Westward Expansion: A New History

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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?

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.

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

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 N$\underline{n}$ēē (pronounced "En-nay"), which means "the People" in their language. Different N$\underline{n}$ēē societies were spread across much of what is present-day Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, northwest Mexico, and the southern Great Plains.

N$\underline{n}$ēē societies shared linguistic and cultural similarities, but there was tremendous diversity among them. For example, like the O'odham, the N$\underline{n}$ēē 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, N$\underline{n}$ēē 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 N$\underline{n}$ēē 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
N$\underline{n}$ēē	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. N$\underline{n}$ēē 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.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Edward S. Curtis Collection, LC-USZ62-52591.

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 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* establicimientos 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.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Edward S. Curtis Collection, LC-USZ62-123312.

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 *establicimientos 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 *establicimientos 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 *establicimientos 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 prearranged 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 prearranged, 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.

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.

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 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.

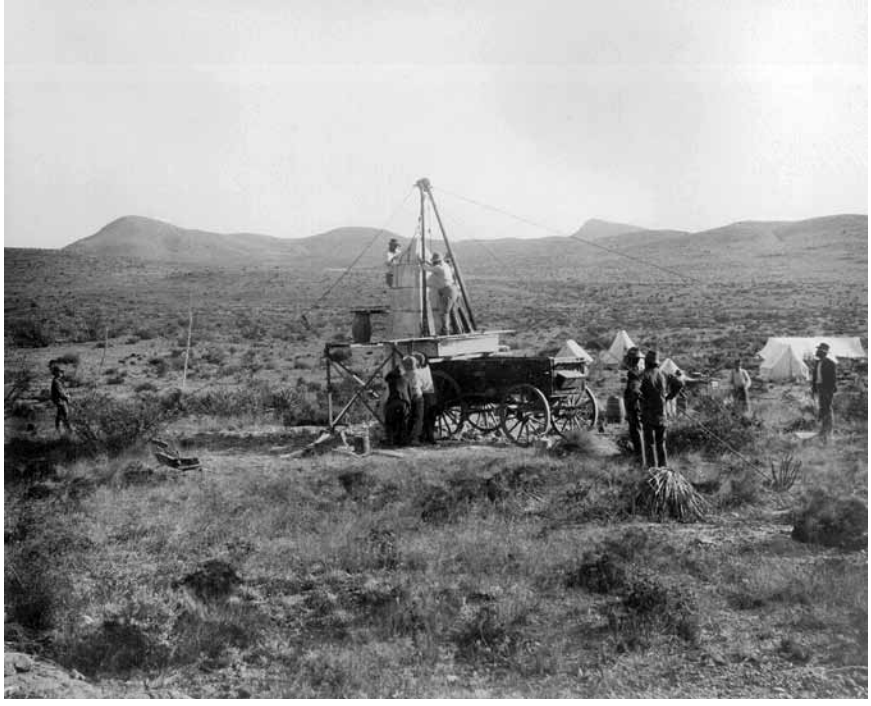
"The White men said the government would help them and civilize them and from now on they were to live by laws…. The chiefs agreed but they said: 'The White People must not bother us.' An old man made a speech and told the Whites: Every stick and stone on this land belongs to us. Everything that grows 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



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

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.

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. Mistrust 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

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZC2-781.

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, Arizonians 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 *establicimientos 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 *establicimientos 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.