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Westward Expansion: A New History



THE CHOICES PROGRAM

*Explore the Past... Shape the Future
History and Current Issues for the Classroom*

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North America in 1800



Introduction: Between Atlantic and Pacific

Within a matter of decades in the nineteenth century, the United States grew from an infant nation of just eighteen states to a major world power whose borders stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The story of westward expansion is often told as the advance of civilization and the winning of a continent. But it is also a story of invasion, dispossession, and violence.

At the start of the nineteenth century, the United States' western border only just touched the Mississippi River. Spain, France, Britain, and Russia claimed large sections of the continent. These colonial powers were competing for power and influence throughout the Americas. European settlements speckled the region to the west of U.S. borders, but ultimately it was the thousands of Native American groups—and hundreds of thousands of Native American people—that controlled this region.

Less than fifty years later, the United States had expanded its boundaries clear across the continent in a quest for land and resources. U.S. settlers colonized the West. With the help of the U.S. government, they successfully pushed Native American groups off their lands and forced them onto reservations by the end of the nineteenth century. Indian groups across the country declined from a position of power to a position of dependency. But U.S. westward expansion was not inevitable, nor was it welcomed by many groups, both native and European.

How does perspective affect the story of U.S. westward expansion?

The story of the U.S. settlement of the West is not a simple story. It involved a diverse array of groups each with different perspectives on what was happening on the continent in the nineteenth century. Even the term “westward expansion” reflects a particular perspective. While it represented an expansion for white settlers, in many ways it

was a process of decline and loss for Native American groups.

The term “the West” also masks the different perspectives of people at the time. U.S. settlers on the East Coast of North America used this label. From their vantage point, the western part of the continent was “the West.” For Spanish colonists in present-day Mexico and South America, the region was *el Norte*, the North; for Russians in present-day Alaska, it was the East. And for Native groups at the time, the concept had little relevance to the way they understood the region.

Even in the United States, the concept of “the West” evolved during the course of the country’s early history. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Ohio Valley and other lands east of the Mississippi River, as yet unsettled by U.S. citizens, were considered “the West.” Only in the nineteenth century, as U.S. settlements spread across the continent, did people in the United States begin to think of the region west of the Mississippi as “the West.” In this reading “the West” will describe lands to the west of the Mississippi River.

It is difficult to tell the story of U.S. westward expansion without making generalizations. The hundreds of Native American societies across North America were diverse, and their experiences with U.S. expansion were varied. Similarly, the new settlers that moved to the West were diverse, and the interactions between Native American groups and these settlers took many forms.

Nevertheless, certain themes replayed themselves over and over again as Europe, and then the United States, colonized North America. For example, cultural misunderstanding and mistrust often colored the interactions between individuals from different societies. These interactions created a new world that incorporated elements of Indian, European, and U.S. societies. But despite moments of cooperation and cultural exchange, this is ultimately a story of violence and conquest.

In this reading, you will have the opportunity to understand U.S. expansion from two different historical perspectives. In Part I of your reading, you will explore U.S. expansion on a broad scale, by examining the major events and policies that affected people in North America in the nineteenth century. In Part II and the simulation that follows, you will have a chance to explore the ways in which this general history was lived by individuals,

by considering the groups that lived in what is today southern Arizona. While the experiences of groups in this region do not embody the experiences of groups across the continent, they do highlight the diverse, violent, and complicated nature of U.S. westward expansion. In Part III, you will consider the results of U.S. westward expansion, the ways in which this history has been remembered, and efforts to re-envision the past.

Note on Terminology

When the first Europeans arrived in the Americas in the fifteenth century, they called the native peoples they met “Indians” because they believed they were in India. Some Indian individuals began to use the term “Native American” in the mid-twentieth century, in part to counter the negative and racist stereotypes that had become associated with the word “Indian.” But this term is equally problematic because the term “America” is also a European invention. There is no indigenous name for all of the native peoples of the Americas because before Europeans arrived, there was no need for such a term. With thousands of distinct nations and languages, the native peoples of the Americas were not a unified group. Although some Indian people in North America today see themselves as unified, due in large part to their treatment by the U.S. government and U.S. society, they do not agree on which term should be used to describe them. In the reading, the terms “Indian” and “Native American” will be used interchangeably. Whenever possible, groups will be referred to by their specific, tribal names.

Part I: The Transformation of a Continent

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, people in the United States referred to the region west of the Mississippi River as “Indian Country.” In 1803, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson organized an expedition, led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, to explore these western reaches of North America. Many in the United States believed it was the nation’s destiny to expand clear across the continent to the Pacific Ocean.

The Lewis and Clark expedition was an important step towards U.S. domination of much of the continent. Over the next fifty years, the United States would achieve its goal and reach the Pacific, taking more and more land from native groups through trade, treaties, and often through violence.

When did the history of the West begin?

According to many traditional accounts, the history of the American West begins with the Lewis and Clark expedition. But human history in the region began thousands of years before the arrival of Lewis and Clark.

“We have lived upon this land from days beyond history’s records, far past any living memory, deep into the time of legend. The story of my people and the story of this place are one single story.”

—A Taos Pueblo elder

The lands that were new to Lewis and Clark were actually very old, populated by a series of societies, cultures, and communities over the course of thousands of years. Civilizations rose and fell here as they did in other parts of the world. At the same time the ancient civilizations of Rome and Greece were thriving in Europe, native societies were developing the western regions of North America. In 1250, the population of Cahokia, a city along the Mississippi River, may have been larger than that of London. Indian groups built great cities, developed intricate cultures

and religions, and adapted to changes brought on by environmental events and population shifts.

The West was a multicultural place long before Lewis and Clark arrived. Indian groups saw themselves as very different from each other, and rivalries and alliances fueled cooperation and conflict. Europeans were the latest newcomers in a long history of migration and change across this region. Indian societies adapted to the changes brought by Europeans as they had adapted to other changes in the past.

Europeans and Western North America

Lewis and Clark made their trek from 1804 to 1806, but native groups west of the Mississippi felt the impact of newcomers in North America long before the expedition’s arrival. Compared to groups in the East, who faced wave after wave of British settlers, western groups had less contact with Europeans. There were French traders in the North and Spanish missionaries in the South, but these groups were not interested in settling large amounts of territory. Instead, they wanted resources and influence among local Indian groups. These Europeans had a strong impact on western groups. European diseases, religions, weapons, goods, and livestock all traveled along Indian trade networks and sparked significant changes among western Indian societies.

How did European horses, guns, and diseases change the West?

While many of the things Europeans brought with them affected Indian societies, the three that caused the most profound changes were horses, guns, and disease.

The horse had been extinct in North America for thirteen thousand years when the Spanish arrived in present-day Mexico in the sixteenth century. At the time, most western Indian groups lived on the outskirts of the

Great Plains, an inhospitable land that people in the United States would later refer to as the “Great American Desert.” They foraged, fished, grew crops, and sometimes led hunting parties on foot into the Plains to hunt buffalo and other game. As Spanish colonists moved northward, the horse quickly made its way into the West—by trade and by theft—and revolutionized life on the Great Plains. The horse became a form of transport, a way to trade across large distances, and a weapon in war. Indians became skilled horse breeders and trainers, and soon were able to hunt buffalo in new and highly effective ways across ever-growing territories.

The horse encouraged some groups to completely change their ways of life. Groups like the Cheyenne gave up agriculture and divided into small bands. They moved onto the Plains and became nomads, migrating with the seasons to hunt buffalo and care for their horses. Groups like the Comanche that already relied on hunting could now hunt much more efficiently. Other groups continued to farm on the lands they had inhabited for generations but now, hunting on horseback, they could

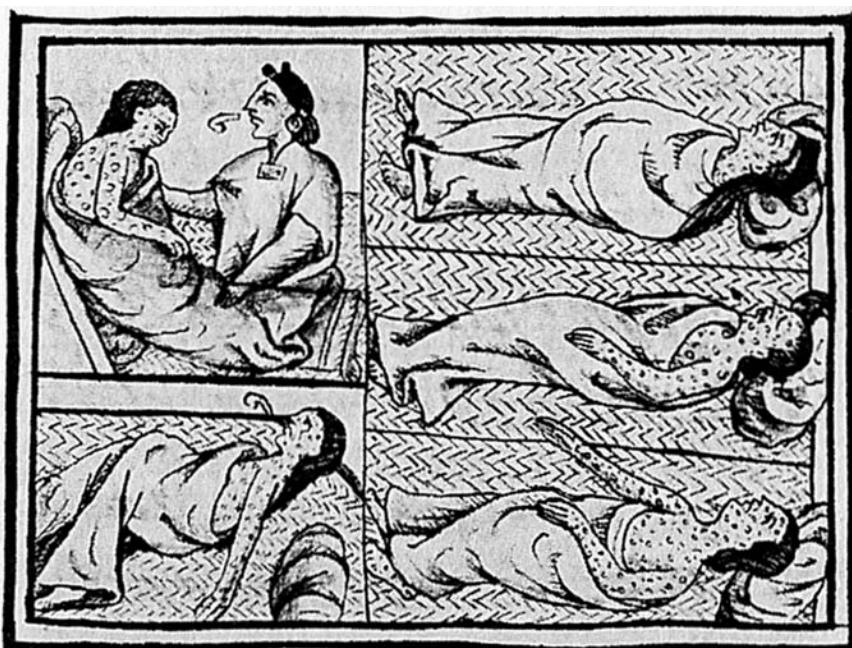
kill an abundance of game. It was a time of great prosperity for societies that hunted on the Plains, as they were able to get their food, clothing, tools, weapons, and bedding from the plentiful buffalo herds.

It was also a time of growing conflict. Horses allowed Indian groups to lay claim to vast areas, and groups increasingly clashed over territory and resources. They also clashed with Spanish settlements in the south. Guns made these conflicts ever more deadly. Guns and horses became necessary for survival in this new, volatile world, and Indian rivals fought for access to these goods.

The same trade networks that carried horses, guns, and other European goods through the West also spread European diseases. Smallpox, chicken pox, cholera, measles, and other illnesses took a devastating toll on Native societies. New epidemics killed anywhere from 15 to 90 percent of the populations they infected. For example, the Omaha Indians, who lived near the Missouri River in what is today Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota, had a population of as many as three thousand towards the end of the eighteenth century. By 1802, after a deadly smallpox epidemic, they numbered just three hundred.

The Omaha experience was not unique. Indian groups in North America had no previous exposure to these diseases and so had no natural immunity. Groups across the continent suffered immeasurable loss as their populations were decimated by disease. Powerful tribes were reduced to mere fractions of their original numbers. Survivors struggled to recover socially and politically as well as emotionally.

Wikimedia Commons.



This drawing, from a 16th century manuscript created by a Spanish friar, shows a Nahua Indian in Central America suffering from smallpox. European disease devastated Indian populations throughout the Americas.

“What little we could spare we offered to the Bad Spirit to let us alone and go to our enemies. To the Good Spirit we offered feathers, branches of trees, and sweet smelling grass. Our hearts were low and dejected, and we shall never be again the same people.”

—Saukamappee, a Cree Indian, recounting a 1781 smallpox epidemic in his community

With small populations, groups could not defend themselves or their territories. Sometimes small bands of survivors from different groups joined together, but this could lead to problems of leadership and authority. Groups that were divided into small, mobile bands, such as the Apache and Comanche, tended to be less susceptible to devastating population loss than groups settled in large, farming communities. New groups rose to power in the wake of massive population change.

Cultural Differences and Misunderstandings

Cultural differences between Indians and Europeans were widespread, both in the West and the East. These differences caused confusion, affected the way groups related to each other, and even led to conflict. Here are examples of some important differences in the ways these groups understood their interactions.

Trade: Most Indian groups understood trade to be an exchange of gifts to make or keep alliances and friendships. By contrast, Europeans believed the primary purpose of trade was to make a profit. For some, like the French, trade and profit were the main goals of settlement in North America. The goods Europeans offered encouraged Indians to value trade for its material gains. One effect was increased Indian hunting for pelts to trade, which depleted game stocks and diverted resources from Indian communities to European traders. Trade also made Indian societies dependent on the goods they could get from Europeans—not only guns and horses, but also cloth, tools, and alcohol.

Land: Indian groups and Europeans also viewed the land differently. While Indian groups had ties to specific territories for cultural, spiritual, and economic reasons—and in many cases fought to defend their claims to that land—they did not believe the land was something to be owned in the sense of buying and selling. Europeans, and the British in particular, insisted on owning land. They made land into a commodity that could be bought, sold, stolen, or signed over in treaties.

Treaties: Treaties were often a source of cultural misunderstanding. In many cases, European groups assumed the treaties they signed applied to whole Indian nations or multiple nations across a particular region. But often, the Indians who signed treaties believed they were only signing for their own bands or communities. In addition, Europeans believed that the result of the treaty negotiations was the document that was signed at the end. Native Americans, for their part, believed what was said at the meeting was more important than what was written down. In many cases, Europeans exploited this cultural difference and the language barrier by giving themselves far greater gains in the document than what had been discussed at the negotiations.

“We have often seen (and you know it to be true) that the White people by the help of their paper (which we don’t understand) claim Lands from us very unjustly and carry them off.”

—Iroquois Indian to Sir William Johnson, British Indian superintendent, in 1769, as recounted by Johnson

How did Indians and Europeans interact?

As Indian societies adapted to the new environment created by diseases, horses, guns, and other European goods, they also interacted with European people in a variety of ways. For western groups, the nearest European settlements were the French in the north and the Spanish in the south. Some groups formed alliances with Europeans to gain power. By establishing trading relationships, Indian groups could gain access to goods—like guns and horses—that brought them power. In addition, having military alliances with Europeans could strengthen a group’s position against its adversaries. Weaker groups could make new allies against their enemies; groups that were powerful suddenly faced rivals for power. Some groups led raids against European settlements to steal livestock, guns, and other goods. Others tried to avoid any contact with Europeans.

Europeans had their own reasons for building relationships with Indians. Indian allies made trade possible. This was important both to send goods back to Europe, and to gain supplies for the European settlements in North America. Alliances with Indian groups also gave a military boost to these small European outposts, helping them challenge their European rivals on the North American continent and defend against Indian enemies. At the time, both France and Spain had colonial empires stretching through large parts of the Americas.

Just as Indians adapted to the changes brought about by Europeans, European settlers had to adapt to the “new world” they found themselves in. Indians played an important role helping Europeans navigate this new environment. Indians introduced new foods, showed them how to access the supplies they



As horses spread across the Plains in the eighteenth century, they became integral parts of many Indian societies. This image shows A'aninin people in the early twentieth century. The A'aninin lived in present-day Montana and North Dakota.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Edward S. Curtis Collection, LC-USZ62-48422.

needed, and acted as guides and interpreters in a physical and cultural landscape that was completely foreign. With few European women in these settlements, many settlers married Indian women. Some joined Indian tribes, and some Indians joined European settlements.

How did some groups oppose the changes brought by Europeans?

Indian groups interacted with Europeans and adapted to the changes brought by their arrival on the continent, but they did not completely transform their societies to follow European models. Instead, they adopted what fit well with their existing values and practices—for example growing European crops that could extend the growing season—and ignored the parts of European society that did not.

In some cases, Europeans forced their values on Indian groups. For example, throughout their colony of New Spain (present-day Mexico, Central America, and the U.S. southwest), the Spanish established missions, or settlements aimed at educating Indians and converting them to Catholicism. Spanish missionaries encouraged converts to raise European livestock, grow European crops, and practice European trades. The Spanish kept their converts on the missions by threat of force.

While many groups initially accepted elements of Spanish society, the costs for some, like the Pueblos in present-day New Mexico, soon became too great. The Spanish demanded labor and resources from the Pueblos, and outlawed their religion. In addition, at least seventeen-thousand Pueblos died from European diseases in the seventeenth century alone.

In 1680, Pueblos in more than two-dozen towns rose up against the Spanish. Within a few weeks, the Pueblos had killed or frightened off all the Spanish people in New Spain's province of New Mexico. Some Pueblo leaders called on their people to reject all things Spanish, but most Pueblos continued to use European goods and technologies that improved their daily lives. The Spanish retook the region in the 1690s and allied with the Pueblos in order to oppose other, stronger enemies like the Apache and the Comanche.

U.S. Westward Expansion

As these changes were transforming the West, the British settled more and more territory in the East, causing far-reaching changes among Indian societies there. In 1776, these British settlers rose up against Britain and declared themselves an independent nation, founded on the ideals of personal liberty and individual rights. The leaders of this new country believed that their nation was exceptional. They wanted it to be a beacon of liberty in a world of European empire, tyranny, and oppression. The new country's treatment of native people would contrast sharply with the ideals it set for itself.

Why did U.S. leaders believe the United States should expand westward?

Since their arrival on the continent, British settlers had taken land from Indians—by trade, treaty, trickery, and violence. As the colonies grew, they took more and more land for their growing populations. The American Revolution was fought, in part, because the British government put limits on the expansion of the colonies. During the war, most Native Ameri-

can groups in the East joined the side of the British in the hopes of limiting the expansion of the settlers. After the war, the United States claimed the lands of all Indians who had fought against them.

Many early U.S. leaders believed that land ownership was key to preserving liberty and equality among the nation's white men. Some, like Thomas Jefferson, argued that the nation needed to be built on the backs of small farmers in order to prevent the rise of oppressive landlords. With a growing population, this would require more and more land.

U.S. leaders believed their system of representative government and individual land ownership was the highest form of civilization and superior to every other system that existed. As the nineteenth century progressed, this national identity became linked to Anglo Americans' belief in their own racial superiority. (Anglo Americans are white, English-speaking residents of the United States.) Supporters of expansion argued that the United States was a chosen land and Anglo Americans were a people chosen to bring "civilization"—in the form of Christianity, representative government, and land ownership—to the people of color that lived across North and Latin America. People in the United States used this ideology of racial superiority to justify the violent dispossession of Native Americans and the enslavement of hundreds of thousands of Africans and African Americans across much of the new nation. (Dispossession is taking away something people own, typically land or property.)

As the country's national identity developed, some people began to believe it was the United States' destiny to expand across the continent. Many of them were ardent Christians and believed that this was a destiny that God had ordained for the country. The term "manifest destiny" was coined in the 1840s to describe this idea.

“The American claim is by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and possess the whole of the

continent which Providence [God] has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federative self-government entrusted to us.”

—John O’Sullivan,
editor and columnist, 1845

Why was there disagreement within the United States about westward expansion?

Proponents argued that expansion would unite the country and lead to great economic growth. The country would widen its agricultural base and tap new natural resources. But not everyone believed that the United States should expand beyond its current boundaries. Some leaders argued that it was unconstitutional—there was no provision in the Constitution about incorporating new territory into the Union. They worried that unchecked expansion would divide the nation, stretch the country’s limited resources too far, and create a dispersed and ungovernable population. With British, French, and Spanish settlements along U.S. borders, it could also spark an international war.

As politicians debated the merits and legality of expansion, ordinary citizens in the frontiers continued to push the U.S. border westward. By expanding their homesteads and letting their livestock graze on Indian lands, they persisted in pushing Indian groups off their lands. Population pressure also contributed to the demand for more land. Between 1776 and 1850, the U.S. population nearly doubled every twenty-five years. There were economic incentives as well. Farmers in the South began to specialize in lucrative crops such as cotton, which could be sold internationally. With slavery legal in that part of the

country, they could make huge profits as they expanded their plantations across more and more land.

What was the Louisiana Purchase?

Even as the country debated westward expansion, its leaders faced situations that forced them to make decisions about the country’s future. Spain, France, Britain, and Russia still had claims to large sections of North America, including the city of New Orleans—an essential port for U.S. farmers along the Mississippi River. The U.S. government was fearful that its access to this port would be restricted when Spain transferred the region to France in 1800. In 1802, President Thomas Jefferson sent diplomats to offer France up to \$2 million for New Orleans and West Florida. But France, eager to pull out of its failing North American empire, surprised the U.S. delegates with a counteroffer: for \$15 million the United States would gain the Louisiana Territory, more than 800,000 square miles of land. This would extend the U.S. western border from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and double the size of the country.

The Louisiana Purchase gave the United States control of the Mississippi River. It also opened new lands for U.S. settlement. These lands had been sparsely settled by the Spanish and French, and had remained largely in the control of Native American groups. In the early nineteenth century, thousands of U.S. settlers, eager for land, descended upon Louisiana.

What France sold to the United States was its claim to the Louisiana Territory. In the halls of Europe, the United States was recognized as the owner of these lands. But to the thousands

U.S. Expansion Beyond Mainland North America

In the nineteenth century, it was not clear that the Pacific Ocean was the endpoint of U.S. expansion. In the 1820s, the U.S. government discussed annexing the Spanish Caribbean colony of Cuba, and in the 1850s there was talk of annexing what is today the Dominican Republic. U.S. interests in the Caribbean led to the Spanish-American War in 1898. The United States occupied Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico at the end of the war—Puerto Rico is still a U.S. territory today.

of Native Americans that lived there, U.S. claims were meaningless. Throughout the nineteenth century, the United States would fight more than fifty wars and negotiate with dozens of Indian groups for the sale of Indian lands in Louisiana.

Why was the Lewis and Clark expedition significant?

At the same time Jefferson sent delegates to buy New Orleans from France, he began preparations for an expedition to explore the western part of the continent. The main objectives of the Lewis and Clark expedition were economic. Jefferson wanted to establish relationships with Indian groups in the northwest to give the United States a share in the fur trade there. He also hoped to find a water route across the continent so that the United States could more efficiently reach Chinese markets in the Pacific.

When Lewis and Clark crossed the continent, they passed through lands that had experienced profound upheaval in the previous two centuries. They met Indian people who rode horses, wore European-style clothing, could speak some French or English, drank alcohol imported from Europe, and bore the marks of smallpox. They also passed village after empty village, symbols of the devastation that European diseases wrought on Indian societies.

Lewis and Clark did not find a water route across North America, but they did build relationships with a number of Indian groups in the West. Most Indian groups believed that these U.S. citizens would be like the Europeans who came before them—interested in trade rather than settlement. But the arrival of U.S. citizens in the West marked a new era. For people in the United States, the Lewis and Clark expedition shifted the idea of “the West” westward. As U.S. citizens settled further and further inland, they began to view the lands



The lands that Lewis and Clark traveled were far from empty. Indian groups lived throughout the continent in the early 1800s. This map shows the location of Indian groups who lived or hunted on the Great Plains in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

west of the Mississippi as “the West”—and as ripe for U.S. expansion.

Why was the War of 1812 a turning point in U.S.-Indian relations?

Prior to the American Revolution, the British had claimed a region to the west of the thirteen colonies called the Northwest Territory—a region that today is comprised of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and part of Minnesota. After the war, the United States claimed this territory as its own. But Britain, with colonies in Canada, continued to ally with Indian groups in the Northwest Territory. British leaders hoped to keep the United States from expanding too close to Canada’s borders. Despite U.S. attempts to settle the area and its incorporation of the state of Ohio in 1803, Native American groups, with the support of the British, refused to give up their lands.

“Brothers; —Money, to us, is of no value, & to most of us unknown,

and...no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children.... We desire you to consider Brothers, that our only demand, is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great Country. Look back and view the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot, we can retreat no further, because the country behind hardly affords food for its present inhabitants. And we have therefore resolved, to leave our bones in this small space, to which we are now confined.”

—Delegates from a number of Indian groups in the Northwest Territory to U.S. commissioners, 1793

In 1812, the United States went to war with Britain and Britain's Native American allies. The War of 1812 raged for three years, with neither side gaining an advantage. But after the war, the British agreed to give up its alliances with Native American groups in the Northwest Territory in return for U.S. promises not to expand into Canada.

This treaty signaled not only the end of British support for tribes in the Ohio region,

but also the end of European support for Native American groups opposing U.S. expansion. The United States had sent a clear signal about its strength and intentions to the European powers on the continent. From this point onward, Europe did not challenge U.S. expansion in North America. Indian groups were alone in their struggles to halt U.S. growth.

U.S. resolve was made clear a decade later in President James Monroe's 1823 State of the Union address. The president warned European countries against interfering in the Americas outside of their present colonies. He stated that the United States would see any future European involvement in the region would be seen as an act of aggression.

Some historians argue that this policy, which became known as the Monroe Doctrine, was needed to protect the security of the infant nation. But others argue that it was aimed at removing any European opposition to U.S. expansion.

Indian Removal

One of the major questions facing the United States in its first century was how it would treat the Indian groups in North America. This included not only groups in the West, but also the thousands of Native Americans that lived within U.S. borders at the time.

In the early nineteenth century, the federal government supported a policy of assimilation. This policy encouraged Indian groups to become “civilized” by adopting Anglo-American customs, converting to Christianity, and becoming small farmers. U.S. leaders wanted Indian groups to give up their lands and become part of U.S. society.

“In preparing them ultimately

National Archives, 111-SC-89608.



In this photo from 1895, a family poses outside a log cabin in the New Mexico Territory. The sitting woman is an Indian servant. While many Indian people worked for U.S. settlers throughout the nineteenth century, enslavement of Native Americans was also common before the Civil War.

to participate in the benefits of our Government, I trust and believe we are acting for their greatest good.”

—President Thomas Jefferson,
January 18, 1803

At the same time, the U.S. demand for land was strong. U.S. leaders were under pressure to open new lands for settlement quickly, which ran counter to the slow process of assimilation. Some U.S. leaders began to talk about moving Indian communities that were in or near U.S. states to regions west of the Mississippi River. President Thomas Jefferson supported the purchase of Louisiana in part because he believed that Indian groups located in the United States could move there, opening local Indian lands for white agriculture and commerce.

How did Indian groups respond to U.S. assimilation policies?

The U.S. government's policy of assimilation went hand in hand with attempts to take more land from Indian communities. Many Indian groups resisted the encroachment of white settlers. Tenskwatawa was one religious and political leader who was an outspoken critic of assimilation. Tenskwatawa was a member of the Shawnee people, who were located across present-day Ohio, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Indiana. Tenskwatawa, who became known as the Prophet, attracted a large following by encouraging people to reject European and U.S. goods and revive Indian customs. Many of his followers had begun to see themselves as “Indians,” despite their diverse clan and tribe affiliations, in opposition to the newcomers that threatened their traditional lands and ways of life.

Other groups found that it benefitted them to adopt some elements of Anglo-American culture. For example, during the 1820s, the Cherokees in Georgia created a republic modeled on the government of the United States. Cherokee farmers participated in the booming cotton economy and some even had African American slaves to work their plantations. In

1827, the Cherokee nation adopted a written constitution and declared itself an independent nation. This greatly angered Anglo Americans in Georgia because they wanted Cherokee land for their plantations.

Even in areas where Indian groups attempted to assimilate, there were no protections for Indians under U.S. or state laws. Indians were not accorded the same rights as whites. Indian law was not respected, even in areas that Indians controlled. For example, Georgia established a special police force to enforce Georgian laws on Cherokee lands. Furthermore, in the minds of U.S. policy makers, there were limits to assimilation. The U.S. government did not see the Cherokee nation as a success story of assimilation. U.S. leaders wanted Indian groups to adopt U.S. customs, but they ultimately intended for Indian groups to give up their cultural and political independence—and their land.

What was the Indian Removal Act?

Much of the white population in the South felt threatened by the federal government's policy of assimilation. For one, it meant that the lands they wanted would continue to be held by Indians. In addition, most Anglo Americans subscribed to the ideas that Indians were racially inferior and incapable of being “civilized.”

Despite previous treaties with Indian groups in the southeast, U.S. leaders gave in to the demands of land speculators, miners in search of precious minerals, and white settlers. In 1830, President Andrew Jackson, a Southern politician who was a strong advocate of Indian removal, signed the Indian Removal Act into law. This act called on any Indians residing in U.S. states or territories to move west of the Mississippi River. In treaties signed with eastern Indian groups, the United States designated new lands for them in the West and offered compensation for the move. In total, the U.S. government's actions led to about 125,000 people moving west, the majority from communities in southern states.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-7122.



Hydraulic mining is a type of mining that uses high-pressure jets of water to erode rock. Hydraulic mining was popular among gold miners in California in the 1850s and 1860s, and had a negative impact on the environment. This photograph was taken in Nevada County, California in 1866.

“It must be obvious to you...that to continue where you are, within the territorial limits of an independent state, can promise you nothing but interruption and disquietude. Beyond the Mississippi your prospects will be different.... The United States will be able to say to you...in the language of your own nation, the soil shall be yours while the trees grow, or the streams run.”

—Secretary of War John Eaton in a letter to a Cherokee delegation, April 1829

There were many people in the United States, Indians and non-Indians alike, that voiced strong opposition to Indian removal. They argued that it was both immoral and illegal according to prior treaties. While some groups, like the Choctaws, moved west with little resistance, other groups violently resisted U.S. attempts to take over their lands. The Seminoles successfully fought the U.S. Army and remained in southern Florida. (Another war in the 1850s forced many—but not

all—Seminoles westward.) Some Indian groups appealed to the Supreme Court or refused to sign removal treaties with the U.S. government. The Cherokees, for their part, worked to convince the U.S. government to grant them U.S. citizenship. The government refused, and in 1838 issued an ultimatum: if the Cherokees did not move west immediately, they would be forced to leave. In what became known as the Trail of Tears, federal troops forced Cherokee communities to leave their lands and, in the dead of winter, escorted them west of the Mississippi. Of the 15,000 Cherokee people who made the journey, more than 4,000 died from disease, exposure, and malnutrition.

New Settlers in the West

Eastern Indian groups moved west to lands already populated by other Indian groups. The new arrivals faced hostility and resentment from those who already lived there. They struggled to put their lives back together after leaving everything back east. Over time these transplants reestablished their governments, towns, schools, churches, and farms. They also introduced ideas from U.S. society—representative government, slave-based agriculture, and Christianity—to groups in the West.

The federal government settled the eastern tribes in a region that became known as Indian Territory. At first, this area took up the majority of the Louisiana Territory. The U.S. government believed it was giving this land to the tribes permanently. As U.S. settlers moved west, they bypassed the region for places like Oregon, Texas, and California. But it quickly became clear that U.S. demand for land would not stop at Indian Territory's borders. As more settlers arrived in the West, they encroached further on Indian lands, blatantly violating

the treaties and promises the government had made with these groups.

Why did people in the United States want to settle in the West?

People in the United States moved west for a variety of reasons but the one, overriding draw that the West offered was opportunity. There was rich, fertile land for farming, great forests full of timber, and a wealth of mineral resources to be discovered. Farmers from the East, frustrated with poor soil quality or hoping to establish farms in areas better connected to transportation, moved west in droves. In many cases, they occupied Indian lands before the federal government had negotiated with the Indian groups that lived there. Doctors, lawyers, preachers, politicians, and others followed close behind to establish towns and communities in these territories.

One factor that encouraged people to move westward was the dramatic growth in U.S. population in the first part of the nineteenth century. The United States grew from a country of 7.25 million in 1812 to more than 23 million people in 1852. Much of this growth was due to an upsurge in immigration from Europe. These immigrants all hoped to participate in what they saw as the promise

of America—a promise symbolized by the western frontier. A significant portion of western migrants in the nineteenth century were first-generation immigrants from places like Ireland, Germany, Sweden, and Norway.

Others found different kinds of opportunity in the West. For example, the Mormons who settled in Utah wanted freedom from persecution for their religious beliefs. The West provided social opportunity for some. In 1869, the Wyoming Territory granted women the right to vote, the first place in the United States to do so. Initially, the West also provided opportunities for free African Americans and other people of color. But as more Anglo Americans settled westward, they brought the discriminatory policies of the East along with them. Mexican and Chinese immigrants faced similar discrimination when they participated in the mineral rushes of the far west, such as the California Gold Rush of 1848.

How did Indian groups respond to these migrants?

Initially, most Indian groups did not see these new settlers as a significant threat. As lines of wagons traced their way across the continent, Indian groups often helped travel-

U.S. Settlement and the Environment

The West was not an untouched wilderness when Europeans arrived. But the arrival of Europeans encouraged alteration and exploitation of the natural environment on an unprecedented scale.

