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THE COVER “Wakar, Later Chief of Utah Indians” by Solomon N. Carvalho. This splendid portrait was painted by the artist and photographer of Fremont’s fifth expedition, 1853-54. The party met near disaster in a winter crossing of Utah’s southern mountains. Carvalho fell ill and wintered in Salt Lake City. He was present on the Sevier River in May 1854 when Brigham Young concluded a treaty of peace with the famous chief thus ending the brief “Walker War” between the Utes of central Utah and the Mormons. At that time, Carvalho remarked in his diary, “I induced Wakara to sit for his portrait.” See chapter thirty of the artist's book, Incidents of Travel in the Far West, first issued in 1857 and reissued in 1954 with an introduction by Bertram W. Korn. The original portrait is owned by the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and it is published here with the gracious permission of that institution.

BACK COVER The Square Tower, Hovenweep National Monument. Photograph courtesy C. Gregory Crampton.
Indian Country

BY C. GREGORY CRAMPTON

GUEST EDITOR

This issue of the Utah Historical Quarterly is devoted to the history of the aboriginal peoples who once ranged over the wide sweep of rough country from Great Salt Lake to Colorado's Western Slope and from the Uinta Mountains to the Grand Canyon. He who would write of the first men who lived in this land of deserts, high mountains, deep canyons, and sharp-edged mesas, must begin his story with an account of the Desert Culture which dates back some nine or ten thousand years.

Archeologists say that over this long period of time the climate of the arid West has remained about the same as it is today. In a harsh and vigorous environment the desert people, who roamed over an area much wider than we have described here, in time worked out a stable pattern of living nicely and efficiently adjusted to the limited resources available to them.

In small bands the desert dwellers in search of food moved about with the seasons hunting and gathering but they sought out the protection of caves and overhanging cliffs for temporary residence. By 6000 B.C., they had developed a specialized material culture resting in part on the use of basketry and netting, fur cloth and sandals, firedrills and milling stones, digging and throwing sticks, wooden clubs, and stone projective points.

With the passage of time the southern segments of the Desert Cultures were changed dramatically, though not suddenly, by the infusion of new ideas from Mexico. Of these, agriculture based mainly on that great triad of prehistoric plants — corn, beans, and squash — was the most important. A reliable food supply made sedentary living possible and with some leisure time on their hands the aboriginal peoples of...
Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and northwestern Mexico produced a sophisticated lifeway which archeologists have labeled the Southwestern, or Pueblo, Tradition.

The Pueblo Culture gradually took form in the five hundred years before A.D. 400 and thereafter, with some significant regional variations, developed to full and classical proportions by the eleventh century. One of its regional variants was the well-known Anasazi Culture which spread over parts of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, centering on the middle reaches of the San Juan River in the Four Corners area.

At its apogee Pueblo Culture was distinguished by large communal buildings housing hundreds of persons, an elaborate complex of arts and crafts, and a rich ceremonial life closely linked to agriculture on which the good life of the Pueblos depended.

For causes not yet fully understood the Anasazi people late in the twelfth century suffered a decline and fall. The great towns, such as Cliff Palace in Mesa Verde, and the many lesser ones, were abandoned. Remnants of a once populous people moved south and east and it is quite probable their descendants include the Hopi Indians of northeastern Arizona and other modern Pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico.

However, the country between the Great Salt Lake and the Western Slope was not left vacant by the departing Anasazis. In the northern part of the region where the Pueblo Culture had been peripheral and weak, the more primitive lifeway of the ancient desert people had survived. Indeed the prehistorians point out that the ancestors of the present Shoshonean-speaking Gosiute, Paiute, and Ute bands of Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and Colorado, were in all probability the ancient dwellers of the desert whose known continuous history, therefore, may be as old as any in the world.¹

The first approaches by the white man to the Indians of the Intermountain West came from the south. In 1540 Coronado reached the Zuñi and Hopi villages and the Rio Grande pueblos; before the end of the century Oñate had planted the first Spanish settlement in New Mexico. Spain never established any permanent settlements beyond the banks of the Rio Grande but her cultural impact was great on the peripheral tribes.

¹On the Desert Culture see Jesse D. Jennings, Danger Cave, University of Utah Anthropological Papers, 27 (Salt Lake City, 1957), and a summary article by Jennings, “The Desert West,” in Jesse D. Jennings and Edward Norbeck, eds., Prehistoric Man in the New World (Chicago, 1964), 149-74.
The Utes benefited notably. By 1700, they had become a mounted people ranging on horseback across the central Rockies from the Great Plains to the Wasatch. With better land and hunting grounds, and borrowing ideas from Spain and from their Indian neighbors, the Utes culturally distanced their Gosiute and Paiute relatives who, conservatively, adhered to their old ways. For example, when these bands acquired horses the animals were more often used for food than mounts.

The Athapascan-speaking Navajos, a most adaptable people, also benefited both from proximity to the Spanish settlements and their aboriginal neighbors. The Navajos were comparative newcomers to the Rocky Mountain region having arrived from western Canada at a date probably not long before the coming of the Spaniards. These Indians seem to have settled in north central New Mexico where they came in close contact with the Spanish villages and the Pueblo peoples as well as the Utes. They gradually extended their sphere of influence westward and eventually their frontier crossed the San Juan River into Utah.

The location of the intermountain tribes was nicely documented by the Domínguez-Escalante expedition of 1776, the first comprehensive traverse of the country under discussion here. Bernardo de Miera, expedition cartographer, drew a topographical map in colors on which he indicated the actual areas then occupied by the Utes (Yutas), Paiutes (Payuchis), Navajos (Navajoo), and other groups.

For seventy years after 1776 only a few white men penetrated the territory of the mountain and basin tribes. After 1821, when Spanish sovereignty over the region was transferred to Mexico, the American fur men from bases in New Mexico and the upper Missouri combed the central Rockies for beaver. In the 1830s New Mexico caravan traders opened the long 1,500-mile Spanish Trail between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, through the country of the Utes and Paiutes. Indians along the way participated in this commerce, the dominant figure being the Ute Chief Wakara (Walker and other spellings) whose principal stock in trade were horses and Indian slaves. See Wakara’s portrait on the cover of this issue.

1 The earliest history of the Utes has been summarized by S. Lyman Tyler, “Before Escalante, an Early History of the Yuta Indians in the Area North of New Mexico” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1951).

2 The literature on the Navajos is enormous. Ruth Underhill’s The Navajos (Norman, Oklahoma, 1956) is a good historical summary.


4 LeRoy R. and Ann W. Hafen have summarized the New Mexico-California trade in the Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fe to Los Angeles, with Extracts from Contemporary Records
As the year 1846 opened, radical changes in Indian life were imminent. Before the year was out New Mexico fell to American troops in one of the early actions in the Mexican War. But the United States had to defend its new possession from Indian marauders and there followed eighteen years of intermittent warfare with the Navajos which forced these Indians west into the deep canyons of the Colorado and north across the San Juan into Utah.

In 1847 the Mormons arrived in the Great Basin. Although the Saints pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence they nonetheless competed with the Indians for the limited available resources and troublous times followed.

The greatest threat to the Indians followed the gold rush to California. The rush, beginning in 1848, lasted for ten years and then the miners swept over the intermountain regions prospecting for new bonanzas. In the late 1850s they found them — Fraser River, the Comstock, Denver — and for the rest of the century they rushed back and forth all over the West in pursuit of elusive bonanzas. The farmers and stockmen followed the miners while transportation systems were established wherever their services were needed. Nearly everywhere in the West the Indians found themselves inundated and overwhelmed by the aggressive white man.

The scholarly essays that follow are chapters in the history of this confrontation. As elsewhere in the New World, the Indians of the central Rockies and the Great Basin were forced to accept the domination of superior power. But they were notably slow to accept the cultural domination of the conquerors. The Shoshonean-speakers still cling to some of the old ways identifiable with the 10,000-year-old Desert Culture. The Hopis continue to live much as they did before the coming of the Spaniards. The Navajos, quick to learn, place their own unmistakable stamp on everything they borrow. This stubborn persistence at long last has made its impression on the dominant culture and there are some signs that the Indians' contributions and the Indian himself will be integrated into American culture and American life.

The Indian has and is contributing material for the writing of his own history. From artifacts and physical remains the archeologists have

(2) Edward H. Spicer, Cycles of Conquest, the Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960 (Tucson, Arizona, 1962) is a masterful work for the Arizona-New Mexico area.
reconstructed the pattern of living in the long ages of the prehistoric past. In his own researches in Indian history the historian often finds that his documents and sources, written mostly by the conquerors, are slanted and biased, and very often incomplete. It should be emphasized, however, that many of the basic documents for Indian history remain unpublished (see the Arny document edited by Robert W. Delaney).

To complete the record and to restore imbalances historians are now turning to new sources of information and employing the methods of other disciplines. The articles in this special issue of Quarterly are indicative of this new history. Archeological data appears in the article by J. Lee Correll. From living Indians the historians are collecting reminiscences and remembrances of past times — the record of oral history. See the short accounts by Gertrude Chapoose Willie and Henry Harris, Jr., excerpted from longer documents in the collections of the Duke Indian Oral History Project at the University of Utah. The articles by the Fowlers, and Floyd O'Neil contain some information supplied by living informants. Much new material for the study of Indian history has been brought to light by the litigation before the federal Indian Claims Commission. See the articles by Correll, and by James B. Allen and Ted J. Warner.

Joe, a long time ago you told me you studied to become a Medicine Man; did you give it up?

Yes, had to. Too hard on me. Got sick. Beckwith, I got down flat on my back; sick; stiff; they thought I die; couldn't move; arms no good; legs no good; couldn't eat. It too strong for me. I lay sick long time. It hard on me. They said, "Joe, too hard on you. Too much for you. May hurt you. Better give it up." I did give up the study, but I like it, and still do some — always do some. Like it. (Frank Beckwith, Indian Joe, In Person and In Background [Delta, Utah, 1939]. 53a. Only seven copies of this unusual monograph were printed privately by Beckwith to send to friends as "my Christmas Greeting Card for 1939." The Utah State Historical Society's copy is the gift of J. Cecil Alter.)
Notes on the History of the Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis

BY CATHERINE S. AND DON D. FOWLER

Ta-peats, Paiute from Rio Virgin area. Photograph by J. K. Hillers with Powell Expedition, 1871-75. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution.
THE NEIGHBORS of the Utes on the south and west were several linguistically related groups of peoples known as Paiutes, or more properly, Southern Paiutes, and Western Shoshonis, including the Gosiutes, Weber Utes, Northwestern Shoshonis, and other Shoshonis. Before white men came, small groups of these peoples hunted, gathered, and sometimes farmed local areas much as did their Ute neighbors. They occupied a broad expanse of country covering much of western and southern Utah and parts of adjacent Nevada, Arizona, and southern California.

After contact with the white man, Indian lifeways were substantially altered and many cultural institutions were changed. The territorial range was reduced from its previous extent to a few small reservations and colonies adjacent to non-Indian settlements. Indians were forced to seek new means of subsistence, new associations, and to cope with new technological problems.

This paper focuses on some of the events which occurred in the eastern Great Basin and on the Colorado Plateau during the period of white exploration and occupation — events which forced changes in aboriginal Southern Paiute and Western Shoshoni societies and cultures. Our primary interest is in Southern Paiute ethnohistory, with data on Western Shoshonis treated in less detail. The more complete accounts of Euler and Kelly for the Southern Paiutes and several papers by Malouf and others for the Western Shoshonis, should be consulted for more thorough treatments of these topics.

The Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis speak dialects and languages closely akin to the Ute language and to those of other Great Basin Indians. These languages are placed by linguists in the Numic branch or family of languages, a grouping ultimately related to other branches or families of the Uto-Aztecan stock and spoken elsewhere in western North America and Mexico. Other Uto-Aztecan languages include Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Luiseño, and Túbatulabal, spoken in parts of southern California; Hopi in northern Arizona; and Pima,
Papago, Tarahumara, Cora, Huichol, Nahuatl, and others spoken in northern and central Mexico.  

Most tribal classifications in the Great Basin are based on linguistic affiliations rather than on any sense of social or political integration held by these peoples. The Numic language family is generally divided into three main groupings called Western, Central, and Southern Numic. Southern Numic contains two languages, one spoken by a group historically called Kawaiisü who live in southern California, and the other by groups called Chemehuevi who live in southern California and southern Nevada, Southern Paiute with various sub-groups in southern Utah, northern Arizona, and southern Nevada, and Ute including various sub-groups in eastern Utah and western Colorado. Central Numic contains two languages, one spoken by peoples called Panamint, the other by Ruby Valley, Gosiute, White Knife, and Weber Ute Shoshoni, as well as by several Shoshoni groups in Idaho and western Wyoming. The Comanches who dominated the Llano Estacado and other areas of west Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma in the nineteenth century are also Central Numic or Shoshoni speakers. Western Numic contains two languages, one spoken by the Western Monos of California, and the other by Northern Paiutes from Owens Valley in California through western Nevada and into northeastern California and southeastern Oregon. The Ban­nocks of eastern Oregon and central Idaho are also Northern Paiute speakers.  

The term Numic is derived from the native word all these peoples use for themselves, variously nümü in Northern Paiute, nüwü in Southern Paiute, nümü in Shoshoni, etc., meaning “person, human being, or native speaker.” Names designating these peoples in anthropological and historical literature, including most of those cited above, were not commonly used as tribal or group names in the pre-contact period but now are generally recognized and have been adopted. 

Archaeological and linguistic evidence indicates that the Numic-speaking peoples spread across the Great Basin sometime after A.D. 1000, displacing or replacing the earlier carriers of the Fremont and Virgin Branch Anasazi cultures in Utah, eastern Nevada and northern Arizona. Distributional, as well as other linguistic and cultural evidence,
suggests that this spread originated somewhere in southern California or northern Mexico.  

By historic times (for our purposes 1776 with the explorations of Escalante and Dominguez) the Southern Paiutes were well established in a crescent-shaped area extending from the deserts of southern California on the southwest to Sevier Lake, Utah, on the northwest, and then to beyond the confluence of the San Juan and Colorado rivers on the east (Fig. 1). Their territory included basin and range environments, much of the high plateaus of south-central Utah and northern Arizona, and parts of the canyon lands of southwestern Utah. The Western Shoshonis were established in a triangular area of the Great Basin west of the Southern Paiutes that extended from Death Valley on the south through much of central and eastern Nevada and into northwestern Utah (Fig. 1).

Historically, some Western Shoshoni and Southern Paiute groups were among the last American Indians to come into sustained contact with whites. Although the Southern Utes had early contacts with the Spanish at Abiquiu and Santa Fe in the 1600s and the Northern Utes were in contact with the fur traders in southwestern Wyoming by 1812, some Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis did not have any sustained contact with whites until the early 1870s. Neither the Western Shoshonis nor the Southern Paiutes adopted horses until very late. In fact, the principal distinction between Ute and Southern Paiute hinges largely on the use of horses. As Steward suggests, “Local groups became Ute rather than Southern Paiute upon acquiring horses and the cultural features associated with them.” The same criterion might be applied to the Western Shoshonis and Northern Paiutes within their territories. Western Shoshonis became Eastern Shoshonis and Northern Paiutes became Bannocks upon acquiring horses and horse culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Ultimately, both the Western Shoshonis of

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6 Euler, Southern Paiute Ethnohistory, Fig. 2.
8 Euler, Southern Paiute Ethnohistory, 75.
(Fig. 1) Map showing relative location of Indian tribes in the area now occupied by Utah and parts of Colorado, Arizona and Nevada. Compiled by Catherine S. and Don D. Fowler.
central Nevada and the Southern Paiutes did use horses, and some of them functioned briefly as raiders in the 1850s and 1860s. However, they did not possess the “Plains” complex of horses, an orientation toward buffalo hunting, and later the fur trade and raiding, characteristics of their Eastern Shoshoni and Ute cousins.¹¹

The social organizations and cultures of the Western Shoshonis and Southern Paiutes were similar in the pre-contact period.¹² Both were foragers subsisting on roots, seeds, berries, insects, small game, and fish (where available), as well as birds, deer, antelope, and mountain sheep. Both employed the same basic tools: bow and arrows, flint knife, digging sticks, seed beaters, gathering baskets, and the flat grinding slab and mano. Both dressed in rabbit skin robes, bark or hide aprons, and basket caps (for women) or breech straps (for men), and sandals or moccasins. Both lived for most of the year in small family groups, called “kin cliques” by anthropologists.¹³ The Western Shoshonis and Southern Paiutes referred to these groups as “camp groups” or “house groups.”¹⁴

Occasionally, larger groups came together for rabbit, antelope, or mud-hen drives or other communal hunts and activities. At these gatherings dancing, courting, and gambling also took place. Groups remained together until the task was completed or until local food resources were exhausted. There is also some evidence that several “house groups” wintered together when accumulated food supplies made it possible to do so.¹⁵ There is no evidence of overall tribal political control or a concept of chief except in the sense of a respected person, a good hunter or dance leader.

The Western Shoshonis and Southern Paiutes also shared with other Great Basin groups and American Indians generally, traditions of myths and tales which provided a cosmology, and, through the examples they portrayed, moral and ethical codes. Traditionally, tales and myths were told with great ceremony in the winter by elders sitting around the campfires. (Certain prohibitions precluded the telling of

¹³ Don D. Fowler, Great Basin Social Organization, Desert Research Institute, Social Science and Humanities Publications, 1 (Reno, 1966), 62.
¹⁵ Steward, Basin-Plateau, passim.
myths during the summer season.) Young Paiutes and Shoshonis listened intently to long tales of Coyote, Wolf, Rabbit, Tortoise, and others in which proper and improper conduct was made explicit and incest prohibitions, practical obligations, rights, and other matters were defined and exemplified.16

Shamanistic curing practices are also well documented for both Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis.17 Shamans received their powers to cure disease, foresee the future, and occasionally practice witchcraft from a tutelary spirit. The power beings, including animal spirits, water babies, and occasionally ghosts, came to a prospective shaman unsought and instructed him in proper curing rituals. These were performed with members of the family or others in the camp in attendance and might last several days, depending on the severity of the patient’s condition. Shamans who lost too many patients were rejected by the group and could be killed.

Southern Paiute and Western Shoshoni groups associated with Indians in adjacent territories. Such communication was undoubtedly responsible for the spread of several cultural practices in the pre-contact period. Some Southern Paiutes, including the Shivwits, Chemehuevi, Kaibab, San Juan, and possibly Moapa peoples practiced a limited type of garden horticulture based on the cultivation of corn, squash, sunflowers, beans, and other native plants. They probably adopted this practice from groups living to the south and/or southwest of them. These included the Yuman-speaking peoples along the Lower Colorado River18 and the Hopis living east of the Grand Canyon. The Kaibab Southern Paiutes are said to have learned horticulture from the St. George (Shivwits) Paiutes about 1850, while the San Juan Paiutes south of the Kaibab and across the Colorado River learned the practice from the Hopis.19

Both Southern Paiute and Western Shoshoni peoples traded with neighboring Indians. From the Utes, the Southern Paiutes obtained buckskins, native paints, and buffalo robes. From the Navajos they received blankets and later horses, giving buckskin and sometimes children in ex-

19 Kelly, Southern Paiute Ethnography, 39, 170.
The Las Vegas area Paiutes were noted for their mountain sheep horn bows which were highly prized and traded in various areas of Utah. From the Mohaves, the Chemehuevis adopted a number of practices in later times, including pottery making, warfare, and flood-water farming. The “Cry,” an aspect of Yuman mourning practices, had diffused into the eastern most Southern Paiute areas at least by 1800.

In 1776, Escalante, accompanying what was probably the first non-Indian party to penetrate the country of the Western Utes, Shoshonis, and Southern Paiutes, noted colored shells and some “colored woolen threads” in the possession of Paiutes in southwestern Utah. The shells were probably obtained through trade with the River Yumans. The Paiutes claimed they had obtained the threads from Indians “who wear blue clothing and who had crossed the river.” Escalante identified these people as “Cosinas,” or Havasupai, and thought that the “Cosinas” had probably obtained blue cloth from the Hopis. Euler, however, thinks that the “Cosinas” indentification may be erroneous and that the Hopis themselves may have been responsible for the items without the Havasupai middlemen. Kelly reports some evidence of direct trade between the Kaibab Southern Paiutes and both the Hopis and Havasupais.

Although there is little direct evidence for Western Shoshoni trade in the pre-contact period, it was undoubtedly of some importance to them. Steward notes that certain groups in post-contact times used bead strings of prescribed length for “money.” Other Western Shoshoni groups in central Nevada also engaged in limited trade with other fixed mediums of exchange. Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis traded with each other across their common frontier for pine nuts, rabbit nets, buckskin, and other items. People along the border also intermarried to some extent.

