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Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873. By
Brendan C. Lindsay

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Throughout the collection, complicated issues of identity—personal and communal—and the grit and pain of experience are treated wisely, with honesty and strength in a voice that speaks unapologetically but not clumsily, freely yet with purpose. Surreal imagery and humanizing narratives cohere powerfully in a collection well deserving of the praise and recognition bestowed on it over two decades. *Leaving Holes and Selected New Writings* is the work of a gifted artist whose words and images express strength in the midst of brokenness with deep and convincing sincerity and immense poetic beauty.

Mark Pickens

University of Oklahoma

Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873. By Brendan C. Lindsay. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. 456 pages. \$70.00 cloth.

Since the turn of the century, one can discern two trends in American Indian historiography. First, responding to the way in which tribal histories isolated American Indian nations from broader trends in the United States, historians have endeavored to insert American Indians into American history's broader narrative. Second, scholars argue that the "new Indian history" places too much emphasis on Native agency and power. Using colonialism as a theoretical framework, historians have pointed to the uneven power relations that existed in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century United States that circumscribed Native peoples' ability to act. In *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846–1873*, historian Brendan Lindsay builds on both of these historical inquiries—placing Native peoples into United States history and using colonialism and other theoretical models to examine the American West's asymmetrical power relations—to argue that American settlers used democratic and republican traditions to commit genocide against California Indians. Lindsay intends to offer a more comprehensive examination of California genocide and situate the California genocide at the center of nineteenth-century American history. Although the author strives to benefit contemporary Californian Indian communities, this reviewer wonders if the work does not harken to older narratives of American Indian history.

Lindsay contends that previous studies of California genocide have conceived of their topics too narrowly. Historians Lynwood Carranco, Rupert Costo, Benjamin Madley, and Jack Norton have argued that Spanish and American Californians committed genocide against California Indians, but they have offered local studies of these atrocities. Lindsay explores genocide from a statewide, if not national, perspective. He argues that overland emigrants to California were convinced that they had successfully defended themselves against violent Indians on the overland trail. These travelers arrived in California prepared to use force to acquire California Indian land and resources. In southern California, ranchers and farmers compelled Indigenous people to work and defeated Quechans and Cahuillas, who either competed against Anglo-Americans in economic activities or defied labor control methods. In northern

California, Californians likewise violently secured land by organizing “death squads” to eliminate Native peoples. At times, the book fails to escape the parochialism that it critiques. Genocide in southern California is not as compellingly argued as it is in northern (perhaps because the case in northern California is so strong) and hews to a local story in the north. When Lindsay explores northern California, he focuses on the well-trodden topic of Yuki genocide, with supplementary evidence from the north-central Sacramento Valley. Perhaps the author could have elaborated the discussion of genocide in other areas, such as the northwestern part of the state, to more fully round out the book.

More provocatively, Lindsay argues that democratic and republican institutions undergirded and abetted California genocide. Overland emigrants, bolstered with beliefs about the divine providence of westward expansion and the strength of their political institutions and beliefs, used democratic techniques to traverse the overland trail. They elected captains, organized night guards, and embodied tiny republics crossing the Great Plains. In California, Anglo-Americans recreated the democratic institutions of the eastern United States and overland trail and directed them to commit genocide against California Indians. Newspapers published sensationalistic stories about alleged incidents of Indian violence against settlers. “Death squads” elected captains and adhered to democratic principles when killing Indians. Representatives and senators in Sacramento and Washington, DC, authorized the volunteer militias that killed Indians and the money to pay for their services. Rather than social outliers committing genocide against Indians, Lindsay finds that everyday people carried out these crimes against California Indians and used their voice and democratic power to persuade political representatives to support genocide. Here the author succeeds in ensuring that American Indian history is part of a national narrative. By linking genocide to democracy and republicanism, Lindsay asks readers to consider genocide in the context of the ideological debates in nineteenth-century America.

Herein, though, lies the book’s most significant weakness—there are no Indians here. This book is about nineteenth-century Americans and what they did to California Indians. Lindsay mentions California Indians, but only in the context of what others do to them, which is usually to kill them. There is little effort to explore how California Indians responded to genocide and how they shaped state and federal policies. Instead, California Indians appear as passive victims to Anglo-American aggression. In this way, one wonders how much the history of genocide differs from older Indian histories? Obviously the models are more theoretically sophisticated—using colonial theory or genocide studies—and some examples of this work seriously consider American Indian actions. Yet the narratives replicate declensionist narratives of Indian defeat and dispossession, ending with the Modoc War, Ishi, Wounded Knee, or the imprisonment of Chief Joseph.

Additionally, how effective is the effort of inserting American Indians into the narrative of US history when American Indians appear only as “sentimental” victims of United States aggression? This reviewer recalls English scholar Maureen Konkle’s comment that in the hands of some writers the tears spilled on the “Trail of Tears” were not Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, or Seminole, but “those of *white*

people at the sad disappearance of the doomed Indian" (*Writing Indian Nations*, 43). These historical accounts whip up sympathy for American Indians but fail to address how American Indians understood and dealt with their historical experiences. Still, this book will generate considerable debate in California and anticipates future discussions on an important subject in American Indian and United States history.

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Plagues, Politics, and Policy: A Chronicle of the Indian Health Service, 1955–2008.
By David H. DeJong. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010. 250 pages. \$73.50 hardback.

History can be interesting if told by a good storyteller. History can be informative if it captures the reader's interest. David H. DeJong's *Plagues, Politics, and Policy: A Chronicle of the Indian Health Service, 1955–2008* is a difficult read. His work focuses on historical government reports, providing one of many available readings to explain why Indian health and Indian health services are the way they are. However, the book lacks a connection to the people impacted by his writings. It also lacks a contextual tie to the federal trust relationship, covering only minimally the policies that influence the Indian Health Service's ability to care for the people under its charge.

The first one and a half chapters are a collection of brief facts about the pre-1955 history of the Indian Health Service (IHS) before it was given that name. The focus is on the Public Health Service in its transition from the Indian Medical Service in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The passages taken from government reports cite statistics on disease and medical personnel, but is difficult to follow for readers unfamiliar with the content and the context. A reader with a federal Indian policy background might appreciate the connection between a specific policy and the agency data. But a reader without such a background would miss some of the significance of nonaction that reflects the policy periods in the federal trust relationship. To comprehend the political environment in which the health providers and administrators struggled would have helped the reader to understand why these appeals were ignored. These policies explain why it was so difficult to overhaul the health system for Native peoples.

The author provides a thorough review of annual Public Health reports and congressional records, as well as a comprehensive bibliography. Because the accounts given in the time period addressed by the author's research were dominated by non-Native writers, the historical perspective of the book reflects this perspective, as the author acknowledges. DeJong discusses this context as well as perspectives surrounding disease and other conditions in a sometimes non-chronological history of the IHS, which can occasionally be confusing.

William Willard pointed out the need for a "full-length book publication of the political history of the IHS" in his 1999 review of "A Political History of the Indian Health Service" by Bergman, et al., published in the *Milbank Quarterly*. The editorial review provided by the publisher of DeJong's book states that his book is the "gold