Long before U.S. settlers moved into the region, the fur trade had encouraged over-hunting and led to the near-collapse of many species, including sea otters and beavers. The influx of U.S. settlers to the West brought a new wave of environmental change. Settlers built roads, homes, and communities. They fenced off land and constructed farms and ranches. Buffalo, deer, and elk had to compete with cattle and other livestock for grazing lands. Ranching led to overgrazing, vegetation loss, and erosion. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, new technologies like mechanical harvesters, the John Deere plow, and barbed wire helped settlers transform the once open and grassy plains into fenced, profitable farmland.

Other economic activity affected the environment in different, but equally profound ways. The growth of cities and towns required lumber, and wood was the fuel that powered the railroads. Large-scale logging operations devastated western forests. Similarly, the gold rush that began in California in 1848 led to massive erosion and destruction as companies blasted river-banks apart in search of gold.

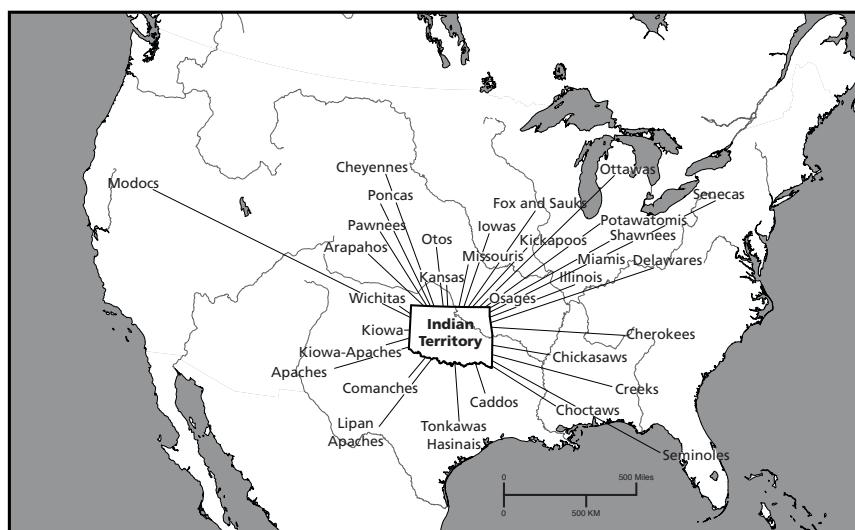
ers find water holes, traded food supplies, and guided settlers across the unfamiliar terrain.

But the scope and speed of U.S. settlement in the West soon made it clear that this influx of whites was different from the ones that came before. According to the first federal census in 1790, fewer than 100,000 U.S. citizens lived west of the Appalachian Mountains. Fifty years later, more than seven million people lived in the West—more than 40 percent of the entire U.S. population.

Most settled in places like Texas, California, and the Oregon Territory. But even in areas that whites merely traveled through, they brought disease, depleted timber stocks, hunted and frightened away game, and allowed their livestock to graze Indian crops and the grasses that fed Indian horses.

“This country was once covered with buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope, and we had plenty to eat. But now, since the white man has made a road across our land and has killed off our game, we are hungry and there is nothing left for us to eat. Our women and children cry for food and we have no food to give them.”

—Washakie, a Shoshoni chief, 1855



By the 1860s, U.S. settlement had forced Indian Territory to shrink drastically. This map shows the Indian groups that resided in Indian Territory and where they lived before they moved there.

Tensions between whites and Indians grew as Indian groups began to see the newcomers as intruders.

Why was there violence in the West in the second half of the nineteenth century?

As the pace of U.S. migration westward increased, it became clear that the United States would not honor its commitments to preserve Indian lands. In the 1850s, the U.S. government opened up territory in Kansas and Nebraska to settlement. In the land runs that followed, settlers, land speculators, and lumberjacks arrived in droves and murdered any Indians who tried to defend their lands. By the 1860s, Indian Territory had shrunk to an area that today makes up part of Oklahoma.

Remaining Indian lands in other parts of the West were under siege from settlers, miners, and railroad companies. In the 1850s, the United States signed a number of treaties with Indian groups for the right to establish roads and posts on Indian lands that settlers were crossing on their way further west. But as the first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, bringing ever-more settlers, troops, and supplies westward, it seemed apparent that treaties alone would not slow U.S. encroachment on Indian lands.

Local conflicts erupted between Indian groups and white settlers. The U.S. government sent troops to quell the violence. The government aimed to subdue the region and make it safe and available for white settlement. But it faced opposition on a number of fronts. For example, powerful groups like the Comanche and Lakota were in the midst of their own territorial expansion and fiercely resisted U.S. expansion in their territories. Other groups, like the Apache and Navajo,



Land runs were one method used by the government to settle lands across the West. Hordes would arrive from the East, and on a given day, U.S. officials would give a signal and the settlers and speculators would make a mad dash to claim plots of land. On September 16, 1893 the U.S. government organized a land run like this in Oklahoma Territory, opening 7 million acres of land it had purchased from the Cherokees in Indian Territory. It was the largest land run in U.S. history. In this photo, men line up at the land office in Oklahoma on September 23, 1893 to file their land claims.

stole livestock, food, and weapons from white settlements.

Groups across the region fought against U.S. attempts to take their lands. For example, from 1866 to 1867 an alliance of Lakotas, Northern Cheyenne, and Arapahos faced off against the U.S. military in what became known as Red Cloud's War. These groups wanted to close the Bozeman Trail, a route in Wyoming that was used by miners, settlers, and others to reach the Montana gold fields. In the Sioux War of 1876, the Lakotas and Northern Cheyenne fought to keep the U.S. government from taking over the Black Hills, a sacred Lakota site where white settlers had discovered gold. In this war, the U.S. military was supported by the Crow and Shoshoni, longtime enemies of the Lakota.

Increasing Tensions and Evolving Policies

U.S. expansion had important repercussions not only for native groups and the environment (see box on page 13), but for U.S. politics as well. The rapid growth of the

country—and in particular the incorporation of new states and territories—created a deep divide in U.S. politics. This division was regional, with politicians in the South and North pitted against each other. Leaders in these regions increasingly had different visions for the future of the United States.

How did westward expansion increase sectional tensions in the United States?

At the root of the issue was slavery. States in the North had begun to emancipate slaves as early as the 1770s, although in most cases this emancipation took place slowly. The North's rapidly growing economy was based on small farms, industry, transportation, and trade. In the South, where slavery remained widespread, the economy was based on large-scale agriculture. As the country expanded westward, new states joined the Union as either free or slave states. The North and the South competed to gain new states to boost their power in Congress. With control of Congress, states could pass legislation to further their economic interests.

Each new state entering the Union became a flashpoint of tension between North and South. For example, in 1819 Missouri petitioned Congress to enter the Union as a slave state. At the time, the U.S. Senate was equally balanced with eleven slave states and eleven free states. The entry of Missouri would give Southern states an advantage. In what became known as the Missouri Compromise, Missouri entered the Union as a slave state at the same time that Maine entered as a free state. But this compromise only eased tensions temporarily. By the 1840s, the threat of national division was real. Both abolitionists (people advocating for the end of slavery) and slaveholders understood the West as the critical battleground for the future of slavery.

What were the results of the Mexican-American War?

Despite the strain on U.S. politics, the country continued to expand westward. In the 1820s, U.S. settlers began moving into Texas, a territory in northern Mexico. The Mexican government had encouraged U.S. settlement as a way of boosting its sparse settlements there. Mexico's leaders hoped the increase in population would deter attacks by raiding Indian groups like the powerful Comanche. They also hoped to discourage the United States from expanding its national borders to include Texas. But in 1836 Mexico's plan backfired when Texas declared independence. Although the United States was deeply divided over whether to admit Texas—a slave territory—into the Union, the territory was annexed as a U.S. state in 1845.

As many had feared, the entry of Texas into the United States sparked a crisis with Mexico. In 1846, Mexico and the United States went to war. U.S. troops dominated the fight, pushing Mexican armies back on every front. The United States invaded its southern neighbor and took over Mexico City in just over a year.

There was sharp disagreement in the United States over the war. Many in the North believed that Southern politicians had initiated the war to add more slave territory to the

Union. And in fact, some ardent expansionists called for the United States to take over all of Mexico. Others opposed the war because they did not want to incorporate Mexico's non-white populations into the United States. Still others argued that the politicians who supported the war were interested in building a U.S. empire—an idea that many felt ran counter to U.S. ideals and values.

In two years of fighting, at least twenty thousand Mexicans and thirteen thousand U.S. troops were killed. U.S. soldiers committed many atrocities against Mexicans during the invasion. At the end of the war in 1848, the United States won 1.2 million square miles of territory—what would eventually become California, Nevada, Utah, some of Colorado and Wyoming, and most of Arizona and New Mexico. This land transfer reduced Mexico nearly by half. Among Mexicans, the atrocities of the war and the humiliation of territorial loss created a lasting sense of resentment towards the United States.

“[O]ur history is written simply by saying that Mexico and the United States are neighbors. At least France and England are separated by the Channel; between our nation and our neighbor there exists no other border than a simple mathematical line... God help the Republic!”

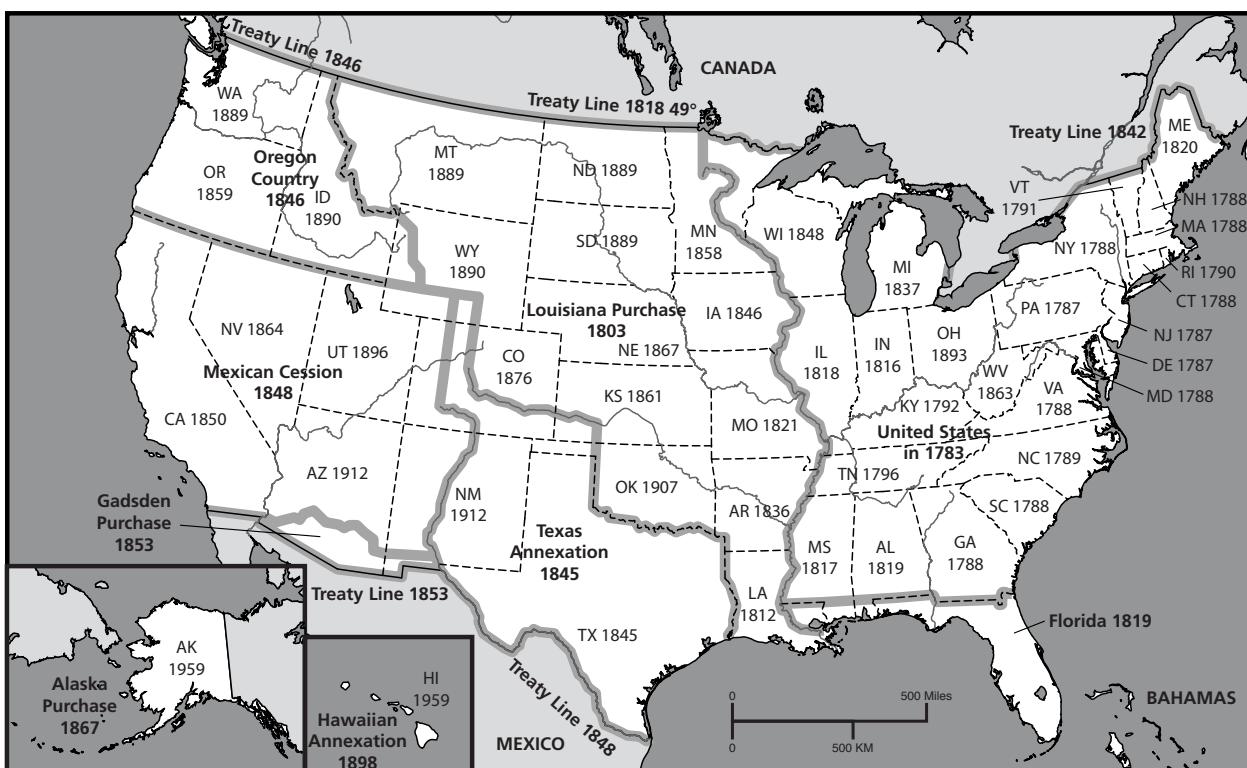
—Antonio García Cubas, Mexican cartographer, 1847

In 1853, the United States negotiated further gains from Mexico in the Gadsden Purchase. In exchange for \$10 million, the United States got a strip of land along the Gila River in northern Mexico to build a southern transcontinental railroad.

How did westward expansion help spark the U.S. Civil War?

The new territories acquired in the Mexican-American War inflamed tensions over slavery's expansion and deepened the chasm that existed between slave and free states. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected president

The Progression of U.S. Expansion



without the support of a single slave state. Within weeks, South Carolina had seceded, or split from, the Union. The following year, six more southern states joined South Carolina in the Confederate States of America.

The U.S. Civil War raged from 1861 to 1865. Confederate forces from the South fought for independence, while Union forces from the North went to war to keep the country united.

The war was not isolated in the East. Both sides sought allies among western states and territories, and also among western Indian groups. In Indian Territory, groups were sharply divided over the war. Some, including slaveholders and those who bitterly remembered the federal government's removal policies, supported the Confederacy. Others remembered the brutality and injustice of Southern states during removal and supported the Union. Indian Territory became the scene of many bloody battles, as groups there fought to control the region.

The federal government withdrew many of its troops from the West to fight in the war. With limited defenses, many western settlers panicked, fearing that Indian groups would take the opportunity to attack. In 1864, a Colorado Territory militia attacked a group of Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes who had recently made peace with federal officials. In what became known as the Sand Creek Massacre, the militia murdered dozens of people, many of them women and children. Many historians believe that Colorado's authorities were deliberately trying to start a large-scale war with Indian groups in order to prevent further federal troop withdrawals. The attack drove many peaceful Cheyennes and Arapahoes to join military groups to oppose the United States.

In 1865, Northern troops emerged victorious and forced the southern states back into the Union. The federal government abolished slavery throughout the United States and all its territories. After the war, the government, hoping to unite the country with a common

goal, turned its attention to conquering the West.

How did U.S. territorial growth lead to a change in U.S. Indian policy?

At the end of the Civil War, the government reassessed its policy towards Native Americans. With U.S. expansion clear across the continent, removing Indians beyond the borders of white settlement was no longer an option. As violence in the West intensified in the mid-nineteenth century, a few had begun to advocate for extermination. Others believed that, while distasteful, the extinction of North America's Indian groups was inevitable in the face of U.S. strength and superiority. Still others criticized the government for its inhumane treatment of Indian groups, and urged it to craft a policy based on justice and compassion. Many of these reformers were former abolitionists.

“[N]ext to the crime of slavery the foulest blot on the escutcheon [character] of the Government of the United States is the treatment of the so-called ‘Wards of the Nation.’ The crimes against the Negro were open to, and seen by, all the world. The crimes against the Indian are unknown.”

—Richard Dodge, army officer, 1882

In 1869, Ulysses S. Grant, a military commander in both the Mexican-American War and the Civil War, was elected president. Influenced by those clamoring for reform, he initiated a new policy towards the Indians known as the “Peace Policy.” The goal of this policy was to put all Indian groups on reservations, or lands set aside by the government for Indian use. The idea of reservations was not new. Earlier in the century, U.S. forces had pressed Indian groups in certain regions to live on territories it had set aside for them.

Grant put religious leaders in charge of this policy. On the reservations, religious

groups would teach English, U.S. agricultural practices, and Christianity. But the Peace Policy was not entirely peaceful. The U.S. government would consider all Indians not on the reservations as hostile. U.S. army battalions were dispatched to meet this threat.

Although the Peace Policy did not promote the extermination of Native American people, it did aim to exterminate Indian societies. The ultimate goal was to pacify Native American groups by forcing them to give up their traditions and ways of life and follow the customs of U.S. society.

“If you can make Quakers out of the Indians it will take the fight out of them. Let us have peace.”

—President-elect Ulysses S. Grant, 1868

Less than half a century after Lewis and Clark made their trek, the United States had stretched its borders to the Pacific Ocean. U.S. expansion occurred at breakneck pace. But this expansion had come at the expense of the thousands of Native American groups that lived in the territories the United States claimed as its own.

You have just read about the conflict, cooperation, and violence that accompanied European and U.S. colonization of the West. You explored the ideology and policies underpinning U.S. westward expansion, and considered the ways in which this expansion affected people in the West as well as in the East.

In the next reading, you will consider the effects of westward expansion on the groups in one particular region: southern Arizona. This region, ceded to the United States from Mexico in the Gadsden Purchase, was the last territory that the United States would gain in the contiguous United States (the portion of the country that is connected, excluding Hawaii and Alaska). In the decades-long process of U.S. expansion in the West, southern Arizona was the last region to come under U.S. control.

Part II: Experiencing U.S. Expansion: Southern Arizona

In this section, you will read about the experiences of groups in a region that is, today, southern Arizona. For the Indian groups who lived there, the region was the center of the world that they knew. For the Spanish and then Mexicans, it was the northern frontier, and for the United States it would become the southwest. For purposes of clarity, the region will be referred to as “southern Arizona,” although it only got that name in 1863.

The story of southern Arizona is a case study in how specific communities and individuals experienced U.S. expansion. Thanks to the scholarship and primary sources that exist, it is possible for us to understand how groups in this region thought about this period. The

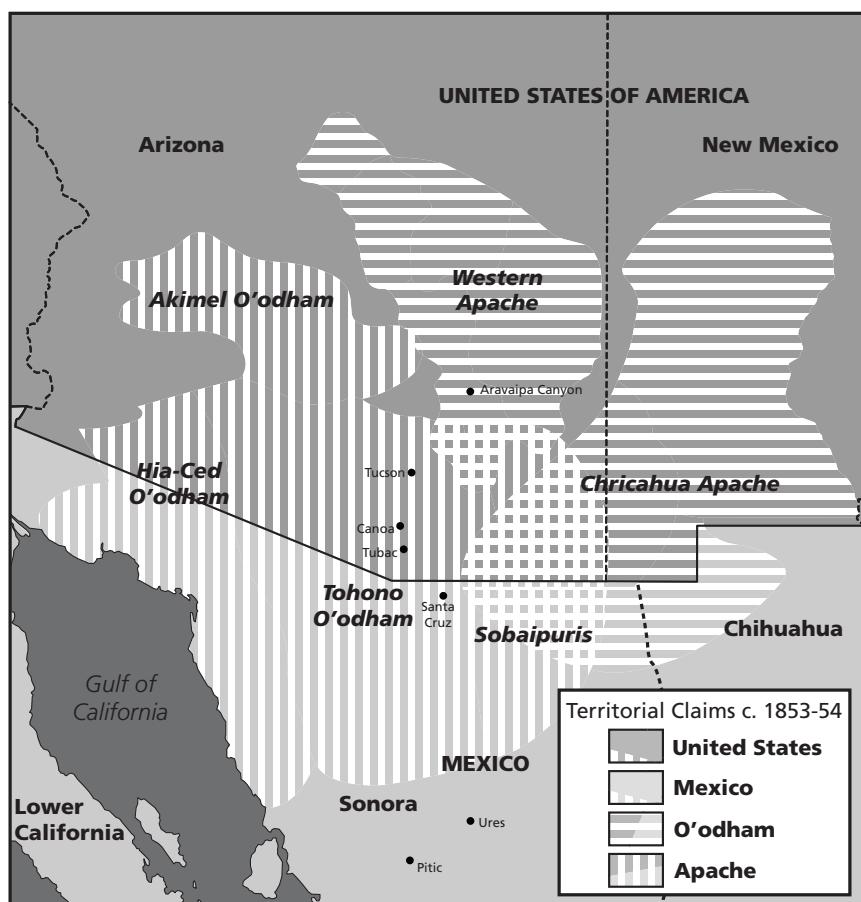
experience of people here was not identical to others across the continent, but neither was it unique. Many of the same themes that characterized the interactions between groups here—cultural misunderstanding, adaptation, cooperation, and conflict—replayed themselves throughout the continent during the period of U.S. westward expansion.

Focusing on the local experience allows us to see the ways in which larger themes and events in history affected individuals. Considering history this way is a powerful tool, because it allows us to understand the complex and diverse ways in which history was lived. As you read, think about how the events and policies you read about in Part I affected

groups in southern Arizona. In what ways were the experiences of groups in southern Arizona similar to or different from groups in other regions of the continent? What challenges did groups here face? How did groups cooperate? What factors were at the root of violence?

Native American Societies in Southern Arizona

There were two broad groupings of Native Americans in southern Arizona when the Spanish arrived in the seventeenth century. The Spanish referred to one group as the “Pima” and “Papago,” and the other group as “Apache.” But individuals in these groups did not consider themselves members of a broad, all-encompassing nation or tribe. Instead, each group



This map shows the region that will be discussed in this section of your reading. O’odham, Apaches, Mexico, and the United States all made claims to land in this region.

was made up of diverse, independent communities. The broad groupings such as “Apache” and “Pima” that we understand today are based on linguistic and cultural similarities. Bands within the same broad group might cooperate but they also might compete with each other or go to war.

What Native American groups lived in southern Arizona when the Spanish arrived?

People who the Spanish called the “Pima” and “Papago” referred to themselves as the O’odham, or “the People.” According to their oral histories, they had always lived in the Sonora Desert, which today is located in southern Arizona and northwest Mexico. By the start of the nineteenth century, there were several different societies that fell under the umbrella term O’odham.

Each of these O’odham societies was made up of many different communities. In the harsh desert environment, most O’odham lived in small bands of extended family. Occasionally bands that were located near each other would come together for festivals or trade. At the same time, competition and conflict existed between different bands.

The group that the Spanish called the “Apache” called themselves the Nnēē (pronounced “En-nay”), which means “the People” in their language. Different Nnēē societies were spread across much of what is present-day Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, northwest Mexico, and the southern Great Plains.

Nnēē societies shared linguistic and cultural similarities, but there was tremendous diversity among them. For example, like the O’odham, the Nnēē lived in small bands of extended family. Each family band had its own leader, or headman. These bands joined together in clusters, led by a headman and often a headwoman. Clusters then had loose affiliations with clusters in adjoining territories, and would come together for trade or religious ceremonies. In addition, Nnēē belonged to clans, which were matrilineal, or based on the blood relation of one’s mother. By marriage, members of a clan might belong to different clusters, but they would also be expected to assist members of their clan.

It was difficult for the Spanish to understand the ways in which these Indian groups were organized. The Spanish names for the O’odham and Nnēē illustrate the difficulties

Native American Groups in Southern Arizona at the Time of Spanish Arrival

Name for self	Sub-group or society	Spanish name	Way in which each society lived
O’odham	Akimel O’odham	Pima	“River People;” farmers
	Hia-Ced O’odham	Pima	“Sand People;” hunter-gatherers that migrated with the seasons
	Tohono O’odham	Papago	“Desert People;” grew small farms in the summer, gathered wild food in the winter
Nnēē	Western Apache	Apache	Some farming, mainly hunting and gathering
	Chiricahua	Apache	Hunter-gatherers



Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

This engraving shows a Spanish missionary baptizing Native Americans in South America in the 1600s. One of the primary aims of Spanish colonization in the Americas was to convert Indian groups to Catholicism.

that they had in deciphering the Indian groups in the region. For example, the word “Pima” is probably from the O’odham word *pi ha’icu* which means “nothing.” The Spanish classified the Tohono O’odham as a separate group that they named “Papago,” which is probably from the O’odham word for “bean eater.” U.S. settlers had similar difficulties when they arrived in the region. For example, they often referred to any hostile Indian group as “Apache.”

Today, the Tohono O’odham people have rejected the term “Papago” as erroneous. For simplicity’s sake, all groups that the Spanish referred to as “Pima” or “Papago” will be referred to as “O’odham” in the reading. Nnēē people, by contrast, continue to use the word “Apache” to describe themselves, and will be referred to by this term in the reading.

What do historians know about how these groups lived before the Spanish arrived?

There were a number of different O’odham and Apache societies living in this region (see chart on page 20). But not much is known with certainty about these groups before the arrival of the Spanish. Using archeological evidence as well as O’odham oral histories, historians believe the O’odham might be the descendants of the Huhugam, whose large farming villages collapsed in the 1400s due to drought, flash floods, and increased warfare in the region.

Information about the Apache is harder to come by. Historians believe the Apache migrated south into the region but are not sure exactly when that migration occurred, due to lack of archaeological evidence and little mention of the Apache in early Spanish accounts. Some historians argue that Apache people may not have arrived in the region until the sixteenth century. But contemporary Apache say that a lack of evidence does not mean that they were not there. As a way of protecting themselves, it was customary for Apaches to erase traces of their presence and avoid potentially dangerous outsiders.

By the seventeenth century, a bitter conflict had developed between the Apache and O’odham groups in the region. Historians believe the animosity between the two groups may have been caused by increased contact after the southerly migration of the Apache, or by the arrival of Spanish diseases, weapons, and livestock. Hostility between these groups was ongoing throughout the periods of Spanish and U.S. colonization of the region.

Spanish Colonization

Although Spanish treasure-seekers had ventured into the region looking for gold and silver in the sixteenth century, the Spanish did not establish permanent settlements in southern Arizona until the 1680s. This region became part of the northern frontier of Spain’s colony of New Spain, already more than 150 years old by the end of the seventeenth century.



Reintroduced to the Americas by the Spanish in the fifteenth century, horses became an integral part of Apache culture. Many Apache led raids to take horses and other livestock from O'odham, Mexican, and U.S. settlements.

As elsewhere, the Spanish presence was felt long before they settled in the region. Indian trade networks brought European crops, tools, and livestock to the region decades before the Spanish established their first settlements. These networks also brought disease. By the mid-seventeenth century, smallpox, dysentery, malaria, and other diseases had taken a steep toll on local Indian groups, particularly among the O'odham. Outbreaks of disease may have caused villages to collapse and communities to spread across the desert, creating the small band structure that the Spanish observed in the late seventeenth century.

How did the Spanish interact with O'odham and Apache groups?

From the beginning, the Spanish had more direct contact with the O'odham, whose villages were more permanent and accessible than the Apache's. The first Spanish settlers were missionaries and, at least initially, many O'odham embraced the missions. Some may have believed the Catholic priests were healers who could help their people fight the diseases

that continued to decimate their communities. Missionaries also provided livestock, food, and tools—important resources in the unforgiving desert environment.

But these gifts were not without cost. The Spanish required their converts to labor in the fields to grow food for the missions, and Spanish livestock stretched the limits of the region's scarce water resources. The Spanish tried to curb O'odham religious practices, and O'odham who interacted with the Spanish had a higher risk of contracting disease. While some O'odham stayed on the missions, others withdrew to the desert and only visited Spanish settlements in times of need or on the course of their yearly migrations. For their part, the Spanish often expressed frustration at the O'odham people's unwillingness to fully embrace their "civilizing" project.

“Very frequently when they [the O’odham] were contemplating a nocturnal dance and revelry they used all kinds of lies and subterfuges to get the father away from the village, so that he would not hinder them. They might trump up a story about a sick person whose circumstances were so perilous that the father would have to hear confession, all to get him to leave the village.”

—Spanish missionary, mid-eighteenth century

Apache interactions with the Spanish were very different. The Apache, who lived in small dispersed groups, had less contact with Spanish settlers, and so had little access to the

The Cycle of Violence

Groups like the Apache and O'odham usually went to war to make amends for wrongs committed against them. Thus the military campaigns against the Apache encouraged more violence, not less. The cycle of violence might occur as follows. In response to Apache livestock raids, the Spanish might encourage the O'odham to attack the Apache, killing the men and taking women and children as captives. Spanish settlers would buy these captives to serve as slaves in their communities. In response, the Apache would send a war party to fight the O'odham group that killed their people, and also seize Spanish captives in the hopes of exchanging them for their own kidnapped family members. The O'odham and Spanish would respond with another military campaign, and the cycle of violence would continue.

new goods, food, and animals that the Spanish provided. To remedy this, they began to raid, or steal from, the Spanish. In a harsh environment where groups always struggled to get the food and other goods they needed, Spanish settlements became a new source for supplies. Apache groups were particularly interested in Spanish horses.

From the outset, the Spanish viewed this behavior as hostile. But it is not clear that the Apache initially equated raiding with stealing. According to Apache custom, animals were not property. Apache in the seventeenth century may have thought that the animals grazing on the outskirts of Spanish settlements were a new kind of wild game. But the harsh response of the Spanish quickly led them to view raiding as taking an enemy's property.

How did the Spanish response to Apache raiding create a cycle of violence?

Raiding began to take the place of hunting as a way for Apache groups to get food when supplies were low. Raiding parties were usually small and took pains to avoid confrontation. They also tried not to scare Spanish settlers or steal all the livestock.

“If cattle or horses were conveniently left in corrals some distance from the houses, the inhabitants were not disturbed. And never did we take all the herds. We did not care much for cattle, and we took care to leave enough horses so that...[they]...could

raise more for us.”

—James Kaywaykla, Chiricahua Indian,
recollecting in the twentieth century

Apaches made clear distinctions between raiding, which they did to get supplies, and warfare, which they did when a community member had been killed by another group. At the same time, raiding Apaches sometimes destroyed Spanish property and killed Spanish people, in addition to stealing Spanish goods.

Frustrated with the continued attacks, the Spanish responded with force. They led their first series of military campaigns against the Apache in the 1690s. According to Spanish reports, their forces killed seven hundred Apache in seven years. These losses were unprecedented for the Apache, who had never faced such a relentless enemy. In general, when Apache groups went to war, it was to avenge the murder of a community member. Once the war party had killed a member of the offending group or taken a captive to present to the victim's family, the campaign was finished.

By contrast, Spanish forces often pursued the Apache for months at a time. They took Apache children to work as slaves in Spanish settlements, and destroyed the food supplies that Apache groups left behind as they retreated. By destroying Apache food sources, the Spanish ended up creating an even greater need for raiding among the Apache.

The savage violence of the Spanish shocked the Apache. The Spanish often killed and dismembered their Apache captives—re-

moving heads, ears, and other body parts—and left the bodies hanging in Apache campgrounds. For the Apache, who usually adopted captives into their communities, this behavior seemed exceptionally brutal.

Despite the relentless campaigns of the Spanish, the Apache managed to successfully adapt their societies to a new way of life based on raiding. Certain aspects of their society—including the fact that they lived in small, dispersed bands and their preference for rugged mountain terrain—made it very difficult for the Spanish to control them.

“They scale nearly inaccessible mountains, they cross arid deserts in order to exhaust their pursuers, and they employ endless stratagems to elude the attacks of their victims.”

—Spanish officer, 1790s

In addition, while the populations of other Indian groups across the West were plummeting from disease, the Apache were able to keep their population numbers high for a number of reasons. First of all, living in small, scattered bands made them less vulnerable to large

population loss in a single blow. In addition, the Apache traditionally accepted outsiders, including captives and spouses from other groups, into their bands. Despite countless attempts, the Spanish proved unable to suppress Apache raiding, and their violent response only encouraged more violence (see box on page 23).

What were the establecimientos de paz (peace establishments)?

There were some attempts at peace during this period, nearly all initiated by the Apache. Apache delegations periodically met with local Spanish leaders to negotiate peace for their individual bands. Sometimes, if the negotiations were successful, Apache groups might set up camp near Spanish settlements.

But the wider campaign against the Apache continued unabated, and fears of Spanish betrayal often led the Apache to abandon these camps. The Spanish often allied with O’odham groups and enlisted them to fight the Apache.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the local Spanish government decided to try a new strategy and promoted peace. The govern-

O’odham Calendar Sticks

O’odham people remembered their history by telling stories to recount events of the past. This kind of record keeping is known as oral history. The O’odham kept “calendar sticks” to help them keep track of this recent history. These sticks, made from the rib of a saguaro cactus, were carved once a year with a distinctive mark denoting the major events of that year. Nearly every O’odham village had its own calendar stick, and these sticks were kept by a calendar stick keeper, an individual who was responsible for remembering what each mark meant.

“When the analyst was asked about an event, he would slowly run his fingers over the carved stick, and with a faraway look he would tell the record of a certain year.”

—Anna Moore Shaw, an Akimel O’odham elder, recalling in 1974

These yearly records have helped historians to understand how O’odham in the nineteenth century viewed events in the region. In most cases, the events going on in Mexican and U.S. settlements are barely mentioned. The stories of the calendar sticks related most commonly to events within the specific community, such as disease, major ceremonies, and Apache attacks and counterattacks. The wars, territorial changes, and other events that figured so prominently in the lives of U.S. and Mexican settlers were peripheral to O’odham views of the world.



