triggered the Apache Wars. As he put it, "your soldiers did me a great wrong, and I and my whole people went to war with them." He was enflamed by these deaths and this avenging fire raged over many seasons.

Bascom was promoted, only to die a year later in a Civil War skirmish at Valverde, New Mexico. Assistant Surgeon Irwin garnered the first Military Medal of Honor for his bravery at Apache Pass.[18]

Cochise now confronted with the immediate need to take care of Coyuntura's family discuss the matter Dos-teh-seh.

It was common among Apache families to take care of widows and their children, often leading to marriage with sisters-in-law to take care of their material needs and provide emotional comfort.

Cochise points out, "Yones, Coyuntura's wife, speaks excellent Spanish, and repeatedly has proven to be an excellent source of intelligence by dressing as Mexican, going into their villages to determine their troop strength, availability of weapons, horses, mules and weapons."

He continues. "The loss of Coyuntura cannot be assuaged, but at least I can feel good about raising his son as my own."

Dos-teh-seh states, "Chie will make a good companion for Naiche, and you will mentor in a way that his father would be proud."

Cochise embraces Dos-teh-seh, thanking her for her understanding, and leaves to mourn alone over the great loss of his brother at Apache Pass.

Cochise then vanished into the mountains to initiate a brutal war that would last eleven years, until a territorial settlement was agreed between him and General Howard in 1872. The costs were unimaginable, with Apaches killing an estimated 5000 Americans over the next decade. An immediate consequence was that the Tubac-Tucson road was closed. Tucson dwindled to a village of a few hundred. Ranches and mines were abandoned throughout Cochise country.

The Apaches despised miners, as they considered them to be crude, vulgar, and crazy for yellow iron. Besides, miners drank too much, and their drinking often led to brawls and killings. Adding insult to injury, Mangas had recently been tied, beaten, whipped, and humiliated by the miners of Santa Rita de Cobre as he attempted to persuade them to leave his country for an area richer in yellow ore. The People called it `the place where they whipped him. `This humiliation drove Mangas to war uniting with his son-in-law Cochise.

By now the Butterfield Line was closed, replaced by a more northerly route terminating in San Francisco rather than San Diego. The situation in southeastern Arizona and southwest New Mexico became so grim that many Pindah left the area. Charles Poston had this to say about the cost of the Cochise War, "The men, women, children killed, the property destroyed, and the detriment to the settlement of Arizona cannot be computed."[19]

In the Tubac area, only Pete's Kitchen remained, and Sylvester Mowry was able to maintain his silver mine operation in Patagonia until 1863, when it too was destroyed by the Apaches. This loss transformed him into an implacable Apache hater, calling for unconditional warfare. Mowry believed "that ... steady, persistent campaigns must be made so that the Apaches would be starved into coming in, surprised, or inveigled by white flags, or any other method, human or divine -- and then put to death."[20]

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[1] There are several fine accounts of the Bascom-Cochise encounter which provide additional information and interpretations: Robert M. Utley, "The Bascom Affair: A Reconstruction," *Journal of the Southwest*, Vol. 13, No .1(Spring, 1961, 59-68.), Benjamin H. Sacks, "New Evidence on the Bascom Affair," Ibid, .Vol. 4, No. 3 (Autumn, 1962), 261-278), Jay W. Sharp," Cochise and the Bascom Affair," http://www.desertusa.com/ind1/Cochise.html, Terry Mort, *The Wrath of Cochise*, 237-264, Doug Hocking, *The Black Legend*, argues that Bascom was `scapegoated` as the villain responsible for triggering the Apache Wars.

[2] Frank W. Perry, Cochise Interview, *Arizona Weekly Miner*, March 20, 1869.

[3] Sweeney, *Cochise*, 119-126.

[4] Captain James H. Tevis, *Arizona in the '50s*, 78-88.

[5] Tevis, *op. cit*., 91-98.

[6] Tevis, *ibid*, 101-108.

[7] *Weekly Arizona*, June 9, 1859.

[8] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Merejildo Grijalva*, 11.

[9] Terry Mort, *The Wrath of Cochise*, 186- 213; Sweeney, *Cochise*, 118- 141, Paul Andrew Hutton, *The Apache Wars*, 3-7, 34-55.

[10] Mort, *op. cit*., 1-17; David Roberts, *Once They Moved Like the Wind*, 23-25.

[11] Mort, *op. cit*., 214-236.

[12] Jason Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, 41.

[13] Mort, op. cit., 237- 264; Sweeney, *Cochise*, 146-165; Hocking, *The Black Legend*, 161-202. (Mort/Sweeney/Hocking provide a well-researched chronology of events).

[14] *Ibid*., 253-256.

[15] *Ibid*., 260-261.

[16] *Ibid*. 269. (Mort argues that Cochise lost it and that he was overwhelmed by wrath.), Sweeney, *op. cit*., 163.

[17] Military Affairs Online, *Bascom Affair*

[18] Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, Vol. II, 77-78.

[19] Charles D. Poston, *Building a State in Apache Land*, 33.

[20] Farish, *op. cit*., 209.

## EIGHT
## BATTLE AT APACHE PASS

*"We would have done well enough if you had not fired wagons (howitzer) at us."*

- Unknown Apache -

Victories/Setbacks

Cochise's victorious war policy culminated in the closing of Forts Breckenridge and Buchanan. These successes, however, had more to do with the outbreak of the American Civil War than Apache prowess. Cochise was aware of the conflict but did not fully comprehend its significance or its magnitude. The Confederacy immediately attempted to consolidate mastery over the New Mexico Territory for its mineral wealth. Confederate presence, however, was viewed by the north as a strategic threat to California, leading Brigadier General James H. Carleton to relieve Arizona and New Mexico from Rebel control in the spring of 1862.

A harbinger of impending difficulties for Cochise came during the spring of Many Leaves. In June 1861, the Free Thompson Party found itself caught in an ambush sprang by Cochise at Cookes' Canyon, New Mexico, one of the most dangerous places on the Silver City Road. Many Pindah and Mexican travelers and teamsters were often attacked and killed there. The Canyon with its craggy rock formations made travel vulnerable to Apache arrows, spears, and knives besides being a favorite Apache strategic rendezvous point between the Mimbres and the Florida Mountains serving as a gateway into Chihuahua.

Cochise and Mangas saw six tall men approaching the canyon, and by mirror signaled their braves to vanish into the landscape. The Apaches fired upon the unsuspecting riders, but the six riders remained composed and resolute, finding high ground to fight. Being well-armed with their Sharps' repeating rifles, the Thompson Party

was able to make the Apaches pay dearly, wounding Taza, Cochise's son, and killing perhaps as many as twenty-five warriors, a major loss for the Apaches. Cochise was deeply impressed by their bravery and claimed that with such men, he could wipe out the entire United States.[1]

Cochise and Mangas are shocked by their losses at Cookes Canyon, by the suffering it brings to family members, and the difficulty it poses in replacing the fallen warriors.

Cochise and Mangas discuss what happened there. Cochise pulls his blanket around himself watches the fire leap into the air and says,

"The Pindah are tougher, more disciplined, and better armed than the Mexicans. We must not underestimate them. We need to create better tactics."

Mangas replies, "As I grow older, I become more concerned over the numbers of whites, who are like sand on the desert floor, blowing into our country. There seems to be no end to them. They are a windstorm that keeps growing stronger no matter how many we kill.''

Cochise is aware of how tenuous Apache leadership can be, based as it is on the medicine of their leaders to sustain few losses. For Apaches, life is precious and never to be foolishly thrown away.

They are shocked by the willingness of Blue and Grey troops to sacrifice large numbers of soldiers in combat. The death of six Pindah, for so many Apache lives leads Cochise to question the strategy of using large numbers in frontal attacks.

Mangas gets on his pony to return to his people at Pinos Altos. His men, including Victoria and Geronimo, gather and follow their aging leader into the Mogollan Mountains. Cochise winces as he sees Mangas leave Cookes' Canyon, aware that his mentor is aging. Already losing Coyuntura to Bascom, he dreads the loss of Mangas.

He calls Nahilzay and signals that they must leave for the Chiricahuas to mourn the dead. All their possessions, too, will be burnt, making their transition into the spirit world easier.

Cochise remembers Coyuntura and his wounded son Taza. His body shakes in empathy and guilt. The burden of leading his people is taking its toll, showing lines on his face. Cochise remembers the terrible price that Mangas, too, has paid for leading his people. Melancholy etches his face.

Mangas and Miners

Cochise recalled a tale rumored around the Mimbreno campfires. In 1860, Mangas had decided to rid his lands of the Pindah gold miners at Pinos Altos (Tall Pines), as their presence was driving away game and angering the Gaan. Rather than using arms, Mangas decided upon diplomacy and greed as a smarter way of removing the Pindah. He approached the miners singly and indicated that he would take them to a place richer in gold if they just left the area. Soon, the miners became wary of what Mangas was doing; they suspected that he was setting them up. They waited for his return, tied him to a tree and whipped him mercilessly. Left nearly dead, he staggered out of Pinos Altos, determined to avenge this terrible humiliation. His rage was directed against all whites, especially the hated miners who were upsetting the fragile ecological balance with Earth Woman.[2]

Mangas still carried the scars of humiliation, but buoyed by the declining Pindah presence, concluded that the hour for avenging this insult was at hand. In September 1861, he and Cochise pooled their resources and converged at Pinos Altos. By this time, southern New Mexico had gone over to the Confederate side, and Pinos Altos was patrolled by the Arizona Guard, led by Captain Thomas J. Mastin. Cochise's old nemesis, James Henry Tevis, was at Pinos Altos, along with Jack Swilling, founder of Phoenix.[3]

Cochise and Mangas gather their leaders to orchestrate the attack on the miners. Cochise is seconded by Juan, Nahilzay, Skinyea, and Poinsenay and his son Taza. Mangas is accompanied by Delgadito, Victorio and a Chokonen supporter, Esquinaline. Studying the situation, they decide on a three-prong effort directed at the mine, the miners' homes, and the village stores.

Mangas gives the order to strike at first light, and the Apache attack catches the miners' off-guard. However, by noon, Cochise and Mangas are under heavy fire and urge their warriors to retreat. Cochise yells, "They are shooting cannon fire."

It is a bitter encounter for both sides, with Apaches losing two significant players in Delgadito and Esquinaline, and perhaps another ten who fall to the miners' fire.

Both Cochise and Mangas, are shaken by the presence of cannons, question the merits of frontal assaults against the Americans considering their superior firepower.

Cochise murmurs, "Apaches can ill afford such losses."

Mangas mourns the loss of Delgadito, who had been a significant force among the Mimbreno since the days of the Bartlett Commission. "I will miss his counsel. He is hard to replace in battle. Fortunately, I have younger Mimbreno emerging, reflecting a generational shift: Loco, Victorio, Lozen, his gifted youngest sister, Nana, and the Bedonkohe warrior Geronimo, blessed with his war magic."

Though some miners left Pinos Altos, the Apaches were never able to close the mine and it remained a running sore in the heart of Apacheria, a painful reminder of Pindah resilience. By then, Cochise had pretty much succeeded his aging father-in-law as the preeminent Chiricahua leader, uniting many Apache bands into a powerful force committed to driving the Americans out.[4]

In 1862, Cochise established his winter camp in the western Dragoon stronghold. Though the women lit the celebration fire for the returning Chiricahuas, the mood is somber even when the warriors recount their bravery and triumphs.

Cochise is depressed by the number of Apaches killed. His leadership was wounded by the Six Tall Men and the miners in Pinos Altos. He hears the wailing of the women and the gossiping in the wickiup about losing his medicine.

He doubts his leadership, drinks heavily, is glum around the campfires, and becomes concerned about his waning power. Cochise's total war against the Pindah for the murders of his family at Apache Pass, although exhilarating at the beginning, is now cooling, taking its toll on his psyche. He sorely misses the counsel of Coyuntura.

Being introspective, Cochise leaves the camp and goes to his favorite spot, an alcove of pines beside a small stream. He listens to the rare sound of woodpeckers hammering, and then sees a red-tail hawk take flight, feeling somewhat uplifted from earthly responsibilities by the arc of the bird.

Cochise breathes deeply the scent of the pine and feels himself physically relaxing. Even the flashbacks of the crime that took place at Apache Pass has soften, along with the cruel memories of what he has personally inflicted on Pindah and Mexican captives. He has a blanket and unrolls it, lights a fire, and smokes a cigarette, letting it seep into his lungs.

Cochise reflects on where he is and what he is doing and says." Oh Ussen, please provide guidance. I am lost. I have doubts about this war and the cost it is imposing on my people. I fear the Tinneh will vanish from this land, as the ancient ones vanished. I cry out, "what am I to do?"

He stays in deep contemplation reviewing in his mind the stories of Child-of-Water's slaying of the Four Dragons, hoping to find a clue that will enable the Apaches to

overcome the Pindah menace. He finds himself drawn to the Buffalo and Antelope tale in which Child-of-Water, with the guidance of lizard, learned how to use the ecology and landscape, as well as cunning, to slay them.

Cochise came to the realization as he intimated to Mangas at Pinos Altos, “My desire for revenge and early victories made me over-confident and arrogant. Trying to fight the Pindah on their terms is a mistake rather than remaining loyal to the traditional ways of hit and run as taught by the elders.”

He rises refreshed and returns to the encampment with a more relaxed demeanor. This is immediately sensed by the People. He enters the wickiup, greets Dos-teh-seh with a smile. She has replaced Coyuntura as his alter ego. She urges him to sit as she prepares a meal of mescal cakes and offers him tiswin.

“Well, what did you decide?” she asks.

“There is no way out of the war now,” Cochise replies. Perhaps the Grey and Blue Pindah will kill each other off and our land will return to us. We must be smarter and cautious; we simply cannot afford these losses. We need to honor the old ways of fighting. The tears and pain of the women and children weigh heavily on me.”

Dos-teh- seh pulls his moccasins off and brushes his hair. As she does so, he floats into a semi-conscious state and succumbs to a peaceful sleep. She looks over her bruised husband, fondly remembering when they first met in the camp of her father and had difficulty keeping their eyes from one another.

She inwardly wails, “It seems like so many moons ago, a happier time when life was joyous and full of promise.”

Confederate Presence in Southwest

Unknown to Cochise, the War Between the States had marginalized the Apache Theater. This was a significant reason for his victories leading to the closing down of the

Butterfield line, along with Forts Buchanan and Breckenridge, and the siege of Tubac and Tucson. There were significant military shifts in the southwest involving the Grey and Blue as they battled for resources which would have long-term strategic consequences for the Apache.

The Confederates, under Lieutenant Colonel John R. Baylor, arrived in the summer of 1861, and during the Confederate offensive he soon declared himself Governor of the Arizona Territory. This placed him in conflict with the Mescalero or Mescal People, an eastern Apache tribe, who occupied southern New Mexico and claimed the Texas Stake Plains and Panhandle as well as large swaths of Chihuahua and Coahuila, Mexico, as their territory. Two decades later, the Mescalero would play a vital role under Victorio. Baylor adopted a blatant policy of extermination toward them. He enticed Apache bands to come in under a flag of truce, and then exterminated the people, and selling children into slavery. Baylor later would be reprimanded and removed for his excesses by Confederate President, Jefferson Davis, over this directive.

General James H. Carleton

By 1862, the Union launched its counter-offensive from Colorado and California against Johnny Reb. For Cochise and Mangas Coloradas, the significant Union force that would challenge them was the 1800 California Volunteers, led by Brigadier General James H. Carleton, who had fought the Jicarilla in New Mexico eight years before. By May, Carleton had liberated Tucson of Confederate control as a first step in linking up with the Union forces of General R. S. Canby in Mesilla and clearing New Mexico of all Rebel presence. Canby sent Captain Tom J. Jeffords with dispatches for Carleton before he moved eastward. Jeffords scouted for Carleton and later played a leading role in ending the conflict with Cochise.

Carleton continued the Apache extermination policy of the Confederates in his famous memo to Colonel Kit Carson in October 1862: “All Indian men of that tribe are to be killed whenever and wherever you can find them.”[5]

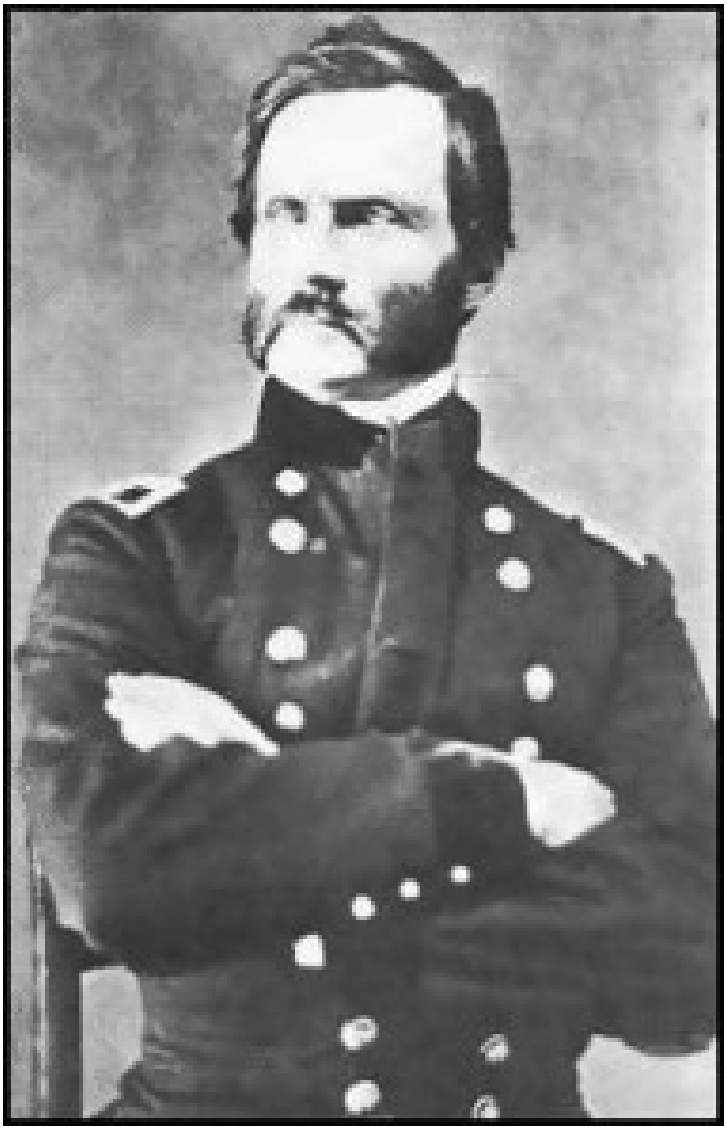

**Figure 7 James Henry Carleton**

Carleton ordered Colonel Edward E. Eyre, with an advance force of 140 men, to lead a reconnaissance to the Rio Grande through Apache Pass. Eyre had been temporarily delayed at Apache Pass by Cochise’s warriors but failed to warn Carleton of the existing Chiricahua threat. In July, Carleton ordered Captain Thomas L. Roberts to seek out Eyre with 120 men of the First Infantry, California, along with Captain John C. Cremony, Second Cavalry, with two howitzers and many supply wagons.

Battle at Apache Pass, July 1862

In the Chiricahuas, Cochise is alerted to the military changes taking place in Tucson through his intricate communication systems of spies, smoke signals, mirrors, and runners.

Nothing moves in his land of which he is not aware.

He ponders the news and considers how best to respond to Robert's relief column. He allows Eyre's advance force to go through Apache Pass uncontested to create the illusion that he has departed for Sonora and is no longer in the area. Cochise, still smarting from the losses at Cookes' Canyon, and Pinos Altos understands he must be as strategic and crafty as the lizard. Protecting his people from rapid-firing guns and cannons of the Pindah is imperative.

Turning to Nahilzay, Cochise says, "A major victory can raise the morale of the people, washing away the bitter losses of the past."

"Look, Nahilzay, at the dust rising in the distance as Blue Coats make their way along the Butterfield Road toward Apache Pass. They and their animals will be thirsty. Water, fear, and impatience will give us a great victory."

Most important is the threatening nature of the looming Pass itself, rising 5000 feet, majestic and forbidding with its high walls, large boulders, and history. Many travelers, Americans, and Mexicans have lost their lives in or near the pass because of the mistake of Lieutenant Bascom. Bones severed wheels and burnt wagons litter the canyon floor. It is as though Cochise's intense rage for what happened there can never be assuaged.


**Figure 8 Apache Pass Road by Jennifer Seran Scott**

He calls a war council to discuss strategy: Nahilzay, Juan, Skinyea, PoinsenayPoinsenay, Taza and others gather around. Cochise opens the discussion by emphasizing the importance of surprise.

“We will position our warriors above both sides of the canyon, holding our fire until they are deep into the canyon. Rocks and boulders will provide protection from their fire; the soldiers will not be able to see us. They will take heavy losses from this engagement and will be trapped because it is too far to return to San Simon for water. Are there any questions?”

Cochise waits and all nod their approval. Then a Mimbreno messenger riding from the east on a sweating pony arrives with a message that Mangas wants Cochise to

join him in another try at the miners of Pinos Altos. Cochise invites the rider to dismount and explains that he cannot join Mangas as a large column of Blue Coats is coming from Tucson.

"Go back and tell Mangas to join me. Later we will dispose of the miners together."

The next day, Mangas arrives with Victorio, Nana, Geronimo, and others, including Juh. Cochise explains his plan and the Mimbreno agree to join with their Chokonen friends along with Juh's Nednhis. Even the White Mountain band of Francisco participates. The trap looks foolproof. The Apache force is quite large, about 200.

Cochise feels even more confident as earlier in the day fourteen miners from Pinos Altos, travelling westward toward Apache Pass, were ambushed, and killed by his warriors. Cochise takes advantage of the terrain leading into the Pass by hiding his warriors in a gulch that is impossible to see when on horseback. As the miner's approach Cochise gives the signal and his warriors emerge quickly with arrows, spears, and bullets. They are stripped of their weapons, mutilated, and left as warning to other travelers.

Cochise turns to Mangas, "We have evened up the score with the miners and will drive them completely out of Pinos Altos after we take care of these soldiers."

Mangas nods in agreement, spurring his horse to keep up with Cochise as they look forward to celebrating this victory around the campfire to the applause of women and children.

Meanwhile, Captains Roberts and Cremony were moving eastward from Dragoon Springs to Apache Pass with infantry, cavalry, wagon supplies, and two howitzers. On July 16, at about noon, they approached the dreaded Canyon leading to Apache Spring. Roberts' forces gingerly entered the western side of the Pass, and near the two-thirds marker, an Apache prematurely fired a shot, alerting the column of the unfolding trap.

Apaches fired on the Americans from every rock, crevice, and boulder. Despite thirst, Roberts was able to execute an orderly retreat out of the pass. He rallied his troops to re-enter by making their way to the Butterfield Station. Cochise then redoubled his efforts to prevent them from getting water by positioning his warriors around the hills surrounding the spring. The soldiers and mules had gone 18 hours without water, and their situation was critical.

In desperation Roberts brought up two howitzers and fired on the Apaches who were caught off guard, first shocked, and then frightened by the continued barrage, they fled to safety. Cochise, watching from the hillside shook his head in disbelief clenching his right fist in great anger and yelling, “Smell this,” a terrible insult.

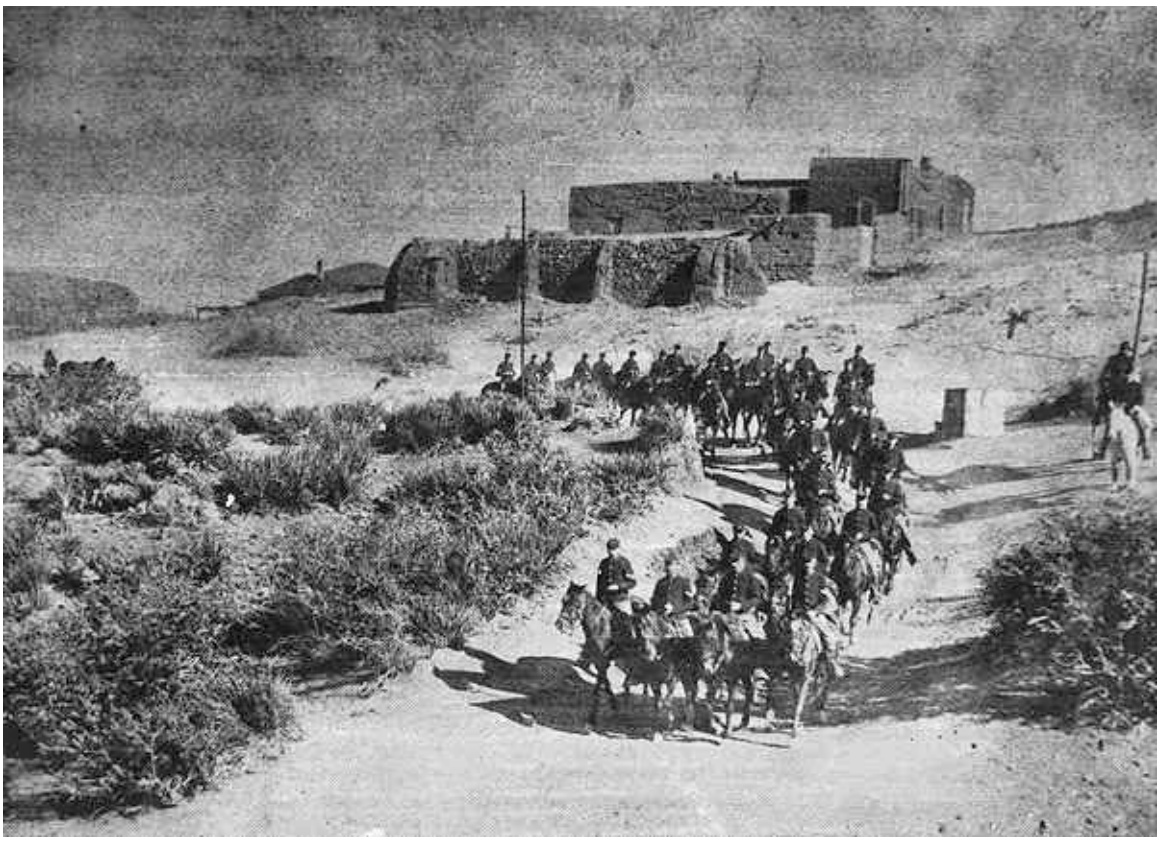

**Figure 9 Fort Bowie**

Waving his blanket, Cochise ordered withdrawal. The Americans lost only two soldiers. Apache losses are debatable. Cremony indicated sixty-three Apaches killed, but Apache sources challenge this figure arguing that the boulders protected the warriors,

with perhaps as few as ten losses. At any rate, what was anticipated to be an easy victory backfired, and marked a significant shift in the balance of power in Apacheria away from the Apaches to the Americans. Upon arriving at Apache Pass, General Carleton was impressed by Cochise's strategy, realizing that without the howitzers the outcome would have been significantly different. To interdict the Chiricahuas, Carleton took Roberts' advice to establish a military outpost at the Pass called Fort Bowie, who he named in honor of his friend Colonel George Washington Bowie.[6]

The Fort remained active until 1894 playing an important security role for travelers, miners, and prospectors, and disrupted the movement of the Chiricahua Bands. Cochise withdrew from Apache Pass for Sonora to regroup and lick his wounds.[7]

The Battle at Apache Pass was the most significant military engagement between the Apaches and American troops. It set Cochise's war strategy and tactics for the next decade. Never again did he attack Federal troops with large groups. Instead, he used the desert and mountainous landscape, and terrain to maximum advantage by striking with small units of four or five to minimize losses and keep the enemy off balance. Cochise's war strategy prefigured the guerrilla and insurgency tactics of the twentieth century used by Third World Peoples. He knew that Apache Pass was geopolitically significant because of its spring. The Butterfield Stage Line had established a station there, frequented and supplied by Cochise in the late 1850s. Now a permanent Fort was being erected to monitor his movements.