The Spanish entrada into the present-day southwestern United States, beginning in the 1540s, ultimately affected the Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis in various ways. The spread of horses and the knowledge of horse culture to the Utes and Navajos in the late 1600s increased their mobility and intensified their contacts with Southern

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20 Ibid., 90-91.
24 Euler, Southern Paiute Ethnohistory, 33.
25 Kelly, Southern Paiute Ethnohistory, 89.
26 Steward, Basin-Plateau, 45.
The promotion of slavery as part of the Spanish social system also influenced all of the Indians on the northern borders of the new colonies. Equipped with horses, the Utes and Navajos were able to raid other groups for slaves — usually taking young women and children — and selling them in the Spanish settlements of New Mexico and southern California. The Southern Paiutes were in the unfortunate position of being between the Ute raiders on the north and east, and the Navajos on the south. Western Shoshoni groups, although less involved in the traffic, were prey to Ute raiders in the eastern areas of their territory. New Mexicans also participated in the trade either directly or indirectly as dealers with the Utes and Navajos.

The earliest documentation of the slave trade in the Great Basin is the description of an encounter in 1813 between Indians at Utah Lake and the Spanish traders Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia. The men later testified under oath that the Indians insisted on selling them slaves and, when they refused, killed some of their horses. The trade flourished at least from this time until 1850 when the Mormons, under Brigham Young’s direction, managed to suppress it. Numerous documents attest that raiding or bargaining for slaves went on around Utah Lake, in the Sevier River area, along the Old Spanish Trail and elsewhere in Utah and eastern Nevada. Expeditions were outfitted for slave trading in New Mexican settlements and some fur trappers may also have engaged in the traffic as a sideline. The mounted Navajo and Ute groups participated directly in the trade, selling captives to the New Mexican and southern California settlements, or trading them to Mexican parties. Wakara and other Ute leaders were directly linked to these activities. The Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis were a major target of these slave raids. In 1839, Farnham reported that “Piutes” living near the Sevier River were “hunted in the spring of the year, when weak and helpless, by a certain class of men, and when taken, are fattened, carried

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27 As Francis Haines, “The Northward Spread of Horses Among the Plains Indians,” American Anthropologist, XL (1938), 429-37, has shown, the Southern Utes were using horses by the 1680s (cf. Schroeder, “A Brief History of the Southern Utes,”). In succeeding years the Utes and Eastern Shoshonis acted as middlemen for the rapid spread of horses northward onto the Great Plains. By 1776, the Utes were well mounted and in possession of many “Plains” material traits. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness, 44 ff.


29 Malouf and Malouf, “Spanish Slavery,” 381.

30 Ibid., 384.
to Santa Fe and sold as slaves during their minority. 'A likely girl' in her teens brings often £ sixty or £ eighty. The males are valued less.\(^{31}\)

There are also documented instances of Mexicans, Navajos, or Utes trading jaded horses to the Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis for children, whereupon the horses were most frequently eaten.\(^{32}\) Kelly also notes that children were traded for horses by the Kaibab Paiutes. Some of her informants accounted for the introduction and spread of horses in their area by this means.\(^{33}\) Captured slaves were often ill-treated by their Indian captors, although females generally fared better than males.\(^{34}\) De Smet reported from hearsay that slaves were well treated in the California and New Mexico settlements, but his assessment may have been prejudiced by an attempt to justify the use of slaves by "Christian" people.\(^{35}\)

Euler has suggested that several documents describing the timidity of the Southern Paiutes and in some cases their total absence from


\(^{32}\) Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians (Salt Lake City, 1890), 49-50.

\(^{33}\) Kelly, Southern Paiute Ethnography, 89-90.

\(^{34}\) Malouf and Malouf, "Spanish Slavery," 382.

\(^{35}\) Pierre Jean De Smet, Letters and Sketches, with a Narrative of a Year's Residence among the Indian Tribes of the Rocky Mountains (Philadelphia, 1843), 32-33.
some heavily traveled areas, may be a reflection of their fear of slavers. He also notes that some documents are beginning to reflect open aggression and hostility by some Southern Paiute groups in the 1840s.\textsuperscript{36} The slave trade may also have led to severe depopulation among the Southern Paiutes. The Indian agent Garland Hurt noted that prior to 1860, because of the slave traffic, “scarcely one-half of the Py-eed [Paiute] children are permitted to grow up in a band; and a large majority of these being males, this and other causes are tending to depopulate their bands very rapidly.”\textsuperscript{37}

Although the Utes often raided the Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis for slaves, they also transmitted to these groups new items of material culture, some from invading whites, including horses, tipis, guns, kettles, metal knives, and even dogs (which were apparently not held aboriginally by some Paiute groups). Potatoes and possibly beans were apparently added to the cultigens of some Paiute groups prior to the arrival of the Mormons.\textsuperscript{38} Aboriginal patterns of leadership began to strengthen into the more formal notion of chiefs by this period. This may have developed as a response to growing stress and the need for protection from hostile whites and Indians.\textsuperscript{39} The mounted Ute groups with their chiefs and band leaders may also have served as models for this development.

The first white intrusions into Western Shoshoni territory were made by the fur trappers in the 1820s. Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson’s Bay Company was active in the Snake River country during this decade and by 1829 had made trips to the upper Humboldt River and had explored much of northeastern Nevada and western Utah. His diaries make few references to encounters with Indians, but he did note the presence of trails, fish traps in the Humboldt River, and other traces of native occupancy which were undoubtedly of Western Shoshoni origin.\textsuperscript{40} In 1827, the American Jedediah Smith traversed the central Great Basin from California to the Great Salt Lake, but he reported few Indians except along the present Utah-Nevada border and in the valleys east of the

\begin{itemize}
\item Euler, Southern Paiute Ethnohistory, 46 ff.
\item Euler, Southern Paiute Ethnohistory, 98.
\item Ibid.
\item Gloria G. Cline, Exploring the Great Basin (Norman, Oklahoma, 1963), 120 ff; T. C. Elliott, “Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader,” Oregon Historical Quarterly, XI, 3 (1910), 229-78.
\end{itemize}
border, apparently in Gosiute country. Indeed, the Smith party may have been the first non-Indian group to contact the Gosiutes. Mountain-men probably introduced a number of material traits to the easternmost Western Shoshonis during this early period even though these Indians did not actively work for the trappers. Fur trappers were also the first white men to engage in armed conflict with the Indians of the Great Basin. As the fur trade declined in the 1840s, a trickle of west-bound emigrant trains began to move across the lands of the Western Shoshonis. However, until the trickle turned into a flood following the discovery of gold in California, the Western Shoshonis were probably little affected by contacts with the whites.

With the coming of the Mormons in 1847, Indian-white contacts intensified. The relationships of these first pioneers with the Utes and Shoshonis of the northern area are relatively well known. From the outset, the Mormons became unwilling participants in the slave trade, purchasing Indian children from the Utes who threatened to kill the children if the Mormons did not buy them. But active measures by Brigham Young and the territorial legislature ultimately ended the trade. Brigham Young, as Ex-Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory also established many other Indian policies of note.

The decade of the 1850s was a settling-in period for the Mormons in much of Utah, including the southern and central portions. It was also a time of difficulties with mounted Indian groups, especially the Utes, highlighted by the “Walker War.” There were some conflicts with unmounted Shoshonis and Southern Paiutes, primarily over lands and food supplies. Mormon settlements and farms displaced the people from their best hunting and gathering lands. Traditional food items were depleted by grazing animals, plowing, timbering, and other activities. Some unmounted Indians preyed on settlements and wagon trains for food and before long others were reduced to begging for hand-outs.

While some well-mounted Ute and Shoshoni groups raided ranches, settlements and trails on a regular basis, others settled on lands adjacent to Mormon farms and towns. This pattern was especially typical of un-

42 Cline, Exploring the Great Basin, 84.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
mounted Western Shoshonis and Southern Paiutes. Those groups frequently preyed upon by the Utes may well have felt that Mormon towns and ranches offered not only economic advantages but a measure of protection as well. Malouf has noted that some Gosiutes near Deep Creek were employed as farm and ranch laborers in the 1850s, and soon began to learn other skills.47 Those groups who neither settled near towns nor took up raiding moved westward into the desert valleys in a last futile attempt to continue aboriginal subsistence patterns. Settlement and population movements by this time had resulted in considerable re-shuffling and condensing of pre-contact territorial ranges for all groups.

Mormon and Southern Paiute and Western Shoshoni relationships for the 1850s and 1860s have been discussed in some detail by both Euler and Malouf.48 Sporadic troubles of various kinds were reported in the colonies and settlements of southern Utah and along the well-traveled trails. However, missionary activities in the south and north — most notably by Jacob Hamblin, Howard Egan, and others — helped keep conflicts to a minimum. Raids by Navajos on Mormon settlements in the south, and continued Southern Paiute-Navajo friction, led to several incidents, but serious confrontations were averted largely through Hamblin’s efforts.49

Apart from the official policies of Brigham Young, individual Mormons and non-Mormons in Utah held varying opinions about the Indians, most of them consistent with general American views of the period. These ranged from common stereotypes of Indians as lazy, shiftless, thieving savages of little worth, to more positive attitudes noting their basic industry, intelligence, and educability. Many felt that although they were basically “savages” the Indians could and should be taught “civilized” ways even though most considered this would be a slow process.50 Few whites advocated a policy of complete integration as the two cultures were held to be too far removed from each other. Mormon ideology regarding the origin and identity of the Indians generally was responsible for some favorable attitudes and policies toward them, but it may also have been a contributing factor in maintaining a degree of social distance between the groups. Gradually, a place for the Indians was prepared within Mormon society as a whole — a place as an unskilled labor force

47 Ibid.  
49 James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin Among the Indians* (Salt Lake City, 1966), 28 ff.  
to be tapped upon mutual consent and a position of association but not integration into the local settlements.

By the early 1870s most of the Southern Paiute and Western Shoshoni groups had been under some form of direct contact with Mormons or other non-Indians for at least a few years. Some groups had mobilized their loosely organized numbers into larger political and residence units. Some of these had spokesmen or chiefs who served as go-betweens for a number of people. Among certain Western Shoshoni groups, particularly those in the deserts and valleys west of Salt Lake City and central Utah, raiding bands developed with Utes occupying the organizing and leadership positions. The association of Utes with Gosiutes during this period has been noted by several writers who have also indicated that Ute-Gosiute intermarriage was fairly frequent. The Gosiutes had aboriginally occupied a fringe area with the Utes, and in pre-contact times had probably intermarried with them to some extent, but the new associations forced by Ute displacement from the Wasatch Front seem to have fostered even closer ties. The Southern Paiutes also intermarried with the Utes to some degree along their border areas. Farther to the south, however, such marriages were infrequent.

In 1873, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs sent a special commission to Utah and Nevada to look into certain Indian matters, especially into suggestions for removing Southern Paiutes and some Shoshonis to areas away from settlements. The commission was headed by John Wesley Powell and George W. Ingalls. Powell had led exploring expeditions into the canyon country of Utah since 1868 and was well acquainted with the Indians of the region who had named him “kapurats,” or “arm off” (referring to his amputated right arm lost in the Civil War). Ingalls was an Indian agent based at Pioche, Nevada.

Powell and Ingalls were directed to ascertain the “conditions and wants” of the Indians of Utah and Nevada and to make recommendations for placing various Indian groups on reservations. From May to December 1873, the two commissioners toured Utah and Nevada meeting with delegations of Indians at Salt Lake City, Fillmore, Kanab, Santa

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Clara, Moapa, Las Vegas, and several points in eastern Nevada. Their report consisted of a summary of conditions as they found them, a census of the Indian "tribes," and recommendations for removal of the Indians to reservations.

By 1873, reservations were formally established in the Uintah Basin in eastern Utah, Fort Hall in southern Idaho, and Wind River in Wyoming. In Utah there were also reservations or, more properly, farms in San Pete Valley near Gunnison, at Corn Creek near Fillmore, at Spanish Fork and at Deep Creek which had been established in the 1850s by Brigham Young. But these reservations had no official status. In the 1860s the federal government ordered them surveyed and sold, which created several problems since there were no legal definitions of their boundaries. By 1873 the Indians at Spanish Fork had been removed to the Uintah Reservation, but other groups remained where they were.

Powell and Ingalls recommended that those Indians not already on reservations be removed: that the Northwestern Shoshonis be sent to Fort Hall or Wind River, the "Pah-vents and Seuv-a-ritos [who] speak the same language, and are intermarried with the Indians on the Uintah reservation" be sent to Uintah. The same course was initially suggested for the Southern Paiutes, but it was later recommended that they be sent to Moapa in southern Nevada in view of the traditional enmity between the Utes and Southern Paiutes and the fear the latter expressed of the former.

Powell and Ingalls recognized that traditional Indian lifeways had been shattered by white settlement:

They are broken into many small tribes, and their homes so interspersed among the settlements of white men, that their power is entirely broken and no fear should be entertained of a general war with them. The time has passed when it was necessary to buy peace. It only remains to decide what should be done with them for the relief of the white people from their depredations, and from the demoralizing influences accompanying the presence of savages in civilized communities, and also for the best interests of the Indians themselves. To give them a partial supply of clothing and a small amount of food annually, while they yet remain among the settlements, is to encourage them in idleness, and directly tends to establish them as a class of wandering beggars.

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44 John Wesley Powell and George W. Ingalls, On the Conditions of the Ute Indians of Utah; the Paiutes of Utah, Northern Arizona, Southern Nevada, and Southeastern California; the Western Shoshones of Idaho and Utah; and the Western Shoshones of Nevada; and Report Concerning Claims of Settlers in the Mo-a-pa Valley, Southeastern Nevada (Washington, D.C., 1874).
46 Ibid., 425
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid., 431.
Powell and Ingalls further suggested that a reservation should not be “looked upon in the light of a pen where a horde of savages are to be fed with flour and beef, to be supplied with blankets from the Government bounty, and to be furnished with paint and gew-gaws by the greed of traders, but that a reservation should be a school of industry and a home for these unfortunate people.”

Reflecting the agrarian ideals of the nineteenth century, Powell and Ingalls felt that the Indians should be trained as farmers, instructed in “civilized” crafts and settled in houses.

The several recommendations were not immediately acted upon. Many groups attempted to continue in their old ways, but the expansion of white farming and grazing activities made life increasingly difficult for the Indians. In late 1880 Jacob Hamblin, who had accompanied Powell on his explorations ten years earlier, wrote two letters to Powell detailing the plight of the Southern Paiutes near Kanab, one of which is reproduced below:

Salt Lake City
Nov. 19, 1880

Mr. J. W. Powell:

As the tribal Inds. are in a very destitute situacion I thought it would be no more than humanity required of me to call your atencion to it, there is 40 or 50 family's all told that are many about Kanab including the Uinkarets or the mount trouble Inds. you visited the first season I was with you.

The watering places are all occupide by the white man. The grass that product much seed is all et out. The sunflower seed is all destroyed in fact thare is nothing for them to depend upon but beg or starve.

While hereing them talk over their situacion as they gather around there campfires and refer to some promises they clame you made them while you were in their country I have taken the responsibility to call your attention to it.

I assisted them some this last season to put in some corn and squash. They got nothing on acount of the drouth.

They are now living on cactus fruit and no pine nuts this season. If thare could be some assistance rendered this winter and something to incourage them to plant corn another season it would be no more than we could reasonably expect. I would like to here from you the earliest oportunity that I can tell the Inds. what you say.

J. Hamblin

Ibid.
Ibid.
Little, Jacob Hamblin Among the Indians, 109 ff.
Ibid., 110-12. The reference here is to the Uinkarets band of Southern Paiutes visited by Powell and Hamblin in the fall of 1870.
U.S., Department of Interior, Bureau of Ethnology, Letters Received, 1880, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection (Smithsonian National Anthropology Archives). Hamblin’s original spelling has been retained.
Powell replied in February:

Feb., 18, 1881

Jacob Hamblin, Kanab, Utah Ty.

My dear Sir:

Your letters relating to the Indians in the vicinity of Kanab were read and the subject-matter received my prompt attention; but after doing all that I can I find that it will be impossible to do anything for the Indians in that region, except through one of the Agencies — that is they must either go to the Uinta or to the Muddy Valley so as to be included in the estimates annually sent from those places.

Under the present Administration Indians who do not report at Agencies are not assisted, the object being to get them together at such places in order that they may be taught carefully, and given homes in severalty as soon as they are competent to take care of themselves. I am much interested in the Indians of Kanab, as you know, and would have been glad to help them if possible.

Please tell "Frank" [Chuarumpeak] \(^{64}\) and other of my Indian friends what I say and that I hope to see them again some day.

J. W. Powell \(^{65}\)

But the Southern Paiutes did not go to Muddy or Uintah reservations. The reservation problem was not resolved until the Shivwits reserve was established outside Santa Clara, Utah, in 1891, and the Kaibab Reservation on the Arizona Strip in 1907. Until that time, Paiute colonies on the fringes of Mormon settlements remained typical. Some of these, including Cedar City and Richfield for the Southern Paiutes and Ute-Southern Paiutes, and Deep Creek for the Gosiutes were formally established on private lands or on Mormon church property. Deep Creek was later transferred to federal control, but title to lands in the others have remained in the hands of non-Indians. In many cases, Southern Paiutes and Shoshonis neglected by the federal government were given assistance by the Mormons, a policy which continues today.

The modern period has been one of continued transition for Southern Paiute and Western Shoshoni groups. With the establishment of reservations and colonies, their land base was fixed to a fraction of its aboriginal size. This further constricted the movements of peoples who had been used to moving at will and with few impediments. Old subsistence patterns were abandoned in favor of some limited form of agriculture or stock raising — where these activities were possible — or wage work, especially farm labor. Farm workers enjoyed a degree of mobility

\(^{64}\) Chuarumpeak was the leader of the Kaibab band of Southern Paiutes in the 1870s and served as one of Powell’s principal informants (Fowler and Fowler, *Anthropology of the Numa*, passim.) Chuar Creek in Grand Canyon was named by Powell after his Indian friend.

and freedom not wholly atypical of patterns in pre-contact times. For this reason, as well as others, and because of overt and covert pressures by farmers and ranchers, this type of work has remained popular. The need for unskilled workers is much more limited today, and Indians face new hardships in the job market.

Southern Paiute children began to attend federal day schools in the 1890s at Panguitch, Shivwits, and Kaibab, and after 1900, secondary schools at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Sherman, California, or elsewhere. More recently, students have attended advanced schools at Phoenix, Arizona; Haskell, Kansas; and Santa Fe, New Mexico, as well as local schools and universities. After the federal day schools were closed, students were transferred to local city and county schools. A federal school was maintained until fairly recently at Deep Creek. A lack of relevancy in school curricula especially in high schools, and the closing of socialization opportunities with non-Indians at adolescence, have been cited as important causes of the high drop-out and poor attendance rates of Southern Paiute children and young adults, especially in the higher grades.66

Experiences at schools, especially away from home, have accounted for some changes in life style throughout this period. Many Southern Paiute and Western Shoshoni young men have served in various branches of the armed forces over the decades. The federal Indian Reorganization Act of 1936 has also helped to establish governing bodies for reservations and colonies, with elected local leaders and councils. There have been a few other governmental programs that have directly benefited the Southern Paiutes, including a cattle loan program at Kaibab. Recent federal and state training programs designed to relocate persons away from their traditional associations and families have not been overly successful. Tight family bonds persist as the best defense against a hostile world.

In 1956, most of the Southern Paiutes were terminated from federal control, and remaining reservation lands were turned over to the people. In some cases, because of the tax burdens, the lands passed out of Indian control and were sold to other parties or leased to outside concerns.67 Because of termination, what remained of a land base for the Southern Paiutes has largely disappeared, except for the Kaibab and Moapa reser-
vations, which are still federally held, and some colony lands, most of which are legally owned by non-Indians. Colony areas still maintained are not large enough to support subsistence activities. They also offer substandard living conditions, often because of the variance in land titles. The Gosiutes still retain their reservation lands at Deep Creek and Skull Valley. The Kaibab Paiutes have recently participated in successful federal self-help housing programs.

Many of the cultural traditions that were current in the aboriginal period and in the early periods of contact are today remembered only by a few older individuals. Many specific practices, such as seclusion of women during menstruation and childbirth, etc., are no longer adhered to, partly for practical reasons. Others, such as funeral observances, gaming, and vestiges of religious belief are still followed. Some traditional subsistence items are still sought, including game animals, pine nuts, and berries. A few natural medicines are still gathered and used. Native language skills vary from area to area, but in general, persons younger than fifty years of age have limited fluency. Many small children no longer hear their native language spoken at home. Some traditional visiting patterns are still maintained, and summer activities such as the Ute Sun Dances, Bear Dances, and rodeos are well attended by Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis. A few native artisans reproduce traditional handicrafts. But despite the many changes of the past century, and despite the hardships of adjusting to a non-Indian society still being faced, the Southern Paiutes and Western Shoshonis remain distinct because of their cultural heritage and history — not merely as Utah Indians but as Indian Utahns.

As private lands they may not be eligible for some federal forms of aid. Cities, counties, and the state are unsure of their responsibility regarding them.

