

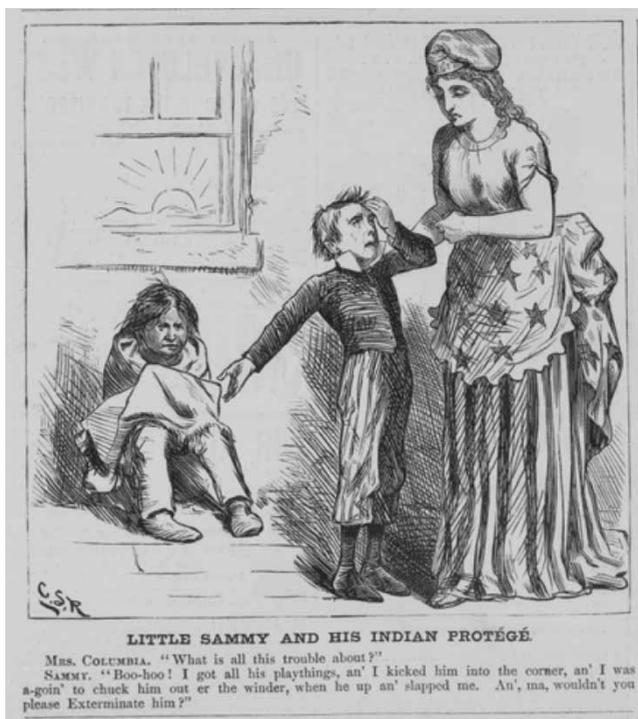
# “The broad platform of extermination”: nature and violence in the nineteenth century North American borderlands

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This article investigates the dominant trope in the nineteenth century discourse on Native Americans extermination through a historical analysis of the experience of the Apache people of the U.S.–Mexico borderlands. Much of the appeal of extermination for Anglo-Americans was the notion’s convenient ability to naturalize the violence of settler colonialism—an impulse that rendered the nineteenth century the “era of extermination.” In contrast, Apache communities created narratives underscoring the human forces driving extermination. Such distinctions highlight the virtues for students of genocide of paying closer attention to the recent work of Native American historians, especially that emphasizing indigenous culture and agency.

In 1864, an Anglo-American rancher in Arizona named King Woolsey dispatched a letter to the territory’s military commander. Woolsey had recently led a number of civilian expeditions against the local Apache peoples, and he felt obliged to defend his extra-legal violence to territorial authorities. “As there has been a great deal said about my killing women and children,” he wrote, “I will state to you that we killed in this Scout 22 Bucks 5 women & 3 children. We would have killed more women but [did not] owing to having attacked in the day time when the women were at work gathering Mescal [cactus]. It sir is next to impossible to prevent killing squaws in jumping a rancheria even were we disposed to save them. For my part I am frank to say that I fight on the broad platform of extermination.”<sup>1</sup>

By literally and figuratively underscoring the word “extermination” in his correspondence, Woolsey invoked the nineteenth century United States’ most common term for discussing the fate of North America’s indigenous peoples. Records from the period are saturated with references to Native American extermination—as possibility, promise, threat, even humour. Nine years after Woolsey composed his letter to Arizona’s military authorities, the artist Charles Stanley Reinhart created a cartoon for *Harper’s Weekly* that depicted a sullen Indian slumped by



**Figure 1.** Extermination as Comic Relief (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-105121.) Source: Harper's Weekly, May 3, 1873.

an open window while a juvenile Uncle Sam complained to his mother, personified by that other symbol of American nationhood, Columbia. In response to his mother's queries, "Little Sammy" stated "Boo hoo! I got all his playthings, an' I kicked him into the corner, an' I was a-goin' to chuck him out er the winder, when he up an' slapped me. An', ma, wouldn't you please Exterminate him?"

Investigating how the concept of extermination shaped nineteenth century interactions with Native Americans ought to compel the attention of far more than just students of the "dark and bloody ground" of the American West. Although often treated by U.S. and non-U.S. historians alike as the foundation of a perceived American exceptionalism, the efforts of the United States to assert control over the western reaches of North America correspond with one of the globe's pre-eminent ages of imperial expansion—the long nineteenth century, during which Germany, France, Great Britain, and other European powers scrambled to claim vast portions of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. As Ben Kiernan and others have noted, the agrarian and utopian ideologies of "civilization" and "progress" that animated these imperial projects often contained a dark inner core—a "logic of elimination" in the words of Patrick Wolfe—in which the dominance of newly arriving settlers was predicated upon

the disappearance of indigenous societies. By the nineteenth century, this logic acquired much of its power from contemporary thought about the natural world, especially the notion of the extermination of species. As none other than Charles Darwin put it in *Descent of Man*, “At some future time period. . . the civilized races of men will almost certainly exterminate, and replace, the savage races throughout the world.”<sup>2</sup>

What this blending of the human and the natural obscured (often conveniently so) was how precisely the predicted disappearance of Native Americans was to take place. Was it a purely natural process, akin to extinction? Or was it an explicit policy, brought about by direct human action? The American commentator George Ellis highlighted the stakes underlying these “interesting and exciting questions” in 1882:

Not unfrequently, in place of the milder word *extinction* the sterner word *extermination* is boldly used to define the alternative fate of the Indians. The difference between the words hardly needs to be morally defined here. One may speak of the extinction of the Indians as a result which might follow from natural agencies, irresistible and not requiring any external force to insure it. Extermination implies the use of violent measures to effect it.<sup>3</sup>

This essay revisits the issues Ellis and many others raised in the nineteenth century through a close investigation of the territory that produced Woolsey and his actions in support of “the broad platform of extermination.” In so doing, it situates itself at the uneasy intersection of genocide studies and Native American history. The reason for this unease can be traced to the fact that, unlike scholars of genocide, who focus on the perpetrators of mass violence, practitioners of the so-called “new Indian history” have sought to recover the historical agency of Native Americans and recast Indians as active co-creators of a “New World for all” in North America. This difference reflects not simply differing academic agendas but also the fact that for many present-day Native American communities, the narrative of Indian decline and disappearance central to genocide studies can itself be an object of suspicion. Dwelling on past annihilations is sometimes seen in Native communities as reinforcing mainstream notions of Indians as “vanished” and therefore undercutting present Native efforts to reclaim treaty rights, establish federal tribal recognition, and otherwise assert sovereignty. Indeed, it is revealing to note that as much as the recent flowering of academic histories from Native American scholars foregrounds the brutalities visited upon their communities, this literature seldom employs genocide as a way to describe the violence of the past, favouring instead less charged terms such as colonialism.<sup>4</sup>

In keeping with the belief that interpretative issues of the sort that the tension between genocide studies and Native American history raises are most fully revealed in a specific setting, the pages below attempt to unravel how extermination operated among both settlers *and* Native Americans in a small but revealing corner of nineteenth century North America. The targets of the extermination campaigns of Woolsey and his compatriots were the diverse array of Athapaskan peoples known to outsiders as Apaches and to themselves, depending on dialect, as *Nnēē* or *Ndee* (“the People”). The Apache had been exposed to