The defeat at Apache Pass was another bitter reminder for Cochise of Bascom, Coyuntura and the hanging of his family relatives. It did, however, mark the shifting of leadership among the Chiricahuas from Mangas to Cochise. Mangas' sun was setting, whereas Cochise's was ascending.

Death of Mangas Coloradas

Compounding Cochise's loss at Apache Pass, his mentor and father-in-law Mangas was seriously wounded by a scouting party sent by Roberts. Their mission was to warn Cremony's forces at Ewell's Station to stay put guarding the supply wagons until Roberts arrived later in the night. This party was spotted and pursued by Mangas. One of its members, John Teal, was cut off when his horse was seriously wounded. Luckily for Teal, he had a Sharps repeating rifle that enabled him to hold off the Indians. He was struck by the presence of a large man, took careful aim, and hit him in the chest. Immediately, the battle ended, as the Apaches picked up their fallen leader, Mangas Coloradas, and vanished. Teal then picked up his saddle, blanket, and weapons, walking eight miles to Ewell station to tell his remarkable tale.[8]

In the meantime, Victorio and Nana and others rode to Janos, looking for a reputed Anglo surgeon, who could treat Mangas' wound. The town was occupied by the Chihennes and Bedonkohes, who threatened that if Mangas died, so also would the townspeople. Fortunately, Mangas recovered, and the Chihennes leader returned to the Mogollon Mountains and his beloved Santa Lucia Springs to heal from his wounds.

Though Mangas recovered from his wounds, his appetite for war had waned. He had tired of fighting and was predisposed toward working out a peace with the Pindah, but his desire for peace clashed with the extermination order of General Carleton, who had ordered General Joseph Rodman West, commander of the District of New Mexico, to prepare a winter campaign against the Mimbreno of Mangas Coloradas in the Pinos Altos area. Carleton then issued General Order #1 to General Joseph Rodman West, instructing him "to chastise Mangas and that band of murderers and robbers and others must be thorough and swift."

In their expedition against Mangas, the military were assisted by Mangas' nemeses, the returning miners, led by Joseph Redford Walker, who had their sights on returning to Pinos Altos for gold. Jack Swilling came up with a plan to capture Mangas by luring him under a white flag to discuss terms with the miners. Many of Mangas' intimate lieutenants, Victorio, Nana and Geronimo, feared for his life, cautioned Mangas not to go, but he was determined to have peace.

As soon as Mangas appeared at Pinos Altos, Swilling imprisoned him and turned him over to the military that transported him to Fort McLane to be interrogated by General West. Mangas towered over West, who looked like a pygmy beside the old chief. West, like Carleton, held Mangas responsible for all the Indian atrocities in southern New Mexico. On the night of January 11, 1863, according to Geronimo` the greatest wrong `by the Pindah was committed. General West gave the guards this order, "Men, that old murderer has got away from every soldier command and has left a trail of blood for 500 miles on the old stage line. I want him dead or alive tomorrow, do you understand? I want him dead."[9]

Mangas death was cruel and cowardly, as the soldiers, according to an eyewitness, baited Mangas to resist by burning his exposed legs with hot bayonet forcing him to protest this indignity with the comment "I am no child to be playing with." The two soldiers fired fatal shots. His body was stripped of its ornaments and then scalped. A few days later, Mangas' body was uncovered, and his head removed and sent back east for study. Darwinian phrenology was in vogue among eastern universities, and it was discovered that Mangas' skull was larger than Daniel Webster's, implying that the savage perhaps was smarter than the white man....[10]

By desecrating Mangas Coloradas' body, the Pindah committed a terrible crime against the Apaches, violating a sacred spiritual principle by which this action doomed

the victim to wander headless in the spirit world. As Daklugie, son of Nednhi leader Juh, put it: “To an Apache the mutilation of the body is much worse than death, because the body must go through eternity in the mutilated condition.”[11]

Little did the White Eyes know what they were starting when they mutilated Mangas Coloradas’ body. Killing Mangas Coloradas in such a horrific way, Carleton escalated the war as the Apaches now sought revenge against the Pindah for this desecration of their revered leader. They intensified their own brand of torture, including burying Americans in ant hills, covering their heads with molasses, hanging bodies on wheels or trees, and torching them, or turning grieving Apache families loose on captives to hack their bodies. Decapitation too became common. The great irony was that Mangas Coloradas, throughout his long seventy years, had mostly sought an accommodation with the Pindah. His death, and the Bascom betrayal that Cochise suffered at Apache Pass, destroyed any hope for peace.

Learning of the treacherous death of Mangas Coloradas, Cochise is visibly stunned, but not surprised. They had often talked about the possibility of being captured and tortured.

Looking down at the gathering, his body trembles with rage, as his mind races back to the Bascom debacle and the hanging of his brother and nephew at Apache Pass years before. He unconsciously reaches for the wound that he still carries after making his escape through the tent.

“To fight an Apache is one thing” Cochise said, “but to desecrate is a deep spiritual violation. I will never forget this barbaric act and I am more resolute than ever to keep us free from the Pindah.”

Cochise clenches his fist and shares with his listeners the many times he and Mangas Coloradas sat and talked about the future of their people. Mangas often urged

caution against the Americans, pushing for a living arrangement which ultimately cost him his life. After Apache Pass, he had even greater doubts about victory.

Cochise turns to his wife Dos-teh-seh and sees the pain on her face as she begins the mourning ceremony for her father by cutting her hair and putting ash on her face. Looking upon her brings memories of numerous conversations with Mangas Coloradas about the Pindah and the future of the People.

He turns and goes back into the wickiup to consider ways to drive the Pindah out, realizing how deeply he will miss the wise counsel of his Father-in-law, just as he misses the sagacity of his brother Coyuntura. From now on, he is indeed alone.

With Mangas Coloradas' death, Victorio, Nana, and Loco pledge their loyalty to Cochise.

He swears "That for the death of Mangas I will kill a hundred Pindah."

Cochise understands that he stands alone as he struggles with challenges to Apache survival and begins to feel the tug of hopelessness as more miners, settlers, and ranchers continue to flood into Arizona.

Though he is becoming a mythic figure, the Pindah are like locusts, who keep on coming while his people are shrinking and finding it increasingly difficult to protect themselves in their mountain fortresses.

As one writer described it: The cowardly slaying of Mangas Coloradas, following his arrest by the miner Walker transformed Cochise from the white man's friend into an implacable enemy. For the next ten years, he spared no Americans, young or old, male, or female. Men, women, and children were murdered indiscriminately, and all prisoners taken met Cochise's revenge for the death of Mangas Coloradas, which enflamed Apacheria from Tucson to Pinos Altos.[12]

Carleton's Extermination Policy

Following the Battle of Apache Pass, Carleton moved northeastward to Santa Fe to relieve General Canby. He was shocked by the extensive mayhem and destruction unleashed by the Apaches. For him, the great menace in New Mexico was the Apaches rather than Johnny Reb. Carleton soon formulated a policy of total and unconditional warfare, which today is called counterinsurgency, in which no quarter is to be shown. It was a war policy perfected by Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman during the Civil War. It was characterized by scorched earth, with an emphasis on winter campaigning, extermination of the men, and enslavement of women and children. Civilian populations were targeted. Carleton's policy of ethnic cleansing plunged the southwest into a darker abyss of warfare. The racism of unconditional warfare made the conflict uglier. The men are to be slain whenever and wherever they can be found. The women and children may be taken prisoners, but, of course, they are not to be killed.

His policy fell hardest on the Navajo and the Mescalero peoples. Carleton was assisted in his program to subdue the Navajos and the Mescalero by the legendary Colonel Kit Carson, who had come west as a young man and had gone Native. Although sympathetic to the plight of the Indian, he nevertheless followed Carleton's orders. Carson would break the Mescalero and Navajo resistance, forcing them to settle in the hated alkali Basque Redondo Reservation on the Pecos River in southeastern New Mexico. Here at Bosque Redondo, the Apaches and Navajos were subject to being Christianized and Americanized.[13]

By November 1862, the Mescalero Cadette surrendered to Carson, completely beaten, with no resources to continue the struggle against the well-equipped Blue Coats and their mercenary minions, including, bounty hunters and traditional Indian enemies, the Pima, Papago, and Ute. Cadette had this to say about his defeat: "You are stronger

than we. We would have fought you longer if we had rifles and powder, but your weapons are better than ours. Give us like weapons and turn us loose; we will fight you again. But we are worn out; we have no more heart; we have no provisions, no means to live."[14]

By winter of 1863, Carson broke the back of Navajo opposition by burning their hogans, capturing their sheep, and destroying their peach orchards. The Navajo were captured and forced to leave their sacred Four Mountains for Bosque Redondo. Their forced relocation embodied a dark chapter in the life of Navajos described as` The Long Walk. `An estimated 2,000 out of 9,000 members died of starvation.

Unfortunately, neither the Mescalero nor the Navajos got along well, nor were resources evenly distributed. In addition, Bosque Redondo Reservation was hardly suitable for human habitation, nor secure from Comanche raids. The Pecos River was contaminated, and the land was too arid for farming. In November 1865, after another crop failure, Cadette orchestrated an escape for his people into the Texas staked plains. From that moment, the Mescaleros' found themselves at war with the Pindah.

Carson had become critical of relocation, and as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he argued that Indians must be allowed to return to their own lands. In 1868, he helped the Utes to re-negotiate their ancestral lands. He died a few days before the Navajos were returned to their original lands at Canyon De Chelly. Carleton's policy of ethnic cleansing and reservations had been somewhat tempered by the humanity of Carson.[15]

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[1] Will Levington Comfort, *Apache*, 253-255; Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, Vol. II, 9-60; Paul Andrew Hutton, *The Apache Wars*, 56-70; Film, Battle at Apache Pass, not an accurate portrayal of the battle, but it does provide cultural insights into Apache life.

[2] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Mangas Coloradas*, 399-407. Sweeney disputes this event having taken place; Ball & Kaywayla, *In the Days of Victorio*, 47.

[3] Sweeney, *ibid*., 423-426.

[4] Ball & Kaywayla, *op. ci*t., 48.

[5] Hampton Sides, *Blood and Thunder*, 332.

[6] Opler, *An Apache Life-Way*, 457.

[7] Douglas C. McChristian, *Fort Bowie, Arizona: Combat Post of the Southwest, 1858-1894*, 48-63.

[8] John C. Cremony*, Life among Apaches*, 159-160.

[9] Comfort, *op. cit*., 272-274; Sweeny, *op. cit*., pp. 453-455; Paul I. Wellman, *Death in the Desert*, 86-89.

[10] Sweeny, *op. cit*., 460.

[11] S. M. Barrett, *Geronimo: His Own Story*, 118-123.

[12] Farish, *op. cit*., 152.

[13] Sides, *op. cit*., 363-369; Kit Carson, "The American Experience," portraying his conflicted involvement with the Navajo people.

[14] Peter Aleshire, *Reaping the Whirlwind*, 29; Sherry Robinson, *Apaches Voices*, 115-119.

[15] Sides, *op. cit*., 380-388.

## NINE
## COCHISE DOMINANT

*"Cochise, the boldest, most enterprising Apache... has been a terror in Southern Arizona...."*

-- Lieutenant General Thomas C. Devin --

The Cochise Mythos

For the next two years, 1863-65, Cochise avenged the death of Mangas Coloradas by bringing American incursions and settlements in Apacheria to a relative standstill. Although there were no major victories, his strategy of hit-and-run by small groups of warriors against ranchers, settlers, prospectors, travelers, and mail riders proved effective. Cochise raised the ante by fighting a crueler war in which indiscriminate torture became widespread as a response to Mangas Coloradas' desecration and to frighten away settlers. In the summer of 1863, First Lieutenant L.A. Bargie was found with his head cut off, his chest cut, and heart removed, which was probably the work of Victorio's Chihennes. After the death of Mangas Coloradas, Cochise and Victorio often pooled their resources.

In 1863, the French arrived in Mexico, and stayed until 1866. Their presence in Central Mexico shifted Mexican military resources away from the northeast provinces of Sonora and Chihuahua, providing Cochise with greater latitude for movement. Cochise's general strategy was to play one Mexican state off against the other while using the territories of Arizona and New Mexico as either safe havens or as supply sources for guns and ammunition. He also spent additional time with Juh's Nednhis in the vastness of the Sierra Madre Mountains.

It was at this time that the Cochise mythos unfolded. Stories about Cochise sightings, or claims he had been wounded or killed, spread like wildfire throughout the territory. He was here or there; he was everywhere. He had become an iconic leader, a

phantom, whose powerful medicine protected him from Bluecoats, Mexicans, and vigilantes. His name was on everyone's tongue as the most feared and hated Apache in the territory. At every table in Tucson's popular Shoo Fly or Palace restaurant, or in the Grand Palace saloon, his name was bantered about, synonymous with cruelty, treachery, fear, and terror. Many called him the Red Napoleon.

Dos Cabeza Camp, October,1863

Cochise often said to his lieutenants: "Everyone wants a piece of me. They sent Carleton to hunt me down. Now a new threat comes from Tucson with the creation of the Arizona Volunteers who seek to kill me for money and notoriety.

"I am surprised," he laughs, "at how little they offer." The warriors roar.

He continues. "Money coupled to fame, however, is a dangerous tiswin, it does funny things. It corrupts the best of men, enticing Americans, Mexicans and even Apaches to conspire against me, to organize scouting or hunting expeditions intended to capture or kill me as they did Mangas Coloradas."

He looks deeply into the eyes of his followers. Some become uncomfortable.

"With Francisco's death, the White Mountain and Pinal are sending out peace feelers, even willing to scout for the Americans, blaming us for all their difficulties believing that we, the Chiricahua Apaches, are reckless and are responsible for what is happening to them.

"They have given up the fight, and in the bargain lost their way. Hanging around whites corrupts them. They sell their land for next to nothing and become dependent on whiskey groveling like dogs for meat and flour. They are worse than vultures turning on us, their own people, and worse betraying themselves to Pindah lies.

"I know what I say is true having lost Merejildo to Bluecoats who now leads soldiers against us. I will not let this happen to us; my medicine is too strong to compromise."

Again, he looks close at each man. Some look away.

"There are many unfounded rumors of my death. Let us keep these rumors alive as it gives us an edge in the war.

"Being wanted, a savage, in our enemies' estimation, means we as Chokonen need to be extra cautious in approaching or dealing with whites and Mexicans. They are known for their treachery. Our Drawn Knives are better than their words.

"Remember there is nothing worse than a deceitful man, who says one thing, and acts differently."

Cochise indeed was blamed for all the atrocities that occurred from Tubac to Doubtful Canyon to Cookes' Range, even though many of these episodes involved other Apache bands. To the Pindah, Apache bands were never well distinguished, but all classified as wild animals. "You cannot make peace with bastards," was the prevailing mantra. Cochise was the worst and needed to be killed like Mangas Coloradas--his head removed and his eyes shot out. He and his kind were impeding the spread of civilization, thwarting the rise of Tucson as a prosperous commercial center, preventing mines and ranches from operating, and making it impossible for other communities to take root in Arizona. John Ross Browne expressed it thus in 1863 in his Adventures in the *Apache Country*:

"No white man's life was secure beyond (Tucson); and even there the few inhabitants lived in a state of terror. I saw on the road between San Xavier and Tubac, a distance of 40 miles, almost as many graves of the whites murdered by the Apaches within the past few years. Literally the roadside was marked by burial-places of these

unfortunate settlers. There is not now a single living soul to enliven the solitude. All is silent and death-like, yet strangely calm and beautiful in its desolation. Here were fields with torn-down fences, houses burned or racked to pieces by violence, their walls cast about in heaps and the once-pleasant homes everywhere grim and ghastly with association of sudden death."[1]

American Military Strategy

The American military response under General Carleton was one of intensifying its scorched earth and extermination strategy against the Apaches. Cochise's people were forced to disappear into remote areas of the Dragoons, Huachucas or Chiricahuas, or the Sierra Bonita Range dominated by the sacred Mt. Graham. Feeding and providing weapons for the Apache Bands was difficult because of constant military pressure and pursuit. Geronimo's Bedonkohes had almost ceased to exist as a band and had been either absorbed by Cochise's Chokonen, Victorio's Chihennes, or Juh's Nednhis.

During the winter of 1863-64, Apache survival became even more difficult when the historical enmity between Sonora and Chihuahua waned. They joined forces and launched a vicious combined bounty-hunting scalp campaign against the Apaches. Cochise, in retaliation, set a trap for Lieutenant Henry Stevens at Doubtful Canyon, only to have victory slip away because of a lack of repeating rifles and bullets. The technological gap between the two adversaries again was taking its toll on the Apache war effort. The Apaches were in constant need of weapons and bullets, and their dependence on outside sources made them vulnerable. This added to growing warrior losses, and the continuous pressure exercised by the Pindah military, was wearing down Apache resistance.[2]

By now, Victorio, Nana, Loco and Salvador, son of Mangas Coloradas—were putting out peace feelers but were unhappy with the Carleton solution, which called for

all Apaches to settle at the hated Bosque Redondo Reservation on the Pecos River in New Mexico. There they would be forced to live with incarcerated Mescaleros and Navajos, whom they disliked and put up with Comanche incursions. What Victorio and Nana wanted was to live out their remaining years at their beloved Ojo Caliente (Warm Springs) home. Cochise, ever distrustful of the Pindah, at first would have nothing to do with these peace talks. Although he realized he could not defeat the Americans, he still felt the Pindah could not defeat his Chokonen. But the fight was increasingly difficult and defensive.[3]

Cochise's Leadership Genius

At any one time, Cochise sustained as many as fourteen raiding parties across Apacheria, from the Catalina Mountains north of Tucson, to Cookes' Canyon in New Mexico and south to Tumacacori along the Santa Cruz River, spilling into Sonora and Chihuahua at the key towns of Fronteras and Janos. Each party was led by a seasoned warrior or a lieutenant he personally chose, who were adept in the Apache style of fighting wherein losses were minimized and resources maximized. These raiding parties struck against vulnerable Americans and Mexicans to acquire mules, sheep, horses, blankets, guns, ammunition, and gold, which could be used to purchase supplies.

Among Cochise's leading warriors were his brother-in-law Nahilzay, his brother Juan, his son Taza, the brothers Skinyea and Poinsenay, and non-Chokonen including the Chihennes Ponce, who married one of Cochise's daughters, as well as Victorio, Nana, Lozen, the Bedonkohes Geronimo, the Nednhis, and Juh. Other Chokonen were Cullah, Remigio, Julian, Jose Manda, Chackone, and El Cautivo (The Captive) who often translated for Cochise. Throughout this period, most Americans fixated on Cochise, ignoring the existence of different Chiricahua bands and their emerging leaders. This was

particularly true of Juh's Nednhis, who lived in the inaccessible fastness of the Sierra Madres in Mexico.[4]

According to Captain John Gregory Bourke, the biographer and aide to General George Crook:

What made the Apaches so formidable an enemy was that each individual Apache saw himself as a complete fighting unit who could travel a hundred miles, outlast an Apache pony, climb like a goat over the most treacherous terrain, require little water, and vanish into the desert as silently as a lizard. No Indian has more virtue, and none has been more truly ferocious when aroused.[5]

Cochise Examines Lieutenants

After each raid, Cochise queries his lieutenants intensely about how it went, using discussion to improve tactics and strategy. He meets them sitting on his favorite rock and asks a series of questions about the raid.

"What was the target and why? What was the plan? How was it executed? What was gained?"

Two points guide his questioning; minimizing losses and increasing resources.

Cochise is quick to anger if he feels his lieutenants are taking unnecessary risks or acting too impulsively. No one wants to be humiliated by a Cochise tongue-lashing or feel the back of his hand. Cochise is critical of Geronimo as being a loose cannon, whose hatred of Mexicans blinds him to the safety of his followers.

In these interactions Cochise emphasizes four points: the importance of surprise, creating the illusion of large numbers, the use of fear, and knowledge of the landscape.

At a deeper level Cochise sees warfare as central to sustaining Apache culture and its love of freedom.

He instructs, “We know the Pindah and Mexican are seeking to enslave the Apache, to destroy our spirit of independence by taking away our beliefs in Ussen and White Painted Lady. They do this by sending our People into mines or making them servants, or reducing them to Tame Apaches, who betray their independence for the handouts of reservation life. This is not the Apache Way. It is better to die than to be so humiliated.”

Trembling, he declares: “War is life. Despite the odds, you must remain loyal to the old ways by protecting the People, feeding the sick and aged, and always showing courage in the face of the enemy. Carry these beliefs in your heart, and success will be ours. Now go and share these thoughts with your warriors.”

Surprise was another favorite Apache maneuver. It came in the form of early morning raids against unsuspecting soldiers, miners, campaneros working their fields, or in ambushing unsuspecting teamsters and Cavalry at Apache Pass, Doubtful Canyon, or Cookes’ Canyon. Apaches used a variety of disguises, sometimes dressing as Mexicans on horseback or pretending to be in trouble as a ruse to disarm approaching Americans, then stealing weapons and livestock. Another favorite tactic was to change the appearance of the desert landscape by covering it with bear grass or moving rocks to hide the intent of an impending attack.

Geographic Advantage

Cochise, unlike the Navajos, Mescaleros, and Mangas Coloradas’ Chihennes, was more difficult to pursue because of the geographic setting of his lands in the southeastern comer of Arizona, bound by New Mexico in the east and the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua in the south. He knew these lands like the palm of his hand, every rock, watering hole, desert, mesa, canyon, and this knowledge held him in good stead against

his enemies. He was never caught off guard and always knew how to use the landscape to his advantage.

Within Arizona today, Cochise's territory embraced Tucson and Nogales on the west, Safford and Mt. Graham on the northeast, Bisbee, and Douglas on the south; and within that area by Fort Huachuca through the Dragoon Mountains to Sulphur Springs Valley, Wilcox, and Dos Cabezas to Apache Pass and the Chiricahua Mountains, Lordsburg, and Steins Peak.

Cochise's core territory encompassed more than seventy square miles. It was intersected by three fertile valleys: San Pedro in northwest. Sulphur Springs in the middle and San Simon in the northeast. It is land rich in natural resources: gold, silver, copper, turquoise, timber, water, and grazing land. Toward Tucson was the impressive Sonoran Desert with its mystical saguaros, which for the Tohono O'Odham tribe were magical, reflecting the inter-connectedness of the human condition.[6]

Home for the Chiricahua Apaches was the two mountain fortresses. Dragoon and Chiricahuas. The latter ascending ten thousand feet above sea level. The Chiricahua and Dragoon

Mountains were the meeting point of three extraordinary eco-systems: The Rocky Mountains to the north, the Sierra Madre Mountains extending from Mexico and the Sonoran Desert in the southwest. They were formidable places that rose mysteriously from the desert floor and appeared as islands in the sky. For the Apaches, wisdom sat in high places, it was to these mountains and their sacred areas that Cochise often turned for guidance.[7]

Cochise and his Chokonen Band considered these mountain ranges as sanctuaries for the big medicine of Lightning and Thunder that accompanied the monsoons from the Pacific. They swept across Cochise country during the months of July, August, and

September, turning dry beds into raging rivers and making it difficult to pursue Apaches. Lightning produced arrows and flints which were considered gifts from the Thunder People. The Chokonen gathered these gifts after intense storms.

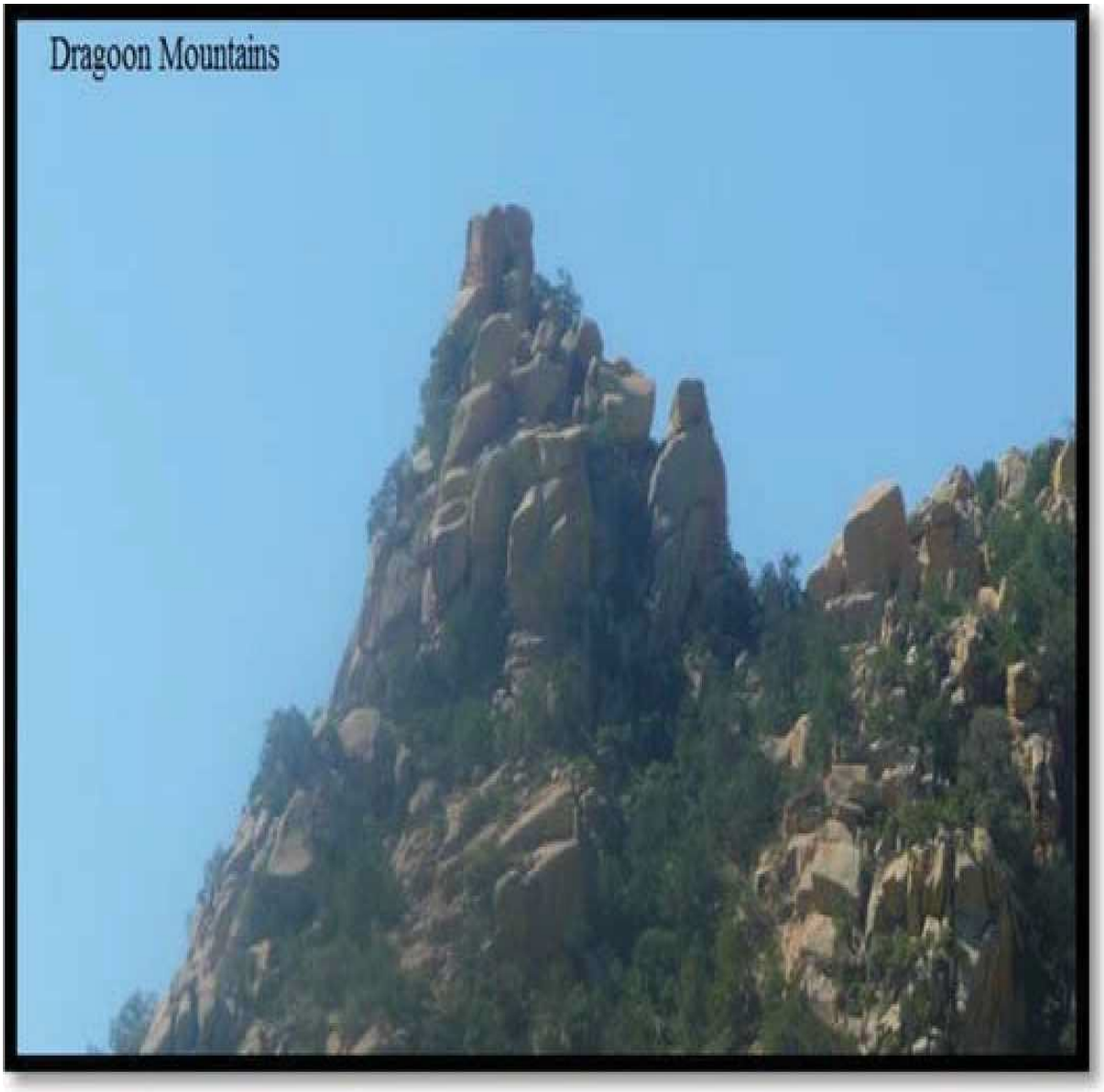


**Figure 10 The Dragoon Mountains by Arthur Scott**

Both the Chiricahua and the Dragoon Mountains with their incredible rock formations, narrow passages, boulders, and caves, were well-nigh impregnable fortresses and protected the Chokonen from their enemies, making them invincible. Despite the many attempts by either Mexicans or Americans to capture and destroy him, Cochise was never defeated because of the protection offered by the Rock People. They added to his

mythical status. He was a phantom rarely seen by his enemies in the southwest. The mountains made him elusive. Within the Echo Canyon loop in the Chiricahuas there is a rock formation described today as the Cochise Head, which best illustrate how he and the land were one.[8]

Cochise was aware of how the land protected him against his enemies, making him almost invincible. Captain Joseph Sladen commented on this in his peace journal. He pointed out just how treacherous yet impregnable were the Dragoon Mountains, and how Cochise orchestrated a nifty chess move to higher ground in the West Stronghold awaiting the return of General Howard regarding a cease-fire. The West Stronghold, although smaller than the East Stronghold, was impossible to attack as it was erected on a bluff overlooking the desert.[9]

The desert was also the Apache's friend, but frightened travelers. The desert, characterized by great variations of heat and cold, distances, and sudden dust storms or Red-Outs often created mirage impressions or illusions of water that could easily be manipulated by warriors to trick and deceive unwary travelers or soldiers.