Joe, have you ever seen the SUN DANCE?
... somebody sick want to get cured. If they haven't the money, or the goods to hire it, the tribe hires it for them. Indians good that way, Beckwith. — What one got, all can share. Hold Sun Dance by tribe; everybody pays who can. Sun cures 'em, too, Beckwith — lots of times. ...
How long do they keep it up?
Three days and nights, Beckwith. Go without. ... Pretty hard; without water is the worst. Not mind no food — Indian used to that. But it's hard on anybody, Beckwith, to work in the hot sun, stripped down to waist ... without water. Get pretty thirsty."

What do you call the dance in your language, Joe?
Tagu wipi, most times, Beckwith.
What does tagu wipi mean, Joe?
THIRSTY DANCE! (Beckwith, Indian Joe, 53o)
In the American experience, Indians have been an integral part and have left their stamp on all of American history. One hundred years ago, as the line of frontier settlement moved westward with avid searchers for precious metals in the vanguard, the people of the United States encountered groups of Indians of whom there was little knowledge. One
such group were the Utes who, at that time, generally roamed in the territories of New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah and occasionally in northeastern Arizona and even the present-day panhandles of Oklahoma and Texas. These lands were coveted by miners, ranchers, and farmers who continually pressured the federal government to concentrate the Utes on reservations and make a greater portion of the land available for settlement.¹

In the years immediately after the Civil War officials in Washington had little reliable information about the Utes and relations with them were often burdened by corruption and flagrant mismanagement on the part of agents in the field. Fearing that the uneasy peace that prevailed in the Four Corners frontier was endangered in 1870, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs appointed a special agent to study conditions among the Indians of the region. The person chosen to conduct this investigation was W. F. M. Arny who had a long and remarkable career in the West. Although Arny was concerned with other Indians, a principal object of his 1870 reconnaissance was the investigation of the Ute bands in New Mexico and Colorado. Filled with detail and first-hand observations, his report on the Utes, presented later in this article, represents the response of an intelligent and interested observer — part idealist and part realist — who had definite recommendations to make to the officials responsible for formulating policy.² Together with the other reports filed by Arny that year it constitutes a historical resource of prime importance for the study of the Southwest.

William Frederick Milton Arny was born in Washington, D.C., in 1813. In 1830 he moved to Norfolk, Virginia, and there became acquainted with Alexander Campbell, the dynamic evangelist who, a few years earlier, had founded the Disciples of Christ. Arny became a devout member of the Campbellites, attending and graduating from their Bethany College. In 1850 he moved to Bloomington, Illinois, became a militant Free Soiler, and soon moved to Kansas and worked to prevent that

¹ A very readable introduction to these Indians is Wilson Rockwell, *The Utes, A Forgotten People* (Denver, Colorado, 1956).

state from entering the Union as a slave state. In May of 1861 President Abraham Lincoln appointed Amy to be agent for the Moache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches attached to the sub-agency at Cimarron (so-called because Cimarron, New Mexico, was the closest post office), which had been established on the old Maxwell Ranch about forty miles east of Taos. This was done to remove the Indians from the corrupting influences at the main agency at Taos. While at Cimarron he attempted to improve the lot of his charges and to "civilize" them according to his own standards. From 1862 to 1867 and again in 1872 and 1873, he held high offices in the government of the Territory of New Mexico. Between these tours of duty, he secured, in 1868, from President Andrew Johnson an appointment as agent to the Utes and Apaches at Abiquiu, New Mexico. When replaced in that office in 1869 by Captain James French, he went to Washington in search of a special assignment from the government. On March 25, 1870, he was appointed "Special Agent for the Indians of New Mexico" and was ordered to visit every village in the territory and take a census of the Indians, examine land titles, inquire into the need for schools, and settle disputes regarding Indian reservations. He began this work in early May 1870, and, in that year, submitted eight lengthy reports filled with accurate statistics and penetrating analyses. From 1873 to 1875, Amy was agent for the Navajos and his tenure in that office is one of the most controversial portions of his Indian service career. In 1881 he died at the age of sixty-eight and is buried in the National Cemetery at Santa Fe.

When Americans approached the region we now recognize as the Colorado Plateau they found three sub-groups of Utes living in three

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3 Abiquiu lies in the valley of the Chama River northwest of Santa Fe. It had been settled by the Spanish as a frontier outpost sometime before 1747.

4 At first it was a part of the general policy of the Ulysses S. Grant administration to use army officers instead of civilians as Indian agents. However, the Army Appropriation Act of July 15, 1870, asserted that any active army officer who accepted a civil appointment had to surrender his commission and, after 1870, Indian agencies were turned over to religious organizations.
widely separated areas. The bands that eventually became known as the White River and Uintah Utes lived in northwestern Colorado, chiefly along the Yampa, White, and Green rivers. The Uncompagre or Tabeguache Utes made their habitual homes along the Gunnison and Uncompagre rivers. And the Southern Utes composed of the Moache, Capote, and Weminuche bands lived in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Of the latter the Moaches roamed from southern Colorado to Santa Fe; the Capotes occupied the headwaters of the Rio Grande, especially in the area of Tierra Amarilla and Chama; and the Weminuches generally held the valley of the San Juan and its northern tributaries. Neighboring the Southern Utes, but belonging in no tribal arrangement, were the nomadic Paiutes or Pah-Utes who took sanctuary in the rugged and barren wastelands along the present Colorado-Utah border.

The first official treaty between the United States and the Ute Indians was negotiated in 1849 at Abiquiu and ratified by the Senate on September 9, 1850. This treaty was largely the work of the famous Indian agent James S. Calhoun, a friend of the Utes and other Indians of

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5 With the creation of the Territory of Colorado in 1861, an agency was established on the Conejos River for the Tabeguache Utes, who were transferred there from the Taos Agency. In 1864 the Moache band was ordered to join the Tabeguache Utes on the Conejos but generally refused to do so. See John B. Lloyd, "The Uncompagre Utes" (master's thesis, Western State College of Colorado, n.d.). For general information on areas inhabited by Indians, see Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States (New York, 1940). The White River Utes, the Uintahs, and the Tabeguache now make up the Northern Utes whose reservation is the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in Utah.

6 At the present time the Moache and Capote bands are known as Southern Utes with headquarters at Ignacio, Colorado. They hold 5,291 acres of allotted land and 298,277 acres of tribal land which is held in common by the approximately 600 members of the tribe. Thus, the Indian lands equal about 305,000 acres, less than one-half of the 818,000 acres enclosed by the external boundaries of their reservation which is 15 miles wide and 120 miles long in southwestern Colorado. See Progress and the Future, A Report by the Southwestern Ute Tribe (Ignacio, Colorado, 1966). The Weminuche are now known as the Ute Mountain Utes with headquarters at Towaoc, Colorado. The 553,358 acres of reservation land are held in common by approximately 700 members of the tribe, and several families of Ute Mountain Utes live on allotted land in Allen Canyon, Utah. The total population of all Utes today is approximately 3,000.
the Southwest. The Utes agreed to the jurisdiction of the United States, peaceful relations, return of captives and stolen property, and the right of the federal government to draw boundaries, provide laws, and establish military posts, along with all of the other provisions generally incorporated in Indian treaties of that day. This treaty, however, did not prevent hostilities. Campaigns against the Utes in 1854 and 1855 were carried out from Fort Massachusetts (located in Colorado about eighty-five miles north of Taos, New Mexico) and Fort Union (situated near the base of the Gallinas or Turkey Mountains in New Mexico). A special treaty was made with the Tabeguache Utes in 1863, which provided for their immediate removal to the Territory of Colorado and the subsequent removal of the Moaches to the same area, but removal was always much easier to legislate than to effect.

The Treaty of 1868, to which Arny repeatedly refers in his report, was signed by ten Ute leaders, ratified by the Senate on July 25, 1868, and proclaimed on November 6, 1868. By this agreement, the Utes were given all land between the 107th meridian and the Utah boundary and between the New Mexico boundary and a line fifteen miles north of the 40th parallel. In effect this gave the Utes nearly all of the land west of the Continental Divide in Colorado. The government agreed to establish two agencies — one on the White River for the Uintah Utes and other groups residing on the Grand, Yampa, and White rivers, and one on the Rio de los Pinos for the Tabeguache, Moache, Weminuche, and Capote bands. The Rio de los Pinos referred to was a branch of the Uncompaghre River near Ouray, Colorado, and not the tributary of Las Animas River in present LaPlata County, named by the Spaniards in the eighteenth century.

The Utes had long enjoyed a life of unhampered migration. They moved back and forth according to the seasons and the availability of food and they now resisted all pressures to place and keep them on reservations. They saw nothing wrong with stealing livestock from the white settlements and from other Indian tribes, especially since they could no longer travel into the plains to secure buffalo meat for the winters. When the Utes saw white men entering their lands illegally, they felt no compulsion to abide by incomprehensible treaties made by white men who seemed to break or ignore them with impunity.

The following report describes the Utes as well as some other Indians with whom Amy came in contact in 1870. In it he makes recommendations to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for reservations for the Utes, Jicarilla Apaches, and Navajos. He also provides information on miners filtering into the San Juan Mountains, and presents his ideas for schools, farm instruction, military protection, and the general “civilizing” of all Indians. Amy’s report is in line with the government’s new “Peace Policy” inaugurated in March of 1869—“conquer by kindness.” This policy emphasized the education and “civilizing” of Indian tribes and, like Amy, saw the full assimilation of all Indians into the mainstream of white American culture as its eventual goal.

REPORT NO 4
Abiquiu Rio Arriba Co.
New Mexico
July 19th 1870

Hon Eli S. Parker
Commissioner Indian Affairs
Interior Department

Sir:

Referring to my report “no 1” dated April 30th, “No 2” dated June 2d, and “No 3” dated June 27th 1870, I now most respectfully state that while traveling over 1559 miles of country since the 1st day of May, I have visited and conversed with, the principal men and head chiefs of the Weminuche and Capote Utes on the eastern and the western sides of the reservation fixed for them by the treaty made March 1868 and I have also seen the portion of these Indians who make their homes off the reservation.

Sobotar head chief of the Capotes has under him 286 Indians-men, women, and children, and is located on the east side of the reservation.

“Chaves” a “Capote renegade” does not live on the reservation but roams with his people in the settlements and they occasionally steal and kill sheep and cattle belonging to the citizens. They number 79 persons.

*This report is on Roll 557 of Micro-copy 234. The original manuscript is in the National Archives. This micro-copy is in the Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado, and is presented here exactly as Amy wrote it, italicizing those words which Amy had underlined.

*Ely S. Parker (1828-1895) was one of the more interesting commissioners of the nineteenth century. He was a Seneca Indian and an engineer and a soldier. He was a friend of U.S. Grant who made him commissioner on April 13, 1869. He actively tried to champion and protect the Indians of the United States. In doing this, he made many enemies among special interests and those who sought to exploit the Indians. In February of 1871 he was tried by a committee of the House of Representatives on charges of defrauding the government. Although entirely cleared of this charge, he resigned soon afterward. See Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1934), XIV, 219-20.

*For this trip of Amy’s see Lawrence R. Murphy, ed., Indian Agent in New Mexico; The Journal of Special Agent W. F. M. Amy (Santa Fe, 1967).
(They have increased by addition from Sobotar's band during the past two years).\textsuperscript{11}

Total number of Capote men, women and children... 365 \textsuperscript{12}

I am fully satisfied from my acquaintance with these Indians that the whole number of Capote men who should be considered warriors do not exceed \textit{one hundred and seven} (107) and as far as they may have names they may be classed as follows, \textit{viz.}: with “Sobotar” on the reservation, but occasionally roaming in the settlements, “Taputche”, “Martine”, “Piquitagon”, “Hermano”, “Manuel”, “Jose”, and forty seven others without names.

The above named Indians are opposed to any person being on their reservation and want their agency at Abiquiu.\textsuperscript{13} They say “they have had nothing to do with making the treaty but as it is made they want every person kept off their lands.”

“Tumpeache”, “Curivitch”, “Pedro Gallegos”, “Isidro” and “Chiviz” are frequently with “Chaves” but agree with “Sobotar”, and with him are opposed to any agency upon the reservation and are in favor of ordering off the lands, specified in the treaty, all miners.

There are with “Chaves”, “Cornea (whose name is signed to the treaty as “Pa-bus-sat”), “Washington”, “Juaniquio”, “Cornea Jr.”, “Sourdo”, “Padre”, “Vicente”, “Juan anche”, “Carreta No. 1”, “Carreta No. 2” “Chyumo”, “Palon”, “Cania”, “Italian” and \textit{thirty three} others whose names I could not get.

This last party are opposed to the miners being allowed in their country. They want the agency to remain at Abiquiu but say, that “if the Great Father will not put their Agency at Abiquiu or Tierra Amarilla, he can put it where he pleases in their country, provided it is south of the Sierra La Plata, that they will not go to the Agency at “Cochetapu” for anything.”\textsuperscript{14} It is proper to say here that “Cornea” is an exception, since I saw him a few weeks ago-. I am told by other Indians that he has been to the agency at “Cochetapu” and received goods and returned to this side of the mountain.

The \textit{Weminute}\textsuperscript{15} numbers, as near as I can ascertain, \textit{Four hundred and eighty five} (485) men, women, and children, “Persechopa” head chief — “Savillo” 2nd chief Killed by Ignacio since I saw them the at Pagosa Springs “Pimichi”, “Cabeson”, “Josepha”, “Ojo Blanco”, and

\textsuperscript{11} Ute bands continually changed in size and population according to the quest for food and as the prestige of different leaders changed.

\textsuperscript{12} In 1856 Kit Carson had estimated the Capotes to number between 800 and 900; the Moaches to number 600; and the Tabeguaches to number 1,200. There had been a decrease in population due to war and disease, especially measles and smallpox.

\textsuperscript{13} At that time the Capotes and Weminuches were supposed to get their rations at Abiquiu, but it was a long way for them to travel.

\textsuperscript{14} In 1868 the Uncompaghre Utes in the San Luis Valley started to the new agency but refused to go farther than Cochetopa Pass some sixty miles away. So, in 1869 an agency was established for them at Cachetopa Pass on a small creek, named “Los Pinos” to conform to the treaty. However, that site was over 9,000 feet in altitude and was generally "snowed in" six months of the year.

\textsuperscript{15} For a report on the Weminuche, see S. F. Stacher, “The Indians of the Ute Mountain Reservation, 1906-09,” \textit{Colorado Magazine}, XXVI (January, 1949), 52-61. Mr. Stacher was financial clerk for the Ute Mountain Utes at Navajo Springs Agency under Fort Lewis School from 1906 to 1909. Later he was superintendent of the Consolidated Ute Agency at Ignacio, Colorado, which still had jurisdiction over the Ute Mountain Utes.
Eighty men warriors are with “Sobotar” on the east of the divide of the Rio Las Animas and refuse to allow miners in their country. They also agree with “Sobotar” in regard to the location of the agency, etc, etc, etc.

On the west side of the Rio Las Animas divide are, “Ignacio”, “Cabeza Blanco Hijo”, “Hijo Benow”, “Pauwanie”, “Chiviato”, “Cuminpitches” and fifty six other men warriors who are willing to sell the mining lands on the reservation for cattle, sheep, and goats, and to go to an Agency on the Rio Los Pinos or go to the “Sheberitchie Utah Indian Country.”

I have been this particular in giving the names and views of these Indians, because I believe it essential that you, and any person who may hereafter be appointed to locate these Indians at an agency, should know in advance their views so as to be fully informed how to approach them.

The warriors in the two bands [Weminutche and Capote] are comparatively insignificant in number but the relation they bear to other bands of the Utahs might involve a war with all the Ute Indians were they (these two bands) to become hostile. The fact, however, that since I saw the Indians on the east of the Animas divide “Ignacio”, the 2d chief of the Wemenutches in a quarrel killed “Savillo” and 3d chief of the same band, and the fact that “Savillo” was brother to “Kaneatche”, formerly head chief of the Mohuache [Moaches] at Cimarron Agency, has made a breach between the Mohuache and a portion of the Wemenutch and Capote bands, and while it will make it difficult to get the Mohuaches to locate with the Wemenutches and Capotes in the San Juan Country — it will have a tendency to prevent a coalition of all the Ute Indians for war against the settlements and the government.

I therefore believe that the present is a favorable time to locate the Wemenutch and Capote bands at the agency on the Rio Los Pinos and prevent their depredations upon the settlements and the Navajoes in violation of their treaty.

In the report of the Hon Commission of Indian Affairs for 1868, page 167, there is the report of a raid made by the Utes upon the Navajoes, and since that time there has been frequent robberies, thefts, and murders, the Utes stealing from and killing Navajoes and the Navajoes in turn doing the same to the Utes.

It became necessary for me to pass across the Navajo reservation a few days ago to reach the Utahs in the southwestern corner of the Utah reservation just east of the lately discovered Silver and Gold mines on the Dolores river and on the Utah reservation and also to visit the Pueblos of “Jeme’s”, “Zia”, and “Zuni.” In this trip I saw several thousand Navajoes and camped and talked with their chiefs. I also saw and talked with the Utes who are on the “Animas”, “Plata”, and “Mancos” rivers.

A number of prospectors had moved into the San Juan Mountains in 1870 and staked out claims. Army, in another report, gives their names and a general location of their claims. More miners moved in during the following years and the Utes became concerned about the depletion of the game and the violation of the Treaty of 1868. The result was the so-called Brunot Treaty by which the Utes ceded a rectangle of the San Juan Mountains approximately sixty miles by seventy-five miles. That treaty was ratified by the Senate on April 22, 1874. The Utes continued to roam back and forth through the ceded area and the government established Fort Lewis first at Pagosa Springs and later near Hesperus, Colorado, to protect both the Utes and the whites.
I found that Capt. Bennett agent of the Navajoes had returned or paid for all the property stolen by Navajoes from the Utes, and the Utes told me they were “satisfied”. But when I then urged the Utes to return the property they had stolen from the Navajoes they refused to do it and claimed it is the spoils of war.

I saw in the possession of the Utes, in the northwest corner of the Navajo reservation, a considerable herd of sheep, goats, and horses. The sheep and goats were stolen from the Navajoes and the horses I believe were stolen from the settlements in Utah Territory.

In September last a party of Utes with “Savillo” and “Manuel” to lead them went to the camp of “Benito” a chief of the Navajoes. They made an attack before they (the Navajoes) knew that they were near them and killed a woman and a man, and the Utes drove off seven horses and three herds of sheep and goats — numbering about two hundred and fifty (250).

After this another party of Navajoes — not the Navajoes who had the stock — made this an excuse and came over to the Chama River into the settlements and stole nine horses from Ignacio, 2nd chief of the Wemematches, which horses were returned to Ignacio or paid for by Agent Bennett. At the time these horses were stolen and settled for “Benito” was at Defiance Agency waiting on Capt. Bennett to restore his stock and it is positively known that none of the party belonged to the retaliatory party. The worst feature in the case is that the bad Navajoes make this an excuse for their stealing. They say “our people are robbed and are not paid for their losses, hence we must make ourselves good in some way”. (I have seen in the possession of Utes and citizens to whom the Utes sold them some of the horses, sheep, and goats mentioned above). “Benito” and his people are still waiting for their stock, and say “The dead cannot be restored. We do not ask anything for the man and the woman that were killed, but we do ask that our horses, sheep, and goats be returned or others in their place of equal value.”

During the last year, there has been stolen by the Navajoes from citizens within thirty miles of Abiquiu to my personal knowledge over eighty horses and mules and Agent Bennett of the Navajoes has returned of the stolen property over thirty animals.

I have been this particular because I believe that the Navajoes, Utes, and Jicarilla Apaches, can never be civilized, Christianized, and made self sustaining, till a remedy for the growing evil is adopted that will correct it, and I believe that if it is allowed to continue it will result in the ruin of the settlements in New Mexico and finally cause a war with all the tribes which will cost millions of dollars to the government.

Capt. F. T. Bennett the agent of the Navajoes has too many Indians under his charge for one agent to control; among them, however, he has Indians who are willing and who do aid him in the return of stolen property.

Lieut. J. B. Carson agent of the Utes has not the influence of one portion of his Indians to aid him in the return of stolen property. They promise to have it returned but do not do it and he cannot control his
Indians as the agency is off the reservation more than a hundred miles from the eastern line of it.

The correction of this entire evil, in my opinion, (which is formed after an experience of many years mingling with these Indians) is the establishment of a general system, of reservations for the Navajoes, Utahs and Jicarilla Apaches, with police regulations on each reservation, and a positive prohibition against the Indians going off the reservation, and no citizens allowed upon the reservation without the consent of the agent in charge, and, then only to transact the business he may have there, or to pass over the reservation on the highway to the country beyond.

Herewith I transmit a map marked "A" on which is defined the Reservation of the Utahs as determined by the treaty of March 1868.

The Navajo reservation as defined and surveyed under the treaty made June 1st 1868 and a proposed reservation for the Jicarilla Apaches.

These Apache Indians now roam over the whole north portion of the Territory of New Mexico, through the settlements. They plant in patches and are a perfect pest to nearly half the population of the Territory. In my last most accurate census of these Indians, when I had them all together so that I could count them they numbered as follows: viz:

Men and boys over 18 yrs. of age                      387
Women and girls over 18 yrs. of age                  365
Children under 18 yrs. of age                        208

Total number of Jicarilla Apaches                  960

In a few days I will start to take the census of these Indians but as they are now scattered from Cimarron to Taos, from Taos to Abiquiu and thence to Tierra Amarilla over an extent of country 150 miles long and 40 miles wide, I fear it will not be as accurate as it would if I could get them all together at one place.

