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The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875. By Gary Clayton Anderson.

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policies and social conditions (184). Though her book often tends toward the personal memoir, it appeals to the human emotions and creative sensitivities of readers at a time when so many Americans have lost the sense of place provided by small communities like Trempealeau.

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The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820–1875.
By Gary Clayton Anderson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.
476 pages. \$29.95 cloth.

In this boldly argued book, Gary Clayton Anderson joins a growing number of scholars in challenging long-standing romanticized myths of Anglo-Texan exceptionalism and uncovering the state's much darker hidden history. Anderson argues that the fifty years of ethnic violence up to 1875 were predicated on "an Anglo-Texas strategy and a policy" that, after fits and starts, "gradually led to the deliberate ethnic cleansing of a host of people, especially people of color" (7). Focusing primarily on Indians and secondarily on Tejanos, Anderson explains that political elites in Texas formulated the policy. However, Texas Rangers and later the US Army implemented it and functioned as its agents. Although this work suffers from some theoretical shortcomings, it is significant because it uses solid archival research to place Indians and Tejanos at the forefront of Texas history in an era when many historians have mischaracterized or ignored them.

Building on his previous reconception of Comanche culture to 1830 in *The Indian Southwest* (2001), Anderson provides further insight into Comanche society to 1875. Offering a healthy corrective to T. R. Fehrenbach's uncritical assertion in *Lone Star* (1968) that Southern Plains Indians routinely raped Anglo women during their raids across the Texas frontier, Anderson explains that it is a mistake to assume that Comanche men raped every Anglo-American woman they left naked after a raid. For example, even John Wesley Wilbarger's ethnocentric and biased *Indian Depredations in Texas* doesn't mention Granny Parker being raped by Comanches and their allies in their well-known raid at Parker's Fort in 1835. Anderson insightfully argues that Native men probably took Anglo-American women's clothing for its comfort and material value because Indian women preferred woven dresses to deer hide skirts. Anderson at times draws important parallels between Comanche and Texas Ranger thinking regarding some of their most brutal and violent raids. For example, he explains that rangers and Comanches inflicted revenge on one another because they believed their enemies "had killed innocent settlers and violated the honor of their womenfolk" (139). Perhaps most importantly, Anderson, relying on Sam and A. J. Houston's correspondence, shows that southern Comanches, despite being a seminomadic society, did come to understand the European concept of property boundaries and the notion of ownership as of 1838.

This means that when the Texas Congress approved the construction of the republic's capital of Austin on Comanche hunting grounds the following year, it lost an important opportunity to establish clear boundaries between Indians and Anglo-Texans.

Just as in *The Indian Southwest*, however, Anderson fails to examine adequately Indian activities south of the Rio Grande. Although the book is clearly focused on Texas and covers an amazing amount of ground, Anderson has no problem going beyond the confines of the Lone Star state to explore Indian activities in New Mexico, the Southern and Central Plains, the Santa Fe Trail, and the Indian Territory. But he seems reluctant to follow their activities across the Rio Grande into northern Mexico.

Anderson's extension of the twentieth-century European concept of ethnic cleansing back to the nineteenth century is also sure to elicit controversy. As the author acknowledges, some readers may try to write this practice off as presentist, and there is some truth to that. Marc Bloch demonstrated long ago that the most viable historical comparisons take place in similar time periods and environments. Thus, some readers will find it unfair to view the military policy of mid-nineteenth-century Texas on the same terms as that of modern Yugoslavia. Yet, as Anderson explains, his argument is actually quite conservative. He defines *ethnic cleansing* as "the forced removal of certain culturally identified groups from their lands," and distinguishes this from *genocide* or "the intentional killing of nearly all of a racial, religious, or cultural group" (7).

Anderson's evidence easily supports his thesis that rangers and the US Army pursued a policy akin to ethnic cleansing. For example, he frequently singles out rangers for killing Indian women and children without state sanction, which suggests that these attacks frequently went well beyond simply forcing tribes off their lands to actually exterminating entire villages. He also convincingly extends this argument to the US Army in their well-known and controversial winter attacks on Black Kettle's Cheyennes at Sand Creek in 1864 and at the Washita River in 1868. It is misleading, however, for Anderson to conclude that General Phil Sheridan "had adopted the strategy of the Texas Rangers" in "recognizing that the Indians would be easy targets in their winter villages" (351). Anderson is correct that the tactics were similar, and, as he points out, US Cavalry units even campaigned with ranger units prior to the Civil War. However, the principal officers, such as Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee, subsequently joined the Confederacy. As numerous military historians from Robert Utley to Paul Hutton have pointed out and as Anderson acknowledges, Sheridan's Indian policy is better understood as a continuance of the "total war" tactics employed by Union forces during the Civil War (456). Furthermore, it is not at all clear how these two attacks relate to Texas, for the Cheyennes were a Central Plains tribe.