Fear, too, was an integral part of the topographical mix engendered by the desert and compounded by frightful Apache war crimes. Torture of captives was used to break down resistance. Trapped travelers often heard the agonized screams of captives emanating from wagon wheels or trees. Others were enticed to fight by being mocked by their attackers by mooning them, or calling them cowards, or daring them to come out to fight like an Apache. All these psychological weapons had the culminating effect of frightening whites and allowing Cochise to stay the hand of American dominance. During his peak he was the most feared Indian in the Arizona Territory.

Fury of Cochise

Cochise remembers an incident in which he and five of his warriors riding back from Steins Peak were crossing Sulphur Spring when they see dust rising in the distance as a Pindah supply train of five teamster wagons carries cotton cloth, bales of wire, and ammunition on the Tucson Road.

Cochise motions to his warriors to fan out and prepare an ambush. Drawing upon the example of legendary Child-of-Water, the warriors bury themselves into the sand like gophers, invisible to oncoming teamsters. As the three wagons come across the hill, the phantom warriors emerge like ghosts from the landscape, striking mercilessly and quickly. It is over in five minutes. The warriors free the mules from the wagons, gather the guns and cotton cloth, and prepare to vanish into the Dragoons.

Before leaving the scene, Cochise orders his men to check their pockets for gold and money that could be traded in Sonora or Chihuahua for guns and ammunition.

One of the whites still alive, but gravely wounded, is found with an Apache scalp in his saddlebag.

Cochise winces upon seeing the scalp, probably a women or child and feels his rage exploding within, “Bring him to me Nahilzay and tie his arms.”

Cochise orders “Gag the screaming Pindah and place him in that deep hole there so only his neck and head remain visible.”

Cochise continues breathing heavily, has a leather cord, soaks it in water and places it around the captive’s head.

Cochise watches, visibly enjoying the torture, watching the facial contortions, for as the sun intensifies the cord contracts, the captive eyes cry for mercy before his brain oozes out.

"Apache justice is stern," Cochise says, "it is served by this form of death as it degrades the victim to wonder aimlessly in the spirit world. It is a fair punishment for the many wrongs done to us by those who picture us as animals."

"Let this be a warning," Cochise reiterates to his warriors, "to others, not to enter Apacheria."

Mounting his roan, Cochise motions Nahilzay to lead the raiding party back to the Western Stronghold, as his People would begin to worry about what was delaying them.

Cochise's Psychic Wounds

Over time, Cochise paid a terrible price for defending his people, suffering from what Apaches called the "Ghost Sickness" painful flashbacks of dark memories from which he was unable to escape regardless of how many sweats or healing ceremonies he might undertake. He often fell into dark moods, withdrawing from society; even tiswin could not assuage the pain. One of his worst memories was of the time he encountered a friendly Pindah, who he knew before the outbreak of hostilities riding a handsome horse outside of Tucson. They greeted one another tentatively, and then Cochise proceeded to kill him. He could not shake the nightmare of this incident. It haunted him.[10]

Stunned by the depth of his own anger, and the intense desire for revenge that engulfs him, triggered by the death of Coyuntura and many others. At times, his kill lust becomes insatiable leading to behaviors he knows were undermining his spirit body. Cochise understands in his heart that these outbursts can only be reined in by seeking higher qualities of wisdom, insight, and compassion. Unless he harnesses these dark spirits, they will ultimately destroy him, and more importantly, destroy his people.

Cochise's depression is fanned by the violent death of Mangas Coloradas, and by the growing awareness that he cannot reverse the tide of white settlement. The Apache culture is being engulfed by a great storm whose magnitude is destroying its people. This

weighs heavily on his heart. He sees warrior losses continue to mount among the Chokonen, and the number of widows and fatherless children rise.

Most frightening and perplexing are the Pindah beliefs in white superiority; beliefs connected to a white God who had punished his Son and is confined to a building, in contrast to the Apache view of Ussen, who is compassionate, present everywhere, and cannot be contained in a building.

Cochise knows that the Americans view the Apaches as animals, to be hunted down and shot like wolves.

He often reminds his warriors: “They want to cut off our hair, torture our spirit, cover our bodies, and make us like them, creatures of matter: gold, silver, and copper; confine us to a reservation. For us Apaches, such a life is a terrible destiny, working all the time, living on American handouts. I refuse to accept this fate.

“For centuries we thrived, resisting first the Spaniards with their horses, swords, and spears. Then the Mexicans came with their Presidios, Rancherias, and Churches. Now the treacherous Pindah with their property rights, fences, ownership, technology, and strange notion of time being outside place and tomorrow.”

Cochise likewise recognizes that the ability of his people to resist white incursion is being undermined by the ending of the American Civil War, which brings larger waves of settlers into Apacheria, and by the decision of their Pindah and Mexican adversaries to ignore the border and operate more collaboratively against the Apaches.

Military Pressure

In 1865, the District of Arizona was reorganized under the command of the Department of the Pacific, headquartered in San Francisco. It was led by Major General Irwin McDowell, who appointed General John Sanford Mason as head of military operations in Arizona against Cochise. Mason coordinated with Arizona’s first Governor,

John Noble Goodwin, in developing an overall strategy to deal with the Indian problem. It called for the creation of military reservations for peaceful Indians and search-and-seizure or counter-insurgency campaigns against hostiles. Cochise was the major target. In all, the government constructed fourteen military outposts manned by 2,300 troops to protect about 9000 whites- a ratio of one soldier to four civilians. Another force equally dangerous was the Arizona Volunteers under Captain Hiram Storrs Washburn, consisting primarily of Mexicans and American bounty hunters.

These pressures prompted Cochise for the first time since Bascom to test the waters of peace. He sent his wife, Dos-teh-seh, to Fort Bowie with a flag of peace to initiate peace discussions. These tentative efforts were quickly compromised by the military action of Major James Gorman and scout Merejildo Grijalva, who scoured the Chiricahuas looking for Cochise's Rancheria and had modest success, destroying a winter supply of food and killing several Apaches. Other military thrusts, too, were soon orchestrated into the Dragoons and Huachucas, leading Cochise to conclude that peace with the Americans was an illusion.[11]

The military task of defeating Cochise was not only made formidable by the desert, mesas, mountains, and the elusiveness of the enemy, but was complicated by the challenges of military coordination. To supply the troops involved great distances, from San Francisco to Yuma to Tucson, over an arduous and dangerous road that followed the defunct Butterfield Road. General William Tecumseh Sherman complained bitterly of the military cost in subduing the harsh terrain of Arizona, claiming that it was far out of proportion to its value as part of the public domain.

Complicating the war was that tactically, the Blue Coats fought in a classical European way that was no match for the swiftness of Apaches, who vanished like the wind. General McDowell understood that to defeat the enemy, his troops would have to

become Apache in their thought and movement. As he put it; “It is not so much a large body, but an active one that is wanted, one moving without army baggage, and led by active, zealous officers, who really wish to accomplish something, and who are able to endure fatigue, and willing to undergo personal privations.”[12]

The Apache Problem likewise put a terrible strain on relationships between the military and the citizens of Tucson. The Tucson press hammered away at the military for not doing its job of freeing the Territory of the Apache scourge. Racism dominated their thinking that the only good Indian is a dead Apache. Mines, ranches, and farms had been devastated by Apache atrocities, and the only business left was the war business. The economy of Tucson had morphed into a miniature military-industrial complex, leading General Ord in 1869 to say:

Almost the only paying business which inhabitants have in the Territory is supplying the troops, if the paymaster and quartermaster of the army were to stop payments in Arizona, a great majority of the white settlers would be compelled to quit it. Hostilities are therefore kept up with a view to protecting the inhabitants, most of whom are supported by the hostilities. The war was a cash cow for civilians, giving rise to the notorious Tucson Ring that milked the conflict for all it was worth.[13]

Making life more challenging for Cochise was that his White Mountain ally Francisco was killed, and relations between the Chokonen and White Mountain people became strained by the U.S. military decision to use Apaches to fight Apaches. The Western Apaches, White Mountain, Coyoteros and Pinal bands were enticed to scout against Cochise’s people in exchange for being able to stay in their White Mountain lands dominated by the military at Fort Apache.

Cochise’s attacks on the ranches in the Santa Cruz and Sonoita Valley led to the hiring of friendly Apaches in the Tubac area to track and attack the Chokonen. These

scouts found and surprised one of Cochise's Rancherias where they killed four Apaches. Cochise countered by striking against a military outpost north of the Huachucas where he made off with horses, cattle, and mules. In pursuit, Sergeant Henry I. Yohn had Cochise pointed out to him riding a magnificent black horse and yet uncannily avoiding bullets directed at him. Cochise considered the native trackers accompanying Sergeant Yohn as traitors.[14]

The Noose Tightens

As the military skirmishes intensified in Arizona, Cochise opted to spend more time in northern Chihuahua and to trade with Janos. But even Chihuahua was no longer safe. Following the collapse of French rule, Mexican authorities were prodded by Mexico City to cooperate on an inter-state basis against the Apaches. Cochise's game of playing one state or village off against another was vanishing. The Apache raiding economy had revolved around Janos, Chihuahua. Over the years, that town had become an emporium for stolen goods coming from America and Sonora, and the Comancheros. Sonora was an Apache stable revenue source in which Cochise traded stolen cattle, mules, and horses for guns and ammunition provided by Janos. This commerce allowed him to sustain the war.

As the animus between Sonora and Chihuahua ended, the sanctity of the U.S.-Mexico border changed. American and Mexican troops began to ignore the boundary in pursuit of hostiles. In 1867, Mexican authorities, with U.S. approval, implemented a policy of pursuing Apaches into Arizona and New Mexico. A Chihuahua force under Cayetano Ozeta surprised a Chokonen band in the Chiricahua Mountains, killing twelve Apaches and leading Cochise to retaliate in Sonora. Even Juh's stronghold in the formidable Sierra Madres came under attack.

Cochise was forced to leave Mexico and spend some time in the Peloncillo Mountains northeast of Fort Bowie. But even here, the Chihuahua force under Ozeta

launched a surprise attack that made life insecure and uncertain. In 1868, Governor Ignacio Pesquiera of Sonora launched a new campaign of Apache extermination led by General Garcia Morales. Mexican efforts were taking their toll, as Cochise lost two close allies in Aguirre and Elias in Janos, and later Jose Mangas, the brother of Mangas Coloradas.[15]

Cochise returned to Arizona exhausted and again put out American peace feelers. He realized by now the hopelessness of war but had few viable alternatives. His losses kept mounting and his Chokonen, perhaps now numbering barely five hundred strong, were succumbing to Pindah diseases of measles, mumps, and smallpox. He had done everything in his power to minimize band losses by establishing networks of sentries around the rancherias, providing numerous escape routes, always being ready or planning for unexpected eventualities, controlling his lieutenants' impulsiveness, using the terrain to advantage, and forging strong alliances whenever possible in the tradition of his father-in-law. But none of these measures were slowing down the American juggernaut.

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[1] John Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country*, 144-145.

[2] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise*, 361.

[3] Dan L. Thrapp, *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches*, 91-94.

[4] Sweeney, *op. cit*., 218-220.

[5] John Gregory Bourke, *An Apache Campaign in Sierra Madre*, 2.

[6] *Voices of a Desert* (Haunting video bring to life the saguaros and desert)

[7] *Chiricahuas: Mountain Islands in the Desert* (International wildlife film winner); Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in High Places, Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*, 121-129.

[8] *Arizona Highways*, 54. Apr. 2011.

[9] Captain Joseph Alton Sladen, *Making Peace with Cochise*, 84-85.

[10] Peter Aleshire, *Cochise*, 170.

[11] Edwin Sweeney, *Cochise: Firsthand Accounts of the Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 94-97.

[12] Terry Mort, *Wrath of Cochise*, 77; Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indians*, 168-176.

[13] Quoted in Utley, *ibid*., 173.

[14] Sweeney, *op. cit*., 283.

[15] *Ibid*., 257-258.

## TEN
## LOOKING FOR PEACE

*"Nobody wants peace more than I do."*

-- Cochise --

Apache Peace Feelers

By the end of the decade, Cochise recognized that time was running out, and that he needed to find a way to end the war or face the prospect of cultural despair and destruction. He had been thinking hard about what he wanted in exchange for peace and sent out feelers to get an indication of whether the Pindah were predisposed to cease hostilities. Returning to Arizona, Cochise inquired of the White Mountain people about their relations with the military at Fort Apache, where he sought to contact Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Casmir Devin. In his message, Cochise indicated to Devin that he wanted to remain in the Dragoons and Chiricahuas, and in exchange promised to protect the Tucson Road if this request was granted.[1]

Devin sent Captain Frank W. Perry with 62 soldiers from Fort Apache to meet with Cochise in the Dragoon Mountains. Perry was the first army officer to talk with Cochise since the Bascom Affair in 1861. Cochise, while indicating a desire for peace, was distrustful: "You mean to come here to kill me or any of my tribe; that is what all your visits mean to me. I tried the Americans once and they broke the treaty first-the officers I mean-this was at the Pass."

Cochise again expressed his desire to stay in his traditional homeland and revealed what drove him to seek peace: "I lost nearly one hundred of my people last year--principally from sickness. The Americans killed a good many. I have not one hundred Indians now. Americans are everywhere and we must live in bad places to shun them. I

can't give you any mescal, as there is another scout on the other side, and we can't make any fires to roast it."

Perry was impressed by Cochise's gravitas, describing him as about 50 years old and over 6 feet tall, with age just beginning to show. He questioned Cochise about rumors of his many wounds and Cochise replied, "I had a serious leg wound near Santa Cruz and neck wound in Sonora." Devin later regretted the missed opportunity of ending the conflict with the observation: He is undoubtedly the ablest Indian in Arizona and could be especially useful if it were found that he could be trusted.[2]

The unrelenting American war resumed when Devin ordered the seasoned campaigner Captain Reuben Bernard into the field with orders to kill or capture Cochise. Bernard's connection to Cochise started with the Bascom affair. He was considered one of the finest Apache fighters in the southwest. Bernard respected the fighting prowess of the Apaches and viewed Cochise as one of the most intelligent hostile Indians on the continent. Bernard's pursuit was ably assisted by Merejildo Grijalva, who knew every campsite.[3]

The year 1868-69 was especially bloody in southern Arizona. The ranches and settlements in Sonoita and Santa Cruz Valleys were hard hit by Apache raids, as were the mail riders between Tucson and Mesilla. In October, Cochise ambushed a stagecoach at Sulphur Springs, slaying a prominent Arizona businessman, John Finkle Stone, who owned the Apache Pass Mines. Stone's death infuriated Colonel Devin, who was Stone's close friend.

Subsequently, Cochise led an attack on a Texas cattle party accompanied by California migrants. This mobilized Lieutenant William Henry Winters and Merejildo Grijalva to pursue. They caught up with Cochise in the Chiricahuas, and as Winters' writes: "Many efforts were made to kill Cochise but without success.... Merejildo tried

several times but whenever he got a clear shot Cochise disappeared by hanging on the horse's neck." Winters, however, in his report indicated the death of perhaps twelve Apaches and the recovery of cattle, representing a serious loss for Cochise if true. There was a general tendency for Americans and Mexicans to exaggerate their own prowess by inflating Apache deaths.[4]

Fort Apache, August,1870

In August, Cochise reappeared in White Mountain country and sent his wife Dos-teh-seh to talk peace with Major John Green at Fort Apache. She was received warmly by the Nantan and returned to her husband urging him to meet with Green.

Cochise asks, "How did it go?"

Dos-teh-seh takes a deep breath, grasping Cochise's hand and replies "Enju" (good)

"The Nantan was courteous, treated me well, and listened. I indicated that you wanted to talk about another way, and he welcomes the opportunity."

Cochise pauses to pet his dog and reminisces inwardly about the old days and his friend Francisco, who like Mangas Coloradas, after surrendering, was arrested, and killed.

Turning to Dos-teh-seh, he asks, "Can Green be trusted? So many times, we have been tricked by a white flag of peace."

She nods yes, and Cochise continues. "There is always risk. I will meet with the Nantan, but in a place secure and protected by the presence of my warriors."

Dos-teh-seh then shares her talks with White Mountain People, old friends of the Chokonen, who have given up war with the soldiers for food and security, even agreeing to be military scouts against Cochise.

Dos-teh-seh looks with great affection on her war-weary husband and knows deep in her heart that the conflict is tearing at Cochise.

She says to herself. “He is plagued by Ghost Sickness, tosses and turns at night, cannot sleep, and drinks only to escape. Even though he is still handsome, grey streaks are appearing, tension lines appear on his face, and he complains of persistent stomach pain. Wounds take much longer to heal. The leg wound in Sonora has crippled him for some time. If, I only could take some of the burden.”

Cochise met Green in the Season of Large Fruit, indicating a desire for peace and reiterated the reasons for the war and his expectations: the betrayal at Apache Pass, his desire for peace, his hope that he could live out his days in his own land, and his willingness to protect the road from Camp Bowie to the San Pedro.

Returning to camp, he gathered his leaders to discuss what had transpired. Many were aware that he sought an accommodation and was shifting away from conflict to peace. His meeting with Green was a test to determine American willingness. Cochise realized that much had to be worked out, not only where and when to meet, but first securing consensus from his lieutenants about a peace initiative. Apaches took great pride in their freedom compelling even the great Cochise to consult his followers.

Cochise Explores Peace

They gather on a protective hillside, sit down in a circle, and pray. The medicine man sprinkles them with pollen. They light cigarettes and wait for their leader to begin laying out a radical new direction.

Cochise begins by looking at each of his followers.

“You know that the Apaches were here for a long time. We became people of the mountains, and from our mountain strongholds were able to defeat the Spanish and were more than a match for the Mexicans. Then, when I was a youth the Pindah arrived, driven by gold which they cannot even eat.”

The listeners laugh at Cochise’s mockery. Cochise elaborates:

“These whites, however, were not satisfied with gold, but soon they sought even our land. At first, we greeted them as friends but found them treacherous. As you know, I lost my brother, two nephews and my father-in-law to their treachery. Over the years, we have waged a brutal war against them taking ten for every Apache killed.”

The leaders listen and are drawn to the deep resonance of his voice: it is strong, persuasive, and insightful, reflecting his leadership and power. Cochise stands over most, with a hawk-like presence, his words measured. Everyone remains still never daring to interrupt or to question.

His emphasis on truthfulness, known by all, makes his words forceful, and accounts for the reverence displayed by his warriors when he speaks. He hates liars, considering their deceits a violation of the Apache way, falsehood cannot be tolerated.

Cochise pauses, stands up, pointing to the men in the circle:

“Every time we meet in battle, we are less. The Pindah cannot defeat us, but we cannot defeat them. Their numbers grow stronger and ours less. We are confronted by a great wind and if we do not adapt to it, we will be uprooted just as the giant oak is uprooted by a terrible storm. We must explore the possibility of coming to terms with the Pindah and do it while we are still strong and can bargain. Time is running against us.”

This shift in response to the Pindah comes not from cowardice as Cochise’s courage is legendary--always first in battle, saving many and bearing many scars, but because of the knowledge that comes from a deep inner guidance from Ussen.

Dos-teh-seh reminds him of the deep respect the Chokonen have for him. “You are the heart of our People, they follow you as day follows night, often whispering their concern about who can ever fill your moccasins.”

Looking again at his men, he concludes, “I need your support in this matter.” Cochise looks around and is satisfied that his words have found their mark.

Most get up and nod their approval; a few are undecided, including Geronimo and Juh avoiding Cochise's gaze.

"I will go ahead then and test the Pindah's willingness for peace. In the meantime, we will continue the war to keep the pressure on, reminding them that we are still a strong and formidable people, committed to preserving our way. Return to your groups and remain quiet about our discussion here."

Cochise turns and leaves as his warriors ponder in their hearts if peace could indeed occur and what it would mean given the horror stories circulating about the reservation policy of the Pindah.

Elusiveness of Peace

As Cochise suspected, nothing serious came from the peace initiative with Green. He then turned eastward to his Chihennes allies, Victorio and Loco, who were at that time discussing peace terms at Canada Alamosa, near their sacred springs at Ojo Caliente. In New Mexico, William Clinton, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, decided to appoint First Lieutenant Charles Edward Drew as Apache Indian agent. Drew was honest and had gained the respect of Victorio and Loco, who still argued for a reservation at Ojo Caliente. Loco intimated to Drew that Cochise, too, was looking for a way to end the war. Drew conveyed this to Clinton by writing ... "he would come in and join him (Loco) as soon as a treaty was made, but he wished to be satisfied that there is no treachery about it, and that if he comes, he will not be betrayed and killed as his people have been in the past."

Unfortunately for Drew, he received support from neither Santa Fe nor Washington and was confronted by powerful forces, American and Mexican, who wanted the war to continue. They were driven by the profits made in contraband guns and whiskey, supplying the forts with beef, horses and hay, and gold derived from the

lucrative Mexican scalping trade. Complicating the matter for Drew was the viable Mexican settlement at Canada Alamosa, which for years operated as a trading emporium for Victorio's Chihennes. Drew's decision to shut down this commerce angered Victorio, as it made it difficult for starving Apaches to barter.[5]

Peace Talks at Canada Alamosa

Cochise watches these political undercurrents at Canada Alamosa with misgivings and decides to bide his time for peace. He understands that the Apaches were in limbo as there is no consistent policy or any apparent hurry to end the conflict. He senses that driving this war of attrition are dark, powerful commercial and racist forces. Cochise often murmurs to his wife and Juan about being alone and having little control over the flow of events.

Cochise points out, "We have no friends. The so-called reservation policy is a joke. Look at what happened to the Mescalero and Navajos at Bosque Redondo. They were stripped of their dignity. It is like living with a coyote. They starve us with what the white man calls food: flour, salt, sugar, and bacon."

Cochise chuckles inwardly, continuing: "The message of Christianity is very bitter, as it strips the Apache of their identity. Children are forced to cut their hair, give up their high-top moccasins for heavy shoes and take Pindah names.

"Who can I trust? Is there any Pindah, who has ever kept his word?"

Cochise turns as Nahilzay enters the circle of conversation and continues with rising frustration: "Our experience with whites is that no one can make a final decision. The military needs to check with civilians, and civilians with the military, and all decisions need the approval of a remote white Father in Washington, whoever that is.

"Apaches make decisions together, everyone is involved, and the quality of speaking from the heart prevails in weighing the impact of decisions on the welfare of

future generations. If I ever find a Pindah with heart, who speaks truthfully, peace may be possible."

By now Cochise's energy had shifted from that of warrior leader to that of an emerging statesman with nuanced diplomatic talents, who was attempting to save his people from the nightmare of cultural annihilation symbolized by the American war of attrition and the hated reservation system. Being a statesman was foreign and challenging to a trained warrior. First, he had to win the people over to the idea of laying down their weapons, and then he had to find a trustworthy Pindah who could open the door to peace without betraying himself or his people. The hesh-kes (Wild-Ones) followers of Juh and Geronimo would be difficult to convince just as it would be difficult to find or even build a bridge into the white community.

Jeffords

At this crucial juncture, it was as though Ussen heard Cochise's cry for help. The mysterious Tom Jeffords emerged as a central player in the unfolding peace story between Cochise and the United States. There are many unknowns surrounding Jeffords and his relationship with Cochise. Unfortunately, Jeffords left no diary, memoir, or letters. He did share parts of his story verbally with others including John D. Rockefeller, who built the first residence in the stronghold, and Alice Rollins Crane, whom Jeffords escorted through the stronghold. She took pictures of where key negotiations took place with Howard, including Cochise's wickiup and the Peace Rock on which the treaty was signed.[6]

We do know that Jeffords was born in 1832 in New York, and died at Owls Head near Tucson, in 1914. He did some sailing on the Great Lakes, where he acquired the title of Captain. Jeffords drifted west, arriving in Denver in the 1850s, and practiced law for a time. He got bitten by gold fever and moved to Taos where he panned for it and silver.

During the Civil War, he served on Carleton's California Volunteers and was perhaps present at the Battle of Apache Pass.

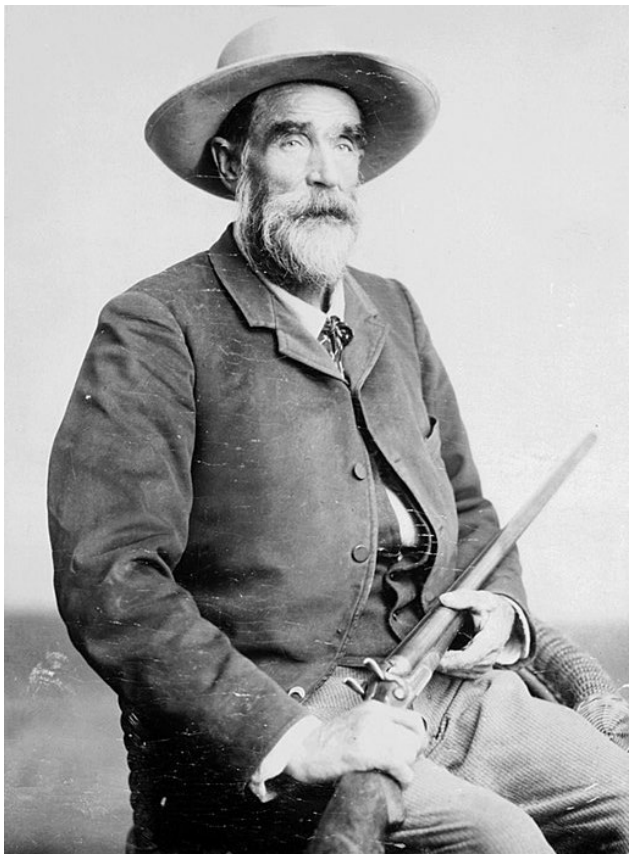

**Figure 11 Thomas Jeffords**

Jeffords was quite tall, well over six feet, lean and wiry. He even stood taller than Cochise who took to calling Jeffords, Tall One. Unlike most Pindah, he had a different take on the Apaches. Perhaps it was his law training that led Jeffords to believe there were two sides to every story, or that the Apache side had been short-changed in the hysteria prevailing in Tucson after the Bascom fiasco.[7]

Like Cochise, Jeffords was a loner: reflective, introspective, and contemplative. Jeffords loved the southwest: its deserts, mesas, and mountains, the smell of pine, and the beauty of the night sky with its magnificent canopy of stars. It was a beguiling landscape that seemingly had no beginning or end. It was majestic, big, scary, remote, still, and in some strange way healing, beckoning, and beautiful.

There are several versions of how Jeffords met Cochise. One version has it that at the time of their meeting Cochise was already struggling with the question of how to end the war. He was looking for a Pindah who could open the door to meaningful peace negotiations. Jeffords emerged as that person: Chickasaw, or friend, in Apache. As their relationship deepened, they psychologically merged, indeed becoming metaphorically Blood Brothers. So strong was the bond they forged that neither could lightly refuse the request of the other. Cochise's band dubbed Jeffords, Taglito or Red Beard. Daklugie expressed it best: "No greater praise could be given Jeffords than to say that he won the friendship of Cochise."