My plan for three tribes—Utes, Navajoes and Jicarilla Apaches, is this, viz:

Establish an agency for the Wemenutche and Capote bands of Utah on their reservation under the treaty of March 1868 at Rio Los Pinos which is south of the Sierra La Plata range of mountains at the point marked on the accompanying map thus. □

I have been up and down that stream and also the "Rio Nutria", "Rio Pedra" and "Rio Florida" and I found wood, building timber, water, pasture and arable land sufficient to sustain five times as many as are in the two bands of Wemenutches and Capotes. I am satisfied that an energetic agent who has or could get the confidence of these Indians could place them all on the reservation on the river above mentioned and make them self sustaining after four years with an appropriation of ($49,500.) Forty nine thousand five hundred dollars for the first year and ($20,000.) Twenty thousand dollars per year for the following three years. See item, in report of the commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1867 page 206 and ap-

□ In line with Amy's recommendation, an agency for those Indians was established at Ignacio, Colorado, in the valley of the Rio de los Pinos but it was not until the summer of 1878 that the Capotes, Moaches, and Weminuches were actually located on the new reservation.
proved by Col. A. B. Norton 38 Supt. of Indians, New Mexico, same report page 191.

I recommend that no additional treaty be made with these Indians but that ($20,000.) Twenty thousands dollars be appropriated to purchase cows, sheep, and goats to be divided among these Indians, when located at or near the agency on the Rio Los Pinos, provided that the said Indians, will relinquish to the government of the United States all right and claim to the portion of the reservation (specified in the treaty of March 1868) which lies within the following described lines: — Beginning at the intersection of the 108° of Longitude west of Greenwich with the 39° of latitude thence south to the 37° of latitude thence east to 109° of longitude west of Greenwich thence north to the 39° of latitude and thence east to the place of beginning. This includes the mining lands lately discovered on that reservation, which I have marked on the map "A" with blue lines.

This portion of the reservation when obtained from the Indians I respectfully recommend should be established as a mining district with a surveyor or Commissioner to survey and record the claims of the miners and see that the government is paid for the mines and land in accordance with the U.S. mining laws, which would bring a considerable revenue into the U.S. Treasury.

Either a proclamation ordering all miners out of this country must be made and enforced, or an arrangement such as I have suggested must be adopted so as to avoid trouble growing out of a violation of the treaty with the Utes made March 1868.

During the last year there has been about two hundred miners on this reservation. Some have been ordered off by the Indians and left to avoid trouble; others have remained. This has made some of the Indians very discontented.

Up to this date there has been 274 claims of 200 ft. each taken and recorded. There are now in that country nine miners who hold the district. Previous to June 1st 1870 there were 13 Lodes of silver and gold discovered on which the 274 claims were located. See map herewith, marked "B" —

Since the 1st of June there has been 17 Lodes discovered (all rich silver ore) and claims taken on them. The discoverers, 14 persons, have left temporarily to obtain supplies and additional help to work these mines.

For the names of the Lodes and the miners, etc. I respectfully refer you to the map herewith marked "B".

The expenditures and suggestions herein made to make these Utes self sustaining — taking into consideration the mineral resources of that

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38 Colonel A. B. Norton was Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the New Mexico super­intendency. He had arrived in New Mexico in 1866 to assume that position.

39 The "Brunot Treaty" of 1873 (ratified in 1874) ceded a rectangular area in the San Juan Mountains of Colorado to the United States government for mining purposes. This re­commendation reflects a basic dichotomy in Amy's thinking. He was always interested in the welfare of the Indians provided that they did not hinder the economic development of an area. He later attempted to modify the Navajo reservation in 1874, and this was one of the reasons he was disliked by that group.
country — will I believe be an advantage to the government pecuniarily as well as a benefit to the Indians, settlers and miners.

In regard to the Navajoes, I would respectfully suggest that five agencies should be established for them. I have marked places on the map thus:

The principal agency should be at “Canon Bonito”, (Fort Defiance) and sub agencies at “Canon de Chelle” at “Tunicha Valley”, at “Chinsci Valley” and the fifth at “Mesa de los Calabases.”. At this last place “Auga Grande” a Navajo chief with nearly a thousand Indians are now located and have prospects of good crops and desire to remain there.

This location is over a hundred miles from the agency at Canon Bonito and is off the reservation 72 miles from the west line in a country that interferes with no person. I therefore respectfully recommend that land sufficient for a special reservation be set apart for these Indians at that place.

There are a considerable number of Navajoes in the settlements in the neighborhood of “Sibolleta” and “Cubero” who in my judgment should be ordered to the reservation. A part of them are now near “Black Rock” with “Pino” (a Navajo captain) and at times all of them go to the agency at Canon Bonito, and obtain supplies. They should not be encouraged to remain off the reservation as I have reason to believe that they aid the bad Indians on the reservation to steal from the settlements.

I have marked with blue pencil on the map herewith a proposed extension of the Navajo reservation on the south to include Black Rock Valley where a number of Navajoes are now located off the reservation in violation of the treaty. And where in my opinion these Navajoes from Cubero should be placed under the control of the agent at Canon Bonito as soon as this strip of land is attached and made a part of the reservation.

Police

In the present condition of things in these tribes, it is out of the question for any agent to control his Indians or to make them self sustaining. There are in each tribe and band of Navajoes, Utes, and Jicarilla Apaches a sufficient number of good Indians to enforce judicious policy arrangements, if they were organized, regulated, and moral force and example given to them. The illicit intercourse of soldiers and employees with the female Indians should be prevented. There is nothing that is more calculated to engender disease and demoralize than this promiscuous intercourse.

To prevent it I would recommend that each Agency be furnished with a Carpenter, a Blacksmith, two Farmers, A Butcher, a Supt. of Mechanical labor, and a school teacher.

Seven employes and each one should be made “a Lieutenant of Police” under the agent and be authorized to select a sufficient number of the best Indians at each agency to enforce policy arrangements and bring to punishment according to law all offenders.

20 These Navajos were actually occupying land claimed by the Laguna Indians of New Mexico.
(Note if a white settler steals from an Indian or his neighbor and he is caught he is punished to the full extent of the law. If an Indian commits any crime (as things now exist) if he is caught and the property stolen is found it is taken from him, but he is allowed to go free. The police should arrest him and have him punished by the laws of the land, the same as any other criminal in the settlements.)

The employee at each agency should upon entering his duties pledge himself to have no illicit intercourse with the female Indians, to abstain from swearing, card playing, and the use of intoxicating liquors, and any violation of this pledge should be sufficient cause for his discharge by the agent and immediate removal from the reservation.

As far as practicable men with families should be employed and required to live with their families at the agency.

The Traders in all these tribes should in my opinion be forbidden to sell or in any way furnish intoxicating liquors, playing cards or ammunition to any Indians on the reservation. Liquor will make an Indian vicious. Playing cards demoralizes, makes the Indian idle, and accustomed to gamble and idleness they become thieves.

The use of ammunition, for the little game there is, is not profitable and encourages the Indian to continue in his savage habits, which do not tend to the civilizing, Christianizing and making himself sustaining.

I will leave here on the 25th to take the census of the Pueblos and other Indians in accordance with the instructions of the Hon Secretary of the Interior through the Hon Superintendent of the Census.

Amy, seated right, negotiating with a group of Utes in 1867. Courtesy of Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.
While doing this I will also continue to carry out your instructions to me dated March 27th and April 1st and the instructions of Acting Supt Cady dated June 24th 1870, and continue to urge upon the Wemenutches and Capotes and the Utes of Cimarron Agency that their cattle, sheep, and annuities were sent last year to their reservation in Colorado and that they failed to get them because they refused to be there for them, and that if they want anything new they must go there and stay.

I will also urge the Jicarilla Apaches to consent to quit their roaming over the country and agree to go on a reservation. I will propose to them no special place for a reservation till I have instructions from you, and respectfully ask your attention to the reservation I have proposed for them in this report. I believe it to be the best location that could be selected for them as it is entirely out of the settlements.

Owing to the associations, controversies, thieving, etc. etc. that exists between the Utes and Navajoes I have felt that I could not perform my duties under your instructions without saying what I have in this report in regard to them.

Hoping that my labors which are very arduous (being principally on horseback in a country scarcely inhabited except by Indians) may meet your approval and result in good to the government, the Indians and the citizens of New Mexico.

I have the honor to be very respectfully
Your obt. Servant
W. F. M. Amy
Special Agent for Indian Service in New Mexico

During my absence in the Indian country, letters will reach me if directed to Abiquiu, New Mexico via Santa Fe.

The map which accompanied Amy's report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs indicates his ideas regarding the compulsory reservation system for the Utes, Navajos, and Jicarilla Apaches. He recommended that the Utes be forced to cede approximately one-third of their reservation for the purposes of mining (this was accomplished in the Brunot Treaty referred to); the Jicarilla Apaches were to removed to a small reservation in northwestern New Mexico (a treaty was made to that effect in December 1873, but no effort was made by the United States government to remove the Jicarillas to the vaguely described land); and the Navajos were to be served by several agencies generally straddling the New Mexico-Arizona border (this was not accomplished but Amy's assessment of the needs of the Navajos was correct and later sub-agencies were established to take care of the different groups of
that people). Amy believed that his proposal would provide ample room for the three groups to develop agriculture and become assimilated into the dominant culture.

Amy's report is an important document especially for the history of the Southern Utes. It shows those Utes organized a century ago into bands under chosen leaders whom some of the older members of the Southern Utes still remember. It shows the value placed upon domesticated livestock by peoples who had had to hunt vigorously for game, and it shows the oft repeated but futile hope that Indians would want to become assimilated into the mainstream of American life.

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The Indians and the Fur Men

BY HENRY HARRIS, JR.¹
AN INTERVIEW BY FLOYD O'NEIL

O: Now, the Indian traditions here and the records we have, indicated that Fort Robidoux was probably opened around 1831, in that neighborhood. And certainly by 1833 Antoine Robidoux was in here. Now which one of the trappers was here before that time?

H: Only one that I've heard my mother say was Chambeau Reed. He and his party came in. He had his first trading post at Whiterocks — Chambeau Reed. He traded calico, beads, knives and stuff like that to the Indians, and buckskin and furs.

O: Now what about Denis Julien, he would have been before Robidoux?

H: Yes.

O: Your grandpa used to talk about Denis Julien, what did he call him?

H: Julien. That's what they call him, Denis Julien, and that's all I know.

O: Was he here before Robidoux?

H: Well, he was — I understand — Mother said he was here before.

¹ The complete interview with Henry Harris, Jr., of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation is in the collection of the Duke Indian Oral History Project at the University of Utah,
The Reluctant Suzerainty:
The Uintah and Ouray Reservation

BY FLOYD A. O'NEIL
THE EARLY HISTORY of the Ute Indians — their relations with the Spaniards of New Mexico and with the American trappers — has attracted a number of historians. Even more scholars have explored the conflict that developed after the Mormons settled along the western borders of the Ute domain. It is the author's intention to deal briefly with those areas of Ute history which are already covered in printed works and then to concentrate on some aspects which are less well known.

The arrival of white settlers was not particularly disturbing to Utah's Indians since the Great Salt Lake was a border area between the Utes and the Shoshoni bands which ranged over the Great Basin west of there. As the Mormons moved south, however, taking up new lands, the Indians were crowded off their central settlements, in Utah Valley and elsewhere. This southern thrust prompted Ute resistance — first at Battle Creek in 1850 — and then the so-called "Walker War" of 1853-54.

Brigham Young, ex-officio Commissioner of Indian Affairs, attempted to solve the problem of the dispossessed natives by creating farms where they might be trained to be self-sufficient by white standards. The attempt failed and the people of the Territory of Utah moved to have the Indians expelled from their native areas as the only realistic solution. The first step in removal was taken during the Civil War when President Abraham Lincoln designated the Uintah Basin as an Indian reservation. The Mormons had already explored the area and deemed it undesirable as a place for their settlements.

Superintendent of Indian Affairs O. H. Irish and Brigham Young attempted to work out a plan calling for the resettlement of the Utes in the Uintah Valley, and the Spanish Fork Treaty of 1865 was negotiated for that purpose. Congress did not ratify this treaty but it did approve the formation of the Uintah Valley Reservation. When the Utes learned this they were indignant. As federal officials began rounding them up, the reluctant natives quite naturally opposed dispossession. Their resistance to removal is called the Black Hawk War, 1865-69. This was begun after the government instructed the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah to "... prepare and submit a plan for removing the Indians from their old reservations to the Uintah Valley." 1

Mr. O'Neil is assistant director, Center for Studies of the American West, University of Utah.

In his letter of September 26, 1864, Superintendent O. H. Irish foreshadowed coming events:

Those Indians inhabiting that portion of the territory south of Great Salt Lake City, are all anxious to know whether the government proposes to enter into treaties with them. They are anxious to understand their rights; they look with alarm upon the constant and increasing stream of emigration pouring into this territory.

They behold the enterprise of the white man manifesting itself by taking possession of what they had long occupied and claimed as their country. They see farms opened and cultivated on every hand; they witness the establishment and rapid development of mining interests with apprehension and jealousy, and they threaten to stop all prospecting, and have done so in some portions of the territory, and unless some negotiations are opened and treaties formed, there will be difficulty with these Indians.

I have promised to lay the matter before the Great Father and they wait his action impatiently. Under the circumstances, I feel that I cannot too strongly urge this matter upon your attention.²

It became obvious that Irish failed to gain the attention necessary to avert hostilities because his successor, F. H. Head, in the next report dated September 20, 1866, wrote:

A small number of outlaws under the command of a chief named Black Hawk, have been engaged in hostilities for nearly two years. Their number did not at first exceed fifty men. And in the various skirmishes which have taken place, nearly that number have been killed, but accessions have been continually had from among the more reckless Indians of the different bands, so that their number has increased to about sixty men. They have made raids upon several of the small and defenseless settlements in the southern portion of the territory for the purpose of stealing cattle and horses, fighting when pursued by the settlers, who sought to recover such raids upon the settlements of Salina and Round Valley, stealing in each instance nearly two hundred cattle and horses.³

The war was costly. Bancroft wrote that “more than fifty of the Mormon settlers were massacred, and an immense quantity of livestock captured, and so widespread was the alarm that many of the southern settlements were for the time abandoned, the loss to the community exceeding $1,000,000.”⁴ The war dragged on until the Indians were forced into defeat by the superior power of the territorial militia. Under the leadership of Chief Tabby, who favored peace, the reluctant natives were removed to the Uintah Valley. Black Hawk died and the warring

² Ibid., 26 September 1864, p. 313.
Utes were in no condition to resist further. These early struggles are well-known chapters in Utah's history. Less has been written of the years of anguish that followed.

Pardon Dodds, was the first agent of the Uintah Valley Agency, but George W. Graffam, who replaced him, filed the first annual report. In that report he says: "... there are on the reservation, as near as I am able to ascertain, of all ages and sexes fifteen hundred Ute Indians; some of them quite industrious and intelligent, but sadly in want of education and moral teaching." Graffam disliked his charges, his location, and his job. He was obviously not the man for the job and his report was characterized by his successor, J.J. Critchlow, as anything but accurate. It was, he said, "perfectly insipid."

Critchlow was of a different stamp. His first reactions upon arriving at his new post have been preserved:

My first impressions of the agency were anything but favorable, and I am free to state that had I had an adequate conception of its position and condition, I should not have accepted it; but, having accepted and being here, I immediately commenced a survey, in order to ascertain, if possible, what was best to be done. I found the employees, some of them utterly depraved and worthless, the Indians completely discouraged, having almost come to the conclusion that the agency was about to be abandoned, the latter roaming about discontented and hungry, having access to every place except the commissary, in which there was little, except flour, worth keeping from them. All were on short rations of everything except flour and potatoes, and with a very remote prospect of a new supply. I found comparatively few Indians here, most of them being out on hunting expeditions to procure something on which to subsist. The Chief, Tabby-To-Kwana, and several influential Indians were present, with whom I held a council, at which I laid before them, using one of the Indians and an employee as Interpreters, the benevolent plans and purposes of the government relative to their care and support, telling them that "Washington" designed to treat them kindly and liberally, but that he could not always get good men to carry out his plans; that I desired to do as the Great Father told me; that I did not want to promise them much, as they knew promises were not always kept; that they must wait and see whether I was a good "monch" or not. They seemed to be well pleased and disposed to give me a fair trial.

The new agent moved with energy and foresight to serve the needs of his charges. Many of his early efforts met indifferent success. He had to face problems like this:

3 Ibid., 961.
Douglass, the White River Chief, with quite a number of his band, came to the agency and succeeded in persuading our Indians who had up to that time intended to farm, to give it up and let the white man farm for the Indians, telling them that Washington did not intend that they should work, also ridiculing those that farmed, calling them squaws, and finally succeeded, toward the latter part of April, inducing our Indians to leave with him for a visit and council at some point south.¹⁸

Trouble of another kind came in 1876 when the Utes became alarmed over the surveying party which was sent to work out the reservation boundaries. Their suspicions were further inflamed when they heard that the Uintah Reservation was to be opened to white settlement. Critchlow managed to assure the Indians that once the survey was made the enclosed lands would be used for their exclusive benefit.

Later, the agent reported additional rumors that the reservation was to be thrown open to white settlers and the Indians again removed. He wrote:

We all for a time believed these reports. Any one can imagine the utter astonishment of both Indians and whites, especially as these reports

followed so quickly after the assurance given in the matter of survey. The Indians seemed for a time almost stupefied, and old men who had maintained an unshaken confidence in Washington seemed to doubt whether they had a great father or not. One, a good Indian, notwithstanding what some reckless white men say that all such are dead, actually shed tears. I tried to reassure them, fearing the effect upon their general conduct, and especially on their farming operations. I told them I would go to Salt Lake and find out all about it. I partially succeeded, though I must say I felt degraded before my Indians, and that the government, if these reports were true, was justly chargeable with bad faith toward its dependent wards. I could not have much blamed them had they become perfectly reckless.9

How many such letters from responsible agents in the field fill the Indian service records now in the National Archives? We may imagine the agent’s feeling when he was asked to furnish Indian troops to help suppress the Sioux who had destroyed Custer’s command on the Little Big Horn.

The year 1879 was a crucial one in Ute history. In Colorado the White River Agency band of Utes (Yamparicas) rose in rebellion and killed Agent Nathan Meeker and some of his staff. Major T. T. Thornburgh was sent to punish the hostiles but was killed and his command nearly wiped out. A relief column brought the outbreak under control. Chief Ouray of the Uncompahgre Utes also intervened to stop the struggle.

The Meeker affair brought profound changes to the Uintah Reservation. As punishment the White River Utes were transferred to the Uintah Valley Reservation. The Uncompahgre Utes, innocent of any violence against the whites in Colorado, were transferred into Utah on an adjacent piece of territory.

The increased Indian population required the opening of roads. One was built from Fort Bridger and another route was surveyed linking Park City with the reservation. Still another road through Soldier and Nine Mile canyons was opened from Price, Utah, when the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad began operations in early 1883.

To manage the Uncompahgres from Colorado a second agency was soon established at Ouray, and a military post, Fort Thornburgh, was founded there in 1881. Trading posts were opened at both agencies. By the early 1880s Critchlow could boast, “it is exceedingly gratifying to all friends of these Indians, that notwithstanding the outrages committed

by the White River Utes, with whom ours are most intimately connected, and the protracted troubles and unrest succeeding them, our Indians with a few exceptions, after the first excitement, remained in a state of almost perfect peace and quiet and were more than ordinarily kind and easily controlled."

But the settlement of so many Indians on the Uintah Valley Reservation caused serious frictions between the White River Utes and the Uintah Utes from central Utah. Critchlow reported that the White Rivers were "indolent and know nothing of farming or caring for themselves by civilized pursuits, and what is worse, many of them have no desire to learn . . . they laugh at the Uintahs for farming, and say they ought to fight and then Washington would furnish them plenty to eat."

Later he wrote that "The last year has been one of peculiar anxiety to both the Indians and the agent. . . . there was a continual state of unrest, dissatisfaction and friction." Nonetheless the agent concluded his annual report with a hopeful outlook: "The White River Utes, who appeared hostile and stubborn at first, have gradually come in, and I think will gradually settle down and engage in civilizing pursuits."

From the Ouray Agency, Agent J. F. Minniss in his first report said that the Tabeguache Band (Uncompahgre) were "orderly, quiet and peacefully disposed with a disposition to their welfare." Minniss added that agriculture would have to depend on irrigation but this appeared to be all but impossible as water from the two major streams, the Green and White rivers could not be diverted to the land. The land itself, as one agent reported, was:

... extremely rugged and fearfully riven, being pinnacled with mountains, crags, and cliffs and torn with canons, arroyos, and ravines. . . . a wild and ragged desolation, valuable for nothing unless it shall be found to contain mineral deposits."