European colonialism since the arrival of the Spanish in the borderlands in the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Over the intervening centuries, by alternately raiding and trading with European colonists, Apache bands incorporated an array of “Old World” goods, such as livestock and cotton cloth, into their daily lives. Although Apache communities suffered dramatic violence during these years as well, it was not until after the United States acquired much of northern Mexico in the 1840s and 1850s that the Apache faced the greatest threat to their existence. Spanish and Mexican officials had spoken upon occasion of their hopes for the “total extermination” of the Apache, or of discovering “the most serious and efficient means to exterminate these nomadic tribes.” But only with the arrival of large numbers of Anglo-American settlers and the U.S. Army in the borderlands in the mid-nineteenth century would these visions of extermination become, as we shall see, a tangible possibility.<sup>6</sup>

### **“To utterly destroy”: extermination in nineteenth century Arizona**

The term at the centre of so much nineteenth century thought about indigenous peoples can be traced to the Latin word *exterminatus*, meaning beyond (*ex*) a boundary (*terminatus*). By the early 1800s, however, extermination had acquired in contemporary Anglo-American usage a far harsher edge. As Richard Trench observed in his 1873 work, *A Select Glossary of English Words Used Formerly in Senses Different from their Present*, “our fathers, more true to the etymology” understood exterminate to mean “to drive men out of and beyond their own borders.” But, reported Trench, extermination “now signifies to destroy, to abolish.” Likewise, noted Trench’s contemporary Charles John Smith, “[e]tymologically, the word [exterminate] might mean expulsion, but, as a fact, is never so used.” Rather, extermination had become to mean “[t]o utterly destroy, and so take away from the place of occupation.” As such, extermination was, according to the Smith, synonymous with “eradication” and the opposite of “colonization.”<sup>7</sup>

This juxtaposition of extermination and colonization emerged in sharp relief as Euro-American settlers began to establish ranches and mines in what became in 1863 Arizona Territory. Although a number of the region’s indigenous peoples, most notably the Tohono O’odham (Papago), Akimel O’odham (Pima), and Xalychidom Piipaash (Maricopa), developed productive trade relations with the newcomers, settlers nonetheless found their vision for the region challenged by raids from other Native communities. In the face of these conflicts, the complex mosaic of indigenous peoples in Arizona Territory, with their marked linguistic, political, and cultural differences, became reduced for most incoming settlers down to the two categories—peaceful or hostile—with the term Apache applied to any group believed to be among the latter. “Excepting the Pimas and Maricopas,” recalled one army officer, “the Indians were all called Apaches.”<sup>8</sup>

To many settlers, the solution to this “Apache” threat was correspondingly simple. “Extermination is our only hope, and the sooner the better,” declared a writer for the *Arizona Miner* in 1864. “There is only one way to wage war against the Apaches,” agreed the Arizona mine owner Sylvester Mowry.

“A steady, persistent campaign must be made, following them to their haunts—hunting them to the ‘fastnesses of the mountains.’ They must be surrounded, starved into coming in, surprised or inveigled—by white flags, or any other method, human or divine—and then put to death.”<sup>9</sup> As one newspaper headline summed up the prevailing mood in the territory, “Arizona Settlers Preparing for the Extermination of the Apache.”<sup>10</sup>

With the Civil War soon reducing the U.S. military presence in the region to a minimum, much of this attempted extermination was undertaken by civilian patrols, occasionally guided by skilled Tohono O’odham, Akimel O’odham, or Xalychidom Piipaash trackers. The Connecticut-born judge, Joseph Pratt Allyn, for example, noted upon his arrival in the territory in 1863 that “a war of extermination has in fact already begun. [Apache] Indians are shot wherever seen.” The judge witnessed several organizational meetings for civilian campaigns, at which settlers not only volunteered their own services as “Indian hunters” but also contributed towards a bounty “for Indian scalps.” Such undertakings, according to Allyn, were remarkably popular. “[P]ersons were constantly coming in who wished to join the party, one and all believing and talking of nothing but killing Indians,” he noted. “It is difficult to convey. . . an adequate idea of the intensity of this feeling.”<sup>11</sup>

Although distinct from the U.S. Army’s campaigns against the Apaches, these scouting expeditions nonetheless enjoyed a degree of official support. At one meeting Allyn attended, for instance, the federally appointed governor of Arizona, John Goodwin (a graduate, ironically enough, of Dartmouth College, a school founded to educate Indian youth) encouraged the assembled “Indian hunters” through a speech that, in Allyn’s words, “took all by storm” through its call for “the extermination of the [Apache] Indians.”<sup>12</sup> A few years later, King Woolsey, the advocate of “the broad platform of extermination” would receive a “resolution of thanks” from the Arizona Territorial Legislature for leading “civilian volunteers” against the Apache.<sup>13</sup>

The majority of such volunteers adopted a policy of killing whatever “Apaches” they encountered on their patrols. “[I]t was the rigid rule all over the country,” noted one settler, “to shoot these savages upon sight.” In the minds of many Arizonians, the elusiveness of their Apache foes justified their indiscriminate violence. As one put it, “We have a horror of them [the Apache] that you feel for a ghost. We never see them, but when on the road are always looking over our shoulders in anticipation. When they strike, all we see is the flash of the rifle resting with secure aim over a pile of stones.” Since Americans seldom possessed the skills to deter such raiders, they responded by attacking whatever Apaches they did encounter, on the assumption that, even in the absence of direct evidence, these “savages” were doubtless involved in past or future assaults on Americans.<sup>14</sup>

This logic transformed extermination into a central feature of what the historian Philip J. Deloria has termed the notion of “defensive conquest”: the belief that Euro-Americans were forced into aggression as a result of Indian violence.<sup>15</sup> Fundamental to this concept was the settlers’ projection of their desire for extermination onto the Apache. The true authors of extermination, asserted most

Euro-Americans in Arizona, were not themselves but the region's Native Americans. "The Indians really have possession of this Territory," claimed one settler. "It is feared that the Hualapais, the Yavapais, and the different tribes of Apaches, with some straggling Navajoes, have combined for the purpose of exterminating the whites." The ruins of several ancient irrigated settlements in the new territory—in truth the abandoned villages of the ancestors of the Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham—proved to Americans that the Apaches "have been waging for ages. . . unceasing war against the cultivator of the soil." Having supposedly annihilated the farmers who had created these earlier settlements—for Native Americans were, in the Euro-American mind, "perpetually engaged in the work of exterminating each other"—the Apaches were now attempting to do the same to the territory's "Anglo-Saxon" newcomers.<sup>16</sup>