Another story has it that Jeffords was managing the mail from Santa Fe to Tucson in 1867 and was exasperated by the loss of fourteen mail riders to Cochise. He decided to be bold; namely, to go directly to Cochise and ask him to spare the lives of the mail riders, who were delivering letters that had no significant military implications in the war against Cochise.

Jeffords had already learned a little Apache as a licensed Indian trader and took off alone for the Dragoon Mountains searching for Cochise. He was betting on two things he had learned about Cochise: his admiration for courage, and love of honesty. Jeffords had been warned that Cochise was beyond the ordinary, that he could read into a man's heart, and truthfulness was his religion. His description of the meeting with Cochise comes down through different oral tradition or stories Jeffords shared with others.[8]

Meeting with Cochise

Traveling deeper into Apache country, Jeffords moved slowly and always kept his hands visible. On the fourth day, he approached the rancheria and saw smoke from the wickiup. A crowd of Apache men, women, and children slowly moved toward him. He

rode calmly into the encampment, reined in his horse, and announced, “I am here to see the great leader, Cochise.”

As he dismounted, he turned over his gun and holster to an elder and said, “Hold these until I leave. I have heard that Cochise values courage and honesty above all, and I have come to speak to him about an important matter involving my mail carriers.”

There was a deep silence, and then emerging from the circle of Indians surrounding him, came a tall, distinguished Apache, who radiated a powerful gravitas, declaring: “How do you know you will leave here alive?”

Cochise paused and then gestured Jeffords to follow him to his wickiup. As they entered, he invited Jeffords to sit down. Cochise looked at Jeffords, taking full measure of a Pindah, who had dared to come into the Rancheria alone. He was struck by the depth of Jeffords’ blue eyes, his red sandy beard, and his lanky body and height. Cochise began by asking him again,

“What brings you to me?

Jeffords replied, “I come to ask you to allow my mail riders to live. They do you no harm. They carry only white paper with words that sends messages between families and business.”

“How do I know that these signals will not be used against the Apaches?”

Jeffords replied, “This is done by special military couriers, either soldiers or civilian.”

“How do you know this?”

“Because I have been one of these couriers.”

“You have fought against us?”

“Yes, at Apache Pass.’

“Listen, Pindah, you ask a lot. Why should I do this?”

Jeffords responded. “It might send a signal that Apache and Pindah could live in peace. It might raise doubts about the war.”

Cochise chuckled. “So, you want me to be better than whites by granting this request. Let me think about these things. Stay for a few days so that we can talk more. I will give you my answer when you leave. You have nothing to fear while here. You are under my protection. So, rest and I will have Dos-teh-seh, my wife, bring you drink and food. Later, I will send for you to discuss the mail riders and the future.”

Leaving, Cochise wondered, could this Pindah with the Red Beard be the bridge that he had been praying to Ussen to bring? “Maybe,” he murmured.

Over the next few days Jeffords’ appreciation and respect for Cochise and his people’s culture became more nuanced. Cochise that evening invited Jeffords to eat with him. They had elk meat with Apache beer. Jeffords lights up a cheroot after eating, and listens to Cochise’s story about the Snake and the Eagle as a metaphor for the clash between white and red.

“In our belief, the snake is bad medicine, unclean along with fish, prairie dog and turkey. Never to be eaten. The snake belongs to the lower self, dominated by fear and corruption.”

Cochise illustrates by telling a story: “Snake tried to convince the Eagle it could no longer provide for itself. Instead, it must rely on the Snake to take care of its basic needs. The Snake represents the Pindah and what they are threatening to do to the Apache: take away our dignity and self-esteem by putting us on reservations and making us dependent on handouts. This undermines our spirit, pulls us down, and makes us weak.

“Listen, Tall One, this is not the Apache way. Our way consists of freedom and self-reliance. For me to choose dependence is death to the Apache spirit. I refuse to grovel for food. It would be a terrible betrayal of my people. There must be a better path.”

Cochise pauses, “Come, let us walk. I want to show you something.”

They walk over a narrow path covered with pink stones and wild grasses. They climb to the face of a canyon, and about two-thirds up, they come to an incredible rock formation with pictures consisting of geometric markings, including triangles, stars, crescents, circles, animals, and birds. Time has washed away the rainbow effect of the painted symbols. They both stop and breathe in the sacred energy of the spot.

Cochise breaks the silence, and says, “In our tradition, only the rocks are eternal.”

He continues: “We live in the shadow world represented by these rock paintings. People come and go. The People who painted these rocks were called the Ancient Ones. Legend says they had great power, creating great Pueblos and Kivas, but they lost their way and were swallowed up by the earth.”

“That is what I fear now for my People. Time has turned against us with the arrival of the Pindah. Once we were a mighty People, but over the last fifty years, our strength has dwindled while your strength grows no matter what we do. My dilemma is to find another way besides war to salvage as much of the old ways as possible. I fear we have entered the late fall of our existence, and if we do not act soon, we will vanish like the Ancient Ones into the Ghost Face of winter.”

“Of course, I will do whatever I can, Jeffords responds, “but understand that the journey to peace will be fraught with obstacles and deceptions.”

“Come, let’s return to camp.”

The next day Cochise invited Jeffords to sweat with him. Since the death of Coyuntura, Cochise has longed for another confidant. The sweat purification ceremony is prepared by Skinyea, the medicine man. Sage is placed in their hair, they are provided scratching sticks for their backs, and their bodies are rubbed with a combination of mesquite beans and pinon. In all, they spend two hours in total darkness, listening to the

drumming and singing, hypnotized by the fire flickering from the Stone People as their magical healing is released by the sprinkling of water and herbs.

In this altered state, Jeffords and Cochise feel their tensions melt as they reconnect with Earth Woman and recognize that the life of the Spirit is simple, while man makes it complex.

Cochise explains "That the sweat lodge ritual reenacts the birthing process. Leaving it, one is spiritually and psychologically transformed."

After the sweat, they drink deeply of the sweet spring water and then proceed to bathe, wrapping themselves in blankets after soaking with yucca cream. Jeffords is not a religious person but is struck by the deep spirituality of the Apache.

Cochise explains their belief that life is a revolving wheel with an outer and inner dimension. The inner dimension represents the Creator, and the outer represents the material wheel, the little world, a world of illusion that has no permanence. The journey of life consists of discovering the Spirit Body and not getting caught in material entanglements."

Jeffords notes the lack of material possessions and respect for Nature that is characteristic of the Apache Rancheria and is not shared by his countrymen.

According to Cochise, "The Apache lifestyle is basic, unlike Pindah culture which measures itself by ownership of things and property. Our clothes consist of cotton shirts, breech cloth, thigh-high moccasins and a head band. Men and women wear their hair long, with few decorative items. Women take pride in dressing modestly with long deerskin skirts and shirts."

Jeffords notices that even Cochise, who is fastidious in his appearance and dress, has few possessions. His wickiup, by western standards is primitive: saddles, bags,

spears, bows, knives, and a pallet for sleeping. Apache simplicity enables them to leave and recreate their rancherias easily, making them formidable.

"From infancy, we are made aware of just how fragile nature is, and to sustain life Apaches must live in harmony and be respectful of Earth Woman, an attitude I feel the Pindah do not share. They choke on gold and silver, which is sacred to Ussen and not to be disturbed."

The next night the Chiricahuas assemble in a circle and Jeffords sits to Cochise's right. Jeffords notices a group of dancers with large crowns on their heads approaching the circle.

Cochise explains. "They are representations of the Mountain Spirits called Gaan, who were here to protect the people from illness and enemies, going way back in time to the tale of White Painted Lady and her two sons Child-of Water and Killer-of-Enemies succeeded in destroying the monsters and freed the Apaches from the dark side. The dance is a re-enactment of this tale."

Jeffords soon becomes hypnotized by the dancers with their kilts, wooden crowns with eagle feathers, and lightning signs etched on their bodies. Their appearance is accompanied by drums and the sharp sound of the bullroarer, or sounding stick, whirled by the Clown, and by the lyrics of this song:

At a place called Home in the Turning Rock,

the Mountain Spirits, truly holy.

Rejoice over me to the four directions and make sounds over me.

He observes that the Clown is a central part of the dance. His contrary role is to make the People aware of how fragile and fleeting life is, and to open them to healing. Clown medicine comes from the Thunder-Being and the Clown s erratic behavior in

poking fun at existing customs is done to reinforce the intrinsic importance of those customs to tribal order and harmony.

Cochise elaborates, “The custom of avoidance, in which the son-in-law can never have direct contact with his wife’s mother, is mocked by the Clown, but it carries a deeper message in which modesty and civility are crucial to band stability. Comedy and laughter have their own healing power.”

And, like the Apaches, Jeffords laughs at the crazy antics of the Clown. Slowly, the dancers leave the scene, and the ceremony ends.[9]

Cochise nods and Jeffords follows him to his wickiup, he embraces Jeffords and says: “I leave tomorrow for Mexico. I have reflected on your request, have talked to my warriors and together we have agreed to give safe passage to the mail riders. I doubt if anything will come of it. I do it for you as a sign of my friendship. You are always welcome at my camp, Taglito.

“Adios. May we live to see each other again.”

Jeffords is struck by his experiences at the Apache camp. He has been told that the Apaches were savages, animals that need to be hunted down and killed. He has not witnessed that at all: in fact, the exact opposite. He is struck by their modesty, sense of community, respect for nature, and consideration for children and the elderly.

But above all, Jeffords is impacted by Cochise—his depth of understanding of this moment in time, his sensitivity, wisdom, and desire to find an honorable way to end the conflict.

The next morning, Jeffords is awakened by Dos-teh-seh. “Here, Cochise sends this turquoise bracelet as a sign of his friendship. Wear it in good health. He has unburdened his heart to you. Respect him by coming again, be a good friend and listener. Now go in peace.”

Canada Alamosa

As time passed, Cochise's relationship with Jeffords strengthened. Negotiations at Canada Alamosa became an important part of their friendship, as well as a learning curve for Cochise about the complexities of peace, opening the way for his treaty with General Howard.

Lieutenant Argalus Garey Hennisee, who had served as agent to the Mescaleros, was sent to Canada Alamosa to gain the confidence of Loco and Victorio after the sudden death of Indian Agent Drew. For Cochise, Canada Alamosa provided a breather from being attacked in Arizona by Mexicans or American troops under Captain Reuben Bernard. It was a source of safety and food, helping the Chokonen to heal, as well as providing an opportunity to test the waters of peace.

Jeffords, by this time, had abandoned the mail in favor of prospecting for gold, and when this petered out, he became a licensed trader to the Chihennes Apaches at Canada Alamosa. His knowledge of Apache culture, his ability to speak the language, and his relationship with Cochise made this transition easy. Unfortunately, Jeffords and Indian Agent Drew got into an altercation over a drunken episode involving Loco and the supplying of whiskey and guns to the Apaches. Jeffords lost his license to sell. Several contemporaries, including Major William Redwood Price and Colonel John Irvin Gregg, disliked Jeffords and claimed he was a gun runner, selling illegally to Apaches. Others described Jeffords as an Apache Lover.[10]

Lieutenant Hennisee had recommended that the government increase its allotment of supplies to the Apaches and assist their cultural transformation from economic raiders to farmers by providing the necessary agricultural implements. Though Hennisse's advice was ignored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a new player came on the scene: William F. M. Arny, a religious reformer, who believed that by treating Indigenous peoples

humanely, the war could end. In 1869, Arny was appointed Special Agent of Indian Affairs. He sought to stabilize relations with Utes, Navajos, Hopis, and Pueblos.

He insisted on meeting with the Apache leaders at Canada Alamosa in October 1870. Victorio, Loco, Cochise and Tom Jeffords were in attendance. Cochise was suspicious about the practical questions of where the reservation would be located, and the level of Apache input in that decision. More important was the degree of acculturation that would accompany reservation life and its impact on Apache identity. Cochise's fears were not allayed by Arny's statement "that He (Great Father) wants them to eat and dress like a white man, have plenty of everything and be contented, wants to know where they want to receive their rations...."

Cochise indicated that he was testing the grounds of peace: "I have come to hear you talk. If the government talks straight, I want a good peace. My people hide in the mountains and arroyos and keep out of the way. I want the truth told. A man has only one mouth, and if he will not tell the truth, he is put out of the way."

The matter of peace with the Pindah was big medicine, and Cochise stalled by insisting that he needed to consult with his lieutenants. Although Arny recommended providing food and clothes for the Apaches, he still expressed a deep prejudice by describing them, "as the most vicious, barbarous and uncivilized Indians, in America." Arny's insistence that the Apaches be located at Fort Tularosa annoyed Cochise, as did the requirement that they come in first before a treaty could be signed or otherwise "the Great Father... will send soldiers after them and continue to do so until they are willing to make peace." These comments were hardly reassuring to the wary Cochise. Arny's words of peace were simply nothing more than a veiled threat requiring unconditional surrender.[11]

Cochise Skepticism

Following the meeting with Arny and Hennisee, Cochise rides with Jeffords, Victorio, Nana and Lozen to Ojo Caliente to discuss what had transpired with the Americans. The warm waters of Ojo Caliente are good medicine helping Cochise, and the others to clear their heads and make sense of the mixed messages that they heard. Cochise wants Jeffords there to help them to decipher the message.

Cochise begins by airing his suspicion "that talking to whites is like talking to Coyote. You never get a straight answer. From Bascom on, one Pindah deceit follows another, making me wonder if we can ever trust the Pindah."

Cochise goes on, his voice rising in emotion: "They always talk about the Great Father in Washington as if he were Creator, some powerful Gaan, who has extraordinary medicine to dictate terms, and ironically create reservations for us from our own lands pretending that it is gift. What an insult. If it were not for Taglito, I would despair of finding an answer."

Victorio nods in agreement, recounting his long discussions with whites about being granted the sacred land of Ojo Caliente as a permanent site for his Warm Springs Band.

"No one, Victorio 's voice trembles with frustration, can ever decide why there is always a problem with locating at Ojo Caliente. We do not want to go to Tularosa." Nana and Lozen nodded in approval. Cochise turns to Jeffords asking, "What's your sense?"

Jeffords listens to all sides, pauses, chews on the tip of his cigar, then looks at Cochise and Victorio, and says, "Be cautious like the fox, give it more time to unfold. Cochise has become a bargaining chip that may get you Ojo Caliente when the Americans believe persuading him to come in will end the war."

Shrugging his shoulders, Cochise interrupts. “I still would like to work something out regarding my homeland.”

Silence prevails as each warrior absorbs the natural beauty of the springs, the cottonwood trees, the rustling of leaves as they fall gently on the grass, and the chirping of the blue jays as they meander from tree to tree.

“We better return,” Victorio remarks, although worried about Cochise’s comment knowing that a Chiricahua reservation in Arizona jeopardizes his own dream about Ojo Caliente.

They gather their ponies and ride off, each doubtful of the Americans’ ability to deliver on their promise and concerned about their own peace requirements.

In December, Cochise slipped back into Arizona and his beloved Chiricahuas. He then reappeared in Canada Alamosa to discover that negotiations were still elusive. Hennisee had been replaced by a new Indian Agent, Orlando Piper, who was well-intentioned but unskilled in dealing with Apaches. The situation deteriorated further when the U.S. government decided to move the proposed reservation from Tularosa to Mescalero in southeastern New Mexico, even though Cochise had indicated that it was a bad place for Apaches, full of owls, and too cold for his Chokonen. Piper too, like Hennisee before him, had difficulty in providing adequate food and clothes for the Apaches, raising serious doubts in Cochise’s mind about Pindah sincerity.

By 1871, negotiations over a permanent reservation at Canada Alamosa were collapsing and Cochise again felt peace slipping away. His people were on the brink of starvation, constantly pursued, and taking serious losses. Even rancherias deep in the Chiricahuas were no longer safe from military attack. A Chokonen or Nednhis encampment, perhaps involving Geronimo’s band, was attacked by a military strike force

from Fort Bowie, killing fourteen, and destroying their winter supplies. Another encounter saw the death of Salvador, Mangas Coloradas' son.

Cochise remained hidden, dividing his time between the Sonora and Dragoon Mountains, and did succeed in inflicting a defeat on his old nemesis Merejildo. In March, Indian Agent Piper sent runners to Cochise, urging him to return to Canada Alamosa, promising rations, and a better site for a reservation. Piper wanted to send Jeffords, but he was unavailable because of a fee dispute over past services. In April, Piper sent Jose Maria Trujillo, a Mexican trader, from Canada Alamosa to contact Cochise about returning. Despite the entreaties, Cochise remained cautious and unavailable.

Throughout the spring, Cochise's band was hard pressed by American and Mexican patrols. Captain Alexander Moore of Fort Lowell proclaimed that Cochise's days were numbered, as did Governor Pesquiera of Sonora. Moore dispatched Lieutenant Howard Bass Cushing, a noted Indian fighter, to deliver the coup de grace against Cochise. Cushing had promised to track Cochise down and bring him dead or alive. But Cushing, the hunter, soon became the hunted. Unknown to him, he was being pursued by Juh who sought revenge against Cushing for the loss of his relatives. Cushing, thinking he was tracking Cochise, was baited into a trap planned by Juh in the Mustang Mountains northeast of the Huachucas, and was killed in May 1871. At that time, Cochise was hiding and healing.[12]

Nathaniel Pope again prevailed on Jeffords to go to Cochise and urge him to return to Canada Alamosa with the proposition that he goes to Washington to meet the Great White Father. Though Cochise was tempted, his suspicions were heightened by the massacre of 150 Aravaipa Apaches at Camp Grant on April 30, 1871. He and Jeffords argued over the importance of returning to Canada Alamosa.

Cochise displayed his usual suspicion of what he called talking papers or words used by whites in negotiations. “It’s nothing more than witchcraft. Writing for them is like playing cards with thieves. Besides, the Pindah have never honored anything they wrote down or scud. Yet you, my brother, tell me to trust them?

“Talking to whites is like talking to the wind. Now they want me to visit the Great White Father and suffer the same fate as Mangas? They must be loco en cabeza. No, you go back and tell them I will stay in my beloved stronghold waiting for the Great White Father to come here.”

Cochise snickers and even Jeffords must laugh at the thought of the President coming to Arizona.

“Besides, I am hurting from my recent wound, have terrible stomach cramps, and the ghost sickness has returned making it difficult for me to sleep.”

Cochise then heard the mystical sound of the flute wafting from the camp, its waves relaxing him, putting him into a deep reverie. Many Apaches connected the flute with love magic.

Turning to Taglito he embraced him fondly and said, “Go in peace. Let us wait and see what Pope does now.”

Ugashe, (Be Gone).

To minimize the risk of military attack and to keep peace viable, Cochise banned all raids against Pindah in southeastern Arizona and continued to be hidden in the vastness of the Dragoons and Chiricahuas.

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[1] Edwin R. Sweeney*, Cochise: Firsthand Accounts*, 123-124.

[2] *Ibid*., 124-126.

[3] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise*, 225.

[4] *Ibid*., 270-275.

[5] Dan. L. Thrapp, *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches*, 95-128; Peter Aleshire, *Cochise*, 221-222.

[6] *The Land of Cochise* http://www.landofcochise.com/campsite10.html

[7] Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, Vol.II, 227; C. L. Sonnichsen, *"Who was Tom Jeffords? Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 23, (winter, 1982), 381- 401; Doug Hocking, *Tom Jeffords*. pp. 93-99.

[8] This account was referenced by Jeffords, written about by Elliot Arnold in *Blood Brother*, and popularized by the film "Broken Arrow," based upon the Arnold story, 277-282. Farish, op. cit., Vol. II, 228-29.

[9] Morris Opler, *An Apache Life-Way*, 108.

[10] Harry G. Cramer III, "Tom Jeffords, Indian Agent," *Journal of Arizona History* 17 (Aut. 1976) 265-300; Oliver Otis Howard, *My Life & Experiences*, 187.

[11] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise: Firsthand Accounts of the Chiricahua Apache*, 137-159.

[12] Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria*, Chap VI; John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 29-33.

## ELEVEN
## TORTUOUS PEACE PATH

*"How strange it is that such a man (Cochise) can be a robber and murderer...."*

-- General Oliver Otis Howard --

Camp Grant Massacre

The 1871-72 peace initiative was the result of events beyond Cochise's control. The most significant of these was the Camp Grant Massacre, and the impact it had on the national conscience. It was a watershed event that turned public opinion in the east against the policy of Native ethnic cleansing. Humanitarian concerns about the plight of Native Americans had gone political, leading to the establishment of a Board of Indian Commissioners dominated by Quakers to bring about peace in the West. Their Christian goal was to save the Indians by placing them on reservations and through the educational programs of various denominations to make the Indian culturally white.[1]

On April 30, 1871, the Camp Grant Massacre killed more than 140 Aravaipa Apaches, all women, and children. What triggered the slaughter was that their leader Eskiminzin sought to stay in his beloved Aravaipa Canyon, thirty miles north of Tucson, under the protection of Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman. Fearing for their safety, Whitman attempted to persuade Eskiminzin to head north to the Fort Apache Reservation, but his people were reluctant to do so, wishing to stay in their homeland. As their numbers swelled, Whitman sought instructions from his superior, General George Stoneman, who was stationed in California because of his dislike of Arizona. Distance and bureaucratic incompetence meant that Whitman's request never reached Stoneman.[2]

In the meantime, the citizens of Tucson, angry over continued Apache depredations, organized a vigilante team whose 148 members consisted of six whites, 48 Mexicans and 94 Tohono O'odham, and Papago Indians. The ringleaders, William

Saunders Oury, Sidney R. Delong, and a Mexican by the name of Jesus Maria Elias, all hated Apaches. Oury was a prominent Tucsonan, who had fought in the Mexican American War. Delong was a major supplier for the military, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and rancher Elias was a tracker who had lost two brothers to the Apaches when their hacienda was attacked.[3]

Apaches, mostly women and children, were butchered savagely in the massacre. The weapons of choice were clubs to kill quietly and swiftly without alerting the military. The leader Eskiminzin was so scarred by the event that he later killed one of his closest white friends as a reminder to Apaches that they could never trust whites. Twenty-nine Apache children were captured in the attack and sold into slavery in Mexico, with most never recovered. Eskiminzin intimated to Whitman:

> I no longer want to live. But I will live to show these people, who have done this, that they have done all they can do but they shall not make me break faith with you so long as you stand by us and defend us.... The people of Tucson must be crazy. They act as though they had neither heads nor hearts. They must have a thirst for blood. These Tucson people write for the papers and tell their own story. The Apaches have no one to tell their story.[4]

The culprits were brought to trial only because of the national outrage in the eastern press. They were found innocent in nineteen minutes by a Tucson jury. Oury became a local celebrity and was later elected sheriff and member of the County Board of Supervisors. President Grant described Camp Grant to a West Point correspondent as "murder, purely."

Tragically, Whitman, who had done so much to protect Eskiminzin's People, was pilloried by the press as being an` Indian Lover `and was even abandoned by Crook. His

commanding officer took the side of Oury and the other ringleaders. Whiteman, scapegoated, was forced to retire under a cloud of suspicion from the military because he knew the true story. The Tucson ringleaders were determined to get him out of Arizona and succeeded in silencing and compromising him over his alleged drinking and cavorting.

The Camp Grant Massacre, an act of ethnic cleansing, became a metaphor for the intense hatred of Apaches by whites, Mexicans, and Papago. It reflected the deep national sense of racial superiority flowing from 'American Exceptionalism and intolerance for difference. Any single indigenous obstacle to empire-building, industrialization and commercialization of land had to be crushed. First, militarily, and then economically by marginalizing, and starving the Indians by forcing them to live on squalid reservations. This Anglo-European pattern of dominance soon went viral in Imperialism, and would be played out in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

The coup de grace of cultural destruction came with Indian children being sent to eastern Christian boarding schools where they had to adopt white names and cut their hair in the American style. Indians in these schools were forbidden to speak their languages and practice their spiritual ceremonies and were often physically and sexually abused.

The scar of reservations and boarding schools, a historical trauma, still haunts today's native communities, three to four generations after the fact. The Camp Grant site remains unmarked by the state of Arizona, even though it is close to the Aravaipa campus of Central Arizona Community College. Such silence represents a deep betrayal of justice and is indicative of how Apache history has been lost, stolen, or distorted.

Cochise's Response

When Cochise hears the news about the massacre, he is not surprised. He simply grasps his hands, shakes his head in bitterness, and recounts in his mind that the history of relations with Pindah and Mexicans has been full of treachery and deceit.

He gathers his lieutenants to share what has happened and gives instructions that Chokonen are to raid selectively to reduce attention to their presence.

Cochise warns his warriors: "Be silent as the wolf, time is against us and our choices are fleeing."

Cochise knows as he looks at them that everyone expects him to find a way.

He cries inwardly to Creator, "I need a miracle to salvage what is left of the people."

The sacrifices his people have made weigh heavily on him. He feels the cramp in his stomach tightening as he reflects on what has happened since the ten-year war began.

He leaves the gathering and goes to his favorite stand of trees to pray to Ussen for guidance.

Cochise laments to Nahilzay how this war of attrition is undermining his ability to continue to fight. "We grow smaller, they bigger, and more ruthless, burning our wickiups, destroying our food supplies, and buried caches of rifles and ammunition. Our children and women go hungry. They are always on alert, sleep little, hang by their nails. Making things worse, even other Apaches turn on us."

Nahilzay watches as his brother-in-law grapples with the issue of how to keep the people safe and free without destroying them. He knows, like few others, the heavy burden that Cochise carries deep within to find an answer. To be a warrior is one thing, but to be a peace advocate is quite another. One never wants to negotiate out of desperation. Perhaps, he thinks, red beard Jeffords can help?

Cochise turns to Nahilzay and states, “I no longer feel free in my homeland, hut trapped like a cougar in our mountains. We cannot even camp where we want. I worry about the future of the People. We have fought long and valiantly but are losing. Let me go and sit with the Rock People to seek guidance about a new path.”

Nahilzay rises, looks at Cochise reverentially, and leaves.

Arrival of Crook

Making the situation more dangerous for Cochise was that in the season of Many Leaves (May), a new Nantan by the name of Lieutenant Colonel George Crook was appointed to head the troops in Arizona. Nicknamed Gray Fox,’ by his Indian counterparts, he always wore a canvas hunting coat. Crook replaced Stoneman, following the Camp Grant massacre. Unlike Stoneman, Crook was a hands-on commander known for being fair but firm with the Indians. To end the war, Crook made two strategic changes. First was the introduction of mules, which had greater stamina than horses and could travel in any weather or terrain, making rancherias vulnerable even during harsh season of Ghost Face. He always rode a mule called Apache. Second, he made the decision to use Apache against Apache by hiring Apache scouts first from the White Mountain Band and later even Chiricahuas.

Crook was able to gain White Mountain support by promising them better reservation terms and status as scouts. He operated from the theory that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. Many of the bands, even Chiricahua, disliked one another and Crook played on these traditional enmities. This divide-and-conquer strategy would have devastating consequences upon hostile bands hard pressed by Apache scouts, especially the Chiricahuas. The new American mantra of counterinsurgency was only Apaches could capture Apaches.

Crook with his new strategy easily defeated the Tonto and Yavapai Apache Bands in the Prescott and White Mountain area. He settled these bands near Camp Verde, where they adapted quickly, learning the skills of agriculture planting, and cutting hay. Soon White settlers eyed the fertile Verde Valley and pressured the government to move the natives in the dead of winter to the hated, malaria-infested San Carlos, described even by the military as, Hell's Forty Acres. Greed and racism once again reasserted themselves.