Conditions among the Uncompahgres seemed hopeless. In their reports the agents continually repeated that the land would not support their charges; they complained that the Indians were suffering from

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13 Ibid., 212.
14 Ibid., 208.
A section of an 1873 manuscript map from the National Archives, redrawn by Robert Morgan, shows the Spanish Fork Indian Reservation, Fort Bridger, Uintah Valley Reservation, major routes of travel and other items of interest. A rich supply of primary materials in the National Archives and elsewhere awaits use by researchers of American Indian history.
poverty and boredom and some of the Indians returned to their old homelands to hunt game and gather berries. In 1887, Colorow of the White River band led a small group into northwestern Colorado, on such an expedition. He was accused of illegally poaching game and was attacked by the ranchers of Colorado. The militia was called out and several of the Utes were killed, including one boy of tender years. Although the Utes were to range back into Colorado from time to time, the soldiers at Fort Duchesne usually kept them well in check.

In 1886, Fort Duchesne had been established and all three bands of Utes were consolidated under one agency located at that place. By then encroaching white settlers had become an acute threat to the harried Utes. Ashley Valley had been settled by a Mormon group in 1878, and by 1890 virtually all of the good agricultural land there had been taken up under the terms of the Homestead Act. The residents naturally turned their attention to the neighboring lands of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation.

Pressures on the Ute lands mounted. The location of the Uintah Agency at Fort Duchesne meant that the western border of the reservation was distant. The settlers of Heber Valley were already illegally using that area for grazing before the tribal leaders and agents finally obtained permission from the Secretary of the Interior to lease these lands to the whites. The discovery of gilsonite (a hydrocarbon mineral) on the Uncompahgre Reservation occurred at about the same time as the Indian people had occupied that area. Mining companies applied intense pressure to get Congress to give that land over to mining — an effort in which they were ultimately successful.

By 1887, when the Dawes Severalty Act was passed, the newspapers of Utah were asking that the Utes be allotted in severalty, and the rest of their lands opened to settlement.

Matters grew worse. Throughout their tenure on the reservation, the Utes had heard continual talk of the movement to open their lands to white settlement. By the late 1890s however, action supplanted words and federal, state, and local officials initiated the opening process. On June 7, 1897, Congress passed an act which provided for a survey of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in preparation for its opening. The Indians were to be allotted lands in severalty and the remainder of the reservation was to revert to the public domain.

As a rush of settlers came to the reservation in 1898, the Indians became angry, for the survey was not completed, nor were the Indians’
titles extinguished until such a survey was complete. The incident nearly led to violence; but the allotting commission mollified the angry Utes by hastily issuing lands to them. The Uncompahgres were badly victimized.

As the policy for opening the reservation was being developed the government directed the U.S. Geological Survey to determine the amount of land and water available for farms and to study prospects for developing an irrigation system. An expert hydrographer, Cyrus Cates Babb was assigned to make the study. His work was begun in 1899 and completed in 1902. Babb seems to have been a careful and accurate observer. He suggested to his superiors that care should be taken to protect the rights of the Indians. In reporting to the commissioner, his superior F. H. Newell observed:

> At present, and for many years in the future, the supply of water on the reservation is enormously in excess of the users, but in view of the future needs of the lands which may be allotted to the Indians, there is not much water which can be appropriated without injury to these prospective wants.

In the meantime Utah’s congressional delegation worked feverishly to have the reservation opened. This effort, initiated before Utah became a state, gained more strength after statehood was achieved. The opening which had been scheduled for 1902 had to be delayed because the surveys were not complete and because the Ute people were adamant in their opposition to the opening of the area they considered to be theirs. Finally in 1902, the entire vexed matter was aired in a Senate hearing, which produced some unusual results.

George Sutherland, a representative from Utah, and later associate justice of the Supreme Court, appeared to speak with convincing effect against the interests of the Utes. His contentions were many, but among the most telling were, first, that the first treaty made with the Utes by James Calhoun in 1849 did not apply to all Utes; second, that the reservation was set aside by an executive order with congressional approval and could be undone by the same method without the approval of the Indians; third, that the Uintah Valley Reservation was set aside for “the Indians in Utah” and belonged no more to the Uintahs than to any

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other Indians of the state including Navajo and Shoshoni; fourth, that the federal government had the power to restore reservations to the public domain without Indian consent following the precedent in the case of the cancelled lands in Utah at Corn Creek, San Pete, the Indian farm at Spanish Fork, and the Deep Creek Reservation.  

As a result of the hearings, Congress moved ahead to dispossess the Utes. Each Indian received his plot of ground. Limited timber and coal lands were reserved for the use of the three bands. And the residue of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation was thrown open to white settlement.

In late April 1903, United States Indian Inspector James McLaughlin was ordered to the Uintah Reservation to push negotiations with the White River and Uintah Utes for the opening of their lands. McLaughlin arrived at the agency at Whiterocks, May 13, 1903, and ordered the police to call the Indians into council on May 18. There he “explained minutely” what Congress had in mind for them. The council lasted six days, during which time the inspector explained the features of the act to the stunned Utes. In exasperation McLaughlin wrote on May 30:

> Wanrodes alone, of all the Indians who spoke in council, discussed the question intelligently. The other speakers made little or no reference to the question of accepting allotments under the law, their speeches being chiefly in opposition to opening the reservation, contending that their reservation could not be opened to settlement without their consent; that such was well known by everybody and had repeatedly been told the Indians by government officials; and some of the speakers, who have been

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19 Ibid., 111-20.
members of delegations visiting Washington, stated that they were thus advised by officials of the Department during their visit to Washington.  

McLaughlin attempted to convince them that the reservation would be opened with or without their permission but was unsuccessful. As the long council wore on the firmness of Indian resolve not to approve became manifest. McLaughlin wrote that he could have obtained the consent of the Uintahs, but that the White Rivers, led by Tim Johnson, were not only opposed but were intimidating the others. This may have been the case, but all of the Utes were extremely reluctant to give up more of their land base. A tradition exists that the government attempted bribing and even counted the votes of children! In spite of McLaughlin’s failure, the federal officials pressed on with the opening. The resistance of the Indians, the slow moving bureaucracy, the remoteness of the area, and the difficulty in dealing with the several bands delayed the opening until August 1905, when final action was set in motion. In the proclamations of that date, Roosevelt set aside 1,010,000 acres of the reservation as a forest reserve, 2,100 acres as townsite, 1,004,285 acres opened to homestead entry, 2,140 acres in mining claims, and 60,160 acres under reclamation; the residue, 282,460 acres, as unallotted tribal lands.

The proclamations sparked a new land rush. Several hundred people located farms on the newly opened lands. The government had many more applicants for the good land than could be filled, therefore, marginal and sub-marginal farms were taken up, many of which were abandoned subsequently.

The new settlers were almost immediately in trouble. By 1912 enough of them were so poverty stricken they went to Senator Reed Smoot asking for an act of Congress to place a moratorium on land payment. A special law was required for this. The senator was hard pressed in pleading their case but was finally able to persuade Congress of the poverty of his constituents and the necessity of extending their time.

As the process of allotment proceeded, the resistance of the Indian was predictable. The anger of the White River Utes was bitter. Some of the allottees were later to claim that while “first choice” was to

\[\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., 4.}\]
be theirs to the land, officials allotted them side-hills and cobble-stoned areas, while the good lands were opened to white homesteaders. The frustrations of all the Indians were many. Within a few years they had been reduced from a relatively free life to captivity. They were assigned to a small farm and told to adopt the methods of the whites. The prospect of farming a small plot of ground was repugnant. Suckive expressed the opinion of many when he said he would not "live like a pig in a pen." 25

Several hundred Sioux had visited the Uintah Reservation in the 1880s and had brought expressions of friendship. The Utes, remembering them, felt that perhaps a liaison with these Plains Indians might be used to bring force against the federal government. In 1906, under Red Cap's leadership nearly 400 of the Utes journeyed to South Dakota, while the U.S. Army harrassed and escorted them. Officials of the federal government and the various states fumed. But the Utes made it to South Dakota. Their alliance with the Sioux failed. After two years of dislocation, and poverty, the wandering Utes returned to Utah no better off than when they left. The only reason they refrained from fighting was the lack of any hope of success. 26

Following this debacle, officials in the Bureau of Indian Affairs made fumbling attempts to meet the desires of the Indian people. This was probably prompted by pressure from Washington, D.C., as the South Dakota adventure had drawn heavily upon the federal treasury.

Meanwhile a new mood of resignation settled on the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. Only four years after the return of the people from South Dakota, the army removed its forces from Fort Duchesne. By that year, 1912, the region's growing white population held undisputed control. Although relations between the two races appeared quiet on the surface, numerous tensions continued to exist. Indians schools made but modest progress. Bigotry and notions of white superiority were as obvious as ever. Conflicts over land and water interests were frequent. By 1912 the Utes had been reduced to a narrow reservation situation comparable to that of many another Indian tribe.

The American Indians have suffered at the hands of the federal government. White populations have generally felt that the Indians were undesirables; the stereotyped solution for erasing the "undesirable" ele-

25 Henry Harris, Jr., 1967 Interview, Duke Oral Indian History Collection, University of Utah.
ments was to make farmers and independent men of them, thus breaking up the tribal customs which were considered alien to "civilized" ways.

But many Indians could not and would not conform. They resented captivity. The Utes hated farming and they thought it an undignified pursuit. The lands they held were poor. The reservation was remote from any market so that even leasing the lands was not productive. But the government persisted in making farmers of its charges. Often the trust funds of the Indian people were used to build canals which served the non-Indians far better than those for whom they were intended.
Like other Indians, the Utes had little contact with local government except for law enforcement or, in the case of general violence, state militias. Theirs was a dialogue between the Great White Father in Washington, D.C., rather than a dialogue with the people around them. This connection with Washington was at times inconvenient. The superintendent represented Uncle Sam on each of the agencies; consequently much depended on one personality. This in one way made the representative of the government uniquely available, but on major decisions it required a delegation to make the long trip to Washington. Once they were removed from their people and placed under the strange and overpowering environment of the east coast, most western Indians could be easily manipulated. The majesty of government was used to overawe them.

The federal establishment had many programs that were closely allied with the desires and aspirations of the Christian churches and reformers of the times. One result was a government policy hostile to native religions. Among other things, efforts were made to suppress sacred rites. Not surprisingly, the Ute reaction was defensive — they became more aware of their own culture and helped to preserve those rites that the government and its Christian administrators were attempting to suppress.

In 1948 the government established the United States Indian Court of Claims. The Ute claims were the first of the great land cases to be settled in that court. So valid were Ute arguments that they had been dispossessed of land rightfully theirs that the court awarded them a settlement of $32 million about one-half of which went to the Uintah and Ouray members.

Although the money was used in some part for the betterment of the Ute people, tribesmen were often ill-prepared to spend their share of the money. Most useful to them has been that portion of the court award held in trust and administered by the tribal councils with the advice and help of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and economic experts.

But even Ute land claims reimbursement has not kept the Ute people from poverty. One result has been the proliferation of programs and projects sponsored by the federal government. Often the Indian reservations epitomize the welfare state. However, in its various guises federal aid has enabled the tribes including the Utes to move toward self-sufficiency. The effect of federal help upon tribal development is and has been profound. Most of the reorganization of the Indian tribes has been spon-
sored by the federal government. The Indian Reorganization Act, or the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, has been particularly important. From it has grown a form of democratic control in which tribal councils, committees, and governors have replaced the tribal organizations by which Indians traditionally conducted their affairs. Federal policy for both good and ill has been dominant in this process.

For too long we have searched the records only for the mistakes of the agents of the federal establishment, then presented American Indian history as a series of blunders and the representatives of the government as an unending list of villains. Most of the people who have worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the army, and other agencies have been men of honest intentions and good works. They represent, by and large, a far more pragmatic and humane point of view in Indian matters than the population of the nation as a whole. Policy, not personnel, was most often faulty. In the future, officials will probably be judged far less harshly than now.

Presently, very great changes are occurring. There is a strong revival of interest in Ute culture among the Indians themselves. The tribal government, in cooperation with numerous federal agencies, is rapidly transforming the reservation economically. Education is far more intensive than ever before. Most important is the rise of self-determination among the Ute people, combined with a more realistic view of Indian aspirations by the federal government and the white-dominated society. The ability of Indians to play a significant role in determining the course of their own development seems to be at hand.

*Opposite: Hash ké neini ì ì Biye' shown at age 83 with his son, long after the controversial killings of two white prospectors. Utah State Historical Society, Charles Kelly Collection.*
Navajo Frontiers in Utah and Troublesous Times in Monument Valley

BY J. Lee Correll
NAVAJO FRONTIERS in the present-day San Juan County of southeastern Utah extend back into respectable antiquity. Tree-ring dates from Navajo archaeological sites recorded in the area range from 1620 (from a hogan in the White Canyon area west of Bear's Ears), through the 1700s and 1800s, into the twentieth century. Cartographic data, though often failing to delineate the nature of Navajo occupancy, certainly support their presence there. We find seventeenth and eighteenth century maps showing “Apaches de Navajo,” “Apaches de Navaio,” or the “Provincia de Navajo,” extending well north of the Rio de Nabajó, an old name for the Rio San Juan.

As early as 1823 a Mexican expedition was sent against the Navajos. Commanding a detachment operating north of Black Mesa, Francisco Salazar noted the tracks of livestock driven by Navajos who were retreating from his troops. These tracks led in the direction of La Orejas (“The Ears” or “Bear’s Ears” which rise at the south edge of Elk Ridge), and Salazar recorded that the Navajos “remained on the other side of the San Juan River,” an indication at this early date that the Navajos regarded the Bear’s Ears country as a place of refuge in time of war.

In 1835 the Ute Indians reported to Mexican officials that rich Navajos “... are to be found in the middle of the La Plata and Datil Mountains, next to the Utes ... that they are living there and that they intend to make their plantings for this year...” Though these places are in southwestern Colorado, additional data from Navajo tradition and other sources show that Navajos roamed to the west in present-day Utah. For instance, K’aayéllii or “One With Quiver” was born about 1801 north of the Bear’s Ears on Elk Ridge near a spring at the head of a canyon, both of which today still bear his name, though in the corrupted

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3 Diario formado por el Coronel D* Fran* Salazar el Dia 3 de Ag* 1823 . . . , entries for August 12 and 13, located in the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Mexican Archives, Santa Fe. The Archives hereinafter cited as NMSRC&A, MA.
4 Miguel García to Blas de Hinojos, January 12, 1835 (NMSRC&A, MA #4267-68). The name Datil Mountains is an early name for Sleeping Ute Mountain.
Remains of a Navajo forked-pole hogan in San Juan County, Utah, occupied before the Fort Sumner period of 1863-68, by “White Sock,” grandfather of Jim Hatathly (right); others shown: Harry Jones and Francis Mock. Photograph by Clifford Gedekah.

form of Kigalia. K’aayélii became one of the principal headmen north of the San Juan River, and spent his entire life ranging with his followers from the Bear’s Ears to the Henry Mountains, into the Blue or Abajo Mountains, the La Sal Mountains, the Uncompaghre Plateau in Colorado in Allen Canyon, and along Montezuma Creek, where he died in 1894 and is buried.

Other Navajos well known in the area included Kée Dinííhi or “Pained Foot,” who was born in White Canyon west of Blue Mountains about 1821, and moved about with his band in much the same manner

Paul Goodman, Transcript (hereafter Tr.) 2829; Eddie Nakai, Tr. 2512-13, 2552, Docket 229, Navajo, before the Indian Claims Commission (hereinafter cited as Docket 229). K’aayélii Spring is in the canyon shown on present-day maps as Kagalia (a corrupted spelling) Canyon.

Navajo Plaintiff’s Exhibits 520-A and 520-B, Site Reports N-LSJ-CC-E and N-LSJ-MC-QQ; Tom Farley, Tr. 5454-55; Paul Goodman, Tr. 2826-29; Billy Holiday, Tr. 5476; Tse K’izzí, Tr. 146; Eddie Nakai, Tr. 2512-13, 2541-42, 2546, 2552; John Rockwell, Tr. 2399, all in Docket 229.
as did K'ayayélíi. Also during the 1820s two of Dibé Ligai's or White Sheep's grandparents were born there, one around Bear's Ears and the other at the "Lower Crossing" of the San Juan. Many others also were born at a favored farming resort of the Navajos known by them as Na-hóndzo located at the mouth of Oljeto Creek north of Monument Valley.

Hastin Beyal, a Navajo who was about ninety-five years old when interviewed in 1927, was born about 1832 at the head of Grand Gulch near Bear's Ears. About 1842, when ten years old, he and his sister helped drive the family's small herd of sheep all the way from Elk Ridge to Chaco Canyon where the family had moved. While living north of the river the Utes and Navajos had been friends, but, according to him, they later became enemies.

Farnham's map of 1839 shows Navajos north of the San Juan River in Utah almost to the 38° north latitude near present Monticello and Calhoun's sketch map of 1849, as well as Gunnison's map of 1855, both locate Navajos between the San Juan and Colorado rivers.

During the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, Navajos lived and ranged in the La Sal Mountains, near the Bear's Ears, in Arch Canyon, along Montezuma and McElmo creeks, near present Dove Creek, Colorado, and even in the Henry Mountains west of the Colorado River, grazing

7 Tom Beletso, Tr. 2681-86; Eddie Nakai, Tr. 2471, 2479, Docket 229.
8 White Sheep, Tr. 154-55; Paul Goodman, Tr. 2758, 2762, Docket 229. Captain H. L. Kendrick noted on April 21, 1856, that when the San Juan River was high, Navajos crossed it much lower downstream than military knowledge at that time extended. Kendrick to W. A. Nichols, File K-5/1851, Letters Received, Record Group 98, "Records of the War Department, Department of New Mexico" (National Archives, Washington, D.C.). These records will hereinafter be cited as LR or LS, Record Group 98. There were a number of crossings, established by long usage, on the lower San Juan. The "Lower Crossing" was located about eighteen miles up the San Juan from its mouth. One of the major crossings was called Nahóndzo by the Navajos and was located at the mouth of Oljeto Creek; this is shown as "Navajo Ford" on Macomb's Map of 1860, Map of Explorations and Surveys in New Mexico and Utah, File W-81, Record Group 77, "Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers" (National Archives). Other crossings were located at the Clay Hills, at the mouths of Comb Wash, Recapture Creek, Montezuma Creek, and at Aneth, Paul Goodman, Tr. 2754-55; Eddie Nakai, Tr. 2441-46, 2501, 2546, Docket 229.
10 Sketch Map by Superintendent of Indian Affairs James S. Calhoun, October 15, 1849, Map No. 255, Record Group 75, "Records of the Office of Indian Affairs" (National Archives). Captain J. W. Gunnison's Map, 1853, Topographical Engineers, Explorations and surveys for a railroad route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, printed in U.S. Congress, Senate, 33d Cong., 2d sess., 1836, Senate Ex. Doc. 78.
11 Mary Bitsili, Tr. 2250-53; Tom Beletso, Tr. 2672-73, 2676-78, 2725; Mary Jelly, Tr. 2303-04, 2306, 2309, 2313, 2373; Frank Todicheenie, Tr. 4819-22; White Sheep, Tr. 154-55; Eddie Nakai, 2446, 2458-59, 2480, 2482-83, 2512-13, 2545, 2551-52, 2537-58, 2580-81; Lucy Harvey, Tr. 2986, 2990-91; Albert G. Sandoval, Tr. 2046-47; John Rockwell, Tr. 2398-99, all in Docket 229.
stock, gathering wild foods, or farming in the canyons and higher elevations north of the river, as well as along the San Juan River Valley. Descendants of these early Navajo residents continue to occupy the region today. From oral tradition reported by them, from archaeological evidence, and from cartographical and documentary sources, we are able to assert that the Navajo Indians have roamed San Juan County and adjacent parts of Utah and Colorado for at least two centuries.

When troops commanded by Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson campaigned with Ute and other Indian allies against the Navajos during the winter of 1863-64, some Navajos along the Utah frontier managed to elude the soldiers and retreat — as they had in 1823 from the Mexican troops — to the secure refuges afforded by the rugged terrain of the lower San Juan River region. There they stayed during the exile of many of their countrymen to the Fort Sumner reservation in eastern New Mexico from 1863 to mid-1868.