### **"The most savage wild beast": animalizing the Apache Other**

If the stated goal of the mid-nineteenth century civilian campaigns was to preempt the Apaches' attempted extermination of the territory's Euro-Americans, the unstated goal was to call the Apaches' very humanity into question, often through acts designed to emphasize the Indians' animal-like qualities. While on a scout designed to "chastise [the Apache] into peace," for example, the newly arrived settler Daniel Ellis Conner witnessed one of his fellow participants cut the heads off five Apaches slain in the encounter and, much as he would with any other wild animal, use the dead men's brains to tan a deer hide ("[t]he best buckskin I ever seed," the man contended, "was tanned with Injun brains").<sup>17</sup>

Such settlers deployed violence towards the Apache not simply as a tool but as a form of grotesque spectacle, intended to demonstrate the Apache's subhuman status. Conner recalled one Arizona farmer who, when he discovered Apaches sneaking into his corn patch, ambushed the offending Indians, killing two. The man then placed the Apaches' corpses on a platform overlooking his field as if they were human scarecrows—akin, in Conner's words, "to the action taken by old ladies sometimes, to keep the hawks away from the chickens."<sup>18</sup> King Woolsey engaged in a similar parading of dead Apaches. In 1861, Woolsey killed an Apache leader with a shotgun blast. "[D]etermined to make a conspicuous mark of the dead chief," he dragged the man's body to a nearby mesquite tree and hung the corpse by the neck, where it dangled for several years for all to see.<sup>19</sup>

As such gory displays of Apache remains indicates, among many settlers, the Apache had come to be perceived as little more than, in the words of one, "the most savage wild beast"—and not just any animal, but one of the "meaner brutes," to be killed wherever possible. Indeed, it was *canis lupus*, the wolf, that provided Euro-Americans with their pre-eminent point of comparison for Arizona's Apaches. Some writers noted that Apaches and wolves haunted the same "hungry waste" and attributed Apache tribal names to the Indians' seeming closeness to wolves. As an 1868 article in *The Overland Monthly* put it, "The Coyoteris are so named from a fancied or real similitude to the coyote, a small prairie wolf."<sup>20</sup> Such comparisons underscored the unredeemably

predatory nature of Apaches and wolves alike. "The wolf still is, he always will be, a savage; so has been, so always will be, the Apache," asserted J. S. Campion in 1878.<sup>21</sup> Labelling the Apache "the wolf of the human race" served in turn to minimize the humanity of those victimized by the settlers' anti-Apache violence.<sup>22</sup> Sylvester Mowry, for example, called for the "massacre of these 'human wolves,'" while John Cremony of the U.S. Boundary Survey spoke of the Apache as "a biped brute who is as easily killed as a wolf."<sup>23</sup>

For such writers, the metaphor of *canis lupus* to describe the Apache also achieved another objective. Not only did the wolf summon up images of skulking deceitfulness and inhuman savagery; wolves had long been the subjects of state-supported exterminationist campaigns designed to eliminate a predator who, much like the Apache, was perceived to threaten settler livestock. The payment of bounties for wolf scalps was a venerable Euro-American tradition, dating to a 1630 measure in Massachusetts, and was continued by many states throughout the nineteenth century. The wolf was also the long-standing target of communal hunts, intended to exterminate all the wolves in a given vicinity. In 1818, for instance, 600 settlers in Hinkley, Ohio, launched a "war of extermination upon the bears and wolves" in which 17 wolves were killed and scalped for the local predator bounty.<sup>24</sup>

If the original impulse for exterminating the wolf arose from the fact that these predators were "so destructive to valuable property," by the nineteenth century wolves had been transformed from mere nuisances into the very antithesis of the ordered agrarian landscape that settlers were attempting to create across North America. Writers thus spoke of efforts to obliterate the wolf as part of an epic, Manichean struggle. Wolves had become "evil-doers. . . [who] deserve[d] to be destroyed," animals whose "crimes" justified the "natural right of man to exterminate" them. As the nineteenth century wolf hunter Ben Corbin put it: "The wolf is the enemy of civilization, and I want to exterminate him."<sup>25</sup>

It was in this atmosphere of mass, state-supported enthusiasm for wolf extermination that many of the measures that had first been developed to eliminate wolves—community hunts, scalps, and bounties—were applied to Apaches in Arizona. "'A thousand dollars reward for every Apache brought in, dead or alive,' was the cry of the Arizona Legislature," reflected the editors of *Everywhere* magazine at the turn of the century. "It was the same sort of bounty that used to be offered for wolf-scalps."<sup>26</sup> Not surprisingly, the extension of extermination tactics from wildlife to human beings encouraged acts of extreme brutality towards the Apache. The settler Alonzo Davis recalled that in the 1860s some of his neighbours laced several sacks of sugar with strychnine and then left the bags where they were sure to be found by local Apaches. "One package was put into a greasy sugar sack and accidentally (?) left by the big rock where we cooked our supper. The other was put upon an Indian trail running out to Rock Springs." Davis confessed that this incident "may seem harsh to people who know nothing of conditions on the old frontier, but it was the only way we could get hold of those natives who never would stand and fight." Davis might have added that the technique he and others (including, inevitably, King Woolsey)

employed against the Apache—leaving poisoned food for an elusive foe—had long been familiar to those seeking to exterminate wolves.<sup>27</sup>

### **“The apple of discord”: the paradox of bestialization**

Euro-American efforts to lower their Apache foes to the status of animals nonetheless foundered upon an unresolved paradox. As much as the bestialization of the Apache helped justify settler efforts to exterminate them, what made the Apache such a threat in the first place was their all-too-human understanding of Anglo intentions—the very feature that allowed them to raid Euro-American settlements with such seeming ease. Moreover, reducing their opponents to mere animals risked diminishing settlers’ ongoing struggle over the borderlands into little more than an unequal contest between humans and lesser animals. If only to elevate themselves, Euro-Americans needed to endow the Apache with a degree of humanity. The travel writer Samuel Cozzens encapsulated the instability of Anglo-Americans’ bestialization of the Apache in his 1876 work *The Marvellous Country*. Cozzens simultaneously claimed that Apaches “resemble[d] the prairie wolf,—sneaking, cowardly, and revengeful” and depicted the Chiricahua Apache leader Mangas Coloradas (*Gandazistichíúdn* “The One with Reddish Sleeve Covers”) as a “noble... specimen of the Indian race... straight as an arrow, his physique splendid.”<sup>28</sup>

The fragility of settler attempts to bestialize the Apache as wolf-like others was perhaps most apparent when Euro-Americans confronted those who seemed most unlike vicious predators: Apache non-combatants such as the very aged or the very young. Conner, for example, considered “the worst case of brutality” that he witnessed in 1864 to be the shooting and scalping of “an old gray-headed squaw” by a fellow member of an expedition against the Apache. Indeed, revulsion at the man’s behaviour was widespread enough that his fellow settlers subjected him to a “drumhead court martial,” although it is unclear from Conner’s account whether it was the killing of the elderly woman or her subsequent mutilation that occasioned most objections.<sup>29</sup>