Cochise recognized immediately the serious implications of Crook's strategy for his people's freedom. Merejildo, raised in the Apache ways, had been Cochise's most dangerous threat, and he knew that Crook saw the Chokonen as the worst offenders to peace in the southwest and had said, "... it is against Cochise's band that I propose concentrating all my energies for the present."

In June 1871, Crook was on the verge of launching his campaign against Cochise when a directive from the War Department appeared, suspending military operations in favor of a new peace initiative ordered by President Ulysses Grant. Calling for an end to the Apache Wars, Grant sent the Secretary of the Indian Commission, Vincent Colyer, a Quaker, to the southwest to implement the President's peace policy with the Apaches.

Colyer Mission

In the East, a belief was growing that Indian affairs should be placed in the hands of humanitarian Christians rather than the military, and corrupt political appointees who milked the Indian problem for their own economic gain. As Grant expressed it: "If you make Quakers out of Indians, it will take the fight out of them. Let us have peace." As a matter of course, Colyer was excoriated by the Arizona Press as being a do-gooder and a red-handed assassin. John Marion of the Arizona Miner was particularly vitriolic: "We ought, in justice to our murdered dead, to dump the old devil into the shaft of some mine, and pile rocks upon it until he is dead. A rascal, who comes here to thwart the efforts of

military and citizens to conquer a peace from our savage foe, deserves to be stoned to death like the treacherous, black-hearted dog that he is...."[5]

Colyer was equally critical of his western detractors for their acrimony and Apache intolerance. Despite political opposition, Colyer established an Apache reservation system for most tribes that offered some protection and stability, although often not on the land the Apache bands had hoped for. Too often, the different bands did not get along well. Cochise's band, the Chokonen, were quite close to the Chihennes through inter-marriage, but even so, many of his lieutenants still did not wish to leave their homeland for Canada Alamosa because of family and clan feuds.

More dangerous to Apache cultural identity, however, was the educational policy advocated by Richard Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian School. His strategy consisted of "killing the Indian so that the man could survive" by stripping away their culture. Cochise had no contact with Colyer at this time; he did, however, agree after some hesitation to return to Canada Alamosa and talk again with agent Orlando Piper about the possibility of settling there. Jeffords acted as intermediary. According to Piper, Cochise and his band came in on September 28 and camped on the Cuchillo Negro or Black Mountain area.

"He (Colyer)) says that he (Cochise) wants peace and that his people are nearly killed off. I have had several talks with him and gave him and his party presents and double rations. He expressed himself well pleased with the reception given to him and was satisfied that I was acting in good faith. I feel satisfied that he is anxious for peace."

Simultaneous with Cochise's return, he was blamed for an attack by Juh's Nednhis near Apache Pass. Colyer, who had returned to Washington, was skeptical about Cochise's whereabouts at the time of the Juh attack and sought confirmation from Piper, who ascertained that Cochise had never left the reservation. To determine Cochise's

whereabouts, Las Cruces Borderer sent reporters to interview Cochise, with Piper present. Cochise was portrayed "as tall and fiercely formed man...little indication of age; his hair is intensely black, his face smooth, slightly painted with yellow ochre. His mouth is splendidly formed and flexible.... His countenance is pleasant; a sense of melancholy and thoughtfulness is clearly discernible."

In the interview, Cochise blamed the war on the Americans, but insisted he came to Canada Alamosa seeking a good peace, "as Arizona had turned on him, everything there pinched him." He pointed out that he was no longer the indisputable leader of the Chiricahuas. Neither Juh nor Geronimo would surrender. Finally, he emphasized that Colyer's suggestion to move the Apache to the reservation at Tularosa was a mistake. It was cold and swampy, the water was rancid, and the Apaches had never been close to the Navajos. More important, trade with the Mexican village at Alamosa was critical to Apache survival.[6]

Unfortunately, Washington, D.C. never listened to either Cochise or Victorio's cries to stay at Canada Alamosa and their sacred Ojo Caliente. In August 1871, despite Apache protest, Vincent Colyer called for their removal to Tularosa. The Chihennes under Victorio, Loco, Nana and Lozen disregarded the order.

Cochise Inner Struggle, Canada Alamosa

Throughout his stay at Canada Alamosa, Cochise experiences a sharp pain growing in the pit of his stomach---the result of his struggle to save his people's way of life.

The war has taken its toll on Cochise through a combination of fear, hate, stress, frustration, and terrible losses. He realizes that the Chiricahuas were engaged in a winless conflict and hope in war was slipping away as his people were hounded across the southwest by Americans, Mexicans, bounty hunters and citizen vigilante groups.

"In the old days," Dos-teh-seh declares to her inner circle, "he drank for fun; now he drinks to assuage his pain," both physical and psychological. He is sobered by the weight of leadership, aware that death surrounds him, and is frustrated by the immediate challenge of saving his people from extermination.

One conclusion Cochise insists upon is that he must keep his people in their traditional Chiricahua/Dragoon homeland, these lands are magical, nourishing, and have sustained the Chokonen for hundreds of years, providing them with their Coyote Tales, Child-of-Water myths, rituals, music, dances, and Sunrise ceremonies. "Our entire history and culture are wrapped or etched into every contour of this landscape."

As Cochise tries to explain to Jeffords, "The land is everything; to live anywhere else is to die. Every pass, canyon, tree, creek, mesa, holds a story or event which gave to the Apache meaning and definition. To tear us from our land is to destroy our identity and memory.''

Going on, Cochise observes, "Whites see the land as a thing, a product to be bought and sold, to be fenced in. We experience it as embodying our very spirit, as a sacred gift from Ussen, as a bloodline linking us, indeed all generations, to the great mystery. That is why I refer to you and me in terms of the Dos Cabezas Mountains, the Two Heads, who though separated physically have become one in Spirit."[7]

Jeffords, at these moments, when Cochise unloads on him feels overwhelmed. By now he affectionately calls Cochise the Old Man in deference not only to his age but to his life knowledge, and chortles inwardly at the negative adjectives used by the press to characterize Cochise.

Taza Emerges

In the spring of 1872, Cochise quietly left Canada Alamosa for his beloved stronghold never again to return to New Mexico. He held on to a dim expectation that the

Spirit World would somehow guide him to save his people from extinction. One positive was the rise to maturity of his oldest son, Taza, who physically looked like his grandfather, Mangas Coloradas, although lacking his height. Taza had grown into a capable leader, taking the lead in raiding, and gaining the respect of the band. This took pressure off Cochise, who spent more time in the strongholds as a chess master, marshaling defensive maneuvers and survival techniques. Cochise spent time with Taza, mentoring him for tribal succession by sharing knowledge of the land and providing deeper meanings into Coyote Stories as mirrors into the Apache spirit.[8]

As Cochise gazes into Taza's eyes, he thinks of Mangas Coloradas and the many hours they had spent around the fireplace, pondering a better future for the Apache. He misses those times of drinking tiswin or grey water, the arguing and laughter, and the deep friendship that had evolved over the years.

He tells Taza, "Your Grandfather (Mangas) would be shocked by the Apache situation today: no place to hide, empty bellies, continuously hunted, and the future dim."

Cochise shivers, flicks his hand to scatter these fears, and turns smiling to Taza, explaining that the Giants depicted in Creation Tale were really projections of Apache thought.

"My son, Giants often come in the form of fear which paralyzes action or in over-confidence which can be very dangerous for an Apache, as it was for Narbona and me at Fronteras, where it nearly cost me my life."

Cochise, too, reflects on the terrible setback at Apache Pass when the Pindah surprised him with howitzers and seriously wounded Mangas as he pursued troops out of the Pass. Cochise learned an important lesson at Apache Pass: when confronted by an unknown, it is much better to retreat and fight another day than allow recklessness to take over.

Cochise pauses and reflects on Juh and Geronimo taking too many needless risks and endangering the lives of too many warriors. “Oh,” he cries, “if I could only bring those lost warriors back again.”

Making peace, he realizes, is even more serpentine than making war. So much depends on events, public opinion, mood, personalities, timing, and Cochise realizes most of these are beyond his control.

Turning to his sister, he avers, “How easy it was to start the war, but how difficult it is to stop it with little resources and a people exhausted by being forced to run for their lives like the wind from one mountain retreat to another. Enough, it must end. But to bring the Americans to the peace table is the challenge. To do it, we must continue to strike out against the enemy with multiple bee stings, showing that our military prowess is still formidable.”

During the summer of 1872, raiding parties led by Taza and others attacked ranches in the Santa Cruz and the Sonoita Valley. This led many Pindah like General Crook to be skeptical about Cochise’s desire for peace, not realizing that his strategy was one of carrot and stick. The situation became so desperate that many whites, including Thomas Gardener, contemplated leaving the Sonoita Valley forever because of Apache depredations. As Gardener put it, “he would give Cochise one quarter of all he raised ... for peace.”

Despite the war, Jeffords and Cochise became closer. Some even say Blood Brothers. Both recognized that at some point in time they might kill one another, but they would not spit on each other. As Cochise like to express: “Anybody can kill an enemy, but it takes a brave man to kill a friend.”

Cochise's Spirituality

Jeffords was always struck by the depth of Cochise's spirituality. As they ride in silence toward the Chiricahuas, along the rolling landscape of Apache Pass Road, they decide to stop and rest their horses. They tether their mounts by a shady stand of sycamores, and gaze at the towering Chiricahuas engulfed in the lightning of thunder clouds. Cochise points to a Golden Eagle as it dances across the sky.

"For us, he states, "animals are sacred, part of the spiritual web to which we all are connected. They act as teachers and guides about the world, and the complexity of good and bad. This explains why we love the Coyote Stories, as they magnify both the light and dark within the Apache. Each tale conveys a lesson, a moral or instruction.

"The Eagle is seen as a messenger between the spirit and the physical world. It carries sacred instructions from Ussen appearing in dreams, or after a long fast, or a sweat. As a novice, I had a dream that the spirit world had ordained the Eagle to be my guide and that I was to invoke its Wisdom whenever I had a major decision to make."

"Do Pindah, Tall One, believe in the spiritual dimension of the animal world?" Cochise asks.

Jeffords, surprised by the question, answers,

"Hardly. No, Americans look down upon animals as slaves to our material needs, beasts of burden, soulless, a much lower form of being than humans."

Cochise internalizes what Jeffords says and replies, "For Apaches animals are purer than men because they came into existence prior to the creation of the two-legged."

After a pause, Cochise continues. "In our tradition animals and men were at one time interchangeable, Brothers. Ignorance and fear touched us and the land. Animals then began to pull away from the two-legged, finding them no longer trustworthy."

"Even friendly animals learned to keep their distance, and in cases such as the Mountain Lion and the Wolf, contact was limited. They are still central to our Creation Myth. Lizard and Gopher are the guides that provide Child-of-Water with knowledge to slay the Giant Buffalo and Antelope so that the People can live.

"We show our reverence before a hunt by asking the antelope or deer its permission before killing it, and then kneel over it in thanks for its great sacrifice so the People can survive. This ensures that the animals will return, and we will not starve. Too bad the Pindah don't respect animals like Apaches."

Jeffords gets up to stretch, thinking of the wanton slaughter of buffalo that was taking place in the southern plains to destroy the independence of the Comanches and Kiowa's and to take away their land. Cochise would be shocked by its magnitude and the disrespect it shows for nature even among tribes that were traditional enemies of the Apache.

Mounting his horse, Jeffords leaves thinking, "Whites dare call the Apaches savages?"

Howard

Amidst all this turbulence, General Otis Howard appeared and the history of the southwest was transformed. At the end of his life, Cochise indicated to Levi Edwin Dudley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Department of New Mexico, that he regarded General Howard as the personification of truth and fair dealings and admired his courage for visiting him when to do so may have cost his life.[9]

Howard was born in Maine in 1830, graduated from West Point and fought in the Civil War. He was seriously injured at the Battle of Fair Oaks losing his right arm. Deeply religious, Howard became known as the Christian General. Following the war, because of his humanitarian impulse, he was appointed head of the Freedman's Bureau,

the agency responsible for providing medical and welfare services for freed slaves in the South.

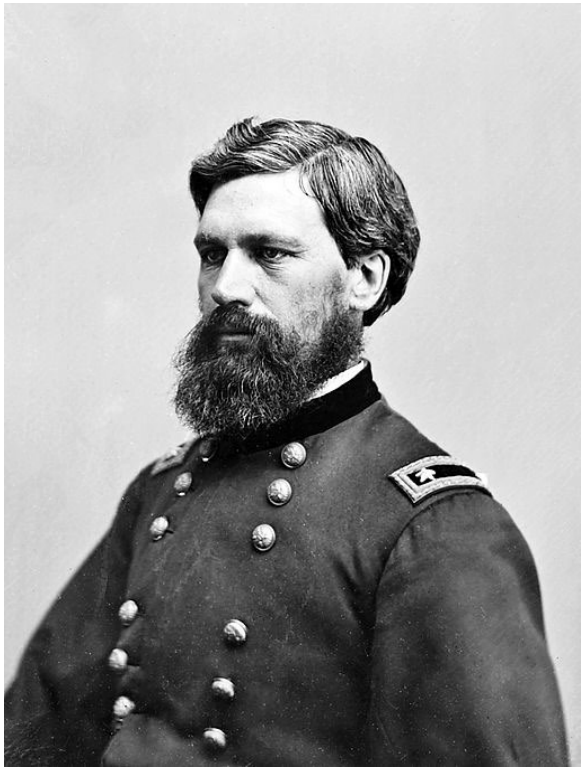

**Figure 12 General Otis Howard**

In 1872, as relations with the Apaches deteriorated, Secretary of the Interior, Charles Delano, turned to Howard as the one man whose integrity could perhaps bring peace to the southwest. Howard was given unlimited power to negotiate with the Apaches, particularly Cochise. He was ably assisted by Lieutenant Joseph Alton Sladen. Both Howard and Sladen kept accounts of their experiences with Cochise. Howard's appear in his autobiography, *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known*, and Sladen in his journal.[10]

Crook, however, was unhappy with Howard's sudden intervention, as he was itching to launch a strike against Cochise and considered Washington's peace effort the wrong strategy. Howard arrived at Fort Apache in August and asked Crook to work with him in finding Cochise. The General dragged his feet. Howard learned about Jeffords and

his unusual relationship with Cochise and decided to contact him. He traveled to New Mexico at first to resolve the concerns of the Chihennes leadership under Victorio, Loco, and Nana about being forced to leave Canada Alamosa for the hated Tularosa.

Howard and Jeffords

In September, Howard arrived in Tularosa, where he encountered Jeffords, who was serving as a military scout and was negotiating for a trading post. Howard approached Jeffords about taking him to Cochise. Jeffords hesitated, as he did not want to be manipulated or used by Americans in baiting Cochise to surrender under a false pretext of peace.

Jeffords decided to test Howard's sincerity with the comment, General Howard, "Cochise won't come. The man who wants to talk to Cochise must go where he is."

Jeffords was shocked when Howard, without hesitation, agreed to do so.

Still not convinced, Jeffords threw another deal-breaker at Howard by insisting that they must make the arduous trip alone, without any troops. Howard again surprised Jeffords by agreeing.

To strengthen his negotiations with Jeffords, Howard decided to scrap the Tularosa Reservation in favor of Canada Alamosa and appointed Jeffords as Indian agent. The proposed Canada Alamosa reservation would run east to the Rio Grande, north to the San Mateo Mountains, including Canada de Alamo springs, south to the Mimbres Mountains and west to Fort Cummings.

Upon confirming Canada Alamosa, Howard turned his attention to Cochise. Jeffords and Howard realized that they would need Apaches as guides. By offering fine horses, they enlisted the help of Chie, son of Coyuntura and Cochise's nephew, as well as Ponce, a Chihennes leader, who was married to Chie's sister. On their way to Cochise country, General Howard displayed his mettle by forcing the townspeople of Silver City,

and later a group of belligerent miners to back off when they threatened the lives of the Apache guides. Howard's courage made a deep impression on Chie and Ponce.[11]

Peace Negotiations

By October, Howard and Jeffords arrived at the stronghold where they waited impatiently for Cochise to appear. Ponce announced, He is coming, as Cochise dismounted, he greeted Jeffords warmly.

Jeffords turned to Howard and said, "General, this is the man, this is he."

Howard extended his hand, which was grasped by Cochise, who greeted Howard with "Buenos Dias.'

Sladen was favorably impressed and described Cochise "as a ... remarkably fine-looking man, full six feet tall, as straight as an arrow and well-proportioned, the typical Indian face, rather long, high cheek bones, clear keen eyes, and a Roman nose. His cheeks were slightly painted with vermilion. Yellow silk handkerchief bound his hair, which was straight and black, with just a touch of silver."[12]

Cochise was accompanied by his brother Juan, sister, youngest son Naiche, and his wife Dos-teh-seh. They gathered in a circle to talk, and Cochise and his sister questioned Chie and Ponce about Howard's character.

Cochise then turned to Howard and asked him, "What brings you to our lands?" Howard answered, "President Grant had sent him to bring peace to the southwest."

Cochise responded: "Nobody wants peace more than I do. I have done no mischief since I came from Canada Alamosa. But I am poor, my horses are poor, and I have but few. I might have gotten more by raiding on the Tucson Road, but I did not do it."

Howard then discussed the proposed Canada Alamosa Reservation, to which Cochise countered, "Give me Apache Pass for my people and I will protect the road to Tucson. I will see that the Indians do no harm."

Howard then returned to the topic of Canada Alamosa but was prevented from pursuing it when Cochise asked, “How long will you stay? My people are scattered. Many of my Captains are away. I must consult with them. They must know. It will take some time to find them and get them here. Will you wait until they come, and have a talk with them?”

Howard agreed to wait to meet with the other leaders.

“It may take ten or twelve days to find them. My people must separate into small bands and live a long way apart because the soldiers are hunting us all the time and food is scarce. I want the soldiers to stop their operations so that my people can come here.”

Cochise, concerned that an inadvertent military encounter might jeopardize the peace, insisted that Howard, given his rank and Presidential Commission, needed to go to Fort Bowie himself, calling for the cessation of all military patrols in Cochise country. Sladen was to remain in Cochise’s camp, guaranteeing Howard’s return.

Teasingly, Cochise remarked: “Our young women will look after the young captain.”

During this time, Cochise’s youngest son Naiche became quite fond of the American officer, keeping him company and teaching him Apache words. Taza, Cochise’s older son and heir, was away in Mexico on a raiding party and would miss the peace talks among the Apache leaders.[13]

Cochise was aware of how fragile peace negotiations could be either through a mistake from his own people, or by American ignorance, or both. On September 30, 1872, Sgt. George Stewart, leading a relief column, was ambushed by Apaches even though he was warned by rancher Thomas Gardener to take another route. When Cochise heard of the attack in the Sonoita Valley, he was outraged and literally knocked the warrior, who brought him this disquieting information, to the ground. He feared that the

attack would doom the peace talks. Knocking down the messenger incident was indicative of Cochise's great hold over his people. Even in anger, Cochise was held in the highest respect.

He immediately broke camp for higher ground to protect his band. Sladen wrote how treacherous the climb was as the party scaled the Dragoon heights to an impregnable spot. From here, Cochise's sentries could see troop movement as far away as Fort Bowie, Apache Pass, Dos

Cabezas in the east, and the Whetstone Mountains, San Pedro River, and even Tucson in the west.

After instructing Crook and other field commanders "that Indians ... may not be fired upon when doing no mischief," General Howard returned to the Western Stronghold on October 10 with supplies of corn, flour, sugar, coffee, and cloth. Peace was descending over Apacheria.

Howard, Jeffords, and Cochise still argued over where the Chiricahua reservation was to be. Howard favored Ojo Caliente, and Cochise the Dragoon and Chiricahua Mountains. Howard finally acquiesced, making it easier for Cochise to persuade his lieutenants to walk in peace.

Managing the new Chiricahua Reservation was a serious consideration. Cochise insisted on Jeffords as agent. He was reluctant to take on the responsibility but succumbed to the combined pressure of Cochise and Howard. Jeffords required several concessions that were atypical. There were to be no troops on the reservation, no roll call, no record kept of who got what, and no confiscation of Apache weapons.

Cochise soon met with the Chokonen leaders to discuss the prospect of peace. They were a tough, battle-scarred group, cunning and skeptical of whites. They had fought a no-holds- barred war over the last twelve years. Everyone had suffered

personally, seeing family members killed, maimed, and scalped. The Apache Council was comprised of Nahilzay, Cochise's war leader; Juan, his brother, Poinsenay, and his brother medicine man Skinyea, El Cautivo, the Mexican Captive, who acted as translator, and younger warriors, Chato and Chihuahua. Nine others identified by Edwin Sweeney were Cullah, Remigio, Julian, Penon, Nazee, Nasakee, Tygee, Jose Manda and Chacone. Many raised the matter of the trustworthiness of Americans, but Cochise at last carried the day among those present.

Cochise brought word to Howard and Jeffords "henceforth that the white man and the Indian are to drink of the same water, eat of the same bread, and be at peace."[14]

Reservation Lands

At this spot, the reservation boundaries were agreed upon by Cochise and Howard. Beginning at Dragoon Springs, near Dragoon Pass, and running thence northeasterly, touching the north base of the Chiricahua Mountains to a point on the summit of the Peloncillo Mountains or Stein's Peak range, then southeasterly along said range through Stein's peak to the New Mexico boundary, thence due south to Mexican boundary, thence westerly along said boundary fifty-five miles; thence northerly following substantially the western base of the Dragoon Mountains to the place of the beginning. The reservation was huge, covering 70 square miles.[15]

To formalize the treaty, Cochise asked General Howard to assemble the troops from Fort Bowie at Dragoon Springs. On October 11, both sides arrived in full regalia, pledging peace, with all the Apaches carrying white flags. While at the council. Captain Joseph Theodore Haskell had this to say about Cochise:

> The reports that we have had of Cochise have always given us to understand that he is old, used up, crippled from wounds and exposure, and of no account whatever as a leader or a chief. How mistaken we were.

> We met Cochise and thirteen of his captains, and Cochise is different from the others of his tribe, as far as we saw, as black is from white. When standing straight he is said to be exactly six feet tall. I took a good look at him and made up my mind that he was only five feet ten inches. He is powerful, exceedingly well built, bright, intelligent countenance, and as fine an Indian as I ever laid my eyes on.... He was clean from head to foot. I looked at his scalp, his hair, face (painted fresh), neck, body, arms, legs, and he was clean. Most of the others were so filthy that you could scrape enough dirt off them to start a potato patch.[16]

Howard recalled at the end of the ceremony, "(Cochise) looked at me a moment kindly, and then he stepped forward and pressed me in his arms and said 'good-bye.'

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[1] Jean Edward Smith, Grant. Excellent account of Grant peace policy. See, 516-541.

[2] Sherry Robinson ed., *Apache Voices*, 65-98.

[3] Larry McMurtry, *What a Slaughter*, 119-127; Elliot Arnold, *The Camp Grant Massacre, Part Two*, 23-64.

[4] Peter Aleshire, *Reaping the Whirlwind*, 34-35.

[5] Frank C. Lockwood, *The Apache Indians*, 185.

[6] Charles Coleman, *Cochise Interview, Las Cruces Borderer,* November 1, 1871.

[7] Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in High Places*, 34.

[8] Morris Opler, An Apache Life-Way, 431-441; film *Taza, Son of Cochise*, although not accurate does provide insight into Apache culture and customs.

[9] Levi E. Dudley, "Cochise, the Apache Chief and Peace," *The Friend*, August 7, 1891.

[10] General Oliver Otis Howard, *My Life and Experience, Famous Indian Chiefs I have Known; Captain Alton Sladen, Making Peace with Cochise; Hocking, Jeffords*, pp. 98-101.

[11] Howard, *My Life*, Chap. 12 & Famous Chiefs, Chp. 7.

[12] Sladen, *op. cit*., 64.

[13] Howard, *op. cit*., Chap. XIII.

[14] Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief*, 361-366.

[15] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws & Treaties*, Wash. D.C., Gov't Printing Office, 1903, I: 802-803.

[16] Sladen, *op. cit*. 161.

## TWELVE
## DEATH OF COCHISE

*"His (Cochise) religion was truth and loyalty.*

-- Tom Jeffords--

Transition to Peace

Though peace had descended on the Chiricahua and Pindah, it was fragile. When Howard arrived in Tucson with the peace news, he was excoriated by the town as selling out to the Red Devil. Howard was described by the Prescott Miner as a "saintly hypocrite." This attitude was shared by Crook, itching to go to war and convinced that the Chiricahuas could only be tamed by military firepower. As Crook put it:

> The mere fact of their not having deprecated on our people...proves nothing, as it is Apache tactics after they have thoroughly aroused a neighborhood by their depredations to cease operations in that locality until the unwary citizen is thrown off guard, when they commence their outrage with renewed vigor.[1]

The transition to peace is always difficult, as it requires a new mindset based on mutual trust and respect. Such a change in basic assumptions requires time. Two-to-three generations may need to pass before the scars of war begin to fade, pointing to a new tomorrow. For the Apaches, it meant giving up their raiding economy, learning cattle-raising, ranching, and farming techniques. Raiding had been central to Apache warrior culture from time immemorial. It had many cultural threads, as it provided opportunities for young men to test their courage and resourcefulness, to develop leadership abilities, to bring material benefits to the band, and to catch the eye of women. It was an outlet to right American and Mexican wrongs.

Cochise was aware of the generational issue in peace and told Jeffords it was best to transition to a farming economy by working with the young. Acculturation, too, was made difficult by the government's unpredictability in supplying the Chiricahuas with necessities. Scarcity of food contributed to raiding excursions into Mexico throughout winter of 1872-1873, because of bureaucratic delays and shortage of money, Jeffords found it difficult to acquire sufficient beef, corn, and blankets in a timely fashion. He was often forced to make up the difference by panning for silver in the mountains or paying for supplies and repairs out of his own pocket. Cochise and Jeffords became suspicious that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was intentionally undermining the peace by manipulating the food supply. Starving the Apaches would force them to leave the reservation and return to raiding. It was only the iron will of Cochise, and the respect he still engendered over the band that prevented this from happening.[2]

Mexican Border

When he made peace with Howard, Cochise was still mentally at war with Mexico. He found it difficult to prohibit raiding into Mexico, although he increasingly discouraged it. Cochise recognized that his People's survival depended upon it. He and Jeffords knew there were powerful forces that wanted to manipulate the Mexican issue, which could be used as a cause celebre to undermine the peace and set the stage for stealing the rich Chiricahua land. Unfortunately, Howard and Cochise never fully addressed the Mexican problem in their negotiation hoping it would resolve itself. In the treaty there was no specific Mexican agreement.

Complicating the Mexican matter was the geography of the Chiricahua Reservation. It shared a fifty-five-mile border with Sonora, and its location made the Reservation an easy gateway into Mexico for Apache bands, including the Warm Springs, Coyotero, and White Mountains.

The border issue was complicated by Cochise's and Jeffords' decision to invite into the reservation other Chiricahua bands, including Juh's, Nednhis and Geronimo's, Bedonkohes, the *hesh-kes*, or wild ones, who were less agreeable to the peace, more difficult to control, and considered the Sierra Madres of Mexico their home. Cochise and Jeffords argued it was better to keep Juh and Geronimo close, to feed them rather than allow them to roam uninhibited, causing difficulties for the Chokonen.

Threats to Peace

General Crook represented another problem. He resented Howard's peace treaty as an insult to his military leadership and his knowledge of Arizona. Crook even toyed with the idea of enforcing General Order No. 10, which called for a daily roll call on Cochise's reservation of Indians. Crook recognized that Cochise would never agree to this humiliation, so in January 1873, he sent a small detachment of troops to discuss with Cochise his understanding of the treaty. The meeting took place at Sulphur Springs. Lieutenant John Gregory Bourke recorded the exchange between Lieutenant William Henry Brown and Cochise.