One such group who escaped capture was led by Chief Hashkéneinii, also spelled Hoskaninni. Of the Tachiinii or Red Streak Clan, Hash-kéneinii was born during the 1820s at Kée agodi, "Short Foot," some four miles northwest of Kayenta, Arizona, and by the time of the Carson campaign of 1863, he was in his thirties, a renowned medicine man, and

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13 Lieutenant John G. Parke's Map, 1851, File M-161/1851 encl., Record Group 94, "Records of the Adjutant General's Office" (National Archives); Lieutenant John G. Parke to Colonel John Munroe, March 7, 1851, File P-15/1851, LR, Record Group 98; Lieutenant L. McLaws to Colonel D. T. Chandler, April 17, 1851, Old Book 4 (Bound as 7), pp. 93-94, LS, Record Group 98; Memorandum of a "Talk" held with Navajos at Cebolleta, New Mexico, April 19, 1851, File C-36/1851 encl., LR, Record Group 98; James S. Calhoun to Lea, May 1, 1851, in Annie Heloise Abel, The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun (Washington, D.C., 1915), 341-42; Major E. Backus to Lieutenant J. C. McFerran, May 7, 1852, Miscellaneous Box 94, LR, Record Group 98; Captain H. L. Kendrick to Major W. A. Nichols, April 21, 1856, File K-5/1856, LR, Record Group 98. Navajo Plaintiffs Exhibit 520-A, Sites N-LSJ-CC-E & K, N-LSJ-CH-G, I & J, N-LSJ-MC-L; Tom Beletso, Tr. 2678-79, 2686-87; Robert Longsalt, Tr. 5322-23; Billy Holiday, Tr. 5472, 5475; Eddie Nakai, Tr. 2471, 2474, 2479, 2487-88, 2502-03, 2513-14, 2543-44, 2681-82, 2684; Paul Goodman, Tr. 2758, 2762-64, 2828-29; John Rockwell, Tr. 2399; Tom Farley, Tr. 5454-55, Docket 229. It is significant that in the "Opinion of the Commission" in Docket 229 dated June 29, 1970, the Claims Commission ruled, in its Finding No. 17, that the Navajo Tribe of Indians held aboriginal title to lands in southeastern Utah described thus: "Beginning at the intersection of the Colorado and San Juan Rivers in the present State of Utah; thence on a line northeastward to Bear's Ear; thence easterly to Blanding, Utah; thence southeasterly to Cortez, Colorado; . . . thence northeasterly [northeast] up the Colorado River to the place of beginning."

leader of the Navajos in the Monument Valley-Oljeto region.15 As a
younger man, he had kept horses in White Canyon west of Bear’s Ears.16
The appearance of foreign invaders was not unknown to Hashkéneinii
and his followers. For many years he and his countrymen had been haras­
sed by Mexicans and others who ventured into their country to steal
stock and to capture women and children for slaves. In fact after such
a raid in the Monument Valley area in the late 1840s, the Navajos dealt
the Mexicans a severe defeat.17

Learning that Carson’s troops and Indian allies were approaching,
Hashkéneinii and his group fled west to Navajo Mountain and north of
the river, a region not unfamiliar to the young chief. Retreating hastily,
for they feared their traditional enemy the Utes far more than the soldiers
they collected only what belongings they could carry, including one old
muzzle-loading rifle. In their haste only three of their horses could be
rounded up, and only about twenty of the hardiest sheep were taken.
Accompanying Hashkéneinii was his wife, the mother of his only son, the
five-year-old Hashkéneinii Biye’. His wife’s two sisters whom he later
married never bore him any children. Also in the party were his younger
brother. Do’at’iini (“Gentle Man”), his mother who was named Yaago
Adilhaali (“Uses Club Downward”), an uncle, two Ute slave women, a
relative called “Laughting Boy” who died during the flight, and other
close kin. In all, the group consisted of seventeen people.

Some time later Hashkéneinii, his brother Do’at’iini, and their uncle
returned to Monument Valley to search for any stock the soldiers and
Utes might have overlooked. They found all their hogans burned, their
cornfields trampled, and a few Navajos, each believing himself the sole
survivor, who revealed themselves from their hiding places. While search­
ing for stray horses, a roving band of Ute Indians caught and killed the
uncle. The following night Hashkéneinii surprised and attacked some
Utes, killing three. He and his brother then returned to Navajo Mountain
with the stock and survivors to rejoin their group there.18

15 Informants #38, Cecil Parrish; #39, Billy Holiday; #129, Tom Lefty; Paul Goodman,
Tr. 2839, 2843, Docket 229; Kelly, “Chief Hoskaninni,” U.H.Q., XXI, 219-20; Byron
Cummings, Indians I Have Known (Tucson, Arizona 1952), 4.
16 Eddie Nakai, Tr. 2474; Paul Goodman, Tr. 2809-11, 2819-20, 2836-37, Docket 229;
Informants #101, Clyde Peshlakai; #159, Blind Weaver; #184, Tse K’izi; Cummings,
Indians I Have Known, 2; Kelly, “Hoskaninni,” D.M., 4, pp. 6, 8.
17 Kelly, “Chief Hoskaninni,” U.H.Q., XXI, 224; Letter from Charles Kelly to Richard
F. Van Valkenburgh, February 18, 1943, File VANV 284-482 (Arizona Pioneers Historical
Society, Tucson).
While some eight thousand of their countrymen were in exile at Fort Sumner from 1863 to 1868, Hashkéneinii and his group ranged free between Navajo Mountain and the Bear’s Ears, and in the region between the Colorado and San Juan rivers. Navajo bands headed by K’aayéélïi (“One With Quiver”), Dághaa Sik’aad (“Bunchy Mustche”), Kée Dimííhi (“Pained Foot”), and other headmen who had managed to escape the invaders also ranged through these remote recesses. Once, however, soldiers and Utes attacked Hashkéneinii’s camp north of the San Juan. Though they killed a few, most of the Navajos escaped. The border between Utah and Arizona continued to be the scene of violent and bloody action, and Monument Valley, a stronghold for warring bands, remained one of Utah’s most fought-over areas.

After the signing of the Treaty of June 1, 1868, and Navajo captives at the Bosque Redondo came back to their homeland, Hashkéneinii and his band also returned southward to Monument Valley and once again settled themselves there. Experiences with slave raiders and encounters with the military had instilled in Hashkéneinii and his people, and especially in his young son, Hashkéneinii Biye’, a suspicion and distrust of the white man which ultimately was to culminate in the slaying of two prospectors to Monument Valley — Samuel Walcott and James McNally.

Following the Fort Sumner episode prospectors began to venture into Monument Valley in search of the deposits of gold and silver rumored to exist there. Many disappeared without a trace, and the Indians — in particular the Navajos — were suspected. In 1881 two prospectors, named James Merrick and Ernest Mitchell, lost their lives there. Two of the monuments along the Utah border — Merrick Butte and Mitchell Butte — are named in their memory. It was later learned that they were robbed and killed by a band of roving Utes.

Early in the spring of 1884, Samuel Walcott, an elderly gentleman from Baltimore, Maryland, and his youthful partner, James McNally of Illinois, after provisioning and outfitting themselves at Mitchell's Trading Post on the San Juan River near present Aneth, Utah, traveled to Monument Valley to prospect for gold and silver.20

20 Paul Goodman, Tr. 2819-20, 2836-38, Docket 229; Informants #38, Cecil Parrish; #101, Clyde Peshlakai; #159; Blind Weaver; #164, 'Tse K'izzi; #326, Tony Onesalt; Cummings, Indians I Have Known, 2.

On April 7, 1884, a rumor reached the agency at Fort Defiance of “a conflict between some Navajos and a small party of white men up to the northwest” on or about March 31, 1884. Agent Denis M. Riordan, who claimed to have once himself been threatened by Hashkééinii and his band, immediately dispatched Navajo Scout Sam Bigodi from the western area of the reservation to investigate the affair. Bigodi returned April 19 and made his report; it was somewhat inadequate, for “Pete,” a scout from the Chinle area, was then sent to Monument Valley for the purpose of making a further investigation. His report, dated May 4, with that of Sam Bigodi, led Agent Riordan to the conclusion that two prospectors had been “murdered in cold blood.” Pete’s report, along with Acting Agent S. E. Marshall’s transmittal letter, are reproduced in their entirety, as showing the thinking of the Indians, who had little traffic with whites along the Utah border and were wary and suspicious of them.

Navajo, Fort Defiance, Ariz.
May 4th, 1884

Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Enclosed please find the Report of “Pete” a reliable and trustworthy Navajo Scout who investigated into the matter of the killing of the Americans near the Navajo Mountain on or about the 31st day of March 1884. I am satisfied that this report is correct, and that the Americans were murdered in “cold blood.” Mr. Riordan has gone on leave, and before he left, he instructed me “That if the Scouts who are now out after the murderers return without them, to send the entire available force of Scouts, and if they fail then to call for troops.” These instructions I shall follow, unless otherwise ordered by the Dept.

Very respectfully,
S. E. Marshall
Farmer, Actg. Agt.

Navajo Agency, N. M.
May 4th, 1884

REPORT OF “PETE.”

A Navajo Scout who investigated into the killing of two Americans near the Navajo Mountain Ariz. on or about the last of March 1884.

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21 Denis M. Riordan to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 19, 1884, File 8228/1884, Record Group 75, “Records of the Office of Indian Affairs” (National Archives); also in Fort Defiance Letterpress Book 4A, pp. 151-32, Record Group 75 “Records of the Office of Indian Affairs” (National Archives). Hereinafter these records will be cited as FD with the letterpress book number.

22 Report of Sam Bigodi, April 19, 1884, FD-4A, pp. 153-56. Sam Bigodi was also known as Hastiin Ndaaz, “Heavyset.”

The evening before the Americans were killed a Navajo Beleen-la-ki [Bilii Ligai, "White Horse"] went to their camp. They wanted meat and corn, and before the Indian left they made arrangements with him to sell them the needed articles on the following morning.

In the morning a grown up man Ten-nai-tsosi [Diné Ts' osi, "Slender Navajo"] and a half-grown boy, started for the camp with the meat and corn, and when they got there they found Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay [Hashkéneinii Biye', "Hashkéneinii's Son"], there with the Americans. He with the grown up man and the boy sat around the fire while the Americans eat their breakfast. After they got through with their breakfast one of the Americans, a young man, went out to hunt their horses. The young boy then made signs to the remaining American that they were ready to trade the corn and meat. The American shook his head, and pointed off towards where the other American had gone and made signs, that they would trade when he came back. Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay said to the grown up man Ten-nai-tsosi "I wonder if the American would trade a gun that was lying on the ground nearby for a horse."

Ten-nai-tsosi said "Ask him." Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay then made signs towards the horse, and the gun, offering to trade, but the American refused.

Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay then said "Let's kill these Americans, they are always mean and have no 'accomodation about them.'" The boy said "All right, let's kill them," but Ten-nai-tsosi said "No, do not kill them because you want to do so. Perhaps your relations would not want you to do anything like that." Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay said "The reason I want to kill the Americans is because they killed some of my people away back when I was a small boy and I say lets kill these Americans." The boy said "All right we will kill them." Ten-nai-tsosi again said "do not harm them." But Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay picked up an axe that was lying on the ground and told the boy to "Go to the gun and take a hold of it." The American came up and took a hold of the handle of the axe, and tried to take it away from Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay, but he told the American he only wanted to see how sharp it was, so the American let loose. By that time the boy was at the gun and was unfastening the scabbard. The American went to him and told him to leave the gun alone, and stooped down to pick it up when Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay came up behind him, the American, and struck him in the back of the head with the axe, killing him instantly. Ten-nai-tsosi was still sitting by the fire when he got up and went over and picked up the Winchester Rifle and the small pistol which I have here, and now turn over to you, D. M. Riordan, U.S. Indian Agent. Just then two old Navajos came up [one was Dághaa Yazhi, "Little Mustache"] and one of the old fellows cleaned his own eyes and looked on, and said "What have you boys been doing fighting or what."

Ten-nai-tsosi pointed to Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay and said "That is the man that killed the American." Just then they saw the other American coming towards the camp with the horses. The old fellow asked "What are you going to do with that American that is coming with the horses." Ten-nai-tsosi again pointed to Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay and said "He killed this American, and I don't know what he will do with this other one."
old fellow said "As long as one is killed, it is better to kill the other one too for if they are murdered no one will ever know anything about it." The Indians then all went away from the camp a little ways when they stopped. The old fellow said “You had better send over to Osh-ka-ni-ne's camp and get a Winchester Rifle there that is a very good gun so as to make sure to kill this other American.” Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay said “What is the use of sending for a gun when we have the Americans' Winchester gun right here.” Then Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay fired upon the approaching American with the Winchester rifle. The American at once tied the three horses he had with him together making a kind of breastwork. Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay fired four shots killing all three of the horses and continued shooting until he had used up all the cartridges in the gun, eight in all.

The old fellow [Dâghaa Yazhi] said “lets crawl up close to the American as we have no more gun cartridges to shoot and kill him with our pistols.” The American was lying down between the bodies of the dead horses. So they all commenced to crawl towards the American from different directions. The old fellow got the nearest to him, about 25 feet away, a bunch of grass hiding him from the view of the American. They all commenced to shoot at the American with their pistols, he returning the fire and as the old fellow raised his head over the bunch of grass the American saw him and shot him through the head, the ball going in near his eye & came out back of his ear. The old fellow got up and ran away, falling down every little while. They, the Indians, then all left, and went to an Indian Hogan (hut) where they made a fire to warm the old fellow that was wounded, and from there they sent word to Osh-ka-ni-ne about this scrape and soon after dark Osh-ka-ni-ne came there. They put a watch for the American to see which way he went when he left. Away after dark the watchman came back and reported that the American was gone, but he could not tell which way he went. Osh-ka-ni-ne and his son Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay and his followers started on the trail of the American that night, and they came back the next day, and said they had killed that other American. Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay wanted to kill the Americans the first night but his wife hid his moccasins away so he could not go to the Americans' camp until the morning. I got this gun and pistol from Ten-nai-tsosi who said he had nothing to do with the killing, but was opposed to it from beginnig to end, and that he buried the American who was killed at the camp the next day after the murder. I saw the grave myself. All the other things, saddles, blankets &c were burnt up because they were covered with blood. Two other horses which belonged to the Americans I brought with me as far as the Chin-lee-Valley where they gave out and also two horses which were taken from Mr. Mitchell during the recent trouble there.

Ten-nai-tsosi told the murderers that he was coming to the Agency to state these facts. He came with me as far as my horse herd in the Chin-lee-Valley where I left him in charge of the four horses. He will be in with them as soon as they are able to travel.

These are the facts as I got them from eye witnesses. This is my report and is all I know about the matter of the killing of the two Americans by Navajos near Navajo Mountain.
The next day, May 5, Diné Ts’osi, “Slender Navajo,” from Monument Valley went to Fort Defiance and made a statement to Agent Riordan regarding the killings of Walcott and McNally. Making much of his own innocence, he placed most of the blame upon Hashkéneinii Biye’. Two days later — May 7 — Agent Riordan’s Navajo Scouts brought Chief Hashkéneinii and his son Hashkéneinii Biye’, in to the Fort Defiance Agency. Accompanying them was a large force of Hashkéneinii’s armed followers. Also with them came Ganado Mucho or Tótsohni Hastiin, chief from the Ganado, Arizona, area, whose influence extended over some four thousand Navajos including Hashkéneinii’s band. A few weeks earlier during a dispute at Mitchell’s trading post (the trader on the San Juan who had outfitted Walcott and McNally), the Mitchells had shot and killed a Navajo, wounded two others severely, and fired upon two Navajo squaws. Nothing had been done about this shooting scrape to satisfy the Navajos’ loss. For this reason Ganado Mucho declined to turn Hashkéneinii and his son over to the agent for arrest. Without military support, the agent was powerless.

While at the agency, however, a statement was recorded from Hashkéneinii Biye’ regarding the events which occurred on or about March 31, 1884, when Walcott and McNally were killed. Chief Hashkéneinii and Bilii Ligai, “White Horse,” corroborated the story as told by Hashkéneinii Biye’. His story implicated Diné Ts’osi who, in his own statement of May 4, had protested his innocence in the affair. Hashkéneinii, his son, and those accompanying them then returned to Monument Valley.

In the meantime Riordan resigned as Navajo agent and John H. Bowman assumed charge of the agency June 30, 1884. On July 3 he wrote the commissioner:

24 “Story” of Ten-nai-tsosi [Diné Ts’osi], May 5, 1884, FD-4A, pp. 233-37; Riordan to Commissioner, May 6, 1884, FD-4A, p. 238.
26 Statement of Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay [Hashkéneinii Biye’], May 7, 1884, FD-4A, pp. 239-47.
At once upon my taking charge of the Agency I made the demand that the guilty parties should come in and surrender themselves as they are distant from the Agency fully 175 miles. I gave them ten days time, and if they are not here at the expiration of the ten days, it is my purpose to send the Scouts to make the arrest, and if they are not able to carry out my orders, then will call upon the military for help.27

The following day, certain that the Navajos would not surrender at the appointed time, July 10, he requested Lieutenant Colonel R. E. A. Crofton, commander at Fort Wingate, to order a company of cavalry to report at the agency on July 11, fully equipped for a trip of 150 to 200 miles. Guides and scouts were to be provided by the agency.28

However, on July 10 — the appointed day — Bowman’s scouts brought Chief Hashkéneinii to the agency where he was immediately placed under arrest, and the following day was sent under guard to Fort Wingate. Agent Bowman’s confidence in his scouts was such that he informed Colonel Crofton that he did not believe he would need the military escort of twenty-five soldiers, but he did request that they remain at the agency until the affair was settled.29

The same day, July 11, the scouts arrested Dághaa Yazhi, “Little Mustache,” the old man who was shot in the head during the fight in which the prospectors were killed. A statement regarding his participation in the killings was taken from him, and Agent Bowman determined to keep him prisoner at the agency as he was “a very old man, and still suffering from the wound in the head inflicted by the young man McNally.”30

Before July 18, Bowman’s scouts came in with Diné Ts’ oși, “Slender Navajo,” and reported that Hashkéneinii Biye’ had left Monument Valley about the time his father was arrested and had not been seen since. It was rumored, however, that he was on his way to Fort Wingate seeking an opportunity to see his father and, if possible, to assist him in escaping.31 Hashkéneinii had sent word to his son to come in and surrender. In the meantime Agent Bowman had dispatched a squad of Navajo Scouts to Monument Valley to inform the Navajos that if they did not surrender Hashkéneinii Biye’, a force would be sent large enough to round up all

29 Bowman to Crofton, July 11, 1884 (2 letters), FD-5, pp. 74-75, 76-77; Bowman to Commissioner, July 12, 1884, FD-5, pp. 80-81.
30 Story of Tug-i-yeizzy [Dághaa Yazhi], July 12, 1884, FD-5, pp. 82-83; Bowman to Commissioner, July 12, 1884, FD-5, pp. 80-81.
31 Bowman to Crofton, July 18, 1884, FD-5, pp. 104-5.
their stock and bring them in to be held at the agency until they gave him up.\textsuperscript{32}

On July 28 Bowman informed Colonel Crofton:

I am now threatened with a “raid” by the five wives of this “old man” [Hashkéneinii] who are said to be on their way to suplicate for the release of their joint husband.\textsuperscript{33}

The failure of Bowman’s scouts to arrest Hashkéneinii Biye’ prompted Agent Bowman to call a council, and on August 14 he informed Colonel Crofton:

I have called a council of Chiefs and Headmen of this tribe to meet on Monday next at Mr. [Thomas V.] Keams’ Ranch and at that time shall endeavor to impress them with the full importance of this matter.\textsuperscript{34}

The agent also arranged for a military escort to accompany him to Monument Valley to effect the arrest of Hashkéneinii Biye’, to recover the bodies of Walcott and McNally, and capture, if possible, some Utes who had recently killed two Navajo Scouts in southeastern Utah. In the meantime reports indicated that Hashkéneinii Biye’ had taken refuge with a large band of renegade Utes including those who were involved in killing the Navajo Scouts in Utah. It was also reported that the Utes were preparing to fight in order to protect Hashkéneinii Biye’ and prevent him from being taken.\textsuperscript{35}

On August 15 Bowman, accompanied by the agency interpreter Chee Dodge, the agency blacksmith who was also chief of scouts, ten Navajo Scouts, and forty soldiers of the Sixth Cavalry under command of a Lieutenant Kingsbury, set out for Monument Valley by way of Keams Canyon, Arizona.\textsuperscript{36} From there Agent Bowman reported on August 18:

Will not leave here until morning. We were delayed one day because our buck board did not get in. The Soldiers are here and will go with us. There are a great many Indians here and the air is thick with rumors of war and other absurd reports. The Indians are badly stirred up.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 98-100.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., July 28, 1884, p. 157.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., August 14, 1884, p. 219.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., pp. 221-22; Bowman to Thomas V. Keams, August 14, 1884, FD-5, pp. 223-25; Marshall to Crofton, August 17, 1884, FD-5, p. 234; Marshall to Crofton, August 21, 1884, FD-5, pp. 243-47; Marshall to Crofton, August 19, 1884, FD-6, p. 8; Bowman to Commissioner, August 25, 1884, FD-5, pp. 304-15; Marshall to Commissioner, August 22, 1884, FD-5, pp. 250-51.
\textsuperscript{36} Marshall to Crofton, August 15, 1884, FD-5, pp. 231-32; Bowman to Keams, August 14, 1884, FD-5, pp. 223-24; Bowman to Commissioner, August 25, 1884, FD-5, pp. 304-15.
At Mr. Keams's suggestion, Bowman requested that a company of cavalry be sent "so if necessary it could cooperate with Lt. Kingsbury's command. . . ." 37 Bowman also learned at the council that the Navajos wished to avert a general war with their traditional enemies the Utes, who raised no stock except horses, were a fighting tribe, and had little to lose by war. The Navajos further claimed that the Utes would go to war with them on the slightest pretext. For this reason they had not attempted to take Hashkéneinií Biye' from them.38

On August 18 the force left Keams Canyon and started for Monument Valley. On the twenty-third Bowman received a report that, pursuant to his request for reinforcements, Captain Kendall of the Eighth Cavalry with twenty-six men and one wagon transport were standing by, and would go forward immediately in case of trouble. Also Captain Waterbury with his company of infantry were also en route to join Kendall.39

Agent Bowman’s account of the trip to Monument Valley follows:

... We moved due north over a very rough and indistinct trail. Before leaving Keams I hired a trusty Indian to ride as rapidly as possible to the Ute camp and return and meet us on the trail, after having first ascertained the exact situation there. This Indian met us the evening of the second day out, and reported that he had been in their camp had seen Ish-ka-ni-ne-be-gay [Hashkéneinií Biye'] and talked with him — that they were advised of my movements, the number, and progress of the soldiers, and that they would fight us. Upon receiving this information we determined to strike them immediately; camped for a couple of hours and then led by the Indian above referred to, marched all night across the desert, arriving at their camp at day break, intending to surround, surprise, and capture them, but found to our disgust that they had fled early in the evening. They had scattered out and left no visible trail that we could follow. Feeling assured that further efforts to effect their arrest at that time would be useless, and as the troop and animals were suffering greatly for want of water, I had them move back a few miles and go into camp where there was a small supply of water.