Southern Plains tribes certainly faced unprecedented levels of military pressure in this period. However, the author mistakenly implies that all Indians in the region were experiencing ethnic cleansing for the first time. Spanish and Mexican troops also targeted Texas Indians, such as Mescalero Apaches, in their camps and sometimes broke official policy to kill rather

than capture women and children. Similarly, the so-called immigrant tribes had experienced a long history of brutal forms of warfare from British and American troops further east. In fact, the Delawares and Shawnees had experienced germ warfare at the hands of Jeffrey Amherst as early as 1763. Therefore, if it is viable for ethnic cleansing to transcend time and space as a policy, then it needs to be applied to the Indian policies of all empires and nations in North America. Finally, it is odd to see Indians and Tejanos getting special treatment as victims of ethnic cleansing when Mexicans and Texans were simultaneously slaughtering each other at the Alamo, Goliad, and San Jacinto. Why not apply the concept evenly to all Texans? As Jack Jackson recently suggested, Santa Anna seems to have been pursuing his own policy of ethnic cleansing in 1836.

Sometimes Anderson judges similar acts of violence by Indians and rangers on unfair terms. For instance, both rangers and Comanches routinely took resources such as food and livestock from the enemy. Rather than emphasizing this similar tactic, however, Anderson praises the Comanches for not killing people, while simultaneously denigrating the rangers for fighting over spoils and starving the Comanches in the process. Furthermore, it seems clear that the Comanches were trying to kill Anglo-Texans in revenge raids such as the one carried out at the coastal town of Linnville in August 1840, and they had every right to do so. In the wake of the Council House Massacre, they felt Lamar's administration had completely betrayed them. The reason they did not kill anyone in Linnville was that the townspeople had advance warning of the attack and were able to evacuate. In a footnote, Anderson acknowledges that the Comanches did kill a woman en route, but he leaves that critical detail out of the text.

A final weakness is the author's tendency to misrepresent and omit critical works of current regional scholarship. In recent years ethnohistorians such as F. Todd Smith and David La Vere have written excellent studies on Southern Plains Indian tribes. Without these tribal histories, it would be impossible for scholars to undertake larger regional studies such as this one. Yet the author fails to mention Smith and cavalierly dismisses all recent tribal studies as "narrowly focused" and "tangential to the Texas story" (11). He neglects to cite Benjamin Johnson's *Revolution in Texas* (2003), which has helped to expose the largely forgotten brutality of ranger violence toward ethnic Mexicans in response to the Plan de San Diego uprising of 1915. Johnson even argues that the Texas Rangers employed a policy of ethnic cleansing toward ethnic Mexicans after 1915, a sure sign his work merited inclusion in the introduction (126).

Despite these weaknesses, Anderson's book is an important contribution to American Indian and Texas history. His study reveals that ranger violence toward Indians and Mexicans properly begins in the 1830s with the Austin colony rather than with the state legislature's creation of the two better-known battalions in 1874. Although Randolph Campbell has recently argued that Texas was inherently Southern for most of this period, Anderson has persuasively complicated this picture by reminding us that Indians and Tejanos did not simply disappear after 1836. The book's length and high level of narrative

detail will make it difficult reading for undergraduates, but portions of it can still be used at that level. The author's powerful and controversial arguments, however, make it an excellent book for graduate students because it will undoubtedly provoke debate.

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The Dall Sheep Dinner Guest: Inupiaq Narratives of Northwest Alaska.

By Wanní Wíbulwasdí Anderson and John Patkuraq Brown. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2005. 288 pages. \$39.95 cloth.

The Dall Sheep Dinner Guest: Inupiaq Narratives of Northwest Alaska contributes to the body of literature that treats the storytelling traditions of Alaska's Inupiaq peoples. Comprised of eighty-eight stories recorded by anthropologist Wanní Anderson between 1966 and 1987, this collection serves as a noteworthy documentation of stories gathered during a period of rapid social and cultural change among the Inupiaq people of Northwest Alaska. The collection includes stories recorded from sixteen Inupiaq storytellers from settlements along the Selawik and Kobuk rivers. As such, the "storytellers' conceptualizations of adventures, heroic missions, or the search for a way home after getting lost or being taken away from home were all framed with a riverine environmental mindset" (32). Anderson provides a full description of the contexts of story collection, translation, and sources for emic interpretations of the texts that illustrates an effort to maintain the original voice of the storytellers as they told stories in settings that varied from summer tents housing an archaeological/anthropological expedition to the home. The author's voice is absent from the body of stories presented; instead, it is evident in italicized commentary preceding some of the stories. This commentary is intended to assist the reader's understanding of the cultural references within stories as well as to share biological information about the storytellers.

Although there are a number of published works of Inupiaq folktales, no contemporary collections of this scope are available to a general reading audience. The author provides an excellent overview of written sources of Inupiaq folklore, highlighting the ethnographic contexts for the collection of Inupiaq folktales over a hundred-year period. She points out that the majority of the current literature within this specific genre is part of bilingual education efforts initiated by the Bicultural Education Program of the Northwest Arctic Borough School District, including the 2003 publication co-authored by Wanní Anderson and Ruthie Tatqavin Sampson titled, *Folktales of the Riverine and Coastal Inupiaq*. Anderson notes that some of the stories included in this collection have been previously published, and others have not.

This book is intended, in part, to serve as a companion to Inupiaq language and cultural materials developed for the classroom, but it has the potential to serve a broad audience with an interest in Inupiaq culture. In two introductory essays titled "Inupiaq Oral Narratives: Collection History