Focusing on Mexican raids, Cochise responded, The Mexicans are on one side in this matter and the Americans on another. There are many young people whose parents and relatives have been killed by the Mexicans, and now these young people are liable to go down from time to time and do an insignificant damage to the Mexicans. "I don't want to lie about this thing: They go, but I don't send them."

The exchange somewhat assuaged Crook, as Cochise emphasized that he had not violated the verbal intent of the treaty with Howard.[3]

The issue of Apache raids, however, continued to bleed as other bands came into the reservation, including two to three hundred Chihennes and Bedonkohes upset by rumors they would lose Canada Alamosa and be forced to return to the hated San Carlos.

These bands conducted frequent clandestine raids into Mexico. Major William Redwood Price was responsible for bringing these Apaches back to New Mexico and blamed Jeffords with tolerating Mexican incursions, excoriating him as an Indian lover. Even though Jeffords had limited control over the movement of other bands, the Bureau of Indian affairs still held him responsible rather than the agents from their respective reservations.[4]

The nefarious Tucson Ring was another force jeopardizing peace. With a war chest of perhaps two million dollars, the Ring consisted of powerful groups, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Reservation agents, the military, railroads, timber and mining companies, real estate developers, homesteaders, and ranchers. It gained tremendous income from Army contracts, reservation supplies, and illegal selling of whiskey and guns.

Newspapers, notably the Arizona Miner and Citizen, were part of the Ring and critical of peace. Indians were the Ring's bread and butter. Suppliers were notorious for shortchanging reservation foodstuff by using dummy scales, selling off livestock and grain, and pocketing monies for personal advantage. The Ring was contemptuous of the Apaches but saw them as stable revenue sources. When Apaches rebelled or defended themselves from these injustices, they were castigated as savages.[5]

Cochise was personally targeted. All he wanted was to remain on the Chiricahua Reservation, but tragically, his agreement with General Howard was systematically undermined. He was aware of these subtle forces and intimated to Jeffords that perhaps making peace was a mistake. He was pained by his People's suffering as they attempted to make the transition to modernity and learn new skills.

Cochise spoke to Jeffords about the matter pointing out that, The Apaches are a proud people, who over the centuries have been able to provide for themselves and their

families; they now find themselves dependent upon white handouts. Maybe peace was not so good a bargain after all. “My people are choking on my word. Their blank looks and empty stomachs are tearing at me.”

Jeffords countered by reminding Cochise, “You did say peace would not be easy.”

And so, they argued back and forth until the stars of the Milky Way appeared. Dos-teh-seh came to see over them and was delighted by the laughter that punctuated the seriousness of the conversation. She knew that Jeffords was a healing tonic for her husband and was deeply thankful that the Creator had brought them together.

Centrality of Jeffords

Along with Cochise, Tom Jeffords was crucial to maintaining peace. Jeffords was a controversial person, confronted with innumerable problems, from an unflattering press, inadequate supplies, and an unresponsive Bureau of Indian Affairs. Jeffords way of managing the reservation did not sit well with his bureaucratic superiors who felt that the Indians had too many freedoms, were poorly supervised, and were not even required to make roll call.

Jeffords ran afoul of his superior, Dr. Herman Bendell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Arizona. Bendell insisted that Jeffords keep better records, detailing every item of purchase. This ran against his free- spirited personality and in exasperation, Jeffords had to turn to General Howard regarding timely delivery of flour, coffee, sugar, corn, and salt. In spring 1873, Howard went to the office of Charles Delano, Secretary of the Interior, to resolve the issue. This kind of political backroom dealing ruffled many within the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who saw Jeffords as a loose cannon, refusing to play by bureaucratic rules.[6]

Yet Jeffords was the only Pindah who could have facilitated the peace with Cochise. General Howard consistently supported Jeffords against the rumors and innuendos that swelled around him.

In November 1872, even the critical Governor Anson Safford of Arizona upon visiting Cochise commended Jeffords for his challenging work on the reservation. I Jeffords was assisted by the support of Fred Hughes, who fought with Anson P.K. Safford, the California Volunteer. Hughes kept a Collection of Reflections about the deep ties between Jeffords and Cochise, and worked with Jeffords almost to the very end, when he would join with John Clum in closing the Chiricahua Reservation at the urging of Governor Safford.[7]

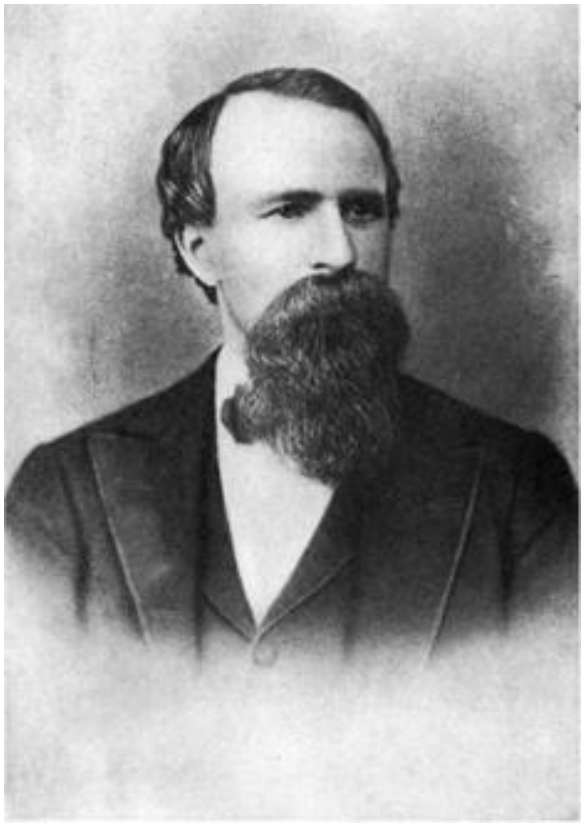

**Figure 13 Anson P K Safford**

Cochise at Twilight

Jeffords became concerned over Cochise's failing health. To reduce his pain, Cochise spent every day drinking at the Fort Bowie trading post managed by Tully, Ochoa, and De Long. Cochise's rule was that everyone must leave before dusk. Cochise's health worsened under the constant emotional pressure of curtailing raids into Mexico—a situation aggravated by the presence of Juh and Geronimo. At times, supply shortages had to be made up by either more intensive hunting in the mountains or an occasional Mexican raid. Jeffords' sympathy was with the Apaches rather than the Mexicans. Apaches had a deep historical hatred of Mexicans for scalping and for selling their women and children into slavery. They sought blood retaliation! Jeffords shared both the Apache bias and the American prejudice towards the lazy, brown Mexicans that was characteristic of the territory since Texan independence--a racism only surpassed by white hatred toward the Apache.

Cochise, as he sits reflecting on his life recognizes that his spirit is slipping away and his body weakening. He is waiting for the Tall One to arrive, and as he does so, he sprinkles pollen on himself.

Cochise believed in the medicinal properties of pollen to sustain and heal. He uses it in all major ceremonies.

He hears the camp-fires cracking, an occasional dog bark, sees his people walking respectfully around him, and notes their concern emanating from their body language.

For decades, Cochise has led, and the Chokonen worry about what the future holds for them as their beloved leader moves deeper into the season of winter.

Cochise calls for Dos-teh-seh. She softly enters and asks, "How are you?"

"No, just sit with me for a while. I worry about what will happen when I leave for the Happy Land. You know I am at the end of the journey. I want to leave it right for

Taza so that he can lead the People into a different road. Change is hard, and there will be resistance, perhaps splintering the Chokonen.

"I worry too that I do not spend enough time with Naiche, teaching him the arts of leadership. He has one advantage over Taza in that he resembles me. I need Naiche to be supportive of Taza, as Juan has been."

Cochise intentionally has not mentioned Coyuntura, as it is taboo.

Dos-teh-seh interrupts, "Rest, save your strength for the Tall One."

By mid-afternoon Jeffords arrives at the Stronghold. Cochise, though weak, gathers his strength, props himself up, invites Jeffords to sit and begins to discuss the meaning of the circle.

Cochise enjoys these deeper sharings. It helps him to forget his pain. Jeffords, too, relishes these moments, captivated by the depth of Cochise's wisdom.

"For Apaches," Cochise muses, "life is a series of inter-related seasons that emanate from and return to the Center from which everything comes. Every life is like a spoke in a wheel. The wheel itself has no beginning or end but continues to unfold, pointing to the mystery of birth, death, and rebirth. The Center is the Sacred Place that Indians talk about. Every Indian seeks this Center, but only a few find it. What I have learned is that the journey has two faces: internal and external, self and Nature. Life and Nature are the two mirrors of Existence. You cannot have one without the other. Each act on the other and very much like the seasons of life carries its own challenges and medicine.

"I am in wintertime and am preparing to leave and to enter the Mystery. Winter changes one's time orientation as physicality slips away. Wisdom takes hold, forcing me to grapple with the questions of meaning and life lessons. For us, Nature is Sacred, it is the place from which we draw our breath and take sustenance. It is a deep pool which

reveals the core secrets of Earth Woman showing how all the grasses, animals, birds and two legged are inter-connected and intertwined.

"When the ancestors came here a long time ago, and saw the beauty of the mountains, saguaros, desert, and the variety of animals, they knew they were home. Their migration had ended.

"A magical quality of mountains and deserts is stillness. Silence makes us reflective, introspective, and contemplative. It turns one inside, deepens listening to an inner voice which often manifests itself in dreams, songs, dance, drumming, and places. It restores balance, quiets the chatter of the mind, and provides peace. The mountains trigger this condition, for as one climbs higher, one leaves the survival pulls of physicality and fear for the purer state of spirit.

"Finally, my brother, by looking to the mountain, it becomes clear that reaching its apex can only occur by listening to the heart. Speaking from the heart represents the essence of community, for without it, lying, deceit and cheating prevail so destructive of relationships. Lying has been the prevailing chatter with whites, one broken treaty after another. Until this changes, 1 fear for my people and look to you to prevent it."

Jeffords winces, not sure of how he is going to do this. He is aware that the Old Man is tiring. "You and I have broken this pattern, our spirits have connected at a deep level, and so we would never curse the other. Perhaps there is hope for my people and yours after all."

By the autumn of 1873, Jeffords and Cochise found themselves in trouble again over raids into Sonora, leading acting Indian Commissioner H. R. Clum to investigate. Clum concluded that Cochise had kept his promise to refrain his warriors from marauding, despite the government's continuous failure to supply the Apaches adequately. Indian Commissioner Edward P. Smith was even more explicit, in his

September 16 letter to Sonora's Governor Ignacio Pesquiera. Smith stated that even though there was no written treaty, General Howard had never endorsed raids into Mexico. Smith further insisted that the Federal government was not arming the Apaches, despite the hysteria of the Sonoran press. Later, Jeffords admitted to Smith that there were occasional raids, but they were only triggered by inadequate supplies.

Raiding Issue

Cochise and Jeffords realized they must end the raids or else lose the reservation.

Jeffords rides to the stronghold in October and is shocked by how weaker and older Cochise appears since their last meeting.

He teases Cochise about his young wife, a real live wire: "She's sapping your energy with her sassiness."

Cochise laughs, embracing Jeffords. "Come, let's sit and talk, and I will have the sassy one brings us tiswin and mescal cakes."

They both pause, with Jeffords deferring to Cochise. "I have spoken to Juh and Geronimo about no more raids into Mexico, or else they will have to leave. They gave me their word they would stop. In our culture, words are crucial to agreements, as we must live by them. I accept their pledge."

Jeffords nods acceptance and adds, "But my concern is with other bands, who are using the reservation as a passage into Mexico."

Cochise responds, "I will speak with them, but will make the point more harshly by denying them provisions."

Drink and food are brought to Cochise and Jeffords, and the two bask in each other's presence, taking in the beautiful surroundings marked by oak and mesquite trees, and revel at the mystery of the sky as it turns blue, pink, and turquoise with the appearance of the evening star.

Cochise, not eating, gets up and spots a flock of turkeys on the edge of the camp. He wonders if he is losing his power and authority. This is the real problem.

"Are you staying, Tall One?" Cochise asks Jeffords.

"No, I better get back and make my report to the Commissioner about our plans to end the raids. Take care."

Jeffords wonders about Cochise's failing health. They have discussed the possibility of creating an Apache police force to patrol the reservation but have not refined its dimensions.

In January 1874, Jeffords lets Smith know that Cochise's ban on Mexican raids has been implemented, and things were once again stable.

Cochise's Death

By spring of 1874, Cochise's stomach illness had worsened, creating a serious question in leadership. Worsening matters, Fred Hughes inadvertently reopened the question of the reservation's future by suggesting to the Las Cruces Borderer newspaper that it might be better for Chokonen to merge with Chihennes in New Mexico. From a bureaucratic perspective, one reservation would save money, and it would eliminate forever the Sonoran problem.[8]

Commissioner Smith sent the new Superintendent, Levi Edwin Dudley, to feel out Cochise about the matter of moving. Realizing that he was dying, Cochise indicated that this decision rested on his son Taza's shoulders. Jeffords argued that closure would trigger another outbreak in hostilities, but Dudley waved off the concern by recommending Jeffords for supervising the task of moving the Chokonen to Canada Alamosa when Washington decided.

As Dudley expressed it: “I have seen no man who has so complete control over his Indians as Agent Jeffords and I am sure that if they were removed, he would be the best man to make agent at Hot Springs.”[9]

On 30 May, a headline in the Arizona Citizen reported that Cochise was dying of dyspepsia. Cochise transferred power to his eldest son, Taza, and asked his lieutenants to swear allegiance to him. Cochise also directed his youngest son, Naiche, to support Taza as his brother Juan had supported Cochise. The main leaders, including Nahilzay and Skinyea, agreed with the arrangement to transfer authority, although Poinsenayremained skeptical. Cochise’s final instruction to Taza, as Fred Hughes reported, was to forever live at peace and do as Jeffords tells them.[10]

Rumors had it that Cochise had been bewitched. Taza and others tracked down a crippled sorcerer, bringing the culprit back to camp to be either hanged or burnt, but he was later released. Apaches, as a rule, never talked of death. Cochise found himself shifting in and out of consciousness, waiting to depart into the underworld--a place in which there was no pain, suffering and death. On June 7, Cochise and Jeffords met for the last time. As recounted by Jeffords:

Cochise asked: “Do you think you will ever see me again?”

Jeffords replied, “No.”

Cochise, “Do you believe in an after-life?”

Jeffords responded, “I don’t know. What is your opinion about it?”

Cochise said, “Yes, good friends will meet again--up there.”

On the following morning, June 8, Cochise departed this plane. His body, covered with his favorite red blanket, was prepared for burial. His hair was combed, face washed and painted with red. Cochise’s remains were carried by his People to a deep cave in the Western Stronghold and lowered with a horse, dog and a double-barrel shotgun inlayed

with gold and silver, in a remote spot in the Dragoon Mountains that has remained secret. Fred Hughes recorded that the grief was so profound among the Chokemen that they wailed all night long for the loss of their beloved leader. At the burial, a Death Song was sung:

When I must leave you for a little while
Please do not grieve and shed wild tears.
And hug your sorrow to you through the years.
But start out bravely with a gallant smile.
And for my sake and in my name
Live on and do all things the same.
Feed not your loneliness on empty days
But fill each wakening hour in useful ways.
Reach out your hand in comfort and in cheer!
And I in turn will comfort you and hold you near.
And never, never be afraid to die.
For I am waiting for you in the sky.[11]

During the ceremony Jeffords finds himself trembling over the death of his friend. He can barely restrain the tears; his breath is shallow and painful. He looks at Council Rock where not too long ago he led Howard to Cochise to end the conflict.

He reminisces about his early encounters with Cochise and shakes his head at how, although coming from diverse cultural worlds, they had become Blood Brothers. Over the years both men had come to rely on each other. They were two sides of the same coin. Cochise's famous imagery being Dos Cabezas, the Two Heads.

They had become so close that each could anticipate the thinking of the other, even completing the other's sentences. They had indeed melded into one and were tied

together not only by their deep respect for each other, but by their joint desire to keep the peace and protect the People from losing their culture and land.

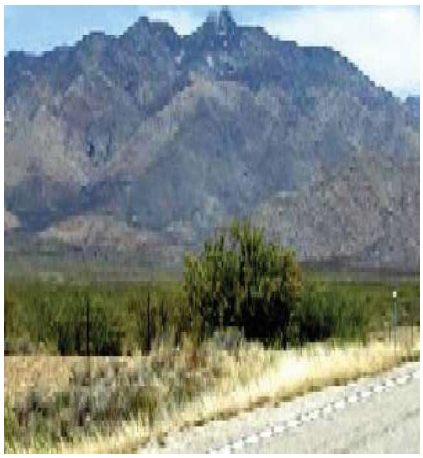

**Figure 14 Dos Cabezos by Arthur Scott**

With Cochise gone, these goals would be herculean. Jeffords sighs and is concerned whether he is up to the challenge. Though the Chokemen respect him, he is no Cochise. His problem is not so much with the Apaches, but with his own people. Howard is too far away to be of much help. Governor Safford is politically unreliable. Jeffords realizes that Cochise has placed a heavy burden upon him, and his concern remains that his political cards are not extraordinarily strong. His suspicion is that the Washington bureaucracy really wants to shut down the Chiricahua Reservation and turn it over to public domain. Jeffords picks up his reins, mounts his Appaloosa, turns east to the Agency, and takes one more look at the cave where Cochise is buried and whispers, Safe travels friend.

Just then, swooping over the mountains appears a magnificent Golden Eagle pivoting in its heavenly ascent.

The Eagle suddenly turns, spreading its powerful wings, as it flies over Jeffords touching him with its powerful message: “I am indeed okay.”

Jeffords shivers with joy and rides off to Pinery Canyon.

[1] Harry G Cramer, “Tom Jeffords Indian Agent,” *The Journal of Arizona History*, 267.

[2] Cramer, *op. cit*., 271.

[3] John G. Bourke, *Diary, I*, 125-27; 177-81.

[4] Cramer, *op. cit*., 211.

[5] Angle Debo, *Geronimo, The Man, His Time, and His Place*, 92 & 154.

[6] Cramer, *op. cit*., 270.

[7] A.P.K. Safford, “Tucson Arizona Citizen,” Dec 7, 1872.

[8] Frederick G. Hughes, “Collected Papers,” AHS.

[9] *Report of L. Edwin Dudley to Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, “NYT.” Oct. 29, 1874.

[10] Fredrick G. Hughes, “Tucson Arizona Star,” Jan. 27 & 31, 1886.

[11] *Death Song, Apache* Author Unknown. Whiteriver, Arizona.

## THIRTEEN
## CLOSURE OF THE CHIRICAHUA RESERVATION

*"I should never have surrendered. I should have fought until I was the last man alive."*

-- Geronimo--

Chiricahua Reservation Closure

With Cochise's death, the future of the Chokemen reservation fell upon the shoulders of Taza, Cochise's eldest son and heir. Tragically, he had neither the charisma, nor the presence of his father. Even if Cochise had lived longer, the die had been cast in Washington against the Chiricahua Reservation. Its closure was driven by the greed and racism of the Tucson Ring, by the mounting difficulties Jeffords encountered over his permissive reservation policies, and by his alleged inability to curtail raids into Mexico.

Complicating matters, even Cochise's lieutenants, Poinsenay and his medicine man brother Skinyea, soon challenged Taza's decision to follow his father's peace instruction. Furthermore, the actions of Juh and Geronimo in Mexico did not help. Their raids undermined Taza and his younger brother Naiche, as Nednhis and Bedonkohes often used the Chiricahua Reservation as a haven to move back and forth between Arizona and Mexico.[1]

But more than anything else, the Cochise peace was most devastated by the Wall Street fiscal crisis of 1873. Railroads, silver mines, and banks were hit hardest, plunging the country into six years of depression. To save monies, Washington's policy makers transferred the management of reservations from the military to the Bureau of Indian Affairs located within the Department of the Interior. This decision was also due to the growing pressure exercised by the Protestant and Catholic Churches, who saw in Indian reservations opportunities for proselytizing and civilizing the Red Man.

In June 1874, the U.S. government closed the Chiricahua reservation in the name of saving the Apaches culturally, cost-effectiveness, and removing the border tension with Mexico. Taza and Jeffords were, of course, excluded from these discussions, which called for the relocation of the Chokonen to San Carlos. San Carlos was viewed by all Apaches as Bad Medicine, because of its unhealthy malarial location. Overcrowding intensified the tensions among the bands. The rich valleys and mountains of the Chiricahua were the real prize motivating greedy ranchers, loggers, miners, and settlers in the Tucson area to lobby for relocation.[2]

Whites had been looking for any incident to close the reservation. In April 1876, closure was provoked by Skinyea and Poinsenay, Cochise's disgruntled lieutenants, who got into an altercation with Nick Rogers and O.O. Spence over bad whiskey, leading to the latter's deaths at Sulphur Springs. Taza's brother Naiche avenged the murder of the Americans by killing Skinyea. Taza wounded Poinsenay, who later got away from the Tucson Sheriff only to die in Mexico.

Clum's Role

Even though the culprits had been marginalized by Cochise's sons, it was too late to save the reservation. Despite General Howard's sincere promise to Cochise about the enduring validity of the treaty, it was broken by events: Wall Street greed, political machinations, and the arrogance of the Tucson Ring, and the actions of John Clum, a new player on the scene.

The Dutch Reformed Church had been given administrative control over San Carlos by President Grant. Clum, although young and inexperienced, was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs at San Carlos because of his Dutch Reform contacts at Rutgers University. His desire was to implement the new centralization and civilization policy without any military presence. He was ably assisted by Merejildo, Cochise's old

nemesis, and by Martin Sweeney, who had served fifteen years in the cavalry as training officer for Clum's Native police.[3]

Clum's goal was to manage San Carlos with only Apaches, free of military interference. He established an Indian court and police force. He might have been successful in his policy of Apache self-rule except for the reservation's poor location, its lack of resources, and the overcrowding, which intensified historical enmities. More fatal to his career was his insufferable arrogance, which got him into trouble with the military, leading to his impulsive resignation.[4]

In June 1876, taking advantage of the Skinyea and Poinsenay affair, Clum pushed for closure of the Chiricahua Reservation. He arrived with his Apache Scouts and removed Tom Jeffords. Taza and Naiche reluctantly agreed to leave for the hated San Carlos with three hundred of their people. The other Chiricahuas, perhaps 400, under Juh and Geronimo, fled to the Sierra Madres in Mexico, or to Victorio's Ojo Caliente Reservation, in New Mexico. Tragically and perhaps unavoidably, the policy of centralization concocted in Washington plunged the southwest into another decade of unnecessary warfare, costing millions of dollars, leading to the deaths of hundreds, if not thousands, of Americans and Mexicans. The defeat of Geronimo ten years later would culminate in the ethnic cleansing of the Chiricahuas.

Complicating matters was the death of Taza in 1876. He contracted pneumonia on a trip sponsored by Clum to Washington. He was buried at the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D. C. General Howard, out of respect for Cochise, attended the burial service. Naiche succeeded Taza as head of the Chokonen and played a significant role in the Geronimo Wars, although he and Geronimo were never close. Naiche never forgave Clum for the death of his brother, a death that made him even more suspicious of the Pindah.

Jeffords Frustration

On June 8, 1876, Jeffords in a note to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had this to say about the closure of the Chiricahua Reservation:

The killings of Messrs. Rogers, Spence, and Lewis was not an outbreak of the Indians of the Agency: it was the result of selling whiskey to Indians already outlawed by their tribe... among civilized communities, murders by men crazed from Spirits are of frequent occurrence. The breaking of their treaty and attempted removal of nine hundred Indians for the criminality of three of their number has been the cause of the numerous murders and robberies that have been committed since the 12th of June.[5]

Jeffords was dismayed by the betrayal, carrying a burden of guilt until he died over his failure to protect Chokonen independence. He had sworn to his Blood Brother, Cochise, and by extension Taza, that he would do everything possible to maintain the integrity of the reservation. Unfortunately, Jeffords was overwhelmed by a powerful combination of social forces revolving around Empire, Manifest Destiny, American Exceptionalism, Social Darwinism, and the greed of the Tucson Ring.

Jeffords remained a loner the rest of his life. He prospected for silver, was a deputy sheriff at Tombstone, and scouted against Juh during the Geronimo wars. Later, he became a friend to John D. Rockefeller, who built a home in the Dragoons after the removal of Cochise's band. Jeffords regaled Rockefeller with many tales about his relationship with Cochise, taking him to different sites that Rockefeller recorded.

In the 1890s, Jeffords led Alice Rollins Crane, a close friend, to many of the important places where peace with Howard was negotiated. Crane photographed these locations and wrote a note about one photograph that read: "The big rock on which peace was made." She and her husband, Victor Moraczewski, owned the Owls Head Silver Mine northeast of Tucson, and after Jeffords death handled his estate. In 1914, Jeffords,

always an outsider, ended his days in Owl Head Buttes. He was buried at Tucson's Evergreen Cemetery taking many secrets to the grave about his relationship to Cochise.[6]

Victorio's Ascendancy

The tragedy of Victorio is a classic example of an Apache who completely identified with his tribal landscape and took sustenance from it. For him, the land could not be sold or traded without his people losing their culture. Ojo Caliente had been bestowed to the Chihennes by Ussen, the Creator, as their place of origin and their lifeline to the future. Their stories, music, legends, and history embody the warmth of the Ojo Caliente springs and Black Range Mountains, a region rich in forest, lush valleys and lakes situated at the headwaters of Alamosa River and west bank of the Rio Grande. Victorio's people took the name Warm Springs from the landscape.

**Figure 15 Victorio**

For a decade, discussions had been going on between Washington and Chihennes about the best place for them: Tularosa, Ojo Caliente, or San Carlos. Chihennes shunned Tularosa as having dark energy and San Carlos as a hellhole. Victorio, following the example of Cochise, negotiated with Howard and other U.S. officials, hoping to remain in his ancestral lands. His dream of staying in Ojo Caliente, however, was shattered by the cries of white settlers about alleged Apache atrocities, leading the government to close the reservation. Clum was sent to Ojo Caliente to arrest Geronimo, which he did by a ruse, and simultaneously forced Victorio to leave and settle in San Carlos in April 1877. This action catapulted Victorio to the fore as the dominant Apache leader.

Victorio was born in 1825 and was rumored to be part Mexican. These stories of his origin were ridiculed by Apache contemporaries, who certainly would have known. According to the Nednhi Apache, Daklugie, son of Juh, "there is no way in which a Mexican background could be kept quiet among the Chihennes. Besides, ...Nana would have told me; none of the Apache stories about him have him as anything but an Apache."[7]

Victorio was a master tactician of guerrilla warfare, considered by authorities to be among the finest of Apache military leaders, although lacking the diplomatic savvy of his mentor Mangas Coloradas or possessing the charismatic sway of Cochise over the various Chiricahua bands.

He was surrounded by brilliant lieutenants: Lozen, Loco, Nana, and Kaytennae. His sister Lozen, besides being a healer, had the gift of clairvoyance, by which she was able to tell by the itch in her palm when and where the enemy was gathering. Unfortunately, Lozen was not with her brother at his last battle at Tres Castillos.