A Tohono O'odham woman prepares wheat grains. Wheat was one of many crops that Europeans introduced to the Americas, and it became a staple crop for the O'odham.

ment gave weekly rations of grain, meat, sugar, tobacco, and other supplies to all Apaches who would settle peacefully near Spanish towns in *establicimientos de paz* or “peace establishments.” In exchange, these *apaches de paz* or “peaceful Apaches” would be expected to help the Spanish fight Apache groups who were still considered hostile for their refusal to live in the *establicimientos de paz*.

“In the voluntary or forced submission of the Apaches, or in their total extermination, lies the happiness of the Provincias Internas [the provinces in the northern frontier].”

—Bernardo de Gálvez, viceroy of New Spain’s northern frontier, 1786

The Spanish believed that they had ushered in a period of peace with the *establicimientos de paz*. But it may be that they were simply more receptive to the Apache’s own attempts at peace. By 1793, nearly two thousand Apache were living in the *es-*

tablicimientos de paz across New Spain’s northern province, and many continued to settle over the next few decades. In addition, with fewer enemy bands and more manpower to fight them, the Spanish were much more successful in overpowering the Apache groups they still considered hostile. The Spanish killed many and drove the remainder further north, far from Spanish settlements. Spanish forces sent Apache captives to work in sugar plantations of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, to ensure they could not return to the area.

Many Spanish settlers who lived in the region considered the 1790s to 1830s—the era of the *establicimientos de paz*—as a golden age. With peace reigning over large areas of the northern frontier, the region experienced a period of revival. Spanish migration increased and settlers formed new towns, reopening mines and ranches that had been abandoned during the conflict with the Apache.

How did the Mexican War of Independence lead to renewed conflict in the north?

The Spanish viewed this as a period of peace between Spain and the Apaches. But from the perspective of the Apache groups that settled in the *establicimientos de paz*, the peace was between local bands and local communities. For them, the peace was maintained through obligation: the Spanish provided gifts of rations and the Apache, in turn, provided military assistance.

But peace in northern New Spain was short-lived. In the 1810s, a movement rose up in central New Spain to oppose the Spanish colonial system. Spanish commanders pulled their troops from the northern frontier to fight the rebellion in the south. In 1821, when Spain granted Mexico its independence, the frontier’s defenses were in shambles. The newly independent country was beset with financial troubles, and national leaders struggled to maintain control. By the late 1820s, the rations for the *apaches de paz* had dwindled to a pittance. By 1832, the government had cut them all together.

Some Apaches remained in the *establecimientos de paz*, but most left to raid what had once been provided to them. With a national government in tumult and no standing army, local communities scrambled to make agreements with local Apache bands to limit the raiding. Apache groups often raided other towns and then sold the goods to towns they were at peace with. Mexican towns began to fight amongst each other for participating in this trade and encouraging Apache raiding.

What were the two threats to Mexico's control of the northern frontier?

Although Mexican leaders wanted to protect their country's northern border, they did not have the money, supplies, or manpower necessary. Instead, Mexican towns in the northern frontier were largely left on their own to face two growing threats to Mexico's control of the region.

The first was the renewed conflict with Indian groups like the Apache. Once the *establecimientos de paz* failed, some Mexican leaders began to advocate for the extermination of the Apache. In 1832, citizens in the northern frontier formed their own militia, called *La Sección Patriótica*, to oppose the Apache. Local government officials supported this initiative. In 1834, the state legislature made it legal for citizens to keep whatever they seized from Apache communities. The next year, the legislature declared war on all Apache groups, and required all local male citizens to serve in the military or pay a fine. It also offered a cash reward for every Apache scalp collected.

At the same time, many local communities had made peace agreements with local Apache bands. In many instances, Mexican settlers would use the veil of peace to surprise their Apache allies, killing them during pre-arranged trade meetings and presenting their scalps to the government. Hostilities with the Apache spiraled upward. By 1841, officials in the Mexican government began to refer to the conflict in the north as a "continual state of war."

Northern Mexico's second threat came from its neighbor to the north. U.S. leaders had long set their sights on this region, with its wealth of natural resources. Indian resistance had discouraged Spanish settlement in the region for centuries, and U.S. leaders believed that Spain, and then Mexico, had squandered the territory by leaving it largely in the hands of Native American groups. They believed their country would do a much better job controlling the region's people and exploiting its natural resources.

The first U.S. citizens in the region were illegal smugglers. Starting in the 1820s, they entered northern Mexico to trade guns, ammunition, and alcohol for the goods and livestock Apache groups had raided from Mexican towns, much to the anger of Mexicans. At the same time, many U.S. traders also participated in the campaign against the Apache, killing Apache people and collecting rewards for their scalps. In many cases, they used the same treacherous tactics as the Mexican settlers, killing their Apache allies during pre-arranged, peaceful meetings.

Changing Borders

As the century progressed, it became clear that Mexico's weak central government could not control the country's northern frontier. It could do little to stop Texas from declaring independence in 1836, nor could it prevent the United States from annexing Texas as a state in 1845. Clashes around a disputed border for Texas triggered war between Mexico and the United States in 1846.

In the United States, the war became known as the Mexican-American War; in Mexico it was the North American Invasion. Most of the fighting took place in central Mexico. Some Mexican communities in the north, angry at the central government for leaving them defenseless, allowed U.S. troops to pass through uninterrupted on their way to Mexico City. For groups in southern Arizona, the war between Mexicans and O'odham and the Apache remained the primary concern during this period.

What was the effect of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo?

In 1848, Mexico and the United States signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to end the war. In exchange for \$15 million, Mexico surrendered half its territory to the United States, including part of what is today southern Arizona.

Most of the territory that Mexico lost was land that largely had been abandoned by Mexican settlers because of its closeness to the Apache. With the redrawn border, most of Apache territory was now in the United States. Mexican leaders had included a provision in the treaty requiring that the United States stop Indians in its territory from raiding in northern Mexico and forbid its citizens from buying goods stolen from Mexican settlements.

But Apache groups grew even bolder after the war because the new border protected them from Mexican reprisals. Apache raiders stole livestock, burned homes, took women and children captive, and attacked Mexican caravans on their way to California. When Mexican citizen volunteers gave chase, the Apache would simply cross the border where Mexicans were unable to follow. Many Mexican settlers fled to communities further south. Those who remained increased their fortifications, building walls encircling their villages or digging deep ditches around their horse and cow corrals to prevent the easy theft of livestock.

What was the Gadsden Purchase?

The United States' hunger for land was not satisfied with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. U.S. leaders hoped to build a transcontinental railroad with a route through the southernmost part of the United States, and they wanted more of Mexico's northern territory to do it. In 1853, Mexico's President Antonio López de Santa Ana agreed to sell 30,000 square miles of land along the Gila River in exchange for \$10 million to support his government. In the Gadsden Purchase, as this sale became known in the United States, Mexico also relieved the



This map shows how the transfer of territory between the United States and Mexico affected southern Arizona. The "Mexican Cession" was land transferred by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Although much smaller, the Gadsden Purchase land transfer had a much greater impact on people living in southern Arizona.

United States of its obligation to stop Indian raiding into northern Mexico.

The Gadsden Purchase transferred a much smaller territory than the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. But it had a much greater impact on northern Mexicans. This sale moved a number of prominent towns and hundreds of Mexican citizens into U.S. territory. Many in the region and throughout Mexico were angry at their government's betrayal.

“These people [local Mexicans] say they never consented to the sale of any portion of Sonora [one of Mexico’s northern states], and still regard Arizona as legitimately part of their territory.”

—U.S. surveyor of new Mexican-U.S. border, recounting in 1869

Despite its enthusiasm for more land, the United States was slow to take control of the region. As late as 1856, Mexican troops remained in Tucson waiting for U.S. forces to take over. Initially, the United States incorporated the region into its territory of New Mexico. With the capital, Santa Fe, hundreds of miles away, U.S. officials exerted little control over the region. The new international border was loosely defined and unmonitored for years. In 1863, settlers in the region successfully petitioned the government to divide New Mexico and create the territory of Arizona.

For the Native American groups in the region, the land transfers of the mid-nineteenth century brought few immediate changes. For example, although the new international boundary bisected O'odham territory, the border remained porous and easy to cross. Still, Native American groups were aware that great changes were afoot in their territories.

“The White men said the government would help them and civilize them and from now on they were to live by laws.... The chiefs agreed but they said: ‘The White People must not bother us.’ An old man made a speech and told the Whites: Every stick and stone on this land belongs to us. Everything that grows food on it is our food—cholla, prickly pear, giant cactus,...all the roots and greens. The water is ours, the mountains.... These mountains, I say, are mine and the Whites

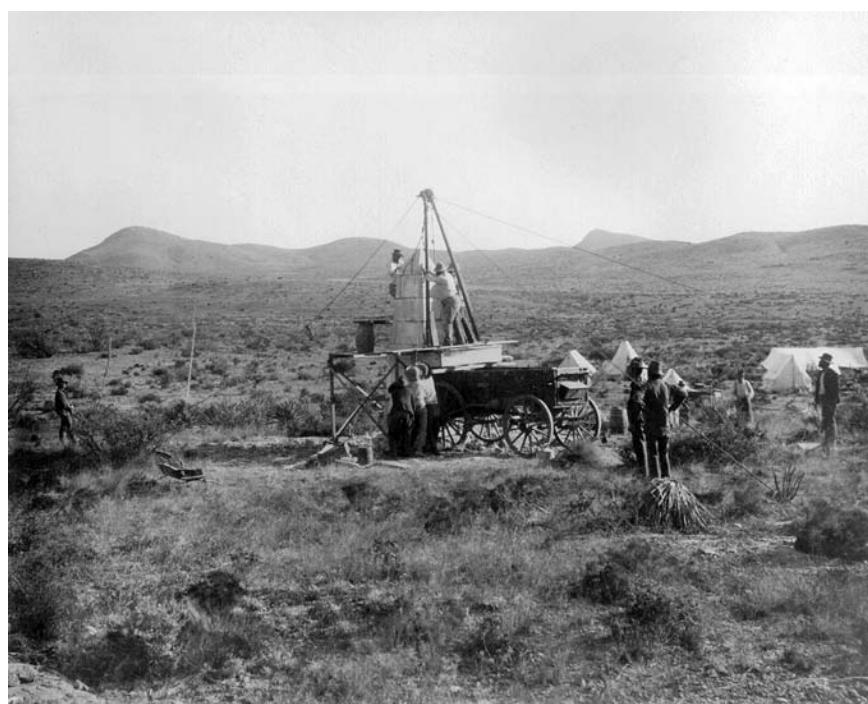
shall not disturb them.”

—An encounter between O'odham and U.S. officials in 1856-7, as recounted by a calendar-stick keeper

How did U.S. settlers interact with groups in the region?

Many in the United States justified their country's claims to this territory by arguing that it was better able to rule this region than Mexico. While Mexico had abandoned parts of its frontier due to violence from Indian groups, U.S. settlers claimed that their country could defend its settlements and spread “civilization” to the Indian groups in the region. This interpretation of history colored the interactions of U.S. settlers with those who already lived in the region.

According to the terms of both the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase, the Mexican citizens who chose to remain on their lands after the territory was transferred to the United States would become



U.S. surveyors reconstruct a border post along the U.S.-Mexican border in the 1890s. This border was poorly monitored and easy to cross throughout the late nineteenth century. When the United States more firmly exerted its control of this region in the early twentieth century, the O'odham would find their homelands bisected by the international border.

National Archives, 77-MB-442D, photo by D.H. Payne.

U.S citizens. While some Mexicans moved south of the border, most chose to stay.

U.S. settlers trickled slowly into the region and, throughout the nineteenth century, were a minority in the region. The Spanish language and Mexican culture remained defining features of life. Towns that had formerly been part of Mexico continued to trade with neighboring towns to the south. This meant that Mexican businessmen retained their positions as top local figures. But most U.S. settlers viewed themselves as racially superior to their Mexican compatriots. Racism and discrimination became commonplace. For example, it was practice in the U.S.-owned silver mines to pay Mexican workers far less than their U.S. counterparts. At the same time, many U.S. men married Mexican women, forging ties of kinship and cooperation.

As U.S. settlers moved into the region, they brought new trade opportunities for Indian groups. In particular, the Apache found these settlers to be willing buyers of the goods they raided from Mexican settlements to the south. Economic development also created opportunities. For example, some Tohono O'odham groups visited the new U.S. mines for temporary work on the course of their yearly migrations. Similarly, the crop-growing Akimel O'odham sold their excess wheat, corn, pumpkins, and other foods to the growing settlements.

At the same time, people from the United States struggled to understand these diverse and complex societies. They often could not tell the difference between different Indian groups.

The United States Extends Its Reach

As the United States began to take control of the region, it portrayed itself as a “liberator.” The U.S. government believed that it could free the territory of insecurity and violence by populating the region, “civilizing” local Indian populations, and, most importantly, quelling the Apache threat.

The early years of U.S. control were relatively peaceful. U.S. settlers made agreements with local Apache groups, providing gifts in return for peace. But by the early 1860s, conflict had flared up between settlers and the Apache.

Why did violence between Apache groups and U.S. settlers increase?

This upswell in violence was related, in large part, to cultural misunderstanding. When Apache groups made agreements with local communities, they continued to raid other settlements. Many Apache groups depended on raiding as an important source of food and supplies.

Unfortunately, most U.S. settlers were unable to tell the difference between the Apache and the O'odham, much less between different Apache bands. They often confused groups with which they had made peace agreements with those they had not.

“[A]lthough we find officers and citizens who speak in great confidence of their knowledge of this tribe and that tribe of the Apaches, when their statements are sifted down we often find them mere speculations.”

—Office of Indian Affairs annual report,
1868

Sometimes U.S. settlers believed they had made an agreement with a number of groups while the Apache believed the peace was only with their one band. As Apache raids continued despite the peace agreements, U.S. settlers believed their allies had betrayed them. Mis-trust deepened on both sides, and interactions that had once been peaceful became tinged with uncertainty.

The U.S. government sent troops to deal with the growing problem. But when U.S. forces attempted to retaliate, they struggled to figure out who to retaliate against. Many mistakenly assumed that Apache leaders held sway over all Apache groups and not just their



This cartoon from 1883 mocks federal Indian policy, which many in the United States believed pampered hostile groups like the Apache.

own bands. For example, when the Apache took captives from U.S. settlements, U.S. forces would often seize captives from another group, assuming that any Apache leader could coordinate the return of their people. In other cases, they would lash out at the first Indians they came across. Even with the help of Mexican-American guides, many of whom belonged to families that had been fighting the Apache for generations, the U.S. army found it nearly impossible to fight a dispersed and retreating enemy. In the few instances they were able to surprise Apache groups in their campgrounds and communities, they killed men, women, and children alike. The army also sought to destroy Apache homes, crops, and food stores, making their situation increasingly desperate.

By ruining Apache food sources, U.S. forces encouraged further raiding. U.S. violence

also prompted Apache reprisals. Apache groups began mutilating the bodies of the U.S. troops and settlers they killed, in part as a response to the savage violence of U.S. forces. They also took to destroying U.S. property, burning buildings, demolishing mining equipment, and ruining settler possessions during the course of their raids.

How did civilian groups become important in fighting the Apache during the U.S. Civil War?

As violence increased in the border region, the repercussions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase continued to play out across Mexico and the United States. The land transfers that occurred as a result of these agreements sparked civil wars in both countries in the 1850s and 1860s.

In Mexico, people were angry about the huge loss of territory sustained by their government. For many Mexicans, these blows to the national image struck deep, and some argued that Mexico's government, economy, and society needed a complete transformation. In 1854, those who supported reform overthrew Santa Ana's government and fought groups opposing change, finally establishing a new government in 1861.

In contrast, in the United States it was the huge gain of territory that sparked civil war. Debates over the status of slavery in the new territories inflamed tensions that were already at fever pitch. In 1861, war broke out between the North and the South. The government pulled all of its troops to fight the war in the East, leaving Arizona defenseless. The territory

briefly passed into Confederate hands, when forces from Texas invaded in 1861. Union troops from California retook the territory in 1862.

The region's U.S. settler community was deeply divided over the war. But the majority of fighting took place far from southern Arizona. As had been the case during the war between the United States and Mexico, the war between settlers and the O'odham and the Apache remained the primary concern for people in southern Arizona. Attacks between settlers and Apache increased in the absence of federal troops. The Confederate and then Union soldiers that occupied the region made fighting the Apache a top priority.

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

—Marching song sung by Union troops occupying Arizona in 1862

The occupations of Confederate and Union troops were brief. For most of the war, Arizonans were left to fight the Apache on their own. Local government officials recruited citizen volunteers to lead the fight. These volunteers, the majority Mexican American, were enthusiastic participants, often seeking revenge against Apache groups that had stolen their livestock or kidnapped their family members. As had been the practice when the region belonged to Mexico, the citizens in a war party divided all recovered livestock amongst themselves.

U.S. officials also encouraged their O'odham allies to step up their attacks on Apache groups. They offered payment, such as food, clothing, or money, for Apache scalps. In addition, the United States enlisted the help of Apaches living in the former *establecimientos de paz*. Although they numbered only a few hundred by mid-century, they played an important role guiding expeditions against other Apache groups. But neither the O'odham nor the Apache in the *establecimientos de paz* were simply hired soldiers. In many cases,

they directed campaigns against their Apache rivals.

How did U.S. policy towards the Apache change after the Civil War?

With the end of the Civil War in 1865, the U.S. government turned its energies towards pacifying Indian groups in the West. U.S. forces moved back to southern Arizona and turned their attention to subduing the Apache threat once and for all.

Many in the United States had begun to advocate for a harsher response as violence in the West grew in the mid-nineteenth century. Some even advocated for extermination of native groups as a way to make the West safe for U.S. settlement. Many settlers in southern Arizona argued that the only thing the Apache understood was violence. And indeed, the violence between U.S. settlers and troops and Apache groups was fierce. But not everyone supported this sentiment; even in southern Arizona there were traders and other whites who chose to live among Indian communities.

In 1869, U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant initiated his new Peace Policy. The government began creating reservations on which Indian groups could live with the support and assistance of the U.S. government. In 1870, federal officials created Fort Apache, a reservation for the Apache, in eastern Arizona. But few settled there besides the Apache groups that already lived there.

The Apache, for their part, were hesitant to trust this new scheme. Some believed the U.S. government was using peace as a guise to exterminate them. Many had had firsthand experience with U.S. treachery in previous decades. Stories of the brutal war waged to get Navajo groups onto a reservation in New Mexico also made many Apache wary of the government's true intentions. Furthermore, settling on the reservation ran counter to the way many Apache lived because it prevented them from making their yearly migrations.

As U.S. forces tried to encourage Apache groups to settle in Fort Apache, the cycle of raiding and violence persisted. The govern-

ment's new policy exposed a rift between the aims of U.S. policy makers and the desires of settlers in the region. Many settlers opposed the reservation system. The reservations, they argued, provided resources to Apache groups while doing nothing to punish them for their violent behavior. Many also believed that isolating the Apache on reservations would do nothing to curb their raiding.

The army had little control over the local population. Despite the presence of U.S. troops, local citizens continued to form war parties to avenge Apache theft of livestock, destruction of property, and taking of captives.

[Who would] condemn any measure whatsoever which may be resorted to by the pioneer for the protection of his property and the punishment of the common despoiler?"

—Article in the *Weekly Arizonian*,
July 23, 1870

You have just read about the history of groups in southern Arizona and the ways in which they experienced U.S. westward expansion in the nineteenth century. In 1871, a new development—the creation of an unofficial Apache reservation just north of Tucson—brought many of these tensions to a head. In the coming days, you will consider more closely the divergent perspectives of groups in the region.

April 1871, Apache Settlement at Camp Grant

In February 1871, a group of female Apache elders came to Camp Grant, a U.S. Army post in southern Arizona, to negotiate peace. Located about sixty miles northeast of Tucson in the heart of the homeland of the Black Rocks People, a Western Apache group, Camp Grant was established by the U.S. government in 1865.

By the early 1870s, some Apache leaders were beginning to see the position of their people as increasingly dire. Escalating violence, U.S. destruction of Apache crops and food stores, and growing numbers of U.S. settlers and soldiers convinced many Apache that their choices were stark: either make a lasting peace with the United States or retreat further

into the mountains and abandon their traditional homelands.

Although fearful of U.S. treachery, Hashkēē bá nzin (pronounced “Ha-she-bonn-zinn”) and other Black Rocks leaders decided to try for peace. Lieutenant Royal Whitman, the commanding officer at Camp Grant, suggested that these Black Rocks Apache groups settle in Fort Apache, the Apache reservation in eastern Arizona. But these groups were not comfortable with Fort Apache or its inhabitants. Trying to stay true to the goals of the Peace Policy, Whitman allowed these bands to settle near Camp Grant in an unofficial reservation. More than a hundred Apache set up a campground there and the U.S. military provided them with rations and employment.

Previous Attempts for Peace at Camp Grant

This was not the first time that Apache groups had attempted to make peace with U.S. soldiers at the fort. For example, in 1866, a delegation of Black Rocks People met with U.S. officials near Camp Grant. The exchange between leaders from these groups makes it clear how differently the two sides had come to think of “peace.”

Akinenha, a chief of the Black Rocks People, told U.S. officials “[W]e have been living upon herbs and grass...we now wish to change our manner of living.”

U.S. officials replied that they would allow these groups to settle near the fort and provide them with food. But if the United States believed that the Apache were not honoring their pledge of peace, “soldiers by the thousands will come to hunt you down, drive you from one mountain to another, burn your *rancherias*, your mescal and other property and take your wives and children away from you.”

Akinenha, wary of U.S. intentions, explained “[W]e do not wish to settle with our families right away at the post.” He also tried to explain the migratory lifestyle of his people. “[O]ur principal food is mescal...we can therefore not be expected to be and remain in the valley all the time.... [W]e wish to go and come when we please, for we must go for mescal, must hunt the deer and visit the mountains.”

U.S. officials agreed to these terms and distributed red ribbons, which members of the groups agreeing to peace were to wear at all times so that they were easily identifiable by U.S. soldiers.

But within a matter of weeks, U.S. officials demanded that the Apache remain at the campground near Fort Grant rather than come and go when they wished. The Apache fled, perhaps fearful of a U.S. attack or angry at this new requirement. The fort sent a group of several hundred soldiers and O’odham after the Apache. When some of the Apache saw them coming, they waved a white flag and called out “amigos.” But despite the Apache’s overture for peace, the war party destroyed Apache crops and killed several people.

How did the Apache settlement at Camp Grant inflame settler discontent?

In the past, peace agreements between Apache bands and local settlements had usually been short-lived (see box on page 33). But three months after settling near Camp Grant, the Apache remained in their new home. Although Whitman had appealed to his superiors, they would not tell him whether the unofficial reservation at Camp Grant was allowed or not. Not wishing to discourage peace, he allowed the settlement to continue but kept a close eye on the Apache living there. Still, as the seasons changed and the water near Camp Grant dried up, Whitman allowed the Apache to settle deeper in nearby Aravaipa Canyon, about five miles from the military post. Aravaipa Canyon was an important location for the Black Rocks People. By April of 1871, more than five hundred Apache had settled there.

This did not go unnoticed by settlers in the region. Many believed that the violence of the Apache had reached an all-time high. They criticized the military's attempt at peace as misguided and out of touch with reality.

“[E]very citizen of Arizona knows that the last three years constitute the bloodiest page in the history of Arizona.”

—Article in the *Weekly Arizonian*,
January 1871

Many believed the Apaches near Camp Grant were involved in the continued raiding of U.S. settlements. Settlers were also concerned about proposed changes to the region's security. In late 1870, the top commander of U.S. forces in Arizona had announced that he was planning to close nearly half of all military posts in Arizona. At the time, one-tenth of the entire U.S. military was stationed in the Arizona Territory.

In the coming days you will examine a variety of perspectives about the violence in southern Arizona and about the Apache settlement near Camp Grant. You will consider the views of the groups that lived in the region at the time—the O'odham, Mexican Americans, U.S. settlers, and the Apache who settled at the fort—as well as the U.S. government, which was represented by the U.S. officials stationed at Camp Grant.

It is important to note that within each of these groups there existed many different opinions. The perspectives that you read do not aim to represent the diversity of opinions that existed within each group. Instead, they represent the most widely held views at the time. As you consider the perspectives, think about the ways in which these perspectives overlapped and the ways in which they clashed. Why were interactions between groups often marred by violence? What were points of commonality and cooperation? What kind of power did each of these groups have by 1871? In what ways could they exercise that power?

Perspectives in Brief

Perspective 1: O'odham

Historians are not sure when the conflict between the O'odham and Apache began. From the O'odham perspective, the Apache had always taken every opportunity to attack their people, steal their livestock, and take their children captive. For the O'odham, fighting the Apache was a way to show power and spiritual strength. Although the O'odham often allied with the Spanish, Mexican, and then U.S. settlers that moved into the region, the O'odham were not simply hired soldiers. They were wary of the expanding U.S. settlements in their midst. At the same time, these newcomers brought opportunities in the form of trade and new material goods. Many O'odham welcomed opportunities to attack the Apache.

Perspective 2: Mexican Americans

For most Mexican Americans in the region, the conflict with the Apache stretched back generations. The conflict was very personal—many of these settlers had lost brothers, children, and other family members in Apache raids and skirmishes, not to mention countless heads of cattle and horses. Most Mexican Americans referred to Apache people as “barbarians” and believed that the Apache were fundamentally opposed to settled society. Mexican-American settlers often had very personal knowledge of the Apache groups with which they had frequent contact. Some Mexican Americans became well known for their expertise in fighting this enemy—one of the few ways that Mexican Americans could rise to prominence in this new, U.S. society. Some Mexican Americans recognized the Apache groups staying at Camp Grant and believed they were responsible for attacks on settlers and their property.

Perspective 3: U.S. Settlers

Many U.S. settlers believed that, by April 1871, violence in the Arizona Territory had reached an all-time high. They felt that the increase in violence required a harsher response from the U.S. government. Many wanted a campaign of extermination. U.S. settlers had simplified views of the other groups in the region. These views were often based on a belief in their own cultural and racial superiority. Most local settlers sharply disagreed with the federal government’s new policy towards Native American groups. They believed the government was more concerned with helping Indians than it was in protecting its own citizens. Most local settlers believed that the Apache near Camp Grant had continued to lead attacks against U.S. settlements.

Perspective 4: U.S. Government

With President Grant’s Peace Policy, the U.S. government ushered in a new era in U.S.-Indian relations. Many believed that the cruel treatment of Indians by U.S. officials and settlers had driven Indian people to violence. Policy makers argued that Indian people were wards of the nation, and that the government had a responsibility to protect its “children.” From the perspective of the U.S. government, it was high time for the “Indian problem” to be solved. Policies under Grant aimed to incorporate Indian people into U.S. society through assimilation. Instead of exterminating Indian people, the government wanted Indians to abandon their “uncivilized” ways and subscribe to U.S. values and customs. Violence would be used against those groups who refused to go along with the government’s new policy.

Perspective 5: The Apache at Camp Grant

By the early 1870s, some Apache groups believed they had reached a critical juncture. Many leaders believed their choices were increasingly desperate: they either had to make peace with the outsiders or leave their homelands for good. To the Apache, the O'odham, Mexicans, and U.S. settlers were all “the Enemy.” They had long viewed white outsiders as particularly brutal and terrifying. As violence increased in the region after the Civil War, many Apache leaders, including those of the Black Rocks People, believed that they could no longer afford to be at war with this enemy. The land where the United States had constructed Camp Grant was in the heart of the homeland of the Black Rocks People. Many believed that the only way they could return to these lands without constant bloodshed and suffering was to make peace with the soldiers there.

Perspective 1: O'odham

Historians are not sure when the conflict between the O'odham and Apache began. From the O'odham perspective, the Apache had always taken every opportunity to attack their people, steal their livestock, and take their children captive. The O'odham believed that they had the right to attack the Apache in turn. These frequent attacks meant that O'odham groups often had a very detailed and intimate knowledge of their enemies.

For the O'odham, war was an inescapable part of life. But it was also an activity that released power and dangerous forces—something not to be taken lightly. For the O'odham, fighting the Apache was a way to show power and spiritual strength. O'odham warriors gained the most power from killing an Apache through direct physical contact. This was the reason why they often used the guns provided to them by their U.S. and Spanish allies as clubs rather than discharge them. An O'odham who killed an enemy through physical contact would become a *siakam*, an “Enemy Killer.” After undergoing the proper cleansing rituals, the *siakam* could harness the power of the Apache he killed.

Because so much power was associated with fighting the Apache, O'odham groups only sent out war parties when they felt confident they would be successful. If the campaign seemed unfavorable, they would abandon it, even if U.S. or Spanish forces had enlisted them to participate. The O'odham preferred surprise attacks, and would circle enemy camps under the cloak of darkness, striking at the light of day. Unlike the Apache, they never took any enemy goods during attacks.

Although the O'odham often allied with the Spanish, Mexican, and then U.S. settlers that moved into the region, the O'odham were not simply hired soldiers. Conflicts were regional, which meant that the Apache groups that attacked nearby Spanish and U.S. settlements were the same Apache groups that attacked neighboring O'odham communities. In addition, the O'odham, at times, resisted the policies of their allies. For example, in the mid-eighteenth century a number of O'odham groups led a rebellion against the Spanish and forced the Spanish to abandon their settlements in O'odham homelands temporarily. They were wary of the expanding U.S. settlements in their midst. At the same time, these newcomers brought opportunities in the form of trade and new material goods.

Although they were not unaware of events happening in U.S. communities, these happenings mattered little in the day-to-day lives of O'odham people. The O'odham worked with Spanish and then U.S. troops and settlers to fight the Apache, collecting rations, livestock, and other goods for the Apache ears, scalps, and captives that they turned over to the authorities. Many O'odham welcomed opportunities to attack the Apache.

Aravaipa Canyon, where the Apache had recently settled, held particular significance for many Tohono O'odham, who viewed themselves as descendants of the Sobaipuris. The Sobaipuris were an O'odham group that had been driven from their homelands—including the sites of Camp Grant and Aravaipa Canyon—by increased Apache raiding in the late eighteenth century.

Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Perspective 1

1. The O'odham believed that fighting the Apache was an important way to display spiritual power.
2. The O'odham believed that they should attack the Apache at every opportunity in which they could lead a successful campaign.
3. The O'odham believed that U.S. officials would reward them for their attacks against the Apache.

From the Historical Record

One of the O'odham's narratives about Older Brother (I'itoi)

"He [I'itoi, an O'odham cultural hero] put power between the Apaches and the [O'odham], so that when the Apaches were victorious they acquired the power; and when the [O'odham] won, in turn they acquired power. Elder Brother said, 'I didn't think this enmity [hostility] would come between these tribes but since it has happened, it has happened. Let it be so.'"

An Akimel O'odham narrative about the origins of the conflict with the Apache

"They [I'itoi and Earth Shaman, the god who created the earth, sun, moon, I'itoi, and other beings] made a plan. They caused a quarrel between an Apache child and an [Akimel O'odham] child, and the Apache child cried and came to its mother. She was angry and whipped the [Akimel O'odham] child. Then the [Akimel O'odham] mother fought the Apache mother, and the [Akimel O'odham] father came to help her, and the Apache father came and fought also. So there was a fight between the Apaches and the [Akimel O'odham], and Earth [Shaman] taught the Apaches to live on the north side of the Gila Valley."

Ascención, a captain among the Tohono O'odham, December 1871

"The Papagoes are at war with the Apaches; have so been since I was born.... If I was alone among the Apaches they would kill me. They would do so with any of my tribe. We would look for nothing else.... The Apache are now and have always been in the habit of stealing stock from us. When stock has been stolen from us by the Apaches we follow on the trail and try to recover the stock."