The exercise of violence against Indian children was even more fraught. At several points, Conner depicted expeditions in which the participants treated infants almost as if they were innocent of the quarrels of the adult world. When one settler raid stumbled across three abandoned babies in a camp from which the adult Apaches had all fled, Conner and his compatriots left the infants behind in the hope that their relatives, presumably hiding nearby, would soon reclaim them. Similar practices were followed by at least some U.S. Army units in the region: as one soldier reported after an attack, “most of the papooses we left to be picked up by their friends.”<sup>30</sup>

Still, violence against children was not unknown—in fact, it was unavoidable, given the American penchant for attacking camps of sleeping Native Americans. As the military commander of Arizona, General George Crook, acknowledged, “[i]n surprise attacks on [Apache] camps women and children were killed in spite of every precaution; this cannot be prevented by any foresight or order of

the commander any more than shells fired into a beleaguered city can be prevented from killing innocent civilians." Conner discovered the truth of Crook's statement first hand when during an attack on an Apache camp, his companions fired upon what they thought was an escaping Indian male. Closer examination revealed that their target had been a woman with an infant on her back and that the attackers' shot had not only killed the woman but also broken the baby's leg. "[T]he men," Conner reported, decided that the appropriate action was to "kill it [the injured child] to put it out of its misery." While considered distasteful, this death excited little controversy among the participants, presumably since the initial wounding of the child was not considered intentional. Nor did anyone comment on the fact that a leg wound was not necessarily a fatal injury.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast, the conscious targeting of children generated far more unease, as revealed in a series of incidents involving Conner and a settler known as "Sugarfoot Jack." In the course of yet another campaign against the Apache, a band of American civilians, having found an Indian camp, proceeded to burn the shelters and supplies to prevent any surviving Apaches from reclaiming them. In his search of the encampment, Sugarfoot Jack happened upon an Apache infant, whom he tossed into one of the fires and watched burn alive. Observing Sugarfoot's behaviour, several other Americans attempted to rescue the baby or at least to reclaim "the little, black, crisped body" from the flames. But "the skin peeling off every time it was touched made the 'boys' sick," and they left the dead child in the still-smoldering ashes. Meanwhile, Sugarfoot Jack located yet another Apache infant. Soon he could be seen to "dance it upon his knee and tickle it under the chin and handle the babe in the manner of a playful mother." When he tired of this game, Sugarfoot drew his pistol, a heavy dragoon revolver. Placing his weapon against the child's head, he pulled the trigger, "bespatter[ing] his clothes and face with infant brains."<sup>32</sup>

Sugarfoot's callous treatment of these Apache infants, in Conner's words, "threw the apple of discord into our ranks." Noting the repugnance that his behaviour had occasioned among his compatriots, Sugarfoot prudently retreated into the brush, leaving the rest of the party to debate the appropriate forms of warfare against the Apaches. Some Americans "thought that it was no harm to kill an Indian of any age, size, or sex," nor did they much care how such killing was done. Others declared that "they could not nor would not support such brutality" and refused to participate in any campaign that countenanced a policy of intentionally targeting Indian women and children. The two sides proved so incapable of reconciling their differences that eventually the party split. Of the original group of one hundred or so, 17 (of which Conner was one) quit the campaign. An ex-soldier with similar qualms about the campaigners' goal of exterminating all the Indians they encountered joined the dissidents a few days later. The man apparently felt strongly enough about absenting himself from the expedition that he was willing to travel alone for several days across a terrain filled with Apaches seeking revenge for the Anglo raiders in their midst.<sup>33</sup>

Despite the obvious challenges in generalizing from this single experience, the break up of this campaign may give us a rough sense of the proportion of "ordinary

men” in mid-nineteenth century Arizona who opposed the most extreme forms of violence against Native Americans. If Conner’s counts are correct, a little less than 20 percent of those on the campaign opposed a policy of total extermination. Given that those Euro-Americans concerned about killing Apache women and children likely would not have joined such an expedition in the first place, it may be that the proportion of settlers opposed to extermination might be even higher, although still a probable minority of the Anglo-American population in Arizona. (Note, too, that Conner and his fellow dissidents expressed far fewer qualms about killing adult males.)<sup>34</sup>

The limits to settler bestialization of the Apache acquire yet another layer of complexity if we note that the same public that regularly clamoured for the extermination of wolf-like Apache also demonstrated considerable anxiety about other forms of violence towards animals. The leading newspapers in Arizona, the *Weekly Arizonan* and the *Arizona Citizen*, both featured prominent editorials in the early 1870s condemning cruelty to livestock and calling for the territorial legislature to pass an animal welfare law. In addition, the *Citizen* urged reforming the severe, animal-like punishments, such as branding, meted out to disobedient soldiers in the territory, which it considered “opposed to the dictates of humanity.” It was not the case, in other words, that Anglo-American settlers stood apart from the moral reform movements sweeping Europe and the Americas in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Yet at the same time that settlers were expanding their ethical compass in certain directions, developing increased empathy for domestic animals and fellow members of their own society, they were also struggling to devise new ways of expressing difference. This dynamic crystallized in the peculiar form of bestialization attached to the Apache—the comparison of the Apache not to animals in general but to a specific, feared predator already subject to extermination campaigns.<sup>35</sup>

### **“Hunt them as they would wild animals”: the U.S. military and the professionalization of violence**

Much like their civilian counterparts, the U.S. Army also grappled with the question of what forms of violence were appropriate to use on the Apache. Moreover, for all its aspirations of a professional detachment in the use of force, the army found itself as prone as settlers to portraying the Apache as animal-like others. Expeditions became in many military dispatches “hunts”; the Apache inevitably “wolves.” The 1867 report of the U.S. Secretary of War, for example, referred to fighting Apaches as “more like hunting wild animals than any kind of regular warfare” and noted that the Apaches “like wolves. . . are ever wandering.” As the U.S. Army officer Davis Britton, posted to Arizona a decade later put it, “[W]e hunted [Apaches] and killed them as we hunted and killed wolves.”<sup>36</sup>

The dilemma of how far the military should go in exterminating these Apache “wolves” manifested itself most clearly during the short-lived Confederate occupancy of Arizona Territory. Marching west from Texas, Lieutenant Colonel John Baylor and his men occupied Arizona in the summer of 1861 and soon set about

organizing a campaign to “clean out the Apache Indians.” In March of 1862, Baylor ordered his subordinates to entice the Apaches into treaty negotiations, kill the adults, and enslave the children. “[U]se all means to persuade the Apaches or any tribe to come in for the purpose of making peace, and when you get them together kill all the grown Indians and take the children prisoners and sell them to defray the expense of killing the Indians. Buy whisky and such other goods as may be necessary.”<sup>37</sup>

Baylor’s willingness to undertake extermination in such a duplicitous manner disgusted Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy. Davis denounced Baylor’s plan when a copy of it reached his desk as “an infamous crime” and demanded an investigation into the Colonel’s behaviour. Although Baylor offered as an excuse the rumour (quickly disproved) that the Congress of the Confederate States had passed a law “declaring extermination to all hostile Indians,” the centrepiece of his defense was that for an opponent such as the Apache—prone to “barbarities almost beyond conception”—the only remedy was the “extermination of the grown Indians and making slaves of the children.”