Lozen's life spans the Apache Wars, from the conflict with Mexico to the annexation of Apacheria by the Pindah, to the surrender of Geronimo, which she helped

to negotiate in 1886. After the surrender to General Nelson A. Miles at Skelton Canyon, Lozen, along with all the Chiricahuas, was exiled to the East, where she died of tuberculosis in Alabama in 1890.[8]

In 1881, Nana, who was in his seventies at the time of Victorio's death, would avenge Victorio death at Tres Castillo with 50 to 70 warriors traveling 3000 miles in six weeks. Pursued by thousands of soldiers, the Apaches were able to defeat American troops several times their number; simultaneously attacking numerous towns and ranches for supplies and horses. In all, 35 to 50 settlers and soldiers were killed in what became known as the legendary Nana's Raid. Even though Nana's party returned safely to Juh's stronghold in Mexico, his raid can be described as the swan song of the Chihennes.[9]

In 1878, Victorio abandoned the hated San Carlos Reservation. It was triggered by the erroneous belief that he was about to be arrested. The memory of what had occurred to Mangas Coloradas haunted Victorio, leading him to bolt. With limited resources of 50 fighters and 250 women and children. Loco, older than Victorio, favored peace and yet joined with Victorio in his decision to leave San Carlos and to return to Ojo Caliente.

Victorio for the next year outfoxed the Ninth Cavalry, Mexican forces, and various citizen groups pursuing him. Throughout the campaign, he lived with the hope that his rear-guard action and elusiveness would convince America authorities to allow his people to settle at last in their homeland at Ojo Caliente. Victorio's medicine was so powerful for a time that other bands joined him, including Mescaleros and Juh's Nednhis until they were persuaded by Jeffords to return to San Carlos. Victorio's struggle went well until May 1880, when Henry Parker's Apache scouts caught him off guard, costing him the loss of 35 warriors he could ill afford.

Victorio never recovered from this setback, and his Mescalero followers under Cabrillo questioned his leadership. This led to a duel between the two in which, although

Victorio emerged the winner over Cabrillo, he lost his Mescalero allies. His military position was further weakened when Lozen opted to return a Mescalero woman and child to their reservation. Sending Nana and Kaytennae out to find guns also considerably weakened his forces.

Victorio decided to cross into Mexico and headed toward Tres Castillos, between Chihuahua and El Paso. His trail was discovered by Colonel Joaquin Terrazas, who led a Mexican force of 350 soldiers and a contingent of Tarahumara Indians, traditional enemies of the Apaches. Legend has it that Victorio, seriously outnumbered and with limited fire power, took his own life with his knife rather than be captured. In all, 78 warriors were killed; 68 women and 15 boys were captured and sold into slavery. About half the warriors escaped and rejoined Nana on his famous raid to avenge the death of Victorio in 1881.[10]

Victorio's death was not the end of the Apache Wars, but it did represent the end of large Apache raiding parties roaming the southwest from one mountain stronghold to another as in the days of Mangas Coloradas and Cochise. From then on, Apaches under Juh and Geronimo fought in small units but found themselves hard-pressed by American and Mexican troops, Apache scouts, and citizen groups. Apache women and children often went without food and supplies for days and suffered terrible malnutrition. Thirty years of warfare, starting with the Bascom incident at Apache Pass in 1860, had taken its toll on the Apaches. By 1880, the Chiricahuas were literally vanishing as a people. Making Victorio's death even more tragic was the fact that he did not want to fight, but simply be granted Ojo Caliente. Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood, who was responsible for persuading Geronimo to surrender to General Miles, said it best: "... any man of discretion, empowered to adjust Victorio's well-founded claims, could have prevented the bloody and disastrous outbreak of 1879."[11]

Geronimo's Time

Unfortunately, there were few Pindah of Gatewood's caliber. Most called for ethnic cleansing of the Apaches. Grey Wolf Crook, one of the few who spoke for the Indians was still in the northern Plains and could not lend his empathetic voice against the failed concentration policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Fighting the Lakota and Nez Perce, Crook had undergone a remarkable transformation, becoming more empathetic to the plight of Indians. In the meantime, Juh, Nana, and Geronimo had decided it was impossible to beat the Pindah and returned to San Carlos and White Mountain reservations in 1880-81 to learn the ways of farming, cattle raising and plowing of fields.

Geronimo was probably born near what is now Clifton, Arizona, in the 1820s. Other sources believe his birth was at a middle fork or headwaters of the Gila River, which runs out of the Mogollon Mountains in western New Mexico. This is an area of heavy ponderosa pine and juniper, aspen groves, and clean air. Geronimo was born into the smallest Chiricahua band, the Bedonkohes, who were often absorbed by either Mangas Coloradas' Chihennes, or Cochise's Chokonen.

Until 1850, life was good for Goyakhla, until his wife Alope, his mother and three children were killed and then scalped by Mexican troops near Janos. Goyakhla was deeply scarred by this event, and never relinquished his hatred of Mexicans, who named him Geronimo or the Red Devil. While avenging the death of Alope in a battle with Mexicans at Arispe, Goyakhla fought so fiercely with knife and hands that Mexican soldiers prayed to St. Jerome to spare their lives from him and renamed him Geronimo. Tragically, Geronimo lost yet another wife and child to the Mexicans in 1860.[12]

Notwithstanding his warrior reputation, Geronimo was never a chief, but rather a savvy medicine war leader who was reputed to have exceptional powers over nature, such as extending the night or creating dust storms so his followers could vanish from their

Mexican and Pindah pursuers. At other times, he was able to appear or vanish like a coyote or fox.

Geronimo was a healer, too, whose medicine bag consisted of a black tray basket, eagle feather, abalone shell, and pollen. Geronimo became close to Juh, leader of the Nednhis, who married his favorite sister, Ishton. When she was having difficulty in labor, Geronimo prayed to Ussen, and on the fifth day, his prayer was answer when a Voice declared, "The child will be born, and your sister will live." The child born was named Daklugie, or "Forced-his-way-through." Geronimo also at this time received protective power from a Voice that said" "No gun will ever kill you."[13]

Throughout the 1850s and 60s Geronimo's life intertwined with those of Mangas Coloradas and Cochise and in the 70s with Juh and Victorio. Though Juh and Geronimo returned to San Carlos at the time of Victorio's death, they were unhappy with being forcibly civilized and yearned for the old ways. Reservation life was harsh; natives were trivialized, mocked, and disliked. The white diet of flour, bacon, wheat, meal, coffee, and sugar doled out to them was unhealthy, making them fat and listless. They often went hungry. Food amounts were unreliable and limited. Joseph Capron Tiffany, San Carlos Agent, was notorious for stealing supplies meant for the Apaches. Indeed, he created his own ranch by diverting cattle, (1,500 pounds of beef a week) and grain earmarked for the Apaches. Apache men had nothing to do, found farming demeaning, got drunk and fought among themselves. Epidemics struck measles, influenza, and whooping cough. San Carlos was a time bomb of frustration ready to go off.[14]

Ghost Dance/Flight

With their world in complete disarray, the Chiricahuas and other bands in desperation turned to the Spirit World to liberate them from the horrors of reservation life. Out of this cultural despair arose a White Mountain Apache medicine man, Noche-

del-klinne, called the Prophet. He was an Apache scout in the early 70s, received a silver peace medal from President Grant in Washington, spent time in a Santa Fe government school, and returned to the White Mountains, where he became a healer. He soon had visions in which Apaches were instructed to dance, live good lives, and surrender their fate of the Pindah to Ussen. According to Nana, who witnessed one of the Prophet's sessions, he literally saw the return of Cochise, Mangas Coloradas and Victorio, advising them to stay peaceful and follow the prescripts of ceremony. A new Christian dimension had entered Apache spirituality; namely, resurrection.

Ghost Dance fever soon swept across Fort Apache, making civilian and military authorities nervous, as it created a new unity among the various bands and made it difficult for authorities to play off one group against another. Accordingly, in late August 1881, Colonel E.A. Carr was sent out to arrest the Prophet. His arrest was badly handled by the military and led to the death of the Prophet, precipitating a clash and defeat of the Nantiotish White Mountain Band at Big Dry Wash. These events convinced Geronimo, Juh, Nana, Lozen, and Cochise's son Naiche to leave San Carlos rather than experience the slow, tortuous death of ethnic cleansing.[15]

Their decision was strengthened by a significant increase in troop presence, and the memory of what had happened to Mangas Coloradas. They all knew that resistance was hopeless, but humiliation was even worse. In the case of Geronimo, his decision was influenced by the suicide death of his nephew brought on in part by Geronimo's own harsh drunken words.

The *hesh-kes* described themselves as Indeh or the Dead. Juh articulated this attitude to his followers: "We must not give up. We must fight to the last man. We must remain free men or die fighting. There is no choice. I have nothing to offer you except death."

This round of hostility lasted from 1881-84 and centered in Juh's Nednhis stronghold in Sierra Madres called Pagotzinkay.[16]

In 1882, Geronimo, finding himself short of forces and supplies, opted to raid San Carlos and strong-armed Loco's Warm Springs' band to join with him. Loco reluctantly agreed but paid dearly because on the way to Mexico, he and Geronimo had two fatal encounters. In late April they were intercepted by Al Sieber and his Apache scouts and lost 14 men. Then they were ambushed by a Mexican patrol at Aliso Creek under Colonel Lorenzo Garcia, a renowned Indian fighter, losing 78 members, with 33 women being sold into slavery. During the melee, legend has it that Geronimo threatened to leave the women and children to make good his escape but was prevented by his brother Fun, who threatened to shoot him.[17]

Loco's Chihennes had suffered terrible losses since leaving San Carlos, undermining Geronimo's attempt to strengthen his forces and leadership. By September 1882, General Crook, the Grey Fox, returned to Arizona and was ordered to bring Geronimo and his wild ones, the hesh-kes, including Juh, Chato, Naiche, Nana, Lozen, and Chihuahua back to San Carlos.

Crook realized that if he were to succeed in bringing Geronimo back to the reservation, he had to first impose military command over the Apache reservations and clean up its management. He began by firing corrupt contractors and appointing sympathetic officers like Lieutenant Britton Davis to manage San Carlos. Crook then mobilized his famous Apache scouts under Al Sieber to pursue the Wild Ones in Mexico.[18]

In May 1883, a major break for the American forces came when a White Mountain Apache called Tsoe, popularly named Peaches, because of his fair complexion, tired of the conflict returned to San Carlos, where he was brought to the attention of

General Crook. Peaches agreed to lead the Americans to Juh's stronghold, to the consternation of the hesh-kes, who had deluded themselves with an assumption of its impregnability.[19]

Apache Surrender

By now, most Apaches wanted peace and were willing to return to San Carlos. This was especially true of the women and children, who were exhausted after being pursued by Mexicans, Americans, sheriff possess, and bounty hunters. They desired the relative calm of reservation life, and most agreed to return to San Carlos.

Geronimo insisted he needed more time and arrived in February 1884 with a large herd of cattle to insure there would be enough meat to eat at San Carlos. Meanwhile, Juh had died of a heart attack, and with his death, the resistance of most of the Nednhis ended.[20]

Returning to San Carlos, Geronimo, Nana, Naiche, Lozen, and Chihuahua found it difficult to adjust to the rhythm of reservation life. Geronimo disliked Lieutenant Britton Davis' management although he was sympathetic to the Apache plight. Davis was informed by Chato and Mickey Free, a mixed-blood interpreter connected to Cochise and the Bascom affair that Geronimo, Nana, Kaytennae, and others were plotting against him. Davis had Kaytennae arrested and sent to Alcatraz.

The government's attempt to turn the Apaches into farmers rather than ranchers was resisted, as it demeaned their warrior ethos. Another constant irritant was the Tucson press with its incessant demonization of Crook and Geronimo. Crook was described as a closeted Indian lover who had sold out to the Apaches. Geronimo was called an incorrigible who should be hanged.

Adding insult to injury, the Christian missionaries prohibited tiswin, Apache beer, which did not sit well with the men, who enjoyed drinking. Besides, the Church's attempt

to address rampant domestic violence in the wickiup, which was the byproduct of tiswin and the loss of manhood, was humiliating. The men were so frustrated by the collapse of their culture that they took out their rage on their women, often beating them. This was a far cry from the sacredness of White Painted Lady, and her instruction that Apache women were to be respected and deferred to in matters of food, kinship, relationships, and survival. Apaches normally never hit their wives or children and beating was a rarity. Wives could easily initiate divorce for abuse by simply putting the man's possessions outside the wickiup. But the men had fallen into a vortex of shame aggravated by the tediousness of reservation life, and by the constant Pindah crude jokes that they heard when coming in for their weekly rations. Geronimo and Naiche disliked the rumors spreading across the reservation; in particular, that they would soon be hung for drinking as it undermined their positions among their people.

Geronimo Runs Again

On May 17, 1885, rumors and fears propelled Geronimo along with Naiche, Nana, and Chihuahua, to bolt with 92 women, eight boys, and 34 men. The bitter irony was that there was no place to go. Theirs was a sheer act of desperation. In all, Geronimo's ragamuffin group was pursued by a combined armed force of 9,000, 1,000 vigilantes, 3,000 Bluecoats, and 5,000 Mexicans. Despite the odds, the Apaches killed about 100 American and Apache scouts, while Mexicans losses were estimated to number 500. In one episode, Ulzana, Chihuahua's younger brother, returned to Arizona with a few warriors and raided San Carlos, where he killed Apaches and kidnapped several women, ambushing a cavalry patrol on his return to Mexico. In all, Ulzana covered 1200 miles in a month, rivaling the raid of Nana avenging Victorio's death.[21]

By March 1886, despite Ulzana's success, Geronimo sent a signal to Crook that he was prepared to meet the Grey Fox at Canyon de los Embudos (Trickster). Crook's

orders were to bring in Geronimo either dead or alive. Negotiations dragged on. Finally, Grey Fox and Geronimo cut a deal by which Geronimo agreed to be imprisoned for two years after which he could return to San Carlos with his people. He surrendered to Crook with the famous line: “I give myself up to you. Do with me what you please. I surrender. Once I rode like the wind. Now I surrender to you. That is all.”

Crook then left for Fort Bowie, convinced that Geronimo, Naiche and Nana would surrender. To his surprise, General Phil Sheridan rejected the terms, and in addition insisted that the Apache scouts be furloughed. Complicating matters for Crook was that Geronimo and Naiche on their way back got drunk and panicked. They were convinced that they would be hanged and fled again with 30 followers. Crook had no other alternative but to resign and was replaced by Brigadier General Nelson Miles on April 12, 1886.[22]

Nelson Miles Leads

General Nelson Miles, called by the Apaches as Always Too Late to Fight, mobilized five thousand soldiers, representing one-third of all the U.S. Armed forces. He was able to contact Geronimo through the efforts of Lieutenant Charles Gatewood and his two Apache scouts. Surrender terms offered by Miles were like Crook’s: two years in Florida and then return to San Carlos. Gatewood, however, doubted the government would allow Geronimo and others to return to Arizona. Miles and Geronimo met face-to-face at Skelton Canyon and settled on the terms he had made with Gatewood. “This is the fourth time I have surrendered,” Geronimo declared, with Miles concluding, “And I think it is the last time.” The band then made its way to Fort Bowie to be rail transported to Florida, ending the Apache Wars.[23]

General Miles had indicated to Geronimo the right of return in two years, but that agreement was never honored by Washington. Geronimo and his supporters were

considered by many to be nothing more than murderers: animals that should be hanged for their depredations. President Grover Cleveland felt so strongly that he called for Geronimo's execution.

Some 450 Apaches, mostly Chiricahuas, were gathered on September 8, 1886, and sent by rail eastward to Fort Marion, Florida. Ironically, many were not hostiles but had lived in peace for a long time; others had even scouted for Crook and Miles and were shocked by their prisoner treatment. Bourke called this treachery to well-behaved Indians. He goes on: "There is no more disgraceful page in the history of our relations with the American Indians than that which conceals the treachery visited upon the Chiricahuas who remained faithful in their allegiance to our people."

This perception was shared by Crook: "It is not too much to say that the surrender of Natchez (Naiche), Geronimo and their bands could not have been affected except for the assistance of Chato and his Chiricahua scouts. For their allegiance, they have been rewarded by captivity in a strange land."[24]

Prisoners of War

Ultimately, ethnic cleansing was their fate. Upon arriving at Fort Marion, the families were separated. Apache children were sent to Carlisle Indian School to learn how to be Pindah. They were forced to cut their hair, sacred to the Apaches, take a white name, give up their breeches and moccasins for uniforms, and have their culture forcibly erased by being denied the right to speak their language. They were told over and again that they were savages.

In 1887, the Dawes Act was passed, aimed at privatizing Indian reservations by transforming native collective holdings into private parcels to make them more American. The Dawes Act was driven by greedy speculators, who desired to open additional

reservation land for white settlement. It led to the Oklahoma Land Rushes from 1889 to 1895.

In 1894, the exiled Chiricahuas were transferred to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where they were taught to farm but were still considered prisoners of war. Geronimo by now had become an American celebrity, a Souvenir Indian, who made money signing autographs, selling bows and arrows, and photos. He appeared with Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show and thrilled thousands in Eastern cities. In 1898, he appeared at the International Exposition at Omaha. In 1900, at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, where President William McKinley was fatally wounded. His last public event was Teddy Roosevelt's 1904 inaugural, parading along with Comanche, Quanah Parker, and Lakota, American Horse. His efforts to persuade the president to exonerate the Chiricahuas by allowing them to return to their homelands were denied because of Arizona opposition. In 1909, a drunken Geronimo fell off his horse, and died. As he indicated in his autobiography, he always regretted not being killed in Old Mexico.[25]

Naiche, his mother Dos-teh-seh, and his two half-sisters lived through 27 years as prisoners-of-war and ended their days at the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. Cochise's daughters Dash-den-zhoos became the wife of Kay-dah-zinne and mother of Lena Morgan; Naithlotonz became wife of Fred Gokliz and after his death married Chiricahua Tom. Buried at Fort Sill are the two daughters-in-law of Cochise (wives of Naiche), 6 grandsons (sons of Naiche), 2 granddaughters (daughters of Naiche), a grandnephew and a grandniece (children of Hugh Chee), and other more distant relatives. Numerous descendants of Cochise survive today through the children of his son Naiche and his daughter Dash-den-zhoos.

Today's Chiricahuas

By 1912, The Chiricahua Band had dwindled to 252 people. They were finally released as prisoners of war with a settlement of $300,000 and permitted to return to New Mexico, but not to Arizona because of continued white opposition. Eighty-two Chiricahuas decided to stay at Fort Sill. The other 170 returned to New Mexico. They first considered Ojo Caliente but found it no longer livable and opted to settle with the Mescaleros on their reservation.

Naiche, son of Cochise, returned with his wife Ha-o-zinne, his mother Dos-teh-seh, widow of Cochise, and his five children. In time Naiche became a skilled hide maker who did artistic representations of White Painted Lady and Sun Dance Ceremony. He became a member of the Dutch Reformed Church and was known as the 'Christian Naiche.' He died in 1921.[26]

**Figure 16 Naiche and Ha-o-zinne**

By 1930, Apaches had seen Apacheria, an area the combined size of Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, shrink from 139 million acres to 48 million, besides losing almost two-thirds of their reservation land. Later, much of their remaining land would be leased to powerful mining and extracting firms for next to nothing, creating a climate of squalor and poverty on the reservation.[27]

Eighty-six Chokonen Chiricahuas went to visit Cochise Country in 1986 to breathe in the mountains, pines, and streams of their ancestors. They all commented on how moving an experience it was to return to their homeland, that the old ways were still alive, that traditions stay forever in their blood memory. Today, the great granddaughter of Cochise, Elbys Hugar, who lives at Mescalero, remains active in sustaining Chiricahua/Apache culture by working with universities and museums.[28]

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[1] Harry G Cramer, "Tom Jeffords Indian Agent," *The Journal of Arizona History*, 289-90; Douglas McChristian, *Fort Bowie, Arizona: Combat Post of the Southwest, 1858-1894*,154- 164.

[2] John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 437-38; 464.

[3] Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria*, Chap 14; Cf., Cramer, op. cit., 292-96.

[4] Eve Ball, Indeh: *An Apache Odyssey*, 37-42; "The Tombstone Epitaph," Special Edition on Clum, 2012.

[5] Cramer, op. cit., 295.

[6] www.landofcochise.com/campsite3.html; Doug Hocking, Tom Jeffords, 152-159.

[7] Dan L. Thrapp, *Victoria and the Mimbres Apaches*, 5; Ball, op. cit., 47. The film *Hondo* provides a sympathetic picture of Victorio.

[8] Peter Aleshire, *Warrior Women, the Story of Lozen, Apache Warrior and Shaman*, 161-172.

[9] Dave DeWitt, *Avenging Victorio*; Thrapp, Victorio, *Afterward.*

[10] Thrapp, *Victorio* 293-301

[11] Thrapp*, op. cit*., 218.

[12] Angle Debo, *Geronimo, The Man, His Time, His Place*, 172-192, Paul Andrew Hutton, *The Apache Wars*, 283 - 387. There are several fine films on Geronimo including *Geronimo: An American Legend and Geronimo and the Apache Resistance*, a PBS special. Paul Andrew Hutton, *The Apache Wars*, 283 - 387.

[13] Ball, *op. cit*., 13; Martin Sweeney was grandfather of noted Cochise biographer Edwin R. Sweeney.

[14] Bourke, *op. cit*., 442-443; Dan L. Thrapp, Juh, Univ. Texas, El Paso,1973.

[15] Debo, *op. cit*., 127-133; Aleshire, op. cit., 173-189.

[16] Ball, *op. cit*. 41.

[17] Bud Shapard, *Chief Loco: Apache Peace Maker*, 152-197.

[18] Britton Davis, *The Truth about Geronimo*, Bourke, *op. cit*., 443.

[19] Will Henry, *Chiricahua*.

[20] Ball, *op. cit*. Chap 12; Thrapp, *op. cit*., 41.

[21] Paul I. Wellman, *Death in the Desert*, 241-247; Robert M. Utley, *Geronimo*, 172-178; the film, *Ulanza's Raid*, captures moral issues connected with race, nationalism, expansionism, and war.

[22] Bourke, *op. cit*. Chaps 27-28.

[23] Charles Galewood, *Lt. Charles Gatewood & His Apache War Memoir*, 113-158.

[24] Bourke *op. cit*., 485; General Crook, *U. S. Serial No. 2682, Doc. 35*. 3.

[25] *Geronimo, His Own Story*, 167-70.

[26] Janet Cantley, *Out of Geronimo's Shadow*, "Native People" 54-58; Sharon S. Magee, *The Last Chief: Cochise's Son*, Arizona Highway 32-34. (10/2002)

[27] Utley, *op. cit*., 221-262; PBS, *Geronimo, and the Apache Resistance*; see recent Article (Cf., https://survivalsolidarity.wordpress.com/apache-resistance-to-copper-mining-in-arizona/) on a forced land swiped deal between Resolution Copper and San Carlos Apache Reservation regarding loss of sacred land at Oak Flat; www.nytimes.com/2015/05/29/opinion/selling-off- Apache-holy-land-html?

[28] H. Henrietta Stockel, Women of the Apache Nation, 63-87.

## FOURTEEN
## THE COCHISE MYTHOS

*"A hero is someone who gives his or her life to something bigger than oneself."*

-- Joseph Campbell--

Cochise's life journey encompassed many of the features identified by Joseph Campbell in *The Hero's Journey*, from the call to lead (Royal lineage), confronting threats (Bascom/Pindah), being tested by fire (Apache Pass), struggling with the dark side (Ghost Sickness), uncertainty of peace (Canada Alamosa), finding an elixir (Jeffords), and renewal (Howard/Chiricahua Reservation). It was these archetypal passages and challenges that shaped him from warrior and destroyer, to sage and healer. As warrior leader he was exceptional, keeping at bay an emerging giant on the verge of becoming a global superpower. As peacemaker he was even more extraordinary, leading his people into the unknowns of modernity so that they could survive and live, unlike their Anasazi predecessors.

Cochise's story is about a warrior confronted by the Pindah conquest of Apacheria which was very costly for both sides in human lives and resources. Of all the Apache bands, the Chiricahuas were the fiercest despite their small numbers. In the 1860s, there were perhaps 6,000 to 8,000 Apaches, of which the Chiricahuas had at most 2,000 people. Cochise, called by his adversaries the Red Napoleon, and his Chokonen, were masters of guerilla warfare, products of a superior indigenous warrior training that emphasized how to blend into the landscape and organize small, fast-moving war parties that were more than a match for plodding Army conscripts, or isolated American and Mexican ranches and villages. The superiority of Apache training neutralized somewhat the Pindah and Mexican advantage in numbers and technology. It anticipated the modern strategy of counterinsurgency, or guerilla wars of liberation so characteristic of our time.

Upon his death, Cochise was transformed into a mythic figure bigger than life, a heroic archetype whose personality and character bestowed upon him an immortality that transcended life itself and made him an essential metaphor in the larger history of the Apache people and of the southwest. Part of his greatness lay in his ability to evolve from being primarily an archetypical warrior seeking revenge for the Bascom affair to a sage and healer. He knew deep in his heart that were the Apache to survive, a path other than war had to be pursued.

Of all the Apache leaders, Cochise was the most philosophical, reflective, and commanding. During more than sixty years of life, he went through an extraordinary metamorphosis. Born during a time of relative peace in which the Apaches literally dominated the southwest, then as a young man, he witnessed the outbreak of hostilities between the Apaches and Mexicans. This reality became a permanent part of his political and cultural landscape.

Cochise was highly spiritual, mystical, and meditative about life, his people and their relations with Mexicans and whites. He thought about the future and the need for the Apaches to change in response to the Big Storm represented by the numerous and technically adept Americans. He feared for his lands, as it became clear by the end of the 1860s that even the death of ten Pindah for every Apache could not stem the tide of American settlers flooding into Apacheria.

Extraordinarily generous, Cochise always placed the needs of his people before his own. He hid from his People the painful stomach disease that was killing him--an illness that was the result of his herculean efforts and the ghost sickness to save the Apache culture. Daily, Cochise clung to nothing, giving away his possessions and food to the elderly, orphans, and widows.

Deeply revered by his people, Cochise inspired tremendous respect. His word was his life, and any follower who disobeyed his instructions, did so at their own peril. Only his first wife, Dos-teh-seh, his sister, his brother Coyuntura, and Tom Jeffords would ever think of challenging or questioning him. Even the legendary Mangas Coloradas deferred to his son-in-law. For Cochise, his word was his honor, he took great pride in keeping it pure. To dishonor his word was a terrible affront that could not be tolerated. It would put him in harm's way and, more important, jeopardize the continued existence of his people.

Jeffords said it best about Cochise: "I found him to be a man of great natural ability, a splendid specimen of physical manhood, standing about six feet tall, with the eye of an eagle. He respected me, and I respected him. He was a man, who scorned a liar, was always truthful in all things. His religion was truth and loyalty."

Cochise, as a statesman and sage, recognized that the season had changed for the Chiricahuas, and that he would have to make accommodations with a belligerent culture by finding a bridge between the two hostile worlds. In Tom Jeffords, (Red Beard), Cochise found that bridge, and they established an unbreakable friendship that transcended cultural differences.

Jeffords, unlike his peers, saw the Apache as something more than a dangerous animal that needed to be exterminated. Cochise and Jeffords quickly bonded. Their relationship became a model for a new accommodation between two warring cultures, confirming a deep truth that individuals, despite cultural differences, can become exemplars of mutual acceptance by recognizing the sacredness of each other's humanity. Their brotherhood ultimately pointed to a new America which, even in the twenty-first century, struggles to become grounded in the principles of diversity and inclusiveness.

In 1872, with the assistance of Jeffords, Cochise was able to end the war on his own terms. General Otis Howard agreed to a Chiricahua reservation that encompassed the

traditional lands grounded on the Chiricahua and Dragoon Mountains. Cochise then persuaded Jeffords to become Agent to the proposed Chiricahua Reservation. Jeffords, until Cochise's death, was able to manage it free of military presence, despite the opposition of General Crook. Their relationship was so intimate that when Cochise lay dying, he told his oldest son Taza, the heir apparent, to consult always with Red Beard before making any decision affecting the future of the Band and to live in peace forever.