Perspective 2: Mexican Americans

For most Mexican Americans in the region, the conflict with the Apache stretched back generations. The Apache had stolen livestock and destroyed the property of settlers in the region since the Spanish set up their first missions in the late seventeenth century. The conflict was very personal—many of these settlers had lost brothers, children, and other family members in Apache raids and skirmishes, not to mention countless heads of cattle and horses. Since the seventeenth century, Spanish and then Mexican groups had led military campaigns against the Apache. Many believed that the only way to deal with the Apache was with violence.

Most Mexican Americans referred to Apache people as “barbarians” and believed that the Apache were fundamentally opposed to settled society. At the same time, Mexican Americans had a very intimate relationship with the Apaches in the region. Some Mexican-American households had Apache captives working as servants or field hands. Others had family members who had lived for a time as captives among the Apache. Many Mexican Americans remembered living side-by-side with Apache groups during the *establicimientos de paz* era. And the long-term, ongoing conflict made it possible for many Mexican Americans to recognize the individuals they fought by face or name. Some understood parts of different Apache dialects. Mexican-American settlers often had very personal knowledge of the Apache groups with which they had frequent contact.

Many Mexican-American men were skilled fighters and trackers. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Mexican government had largely left the security of the northern frontier to the local governments. This had created a tradition among Mexican Americans of organizing civilian groups to fight the Apache. Any livestock that was recovered in these civilian-led campaigns was divided among the participants. Mexican Americans often cooperated with O’odham allies in the fight against the Apache.

Some Mexican Americans became well known for their expertise in fighting this enemy. In the new society that was created when U.S. settlers flooded into the region, this was one of the few ways that Mexican Americans could rise to prominence. As U.S. settlements had grown, so had racism and discrimination against Mexican Americans. Although the U.S. Army benefited from the knowledge that Mexican-American trackers had of the Apache, other settlers viewed Mexican Americans with suspicion for their intimate knowledge of this enemy.

Mexican Americans and the U.S. military cooperated for many years to fight the Apache. Although U.S. military leaders believed they were in charge of these campaigns, Mexican Americans often viewed themselves as leaders. Despite the increased presence of U.S. troops after the U.S. Civil War, Mexican Americans did not believe hostilities with the Apache had declined and so they continued to lead their own skirmishes against the Apache.

Mexican Americans were used to making partial peace agreements with Apache groups. They did not necessarily believe that the U.S. government’s agreement with the Apache at Camp Grant meant that they too were at peace with those groups. Some Mexican Americans recognized the Apache groups staying at Camp Grant and believed they were responsible for attacks on settlers and their property.

Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Perspective 2

1. Mexican Americans believed that the Apache would only respect the lives and property of local settlers if they were forced to do so with violence.
2. Mexican Americans believed that they were more knowledgeable about how to fight the Apache than the newly arrived soldiers and U.S. officials.
3. When Apache groups stole livestock, Mexican Americans believed it was a citizen's responsibility to gather a party of able-bodied men to retrieve his property.

From the Historical Record

Mexico's Secretary of State José María Tornel, 1844

"They [the Apache] belong to that indigenous race that did not receive even one of those weak rays of light that existed in the continent before the conquest introduced European civilization. These tribes maintained with the Spanish a war of three hundred years duration, forever marked by deeds of horror and cruelty."

José Velasco, writer from Sonora, 1847

"What better testament [to Apache violence] than these deserted fields, sprinkled with blood? What better witnesses that these abandoned *haciendas*, ranches, and towns?"

Manuel Coronado, a Mexican-American settler, recounting an 1867 Apache attack in court testimony from 1893

"None of the men [Mexicans] then gave any provocation, they were always afraid to do anything. They [the Apache] had no other reason than that it was their custom to rob and kill all their lives whenever they could."

Court manuscript of Jesús María Elías' testimony in 1893 in support of his brother Juan, who was seeking compensation from the U.S. government for the hundreds of animals he had lost to Apache raiding

"[T]hey had been fighting...father and robbing his cattle and killing [my] people since [I] could remember. We gave no provocation for this raid and never did. Their only motive was to rob and get the best of us, and our motive was to follow them for when they came there and stole what we had and killed any of us, we were compelled to follow them to try to get the property that belonged to us."

Perspective 3: U.S. Settlers

Many U.S. settlers believed that, by April 1871, violence in the Arizona Territory had reached an all-time high. From their perspective, Apache attacks had been growing in frequency and severity over the previous months and years. They viewed the Apache as “savage,” “insolent,” and dishonest. Many believed that the increase in violence required a harsher response from the U.S. government. Many wanted a campaign of extermination.

U.S. settlers had simplified views of the other groups in the region. These views were often based on a belief in their own cultural and racial superiority. For example, they believed that the Apaches, by nature, hated settled society. Many argued that the ultimate aim of the Apache was to kill all white settlers. By contrast, they viewed the O’odham as a quiet, tranquil people who had welcomed Spanish and then U.S. colonization of their lands. U.S. settlers often had close relationships with Mexican Americans, whether through business relationships, marriage, or by virtue of their close contact. But at the same time, many viewed Mexican Americans with suspicion, and were leery of their mixed racial heritage and their intimate knowledge of the Apache. Despite U.S. reliance on Mexican-American and O’odham allies to fight the Apache, U.S. settlers often viewed themselves as racially and culturally superior to their allies. At the same time, most settlers supported and even joined Mexican-American citizen groups to fight the Apache.

Most local settlers sharply disagreed with the federal government’s new policy towards Native American groups. They claimed that it provided the Apache with supplies and safe haven on the reservations, while doing nothing to punish past wrongs or discourage future attacks. From their perspective, the Peace Policy confined local settlers to large towns like Tucson and Tubac, where population numbers were great enough to protect them from Apache attacks, rather than confine Apache groups to the reservations. They believed that their government was deserting them when they most needed protection. Settlers made records of the injuries visited upon them by the Apache: stolen livestock, kidnapped and murdered relatives, loved ones living in fear. They believed the government was more concerned with helping Indians than it was in protecting its own citizens.

Many viewed Lieutenant Whitman’s peace with the Apache at Camp Grant as naïve. They pointed to the previous failed attempts at peace as evidence of Apache trickery. Most local settlers believed that the Apache near Camp Grant had continued to lead attacks against U.S. settlements.

Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Perspective 3

1. U.S. settlers believed that reservations provided a safe haven for the Apache, who continued to attack U.S. settlements.

2. U.S. settlers believed that the Apache were not capable of peace or civilization.

3. U.S. settlers believed that the reformists guiding the federal government's policy toward the Indians had no inkling of the true nature of the Apache.

From the Historical Record

Editorial in the Weekly Arizona Miner, July 1871

"This is our country;—not [the Apaches'.] American blood and treasure secured it from Mexico.... [T]he American people cannot now do otherwise than help us to fight the great battle of civilization; to overthrow the barbarians and teach them that white supremacy, even in Arizona, is decreed of God."

Settler in Arizona, recollecting in 1890

"We have a horror of them 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."

Editorial in the Weekly Arizona Miner, 1864

"So long as an Indian has life and power he is dangerous, and this is particularly true of the fiendish Apache. There can be no hope of peace or prosperity in Arizona until he is exterminated or forced to accept a reservation."

Thompson Turner, Tubac resident, early 1860s

"The 'army' having withdrawn from the field, we may expect little safety to life or property if the citizens themselves do not do something to spread terror among the savages, and teach them that what depredations they commit will be returned with ten-fold force upon their own heads."

Editorial in the Weekly Arizonian, 1870

"[T]he mistaken philanthropists of the East have not the most remote conception of the Apache character.... The effect of their policy is terrible on this far West border; and these

men who are pleading for soft measures with the Apaches are guilty of the blood of the murdered pioneers of Arizona and New Mexico."

"Feed the Murderers!", Weekly Arizonian, March 11, 1871

"Feed the murderers! Give them an opportunity to trade for and steal arms and ammunition! Clothe and protect them! Fawn upon them! Encourage them to new outrages! They have just gathered in their harvest of blood and need a short season of repose, and the sheltering arms of a fanatical Indian policy are ever ready to receive them.... All the hypocrites and idiots have not yet died out—which fact you will admit upon learning that a couple hundred Apaches are feted and fawned upon at Camp Grant. Two weeks ago they applied to the commanding officer and were received with open arms. Quite natural: the Apache obeying his treacherous instincts and the officer obeying orders!"

"From San Pedro Valley," Arizona Citizen, April 15, 1871

"As we declared at the time, the Camp Grant truce was a cruel farce.... There is not a reasonable doubt but Camp-Grant-fed Indians made the raid on San Xavier last Monday, and because they were followed, punished and deprived of their plunder, they went to Grant, rested on Wednesday, and in stronger force on Thursday attacked the San Pedro settlements as detailed elsewhere.... [T]he loss of life and property has since been shocking, and one thrifty community broken up, and the accumulations of years of hard labor abandoned to the savages."

"Indians Always," Weekly Arizonian, April 15, 1871

"During the present week accounts of Indian Depredations have reached us from almost every section of Arizona.... If the idiotic policy of feeding hostile Indians at military reservations were abandoned Indians would be compelled to procure the necessities of life, and could not devote their whole time to the work of carrying on a war against the settlements....

The people are almost suffocated by promises, and it is nearly time that Gen. Stoneman [the top commander of U.S. forces in Arizona Territory] should put some of his cherished schemes into execution. Since he has not sufficient troops to keep his murderous wards on their reservations let him show his desire to do right by driving them into the mountains and sending his troops to fight them there, if he is too humane to slaughter them at their reservations as though they were as many packs of coyotes—which is the course we would recommend, on the grounds of economy and humanity. Do something—anything! No condition can be worse than that now existing, therefore no glory can be lost."

"Christianization of the Indian," Arizona Citizen, April 22, 1871

"While President Grant and millions of sincere but, in some instance at least, misguided philanthropists declare that the Indian must be christianized by kindness, moral suasion, food, and clothing, given him in idle-

ness in everything but the labor of murdering, scalping and robbing law abiding citizens, we respectfully suggest, if his christianization be the chief object of these good people, that there are different and well established methods of attaining this noble end, and these methods have never been held barbarous by the Christian church. The most prominent teaching of all Christian sects is that punishment will and ought to be inflicted upon wrongdoers—in this world if it can be, and certainly in the next. We believe it is generally admitted that murder is the highest crime a person can commit on earth, and that assassination is the most aggravated and least excusable form of that crime, and the Indian prefers the latter style of it; yet a christian people, backed by a philanthropic administration say this horrifying method of murder when committed by an Indian deserves to be rewarded with milk and honey, lands and beeves, raiment and idleness, and that other treatment of it is barbarous and ineffectual for good....

We can but think that the work of christianizing the Apaches would be greatly facilitated and rendered lasting, by prefacing it with a temporary stoppage of food, raiment, arms and ammunition, and giving them generous doses of cold lead from well directed Sharp's carbines and needle guns. We feel certain that indisputable Christian authority is ample to not only justify but recommend this process."

Perspective 4: U.S. Government

With President Grant's Peace Policy, the U.S. government ushered in a new era in U.S.-Indian relations. Influenced by the moral arguments that abolitionists made against slavery, many people in the East began to believe that U.S. treatment of Native Americans was also inhumane. Many, including President Grant, believed that the cruel treatment of Indians by U.S. officials and settlers had driven Indian people to violence. They argued that the ruthless violence and broken promises of the past had fostered mistrust and conflict.

At the same time, the U.S. government viewed Indian groups as inferior to Anglo Americans. The U.S. government believed it played a role as a "parent" to the Indian groups within its borders. It no longer believed that Indian groups were sovereign, or independent, nations. Instead, policy makers argued that Indian people were wards of the nation, and that the government had a responsibility to protect its "children."

From the perspective of the U.S. government, it was high time for the "Indian problem" to be solved. For the government, the problem was two-fold. On the one hand, the existence of hostile groups in the West hindered U.S. settlement. On the other hand, the U.S. government needed to figure out what to do with Native American groups within its borders.

Grant believed that the United States should solve the "Indian problem" in a more humane way. Policies under Grant aimed to incorporate Indian people into U.S. society through assimilation. Instead of exterminating Indian people, the government wanted Indians to abandon their "uncivilized" ways and subscribe to U.S. values and customs. He put the reins of U.S. Indian policy in the hands of philanthropists and religious figures.

These reformers believed that U.S. society was culturally superior to Native American societies. They believed that moving all Indian groups onto reservations would facilitate their transition to peaceful, Christian farmers. The reservations would also separate Indian groups from U.S. settlements, allowing settlers to move into the region without the fear of violence. Ultimately, policy makers believed Indian people could be educated to adopt U.S. customs and become part of U.S. society. They argued that, with adequate rations and land on which to farm, Indian groups would live peacefully with neighboring U.S. settlements.

The government believed that violence should only be used as a last resort. In particular, violence would be used against those groups who refused to go along with the government's new policy. The government sent in the military to move all groups onto reservations. After a reasonable amount of time was given to achieve this goal, U.S. officials would assume that any Indian found off the reservation was hostile—and would meet them with violence. In practice, the Peace Policy was not very different from previous U.S. policies towards Indian groups.

Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Perspective 4

1. Policy makers believed that the violent behavior of Indians towards U.S. people and settlements was a direct result of the brutal treatment these groups received at the hands of U.S. citizens and government.

2. Policy makers believed that with the proper protection, assistance, and Christian

education, all Indian people could be civilized according to Anglo-American standards.

3. Policy makers believed that most Indians wanted to live on the reservations and were waiting for the government to fulfill its promises to help them live “like the white man.”

From the Historical Record

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Nathaniel G. Taylor, November 23, 1868

“What, then, is our duty as the guardian of all the Indians under our jurisdiction? To outlaw, to pursue, to hunt down like wolves and slay? Must we drive and exterminate them as if void of reason, and without souls? Surely, no.

It is beyond question our most solemn duty to protect and care for, to elevate and civilize them. We have taken their heritage, and it is a grand and magnificent heritage. Now is it too much that we carve for them liberal reservations out of their own lands and guarantee them homes forever? It is too much that we supply them with agricultural implements, mechanical tools, domestic animals, instructors in the useful arts, teachers, physicians, and Christian missionaries? If we find them fierce, hostile, and revengeful...let us remember that two hundred and fifty years of injustice, oppression and wrong, heaped upon them by our race with cold, calculating and relentless perseverance, have filled them with the passion of revenge, and made them desperate....

That they can be elevated and enlightened to the proud stature of civilized manhood is demonstrated. We know the process by which this result is accomplished. Our duty is plain; let us enter upon its discharge without delay; end the war policy....”

Secretary of the Interior Jacob D. Cox, November 15, 1869

“It has long been the policy of the government to require of the tribes most nearly

in contact with white settlements that they should fix their abode upon definite reservations and abandon the wandering life to which they had been accustomed. To encourage them in civilization, large expenditures have been made in furnishing them with the means of agriculture and with clothing adapted to their new mode of life.

A new policy is not so much needed as an enlarged and more enlightened application of the general principles of the old one. We are now in contact with all the aboriginal tribes within our borders, and can no longer assume that we may, even for a time, leave a large part of them out of the operation of our system....

I understand this policy to look to two objects: First, the location of the Indians upon fixed reservations, so that the pioneers and settlers may be freed from the terrors of wandering hostile tribes; and second, an earnest effort at their civilization, so that they may themselves be elevated in the scale of humanity, and our obligation to them as fellow-men be discharged.”

President Ulysses S. Grant, December 5, 1870

“I entertain the confident hope that the policy now pursued will in a few years bring all the Indians upon reservations, where they will live in houses, and have schoolhouses and churches, and will be pursuing peaceful and self-sustaining avocations, and where they may be visited by the law-abiding white man with the same impunity that he now visits the civilized white settlements.”

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ely S. Parker, December 23, 1869

"It has become a matter of serious import whether the treaty system in use ought longer to be continued. In my judgment it should not. A treaty involves the idea of a compact between two or more sovereign powers, each possessing sufficient authority and force to compel a compliance with the obligations incurred. The Indian tribes of the United States are not sovereign nations, capable of making treaties, as none of them have an organized government of such inherent strength as would secure a faithful obedience of its people in the observance of compacts of this character. They are held to be the wards of the government.... But, because treaties have been made with them...they have become falsely impressed with the notion of national independence.... [G]reat injury has been done by the government in deluding this people into the belief of their being independent sovereignties, while they were at the same time recognized only as its dependents and wards."

"Letter from Camp Grant," letter from an army office in the Arizona Citizen, March 7, 1871

"The prospects that your cry will not be troubled by the Apaches for some time, are very bright indeed. Lieut. Whitman 3d cavalry and commanding officer of this Post, has just concluded a peace with two of the petty chiefs...who have sent runners out to all of their people, with the object that they shall also come in on a reservation.... I feel confident in asserting that, no matter what other officer comes here, if they are treated with the same kindness and fair dealing, as they are receiving at the hands of the now Commandant and Commissary, the people of Arizona need be under no farther apprehension of any incursions from this portion of the Apache tribe.... I think that these Indians being left San Pedro and Arivapa valleys to cultivate, and receiving convincing encouragement by implements, seeds, etc., in fact everything that would be requisite to start a people on their new career, we will have no more of those Indian atrocities that have so blurred the history of this territory.

A Soldier."

Perspective 5: The Apache at Camp Grant

By the early 1870s, most Apache groups believed they had reached a critical juncture. The U.S. military had stepped up its campaign against the Apache in the years after the U.S. Civil War. Unable to kill or capture many Apache in one attack because of the small size of Apache bands, U.S. troops targeted Apache villages and food stores. Many Apache felt that the violence had escalated to a point where they were always on the run. They were never at peace long enough to grow crops and their food reserves had been destroyed. For many, the only way to get supplies was to increase their raids of U.S. settlements.

Some groups had tried to settle at Fort Apache, but mescal cactus—a major food source for many Western Apache groups—did not grow in the White Mountains, where the reservation was located. In addition, these Apache groups were different from the Apache who lived at Fort Apache and did not get along with them. With hunger and sickness widespread, these groups left Fort Apache. But many leaders believed their choices were increasingly desperate: they either had to make peace with the outsiders or leave their homelands for good.

Although Mexican and U.S. setters often viewed all Apache attacks as the same, for the Apache, raiding and warfare were two very different activities. Apaches led raids to get needed supplies, and in these raids they generally sought to avoid conflict. By contrast, Apaches went to war to avenge the death of a community member, and their aim was to kill the enemy. In Apache societies, these two activities had completely different customs and practices associated with them.

To the Apache, the O'odham, Mexicans, and U.S. settlers were all “the Enemy.” They had long viewed white outsiders as particularly brutal and terrifying. They told stories of the treachery of these enemies, and many of these stories featured the betrayal and murder of Apache people in a supposedly peaceful Mexican settlement. They also relayed stories they heard from other groups in the region, and some feared that the United States planned to exterminate them. At the same time, they continued to try to initiate peace with individual U.S. communities. As violence increased in the region after the Civil War, many Apache leaders believed that they could no longer afford to be at war with this enemy.

“Blue Water Pool” was the Apache name for the land where the United States had constructed Camp Grant. This region, including Aravaipa Canyon, was in the heart of the homeland of the Black Rocks People, a Western Apache group. The Apache who settled at Camp Grant were Black Rocks People. Their ancestors had fought to hold onto this land for generations. Many believed that the only way they could return to these lands without constant bloodshed and suffering was to make peace with the soldiers at Blue Water Pool. Historians do not know whether groups at Camp Grant continued to lead raids while living at the fort. If they did, it is possible they viewed their agreement with the soldiers at Camp Grant as similar to previous peace agreements: indicating peace with this particular U.S. settlement only.

Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Perspective 5

1. The Apache believed that violence had escalated and that they would all be killed if they did not make peace or retreat far from U.S. settlements.
2. From the Apache perspective, raiding was not a form of warfare. Instead, it was a way for Apache groups to get the supplies

they needed, particularly when Enemy attacks destroyed their crops and food sources.

3. The Black Rocks People had inhabited Aravaipa Canyon for generations. They did not believe that U.S. officials should ask them move to a place like Fort Apache where other, hostile groups lived and where they could not find the foods that they needed.

From the Historical Record

An Apache narrative about the arrival of Europeans and European livestock

"The people were poor. They set fire to the material at the base of the sotol stalks and when the fire was burned down, hunted in the ashes for the singed mice that were left. They picked them up and ate them. They lived on these. They were poor....

Then they found out there were white men living somewhere. They also discovered that white people had something to live on. The Indians began to live by stealing. They stole burros, horses, and cattle and brought them home.

After that they used the thick skin from the hips of burros and horses and made soles for their moccasins. Cowhide is also thick and they used that for the moccasin soles. They made the tops of soft dressed deerskin which they sewed on. In this way they came to have moccasins.

Before this they were poor but now they lived well. They had sinew and rawhide made from cow's skin. They were happy.

They said that stealing from those who lived on the earth was a grand way to live. They did not go around in this country but went to white people's houses. The white people would go away and the Indians would pick up their blankets. They lived by going to war. Then they would come back where their homes were."

Mangas Coloradas, also known as Gandazisłichíidn ("The One with Reddish Sleeve Covers"), a Chiricahua Apache leader, 1850

"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 [a state in northern Mexico]. 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?"

John Rope, a Western Apache Indian, as recounted to anthropologist Grenville Goodwin in the early twentieth century

"Once in a while these men brought knives and metal hoes to trade. During one of their visits to us, some of our men (not chiefs, just common men) talked among themselves, 'Let's kill these white men and take all their guns away from them.' But one of them told the chief what they had decided to do. When the traders were about to leave, this chief sent word among the people to come together at one place and meet. He spoke to them, 'Don't talk about killing these traders any more. I don't want to hear of it. They bring us guns; they bring us axes; they bring us everything we need. This is how we get the things that we use. When you kill these white men, it will not make men of you. They are our friends, and they are also the friends of the Navaho.'"

An Apache leader during an attack in 1859, as recounted by a U.S. settler

"What have you come here for? I thought we were good friends. Did we not visit Tucson and Tubac, and go on an excursion to the Fort to see you all? We sat by your fires in friendship and ate of your bread; and now you come to kill us, our wives and our children."

Hashkēē bá nzin, chief of T'iisibaan Apache group, as recounted by Lieutenant Whitman, 1871

"[H]is people had no home, and could make none, as they were at all times apprehensive of the approach of the cavalry."

An Apache chief in 1866, as recounted by a U.S. soldier

"[T]he Apaches could not fight successfully, they would be killed if they did not make peace."

Hashkēē bá nzin, chief of T'iisibaan Apache group, 1871

"We are taught to make mescal our principal article of food, and in summer and winter here we have a never-failing supply. At the White Mountains there is none, and without it now we get sick. Some of our people have been...for a short time at the White Mountains, but they are not contented, and they all say, 'Let us go...[to]...Aravapa and make a final peace and never break it.'"

Part III: Telling New Stories

At dawn on the morning of April 30, 1871, a group made up of Mexican Americans, Tohono O'odham, and a handful of U.S. settlers attacked the Apache settlement near Fort Grant. In a little more than thirty minutes, the attackers killed as many as one hundred and forty-four Apache, the majority sleeping women and children. Most of the men from the settlement were not present because they were preparing for a religious ceremony. The attackers also took twenty-nine Apache children as captives.

The group, led by U.S. settler William Oury and Mexican-American brothers Juan and Jesús María Elías, returned home victorious. They claimed that Apaches from this settlement had stolen cattle and killed local settlers. In the days after the attack, the press presented the attackers' side of the story and hailed their heroics.

“[It was] one of the most important victories ever achieved by the white men over the savages in Arizona...”

—Article in *The Alto California*,
May 12, 1871

But in the weeks that followed, another, more critical view began to circulate. This view was based largely on the experiences of Lieutenant Whitman, the fort's commander. In his version of events, the attack was not a form of retribution but was a violation of the U.S. Army's peace agreement with the Apache near the fort, and a slaughter of innocent women and children. Many papers in other parts of the country retracted their earlier, more favorable reports. Some began to refer to the attack as the "Camp Grant massacre" because of the attackers' brutal violence. (By comparison, local settlers referred to the attack as the "Camp Grant affair.") President Grant referred to the attack as "murder, purely."

“[W]hatever the wrong of the red men at either point in the matter of

robbery, the retaliatory acts were wholly indefensible, whether in law, justice, humanity, or common decency. In a word, they were the acts of brutal ruffians—embracing not alone murder, but pillage, outrage of women and girls, and deeds so horrible and revolting that they cannot be publicly mentioned.”

—Article in *Every Saturday*,
August 19, 1871

Public opinion became split between these two conflicting accounts, with local settlers on one side and the U.S. government and reformers on the other.

The Apache, for their part, were devastated. They were especially concerned about the many Apache children that the attackers had taken captive.

“[O]ur little boys will grow up as slaves, and our girls, as soon as they are large enough, will be diseased prostitutes to get money for whoever owns them.... Our dead you cannot bring back to life, but those that are living...we look to you, who can write and talk and have soldiers, to get them back.”

—An Apache to Lieutenant Whitman,
shortly after the attack

The peace the Apache had forged with the soldiers at Camp Grant quickly unraveled and the survivors fled to the nearby mountains. As word spread of the attack, many other Apache groups became even more distrustful of U.S. government attempts to settle them on reservations.

Despite Apache appeals, U.S. officials only ever recovered six of the kidnapped children. Of the remaining twenty-three children, two escaped back to their families; the other twenty-one were lost to the Apache forever, likely



Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-113750.

Apaches line up for rations at the San Carlos reservation in 1899. The U.S. government created San Carlos just north of Aravaipa Canyon in 1871 for the Western Apache. The climate in San Carlos made it a breeding ground for malaria and other diseases, and tension between rival groups confined to such a small area pushed many to find homes elsewhere.

sold by the attackers to be servants in U.S. or Mexican homes.

What was significant about the trial that followed?

While many in the East viewed the attack as a brutal massacre and even an act of war against the United States, most people in Arizona were not sure that any crime had been committed. Strikes against the Apache by Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. settlers and troops, as well as by the O'odham, had been ongoing for centuries. This attack and previous campaigns against the Apache were very similar but for one important detail—these Apache were under the protection of the U.S. government. Under President Grant's Peace Policy, the U.S. government had changed its stance toward Indian groups. The government now advocated peace first, and violence only after all attempts at peace had been exhausted.

In October 1871, after months of pressure by the federal government, local officials arrested the alleged leaders of the attack. In

December 1871, for the first time in the history of the Arizona Territory, non-Apaches were put on trial for killing Apaches.

The court heard testimony from U.S. and Mexican-American settlers, U.S. officials, and an O'odham leader. No Apache people were present at the trial. After five days of testimony, the jury found the accused not guilty.

“The government of the United States owes its Papago, Mexican, and American residents in Arizona protection from Apache spoliation and assault. If such spoliation and assault are persistently carried on and not prevented, by the government, then the sufferers have a right to protect themselves and to employ force enough for the purpose.”

—Judge John Titus, presiding judge at the trial, December 11, 1871

Silenced Voices

The trial acquitted the leaders of the attack at Camp Grant. Many settlers would continue to tell the story of the attack with pride well into the twentieth century.

In the aftermath of the attack, the Apache also realized the importance of having their version of the attack told.

“They [the People] believe these Tucson people write for the papers and tell their own story. The Apache have no one to tell their story.”

—Hashkēē bá nzin, leader of a Black Rocks Apache group, September 1871

Anglo Americans, who had access to national newspapers, were able to have their views heard by people across the country. Mexican Americans, Apache, and O'odham people, on the other hand, struggled to have outsiders understand their perspectives. In the versions of this event that were told to people across the United States, these views were absent.

How has an absence of Native American views influenced the way we remember the history of U.S. westward expansion?

U.S. westward expansion led to loss of life and land, and an attack on the cultural institutions of Native Americans. But perhaps equally devastating has been the silencing of Native American stories in U.S. society. The story of the attack at Camp Grant is just one example of this.

Anglo Americans wanted to remember and tell the history of the West in a way that

portrayed them favorably and justified their claims to land and resources. Because Anglo Americans were the dominant force in U.S. society, they were able to portray their experiences as the only story of the West. The roles, contributions, and perspectives of other groups were downplayed. The result has been a story that excludes the views of Native Americans and ignores the complicated ways in which groups in the West interacted. The stories of the Native Americans who died, fought, cooperated, and contributed in many ways to the creation of the United States were missing in U.S. accounts of this period.

Instead, through history books, dime novels, plays, and (later) radio and movies, people in the United States remembered a history of U.S. progress across the West that left out the brutality and racism that characterized this period. Although people in Arizona would continue to remember the attack at Camp Grant, later accounts of the region would leave

it out all together. Rather than bearing responsibility for the devastation that U.S. expansion caused to hundreds of Native American societies, the United States preferred to see itself as a benevolent force that spread its lofty ideals across the continent.

In speeches, media, and popular culture, people in the United States misrepresented Indian people as caricatures, or parodies. The diversity of Native American people was reduced to images of “savage” or “uncivilized” Indian people. Other times, the presence of Native Americans was ignored all together. Even today, the myth of U.S. expansion across an empty continent persists.



National Archives, 106-BAE-251 7A, photo by A. J. McDonald.

The U.S. Army often exiled Indian leaders that would not accept the reservations peacefully, to make sure they could not further resist U.S. policies. Natchez (center front) and Geronimo (to the right of Natchez) were the last two Apache chiefs to hold out against U.S. attempts to force them onto reservations. Captured by the army, these Apache prisoners are on their way to exile in Florida, September 1886.

For many years, the history of the West was not completely told or understood. In the years after the Camp Grant attack, U.S. policies weakened and even destroyed Indian cultures, a process that contributed to the loss of Indian stories of the West. It is only in recent years that historians have uncovered a more complete and complex history of the American West and more voices have been heard.

The Results of U.S. Westward Expansion

In the years after the Civil War, U.S. policy makers aimed to create a more humane policy towards Indian groups. This was why U.S. public opinion had turned so sharply against local settlers in the aftermath of the attack at Camp Grant.

Rather than exterminate Indian people, the aim of the U.S. government during this period was to protect Indian people but exterminate their cultures.

“All the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.”

—Richard H. Pratt, reformer and founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1892

Ultimately, one of the chief goals of these policies—including President Grant’s Peace Policy and others—was to strip Indians of their lands, opening the remainder of the West for U.S. settlement. While the United States grew wealthy from the West’s resources, western Indian groups lost huge amounts of land and faced assaults on their cultures and



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Indian girls in an ironing class at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania in 1901. Carlisle was the first Indian boarding school, and was established to assimilate Native American children into U.S. society. In addition to academics, students also learned trade and work skills that would prepare them for the types of jobs reformers believed they would hold in U.S. society. Many Indian children returned home to find themselves in a kind of cultural limbo: they no longer identified with the values of their communities but neither were they accepted in mainstream U.S. society.

societies. The prosperity of the United States came at a very high cost to hundreds of Indian groups.

How did policy makers aim to assimilate Indian people into U.S. society?

The government’s approach to the assimilation of Indian groups was two-fold. First, the government wanted to get all Indian groups onto reservations. Policy makers believed that concentrating Indian groups on these lands would make the second part of their plan for assimilation—erasing Indian cultures—easier. Reformers were confident that the reservations would be temporary. Once Indian people were Christian, spoke English, and farmed small, independent plots of land, they could be integrated into U.S. society.

U.S. officials and soldiers convinced and, when necessary, coerced groups to settle on the reservations that the government had set aside for them.

“You come into our country and select a small patch of ground, around which you run a line, and tell us the President will make us a present of this to live upon, when everybody knows that the whole of the entire country, from the Red River to the Colorado, is now and always has been ours from time immemorial.”

—Shanaco, Penateka chief 1854

The reality of life on the reservations was bleak. Reservation lands were barren, with few natural resources. The government lumped many groups together on each reservation, and often these groups were unfriendly, if not outright hostile. Groups were forced to rely on rations and many resented the rules imposed by military officials. Many would leave the reservations to hunt. Others found life so unpleasant that they left them all together.