In the meantime I instructed the scouts to scatter out, scour the country, and endeavor to gain some information of the burial places of Walcott and McNally. They finally succeeded in finding an Indian who said he knew where the “old man”, (meaning Walcott) was buried, and that he would show me the place. That he heard that the young man was killed and left somewhere on the haystack mountains; did not know where abouts. I therefore procured a pack-mule from the Lieut. and with five

38 Bowman to Commissioner, August 25, 1884, ibid., pp. 304-15.
39 Marshall to Bowman, August 23, 1884, ibid., 255.
Navajo Frontiers in Utah

Navajo scouts and my Blacksmith, went to the place, which was about fifteen miles northwest of our camp. We found the body buried about three feet deep in the sand, grave unmarked, except by a depression caused by the sand settling in the midst of level, sandy plain, about three or four miles from the foot of a low mountain range. The body was buried with the clothes on — one ankle encircled by the knot of a rope, indicating that the body had been dragged to this place after death. The skull was badly broken, and the flesh in the last stages of decomposition. We also found, a short distance from this point, a place where they had buried a dog, and lying there were some bones of sheep and horses. I do not believe, however, that they killed more than one horse in the fight. Myself and Blacksmith took up and packed the remains as carefully as possible. The Indians, owing to their superstitious fears, refusing to assist us.

We then went back to the camp and from there to the mountain where McNally was reported to have been killed, and made efforts to find his remains, but it is a large, rocky, mountain, covered with scrubby cedars and pine, and we were unable to find any trace of them. ... I therefore deemed it best to bring the remains (of Walcott) here (to Ft. Defiance) and to telegraph you for further instructions. I have a suitable coffin prepared, and the remains placed therein, and am now ready to ship them to wherever you may direct. I do not consider that it would be any consolation to the bereaved widow, or friends of the deceased to see these remains. You can easily imagine that they present a very ghastly appearance.

I shall continue to use every effort to effect the arrest of the remaining fugitive [Hashkéneini Biye'] who was implicated in this crime, and hope to be successful eventually. I do not believe that the remains of McNally can ever be recovered as I am satisfied that no one knows where they are except the Indians who killed him. ... 

Walcott's remains had been buried about eight miles from El Capitan (Aghaalaa, "Wool Piled Up") and about five miles from the range of hills known as the Haystacks. His grave was about one-fourth mile southwest of the place he and his partner had camped the night preceding their deaths.

40 Bowman to Commissioner, August 25, 1884, ibid., 304-15.
41 Ibid., September 11, 1884, pp. 428-33.

* Indian guide points to trail in this 1928 photograph taken on the Navajo Reservation. Utah State Historical Society, Charles Kelly Collection. *
Agent Bowman returned to Fort Defiance the evening of August 24 with Walcott's remains, having made the distance in twenty-five hours. On the twenty-sixth he wrote the agent of the Southern Ute Reservation to complain of Ute bands coming onto the Navajo Reservation and thwarting his efforts to take Hashkéneinii Biye' into custody. He decided finally that the best plan for his capture was to send a Navajo to Monument Valley to report when and if Hashkéneinii Biye' should return to his home there, then go in with scouts to arrest him. He also requested the Ute agent at Ignacio, Colorado, to arrest Hashkéneinii Biye' should he be found among the Utes.

In the meantime Chief Hashkéneinii, Diné Ts'osi, and Dághaa Yazhi had been transferred to the jail at St. Johns, Arizona. After spending some time there Chief Hashkéneinii was released on $500.00 bond. At Fort Defiance Hashkéneinii requested Agent Bowman to secure for him a silver belt, some other jewelry, six strings of coral and turquoise beads (the latter valued at about $400.00), and a pistol which had been taken from him at Fort Wingate while incarcerated there. Chief Hashkéneinii never recovered his jewelry or belongings.

When the case against Hashkéneinii and the other Navajos came up for a hearing in November 1884, the Grand Jury, after reviewing the evidence, failed to render an indictment. Agent Bowman had never succeeded in apprehending Hashkéneinii Biye', but Chief Hashkéneinii had spent some seven months in jail for his son's misdeeds.

When old Chief Hashkéneinii died in November of 1909, his hogan was burned according to Navajo custom. He was buried at "Standing Black Rock" some three miles north of Kayenta. His grand-nephew killed two horses over his grave. Hashkéneinii Mesa, named for him, located in the ancestral homeland of his family, commemorates his memory to this day. The property of the wealthy old chief was divided among his four wives and thirty-two Ute slave women by Asdzaa Ts’ osi, "Slender

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42 Bowman to Keams, August 25, 1884, ibid., 273-74.
43 Bowman to Agent, Southern Ute Reservation, August 26, 1884, ibid., 286-87.
44 Bowman to Keams, August 30, 1884, ibid., 333-34.
45 Bowman to Agent, Ignacio, Colorado, October 16, 1884, FD-6, pp. 120-21.
46 Bowman to Crofton, November 17, 1884, ibid., 252-53.
47 Bowman (unsigned) to Commissioner, December 19, 1884, FD-9, pp. 132-34.
49 Paul Goodman, Tr. 2803, 2817-18, Docket 229.
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Woman”, or Louisa Wade Wetherill, who with her husband, Hastiin John, had established a trading post in Hashkéneinii’s domain in 1906.\(^{51}\)

Hashkéneinii Biye’ of the Lok’aadiné’e Clan, was born on the mesa which bears his father’s name. He was Hashkéneinii’s only son and succeeded him as headman in the Monument Valley region. Before his death in 1941, Hashkéneinii Biye’ had had eight wives and sired twenty-eight children. He also was buried a few miles north of Kayenta.\(^{52}\)

Navajo efforts to resist further white encroachments upon their northern frontier ultimately proved successful. Following the Hashkéneinii episode, Navajo rights to a portion of their domain in southeastern Utah were recognized. Perhaps with a view to preventing further encroachments and bloodshed, President Chester A. Arthur issued an Executive Order May 17, 1884, making a part of the Navajo Reservation all lands in the State of Utah lying south of the San Juan River and its confluence with the Colorado. Though President Benjamin Harrison eight years later — in 1892 — rescinded the order so far as it involved the area commonly called the “Paiute Strip,” these lands were later restored to the Navajos by an Act of Congress dated March 1, 1933. In the meantime, additional lands north of the San Juan River along the Colorado border, and including the settlement at Aneth, Utah, had been given the Navajos by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905. Other lands in Utah, including McCracken Mesa to the north of Aneth, were acquired in 1958 through an exchange for Navajo land around present Page, Arizona.\(^{53}\) Even with these extensions, the present boundary of the Navajo Reservation in southeastern Utah does not fully reflect the Navajos’ original northern frontier. In a judgment of June 29, 1970, the Indian Claims Commission determined aboriginal Navajo use and occupancy of southeastern Utah to extend northward to the Bear’s Ears and the present town of Blanding.\(^{54}\)


\(^{52}\) Informant #31, Martha Fisher; #39, Billy Holiday; #184, Tse K’izzi.


\(^{54}\) Finding of Fact No. 17, June 29, 1970, p. 272, Docket 229.
The Gosiute Indians in Pioneer Utah

BY JAMES B. ALLEN AND TED J. WARNER

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN in the Territory of Utah was, in some ways, a microhistory of the Indian in America. It was the story of confrontation between two cultures and the inevitable giving way of one to the other. The difference between the two was partly expressed in opposing concepts of land ownership. The communal system of the Indian, with its indefinite boundaries and its assumption that the land was for the use of all, could not long withstand the onslaught of those who believed in private ownership of land. The clash of civilizations resulted
when whites encroached on Indian lands and this was accompanied by armed conflict, removal to reservations, sincere efforts to Christianize the Indians, and well-meaning efforts by high-minded whites to help the Indians. In addition, the advance of white civilization gradually but irreversibly changed the Indian way of life. The Gosiutes of Utah had such a history, and before the end of the nineteenth century they had become almost wholly dependent upon white civilization.

Historically the Gosiute Indians inhabited a region south and west of the Great Salt Lake. They were closely related to the Shoshoni tribes, but lived more or less isolated in one of the most arid and inhospitable regions of the United States. Because the harsh environment made it impossible to sustain large numbers in a given place, the Gosiutes did not constitute a unified tribe or even a band. They wandered as small groups of twenty-five to thirty people locating their camps wherever they found food. Most were concentrated in the Deep Creek region and in Rush, Skull, and Tooele valleys. There were no authoritative leaders or chiefs. In the winter several groups might band together in temporary villages located in sheltered places where surplus food had been cached and where wood and water were available. Prior to the coming of the whites these Indians had little contact with the Ute and Paiute neighbors to the east and south, although they did associate with the Western Shoshonis of Nevada.

The Gosiutes, as other Western Shoshoni groups, were typical "diggers" of the Great Basin. These wandering bands sustained life by gathering, root grubbing, or catching small game. Their primary source of food was a variety of plants, roots, berries, nuts (particularly pine nuts), seeds, and greens. They had a remarkable knowledge of desert life and harvested some one hundred varieties of plants. This diet was supplemented by lizards, snakes, fish, insects, rodents, rabbits, birds, crickets, and locusts, and by mountain sheep, deer, bear, and elk which were hunted in nearby mountains.

It was in 1849, two years after the arrival of the Mormons in the Great Basin, that the Gosiutes began to feel the disruptive, modifying influences of white civilization. In that year Capt. Howard Stansbury, who was exploring and surveying for the Corps of Topographic Engi-

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neers, built a small adobe house in Tooele Valley. At the same time the legislature of the provisional State of Desert granted certain individuals the right to take timber from nearby canyons. In October, Mormon Apostle Ezra T. Benson and a few companions began construction of a mill in the valley. During the winter about a dozen white families settled in the area and in January 1850, Tooele County was officially created. The townsite of Tooele was located and surveyed by Jesse W. Fox in 1853, and other pioneers soon began to locate farms outside the town. The next year settlers built a mud wall around most of the town, which then constituted two square blocks, in order to protect themselves against the possibility of Indian attacks.

The encroaching whites had good reason to provide for their own protection for their intrusion had a disrupting effect upon the Indian economy and naturally aroused resentment. The Indians were accustomed to locating their own camps near streams and canyons in order to take advantage of the water and readily available food. Now the whites were establishing permanent settlements and building sawmills and gristmills at these same locations. There is no evidence that any treaty or other agreement was made with the Indians. Even if there had been a treaty the Gosiutes could hardly have understood, at least this early in their contact with the strange white culture, the idea of exclusive use of nature’s resources and the granting of private rights to land, timber, or water.

By 1860 white settlement had invaded many of the favored Gosiute regions; cattle, sheep and horses grazed and roamed over the ranges. In addition, the Pony Express traversed Gosiute territory, and at least twenty Overland Mail stations were built on Gosiute land. White population had reached a thousand, exceeding that of the Indians. As the Indians watched the land being appropriated for agriculture and saw livestock grazing over their favorite grounds they began to raid white settlements. As early as 1851 it was estimated that such raids near Tooele had cost settlers over five thousand dollars in livestock stolen or destroyed.

Some raids were motivated by revenge and hostility but others were carried out to stimulate Gosiute economy! When food was scarce it seemed only reasonable to take the white man’s cattle or to raid mail stations and other establishments where provisions could be found. In this

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3 Howard Egan, Pioneering the West 1846-1878 (Richmond, Utah, 1917), 197-98.
way some of the Indians gradually began to depend upon the settlers for their livelihood. Little wonder that certain whites began to suggest ways of improving relations with the Indians. A few looked at the Gosiutes with sympathy, as did Indian Superintendent Jacob Forney, who visited them in 1858 and left the following description:

They are, without exception, the most miserable looking set of human beings I ever beheld. I gave them some clothing and provisions. They have heretofore subsisted principally on snakes, lizards, roots, etc. I made considerable effort to procure a small quantity of land for them but could not find any with water sufficient to irrigate it.\(^5\)

Some of the Gosiutes may have attempted a primitive type of farming before the advent of the Mormons, but it probably amounted to very little.\(^6\) By the spring of 1859 the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah became interested in establishing new, more permanent farms among the Gosiutes. He instructed Robert Jarvis, an Indian agent, to

\(^5\) U.S., Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1858* (Washington, D.C., 1858), 212. Referred to hereinafter as *Report of the Commissioner* plus the date.

\(^6\) "Report of J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls," in U.S. Department of Interior, *Report of the Commissioner, 1873*, 58. Referred to hereinafter as "Powell and Ingalls Report. Note that Powell and Ingalls are the only known source for this idea, and the basis for their statement is not known.

*View of Tooele, 1902. Surveyed in 1853 by Jesse W. Fox, the town occupies former Gosiute lands. Courtesy Tooele Daughters of Utah Pioneers.*
proceed to Deep Creek as well as Ruby Valley and to open farms at those places in order to keep the Indian from raiding mail company stations and immigrant trains. The “miserably starving fragments of the Gosha-Utes” were to be induced to try farming at Deep Creek.\(^7\)

Jarvis met with a number of separate Gosiute bands in Pleasant Valley. On March 25, he talked with about one hundred Indians who expressed their willingness to “go to work like the whites, and help raise grain,” to be friendly with them, and to stop stealing their cattle. The Indians left for Deep Creek on April 3. Later, another and more hostile band arrived at Jarvis’s camp, but with the help of Howard Egan and a Dr. Chorpenning he convinced them of the “necessity of abandoning their roving and predatory lives” in order to pursue agriculture. The agent was convinced that a majority was ready to do so.\(^8\) Jarvis was ably assisted in his Pleasant Valley councils by members of a third group of Gosiutes which, he said, numbered about one hundred and was at that time engaged in agriculture. Said Jarvis:

> They were present at both councils, and in council they told those miserable wretches if they did not go to work and quit stealing, they would bring their warriors over and kill every one of them; that they were dogs and wolves, and not fit to live.\(^9\)

This more industrious band was anxious to obtain farm implements as well as instruction. No agent had ever visited them and they had no equipment, but with the use of sticks to turn up the ground they had already planted some forty acres in wheat that year.

By 1860, then, a decade after the first white settlement was planted among the Gosiutes, steady encroachment of white civilization was beginning to change the Indian way of life. For some, white settlements were a source of food. Others were willing to try their hand at farming, and were asking for necessary tools. Some roving bands, heretofore only loosely organized, found it necessary to deal with white agents, and this necessitated a tightening of their own organization and the choosing of at least a nominal chieftain. In September 1859, Superintendent Forney reported from Salt Lake City that the Gosiute band was broken and subdivided into small fragments, but that some sixty had a “quiet and well-disposed chief to control them” and were at that time “permanently located on the Deep Creek Indian farm. The remainder roam over a region of country from forty to two-hundred miles west of this city.

\(^7\) Report of the Commissioner, 1859, 368, 377-79.

\(^8\) Ibid., 363-64, 368, 377-79.

\(^9\) Ibid., 378.
concentration of them all into Deep Creek valley is in progress.” 10 Plans for locating all the Gosiutes on farms — referred to unofficially as “reservations” — proved to be overly optimistic; in the absence of a treaty the Indians could only be persuaded to accept the sedentary life and only a few were ready for it.

By 1861 the Gosiute at Deep Creek had failed to live up to expectations. Benjamin Davis, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah, found it necessary to dismiss the white farm agent because no farming was being accomplished. At the same time Davis was planning to organize the scattered Gosiute bands and bring them under one chief, and he discussed the matter with several Indian leaders. Apparently he hoped to concentrate the Gosiutes on the Deep Creek “reservation” for he urged the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to extend its limits and to survey and regularize the boundaries. His plan did not mature but it foreshadowed similar moves which were continually urged upon the government by succeeding agents and continually resisted by the Indians. 11

The Gosiutes found it difficult to adapt to changing conditions. They did not easily succeed in farming and in the early 1860s many were destitute. In December 1862, Amos Reed complained in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that much of the tillable portion of the desert-like country had been occupied by whites and the game had been destroyed or driven off. The Gosiutes, as a result, were threatening the Overland Mail and telegraph. The sympathetic Reed wrote that “it is really a matter of necessity with these Indians that they starve or steal — unless they receive assistance.” 12

Because they must “starve or steal,” numbers of Indians were attracted to the route of the Overland Mail where they attacked company stations. The government hoped to prevent such raids by giving the mail company provisions to distribute among the Indians between Salt Lake City and Carson City, and the company itself provided an extra $12,000 in 1862. 13 But during the winter of 1862-63, the Gosiutes attacked three mail stations, killing three people and wounding one. “It is a wanton aggression on their part, and was without the slightest provocation,” 14

10 Ibid., 363-64.
12 Amos Reed to William P. Dole, December 30, 1862, in “Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81” (National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy M-234). Hereinafter cited as “Letters Received.”
13 Ibid.
14 James Doty to William P. Dole, March 30, 1863, “Letters Received.” See also Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming, 1540-1880 (San Francisco, 1890), 219. Bancroft reports that the stage company lost 150 horses, 17 stations and 16 men in the “Gosh Ute War.”
complained the Utah Indian superintendent, and this was followed by repeated requests for increased federal appropriations to placate the Indians.¹⁵

In an effort to solve these and other problems, the government in 1863 concluded a series of treaties with the Utah and Nevada Indians. In the Gosiute Treaty: (1) the Indians agreed to cease all hostilities against the whites; (2) the Indians agreed that several routes of travel through their country would be “forever free and unobstructed by them”; (3) military posts and station houses could be erected wherever necessary; (4) telegraph, stage lines, and railways could be constructed without molestation through any portion of the Gosiute country; (5) mines, mills, and ranches could be established and timber could be taken; (6) the Gosiutes agreed to “abandon the roaming life which they now lead, and become settled as herdsmen or agriculturalists” whenever the President of the United States deemed it expedient to remove them to reservations; (7) the United States, “in consequence of driving away and destruction of game along the routes traveled by white men, and by the formation of agricultural and mining settlements,” agreed to pay the Gosiutes $1,000 a year for the next twenty years. The treaty was ratified in 1864 and proclaimed by President Lincoln on January 17, 1865.¹⁶

In spite of the strong wording of the treaty, it did not actually deprive the Gosiutes of sovereignty over their land. It was a treaty of peace and amity rather than a treaty of cession.¹⁷ Although it gave the Indians no choice as to their ultimate removal, it did not set aside a specific area for their relocation. The Indians themselves, furthermore, probably had little conception of what the various parts of the treaty implied, and there was undoubtedly serious question as to whether newly created chieftains really had authority to speak for all the Gosiutes. In any event, the Indians continued to occupy their lands as if little had happened, and overt hostilities ceased.

Even before the treaties of 1863 were proclaimed, the United States moved to relocate the Utah tribes on reservations. On May 5, 1864, the President approved “An Act to vacate and sell the present Indian Reservations in Utah Territory, and to settle the Indians of said Territory in the Uinta Valley.”¹⁸ The Uintah Valley was designated as the site for the “permanent settlement and exclusive occupation” of such Utah tribes.

¹⁵ James Doty to William P. Dole, April 22, 1863, “Letters Received.”
¹⁶ U.S., Statutes at Large, 13 stat. 681-84 (1866).
¹⁷ Northwest Bands of Shoshone Indians vs United States 342 U.S. 335 (1945).
¹⁸ U.S., Statutes at Large, 13 stat. 63 (1866).
as may be induced to inhabit the same. Most Utah Indians accepted removal, but not the Gosiutes. The Deep Creek “reservation” was not sold and the Gosiutes themselves could never be persuaded to move to the Uintah Valley.