Cochise was one of those irreplaceable leaders whose death triggered a downward spiral for his people. His band, the Chokonen and the Chiricahuas in general, fell into another period of bloodshed, mayhem and misunderstanding with the Apaches cast in the role of the savage villain. In the next decade, new leaders emerged led by Victorio, Juh and Geronimo who became swept up by a doomed, somewhat self-destructive effort to challenge the shortsighted, bigoted policies of the Federal government.

Even his enemies came to admire Cochise's integrity. On February 1, 1881, five years after his death, the landscape dominated by the Dragoon and Chiricahua Mountains saw fit to call it Cochise County after him, the only county in Arizona to honor an Indian.

His story and that of his People have now become an integral part of the mythology and history of Arizona and New Mexico, and have taken on a life of its own, transcending indeed the limitations of time and space, for it is a universal narrative that captures the insatiable desire of all oppressed peoples to be free and to maintain their own unique identity even against overwhelming odds. There is something heroic about the unquenchable mythos of freedom, and Cochise captures its timelessness, as exemplified by the remarkable Cochise Head, a rock formation located in the Chiricahua Mountains that testifies to high purpose.

In the twentieth century, the Cochise legend went national because of Hollywood and television, and the powerful civil rights movement that emerged after World War

Beginning in the late 40s and through the 60s, there would be a spate of films *(Broken Arrow, Battle at Apache Pass, Taza, Son of Cochise,* etc.) dealing with Cochise and the Apaches as metaphors for human dignity, the struggle for freedom and equal rights. Cochise, and the Apache resistance, had foreshadowed the liberation and civil rights movements of the twentieth century.

From 1956-1960, Cochise became a national household icon as a popular television series with Michael Ansara playing the lead. He was portrayed as a person of exceptional integrity and authenticity who sought justice and respect. Unfortunately, Indian actors were not present except for Jay Silverheels, a Mohawk. Although Hollywood was willing to take on risky social issues such as race, war, and civil liberties through the lens of the Apache experience, it still was not prepared to open its industry to native and indigenous actors. Bigotry prevailed, as whites played key Indian parts, making these films fall short of the integrity and truthfulness that Cochise would have demanded. Nonetheless, the focus on Cochise did open the door to retrieve the humanity of the First People, this movement culminated with the American Indian Movement of the 1970s triggered by the seizure of Alcatraz, when the tribes of Indian Country demanded sovereignty and cultural respect, as had been exemplified by one of their noblest figures, Cochise.

Even in the twenty-first century, Cochise still holds a transcending fascination for scholars and amateurs. His memorial located in his beloved Dragoons best captures his warrior/sage/healer/avatar presence with these simple words:

Chief Cochise

Greatest of Apache Warrior

Died June 8,1874

In This His Favorite Stronghold

Interred Secretly by His Followers

The Exact Place of Burial Was Known

To Only One White Man—

His Blood Brother

Thomas J. Jeffords

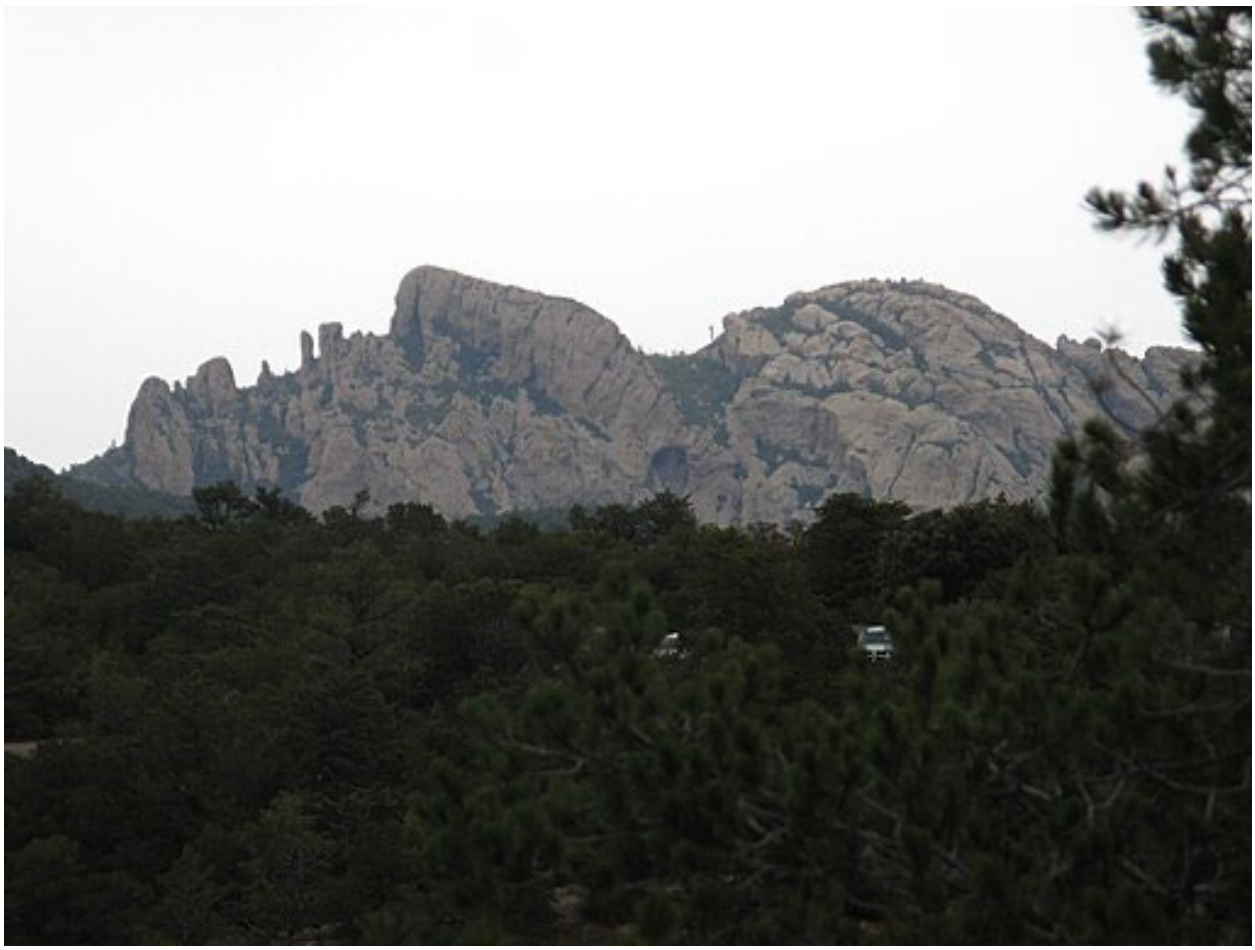

**Figure 17 Cochise's Head, Chiracahua National Monument. Photo by Hakkun under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 license**

## GLOSSARY

Apache Cultural Terms

**Apache** is a Puebloan word that means enemy, foreigner, and stranger. It was the term to describe the Tinneh when they first arrived in the southwest, forcing them to find safety in mountain fortresses.

**Child-of-Water**, the youngest son of White Painted Lady, was warrior hero of the Apache People, who freed the Tinneh of the threatening Giants making life possible. As cultural archetype he embraced the power of the bow, symbolizing a hunter and gatherer lifestyle, characterized by maintaining a sustainable relationship with Earth Woman.

Coyote Stories are morality tales that embody the best and the worst of Apache behavior. They provide the listener with critical insights into cultural thought and social behavior, carrying important life lessons about survival.

Gaan, supernatural Spirits or Crown Dancers, that were sent by Ussen to show the Apaches how to stay balanced and to shelter them from diseases and enemies. Legend has it that the Gaan abandoned the Tinneh for mountain caves because of their persistent ignorance. Nevertheless, the Gaan remained friendly and were invoked for healing to protect the People from their enemies.

Killer-of-Enemies, the older son of White Painted Lady, unlike Child-of-Water, became wedded to technology and was progenitor of the White Eyes, who unlike their Apache counterpart were a race grounded in materialism, technology, and commerce.

Medicine Wheel, a metaphor for harmony and interconnectedness of Existence. It embraces the four elements, directions, colors, seasons, and stages of life. It was often used for healing, prophecy, location, and personal transformation.

Pindah, Apache word for White Eyes. It comes from the whiteness of the American iris in contrast to the brownish iris of the Tinneh.

Sunrise Ceremony, a four-day rite of passage in which a young Apache girl passes from adolescence to adulthood. During the ceremony, the girl takes on the persona of White Painted Lady which bestows upon her great healing power.

Tinneh or Dineh, Apache word for the People, indicative of the pre-eminence of the community over the individual. The People were considered greater than the sum of their individual parts. Apaches always introduced themselves as Tinneh or Dineh.

Ussen or Giver of Life represents the Ultimate Mystery from which everything flowed. It was Ussen who brought light into darkness and created the earth and warned White Painted Lady of an oncoming deluge. Apaches prayed to Ussen for health, wisdom, longevity, and goodness.

White Painted Lady stands at the heart of the Apache Creation Story. She is sometimes called Changing Women or Shell Women. She was impregnated by the Power of Lighting and Rain and gave birth to two sons: Child-of-Water and Killer-of-Enemies. Legend has it that these events occurred near White Sands, New Mexico, where she took refuge in an abalone shell to avoid a great flood.

Wickiup, Apache word for a circular domed family dwelling erected by women and composed of arch poles of willow and oak covered with grass and hides. Wickiups were temporary shelters reflecting the Apache nomadic lifestyle.

Chiricahua Apache Bands

Chokonen, or Central Chiricahuas, (Sunrise, or People of the Forest), led by Cochise, occupied the southeast corner of Arizona between the Chiricahua and the Dragoon Mountains.

A Western band led by Mangas Coloradas were called Mimbres or Chihennes. (Red Paint/Powder or Copper Mines); whereas the eastern band, Ojo Caliente (Warm Springs), New Mexico, was led by Victorio, Nana and Lozen.

Bedonkohes, (Standing in Front of the Enemy), represented by Geronimo, lived in Gila River and Mogollan Mountains. They were the smallest band and often absorbed by either Chihennes or Chokonen.

Southern band, called Nednhis, (Enemy People or People Who Made Trouble), headed by Juh (Ho), occupied the Sierra Madres or Blue Mountains of northern Mexico bordering Chihuahua and Sonora.

Cochise's Family Members/Inner Circle

Cochise had a sister whose name remains unknown, but who according to oral tradition, was one of a very few who ever dared to question and challenge his decisions. Married Nahilzay Cochise's chief lieutenant.

Cochise had a second wife whose name perhaps was Nahlekadeya, and who gave birth to two daughters named Dash-dan-zhoos and Naithlotonz in the 1850s or 60s. Neither has surviving descendants. They did, however, live through the prisoner-of-war period, 1886-1913, returning to Mescalero Reservation. Apache custom demanded that once a person died the name of the person could never be repeated, as it impeded transition to the Spirit World. This custom creates difficulty in researching and tracing genealogy. Cochise took a fourth wife, whom he married late, around the treaty time of General Howard. She was feisty and their relationship stormy. In one episode, according to Howard she bit Cochise's hand.

Coyuntura (Kin-o-tera), closest brother to Cochise. He often served as a sounding board and advisor. His wife Yones spoke Spanish and negotiated with Mexicans in Sonora and Chihuahua. Coyuntura had a son, Chie, who guided General O. O. Howard to Cochise's camp in the Dragoon Mountains in fall of 1872. Coyuntura was hanged by Lieutenant Bascom at Apache Pass in February 1861, triggering the Apache Wars.

Cochise was devastated by the death of his brother Coyuntura. Cochise, according to Sweeney, possibly married Coyuntura's wife Yones and raised his son Chie.

Dos-teh-seh (Something already cooks by the fire or Opal), daughter of Mangas Coloradas. Dos-teh-seh was beautiful and intelligent who after the death of Coyuntura became Cochise's alter ego. Cochise and she married in the late 1830s. She gave birth to two boys, Taza and Naiche.

Elbys Naiche Hugar is a great-granddaughter of Cochise and granddaughter of Naiche. Elbys lives on Mescalero Reservation, where she has taken a leadership role in preserving Apache culture by bringing back the language. She has been curator of Mescalero Apache Cultural Center and has served as a film consultant for the film *The Missing.*

Juan Cochise's younger brother was known for his humor, physical size, and fun making. Though lacking the seriousness and insight of Coyuntura his laughter was often good medicine for Cochise.

Mangas Coloradas, (Red Sleeve), leader of the Mimbres was Cochise's father-in-law and mentor, who guided him in leadership and diplomacy in the 1840s and 50s. They were extraordinarily close and often combined their respective resources. Mangas fought with Cochise at Apache Pass. In 1863, Mangas death and defilement at the hands of the American Military intensified the War, with leadership passing to Cochise.

Naiche (Wei-chi-ti or Mischief Maker), Cochise's younger son was born in the mid-1850s. Naiche in looks favored his father Cochise. He never got over the death of Taza, blaming Clum. After Taza's death, Naiche emerged as leader of the Chokonen and played a significant role in the Geronimo conflicts of 1870s and '80s. He was, however, never close to Geronimo. He and Geronimo surrendered to General Miles in 1886 and then with the rest of the Chiricahuas were sent to Florida and Alabama as prisoners-of-

war. In 1894, Naiche, along with the remaining Chiricahuas, was sent from Florida to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where they would remain prisoners until 1913. Then Naiche and 77 others were released and moved to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico, where he died in 1921.

Pisago Cabezon probably is Cochise's father, although Relles, another leader, is sometimes mentioned as a possibility. Daklugie, on the other hand, insisted that it was Juan Jose Compa who was Cochise's father, but not possible as Juan Jose was Chihenne. Pisago led the Chokonen in the 1830s and 40s and introduced Cochise to leadership. In 1846, Cabezon and Cochise's mother were treacherously ambushed by the notorious Chihuahua bounty hunter James Kirker at Galena.

Taza (Raccoon), Cochise's eldest son, was born around 1840. He looked more like his grandfather, Mangas Coloradas, although smaller in stature. Cochise trained Taza to be his heir and had him promise on his death bed in June 1874 to follow the road of peace with Jeffords. Taza, along with Tom Jeffords, witnessed the collapse of the Chiricahua Reservation, and although disheartened by it, he agreed to lead his people to San Carlos. Only half the band followed. Later Taza, along with Indian Agent John P. Clum, celebrated the American Centennial in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, he caught pneumonia and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington with General Otis Howard looking on, in September 1876.

Cochise's Mentors/Lieutenants

Chato was a significant player who was at Dragoon Springs Treaty with General Howard in 1872. He later scouted for General Crook and assisted in bringing about the capture of Geronimo and Naiche. Ironically, despite receiving a silver medal from President Cleveland for services, he was arrested with Geronimo and other alleged renegade Apaches in 1886 and sent eastward as a prisoner of war for 27 years until 1913.

El Cautivo (The Captive) was raised by Mexicans, spoke Spanish, and often acted as translator for Cochise. He was the main translator at the peace talks between Cochise and Howard in 1872.

Skinyea was an influential di-yin or medicine man, half-brother to Poinsenay, father-in-law to Naiche, was quite unhappy with Taza, and sided likewise with Geronimo, Juh, and Poinsenay, who opposed the move to San Carlos. In 1876, he was killed by Naiche for breaking the peace.

Geronimo, a Bedonkohe, was born perhaps near Clifton Arizona in 1829. He was named Goyakhla (One Who Yawns). His life was radically altered by the death of his wife Alope, three children and mother in 1850. His Mexican enemies named him Geronimo that he carried the rest of his life. Geronimo was a war shaman who had exceptional powers. He became close to Mangas Coloradas and Juh, his brother-in-law. Geronimo, though fighting with Cochise and Naiche was never close. His name is usually associated with the culmination of the Apache Wars.

Lozen was the remarkable warrior sister of Victorio, who had the ability to anticipate the movement of the enemy through an itch in her palms. Tragically, she was not at Tres Castillos, where her brother Victorio was killed, but would fight with Geronimo and Naiche until the final Apache surrender to General Miles in 1886.

Miguel Narbona was a leading Chokonen war leader who took Cochise under his wing during the 1840s exposing him to the strategy and art of warfare. He was responsible for liberating Cochise after his capture in Fronteras. In the 1850s, he disappeared, apparently killed in fighting Mexicans.

Nahilzay, Cochise's key war leader. He and Cochise were remarkably close, and he married Cochise's sister. Nahilzay would remain loyal to Taza as power shifted to him. In 1876, Nahilzay, however, broke with Taza and joined Poinsenay in Mexico, only to

return to San Carlos. Later he joined with Naiche fleeing from San Carlos in 1881 after the death of the Prophet. He was captured at that time by Mexicans in Chihuahua and never heard of again.

Nana was Victorio's loyal follower in 1880. At eighty, he avenged Victorio's death through his famous thousand-mile raid throughout New Mexico where he captured hundreds of horses, eluded a thousand soldiers, and was involved in eight battles before returning safely to Juh's Rancheria in the Sierra Madres.

Poinsenay was a Chiricahua leader who opposed peace and became a troublemaker after Cochise's death. His opposition led to the closing of the Chiricahua Reservation. In September 1876, Poinsenay got drunk and had an altercation with the American trader Nick Rogers over more whiskey. Poinsenay returned in a drunken rage, killing Rogers and his partner Orizoba Spence. Poinsenay was wounded later by Taza, escaped, and was killed by Mexicans near Janos in 1877.

Victorio emerged upon the death of Mangas Coloradas as the dominant Chihenne leader. Although he sought to keep the peace, his desire to establish a reservation at his beloved Ojo Caliente was sabotaged by American bureaucratic incompetency, leading to the Victorio Wars, 1879-80. Victorio was killed at the hands of Mexican troops at Tres Castillos.

Mexican/American Adversaries

Camp Grant Massacre occurred on April 30, 1871, leading to the death of more than 140 Aravaipa Apaches, all women, and children. It was orchestrated by Tucson leaders: William Oury, Sidney Delong, and Jesus Elias. The massacre was a classic example of the dark side of racism in which the ringleaders were released after a nineteen-minute trial by their peers. It did lead, however, to the Grant Peace Policy which ended the war with Cochise.

Felix Ward, a Coyotero-Mexican, was taken from the ranch of his stepfather, John Ward, in October,1860, by a band of Apaches that Ward claimed was Cochise's Chokonen. Felix later adopted the name of Mickey Free, and although he served as a scout against Geronimo, he was despised by both Apache and whites as being untrustworthy.

General George R. Crook (GreyWolf) came from Ohio, attended West Point, and fought extensively in the Civil War. He is best remembered for his involvements in the Indian Wars, especially the Lakota Sioux and the Apaches. He changed strategy against the Apaches by introducing the mule and using Apache scouts to pursue hostiles. Crook never fought Cochise although he itched to do so as Cochise came to terms with Howard in 1872. Later, Crook played a key role in the Geronimo conflict from 1882-86. He was much respected by the Apaches, who called him Nantan Lupan.

General James Carleton became head of the California Relief column that freed the southwest of Confederate presence. His troops encountered Cochise at Apache Pass during the summer of 1862, leading Carleton to establish Fort Bowie there to interdict the Chiricahuas. Carleton conducted a harsh war against the Navajos and Mescaleros. His extermination order consisted of killing all men whenever and wherever you can find them. In 1867, Carleton was reassigned in part over controversy about his policies and died in San Antonio of pneumonia. His no quarter attitude toward Indians was quite popular in the southwest.

General Oliver Otis Howard, was born in Maine, graduated from West Point, and fought in the Civil War losing his right arm at First Bull Run. He was known as the Bible General and played a leading role during Reconstruction in assisting Blacks to transition through the Freedman Bureau to socio-economic independence. Howard was sent by President Grant to end the Apache Wars, and with the assistance of Tom Jeffords, he met

with Cochise in October 1872 and signed a treaty ending the conflict. Cochise was impressed by Howard's courage and honesty.

James Johnson was a bounty hunter and trader who had settled in Mexico. In 1837, he led a group of Missourians into commerce with the Chihenne Juan Jose Compa and his Apaches. Apparently, during the last day of trading near the copper mine of Santa Rita del Cobre, Johnson fired a hidden cannon loaded with chain, glass and nail that killed Juan and many others. This dastardly act was a contributing factor to growing tensions between Pindah and Apaches.

James Kirker, an Irish American trader, mountain man and scalp hunter whose name is associated with the Galena Massacre in Chihuahua in 1846. More than a hundred and fifty Apaches, mostly women and children, were killed. Cochise lost his father and mother there. This event solidified Apache hatred of Mexicans and distrust of Americans. Kirker later served in the Mexican American War and then came to California during the Gold Rush, dying in Contra Costa County.

James Tevis was Cochise's arch-enemy managed Apache Pass Station in the late 1850s. They had several altercations before Tevis left Apache Pass for the gold of Pinos Altos. He joined the Confederacy and saw action throughout the conflict. In 1880, Tevis returned to Arizona to mine in the Dos Cabezas Mountains, managed a southern Pacific RR Hotel in Bowie, and was elected to the Territorial Legislature. He is best remembered for his *Arizona in the 50s* in which he recounts his clashes with Cochise.

Lieutenant George Bascom came from Kentucky, graduated from West Point near the bottom of his class, and was sent out by Lieutenant Colonel Pitcairn Morrison to find Felix Ward. This led to what became known as the Bascom Affair, the encounter with Cochise, which precipitated twenty-five years of Apache Wars. According to Charles D. Poston, considered the Father of Arizona, Bascom was unfortunately a fool.

Merejildo Grijalva, a Mexican raised by Cochise in the 1850s who escaped through the intervention of Indian Agent Michael Steck, and later became one of Cochise's formidable enemies. What made him so dangerous a military scout was that he thought Apache and was familiar with Cochise's hiding places within the Chiricahuas/Dragoons.

Michael Steck, Indian Agent, was sent to the southwest to work out peace arrangements with the Chiricahuas. He met Cochise in December 1858. He was the first American to recognize the Chokonen as a separate Apache band and sought to enter an understanding with Cochise about the Butterfield Line by offering cattle, corn, blankets, and kettles. Cochise was disappointed by the quantity of supplies provided. Though Steck attempted to create a reservation solution for the Apaches, his attempts failed, and he returned east.

Tom Jeffords was born in western New York, sailed on the Great Lakes, hence the title Captain. He came to the southwest in late 50s looking for gold and silver; later scouted for the military and managed the mail from Tucson. He became Cochise's close friend (Blood Brother) after meeting him in the stronghold to discuss safety of the mail riders. At Canada Alamosa, he traded with the Apaches and was instrumental in ending the Apache War as he led General Oliver Otis Howard to meet with Cochise in fall 1872. Jeffords became Indian Agent at Cochise's insistence, holding it to 1876, when the Chiricahua Reservation was closed by John Clum. He would do some scouting against Geronimo and then settled at Owl Head Buttes, north of Tucson. Jeffords was buried at Evergreen Cemetery in 1914. The Daughters of American Colonists have placed a stone there honoring Jeffords, which reads: "Friend and Blood Brother to Cochise."

The Tucson Ring consisted of politicians and, suppliers, merchants, and Indian haters, who got rich off the Indian Problem by fomenting racism and fear among Whites.

The Ring, an earlier version of the Military-Industrial complex, was instrumental in undermining the Howard- Cochise peace agreement that established the Chiricahua Reservation in Southeastern Arizona.

Apache/Spanish Words

Apache (Popular Zuni/Mexican American name for Tinneh meaning strangers or foreigners)

Cheis (Cochise's name means oak; later Co was added to it)

Child-of-Water (Mythical Hero of Chiricahuas)

Chiricahua (Land of Standing- up Rocks)

Cochise Head (Specific geological formation in Chiricahuas that is known as Cochise Head)

Coyote Tales (Morality Tales)

Dikohe (Warrior novice)

Di-yin (Medicine Man)

Enju (Good)

Gaan (Protective Healing Mountain Spirits)

Hesh-kes (Wild Ones)

Killer-of-Enemies (Elder brother of Child-of-Water and progenitor of White culture)

Los Barbaros (Spanish/Mexican word for Apaches)

Medicine Wheel (Circular Symbol for Life)

Mestizo (Spanish for mixed bloods)

Earth Woman (Nurturing Source of Life)

Pindah (Apache for Whites derived from whiteness of American iris)

Rancheria (Apache Encampment)

Rock People (Metaphor for Wisdom, and an integral part of Sweat Ceremony)

Seven-Cities-of-Gold (Fictional Cities sought by Coronado)

Sunrise Ceremony (Women Rites of Passage)

Sweat Lodge (Purification Ceremony)

Thunder People (Lighting)

Tinneh (The People)

Two-legged (Apache for humans)

Ugashe (Be gone)

Ussen (Life Giver, Ultimate Mystery)

Web-of-Life (Metaphor for totality of Existence)

White Painted Lady (Mother or Feminine Archetype)

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My inspiration for this biography came from Elliott Arnold's, Blood Brother, 1 published in 1947. My research on Cochise and Apaches drew heavily on the works of two other writers: Edwin R. Sweeney and Peter Aleshire. I consider Sweeney to be the current Apache expert, who has done enormous work on Apache biography and history.

Peter Aleshire has enriched the story by adding culture and the importance of the land into the story. Sweeney's series begins with Cochise through Mangas Coloradas to Geronimo. Aleshire's works include Cochise, Lozen, as well as his study on General Crook, and Geronimo.

In addition, I have drawn on classical works, including those of Morris Edward Opler on Apache culture, Eve Ball's insightful work Indeh, John Cremony, Life among the Apaches, and Geronimo's story as told to S. M. Barrett. Other significant works include Dan L. Thrapp's study on Victorio, David Roberts' Once They Moved like The Wind, and Donald E. Worcester's The Apaches. An older noteworthy historical fictional account is Paul I. Wellman's Death in the Desert.

Elliot Arnold, *Blood Brother*, remains the best fictional account about Cochise and Jeffords.

Edwin R. Sweeney has written a series of fine histories on the Apaches: *Cochise: Chiricahua Apache Chief; Merejildo Grijalva: Apache Captive; Mangas Coloradas, Chief of the Chiricahua Apaches; From Cochise to Geronimo*; Ed. Making Peace with Cochise: The 1872 Journal of Capitan Joseph Alton Sladen.

Peter Aleshire teaches at Arizona State University and has written different accounts about the Apaches: *Warrior Woman; The Fox and The Whirlwind: General George Crook and Geronimo, A Paired Biography; Reaping the Whirlwind: The Apache Wars; Cochise the Life and Times of the Great Apache Chief*.

Morris Edward Opler, *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahuas Apache Indians; An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians.* Classic works on Chiricahua culture.

Eve Ball, An *Apache Odyssey: Indeh.* This work is a wonderful source of primary material about the Apache experience from Juh to imprisonment.

John C. Cremony, *Life among the Apaches. **A*** ten-year account by Cremony of his Apache experiences from the Bartlett Boundary Commission to the Battle at Apache Pass.

Ed. Frederick Turner, *Geronimo: His Own Life Story.* Geronimo shared his story with S.M. Barrett in 1906, much of which intersects with Cochise.

Dan. L. Thrapp, The Conquest *of Apacheria; Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches.* Thrapp explores in sympathetic terms the war for Apacheria and the tragedy of Victorio whose only crime was to live peacefully at Ojo Caliente.

David Roberts. *Once They Moved like The Wind*. Roberts has written a fast-moving account of the Apache Wars from Cochise to Geronimo.

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Paul I. Wellman. *Death in the Desert: The Fifty Year's War for the Great Southwest.* This is an older but nonetheless excellent, fast paced history of the Apache Wars.

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