Once Indian groups were on the reservations, U.S. officials instituted a number of policies to encourage or force them to give up their cultures and their communal ways of

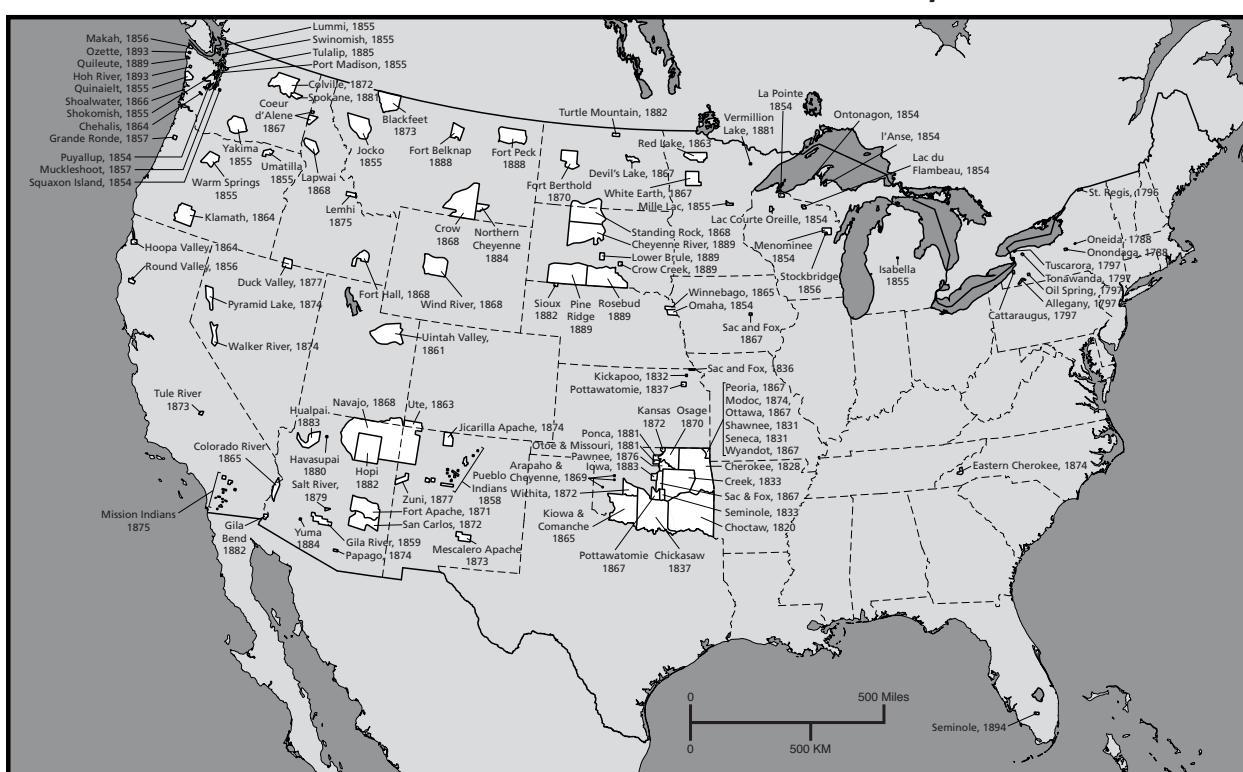
life. For example, they banned Indians from practicing their religions and cultural ceremonies. In addition, U.S. officials took thousands of Indian children from their homes and sent them to boarding schools, where school officials cut their hair short, changed their names, and forced them to speak English. Reformers believed that, once they were taught U.S. values, these children would conform to U.S. society voluntarily, and Indian traditions and practices would disappear within a generation.

Many scholars refer to the policies that the U.S. government pursued on the reservations beginning in the late nineteenth century as a form of cultural genocide. Although the government did not aim to kill the Indians, they did aim to destroy their societies. By suppressing Indian customs and forcibly removing Indian children, reformers hoped to erase Indian cultures completely.

How did the railroad contribute to increased U.S. settlement in the West?

At the same time that reformers initiated

Indian Reservations in the United States 1900



Decline of the Buffalo

Indian groups on the Plains accepted the reservations, in part, because of the near-extinction of the buffalo in the late nineteenth century. The adoption of the horse in the 1700s had made buffalo hunting on the Plains much more efficient for many Indian groups. Many became dependent on the buffalo for the bulk of their food, clothing, tools, and bedding. But while Indian hunting contributed to the decline of the species, the buffalo population did not really begin to plummet until people from the United States became interested in buffalo hides. In the late nineteenth century, U.S. hunters began slaughtering buffalo at startling rates, shipping the hides on the newly developed railway system to sell on the East Coast leather market. A hunter might kill between two thousand and three thousand buffalo in a single season. Additionally, the U.S. army killed huge numbers of buffalo in an attempt to subdue the Plains Indians that relied so heavily upon the animal. By 1878, the buffalo population on the southern plains, which had just decades earlier been as high as 27 million, had all but collapsed—the livelihood of the Plains Indians along with it.

their assimilation plans, settlers were pouring into the West. Settlements had existed in pockets throughout the region, but with the advent of the railroad, the United States moved into the West in earnest. The first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, and by 1890 the railroad companies had laid more than seventy-two thousand miles of track west of the Mississippi River.

A trip that had once taken months was reduced to mere days. The railroads brought manufactured goods and supplies from across the country to feed the West's growing towns and industries. The western economy grew in leaps and bounds. Miners set to work extracting reserves of gold, silver, copper, lead, and other precious metals that they found throughout the region. Lumber companies cut down vast swaths of forest and corporations established large farms and ranches to produce increasingly large quantities of food.

In a matter of decades, the West transformed from a place of small farms and subsistence agriculture, hunting, and gathering to a place of large corporations, industries, and cities. More and more, U.S. settlement spilled into Indian

lands and began to crowd out the Indian populations that lived there.

“The completion of one of the great lines of railway to the Pacific coast has totally changed the conditions



Wikimedia Commons.

U.S. hunters stand atop a pile of buffalo skulls in the 1870s. Hunters from the United States killed scores of buffalo in the 1870s—for food, robes, leather, and for sport. The slaughter was enormous and fast. Between 1872 and 1874, professional hunters killed more than 4.3 million buffalo from the southern herd alone, and by 1875 the southern herd was nearly extinct. The mass slaughter was also wasteful; hunters routinely killed more than they could use. Many Indian groups were horrified to see the Plains littered with rotting buffalo carcasses.

under which the civilized population of the country come in contact with the wild tribes. Instead of a slowly advancing tide of migration, making its gradual inroads upon the circumference of the great interior wilderness, the very center of the desert has been pierced.

—Jacob D. Cox, U.S. secretary of the interior, November 15, 1869

As U.S. settlers streamed into the region, U.S. troops launched a series of military campaigns to force the remaining tribes onto the reservations. Their persistence and ruthless methods eventually wore down Indian resistance. Soldiers slaughtered the buffalo herds, destroyed Indian pony herds, burned Indian villages, and destroyed Indian food stores. U.S. tactics pushed many to the brink of starvation, and countless froze to death for lack of shelter in the bitter winters on the Plains.

“Wherever we went, soldiers came to kill us.”

—Black Elk, Oglala holy man who was a youth at the time

For all the talk of peace, the military used many of the same violent, brutal tactics of earlier decades. For example, at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota in 1890, U.S. troops opened fire on a group of Sioux who had surrendered to them the previous night. A shot had been fired when the military attempted to disarm the group and a battle had broken out, with U.S. soldiers readily using their more advanced weapons. Although estimates vary widely, many believe U.S. troops killed



National Archives, 77-HQ-264-854.

Although the government's official policy was peace, it was backed up by the strong arm of the military. After the Civil War, the U.S. army turned its attention to subduing the Indian groups in the West. In this photo from 1874, General Custer leads columns of cavalry over the plains of the Dakota Territory to find a location for a new fort on land that belonged to the Sioux.

around two hundred Sioux, the majority women, children, and the elderly. The troops left the wounded where they lay, and many froze to death in a blizzard that night. These Sioux were followers of the Ghost Dance religion, which aimed to bring back a time when there were no whites in the region.

The experiences of the Sioux were not unique. For many groups, the relentlessness of the U.S. military, coupled with aggressive U.S. settlement of the West and the loss of Indian resources—including the buffalo herds (see box on page 55)—in the latter part of the nineteenth century convinced them to return to the reservations. Indians in the West faced increasingly stark options: either move onto the reservations or risk death, starvation, and homelessness. By 1890, after the Wounded Knee Massacre, all Indian groups in the United States were living on reservations.

But even reservation land was not protected from the chopping block of U.S. policy. In 1887, the government instituted a policy to divide Indian lands into individual plots or

allotments. This type of land ownership ran counter to the communal ways that Indian groups owned and shared land. Reformers believed that this policy would force Indians to abandon their communal lifestyles and become independent farmers. But instead of creating communities of Indian small farmers, the allotment policy led to massive loss of land by Indian people. From 1888 to 1934, when the government officially ended the allotment program, the amount of land held by Indians in the United States decreased by more than 65 percent, from 138 million to 48 million acres. The land lost to Indian people was quickly taken over by U.S. settlers, businesses, and corporate farmers.

How did expansion contribute to U.S. economic growth?

The railroads brought goods and people westward, and they also linked western industries to markets in the East and beyond. The vast quantities of raw materials produced and extracted from lands in the West were shipped east to fuel the country's growing cities and industries. Food grown on western farms became critical for feeding populations in the East, as well as in Europe. The natural resources of the West helped fuel the country's industrialization and rapid economic growth. By 1890, the United States had become the world's most productive economy. Westward expansion also fueled a surge in immigration, as millions came from Europe to share in the opportunity symbolized by the West.

As the century approached its end, the frontier of the West had officially closed. But many policy makers continued to see territorial expansion as an essential component of U.S. national identity and necessary for U.S. economic success.

Increasingly, U.S. leaders would look abroad for territorial gains. In some cases, the United States settled for commercial gains, that is, increased economic influence and trading privileges, in countries in other parts of the world. In other cases, the United States sought new territories and colonies, for example Hawaii, the Phillipines, and Puerto Rico.

U.S. imperialism began with westward expansion, but it would soon target locations outside mainland North America. This expansionist strategy would continue to play an important role in U.S. foreign policy.

Conclusion: Telling New Stories of the Past

While the events themselves will never change, the stories people tell about the past are constantly evolving. Each time an historian sits down with historical materials, he or she brings a new perspective and approach that will influence the way the story gets told. For example, despite the fact that it occurred one hundred and fifty years ago, historians will continue to write books about the Civil War in the United States and explore new understandings of this important moment in U.S. history. Debates over historical interpretations matter because the way people understand history directly influences their beliefs about the present. For example, contemporary arguments about racial inequality are often based in conflicting interpretations of the history of slavery and racial segregation.

For a long time, histories written in the United States celebrated the expansion of white settlement from the original thirteen colonies to the massive territory of the contemporary United States. Early histories of white pioneers crossing the wild North American continent provided the foundation for a U.S. identity based on individualism, hard work, and self-sufficiency that continues to this day.

While these histories may have correctly pointed to the importance of westward expansion for the political and economic development of the United States, they often excluded the perspectives of the thousands of Native Americans whose lives were profoundly changed during this period. In order to fully understand the complexity of this chapter in U.S. history, one must understand the history of these Indian groups and their interactions with settlers, government officials, and other Native Americans. The westward expansion of white settlers across the continent was not

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-115459.



Sioux Indians at the Pine Ridge reservation in southwest South Dakota in 1910. Although Wounded Knee brought the Indian wars of the West to a close, Indians continued to resist U.S. attempts to erase their cultures.

a triumphant story from an Apache point of view.

In recent years, Indian and non-Indian scholars alike have worked to retell the history of the West by focusing on the plight of Native American groups. With limited sources, they have struggled to piece together histories that do not generalize the experiences of Native Americans, and that accurately portray the complicated interactions that occurred in the West. In many ways what you have just read is an attempt to do that.

Exploring the histories of Native American peoples allows for a more complete

understanding not only of the past but of the present. While history books often tie the roots of U.S. politics and culture back to Europe, studying Indian history helps reveal the important influence of Native Americans on contemporary U.S. society. Furthermore, the situation for Indian groups today is greatly influenced by the legacy of violent conflict and dispossession that took place during this period. Only by confronting the complicated and often ignored histories of Native Americans can we come to terms with a difficult past and better understand the present day.

Supplementary Resources

Books

Calloway, Colin G. (ed). *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West was Lost* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996). 208 pages.

Jacoby, Karl. *Shadows at Dawn: An Apache Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008). 278 pages.

Prucha, Francis Paul (ed). *Documents of United States Indian Policy, 3rd ed.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). 377 pages.

White, Richard. *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). 634 pages.

World Wide Web

Shadows at Dawn

<<http://www.brown.edu/Research/Aravaipa/index.html>> The homepage of the website for the book *Shadows at Dawn* by Karl Jacoby. The site includes photographs, a timeline, maps, primary source documents, and additional lesson plans related to the Camp Grant attack and southern Arizonian history.

National Archives: Exploration and Westward Expansion

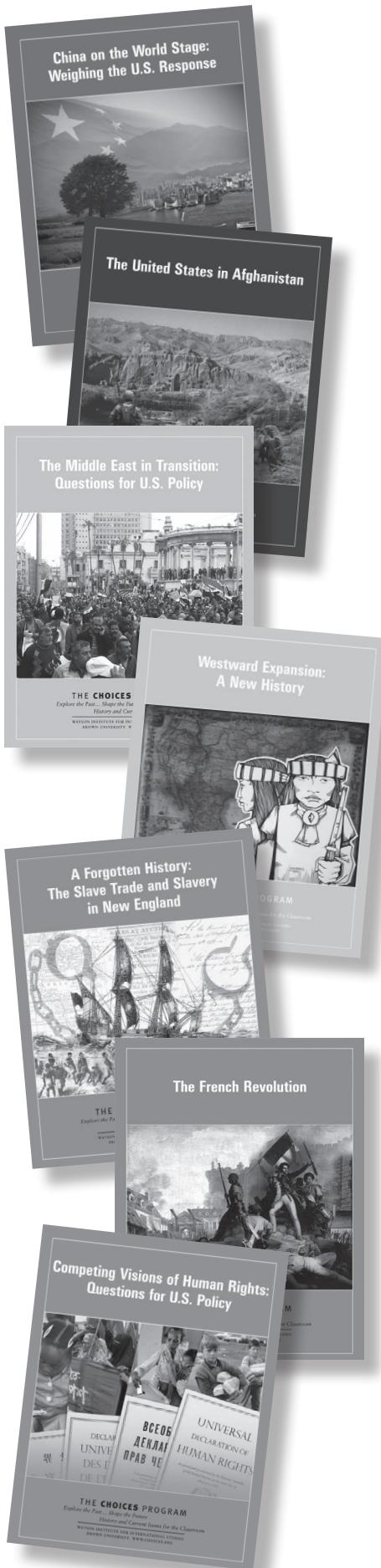
<<http://www.archives.gov/research/topics/exploration-expansion.html>> The topics page for all National Archives materials on westward expansion, including many photographs and primary source documents.

Library of Congress: “Immigration, American Expansion” collections

<<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/browse/ListSome.php?category=Immigration,+American%20Expansion>> This page has links to all of the Library of Congress’ collections relating to westward expansion, including documents and primary source materials.

PBS: We Shall Remain

<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/weshallremain/>> The homepage of “We Shall Remain,” a mini-series that aired on PBS American Experience in April 2009 and explores Native American experiences of U.S. expansion. The site includes full episodes, as well as additional video and audio resources.



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The Choices Approach to Historical Turning Points

Choices curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using a student-centered approach, Choices units develop critical thinking and an understanding of the significance of history in our lives today—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Teachers say the collaboration and interaction in Choices units are highly motivating for students. Studies consistently demonstrate that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material. Cooperative learning invites students to take pride in their own contributions and in the group product, enhancing students' confidence as learners. Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than those using a lecture-discussion format. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Choices units on historical turning points include student readings, primary sources, suggested lesson plans, resources for structuring cooperative learning, role plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- understand historical context
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives at a turning point in history
- analyze primary sources that provide a grounded understanding of the moment
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- identify the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- develop and articulate original viewpoints
- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies.

Historical Understanding

Each Choices curriculum resource provides students with extensive information about an historical issue. Choices units help students to understand that historical events often involved competing and highly contested views. The Choices approach emphasizes that historical outcomes were hardly inevitable. This approach helps students to develop a more sophisticated understanding of history.

Each Choices unit presents the range of views that were considered at a turning point in history. Students understand and analyze these views through a role-play activity. The activity demands analysis and evaluation of the conflicting values, interests, and priorities.

The final reading in a Choices historical unit presents the outcome of the turning point and reviews subsequent events. The final lesson encourages students to make connections between past and present.

Note to Teachers

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, North America was home to diverse Native American, European, and African groups. These groups and individuals experienced U.S. expansion in very different ways. Groups betrayed and fought each other, but they also worked to understand each other across a chasm of cultural difference. In later years, people in the United States would tell a story of westward expansion that left out the violence and racism, as well as the mutual adaptation, that accompanied this conquest. In many senses the very term “westward expansion” conveys an overly benign and incomplete sense of what actually transpired.

In recent years, scholars have worked to reexamine the history of the West by focusing on Native American groups. With limited sources, they have struggled to piece together histories that do not generalize the experiences of Native Americans, and that accurately portray the complicated interactions that occurred in the West.

Westward Expansion: A New History looks at this reexamined history from two historical perspectives. First, students explore U.S. expansion from a broad perspective by considering the major events and policies that accompanied U.S. westward growth in the nineteenth century. In Part II, students explore this history on a local level using the groundbreaking research of Brown University Professor Karl Jacoby on the effects of U.S. expansion on groups in southern Arizona. This case study is not emblematic of the entire West; rather, it allows students to understand the complicated and violent ways in which U.S. expansion affected specific individuals and communities. A central activity helps students consider the divergent views of groups in the region.

Finally, students consider the ways in which we remember history, and efforts to re-envision the past.

Note: This period in U.S. history was marked by oppression and conquest and has had lasting repercussions for many groups. It is important to be sensitive to the students in your class and the ways in which this history might be a difficult topic.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying *Westward Expansion: A New History* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities that use primary source documents and help build critical thinking skills.

• Alternative Study Guides: Each section of reading has two distinct study guides. The standard study guide helps students harvest the information in the readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis in class. It also lists key terms that students will encounter in the reading. The advanced study guide requires students to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

• Vocabulary and Concepts: The reading addresses subjects that are complex. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them “Key Terms” on page TRB-63 before they begin. An “Issues Toolbox” on TRB-64 provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance.

• Assessment: A documents-based exercise (TRB 58-62) is provided to help teachers assess students’ comprehension, analysis, evaluation, and synthesis of relevant sources. The assessment is modeled closely on one used by the International Baccalaureate Program. The assessment could also be used as a lesson.

• Additional Resources: More resources, including PowerPoint maps, videos, and lessons, are available for free at <<http://www.choices.edu/westwardmaterials>>.

The lesson plans offered here are provided as a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you tailor the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating this Unit into Your Curriculum

Resources produced by the Choices Program can be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Westward Expansion: A New History* might fit into your curriculum.

U.S. History: The story of westward expansion is central to understanding the development of the United States. The resources of the West ignited U.S. economic growth and helped propel the country to world power status by the end of the nineteenth century. But this prosperity came at a huge cost to hundreds of Native American societies. In recent years, new scholarship has added other perspectives to the story of U.S. westward expansion that broaden our understanding of this critical era. This curriculum provides students a thorough overview of this period and includes the stories of Native American groups, Mexican Americans, and others that are now part of U.S. history. This mirrors the ways in which the scholarship about U.S. history is changing to include the perspectives of groups whose voices were often silenced in traditional tellings of U.S. history.

Modern European History: Students studying European imperialism can gain insight into how European policies affected the lives of people in their North American colonies. The region that is today the U.S. West was a frontier and battleground for a number of colonial empires, including the French, Spanish, and British. Their success in this region depended, in large part, on their Indian allies. In addition, their withdrawal from the continent and acceptance of the United States as an expansionist power in the nineteenth century paved the way for U.S. dominance of the region and beyond.

Human Geography: The readings and materials helps students understand the shifting relationship between human beings and their environment. *Westward Expansion: A New History* explores the effects of migration, the role of disease and violence on the North American population, the effect of human activities on the environment, as well as the different ways groups understood their relationship to each other and the land around them.

Reading Strategies and Suggestions

This curriculum covers a wide range of issues over a long period of time. Your students may find the readings complex. It might also be difficult for them to synthesize such a large amount of information. The following are suggestions to help your students better understand the readings.

Pre-reading strategies: Help students to prepare for the reading.

1. You might create a Know/Want to Know/Learned (K-W-L) worksheet for students to record what they already know about U.S. westward expansion and what they want to know. As they read they can fill out the “learned” section of the worksheet. Alternatively, brainstorm their current knowledge and then create visual maps in which students link the concepts and ideas they have about the topic.

2. Use the questions in the text to introduce students to the topic. Ask them to scan the reading for major headings, images, and questions so they can gain familiarity with the structure and organization of the text.

3. Preview the vocabulary and key concepts listed on each study guide and in the back of the TRB with students. The study

guide asks students to identify key terms from the reading. Establish a system to help students find definitions for these key terms and others that they do not know.

4. Since studies show that most students are visual learners, use a visual introduction, such as photographs, paintings, or a short film clip, to orient your students.

5. Be sure that students understand the purpose for their reading the text. Will you have a debate later, and they need to know the information to formulate arguments? Will they create a class podcast?

Split up readings into smaller chunks: Assign students readings over a longer period of time or divide readings among groups of students.

Graphic organizers: You may also wish to use graphic organizers to help your students better understand the information that they are given. These organizers are located on TRB 9-11, TRB-12, TRB-24, TRB-25, and on TRB-50. Students can complete them in class in groups or as part of their homework, or you can use them as reading checks or quizzes.

Legend as an Historical Source

Objectives:

Students will: Consider the purpose of legends and myths.

Examine how one particular Indian group thought about smallpox.

Assess the historical value of a legend.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the student text (pages 1-18) and completed “Study Guide—Part I” (TRB 6-7) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-8).

Note:

You may want to have students read the Kiowa legend before class in order to give them more time to concentrate on analysis.

Handouts:

“The Kiowas Meet Smallpox” (TRB 13-15)

In the Classroom:

1. Framing the Lesson—Ask students to define the word “mythology.” What is a myth? Do myths have any basis in reality? Can students think of examples of myths? Are there important myths or stories that are told in the United States? What are some characteristics of these kinds of stories? What is the purpose of these stories?

Tell students that until recently, most historians dismissed Indian oral traditions and stories as “mythology.” They believed that these sources were not reliable as records of events or experiences. But in the last few decades, scholars have begun to try to understand how people understand the history that they live through. They now see Indian stories and other oral traditions as important sources that give clues to how these groups understood (and understand) the world and the ways in which they interact with it.

2. Recalling the Reading—Tell students that they will be reading a Kiowa legend about how that group first “met” smallpox. The Kiowas were horse traders who lived in what is today southern Oklahoma. Students will read this story as historians, and attempt to sift through the story for clues about the ways in which the Kiowa lived and the ways in which they thought about their world. To refresh their memories, ask students to recall from the reading and their previous knowledge how disease affected Native American societies in the West. How did these diseases spread? How were some societies exposed to disease long before they had contact with Europeans? Why were these epidemics so deadly? What factors made groups more or less susceptible to disease?

3. Forming Small Groups—Divide the class into groups of two or three. Distribute the handout to each group. Each group should carefully read the instructions and complete the questions.

4. Sharing Conclusions—When groups have finished answering the questions, call on students to explain their answers. Why do students think the Kiowa told this story? What was its purpose? What does this story tell us about what the Kiowa thought of U.S. westward expansion?

Tell students that this legend was created in the late nineteenth century, and the landscape that it describes is from that time period. But the Kiowas were first exposed to smallpox in the late eighteenth century if not earlier, long before there were many U.S. settlements in present-day southern Oklahoma. Can students think of any reasons why this legend might describe the Kiowa’s first encounter with smallpox more than a hundred years after it actually took place?

What did students learn about the Kiowa from this legend? Make a list on the board of all the pieces of information that students could come up with. Do students think that sources like this can be useful in understand-

ing history? Why or why not? What are the problems? What are the benefits?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the reading in the student text (pages 19-32) and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 21-22) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-23).

Study Guide—Part I

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from the Introduction and Part I of your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

civilization	tyranny
dispossession	oppression
reservations	representative government
colonization	individual land ownership
cultural misunderstanding	national identity
cultural exchange	racial superiority
historical perspectives	people of color
population shifts	homesteads
migration	annexation
missionaries	assimilation
natural immunity	traditional lands
profit	land speculators
material gains	slave-based agriculture
commodity	social opportunity
language barrier	discriminatory policies
alliances	erosion
trading relationships	mineral rushes
raids	transcontinental railroad
converts	national division
personal liberty	extermination

Questions:

1. How does the term “the West” mask the different perspectives of people at the start of the nineteenth century?

2. List three ways that Indian groups on the Great Plains used horses.
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

3. What necessities did western Indian groups get from the buffalo?

4. What percentage of infected populations died from new European diseases?

5. Give an example of how Indian groups and Europeans cooperated in the West.

6. Why did the Pueblos revolt against the Spanish in 1680?

7. What does the term “manifest destiny” mean?

8. Why did the United States fight or negotiate with dozens of Indian groups for the lands in the Louisiana Territory?

9. In what ways did the Cherokees assimilate U.S. values and customs?

10. List three reasons why people in the United States moved west.

a.

b.

c.

11. How did westward expansion contribute to sectional tensions in the United States?

12. What was the Peace Policy?

Advanced Study Guide—Part I

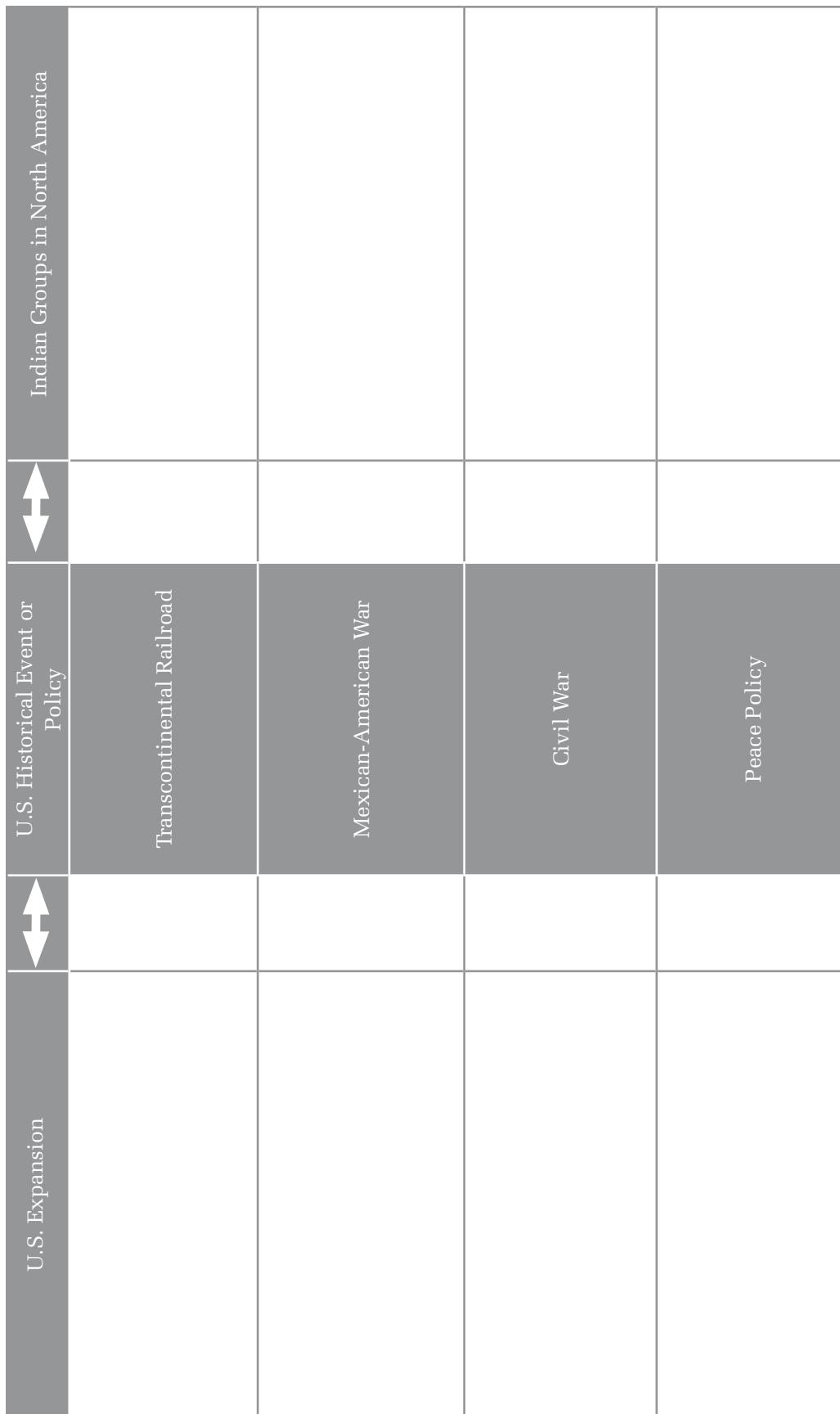
1. How did the arrival of Europeans transform life in the West?
 2. Explain this sentence from the reading. “The new country’s treatment of native people would contrast sharply with the ideals it set for itself.”
 3. Why didn’t the U.S. government see the Cherokees as a success story of assimilation?
 4. Explain the economic and social factors that contributed to a change in U.S. Indian policy under President Grant.

Causes and Effects of U.S. Westward Expansion

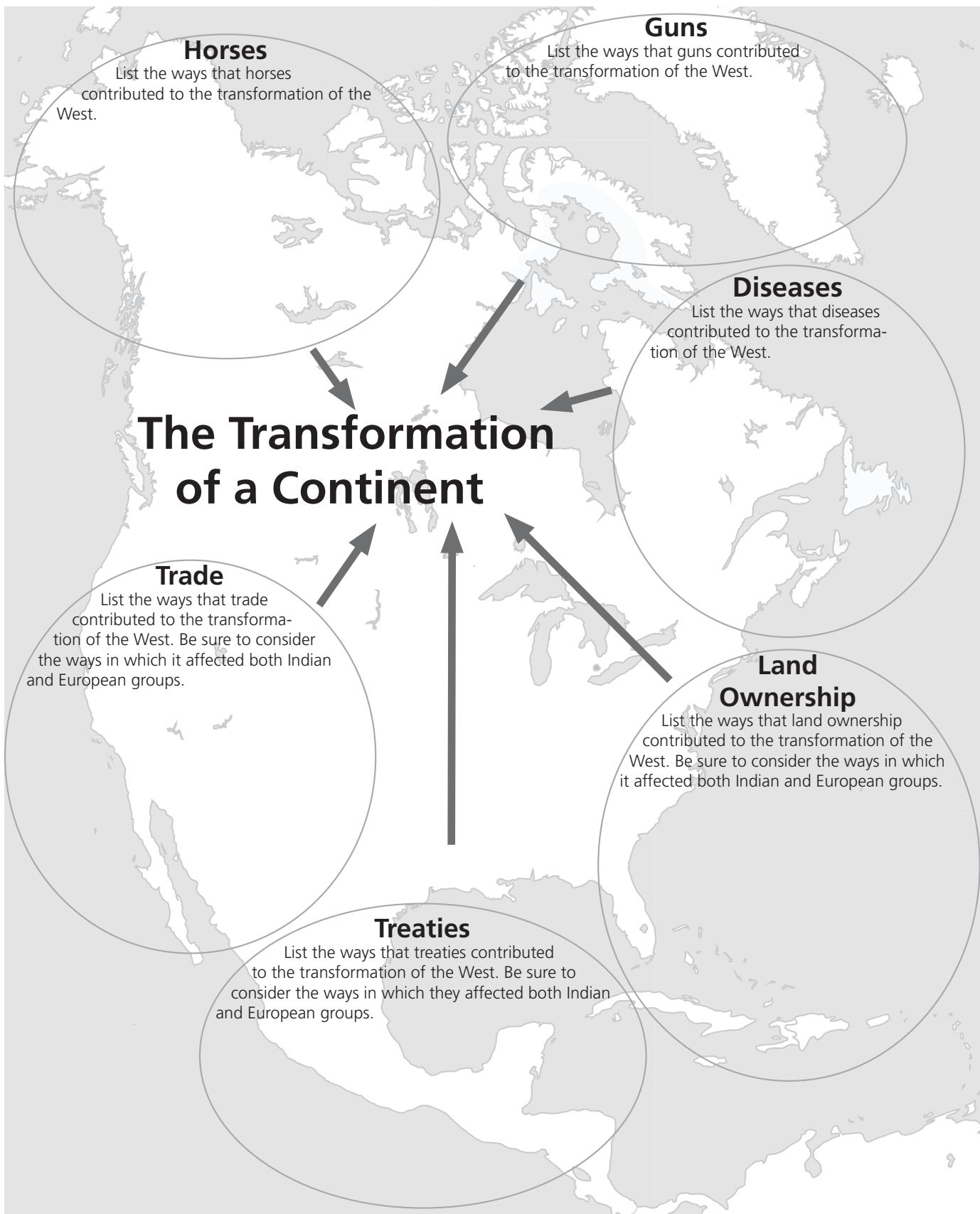
Instructions: Use your reading to fill in the chart below. In the large empty boxes, list the ways that Indian groups and U.S. expansion either affected or were caused by (or both) the event or policy listed in the middle column. For example, the War of 1812 was caused, in part, by U.S. desires to expand into the Northwest Territory. At the same time, the peace signed at the end of the war removed British opposition to U.S. expansion in that region. So U.S. expansion was both a cause and effect of the War of 1812. In the small boxes, draw arrows that correspond with the direction of cause and effect. For example, if the American Revolution had an effect on Indian groups in North America, the arrow should point towards Indian groups.

