

Mt. Graham Observatory and the Snowbowl ski resort in Arizona, or the Medicine Wheel in Wyoming.

Importantly, at the outset Catton notes places where Indians and Forest Service officials both generally agree and disagree about land management. Both would see using resources as an “integral part” of maintaining them for the future and Indians often see that “if tribal members are not using the resource, then they are not respecting it, or fulfilling the sacred bargain” (6). Thus, as Catton notes, Native Americans find the Forest Service philosophy—responsible use—more palatable than the preservationist outlook of the National Park Service. Differences arise on issues of access to resources and also memory. Tribal memories and those of the Forest Service vary dramatically in terms of deep time. For the Forest Service, events and relationships are seen in terms of recent institutional history, while for tribes, meanings are drawn from generations of occupation, use, story, and sacred connection to place. In his conclusion, Catton argues that moving forward, the challenge for the Forest Service will be to further utilize use of this Native knowledge (304).

Though increased exploration of Native knowledge is certainly important, pointing to it as a strategy for future development within the Forest Service reveals one of the book’s weaknesses. While Catton refers often to Indian ways of knowing and using the land, and how the Forest Service embrace of ecosystem management seemed to be closer to Native views, these discussions are fairly cursory. One will not find any deep discussion of Native views of land use here. To be fair, that is not the thrust of Catton’s work. But given the title, a potential reader should be aware of what is, and what isn’t here. Arguably, Catton’s title should have been “The National Forest Service and American Indians.” One might expect in a work like this more attention to the transfer of knowledge about fire and forests from tribal forests to the Forest Service (most notably from Oregon). There is no discussion of the importance of Native American hotshot fire crews. Still, in a single volume *American Indians and National Forests* covers a great deal of ground, chronology, and content. While at times a reader might want more from the Native vantage point, Catton’s work is certainly very worthwhile for readers interested in the history of federal public lands as well as federal-Indian relations.

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**An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846–1873.** By Benjamin Madley. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016. 712 pages. \$38.00 cloth.

Historian Benjamin Madley has succeeded brilliantly doing what no other scholar has yet done: writing a comprehensive account of the genocide against California Indians from 1846 to 1873. *An American Genocide* is the product of years of careful research and a thoughtful consideration of how California’s long history of racist views, policies,

and laws culminated in some of the worst anti-Indian violence in North American history. Madley's aim is not simply to prove that anti-Indian violence in California was genocide, though that is a significant part of his argument. In the tradition of some of the finest genocide studies scholarship, he also illuminates the conditions that made genocide possible, as well as the consequences of genocidal violence for both whites and California Indians, and reflects on the impact of genocide on the development of the state of California. This book does so much so well a brief review can only touch on a few of the highlights.

One of the book's great strengths—its clarity—becomes evident in the introductory chapter. Madley does not simply ask the reader to accept the California crisis as genocide, but carefully measures the evidence against the legal definition. Offering a clear, consistent definition of genocide, the internationally binding 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, throughout the book the author consistently refers back to the UN Convention's definition to explain how episodes of violence, including homicides, abuse, enslavement, and kidnapping, fit the UN definition. His well-reasoned argument that the murder and maltreatment of California Indians constituted genocide is very well-supported by a plethora of historical evidence which he uses throughout and also compiles in several appendices, to devastating effect. Madley's careful documentation of murders and massacres—some 9,000 to 16,000 specific killings—reveals a much higher death toll than previously understood.

Subsequent chapters illustrate how, beginning in the Spanish mission era and continuing nearly unabated until 1873, whites in California systematically marginalized and ultimately demonized California Indians, creating a continuum of exploitative and violent practices that could and did become genocidal under the right circumstances. One of the most significant and interesting arguments Madley advances in the book is the continuity of Indian policies throughout the Spanish, Mexican, and American eras. The Spanish and Mexican colonial policy of securing California Indian labor for the missions and ranchos at any cost set the stage for later genocidal violence. He effectively counters the common argument (one that I have made myself) that the Indian policy Americans imposed in California marked a break from Spanish and Mexican traditions of preserving Indian peon labor. Instead, he argues, "multiple forms of California Indian servitude—as well as the profound racism that made the coercion of California Indians ideologically acceptable—existed on the eve of the Mexican-American War. . . . [and] set local precedents onto which U.S. citizens and administrations then grafted their own racist traditions and unfree labor systems," thus refining and intensifying the maltreatment of and potential for violence against Indians (38).

After the United States takeover in 1846, callous attitudes toward Indian people translated into policies and legal structures that gave Indians virtually no protections against white violence, especially after the 1848 gold discovery. Time and time again, when presented the opportunity to ensure basic rights for California Indians, military governors, delegates to the constitutional convention, and state legislators chose to deny Indians the vote, the right to testify against whites in court, and the ability to

buy firearms while subjecting them to restrictive vagrancy and indenture laws that preserved whites' access to Indian labor at the expense of the health of Indian people and communities. The result was predictable: with no legal or moral deterrents in place, whites in California targeted Indians for murder, harassment, and kidnapping, creating a profitable commerce in Indian slaves. Here Madley makes another significant intervention: he refutes the idea that white violence against California Indians could not have been genocidal because many whites hoped to preserve Indians as a labor force. He argues that even "California's systems of Indian servitude—directly linked to murderous kidnapping raids and massacres, the forcible removal of children from their tribes, and frequently lethal working conditions—would become a major component of California's genocide" (161).

In combination with the violence and greed of the gold rush, Madley argues, anti-Indian racism manifested in genocidal violence with no consequences for the perpetrators. Having set the stage for genocide, the California state legislature, urged on by the governor and supported by the United States Congress, made genocide almost an inevitability by encouraging and funding ad-hoc militias throughout the state to "protect" settlers against Indian depredations. In his discussion of the aims and actions of these militias, Madley is once again careful to hew closely to the UN definition of genocide. Emphasizing the militia ethic of "pedagogic violence"—the idea that punishing any random group of Indians for real or imagined offenses committed by other Indians was a useful deterrent—Madley provides overwhelming evidence that white militias targeted Indians simply for being Indian. He painstakingly details the complicity of all levels of government in these genocidal attacks, from the cities that offered scalp bounties, to the state legislature that spent over \$1.3 million to reimburse militias and pay members' salaries, to the federal government's more than \$1 million reimbursement of California's "war expenses" and efforts to secure bounty lands for militia veterans. Indian campaigns, in short, were a fairly reliable source of income and livelihood for hundreds of white men throughout Northern California and the basis for promotion for the officers who led them. At times these efforts were more locally directed vigilante attacks, while the state directed others in response to regional conflicts. During the Civil War years, the federal government took increased responsibility for anti-Indian violence by outfitting and paying these militias (the so-called "California Volunteers") directly. In all cases, the presumption of collective Indian guilt led to overwhelming and indiscriminate retribution.

For scholars in the fields of Western history, American Indian history, and genocide studies, *An American Genocide* is a must-read. Scholars of nineteenth-century California Indian history in particular will find it indispensable: the genocide was so extensive and pervasive, this context is essential to understanding the histories of Northern California Indian communities in this period. With the precision, clarity, and use of evidence in this work a model for this kind of scholarship, Benjamin Madley has set the standard for future scholarship on genocides against American Indians.

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