Such a solution seemed eminently moral to Baylor. Southern slave-owners had long condoned the peculiar institution as a method for domesticating the savage peoples of Africa. Given that numerous scientists at the time maintained that “[a]s relates to the mental cultivation and improvement, the Indian and African races resemble the inferior animals,” Baylor was puzzled why the “extension of that system [slavery] to the youth of the Indian race [was] a measure deserving of rebuke.” Yet as willing as he was to lead the Confederacy into a prolonged, bloody war to ensure African Americans’ enslavement, Jefferson Davis balked at exterminating Apache adults. Despite his pressing demands for manpower, Davis ordered the Confederate Secretary of War, G. W. Randolph, to remove Baylor from command and revoke his authority to raise troops.<sup>38</sup>

The Union army, which reoccupied Arizona in 1862, adopted a policy towards the Apache that, on its face, seemed less harsh than Baylor’s; it certainly excited less internal debate among Union officials. In practice, however, it, too, laid the groundwork for the potential extermination of the Apaches. Upon his arrival in the territory, James H. Carleton, the commander of the U.S. forces, declared that the Apaches “should not be fired upon or molested until they committed toward us some act of hostility. They were to be the aggressors so far as this column was concerned.” Though this arrangement held for several months, its proffered leniency, in the minds of Carleton and his aides, justified the severest of measures should the Union’s good will be abused. As First Lieutenant Ben C. Cutler of the California Column advised a subordinate in early 1862, “[i]f the Tontos [Apaches] are hostile he is to shoot or hang every one he sees.” When in Carleton’s view an Apache band violated the truce with Union forces a few months later, the colonel called for devastating reprisals on the Indians “for their treachery and their crimes”: “There is to be no council held with the Indians nor any talks. The men are to be slain whenever and wherever they can be found.”<sup>39</sup>

Unlike Baylor, Carleton did not envision engaging in deceptive parlays or enslaving Apache children after exterminating their parents. But to many

observers, the ultimate difference was slight: the disappearance of the Apache from the Territory seemed as likely under Union as Confederate rule. Carleton's cavalrymen soon adopted a marching song that went as follows:

*We'll whip the Apache  
We'll exterminate the race  
Of thieves and assassins  
Who the human form disgrace*

James McNulty, a surgeon with the California Column, concluded: “[the Apaches’] race is nearly run. Extinction is only a question of time.”<sup>40</sup>

In a telling juxtaposition, it so happened that Carleton's campaigns against the Apache in Arizona coincided with the U.S.'s effort to codify its rules of war. The ongoing Civil War, arguably the first example of industrialized, total war in human existence, had fostered the need among Union leaders for clear guidelines for their campaigns in the Confederate heartland, where they confronted for the first time large civilian populations and widespread guerilla resistance. For advice, Union officials turned to a former Prussian soldier turned law professor named Francis Lieber. The resulting “Lieber Code,” approved by President Lincoln on April 24, 1863, as General Order No. 100, established policies for dealing with prisoners and for distinguishing between civilians and combatants. Significantly, however, Lieber's rules only applied to certain kinds of opponents. His code drew a sharp distinction between “barbaric” and “civilized” military practices, with the implication that the Apaches' behaviour released the U.S. from following the same moral standards that applied to the Southern secessionists. Thus, although the U.S. was engaged in two conflicts at the same time in the 1860s—one against the Confederacy, another against Indian peoples in the West—it saw fit to practice a quite different form of “total war” in these two campaigns. The U.S. sought to defeat Confederates, but it never contemplated exterminating them as it did with the Apache.<sup>41</sup>

### **“The whites were only doing it to kill them”: indigenous interpretations of extermination**

As Euro-Americans grappled with the problem indigenous groups such as the Apache posed for their agrarian vision of the American West, the Apaches in turn wrestled with the far more pressing problem of their attempted extermination. Accessing Apaches' perspectives on the vast wave of violence breaking over them in the latter half of the nineteenth century presents numerous challenges. In particular, sources documenting the Apache point of view tend to be sparse—in part because the hundreds of Apaches killed during this time left no record of their experiences, in part because the accounts of most Apache survivors remained in the far more perishable realm of oral testimony, and in part because the Apache often favoured non-verbal forms of communication, such as cutting one's hair to signal grief at a family member's death. Nonetheless, from the few available fragments one can piece together at least a partial view onto Apache experiences of

this painful period in their history. These materials underscore the Apaches' efforts not only to rescue their lives and humanity in the face of their bestialization by outsiders but to depict extermination not as a natural, inevitable process, but one connected to definite human actions.<sup>42</sup>

Even prior to the American annexation of their homeland, the Apache possessed a tradition of what one folklorist has termed "narratives of horror," detailing their experiences with Spanish and Mexican colonists. The defining feature of such narratives was the mass murder of an Apache community in a supposedly peaceful Mexican village. Seeking trade, an Apache party would visit a Mexican town, where they would be received cordially, often with gifts of alcohol. Once lulled into a false sense of security—a condition exacerbated by the disorienting effects of the liquor—the Apache found themselves under attack from, as one put it, "our treacherous friends[,] the Mexicans."<sup>43</sup>

Different towns provided the setting for these tales, depending on each band's experiences. But such narratives of horrors circulated widely, shared not only between groups of Apache but with outsiders as well. Upon encountering a group of American fur trappers in the 1820s, for example, one "indignant" Apache community described how "a large party of their people had come in to make peace with the Spaniards, of which they pretended to be very desirous; that with such pretexts, they had decoyed the party within their walls, and then commenced butchering them." Almost three decades later, one of the leaders of the Chiricahua Apache, *Gandazistichíúdní* ("The One with Reddish Sleeve Covers" or Mangas Coloradas), offered a similar account of his encounters with Mexican trickery:

Some time ago my people were invited to a feast; aguardiente, or whiskey, was there; my people drank and became intoxicated, and were lying asleep, when a party of Mexicans came in and beat out their brains with clubs. At another time a trader was sent among us from Chihuahua. While innocently engaged in trading... a cannon concealed behind the goods was fired upon my people, and quite a number were killed. Since that, Chihuahua has offered a reward for our scalps, \$150 each... How can we make peace with such people?

The prevalence of such episodes led the Chiricahua Apache Jason Benitez, "an eyewitness to the Casas Grandes massacre" in which Mexicans attacked his kinspeople after giving them liberal quantities of liquor the night before, to reflect that the history of this era was little more than "a series of treacherous attacks made upon us by whites or Mexicans."<sup>44</sup>

Such stories of treachery imparted lessons both obvious and subtle to their Apache listeners. Most immediately, the tales reinforced Apache beliefs as to the perils of trusting those outside one's clan or local group. The apparent generosity of others, these stories suggested, often masked an ulterior motive. Many accounts also contained a pointed critique of the deleterious effect that alcohol had upon the Apache, clouding their judgment and rendering them liable to deception.