U.S. Expansion	U.S. Historical Event or Policy	Indian Groups in North America
	American Revolution	
	Manifest Destiny/U.S. National Identity	
	Louisiana Purchase	
	Lewis and Clark Expedition	

U.S. Expansion		U.S. Historical Event or Policy		Indian Groups in North America	
		War of 1812			
			Monroe Doctrine		
				Indian Removal	
					U.S. Population Growth
					Environmental Degradation



Instructions: Use your reading to fill in the circles below.



The Kiowas Meet Smallpox

Instructions: Below is a legend of the Kiowa people of present-day Oklahoma about their first encounter with smallpox. Saynday is a trickster hero of the Kiowas. (A trickster is a figure who plays tricks or who challenges normal rules and conventions.) Read the legend and then answer the questions that follow with your group members.

From Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West was Lost

Edited by Colin Calloway, Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996, pp. 51-53.

Saynday was coming along, and as he came he saw that all his world had changed. Where the buffalo herds used to graze, he saw white-faced cattle. The Washita River [a river in Texas and Oklahoma], which once ran bankful with clear water, was soggy with red mud. There were no deer or antelope in the brush or skittering across the high plains. No white tipis rose proudly against the blue sky; settlers' soddies [houses made of sod] dented the hillsides and the creek banks.

My time has come, Saynday thought to himself. The world I lived in is dead. Soon the Kiowa people will be fenced like the white man's cattle, and they cannot break out of the fences because the barbed wire will tear their flesh. I can't help my people any longer by staying with them. My time has come, and I will have to go away from this changed world.

Off across the prairie, Saynday saw a dark spot coming toward him from the east, moving very slowly....

Almost absent-mindedly, Saynday started walking eastward. As he went the spot grew larger, and after a while Saynday saw that it was a man on a horse....

The stranger drew rein, and sat looking at Saynday. The...horse lifted one sore hoof and drooped its head as if it were too weary to carry its burden any further.

"Who are you?" the stranger asked.

"I'm Saynday. I'm the Kiowas' Old Uncle Saynday, I'm the one who's always coming along."

"I never heard of you," the stranger said, "and I never heard of the Kiowas. Who are they?"

"The Kiowas are my people," Saynday said, and even in that hard time he stood up proudly, like a man. "Who are you?"

"I'm Smallpox," the man answered.

"And I never heard of you," said Saynday. "Where do you come from and what do you do and why are you here?"

"I come from far away, across the Eastern Ocean," Smallpox answered. "I am one with the white men—they are my people as the Kiowas are yours. Sometimes I travel ahead of them, and sometimes I lurk behind. But I am always their companion and you will find me in their camps and in their houses."

"What do you do?" Saynday repeated.

"I bring death," Smallpox replied. "My breath causes children to wither like young plants in spring snow. I bring destruction. No matter how beautiful a woman is, once she has looked at me she becomes as ugly as death. And to men I bring not death alone, but the destruction of their children and the blighting of their wives. The strongest warriors go down before me. No people who have looked on me will ever be the same." And he chuckled low and hideously. With his raised forearm, Smallpox pushed the dust off his face, and Saynday saw the scars that disfigured it.

For a moment Saynday shut his eyes against the sight, and then he opened them again. "Does that happen to all the people you visit?" he inquired.

"Every one of them," said Smallpox. "It will happen to your Kiowa people, too. Where do they live? Take me to them, and then I will spare you, although you have seen my face."

If you do not lead me to your people, I will breathe on you and you will die....” And although he did not breath on Saynday, Saynday smelled the reek of death that surrounded him.

“My Kiowa people are few and poor already,” Saynday said, thinking fast as he talked. “They aren’t worth your time and trouble.”

“...Man, woman, or child—humanity is all alike to me. I was brought here to kill.... I count those I destroy. White men always count: cattle, sheep, chickens, children, the living and the dead. You say the Kiowas do the same thing?”

“Only the enemies they touch,” Saynday insisted. “They never count living people—men are not cattle, any more than women and children are.”

“Then how do you know the Kiowas are so few and poor?” Smallpox demanded.

“...You can look at a Kiowa camp and tell how small it is. We’re not like the Pawnees. They have great houses, half underground, in big villages by the rivers, and every house is full of people.”

“I like that,” Smallpox observed. “I can do my best work when people are crowded together.”

“Then you’d like the Pawnees,” Saynday assured him. “They’re the ones that almost wiped out the Kiowas; that’s why we’re so few and so poor. Now we run away whenever we see a stranger coming, because he might be a Pawnee.”

“I suppose the Pawnees never run away,” Smallpox sneered.

“They couldn’t if they wanted to,” Saynday replied. “The Pawnees are rich. They have piles of robes, they have lots of cooking pots and plenty of bedding—they keep all kinds of things in those underground houses of theirs. The Pawnees can’t run away and leave all their wealth.”

“And they are rich, and live in houses, with piles of robes to creep into and hide?”

“That’s the Pawnees,” Saynday said jauntily. He began to feel better. The deathly smell was not so strong now. “I think I’ll go and visit the Pawnees first,” Smallpox remarked. “Later on, perhaps, I can get back to the Kiowas.”

...He picked up his reins and jerked his weary horse awake. “Tell your people when I come to be ready for me. Tell them to put out all their fires. Fire is the only thing in the whole world that I’m afraid of. It’s the only thing in God’s world that can destroy me.”

Saynday watched Smallpox and his death horse traveling north, away from the Kiowas. Then he took out his flint and steel, and set fire to the spindly prairie grass at his feet. The winds came and picked up the fire, and carried it to make a ring of safety around the Kiowas’ camps.

“Perhaps I can still be some good to my people after all,” Saynday said to himself, feeling better.

And that’s the way it was, and that’s the way it is, to this good day.

Questions

1. Summarize this legend in 2-3 sentences.
2. What changes does Saynday notice when he looks at the landscape?
3. What do you think Saynday means when he thinks, “Soon the Kiowa people will be fenced like the white man’s cattle”?
4. What is the relationship between Smallpox and white men?
5. According to this legend, in what ways do the Kiowas see themselves as different from white people?
6. What do you think was the relationship between the Kiowas and the Pawnees?
7. According to this legend, what factors made a group more appealing to Smallpox?
8. According to Smallpox, what were some of the effects of the disease? How was it spread?
9. From the description of the landscape in the legend and your knowledge of U.S. westward expansion, around when do you think the meeting between Saynday and Smallpox took place?
10. Imagine that you are an historian reading this source. What have you learned about the Kiowas? List as many pieces of information as you can, including details about their lives, their relations with other groups, and what they knew about smallpox.

The Status of Indians in the United States

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze a primary source document and opinion of the chief justice of the Supreme Court.

Understand the way the United States understands its “unique” relationship with Native American groups.

Consider the relative power of the United States in determining the status of Native American groups.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the lesson, students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the student text (pages 1-18) and completed “Study Guide—Part I” (TRB 6-7) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-8).

Handout:

“Domestic Dependent Nations” (TRB 18-19)

Note:

Students may find it helpful to have colored pens or pencils to underline sections of the text.

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question—Write the question, “What is a sovereign nation?” on the board or overhead. Define “sovereignty” for students if necessary. Give students a few minutes to brainstorm and record some of their answers. What kinds of things can the governments of sovereign nations do? Do they have responsibilities? If so, what? Are there certain things that nations must be able to do in order to be considered sovereign?

Tell students that in 1831 the Cherokee nation brought a court case against the state of Georgia to the Supreme Court. Afraid that the federal government would not follow through on the Indian Removal Act, Georgia had passed a number of laws to strip the Chero-

kees of their rights in the hopes that it would push them to leave the state. Up to this point, Indians residing on tribal lands had not been subject to state laws, and the Cherokees took their case to the Supreme Court. The court ruled that it did not have jurisdiction in this case, because the Cherokees were not a foreign nation. In the court’s decision, Chief Justice Marshall defined the status of Native Americans in the United States as “domestic foreign nations.” This definition became the basis for U.S.-Indian relations up to the present day.

Ask students to recall from the reading what they remember about U.S. policy towards Indian groups in the 1830s. What was the Indian Removal Act? What was happening in Georgia and other southern states at the time? What do students remember about the Cherokee nation?

2. Analyzing the Document—Divide the class into pairs and give a handout to each group. Tell students that they will be reading an excerpt from the 1831 court case. Students should carefully read the document and work with their partner to answer the questions that follow.

3. Group Discussion—After groups have completed the questions, have everyone come together in a large group. What did Judge Marshall mean when he said that Indian groups in the United States were “domestic dependent nations”? In what ways did he believe Indian groups were independent of the U.S. government? In what ways did he believe they were dependent on the U.S. government? Create a t-chart on the board to record student answers. Were students able to determine what rights the judge believed Indian groups had? What rights did he believe they did not have?

4. Making Connections—Ask students what they think about one nation determining the sovereignty and rights of another. What gave the United States the power to do that? Do students think the United States had the right to determine Indian sovereignty? Why or why not? Did the United States have a respon-

sibility to Indian groups in the United States? If so, why? What responsibilities did it have?

Ask students what voices were missing in the document they just read. What power did Native American groups have in 1831 to determine the sovereignty of their nations? In what ways could they resist U.S. limits to their sovereignty?

Can students think of any other examples in history where one nation was able to determine the sovereignty of another? What about other examples of nations that had or have relationships similar to the one that exists between the United States and Indian groups?

Ask students to go back to the definition of “sovereign nation” that they created at the beginning of class. Using this definition, are Native American groups in the United States sovereign according to Chief Justice Marshall? Why or why not?

Suggestions:

This lesson is only an introduction to a very complicated and contested issue. If you have more class time to devote to this topic, there are many other activities you can do to

deepen student analysis and understanding. For example, you might ask students to draw a political cartoon representing their own views about some of these issues. Or you might have students write a persuasive essay or a letter to the editor. You might also have a class debate or a “fishbowl” discussion. More information on deliberation can be found at <www.choices.edu/resources/prosandcons.php>.

Alternatively, you may want to have students research the ways in which these issues are still a matter of contention today. There are many cases in which Indian groups have gone to court to challenge U.S. limits on their rights. You might also have students research the relationship between Indian groups and the U.S. government today. What does the U.S. government provide to Indian groups (for example, rights, services, etc.)? In what ways are Indian groups independent of the U.S. government?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the reading in the student text (pages 19-32) and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 21-22) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-23).

"Domestic Dependent Nations"

Instructions: Carefully read the excerpt below. Then answer the questions that follow with your partner.

Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 1831 **Chief Justice John Marshall**

"...So much of the argument [of the plaintiffs, the Cherokee Nation]...to prove the character of the Cherokees as a state, as a distinct political society, separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs and governing itself, has in the opinion of a majority of the judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a state, from the settlement of our country. The numerous treaties made with them by the United States, recognise them as a people capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, of being responsible in their political character for any violation of their engagements, or for any aggression committed on the citizens of the United States, by any individual of their community. Laws have been enacted in the spirit of these treaties. The acts of our government plainly recognise the Cherokee nation as a state, and the courts are bound by those acts.

A question of much more difficulty remains. Do the Cherokees constitute a foreign state in the sense of the constitution? The counsel [for the Cherokee] have shown conclusively, that they are not a state of the Union, and have insisted that, individually, they are aliens, not owing allegiance to the United States....

This argument is imposing, but we must examine it more closely, before we yield to it. The condition of the Indians in relation to the United States is, perhaps, unlike that of any other two people in existence. In general, nations not owing a common allegiance, are foreign to each other. The term foreign nation is, with strict propriety, applicable by either to the other. But the relation of the Indians to the United States is marked by peculiar and cardinal distinctions which exist nowhere else.

The Indian territory is admitted to compose a part of the United States. In all our maps, geographical treaties, histories and laws, it is so considered. In all our intercourse with foreign nations, in our commercial regulations, in any attempt at intercourse between Indians and foreign nations, they are considered as within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, subject to many of those restraints which are imposed upon our own citizens. They acknowledge themselves, in their treaties, to be under the protection of the United States; they admit, that the United States shall have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade with them, and managing all their affairs as they think proper...

Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and heretofore unquestioned, right to the lands they occupy, until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government; yet it may well be doubted, whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession, when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile, they are in a state of pupilage; their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.

They look to our government for protection; rely upon its kindness and its power; appeal to it for relief to their wants; and address the president as their great father. They and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, that any attempt to acquire their lands, or to form a political connection with them would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory and an act of hostility...."

Questions

1. a. Underline the ways in which Indian groups are independent of the United States, according to Judge Marshall.

b. Using a different colored pen, underline the ways in which Indian groups are dependent on the United States, according to Judge Marshall.
2. How does Judge Marshall define a “foreign nation” in paragraph 3?
3. List the reasons the judge gives for why Indian groups are not foreign nations.
4. Carefully re-read paragraph 5. Who, according to the judge, has rights to Indian land?
5. What does the judge means when he says Indian groups are “domestic dependent nations” in paragraph 5?
6. Summarize the relationship between Indian groups and the United States, as defined by Judge Marshall.

Bonus Questions:

- a. According to this document, what rights do Indians have in the United States?
- b. According to this document, what rights are they denied?

Maps from Four Perspectives

Objective:

Students will: Practice general map-reading skills.

Identify the locations of the four groups in southern Arizona.

Connect geography and historical events.

Consider the biases inherent in maps.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the student text (pages 19-32) and completed “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 21-22) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-23).

Handouts:

“Exploring the Four Homelands” (TRB 26-30)

(A PowerPoint presentation of these maps is available for download at <www.choices.edu/westwardmaterials>.)

In the Classroom:

1. Focus Question—Pose the following question to students “Can maps have a bias or point of view?” Ask students to consider a map of the United States. What sorts of things are marked on this map? For example, are there political boundaries, cities, topographical features? What is the purpose of this map? Who do students think is the intended audience? How might this map differ if it was made by a topographer? What about if it was made by a geologist?

Who determined what to put on this map? Whose perspective is represented? Ask students what they think the map of the United States would look like if it was drawn by an Apache Indian. What about if it was drawn by a Mexican historian? Can students think of other features that might be represented in maps from other perspectives?

2. Working in Pairs—Divide the class into pairs and distribute a copy of the handout to each group. Each group should carefully read the instructions and complete the questions. Students may find it helpful to have colored pencils to mark the maps.

3. Sharing Conclusions—After about twenty minutes, call on students to share their findings. Ask students to make connections to Part II of the reading when they can. How did different groups understand this region? How did their claims to the region overlap or come into conflict?

Ask students to reconsider the focus question. Of the four groups in southern Arizona, whose perspective is best represented in the map of the United States that we use today? Why do students think this is the case? Does this activity make them question other maps that they’ve seen? What perspectives are commonly represented? What perspectives are left out? What do students think might be some consequences of that?

Homework:

Students should read “April 1871, Apache Settlement at Camp Grant” (pages 33-34) and “Perspectives in Brief” (page 35-36) in the student text.

Study Guide—Part II

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from Part II of your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

clans
small-band structure
yearly migrations
military campaigns

rations
oral history
international border
homeland

Questions:

1. What were the two broad groupings of Native Americans in southern Arizona when the Spanish arrived?

Name for Self	Spanish Name(s)

2. How did the O'odham show their unwillingness to fully embrace the Spanish missions?

3. Why did Apache groups raid Spanish settlements?

4. What was the cycle of violence?

5. How did Spanish and Apache views of the peace created by the *establicimientos de paz* differ?

6. What two threats did Mexico face in its northern frontier in the mid-nineteenth century?

a.

b.

7. Why did the Gadsden Purchase have such a great impact on northern Mexicans?

8. List two ways that cultural misunderstanding contributed to a growing conflict between U.S. settlers and Apache groups.

a.

b.

9. How did the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase spark a civil war in...

a. Mexico?

b. the United States?

10. a. What did many U.S. settlers want U.S. policy towards the Apache to be?

b. In what ways did this clash with the federal government's Peace Policy?

11. Why were the Apache hesitant to move onto reservations?

Advanced Study Guide—Part II

1. Why were the Apache able to successfully adapt to the changes brought by the Spanish?

2. Why was there a cycle of violence in southern Arizona?

3. How did cultural misunderstanding contribute to violence in the region?

4. In what ways were the aims of the Peace Policy at odds with the experiences of groups in southern Arizona?

Different Historical Perspectives

Instructions: Use your reading to fill in the chart below. In the gray boxes where each “EVENT” is listed, define or describe the event. In the middle column, describe how these events affected the United States, Mexico, and other Indian groups in the West. In the right hand column, describe the ways in which these events affected groups in southern Arizona. You may need to refer to your Part I reading to fill in some of the boxes.

EVENT: Description	HISTORY OF CONTINENT: Effects in the United States, Mexico, and/or among Indian groups	LOCAL HISTORY: Effects in Southern Arizona
Spanish colonization:		
Mexican War for Independence:		
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo:		
Gadsden Purchase:		
Increased U.S. settlement in the West:		
U.S. Civil War:		
Peace Policy:		

Groups in Southern Arizona

Instructions: Use your reading to fill in the boxes below.

O'ODHAM

When did they arrive in the region?

Explain how the O'odham both cooperated and had conflict with other groups.

Apaches:

Spanish/Mexican settlers:

U.S. settlers:

How did the O'odham use violence?

SPANISH/MEXICANS

When did they arrive in the region?

Explain how the Spanish/Mexican settlers both cooperated and had conflict with other groups.

O'odham:

Apaches:

U.S. settlers:

How did the Spanish/Mexicans use violence?

APACHES

When did they arrive in the region?

Explain how Apaches both cooperated and had conflict with other groups.

O'odham:

Spanish/Mexican settlers:

U.S. settlers:

How did the Apaches use violence?

U.S. SETTLERS

When did they arrive in the region?

Explain how U.S. settlers both cooperated and had conflict with other groups.

O'odham:

Apaches:

Spanish/Mexican settlers:

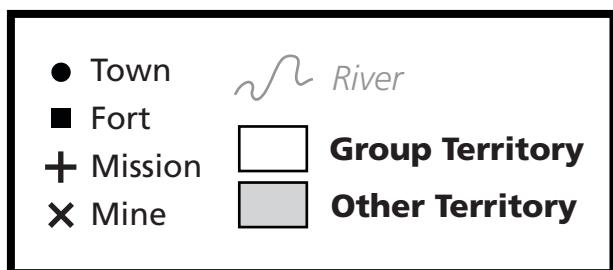
How did the U.S. settlers use violence?

Exploring the Four Homelands

Instructions: Use your reading and the homeland maps to answer the questions on this worksheet. Each of the homeland maps is of the same region, located in the box on the map to the right. But note that each map is from the perspective of a different group. The maps are ordered according to when each group settled in the region: first the O'odham, then the Apache, then the Spanish and Mexicans, and last the United States. In some cases, the arrival of outsiders pushed groups to move from their homelands or settlements. These maps represent the claims that these groups made on lands in this region, even if they did not still occupy those lands in the nineteenth century. You may find it helpful to reference the map on page 19 of your reading.



Use this key as you explore the four homeland maps:



Questions

1. a. Use your reading to describe how different O'odham and Apache groups lived when the Spanish arrived (for example, hunting and gathering, growing agricultural crops, etc.). Write your answers in the “Lifestyle” column.
- b. Use your reading and the O'odham and Apache maps to describe the terrain in which these different groups lived (for example, desert, close to rivers, etc.). Write your answers in the “Terrain” column.

Group	Lifestyle	Terrain
Akimel O'odham		
Hia-Ced O'odham		
Tohono O'odham		
Western Apache		
Chiricahua Apache		

- c. How did the terrain in which each group lived relate to their lifestyle?
2. a. Look at the Mexico and United States maps. What types of settlements (i.e. forts, missions, etc.) does each country have? How many of each settlement are there? Mark your answers in the chart.

Map	Type of settlement	Number of these settlements
Mexico		
United States		

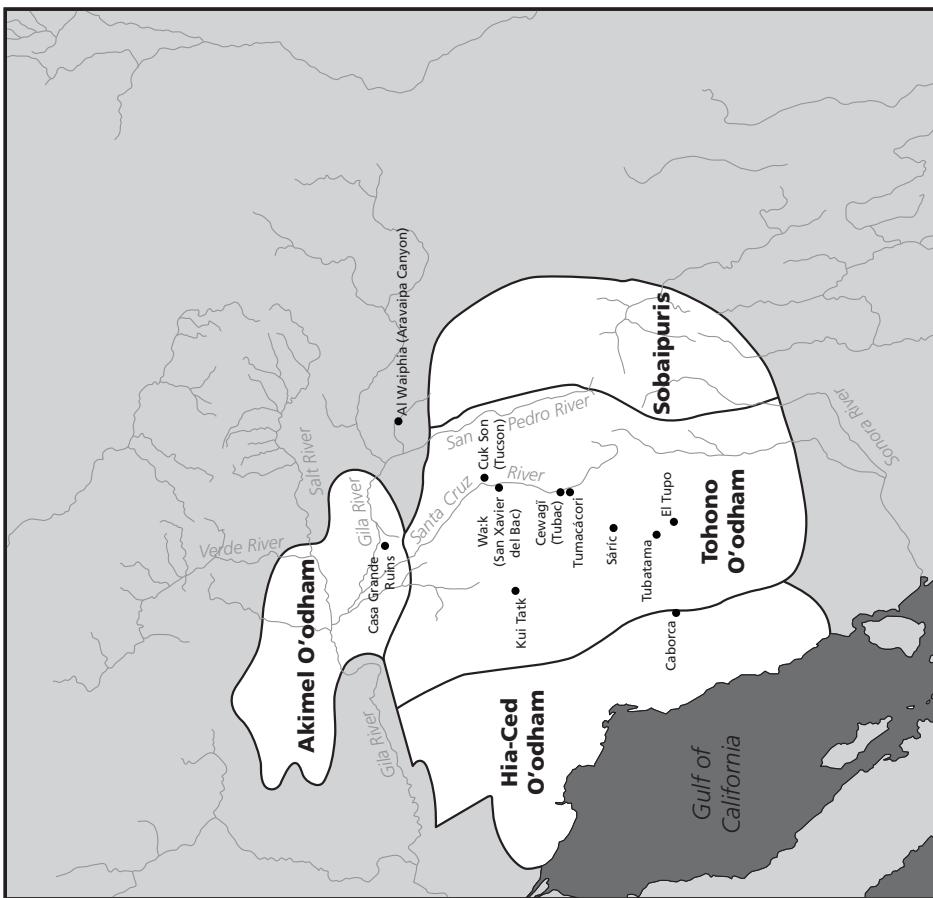
- b. What does this chart tell you about the ways in which the Spanish and then Mexicans settled the region, and the ways in which the United States settled the region?

3. When this region was a part of Mexico, in what region of the country was it located (for example, central, southwest, northeast)?
4. Where is this region located in the United States (for example, central, southwest, northeast)?
5. What towns do you notice on more than one map? What do you think this might mean?
6. Where are Mexican and U.S. settlements located in relation to the O'odham homelands (i.e north-east, south, overlapping)? You may find it helpful to mark Mexican and U.S. settlements on the O'odham map.
7. Where are Mexican and U.S. settlements located in relation to the Apache homelands (i.e north-east, south, overlapping)? You may find it helpful to mark Mexican and U.S. settlements on the Apache map.
8. Draw U.S. borders on the O'odham map. How do U.S. borders divide O'odham homelands? Why might this be important?
9. Draw U.S. borders onto the Apache map. How do U.S. borders divide Apache homelands? Why might this be important?
10. Where are Apache homelands in relation to O'odham homelands (i.e northeast, south, overlapping)? You may find it helpful to mark Apache homelands on the O'odham map.
11. Locate Aravaipa Canyon on each map. Is this location significant for any group?

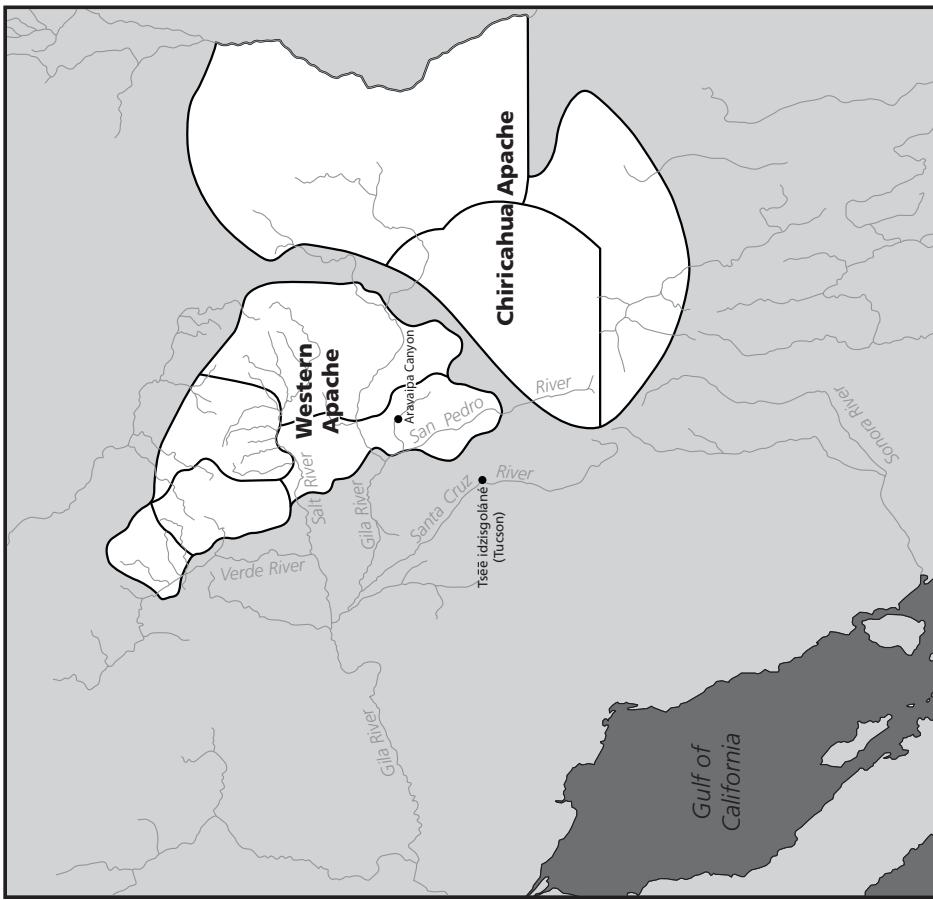
Name: _____

Homeland Maps: O'odham and Apache

O'odham*



Apache

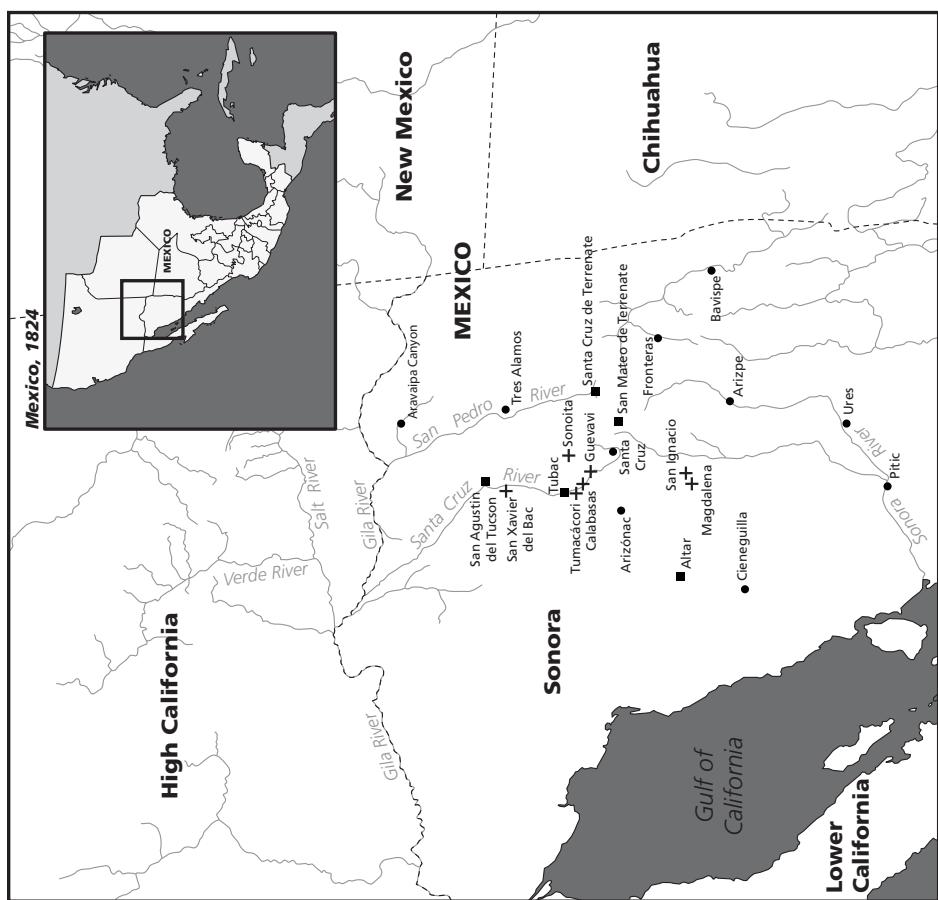


*The Sobaipuris were an O'odham group that lived in lands to the east of the San Pedro River (as marked on the map). In the eighteenth century, increased warfare with the Apache forced them to retreat further west and settle with Akimel and Tohono O'odham groups.