Similar anxieties manifested themselves in the tense parleys with Americans in the 1860s. In 1864, for example, a group of Apaches met to negotiate with a number of U.S. Army officers. During the encounter, the Apache pointed to the

experience of the neighbouring Navajo Indians to voice their suspicion that the Americans were interested not in peace but rather in extermination. "They said that the Zuñis [a nearby group of agricultural Indians] had told them that after the Navajoes surrendered we had killed all the men, and left none alive but the women and children, of whom we made slaves."<sup>45</sup> During a similar parlay two years later, an Apache elder proclaimed, "he was opposed to making peace. The whites were only doing it to kill them." Although the army tried to persuade the Apache otherwise by offering them a cow, the Indians remained "apprehensive of treachery." That night, apparently convinced by the elder's warnings, the Apache slipped away, leaving behind many of their goods in their haste to escape what they believed to be their imminent extermination.<sup>46</sup>

Although Apaches often responded to Euro-American settlers through violence of their own, Apache hostilities nonetheless unfolded in a culturally specific pattern. Central to the Apache conceptualization of violence was the existence of a sharp divide between raiding (perhaps best translated from the Apache language as "to search out enemy property") and warfare ("to take death from an enemy"). Only the latter activity sought to exact casualties, usually in revenge for Apache losses; the former normally limited itself to seizing useful goods such as livestock.<sup>47</sup> Even in the late 1860s, after years of bitter conflict with settlers bent on exterminating them, many Apache bands maintained this division. While the distinction between raiding and warfare was frequently lost on Euro-Americans, observers could not help but notice the curious behaviour of the supposedly wolf-like Apache. In the spring of 1866, for example, after seizing a group of freight wagons outside Tucson, the Apaches amused themselves by aiming arrows at the Anglo teamsters' chests, releasing their bow strings with their right hands, and catching their arrows with their left. Having demonstrated their ability to kill the teamsters but their refusal to do so, the Apache then allowed the men to depart unharmed. Similar incidents occurred with enough regularity that the Arizona press, for all its advocacy of exterminating the Apache, admitted in 1869 that "instances are known where the Apache, after having captured teams, 'had yet the power but not the will to hurt,' and permitted those of the party who survived the combat just decided in his favor to depart unmolested."<sup>48</sup>

Nor was Apache violence during the nineteenth century limited solely to conflicts between themselves and settlers. Conflicts also took place between the Apache and other indigenous groups—including not only traditional Native opponents such as the Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham but also rival Apache bands. Even though settlers tended to think of their foes as parts of a single, unified "Apache nation," the borderland's Apache communities were in fact divided into scores of politically separate and, at times, mutually suspicious bands. Hostilities between these groups were not unknown, and it was ultimately by exploiting this divide and enlisting the members of one Apache band to fight another that the U.S. managed to achieve military dominance over the Apache in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Apaches found the

Apache-on-Apache violence that the U.S. Army unleashed among them particularly unnerving, not only because it was harder to evade fellow Apaches than soldiers or settlers, but because the military demanded extreme forms of behaviour such as the decapitation of “renegade” Apaches. As the Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo (*Guyaaté* “The Yawner”) complained during a parlay with the army, “Sometimes a man does something and men are sent out to bring in his head. I don’t want such things to happen to us. I don’t want that we should be killing each other.”<sup>49</sup>

### **Conclusion: denaturalizing the violence of extermination**

To many nineteenth century Euro-Americans, the conflict with the Apache was not an isolated struggle over scarce resources or for social dominance in a remote corner of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Rather, it was but one facet of a planetary process, in which American Indians, along with the native peoples and animals of Australia, Tasmania, the Pacific Islands, and elsewhere, were fated to disappear in the face of “civilization.” The nineteenth century heyday of European imperialism, of which the American West was an integral part, thus can also be considered, in the language of the day, the era of global extermination. Indeed, perhaps no better summation of this period—its blending of animal and human images, its embrace of terms such as extermination tied to contemporary thinking about the natural world—can be found in the phrase that Joseph Conrad so famously articulated at century’s end in *Heart of Darkness*: “Exterminate all the brutes!”<sup>50</sup>

While there is much to be gained in reckoning with how to apply present-day definitions, such as Raphael Lemkin’s twentieth century neologism, genocide, to the brutalities of the nineteenth century, there are also virtues to be found in following Conrad’s footsteps and assessing the past on its own terms. To apply the concept of extermination to nineteenth century incidents of mass violence in no ways diminishes the horror of these events. Nor does it lessen their moral repugnance, for even within the moral universe of the nineteenth century, there were those who saw fit to decry extermination. “To exterminate the aborigines of the forest and the mountains,” contended E.A. Graves, Indian Agent in New Mexico in the 1850s, for example, “is a policy that no enlightened citizen or statesman will propose or advocate.”<sup>51</sup>

What rooting an analysis of historic atrocities in a term like extermination does allow, however, is a deeper understanding of how violence functioned in the past: the cultural practices in which it was embedded, the internal tensions it contained, the responses of indigenous peoples to it. One might even venture a periodization of violence, with the nineteenth century constituting the age of extermination, and the era of genocide representing only the period after the term’s coining in 1943. Such a formulation does not imply that genocide did not take place before the mid-nineteenth century or that extermination ended in the 1940s; only that the dominant reference point underwent a profound shift at this moment in time.

For its part, the “new Indian history” reminds us that taking the past on its own terms requires paying much more attention to those whom colonists sought to displace. As the nineteenth century borderlands reveal, even in an era dominated by a discourse about the extermination of Indian peoples, Native Americans adopted a diverse array of responses to outside pressures. If all Native groups in the borderlands experienced the oppressions of colonialism, some, such as the Tohono O’odham and Akimel O’odham, unlike their “Apache” neighbours, never became the targets of Euro-American campaigns of extermination. Moreover, in a few cases, Indian communities assisted settlers’ exterminatory campaigns against other indigenous groups. Such experiences—and the thorny questions of culpability that they raise—also need to be considered part of the Native experience of colonial violence.

Above all, closer attention to indigenous experiences can help us unravel the conceptual confusion at the heart of the Euro-American concept of extermination. Anglos often employed extermination in a way that blurred human and natural agency, with the implication that extermination resulted less from conscious human acts than from inevitable natural laws. The remarks of Charles Caldwell in the early nineteenth century—“Civilization is destined to exterminate them [American Indians], in common with the wild animals, among which they have lived”—offer a telling example of the age of extermination’s disconcerting vagueness. Was “civilization” here a decision-making entity or just a bundle of social traits? Would the predicted extermination be brought about through the direct application of violence or through more indirect means? Was the extermination of Native Americans to be accomplished in an identical manner to that of “wild animals”?<sup>52</sup> In contrast, Apache “narratives of horrors” about their betrayal and massacre at the hands of outsiders cut through such obfuscations, highlighting the very human decisions underlying the terrifying violence that Apache communities suffered during the age of extermination. At the very moment when settlers were attempting to bestialize the Apaches as wolf-like others, the Apaches, it turns out, were endeavoring to accomplish the opposite: to denaturalize the violence of colonialism and show its all-too-human face.

## Notes

- 1 King Woolsey to Gen. Carleton, March 29, 1864. Plaintiff’s Exhibit No. 95, Box 401. Western Apache, Docket 22, Records of the Indian Claims Commission, RG 279, National Archives—Washington, DC. Emphasis appears in the original.
- 2 Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection and The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952 [1871]), p 336; Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp 29–33; Patrick Wolfe, “Settler colonialism and the elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol 8, No 4, 2006, p 388. For more on the relationship between Darwin and genocide, see Tony Barta, “Mr. Darwin’s shooters: on natural selection and the naturalizing of genocide,” *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol 39, No 2, 2005, pp 116–137.
- 3 George E. Ellis, *The Red Man and the White Man in North America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1882), pp 4, 588.
- 4 For a useful overview of some of the tensions between genocide studies and Native American history, see Michael A. McDonnell and A. Dirk Moses, “Raphael Lemkin as historian of genocide in the Americas,”

- Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol 7, No 4, 2005, pp 501–529. For examples of recent Native-authored histories, see Jennifer Nez Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, *Remember This! Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives*, with translations from the Dakota Text by WahpetunwinCarolynn Schommer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Steven J. Crum, *The Road on Which We Came: A History of the Western Shoshone* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994). Of these works, only Wilson's makes passing reference to the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Wilson, *Remember This*, p 54.
- 5 For such a mythologized American Indian group, the Apaches have been remarkably understudied by ethno-historians. The best short introductions are perhaps Keith Basso, "Western Apache," in: Alfonso Ortiz (Ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol 10, *Southwest* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), pp 462–488; and Dale Curtis Miles and Paul R. Machula, *History of the San Carlos Apache*. Rev. ed. (San Carlos, AZ: San Carlos Apache Historic and Cultural Preservation Office, 1998). For more on Apache terms for themselves, see Willem J. de Reuse, *A Practical Grammar of the San Carlos Apache Language*, with the assistance of Phillip Goode (Munich: Lincom, 2006), 478; and Dorothy Bray (Ed.), *Western Apache-English Dictionary: A Community-Generated Bilingual Dictionary*, in collaboration with the White Mountain Apache Tribe (Tempe, AZ: Bilingual Press/Editorial Bilingüe, 1998), p 287.
  - 6 Bernardo de Gálvez, *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786*, ed. and trans. by Donald E. Worcester. (Berkeley: Quivara Society, 1951), pp 38, 41, 43; José María Tornel, *Memoria del secretario de estado y del despacho de guerra y marina, leida á las cámaras del congreso nacional de la República Mexicana, en enero de 1844* (México: Imprenta de I. Cumplido, [1844]), p 53. David J. Weber argues that Spanish references to extermination in the eighteenth century implied a tactic of total war rather than a little desire to kill every member of a given Indian community. See Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp 150–151. The contrary position can be found in Ricardo León García and Carlos González Herrera, *Civilizar o exterminar: Tarahumaras y Apaches en Chihuahua, siglo xix* (México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 2000).
  - 7 Richard Trench, *A Select Glossary of English Words Used Formerly in Sense Different from their Present* (London: MacMillan, 1873), p 91; James Donald (Ed.), *Chamber's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (London and Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1878), p 170; Charles John Smith, *Synonyms and Antonyms* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1867), p 168. See also Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, p 15–16.
  - 8 Camillo C.C. Carr, "The days of the empire—Arizona, 1866–1869," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association*, Vol 2, No 4, 1889, pp 3–22, in: Peter Cozzens (Ed.), *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars, 1865–1890* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001), p. 19.
  - 9 *Weekly Arizona Miner*, October 26, 1864; Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora: The Geography, History, and Resources of the Silver Region of North America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 3rd ed., 1864), p 68.
  - 10 *Washington Post*, September 17, 1881.
  - 11 John Nicolson, (Ed.), *The Arizona of Joseph Pratt Allyn: Letters from a Pioneer Judge* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), p 68.
  - 12 *Ibid.*, pp 70, 76; *Arizona Miner*, November 30, 1866 and January 26, 1867.
  - 13 *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials Adopted by the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona* (Prescott: Arizona Miner, 1865), pp 69–70, 78–79.
  - 14 Daniel Ellis Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, Donald J. Berthrong and Odessa Davenport (Eds) (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p 188; Wesley Merritt, "Incidents of Indian campaigning in Arizona," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 80: 459 (April 1890), pp 725–731, in Cozzens (Ed.), *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars*, p 156.
  - 15 For more on "defensive conquest," see Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill" in: James R. Grossman (Ed.), *The Frontier in American Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp 6–10; and Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), pp 15–21.
  - 16 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Series 1, Volume L (Washington, DC: GPO, 1897), p 1247; William A. Bell, "On the basin of Colorado and the great basin of North America," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol 39 (1869), p 104; John Cremony, "The Apache race," *The Overland Monthly* 1, September 1868, p 203. For a similar trope east of the Mississippi, see Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp 50–52.
  - 17 Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, pp 227–228, 302–303.
  - 18 *Ibid.* pp 304–305.