Name: _____

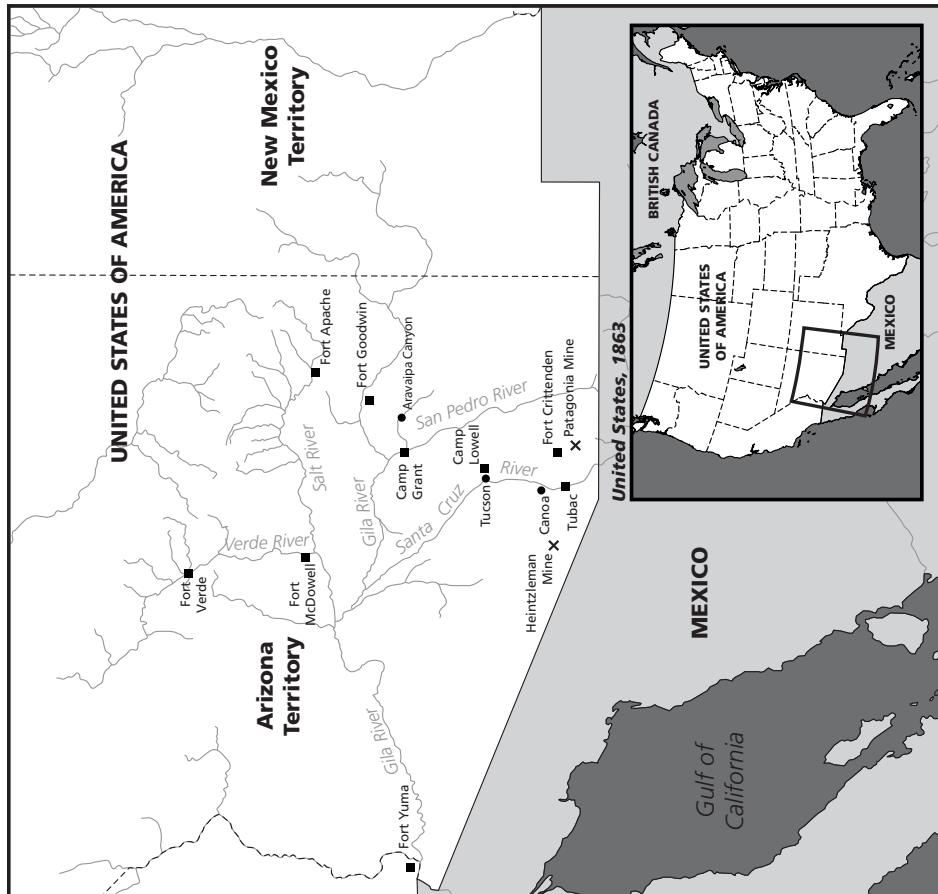
Homeland Maps: Mexico and United States

Mexico*



*Lower California, High California, Sonora, New Mexico, and Chihuahua were all Mexican provinces.

United States



Indian Records from Arizona

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze primary sources to understand local history.

Explore the relationship between local history and the history of the continent.

Compare the relative value of these two historical perspectives.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the student text (pages 19-32) and completed “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 21-22) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-23).

Handout:

“Understanding Local History” (TRB-33), one for each group

“O’odham Calendar Sticks” (TRB 34-36), one year or period for each group

In the Classroom:

1. Considering Local History—Ask students to recall the reading. Who were the O’odham? What are calendar sticks? What were they made of? What was the role of the calendar stick keeper? Why are calendar sticks important historical records?

Ask students to consider the history of their own town or community. In the last year, what have been the most important events? If students were calendar stick keepers, what sort of events would they record? Make a list of student answers on the board.

2. Exploring O’odham Sources—Divide the class into groups of three or four students (the activity will work best if the number of groups you have is a multiple of three). Assign each group a year or period (1839, 1845-56, and 1863-67) and give each group the corresponding O’odham calendar stick sources, as well as a copy of “Understanding Local History.” Tell groups to carefully read the introduction and instructions before they begin.

Students may find it helpful to have a copy of last night’s reading at hand.

3. Group Responses—After small groups have completed the worksheet, have everyone come together in a large group. What did students learn about the O’odham from these sources? What kinds of events were important to O’odham communities?

Create a T-chart on the board with “events in the region/country” on one side and “events recorded in calendar sticks” on the other. In chronological order, have each group discuss the events that occurred during their assigned time periods, both within O’odham communities, and within southern Arizona, the United States, and Mexico. Fill in the chart with student answers. Why do students think that the major events of the region and country (or countries) are not usually recorded in the calendar sticks? What does this tell you about what was important to O’odham people at the time? In what ways did Mexican and U.S. settlement in the region affect the O’odham?

4. Making Connections—Tell students that the “events in the region/country” are examples of historical events that affect people on a wide scale, in this case across the country and/or continent. The “events in calendar sticks” are local history, or events that affect individuals and communities.

Can students draw any comparisons between the types of events that they listed at the beginning of class and the events listed in the T-chart? Were most of their events local or more wide scale? Why do students think this is the case? Were there any points, either in their list of events or in the calendar sticks, where local history intersected with the history of the continent?

Why do students think it is important to understand the wider history of the continent? Why is understanding local history also important? In what ways does local history help us better understand a more large-scale history? Encourage students to use examples

either from the reading or from their own list of events.

Homework:

Students should read “April 1871, Apache Settlement at Camp Grant” (pages 33-34) and “Perspectives in Brief” (page 35-36) in the student text.

Understanding Local History

Introduction: To record their local history, every O'odham village had a calendar stick on which they would make notches to mark the important events of the year. But the true record of the events was in the mind of the calendar stick keeper, who could be called upon to tell the stories of O'odham history. In this activity, you will be reading the stories told by calendar stick keepers, which were then written down by anthropologists. Note that in the selections, “Enemy” is used to refer to the Apache, “People” is used to refer to the O'odham group who kept that particular calendar stick, “Papago” is used to refer to the Tohono O'odham, and “Pima” is used to refer to either the Akimel or Hia-Ced O'odham.

Instructions: Read the calendar stick records from your assigned year or period. When you have finished, answer the questions below with your group members. You will need to use information from the reading as well as from the calendar stick records to complete your answers.

1. What year or period are your assigned calendar stick records from?

2. What kinds of events were important to the O'odham during this time period? List as many as you can.

3. What information do these selections give you about O'odham life at the time? For example, how did the O'odham relate to other groups? Are there customs or traditions that they followed? What major events were happening in their societies at the time?

4. What other groups feature in these records? What groups do not?

5. a. From your reading, what was happening in the United States (and, for “1839” and “1845-1856,” Mexico) during the time period of your assigned calendar stick records?

b. In what ways did these events affect southern Arizona?

6. a. Using your reading, describe what was happening in southern Arizona during this time period. For example, what groups lived there? How did they relate to each other? What significant events occurred?

b. How is this reflected in the O'odham calendar stick records?

O'odham Calendar Sticks

1839

“Late in the spring a party of Pimas went to Tucson to buy clothing and other needed supplies. On their return they were ambushed and barely escaped massacre. The Apaches had concealed themselves on either side of the trail, and when the attack was suddenly made the Pimas were at first panic-stricken, but recovered sufficiently to repel their assailants, with the loss, however, of two men killed and a boy captured. This youth is said to have been a very handsome fellow, skillful in the use of bow and arrow. Fearing a renewal of the conflict, the Pimas hastened home.

A few months later they obtained their revenge upon a party of Apaches who came to the village to steal horses. The enemy were seen and chased across the river. On the way they were met by a party of Pimas, returning from a council, who called out to the approaching horsemen to ask who they were; on receiving no answer they shot one of them. An Apache called “Slender Leg” was pushed off his mule and two Pimas jumped off their horses and tried to hold him, but he was too strong for them and they had to tie him. He was taken to the well-swept plaza of the village...where the people gather and danced and sang around him. Two widows of men killed in an ambuscade earlier in the season walked four times around the outside of the circle of dancers, and then passed inside as an avenue was opened for them. They carried long clubs of mesquite, with which they beat the captive into insensibility.”

—From an Akimel O'odham group's calendar stick

“This was the year when “the world went wrong.” There was fighting in Mexico and the calendar keeper was so impressed and frightened that he began the stick. During the hottest part of the summer a Papago named Take-a-Horse killed an Enemy.”

—From a Tohono O'odham group's calendar stick

1845-1856

“Three peaceful years.”

—From a Tohono O’odham group’s calendar stick, 1845-48

“The Apaches came one moonlight night to steal horses. Leaving their own mounts tied in the brush, they crept toward the houses near which were the Pima ponies. They were discovered and pursued to the river, where all were killed in a running fight.”

—From the calendar stick of an Akimel O’odham or Hia-Ced O’odham group, 1846-47

“A disease killed many of the children. The people from Burnt Seeds and Saddle Hanging [villages] had gone to Sonora to harvest beans for the Mexicans. There, they fought with the Enemy and some People and some Enemies were killed.”

—From a Tohono O’odham group’s calendar stick, 1848-49

“A few people from Mesquite Root [the site of a large Apache raid the previous year] had been away from the village and had not been killed. Those people could not go back to live where so many had died; so they camped at Grassy Well. They were very frightened. That winter they held the prayerstick festival, which should be held every four years, to keep the world going right, for so Elder Brother told us.”

—From a Tohono O’odham group’s calendar stick, 1852-53

“The Apaches came to steal horses and brought a live vulture with them. They were discovered and several killed.”

—From the calendar stick of an Akimel O’odham or Hia-Ced O’odham group, 1853-54

“[The village of] Skââkolk was approached one evening by seven Apaches, who were discovered and surrounded. Six escaped in the darkness, but one was tracked into the arrow bushes, where he dropped his bow. He was soon found to have secreted himself in a hole washed deep in the sand. The Pimas could not see or reach him, so they shook live coals down upon the fugitive, which caused him to yell and suddenly leap out among them. The apparition so startled everyone that no move was made to detain him. As he was passing through their line some asked those around them, “Can we catch him?” but he was such a giant and the peculiar manner of his appearance among them so unnerved for a moment the courage of the men whose deepest instinct was to crush out the life of the Apache, that he made his escape.”

—From the calendar stick of an Akimel O’odham or Hia-Ced O’odham group, 1855-56

1863-1867

“Some of the People were behind Turkey Neck Mountain (near San Xavier), roasting mescal. There they met the Enemy and had a big fight. Two Enemies and one of the People were killed. The People burned their slain warrior as must always be done with anyone touched by the Enemy, and then they burned all the mescal, saving only enough to eat until they got to the Rotten Ground. There they picked more and roasted it and took it home.”

—From a Tohono O’odham group’s calendar stick, 1863-64

“The sickness “Black Vomit” again occurred among the Indians who went to the lowlands. It was either a milder form or the Indians fled sooner, for only a few died.”

—From a Tohono O’odham group’s calendar stick, 1864

“In a raid in this year two Apaches were killed and their ears cut off and nailed on a stick.”

—From the calendar stick of an Akimel O’odham or Hia-Ced O’odham group, 1864-65

“The Pimas and Maricopas went on a campaign against the Apaches and met a band that had probably ambushed some American soldiers, for they had arms and other army property. The allies rushed the camp of the enemy and captured all that had been taken from the soldiers. When they returned with their spoils to the villages some whites accused them of having killed the soldiers. They told how they obtained the things, but the whites would not believe them. ‘That is why I do not think the white man is good enough to trust us,’ said Owl Ear. When several guides took the whites to the battle ground they were satisfied when they saw the dead Apaches there.”

—From the calendar stick of an Akimel O’odham or Hia-Ced O’odham group, 1864-65

“Another war party attacked an Apache camp, described as the one at which the children were playing and piling up gourds, and killed several of the enemy.”

—From the calendar stick of an Akimel O’odham or Hia-Ced O’odham group, 1865-66

“A party of Pimas accompanied the soldiers to the Verde region and there they killed a number of Apaches, among whom was a man with a very long foot.”

—From the calendar stick of an Akimel O’odham or Hia-Ced O’odham group, 1866-67

Considering the Perspectives: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze the issues at play in the relationships between groups in southern Arizona in 1871.

Identify the core assumptions underlying the perspectives.

Create political cartoons to express their assigned perspectives.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read “April 1871, Apache Settlement at Camp Grant” in the student text (pages 33-34) and “Perspectives in Brief” (page 35-36).

Handouts:

“Presenting Your Perspective” (TRB-39) for each perspective group

“Character Experts” (TRB 40-42) for each character expert

Perspectives from student text (pages 37-49), one perspective for each group

“Perspectives Evaluation Form” (TRB-43)

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period, students will be preparing their presentations. Remind them to use information from the reading to support their presentations.

2a. Perspective Groups—Form five groups of four students each. Assign a perspective to each group. Inform students that each perspective group is responsible for creating a political cartoon that represents the views of their perspective group. Each group will also present a summary of their perspective group to the class. Explain that the perspective groups should follow the instructions in “Pre-

senting Your Perspective.” Perspective groups should begin by assigning each member a role (students may double up). Note that the remaining students will be assigned the roles of “character experts” and will be joining their perspective groups shortly.

2b. Character Experts—Assign the remaining students a character from the “Character Experts” handout. Each of these characters is a real-life person who lived in southern Arizona at the time. Emphasize to students that they are not taking on the role of these characters. Instead, they should think of themselves as historians who have uncovered new information about some key historical individuals. The character experts should be assigned to the perspective group that matches their character. They will be contributing members of their perspective group, but with an additional assignment: reading the information about their assigned character and using that information to support their group’s presentation.

3. Evaluating the Perspectives—Give each student a copy of “Perspective Evaluation Form.” Students should fill in the row that corresponds to their assigned perspective while they are preparing their presentations. (Note that students will have to shade the box in the third column because they will not be able to answer that question.) During the class presentations, they should fill in the remainder of the chart.

Suggestions:

If time permits, you may wish to have the character experts mingle with each other before meeting with their perspective groups. Some of the characters have relationships with each other that may give students more information about the nature of relations among groups in southern Arizona at the time.

Note:

Because of the violent nature of the relations between these groups, students should be sure not to advocate their assigned perspectives in their presentations. Instead, students should consider themselves historians researching and reporting on the views of a particular group from southern Arizona in 1871. They should take care not to judge their assigned perspective group. Instead, they should seek to understand what their group thought, and the reasons why they held those views. This type of analysis will help students better understand the reasons why groups considered violence and extermination as viable options at the time.

You may want to discuss with students the primary sources that support each option. Tell students to pay close attention to dates and sources. Note that some are secondhand accounts or accounts recalled years later. Challenge students to think of reasons why this might be the case. Why do some options have fewer primary sources? Why would the views of certain groups be missing from the written record?

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for their presentations.

Presenting Your Perspective

Your Assignment: Your group has been assigned a perspective of a group in southern Arizona in 1871. Your assignment is to explain this perspective to your classmates, both in a presentation and in a political cartoon. Your job is not to pass judgement on your assigned group. Rather, you should seek to understand WHAT they think and WHY they have those views, and consider the implications this has for the relations between groups in the region.

Political Cartoon: With your group members, draw a political cartoon that expresses how your group views the current situation in southern Arizona. You will present this cartoon to the class during your presentation.

Presentation: Your group will be called upon to present a three-to-five minute summary of your perspective to the class. You will be judged on how well you present your perspective. This worksheet will help you prepare.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below

is a brief explanation of the responsibility of each role. Before preparing your sections of the presentation, work together to address the questions below. The **group director** is responsible for organizing your presentation. The **historian** is responsible for explaining how history has affected your group's perspective. The **sociologist** is responsible for explaining how your group relates to other groups and what role cultural misunderstanding plays in these relations. The **character experts** are responsible for explaining what your group thinks about the Apache settlement near Aravaipa Canyon. The **cartoonist** is responsible for presenting your group's political cartoon.

In your presentation, be sure to use quotes and evidence from your reading to support the views of your group. For example, if you say that your group was mistrustful of another group, try to relate a specific event in which that mistrust was demonstrated, or a quote in which a person at the time described that mistrust.

Questions to Consider

1. What challenges does this group face?
2. How does this group relate to other groups in the region? Describe its relations with the other four groups by filling in the chart below.

Other groups in southern Arizona	Points of cooperation between this group and your group	Points of conflict between this group and your group
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

3. What role does violence play in the relations between your group and other groups?
4. How has cultural misunderstanding contributed to your group's relationships with other groups in the region?
5. In what way has your group's understanding of history affected how it views the present?
6. How has U.S. westward expansion affected your group?
7. What does this group think about the Apache settlement near Aravaipa Canyon?

Character Experts

Your Assignment: Your teacher has assigned you a character that either lived or was involved in southern Arizona in 1871. Read the description of your character carefully, and then work with your perspective group to create a political cartoon and a presentation. Keep in mind that you will not be representing your character. Instead, think of yourself as an historian who has uncovered new information about a key historical figure. You will use this information as evidence to support your group's presentation.

As you read your character's description, consider the following questions: What do you think your assigned character thought about the Apache settlement near Camp Grant? What clues does this character give you about what your assigned perspective thinks and why?

Characters

Perspective 1: O'odham

Aunt of Matilda Romero Matilda Romero was a Tohono O'odham. Her aunt was from the village of Kui Tatk ("Mesquite Root"). Along with her daughter and several women and children, the aunt was taken captive by an Apache group in the mid-nineteenth century during a surprise attack on her village. Her Apache captors forced her and her fellow captives to march for several days back to their campgrounds. Some captives died, and some O'odham women killed their own children rather than have them become part of Apache society. Others resisted their captors so vigorously that they were executed. The aunt was separated from her family and adopted into an Apache family. She was forced to help the family prepare mescal cactus for food, and she cried often. One of the younger girls in the family would cry along with her. One day, when the Apache men were hunting and the women were preparing the mescal, the girl gave the aunt her shoes and motioned for her to leave. She snuck away and eventually rejoined her community, but it took her many years to speak of her experiences. A few months later, the aunt's daughter was recovered during a raid the Tohono O'odham led against the Apache. Despite points of commonality and cooperation between the O'odham and Apache that this story shows, the animosity between the two groups was very deep. Another woman who was rescued with the daughter became an important guide for her people, using her knowledge of Apache language and customs to help the O'odham lead attacks against them.

War Leader from Wa:k Wa:k [pronounced "Bach"] ("Standing Water") was a Tohono O'odham settlement in San Xavier del Bac. Wa:k was close to both Tucson and the farm of Mexican American Juan Elías. Wa:k leaders were often approached by the Elías brothers to join in attacks against the Apache to recover stolen livestock. In April 1871, one of the Elías brothers approached Wa:k community members about joining in a campaign against the Apache in Camp Grant. The O'odham decided to join the expedition and sent word to nearby villages to drum up support for the campaign. According to one calendar stick keeper, the war leaders from Wa:k told the warriors from these villages to come straight away. "They said: 'Don't stop for food or for weapons. The women at [Wa:k] will be grinding corn for you and the pale whites will give you guns.'"

Perspective 2: Mexican Americans

Juan Elías Juan Elías was from a prominent Mexican family that had moved to southern Arizona in the early eighteenth century. He was from a long line of military officers who built their careers fighting the Apache. According to Elías, his earliest memory was being told of an Apache surprise attack that left twenty soldiers and citizens of Tucson dead. As a teenager in Tucson, he witnessed Apache attacks firsthand, and when he was fifteen his uncle was killed while trying to defend a ranch from an Apache attack (witnesses would later claim that U.S. smugglers had joined the Apache raiders). Elías became a rancher in the late 1850s and by 1858 owned about two hundred cattle, watched over by

several men that he employed to protect his livestock from Apache raids. Nevertheless, he suffered continuous loss of livestock to Apache raiders. For example, in three raids from February to April 1863, he lost more than three hundred cattle. Elías and his brothers led a number of retaliatory attacks against the Apache, along with other Mexican Americans and O'odham allies. In 1864, the governor of the Arizona Territory appointed Elías to Tucson's first town council, making him one of only a handful of Mexican Americans holding a political post in Arizona. Elías lost two of his brothers in campaigns against the Apache. Another brother, Jesús, became well-known as one of the greatest scouts and Apache hunters in the region. In 1867, a group of Apache led a series of attacks on the Elías farm, attempting to kill Jesús and nearly killing Juan. The Elías brothers believed that the Apache living near Camp Grant were the same Apache who attacked them in 1867.

Manuel Gallegos Manuel Gallegos was an army captain in the Mexican state of Sonora before the region was transferred to the United States. During the Civil War, he was recruited by the U.S. government to fight the Apache while U.S. soldiers were busy fighting the Confederacy. He became a lieutenant and led a company of citizen volunteers. In February 1866 he led an attack against a band of Apache camping in a cave, and returned with thirteen scalps as well as two women and ten child captives. This was one of the most successful attacks on the Apache since the region had become part of the United States. Local newspapers hailed Gallegos as a hero. The acting governor of Arizona Territory presented Gallegos' company with extra rations of tobacco, commanding them for "the severe blow you have dealt to our common and barbarous foe."

Perspective 3: U.S. Settlers

James Lee James Lee was a U.S. settler who had resided in Tucson since 1856. He was part owner of a valuable silver mine near Tucson but, by 1871, was forced to close the mine because of attacks by Apache groups. In October 1870, he led a party with four others

to pursue Apache raiders that had stolen livestock. The party caught up with the Apache and fought, but was forced to retreat after one man was seriously wounded. Lee gave the account of his experiences to local officials in Tucson, then the capital of Arizona Territory, in early 1871. These officials were compiling a record of the "savage war" the Apaches were waging against settlers in Arizona. In his account, Lee told officials that Apache attacks had become more frequent in the last year than at any other time since he moved to the region.

William Oury William Oury, also known as "Uncle Billy," was born in Virginia in 1817. As a teenager he moved to Texas and fought for Texan independence in 1836. After the war, he joined the newly formed Texas Rangers, a paramilitary group formed to protect the region from "all enemies of Texas." In 1846, he joined the U.S. Army in the war against Mexico. After the war, he settled in Mexico and married a Mexican woman. The couple joined the California Gold Rush in 1849, and in 1856 moved to Tucson, where Oury became an agent for the Overland Mail Company, the brand-new cross continental mail system. Oury and his brother established a large dairy farm and Oury became a prominent figure in the region. In 1864, the governor appointed him the first mayor of Tucson. Oury was active in the campaign to establish free public schools in Tucson, and he was a school board member for several years. During the public meetings of early 1871, he was elected head of a Committee on Public Safety to address the growing Apache threat. Oury believed that recent Apache attacks could be traced back to the Apache settlement near Camp Grant. In April 1871, Jesús Elías approached Oury about joining a campaign against the Apache settlement.

Perspective 4: U.S. Government

Colonel George Stoneman Colonel Stoneman was a career U.S. Army officer who had fought for the Union in the U.S. Civil War. He became commander of the U.S. Army's Department of Arizona in 1870. Disgusted with Tucson's oppressive climate, he moved to Los

Angeles, California, more than four-hundred miles away, and commanded his post from there. Stoneman was the supervisor of Lieutenant Whitman, commander of Camp Grant. When Whitman asked Stoneman whether he was allowed to create an Apache reservation near the army base, Stoneman did not answer. Many settlers in Arizona believed that Stoneman was indifferent to their struggles with the Apache, particularly after he stated that the Apache were “nearly harmless” and that Indian affairs were “in as satisfactory a condition as can reasonably be expected” in an 1870 report. When settlers appealed to him to do more in March 1871, Stoneman said that he was unable to do more than he’d already done, given the priorities of the Peace Policy. One-tenth of the entire U.S. armed forces was already stationed in Arizona. He believed that the citizens of Arizona were unrealistic to expect further military support.

Lieutenant Royal Whitman Lieutenant Whitman was a Civil War veteran and commander of the troops stationed at Camp Grant. In February 1871, he negotiated with Hashkēē bá nzin, a Black Rocks Apache leader who was interested in having peace for his band and a number of other Apache groups. Believing that he was supposed to encourage peaceful relations wherever possible according to the Peace Policy, Whitman allowed these groups to settle near Camp Grant. But without word from Colonel Stoneman about whether the settlement was authorized, he was acting without official military backing. Whitman knew that if anything went wrong, he would be held accountable. He kept a close eye on the Apache who settled at Camp Grant, keeping them “continually under supervision” and coming to know “the faces of all the men, but also the women and children.” Once he felt that the Apache were honoring their end of the agreement—remaining near the fort and stopping all raiding—he issued passes for small groups to leave the post to collect mescal and allowed the Apache to move their settlement closer to Aravaipa Canyon’s water sources, about five miles upstream from the military base.

Perspective 5: The Apache at Camp Grant

Hashkēē bá nzin (“Angry, Men Stand in Line for Him”) Hashkēē bá nzin (pronounced “Ha-she-bonn-zinn) was a leader of the T’iisibaan (“Cottonwoods in Gray Wedge Shape People”) or Pinal Apaches, a Black Rocks Apache group that is considered Western Apache. Fearing that the choices open to his followers were narrowing and weary of fending off attacks from U.S. settlers and soldiers, in February 1871 he sent a delegation of female elders to start negotiations for peace with the soldiers at Camp Grant. Camp Grant was built in one of the most fertile regions of the Black Rocks People’s homeland. Hashkēē bá nzin’s people preferred to settle there in peace than flee the region in fear of violence. Following the negotiations of the female elders, Hashkēē bá nzin agreed to a peace agreement with Lieutenant Whitman. Although historians cannot be sure because of the lack of historical sources, it is possible that Hashkēē bá nzin believed this peace was with the army post only, and not with U.S. settlements in general.

Bi ja gush kai ya (“The One Whose Ears Look Like Cactus”) Bi ja gush kai ya was a Western Apache woman who settled near Camp Grant after hearing of the peace that had been made by Hashkēē bá nzin and his followers. When she received rations from U.S. officials, it was the first time she had ever seen flour, sugar, or coffee. As the weeks passed, more and more Apache heard of the peace and settled there in order to receive the rations. Women from Bi ja gush kai ya’s band were able to cut hay and sell it to the soldiers to feed their horses. In return the women would get tickets for additional rations, fabric, and other goods. For many Apache people settled near the military post, this was a time of plenty and tranquility.

Perspectives Evaluation Form

Instructions: As you prepare your presentation, fill in the row that corresponds to your assigned perspective group. (Since you can't answer the question in the last column for your assigned perspective, color in that box with a pen or pencil.) During the presentations of other perspective groups, fill in the remainder of the chart.

What challenges did this group face?	How did U.S. westward expansion affect this group?	What did this group think of your perspective group?
O'odham		
Mexican-American settlers		
U.S. settlers		
U.S. government		
The Apache at Camp Grant		

Considering the Perspectives: Presentation and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will: Articulate the perspective of their group.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a presentation.

Consider the ways in which U.S. westward expansion affected groups in southern Arizona.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Tell students that today they will be historians presenting the perspectives of groups at a particular moment in history. Remind students about what is going on in southern Arizona in 1871: the U.S. government has recently changed its policy towards Native Americans, and U.S. military forces in Camp Grant have made a peace agreement with a number of Apache groups, allowing them to settle near the fort.

2. Managing the Presentations—Be sure that each student has their copy of “Perspectives Evaluation Form.” Explain that each group will give a three-to-five minute presentation to the class explaining the perspective that they have been assigned. As groups present, the rest of the class should fill in their charts. When each group finishes its presentation, allow students to ask any questions they may have.

3. Guiding Discussion—When the presentations are finished, ask students to discuss their charts. What challenges did different groups face? How did groups relate to each other? How did historical perspective and cultural misunderstanding affect relations between groups? In what ways did U.S. westward expansion affect each of these groups?

Ask students why they think the interactions of these groups were so marred by violence. What were points of agreement or cooperation? What did the different groups think about the Apache settlement near Camp

Grant? Why did some groups think it would be a success? Why did others think it would be a failure?

Do students think the Peace Policy was actually peaceful? Why or why not? In what ways was it a departure from previous policies? In what ways did it continue to promote violence?

Ask students to predict what they think might have happened as a result of this settlement. For example, did it become an official reservation? Was there a long-term peace between these Apache groups and the U.S. military? Did it lead to more violence and conflict? Among which groups? Ask students to back up their predictions with evidence, for example past behavior, quotes, or the arguments made by different groups.

4. Gaining More Perspective—Tell students that while the experiences of these groups is not emblematic of groups across the West during this period, it is also not unique. How is this case study similar to or different from what students previously knew about U.S. westward expansion? Which views are represented in U.S. history today? Why do students think this is the case?

Ask students to consider the relative positions of these groups in southern Arizona at the time. Which groups had power? How could they exercise that power? For example, did they have the ability to affect policy? Did they have access to the press? Did they hold influential positions in society? Were they able to disrupt other groups through violence?

Homework:

Students should read Part III in the student text (pages 50-58) and complete the “Study Guide—Part III” (TRB 47-48) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part III” (TRB-49).

Rewriting History

Objectives:

Students will: Analyze two accounts of the attack at Camp Grant from 1871.

Represent a perspective that was missing from U.S. media reports in 1871.

Consider the effects of missing voices in history.

Required Reading:

Students should have read “Part III” in the student text (pages 50-58) and completed “Study Guide—Part III” (TRB 47-48) or “Advanced Study Guide—Part III” (TRB-49).

Handouts:

“Considering Different Perspectives” (TRB-51)

“Two Perspectives on the Attack at Camp Grant” (TRB 52-53)

“Representing Other Perspectives” (TRB-54)

Note:

You may wish to do this lesson over two class periods. Alternatively, you could have students do some of the work at home.

Students will need colored pens or pencils to underline key words in the articles in “Two Perspectives on the Attack at Camp Grant.”

In the Classroom:

1. Recalling the Reading—Have students recall last night’s reading. What happened to the Apache living near Camp Grant? How did people in the region and across the country react? What made this attack different from ones that had proceeded it? Why were U.S. views on this event so conflicting? What was the result of the trial of the attack’s participants? Who was put on trial? What groups were present at the trial? What groups were missing? Why might this be significant?

2. Newspaper Analysis—Divide the class

into groups of three to four students. Give each group a copy of “Considering Different Perspectives” and each student a copy of “Two Perspectives on the Attack at Camp Grant.” Tell students to carefully read the directions with their group members. They should read the newspaper excerpts and then work with their group members to answer the questions on the worksheet.

3. Group Responses—After the groups have completed the questions, have students share their findings with the whole class. Whose views are represented in each article? How do the authors of each article refer to the Apache? How do they refer to settlers in southern Arizona? Who or what do the authors fault for the attack? Why do these accounts diverge so sharply?

4. Exploring Other Perspectives—Tell students that they will now write news articles representing views that were not represented in the two articles they just read. Let students choose or assign each student a perspective among the following: O’odham, Mexican American, or Apache who were living near Camp Grant.

You may wish to have students work individually, or you may want them to work in pairs or groups to write their articles. Distribute “Representing Other Perspectives” to each student. Tell them to carefully read the instructions and use the questions on the worksheet to help them plan before they begin writing their articles. Students should use the information from the readings to help make their articles as historically accurate as possible.

5. Making Connections—Have students share their articles with their classmates. How do these articles differ from the newspaper accounts they read at the beginning of class? In what ways are they similar?

Tell students that the views of Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and other groups are often left out of the U.S. story of

westward expansion. What are some of the consequences of these missing perspectives? How does it affect the way people in the United States understand their history? How might it affect Mexican Americans, O'odham, or Apaches today?

Suggestions:

You may wish to make a class newspaper. You might also ask students to write from all five perspectives.

Study Guide—Part III

Vocabulary: Be sure that you understand these key terms from Part III of your reading. Circle ones that you do not know.

communal ways of life
cultural genocide
subsistence agriculture
allotments
corporate farmers
industrialization

commercial gains
imperialism
historical materials
historical interpretations
political and economic development

Questions:

1. What were the two versions of the Camp Grant attack that existed among the U.S. public, and who supported each view?

Version of events	Who supported this view?

2. Why was the trial that took place after the attack significant?
3. Whose views were absent in the accounts of this attack that were told in the United States?
4. Why have Native American views been excluded from the story of U.S. expansion that is told in the United States?

5. What were the two parts to the U.S. government's assimilation plan in the late nineteenth century?
 - a.
 - b.
6. What challenges did Indian groups face on the reservations?
7. Give two examples of how U.S. policy makers forced Indian groups to give up their cultures.
 - a.
 - b.
8. What effect did the railroad have on U.S. settlement of the West?
9. How did westward expansion fuel U.S. industrialization?
10. Why are scholars working to retell the history of the West?

Advanced Study Guide—Part III

1. How does the Camp Grant attack reflect a trend in how people in the United States remembered U.S. westward expansion?

2. Explain the meaning and significance of this quote:

“Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.”