- 19 J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869), p 100.
- 20 Susan E. Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos* (Troy, NY: Nims & Knight, 1889), p 143; John Cremony, "The Apache Race," *Overland Monthly* 1, September 1868, p 203.
- 21 Campion quoted in Ellis, *The Red Man and the White Man in North America*, 101.
- 22 Nantan Lupan [pseudo.], "An Apache Dance," *Outing*, June 1893, p 190.
- 23 *Army and Navy Journal*, April 27, 1872, in Cozzens (Ed.), *Eyewitnesses to the Indian Wars*, 113; Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora*, 68; John Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches* (San Francisco: A. Roman, 1868), p 188. See also Sherry L. Smith, *The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990), pp 157–158.
- 24 Rick McIntyre (Ed.), *War Against the Wolf: America's Campaign to Exterminate the Wolf* (Stillwater, MN: Voyageur Press, 1995), pp 30, 41–46; James A. Tober, *Who Owns the Wildlife? The Political Economy of Conservation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp 23–24; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), pp 132–134; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp 147; Thomas R. Dunlap, *Saving America's Wildlife* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p 5.
- 25 W. Weissenborn, "On the influence of man in modifying the zoological features of the glove," *The Magazine of Natural History* 2, March 1838, p 124; William T. Hornaday, *Wild Life Conservation in Theory and Practice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914), pp 140–141; Corbin quoted in Bruce Hampton, "Shark of the plains: early western encounters with wolves," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 46, Spring 1996, p 2.
- 26 "The passing of the Indian?" *Everywhere* 24, March 1909, p 47. The editors overstated the bounty for Apache scalps by close to a factor of ten. See also Stanton Davis Kirkham, *The Ministry of Beauty* (San Francisco: Paul Elder, 1907), p 121.
- 27 Alonzo E. Davis, *Pioneer Days in Arizona by One Who Was There*, pp 106–107, Huntington: MS Film 135. The settler King Woolsey also used strychnine against Indians on at least one occasion. See John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971 [1891]), p 118. For more on the extermination campaign against wolves in the nineteenth century, see Peter Coates, "'Unusually Cunning, Vicious, and Treacherous': The Extermination of the Wolf in United States History," in: Mark Levene and Penny Roberts (Eds.), *The Massacre in History* (New York: Bergahn Books, 1999), pp 163–184; Jon T. Coleman, *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); and Stanley P. Young, "Nux Vomica and the Wolf," (unpublished paper in possession of author). I am indebted to Jon T. Coleman for sharing this last document with me.
- 28 Samuel Cozzens, *The Marvellous Country: Or, Three Years in Arizona and New Mexico* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1876), pp 83, 118–119. The possible translation of Mangas Coloradas's name was provided to me by the Apache linguist Willem de Reuse (personal communication, July 19, 2007). A similar paradox surrounding slavery's dehumanization is explored in David Brion Davis, *Challenging the Boundaries of Slavery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp 6–7.
- 29 Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, p 232.
- 30 Walter Scribner Schuyler to George Washington Schuyler, September 29, 1872, WS 79, Huntington Library; Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, p 232.
- 31 Crook quoted in Karl H. Schlesier, *Josanie's War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), p 81; Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, p 232.
- 32 Conner, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure*, pp 266–267.
- 33 *Ibid.* pp 266–268.
- 34 The issue of what brings "ordinary" men to commit acts of extraordinary violence is at the heart of Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).
- 35 *Weekly Arizona Miner*, April 30, 1870 and July 27, 1872; *Weekly Arizonan*, January 1, 1870, January 8, 1870, and February 26, 1870; *Arizona Citizen*, February 4, 1871, March 2, 1872, and October 12, 1872. Branding with a "D" or "T" was a military punishment for desertion or theft. For later articles decrying animal brutality, see *Arizona Daily Citizen*, August 5, 1893, and August 7, 1893. For an insightful discussion of the downsides of the rise of the idea of animal and human rights, see Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), pp 209–214.
- 36 *Report of the Secretary of War, 1867* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1867), pp 91, 129; Davis Britton, *The Truth About Geronimo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), p 50.
- 37 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume IV (Washington, DC: GPO, 1902), pp 20–21; *The War of the Rebellion*, L, pp 399, 942. For more

- on the Confederate occupation of Arizona, see L. Boyd Finch, *Confederate Pathway to the Pacific: Major Sherod Hunter and the Arizona Territory*, C.S.A. (Tucson: The Arizona Historical Society, 1996).
- 38 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume XV (Washington, DC: GPO, 1886), pp 857, 914, 917, 919; Finch, *Confederate Pathway to the Pacific*, p 176. For the comparison of African Americans and Native Americans to “inferior animals,” see Charles Caldwell, “On the unity of the human race,” *The North American Medical and Surgical Journal* 12, October 1831, p 388.
  - 39 *The War of the Rebellion*, L, p 929, 1147; *The War of the Rebellion*, XV, pp 579–580.
  - 40 Andrew E. Masich, *The Civil War in Arizona: The Story of the California Volunteers, 1861-1865* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), pp 63–64; *The War of the Rebellion*, L, p 367.
  - 41 For the original text of Lieber’s code, see *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Series 3, Volume III. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1899), pp 148–164; and *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 3, Volume II (Washington, DC: GPO, 1899), pp 301–309. For more on the contrast between the U.S. Army’s treatment of Confederates and American Indians, see Peter Maguire, *Law and War: An American Story* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp 36–40; Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p 18; and Mark Grimsley, “‘Rebels’ and ‘Redskins’: U.S. military conduct toward white southerners and Native Americans in comparative perspective,” in Mark Grimsley and Clifford J. Rogers (Eds.), *Civilians in the Path of War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), pp 137–161.
  - 42 On the uses of silence in Western Apache culture, see Keith Basso, “To Give Up on Words,” in: Keith Basso and Morris Opler (Eds.), *Apachean Culture, History and Ethnology*, Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona No. 21 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971); and Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp 518-521.
  - 43 Jason Betzinez with Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *I Fought with Geronimo* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1959), p. 82; Joseph C. Jastrzembski, “Traacherous towns in Mexico: Chiricahua Apache personal narratives of horrors,” *Western Folklore* 54 (July 1995), pp 169–196. See also the tale related by Geronimo in J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years Among Our Hostile Indians* (New York: Hunter, 1899), pp 196–197.
  - 44 Timothy Flint (Ed.), *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1930 [1831]), p 114; Mangas Coloradas quoted in Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, AZ: N.p., 1915), II, p 151–152; Betzinez, *I Fought with Geronimo*, pp 1, 80.
  - 45 Report of Julius Shaw, July 14, 1864, in *War of the Rebellion*, L, pp 370–376.
  - 46 Report from Fort McDowell, June 21, 1866, p 3, Clarence Bennett Papers, MS 69, Arizona Historical Society.
  - 47 Keith H. Basso (Ed.) *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare: From the Notes of Grenville Goodwin*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), pp 16–17.
  - 48 *Weekly Arizonan*, May 15, 1869, p 3; June 4, 1870, p 3; *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, August 24, 1872, p 2. See also Vance Wampler, *Arizona: Years of Courage, 1832–1910* (Phoenix: Quail Run Publications, 1984), pp 127–128.
  - 49 Geronimo quoted in *Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting Correspondence Regarding the Apache Indians* (51st Congress, 1st sess., Sen. Executive Doc., No. 88), 12. Translation of Geronimo’s name provided by Apache linguist Willem de Reuse (personal communication, July 19, 2007). The larger issues connected to indigenous views of genocide are taken up in Jeff Ostler, “The question of genocide in U.S. history” (paper in possession of author).
  - 50 Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, Robert Kimbrough (Ed.) (New York: W.W. Norton, rev. ed., 1971), p 51. See also Sven Lindquist, “*Exterminate all the Brutes*”: *One Man’s Odyssey into the Heart of Darkness and the Origins of European Genocide*, trans. by Joan Tate (New York: New Press, 1996). The global discourse on the extinction of indigenous peoples is explored in Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, pp 1–16.
  - 51 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1854* (Washington, DC: Beverley Tucker, 1854), p 389.
  - 52 Caldwell, “On the unity of the human race,” p 388.

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