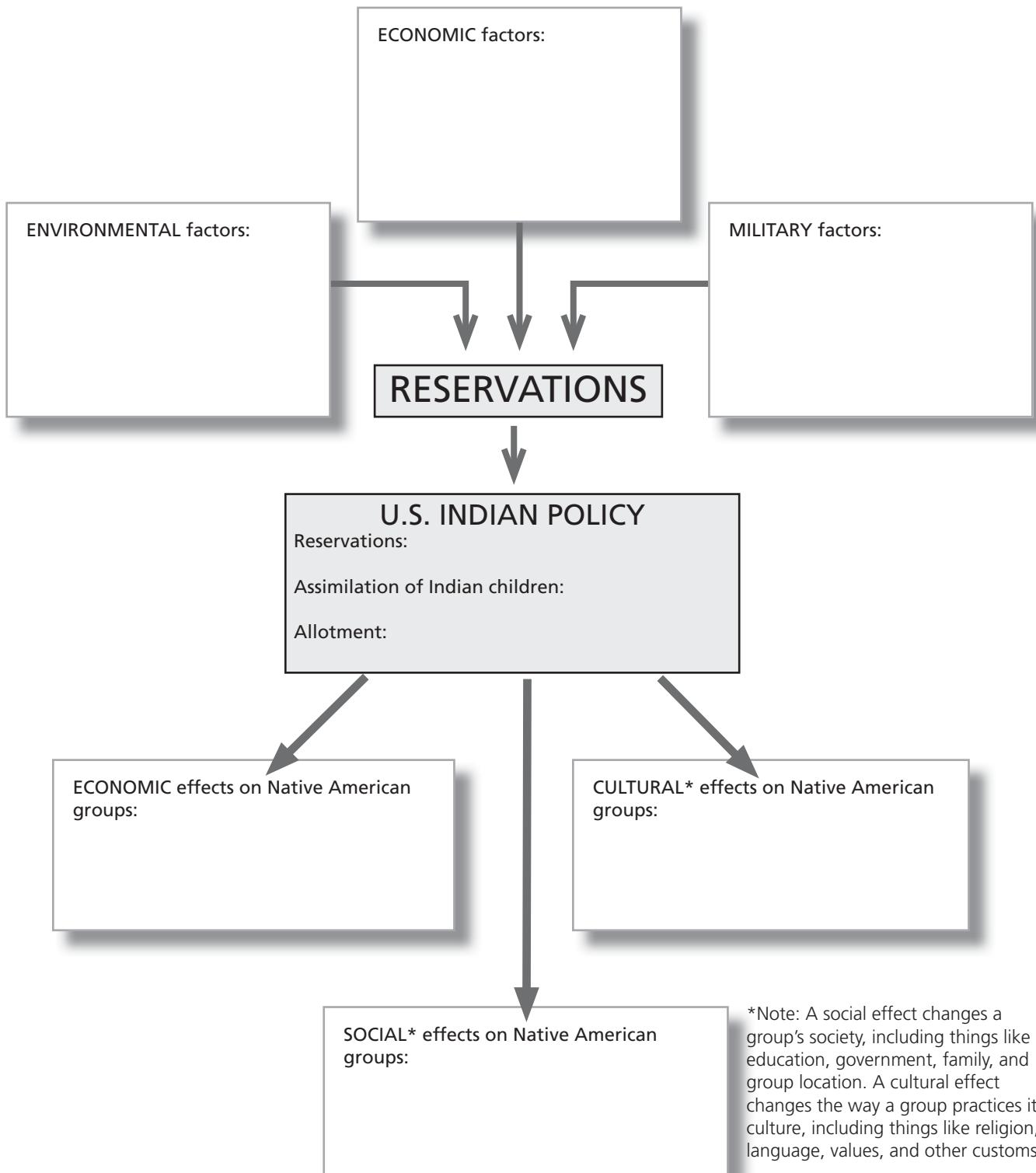
—Richard H. Pratt, reformer and founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1892

3. How did westward expansion fuel the United States' rise to world power status?

4. Why is it important for scholars to ask questions about the ways in which we understand the past?

U.S. Indian Policy in the Late Nineteenth Century

Instructions: Use your reading to fill in the boxes below. First list the economic, environmental, and military changes in the West that convinced or coerced Native American groups to move onto reservations. Then, in the gray box entitled “U.S. Indian Policy,” explain the three policies. Finally, describe the economic, social, and cultural effects that these policies had on Indian groups.



Considering Different Perspectives

Instructions: You will be reading two articles from 1871 that represent different perspectives on the attack at Camp Grant. Read the articles and then answer the questions below with your group members.

Questions

1. What is the title of each article? How does the title reflect the perspective taken by the author?

Article 1:

Article 2:

2. Where and when was each article written? Why is this significant?

Article 1:

Article 2:

3. In each article, underline the words used to describe the Apache. Using a different colored pen, underline the words used to describe the attackers.

4. According to each article, what was happening at the Apache settlement near Camp Grant in the months leading up to the attack?

Article 1:

Article 2:

5. According to each article, who is at fault for the attack? Why are they at fault? (Note: The author may assign responsibility to more than one group.)

Article 1:

Article 2:

6. What groups in southern Arizona have their views represented in each article?

Article 1:

Article 2:

Two Perspectives on the Attack at Camp Grant

125 INDIANS KILLED

Arizona Miner, May 27, 1871

Righteous Retribution

[O]n Sunday, April 29th, 125 Pinal Apache Indians were killed in Arivipa Canyon, and 28 children taken alive.

...For weeks it had been known that a band of Indians were camped in that vicinity, and numbers of animals stolen from the friendly Papago Indians near Tucson, and from Mexican and American settlers around Tucson and San Xavier, had been trailed into the canyon. Evidence was found proving satisfactorily that four citizens in San Pedro valley were murdered by the party there encamped. These discoveries were rendered more aggravating by the fact that those redskins had made one of the old style Pinal treaties with the commander of Camp Grant, had been receiving rations from that post for some time, and had in an apparently friendly mood settled themselves in the canyon, near the post, and while eating Government supplies would make their murderous raids, and return under the shadow, as it were, of Camp Grant, to gorge themselves on the meat of stolen mules, horses, donkeys and cattle, rejoicing over their plunder and resting in fancied security till prepared to make another descent on some defenseless settler, or traveler. Having the proof of their treachery, the dwellers in Tucson and vicinity went after the Pinals, and of the entire band in camp at the time of attack, only seven are known to have escaped.

[W]e applaud and glorify the deed, and rejoice in the establishment of that reservation in Arivipa Canyon, where 125 good Pinals shall rest without hunger, or thirst till resurrection.... The surest protection that can be devised is to show these devils in human shape that we can whip them and will do it.... The blood of our relatives and friends,...[spilled]...on nearly every road and trail in every farming settlement and mining district in Arizona, cries out to us from the ground to rejoice that they are partially avenged....

INDIAN EXTERMINATION**New York Tribune, July 21, 1871**

[T]here has grown up a strong hope that the long-studied Indian problem is to be solved by treating these wild creatures as human beings, teaching them the arts of peace, and winning them to habits of thrift.... [T]he present Administration will always be remembered as one that has done much to prove that the Red Man, bad, shiftless, and disreputable as he is, has yet some spark of humanity, and is fit for something better than bloody extermination.

Not so, however, thinks and believes the average frontier settler. He considers the Indians unmitigated nuisances, hindrances, vermin, whose lives are unnecessary and whose end is to be slaughtered....

In Arizona, where the meanest, wildest, and most intractable Indians—the Apaches—still rove, a few were collected on a reservation at Camp Grant, not far from Tucson. From the official report of Lieut. Whitman, commanding the post, we learn that the number of Indians there assembled had increased to five hundred and ten, with constant accessions. These people, men, women, and children, were engaged in gathering hay for the Government, and their food was supplied in army rations, supplemented by such simple harvests as were garnered by the women and children in the neighboring hills. The experiment of bringing together Indians in a small community, and gradually teaching them to subsist peacefully, was a success at Camp Grant. But we all know how the bloody end came. The settlers at Tucson, remembering that Apaches had killed white men, made a descent upon the defenseless creatures, and cruelly butchered the women and children, the men having escaped at the first warning.

This was the protest of white Arizona against the humane policy of civilizing Indians. These settlers insist that the Apaches shall be exterminated; and when an attempt is made to teach them to be peaceful, they break up the slowly-succeeding scheme by murder.... It is pitiful, but it is true, that the chief obstacle to-day to the humane policy of gradually winning the Indian from improvident wildness is the selfish meanness of the White Man.

Representing Other Perspectives

Instructions: You are a representative of either an O'odham community, the Mexican-American community in southern Arizona, or the Apache groups who settled near Camp Grant. You have found a sympathetic journalist in Tucson who is willing to publish an article describing the Camp Grant attack from your perspective. Your assignment is to write an article describing your group's version of the events, and the journalist will publish your article word for word. Use the questions below to help you organize your thoughts before writing your article. Jot down your answers on a separate piece of paper. Be sure to use information from your readings to make your article as accurate as possible.

Questions

1. What group are you representing?
2. How would this group describe the other groups in southern Arizona? List some adjectives or nouns they might use to describe each group.
3. From the perspective of this group, what was happening at the Apache settlement near Camp Grant in the months leading up to the attack?
4. From the perspective of this group, who is at fault for the attack?
5. From the perspective of this group, was the attack justified? Why or why not?
6. What, if anything, does this group want in the aftermath of the attack? Who do they believe is responsible for making sure that happens?
7. When do you think this group would have wanted to have its perspective represented? For example, would they have wanted this article published immediately after the attack? In later months? After the trial? Think carefully about what this attack meant to your group.
8. Think carefully about the audience you are trying to reach. Who will be reading this article? Who does your group want to influence?
9. Create a title that accurately portrays your version of the events.

Remembering Views of the Past

Objectives:

Students will: Work in groups to design an exhibit for the Aravaipa Canyon Visitor's Center.

Consider the ways in which southern Arizona's experience with U.S. expansion was similar and different to other regions.

Reflect on the impact of U.S. westward expansion and the different ways that people think about this history.

Required Reading:

Students should have read "Part III" in the student text (pages 50-58) and completed "Study Guide—Part III" (TRB 47-48) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part III" (TRB-49).

Handouts:

"Designing an Exhibit" (TRB-57)

In the Classroom:

1. Initial Discussion—Ask students what happened at the Apache settlement in Aravaipa Canyon in April 1871. Why do students think this attack occurred? Who were the attackers? Why were the Apache living there? Who do students believe the U.S. government was responsible for protecting?

Ask students to recall the results of the trial. What happened in the region in years after? How has this event been remembered? What do students think have been some consequences of this? Do students think this is an event that should be remembered? In what ways does it relate to the wider history of Native Americans in the United States?

2. Introducing the Topic—Tell students that today, the Aravaipa Canyon region looks very different from how it did more than one hundred and twenty-five years ago. The area where Fort Grant was located is now an RV park and a campus of Central Arizona College. The actual site of the attack is owned by an Apache family, and in 1998 the Apache

succeeded in having the site listed on the National Register of Historical Places. A large portion of the canyon is a wilderness area, preserved by the federal government, where people go to hike, camp, and picnic. The government wants the canyon to be "an area where...man himself is a visitor who does not remain." For many visitors, the canyon is an "untouched wilderness;" there is little sense of its long human history.

Tell students that they will be working in groups to design an exhibit for the visitor's center at Aravaipa Canyon Wilderness to educate people about the history of the region.

Divide students into groups of three or four. You may want to assign students to groups based on interest or skill so that each group has a balance of talents. Distribute the handout.

3. Designing an Exhibit—Tell students that they should think carefully about what the message of their exhibits will be. Will the exhibit focus on the Camp Grant attack? Will it tell a broader history of the region? Will it relate to the history of U.S. westward expansion? How will students portray the different stories that are told about this past, if at all?

4. Debriefing—After students have designed their exhibits, spend some time discussing the experience and the questions raised. It might be important for your students to consider how their new knowledge of this history can apply to other historical and current issues and topics.

Suggestions:

Provide students with concrete parameters for their exhibits, such as space allowance. If you are able, have students actually create their exhibits and display them in school or elsewhere in their community.

Ask students to write explanatory text or an introduction and conclusion to the exhibit that would be included in the exhibit display.

Ask students to create an “artist’s statement” that explains the choices they made while designing the exhibit.

Think about the product you wish students to create. If students cannot create an actual exhibit, what will they turn in? A poster? blueprint? narrative? performance or presentation of some kind?

You may want to encourage students to do some research about the ways in which groups in the region present their history today. The following are some links that students may find useful:

San Carlos Apache Cultural Center <http://www.sancarlosapache.com/San_Carlos_Culture_Center.htm>

Gila River Indian Community (home to many Akimel O’odham) <<http://www.gilariver.org/>>

Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community <<http://www.srpmic-nsn.gov/>>

Aravaipa Canyon Wilderness <<http://www.wilderness.net/index.cfm?fuse=NWPS&sec=wildView&WID=15>>.

Designing an Exhibit

Introduction: Visitor's centers, like museums, exist to educate people. In the case of a visitor's center, the goal is to educate people about a particular location or region and its ecology, history, and/or recreational offerings. Curators have to think about many factors when designing exhibits. They need to think about what specific topics they want to share with the public, what kind of space they have available, and who will come to see the exhibits.

Think about visitor's centers that you have been to. What kind of exhibits have you seen? What makes them interesting for viewers? Is it the topic, the layout or design, the interactive nature of the exhibit, the information presented, or something else? What can make an exhibit uninteresting?

Your group will design an exhibit for the Aravaipa Canyon Wilderness visitor's center that in some way educates the public about the human history of the region. When thinking about your exhibit, be creative. Go beyond the idea of a photograph on a wall. Use the talents of your group members to develop creative ideas. Use the questions below to help you plan your exhibit.

Questions to consider:

1. What message do you want to convey in your exhibit? For example, will the message be about the ways that we understand history? The ways in which this region is important to Apache and O'odham people? The complicated and violent ways that groups in this region interacted? Will it be a commemoration of the Apache who were killed in the attack?
2. What specific information or topics will be presented in your exhibit? For example, will you focus on a particular event or person, or present a broader history of the region? Will you connect this history to the broad history of U.S. westward expansion? What will you leave out?
3. Does your group have a particular point of view or bias about what story should be told in your exhibit? Does that matter? How will you address that? Will you make it known to your audience that you have a point of view?
4. How will your exhibit be organized? What documents, portraits, artifacts, stories, etc. do you want to include? How will you arrange them?
5. How will you make your exhibit interesting? What lighting, sound, performance, or multimedia will you include, if any? What will the exhibit look like?
6. What kind of space will you use? Do you imagine something the size of your classroom? A whole building? A single table or wall space?
7. In what ways will your exhibit connect to the Aravaipa Canyon Wilderness area? For example, will there be a map showing significant locations? Markers set up around the wilderness area?
8. How will you get your visitors to think reflectively about the history of the region and the history of U.S. westward expansion?
9. How will you represent different perspectives in your exhibit? Are there partnerships you might want to form with other interested groups in southern Arizona?
10. Who will be the audience for your exhibit? Who will visit? How should you adjust the exhibit to draw different people to visit it?

Assessment Using Documents

Instructions: These questions relate to the collapse in buffalo populations in the West in the late nineteenth century. Answer all of the questions that follow on a separate piece of paper.

1. a. What does Colin Calloway mean when he says that the buffalo herds were Plains Indians' "Achilles heel" in Document 3?

b. According to Richard White in Document 4, why were the buffalo herds unable to sustain their numbers prior to the arrival of U.S. hunters?
2. How do Document 10 and Document 7 support the conclusions made in Document 8?
3. Assess the value and limitations of Document 1, Document 5, and Document 6 for historians studying the consequences of the buffalo's near-extinction. Be sure to refer to the origin and purpose of each document.
4. Using these sources and your knowledge, explain the social, political, and economic factors that contributed to the decline of the buffalo in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.

Documents

Document 1: From Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Middle West," originally published in the *International Monthly*, 1901. Turner was an influential U.S. historian in the early twentieth century. He is best known for his "frontier thesis," in which he argued that many of the character traits he saw as uniquely American, such as belief in equality and a spirit of innovation, were the result of U.S. experiences in the western frontier.

"The systemic slaughter of millions of buffalo, in the years between 1866 and 1873, for the sake of their hides, put an end to the vast herds of the Great Plains, and destroyed the economic foundation of the Indians. Henceforth, they were dependent on the whites for their food supply, and the Great Plains were open to the cattle ranchers.... The prairies were ready for the final rush of occupation."

Document 2: From Louis S. Warren, "The Nature of Conquest: Indians, Americans, and Environmental History" in *A Companion to American Indian History* by Philip Deloria and Neal Salisbury (eds.), Wiley-Blackwell, 2007, pp. 295-6. Warren is a professor of history at University of California, Davis.

"The many causes of these environmental changes suggests how persistent we must be in our search for multiple causalities in environmental history.... Political forces were paramount. Indians participated in the bison robe trade in no small part to gain guns, both for hunting and to defend old hunting territories from whites and Indians or acquire new ones from Indian enemies. As American conquest lurched nearer, hostilities between whites and Indians and among Indian rivals intensified, thereby increasing demand for guns and driving more Indian men to pursue the robe trade with ever more desperation. To some degree, the near-extinction of the buffalo (a biological event) was underwritten by the willingness of peoples to trade with one another (a cultural practice) which in turn was stimulated by the eagerness of people to kill one another (a profoundly cultural phenomenon)."

Document 3: From Colin Calloway, *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West was Lost*, Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996, p. 121. Calloway is a professor of history and Native American studies at Dartmouth University.

"The buffalo herds were the source of Plains Indians' independence and prosperity.... Unfortunately, the buffalo herds also constituted the Plains Indians' Achilles heel. Unable to defeat elusive equestrian Indian enemies in pitched battle, the United States Army waged war on the animals on which the Indians depended."

Document 4: From Richard White, *A New History of the American West*, The University of Oklahoma Press, 1991, pp. 217-8. White is a professor of history at Stanford University.

“The plains bison herds always existed in tenuous equilibrium with disease, wolves, hunters, weather, and accidents. By the 1840s bison were in trouble, not so much from overhunting, although that was increasingly a factor, as from a combination of drought, habitat destruction, competition from exotic species, and introduced diseases. During periods of drought...bison had to compete with Indian horse herds and wild mustangs for food and water in critical riverine habitats.... At the same time, livestock taken by Indian raiders and cattle driven across the plains by white migrants spread tuberculosis and brucellosis to the buffalo herds. The creation of the overland trails and the spread of white settlement to the edges of the Great Plains drove the bison from critical riverine habitat and denied them the peripheral tall-grass habitat on which they depended as a refuge from drought and hunting. The result was a buffalo population already unable to maintain its numbers when the white hunters struck.”

Document 5: From Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government’s Dealings with some of the Indian Tribes*, Harper & Brothers, 1881, p. 71. Jackson was a U.S. writer and activist who advocated for reform of U.S. policy towards Indians.

“In 1849, they [the tribes] had all expressed themselves as ‘very anxious to be instructed in agriculture and the civilized arts.’ Already the buffalo herds were thinning and disappearing. From time immemorial the buffalo had furnished them food, clothing, and shelter; with its disappearance, starvation stared them in the face, and they knew it. There can be no doubt that at this time all the wild tribes of the Upper Missouri region—the Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes—were ready and anxious to establish friendly relations with the United States Government, and to enter into some arrangement by which some means of future subsistence, and some certainty of lands enough to live on, could be secured to them.”

Document 6: From Luther Siting Bear. “The Plains Were Covered with Dead Bison” in *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West was Lost*, by Colin Calloway (ed.), Bedford Books of St. Martin’s Press, 1996, pp. 125-6. Luther Sitting Bear was a Lakota writer in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

“Our scouts, who had gone out to locate the buffalo, came back and reported that the plains were covered with dead bison. These had been shot by the white people. The Indians never were such wasteful, wanton killers of this noble game animal.... I saw the bodies of hundreds of dead buffalo lying about, just wasting, and the odor was terrible.... These people were taking away the source of the clothing and lodges that had been provided for us by our Creator, and they were letting our food lie on the plains to rot.”

Document 7: From Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, p.52. Thornton is a professor of anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

North American Buffalo Population

1800	40,000,000
1850	20,000,000
1865	15,000,000
1870	14,000,000
1875	1,000,000
1880	395,000
1885	20,000
1889	1,091
1895	less than 1,000
1902	1,940
1983	50,000

Document 8: From Colin Calloway, *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indian Views of How the West was Lost*, Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996, p. 121. Calloway is a professor of history at Dartmouth University. Miles was a U.S. military figure that played a leading role in many of the U.S. Army campaigns against Plains Indian groups in the 1870s and 1880s.

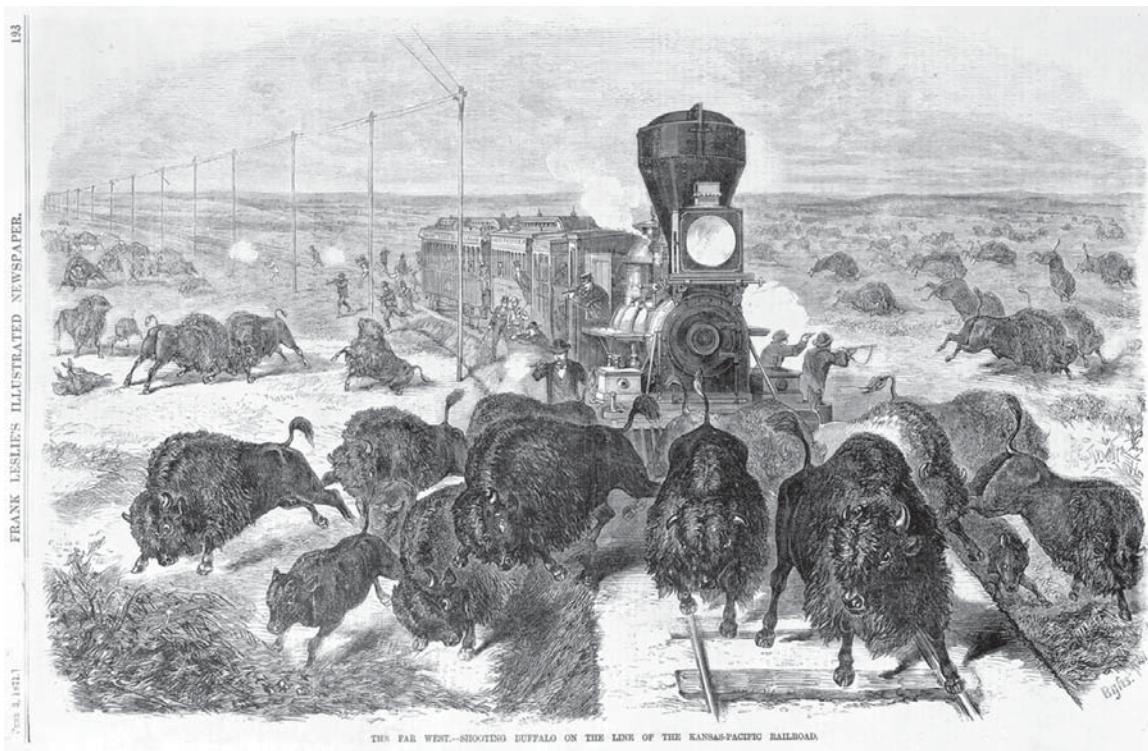
“As industrializing America expanded westward, Indians and buffalo had to make way. Reflecting on the slaughter of the buffalo after the fact, General Nelson Miles justified the carnage:

‘The buffalo, like the Indian, stood in the way of civilization and in the path of progress, and the decree had gone forth that they must both give way.... The same territory which a quarter of a century ago was supporting those vast herds of wild game, is now covered with domestic animals which afford the food supply for hundreds of millions of people in civilized countries.’”

Document 9: From Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, Yale University Press, 2008, p. 336. Hämäläinen is a professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

“[A]n American onslaught on the southern plains bison had begun. Rooted in the industrial East, this assault had been set in motion three years earlier. In 1870 tanners in Philadelphia perfected a chemical process for turning bison hides into elastic industrial leather suitable for making machine belts, an innovation that unlocked the plains bison for industrial exploitation. The price of bison hides skyrocketed, and in 1871 hundreds of hide hunters swarmed onto the Great Plains to cash in on the latest western boom.... The slaughter was immense and wasteful, and by the end of 1872 the central plains were almost devoid of buffalo....”

Document 10: “The far west—shooting buffalo on the line of the Kansas-Pacific Railroad.” This print is from *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, a publication that included fiction as well as news. The image was published in 1871.



Key Terms

Introduction and Part I

civilization
dispossession
reservations
colonization
cultural misunderstanding
cultural exchange
historical perspectives
population shifts
migration
missionaries
natural immunity
profit
material gains
commodity
language barrier
alliances
trading relationships
raids
converts
personal liberty
tyranny
oppression
representative government
individual land ownership
national identity
racial superiority
people of color
homesteads
annexation
assimilation
traditional lands
land speculators
slave-based agriculture
social opportunity

discriminatory policies
erosion
mineral rushes
transcontinental railroad
national division
extermination

Part II

clans
small-band structure
yearly migrations
military campaigns
rations
oral history
international border
homeland

Part III

communal ways of life
cultural genocide
subsistence agriculture
allotments
corporate farmers
industrialization
commercial gains
imperialism
historical materials
historical interpretations
political and economic development

Issues Toolbox

Historical Memory

Historical memory is the way in which a society thinks about and understands its past. This understanding contributes to a group's identity because it helps define who they are, where they came from, and where they are going. Historical memory is represented not only in history books, but also in the texts, images, monuments, ceremonies, stories, and other sources that groups use to express their past. Historical memory of U.S. history has generally privileged the perspectives of Anglo-American men, while excluding the perspectives of people of color, immigrants, women, and others. U.S. westward expansion has been remembered as a period of U.S. triumph across a wild, empty continent. As historians give more attention to additional perspectives, a more complete understanding of this history has become possible.

Oral History

Oral history is personal history that is recollected through oral sources, such as stories and interviews. (It is different from oral tradition, which refers to stories about the past, such as legends, that are passed down from generation to generation.) In the past, due to lack of technologies such as tape and video recorders, oral history sources were written down by historians, anthropologists, and others. The reliability of these sources can be uncertain, because the written records can be biased or inaccurate. In the past, historians gave less weight to oral sources than they did to written ones. In recent years, scholars have recognized the value and shortcomings inherent in both kinds of sources.

Imperialism

Imperialism is the policy of extending the rule of a nation over foreign countries, as well as acquiring colonies and dependencies. Imperialism has traditionally involved power and the use of coercion, whether military force or some other form. While in general, the late nineteenth to early twentieth century has been considered the period of U.S. imperialism, some historians argue that the United States' expansion across North America should also be considered imperialist. Like imperialism in other parts of the world, U.S. expansion was fueled by economics (expansion was profitable), Darwinian theory (many believed that Anglo Americans were best suited to spread their religious, cultural, and civic values across the continent), security (a nation could protect itself by acquiring territory and wealth), and religious or moral arguments (many argued that indigenous people could be given a better life).

Race

The idea that humans are divided into biologically-distinct "races" that are identifiable by physical characteristics and innate behaviors is challenged by historians, anthropologists, and biologists. But in the early nineteenth century, many Anglo Americans justified their treatment of Indian groups, as well as their enslavement of Africans and African Americans, by arguing that Anglo Americans belonged to a biologically and scientifically superior "race." Drawing on Darwinian theory, some even suggested that there was a struggle between nations and people in which only the fittest would survive. Many Anglo Americans used these arguments to claim that the extinction of Native American groups in North America was inevitable, rather than accept responsibility for the violence and cultural genocide that accompanied U.S. expansion.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula on historical turning points to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

A central activity of every Choices unit is the role-play simulation. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of forty-five to fifty minutes is necessary for the presentations. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts momentum. The best strategy for managing the role play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations. Our short video for teachers “Tips for a Successful Role Play” <www.choices.edu/pd/roleplay.php> also offers many helpful suggestions.

Adjusting for Students of Differing Abilities

Teachers of students at all levels—from middle school to AP—have used Choices materials successfully. Many teachers make adjustments to the materials for their students. Here are some suggestions:

- Go over vocabulary and concepts with visual tools such as concept maps and word pictures.

- Require students to answer guiding questions in the text as checks for understanding.
- Shorten reading assignments; cut and paste sections.
- Combine reading with political cartoon analysis, map analysis, or movie-watching.
- Read some sections of the readings out loud.
- Ask students to create graphic organizers for sections of the reading, or fill in ones you have partially completed.
- Supplement with different types of readings, such as from literature or text books.
- Ask student groups to create a bumper sticker, PowerPoint presentation, or collage representing their perspective.
- Do only some activities and readings from the unit rather than all of them.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger perspective groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of a perspective. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play other roles. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Students and teachers both know that group grades can be motivating for students, while at the same time they can create controversy. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group

results. It is also important to give individual grades for group work assignments in order to recognize an individual's contribution to the group. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an effective way to encourage them to think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Testing: Research demonstrates that students using the Choices approach learn the factual information presented as well as or better than from lecture-discussion format. Students using Choices curricula demonstrate a greater ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information and concepts presented in Choices units. A variety of types of testing questions and assessment devices can require students to demonstrate critical thinking and historical understanding.

For Further Reading

Daniels, Harvey, and Marilyn Bizar. *Teaching the Best Practice Way: Methods That Matter, K-12*. Portland, Maine: Stenhouse Publishers, 2005.

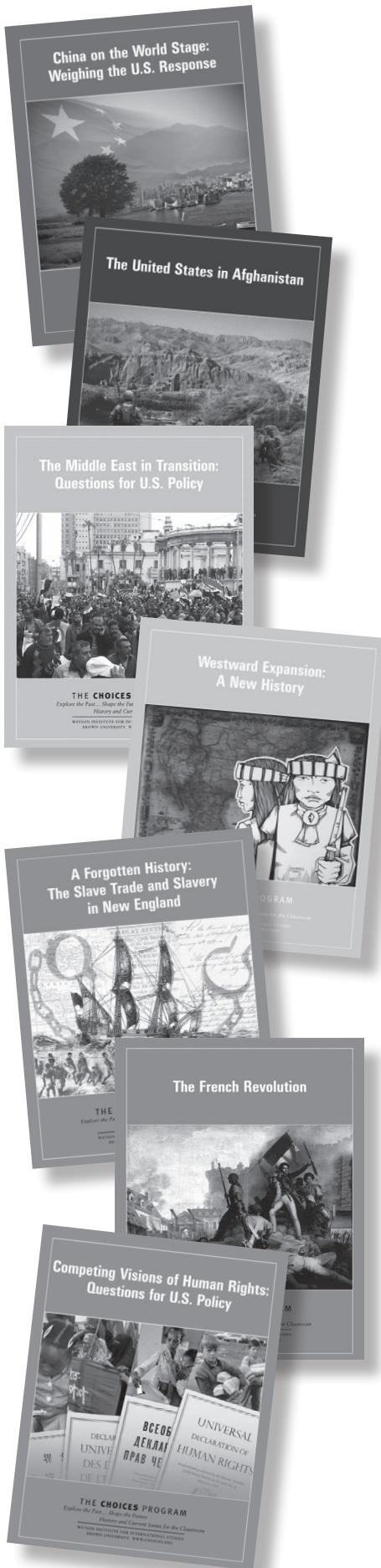
Holt, Tom. *Thinking Historically: Narrative, Imagination, and Understanding*. The College Board, 1990.

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment:

Group members:

Group Assessment	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Needs Improvement</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
	5	4	3	2	1
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1



Engage Students in Real-World Issues

Choices' inquiry-based approach to real-world issues promotes the skills required by Common Core and state standards.

Critical Thinking

Students examine historical context, analyze case studies, consider contrasting policy options, and explore the underlying values and interests that drive different perspectives.

Textual Analysis

Students examine primary and secondary sources to assess multiple perspectives on complex international issues.

Media and Digital Literacy

Students critique editorials, audio and video sources, maps, and other visuals to identify perspective and bias. Video clips help students gather and assess information from leading scholars.

Communication

Students engage in collaborative discussions, build on each other's ideas, formulate persuasive arguments, and express their own viewpoints.

Creativity and Innovation

Students express themselves by creating political cartoons, memorializing historical events artistically, and developing original policy options.

Civic Literacy

Choices materials empower students with the skills and habits to actively engage with their communities and the world.

www.choices.edu

Westward Expansion: A New History

Westward Expansion: A New History explores the transformation of the North American continent in the nineteenth century. Students examine this complicated and violent history from two historical perspectives, first considering the major events and policies that accompanied U.S. westward growth, and then exploring the effects of U.S. expansion on a local level.

Westward Expansion: A New History is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

THE CHOICES PROGRAM

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