By 1864 the federal annuity was forthcoming, but it proved to be only a fraction of the real need. Superintendent O. H. Irish, who distributed supplies to the Gosiutes in Tooele Valley, thought that it should be increased to at least $5,000. Even though Irish found the Indians “well disposed and peaceful,” the Overland Mail Company still considered them hostile and predatory. The general agent complained to Irish that the land afforded the Indians no means of subsistence and the Indians were forced to come to company stations for supplies. The pine nuts, he said, had utterly failed that year, making it necessary for the Indians to attack and plunder in order to avoid starvation. Liberal expenditures by the federal government, he declared, were required to conciliate the Indians and protect the mail. He personally made arrangements for some Gosiutes to herd livestock for settlers during the winter. All this was only a fulfillment of Irish’s earlier concern that the Utah Indians in general could no longer live peacefully on their ancestral lands.

O. H. Irish to William P. Dole, November 28, 1864, December 18, 1864 and H. G. Rumfield to O. H. Irish, December 8 1864, “Letters Received.”

Wells Fargo stage station at Deep Creek (now Ibapah), Utah, in 1868. Francis L. Horspool, artist.
On October 18, he had written to the federal Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

The Indians, in all this mountain country, cannot live any longer by hunting; the game has disappeared, the old hunting-grounds are occupied by our people to their exclusion. We must instruct them, therefore, in some other way of making a living than the chase, or else support them ourselves in idleness, or leave them to prey upon the emigration pouring into the country. For starving Indians will steal, pillage, murder, and plunge the frontier, from time to time, into all the horrors of savage warfare.20

The government was serious in its efforts to concentrate the Utah Indians, including the Gosiutes, on reservations. On February 13, 1865, the Secretary of the Interior informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that any Indians who refused to vacate their “reservations” in compliance with the terms of the 1864 Indian Removal Act would not receive any treaty benefits.21 Ten days later a law of Congress provided for the extinguishment of Indian title to land in the Territory of Utah suitable for agricultural and mineral purposes. In spite of the 1863 treaties, the federal government apparently did not consider that it had extinguished Indian title to the land. The new law authorized the President to enter into treaties with the Utah Indians for the absolute surrender to the United States of their possessory rights to all agricultural and mineral lands in the territory except those set apart for reservations. Such reservations were to be located as remotely as possible from existing settlements in Utah.22

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs moved immediately to extinguish the Gosiute title. He wrote to the Utah Indian superintendent drawing attention to the provision in the 1863 treaty whereby the Gosiutes had agreed to settle upon a reservation whenever the President deemed it expedient. “That time has now come,” he declared, “and advantage may be taken of the existence of that clause, or similar provisions, in the treaty with the other bands.” 23

Following instructions, Superintendent O. H. Irish met with representatives of various Utah tribes on June 8, 1863, and negotiated a treaty in which the Indians relinquished right of possession to all lands within

20 Report of the Commissioner, 1864, 171. See also H. C. Doll to O. H. Irish, December 26, 1864. “Letters Received,” in which Doll describes the very destitute condition of the Gosiutes at Deep Creek and their dependence upon the Overland Mail and neighboring ranchers.

21 A. P. Usher to William P. Dole, February 13, 1865, “Letters Received.”

22 U.S., Statutes at Large, 13 stat. 432 (1866).

Utah Territory. The Uintah Valley was reserved for them and the Indians agreed to move there within one year after ratification of the treaty. The government agreed to expend $25,000 annually for their benefit for the next ten years, $20,000 annually for another twenty years, and $15,000 annually for an additional thirty. In addition, the government stipulated other benefits and agreed to sell existing “reservations,” including Deep Creek, for a minimum of sixty-two and one-half cents per acre and use the money for the benefit of the Indians. This treaty was probably more generous in its terms than any agreement yet made in Utah, but it did not solve any problems. The Senate refused to ratify it, and the Gosiutes continued to occupy their land. The Utah superintendent reported in 1867 that the Indians did not seem to comprehend that the treaty was not binding until ratified by the Senate and that they were dissatisfied that it had not been put into effect. In the meantime, the Deep Creek “reservation” was surveyed in contemplation of its sale.

By 1870 the economy of the Gosiutes had changed significantly. Hostilities, in general, had ceased, and most of the roaming bands had apparently settled down in an effort to make a success of farming in Deep Creek and Skull Valley. Hunting and gathering continued as a basic way of life, but the Indian superintendent was doing all he could to promote agriculture. In 1869 some thirty acres of wheat, potatoes, and turnips were under cultivation at Deep Creek. That same year William Lee, a Mormon farmer and interpreter, was assigned to live with the Indians in Skull Valley and help them in farming activities. The Indians were outfitted with teams, plows, and other implements, and, with Lee’s help, raised a thousand bushels of potatoes, beets, and carrots. Unfortunately, their wheat crop of that year was destroyed by grasshoppers.

Meanwhile, efforts continued to persuade the Gosiutes to remove to a reservation but the task was complicated by the fact that they were fearful of other tribes and could not be induced to live on any reservation with other Indians. Superintendent J. E. Tourtelotte suggested in

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26 F. H. Head to N. G. Taylor, January 20, 1868, “Letters Received.”
27 F. H. Head to Ely S. Parker, August 1, 1869, in Report of the Commissioner, 1869, 20-21, 288-331.
28 Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, History of Tooele County (Salt Lake City, 1961), 29; William Lee to Ely S. Parker, December 23, 1870 and William Lee to H. A. Morrow, March 13, 1869, “Letters Received.”
1869, therefore, that a separate reservation be established for them and that Deep Creek not be sold until another location was selected. 29

In March 1870, Tourtellotte reported that the Gosiutes in Skull Valley were "much interested" in their farming and might do well. Even there, however, the Indians became frustrated as white settlers encroached upon their improvements and tried to secure the land for themselves. Tourtellotte, who had great sympathy for the Gosiutes, urged the government to secure at least a half-section of land for them until some permanent and final disposition could be made. 30 With apparently less sympathy and less understanding of the problem, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs responded only by urging again that the Gosiutes be moved to Uintah Valley. Tourtellotte replied that this would be satisfactory neither for the government nor the Indians, and explained again that the Gosiutes did not have the same language or habits as the Ute Indians in the Uintah Valley and simply would not consent to settle there. If they were moved at all he thought they should join other Shoshonis. 31

By September, Tourtellotte was even more optimistic for the future of Indian farming at Skull Valley. The Gosiutes had plowed, fenced, and cultivated sixty acres and he felt that they might even become self-sustaining. There was no begging, stealing, or depredating, he reported, and rabbits and pine nuts abounded in the area. The Indians also had some horses, oxen, and cows. They were among the poorest Indians in his superintendency but, he wrote, "if they continue to labor as they have done this year, they will eventually become the richest." 32

In 1870 the Western Shoshonis were attached to the Nevada Indian superintendency for administrative purposes. Since the Gosiutes were considered part of the Shoshoni group, the Nevada superintendent tried to learn something about those who were under his jurisdiction. Some, he found, were located near Egan Canyon where they were trying to farm on the property of John V. Dougherty. "Nothing whatever," he reported, "has hitherto been done for their benefit by the Government; their very existence seems to have been ignored." 33 Dougherty apparently took compassion on the group and allowed them to try to work some of

29 J. E. Tourtellotte to Ely S. Parker, September 20, 1869, in Report of the Commissioner, 1869, 230-31; Tourtellotte to Parker, December 3, 1869, "Letters Received."
30 Tourtellotte to Parker, March 28, 1870, "Letters Received."
31 Tourtellotte to Parker, April 31, 1870, "Letters Received."
32 Tourtellotte to Parker, September 20, 1870, in Report of the Commissioner, 1870, 605.
33 H. Douglas to Ely S. Parker, September 20, 1870, in Report of Commissioner, 1870, 560.
his farmland. In 1871 they harvested some wheat, but they continued generally destitute and in October Dougherty asked the Utah superintendent to provide blankets and other supplies.\(^{34}\)

William Lee, meanwhile, had gained the confidence of the Indians in Skull Valley and began eloquently to plead their cause to federal officials.\(^{35}\) In the early months of 1871, however, both Superintendent Tourtellotte and Lee were released from their assignments, and the Skull Valley Gosiutes, unsure of continuing aid, became discouraged. They pleaded with Lee to continue to represent them to the government. He wrote to the new Indian agent, Col. J. J. Critchlow, expressing his fear that if new help was not forthcoming the Indians would become so discouraged they would go back to their old ways of stealing and plundering. Furthermore, they still resented the continuing idea that they should be moved to the Uintah Reservation. “They are willing,” implored Lee, “to do anything on their own land the land of their fathers,” but he added, “they are not willing to go to the land of the stranger.” Lee was also fearful that if the government did not provide additional aid the Indians would kill the livestock already provided for them.\(^{36}\) The somewhat optimistic outlook of the year before had been premature.

In 1871 the federal government sent a special agent, George W. Dodge, to investigate Indian affairs in Utah. In December he met with William Lee, who volunteered to let him use his ranch for a meeting with the Gosiutes on January 9, 1872. No report is available of what happened at that meeting, but apparently Dodge was impressed with the desperate need of the Indians for he soon requested over $2,500 worth of supplies to be distributed to them.\(^{37}\) This was much more than all the supplies distributed the previous year, and certainly a substantial improvement on the $1,000 provided by treaty. Like all other agents, however, Dodge concluded that the only practical solution was to remove the Indians entirely from the area. He first recommended that the Gosiutes and the Western Shoshonis be accommodated at Fort Hall, but later changed his mind and recommended that all the Shoshonis in Utah and Nevada be taken to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). He justified this by saying that they were of the same nation and language as the Comanches.\(^{38}\)

\(^{34}\) John V. Dougherty to J. J. Critchlow, October 18, 1871, “Letters Received.”
\(^{35}\) William Lee to Ely S. Parker, December 23, 1870, “Letters Received.”
\(^{36}\) William Lee to J. J. Critchlow, April 23, 1871, “Letters Received.”
\(^{37}\) George W. Dodge to F. A. Walker, February 2, 1872 and William Lee to H. A. Morrow, March 17, 1873, “Letters Received.”
\(^{38}\) George W. Dodge to F. A. Walker, August 31, 1872 and December 7, 1872, “Letters Received.”
The Gosiutes, however, had no interest in moving either to Fort Hall or Indian Territory. The incident illustrates the confused state of government Indian policy, and it intensified Gosiute disillusionment. For over twenty years white civilization had spread across their ancestral hunting and gathering grounds. Although they still had free access to most of their aboriginal land, the white man's villages, farms, stage stations, and mines dotted the land at the best locations. Their natural food sources dwindled as white population grew. The white man had proffered help, but it was usually too little and very late. The Gosiutes had tried to farm, and sympathetic whites still worked with them, but their success was less than spectacular. The white men had frequently talked of removing the Indians from the area entirely and had even induced some leaders to agree in 1863 to move whenever the federal government deemed it expedient, but they had no desire for such a move and certainly had no wish to live among the unfriendly tribes at any of the locations yet suggested. But as the years passed the Gosiutes became more and more dependent upon white civilization. In a few short years the trend would be irreversible, if it were not already.

In 1873 the United States government appointed John Wesley Powell and George W. Ingalls as a special commission to examine the condition of several western Indian tribes which had not been removed to reservations. In a preliminary report of June 18, they declared that the Gosiutes probably numbered four hundred persons and that some of them were engaged in farming at Skull Valley, Deep Creek, Salt Marsh, and Warm Springs. Commenting on all the Indians in the area, they observed that white incursions had spoiled their hunting grounds, forced them to scatter into small bands, and broken up their great confederacies. Although they did not recommend immediate removal, they felt that the Gosiutes would probably prefer to go to the Uintah Reservation and recommended that they be ordered to relocate. Hereafter no annuities would be distributed except at designated reservations. The government approved these recommendations and in a letter of June 25 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs authorized Powell and Ingalls to carry them into effect.29

When the Indians at Skull Valley heard of these recommendations, they became greatly excited and their leaders visited General H. A. Morrow at Camp Douglas to express their concern. Morrow sympathetically relayed their feelings to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and at the

29 "Powell and Ingalls Report," Powell to Commissioner, June, 1873, "Letters Received."
same time expressed his own opinion that the "valley now occupied by them is unfit for the purpose of farming by white men and if abandoned by the Indians it would relapse into a desert." 40 He argued that instead of removing the Indians from Skull Valley the government should unite the other bands of Gosiutes in Utah and Nevada with them there. Morrow was not clear as to how he expected more Indians to survive in Skull Valley if it were not fit for white farming, but perhaps he assumed that the federal subsidy would continue its support and that the Indians would simply be more content in their own homeland.

William Lee concurred with Morrow’s idea that the Indians should not be removed, but he was apparently more hopeful with regard to agriculture. A year after Morrow’s letter to the Commissioner, Lee wrote that 200 Gosiutes were on the Skull Valley farm and the 130 acres were under cultivation. He declared that Skull Valley was good for farming and was sufficient to sustain the entire Gosiute Tribe, which he numbered at about 700. The tribe, he said, was anxious to become self-sustaining and he expressed confidence that with the proper help this could be done.41

Powell and Ingalls made their final report in December 1873. They had determined that there were 256 Gosiutes in Utah and 204 in Nevada, making a total of 460.42 The commissioners concluded that continued annuities would simply establish the Indians as a class of wandering beggars and that collecting the Indians on reservations was the best way to serve them. They recommended that the 1864 law which provided for the sale of existing "reservations" be repealed and that these lands be opened to settlement in the usual way. The report emphasized the pitiable condition of the Gosiutes and said that all the Indians visited by the commission "fully appreciate the hopelessness of contending against the government of the United States and the ties of civilization." 43 It appears, however, that Powell and Ingalls did not fully understand the Gosiutes, as revealed in the Indians’ expressions of concern to Morrow and Lee.

In spite of Powell and Ingalls’s report the Gosiutes were not removed to a reservation, although the government continued to press for removal. In 1875 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asked Powell for further information concerning the Indians. He reported again that they would

40 H. A. Morrow to Commissioner, June 30, 1873, "Letters Received."
41 William Lee to Edward P. Smith, August 21, 1874, "Letters Received."
43 Ibid., 63.
probably affiliate best with the Indians on the Uintah Reservation, but he felt that they would also mix well with those at Fort Hall and recommended that this was actually the best place for them. He objected to the Uintah Reservation on two grounds: (1) it would be more difficult to get the Indians there, and (2) he was fearful that they would be too close to Mormon influence. In December 1875, Powell received word that the Gosiutes had expressed willingness to go to a reservation but that they would prefer the Uintah Basin. To this he had no objection and his source of information led him to believe that all the Gosiutes would be willing to go.

But the Gosiutes were not removed and they continued their farming at Skull Valley. William Lee continued to write letters promoting the Indian cause and asking for more aid to help them become self-sufficient. Farther west the Gosiutes at Deep Creek still farmed an area fifteen miles south of what was considered their "reservation." Annuities had stopped, white farmers were taking over the best lands in the area, but the Indians persisted in their efforts. Howard Egan proposed in 1877 that the Deep Creek "reservation" be sold in order to raise funds for supplying them with farming equipment.

This condition seems to have continued from the 1870s to the end of the century, although by that time the Gosiutes had become a forgotten people. They practically disappeared from all correspondence and reports in the Office of Indian Affairs. Apparently no one took the trouble even to enumerate them. Powell and Ingalls's figure of the 256 Gosiutes in Utah in 1873 was repeated in every annual report through 1895, after which the Gosiutes disappeared completely from these statistical summaries. The Nevada superintendent did not list any Gosiutes for the 1880s and 1890s although the several Indians enumerated as not under an agent probably included Gosiutes.

The problem of determining exactly where the Gosiutes were and what they were doing in this period is further complicated by the fact that reports from the Uintah agency consistently listed the Gosiutes as one of the tribes occupying that reservation. In the specific statistical enumerations, however, no Gosiute was ever listed. It may be that some Gosiutes did find their way to the Uintah Reservation but it is doubtful that any substantial number lived permanently in the Uintah Valley.

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44 J. W. Powell to Commissioner, November 26, 1875, "Letters Received."
43 J. W. Powell to Commissioner, December 21, 1875, "Letters Received."
45 William Lee to Edward P. Smith, March 17, 1877, "Letters Received."
46 Deposition of Howard Egan, December 13, 1877, with papers of George Q. Cannon, "Letters Received."
From all of this it seems clear that the Gosiutes continued to eke out an unsatisfactory living in the latter part of the nineteenth century, trying vainly to withstand the continued encroachment of white farmers and miners but at the same time looking to Washington for help. It may have been fortunate that they still had within them the "digger" heritage, which prepared them to survive even under the most stringent desert conditions. At any rate, no removal policy was enforced against them and during the nineteenth century no specific area was set aside as a reservation.

Finally, by executive orders, two reservations were established on their ancestral homelands in the twentieth century. On January 17, 1912, President William Howard Taft set aside eighty acres in Skull Valley for the exclusive use of the Indians residing there. Five years later, on September 7, 1919, this very small reserve was enlarged by an additional 17,920 acres by order of President Woodrow Wilson. The Deep Creek or Gosiute Reservation in western Tooele County and eastern Nevada was established on March 23, 1914, when some 34,560 acres in Utah was declared an Indian reserve by President Taft.

With the establishment of the Gosiute reservations, the traditional cycle of Indian-white contact in America was once again completed. In some ways the Gosiute story was simply a micro-history of the broader American experience. The cycle normally included white encroachment upon Indian lands, a treaty of cession, a period of peace, white demands for readjustments after new incursions, Indian protest followed by Indian attacks, white retaliation, another treaty followed by additional land cessions, and final Indian acceptance of a more restricted reservation. Nearly all of these were experienced by the Gosiutes of Utah.

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The Walker War

BY HENRY HARRIS, JR.
AN INTERVIEW BY FLOYD O'NEIL

H: Corn Creek flows through there with the Uintah. And they moved from there over here, so that's when they called them Uintah. And their chief was Wakarum.

O: Wakarum?
H: Yes, the white man couldn't say walk so he says Walker.
O: I see. This is the source of the name the Walker War and so on.
H: Yes.
O: I've heard some pronounce this Wakara. It was Wakarum!
H: Yes, it means yellow, yellow man, Wakarum means yellow man. When they put his name down they spelled it Walker. At the time of the [Walker] War he was in, he was their leader, main chief. Then he had a bunch of Paiutes from over the other way, Death Valley, Carson, Elko, and through there with him. And there were some members of the Shoshoni Tribe.

O: Those that were from up around the Tooele country were Shoshoni?
H: They were Utes.
O: I see. And the Shoshonis and the Utes were at peace then?
H: Yes, they were at peace. Why, they never did fight that I can remember of, but I do know the Sioux and the Utes used to fight. The Navajos and the Sioux and the Utes used to fight more than any—constantly.

1 The complete interview with Henry Harris, Jr., of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation is in the collection of the Duke Indian Oral History Project at the University of Utah.
The Hopis and the Mormons 1858–1873

BY CHARLES S. PETERSON

The Hopi Indians have been the object of widespread official and public interest since about 1880. By contrast they were largely ignored during the two decades prior to that time, with the exception of the

Dr. Peterson is director of the Utah State Historical Society.

Eastern court of Oraibi, site of Thales Haskell's mission as it appeared in 1921. Courtesy Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix, Arizona.
Mormons who were intensely interested in them.\footnote{Other exceptions include Colorado River explorer Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives and Kit Carson. The former, who visited the Hopi villages a few months before the first Mormons did, characterized the Hopis as follows: "They seem to be a harmless, well-meaning people, industrious at times, though always ready for a lounge and gossip. They are honest, so far that they do not steal, but their promises are not to be relied upon. They want force of character and the courageous qualities which the Zunians and some other Pueblo Indians have the credit of possessing." Joseph C. Ives, \textit{Report of the Colorado River of the West} (Washington, D.C., 1861), 127. Carson, who thought the Hopis could be placed "in antagonism to the Navajoes" and thus bound to the military, found an irony in the fact that this peaceful people had "never tasted... of the bounty so unsparingly bestowed" on the other Indians and suggested that unused Navajo annuities be diverted to this purpose. See U.S., Congress, House, Department of the Interior, \textit{Report of the Secretary of the Interior}, 38th Cong., 2d sess., 1864-65, House Ex. Doc. 1, 302-3.} Beginning in 1858, Mormon parties visited the Hopi mesas regularly until 1873 when Latter-day Saint colonization of northern Arizona was initiated. Although it was neither studiously compiled nor widely reported, the record of the Hopi Mission between 1858 and 1873 is perhaps the most complete and valuable chronicle of the Hopi people during that era.

Mormon interest in the Hopis dates back at least to the spring of 1852, when a trip made by the Ute chieftain Walker to northern Arizona was reported in considerable detail to John D. Lee.\footnote{\textit{Deseret News} (Salt Lake City), April 17, 1852.} In the months that followed, another Ute trading expedition was reported and Mormon leaders began to make occasional reference to the Hopis in sermons. A group of Mexicans visiting Salt Lake City in the spring of 1853 were eagerly queried about the Arizona mesa dwellers. They replied in such detail as to enable Thomas Bullock to report with considerable accuracy that "the Moquich Indians had seven towns about fifteen miles apart. That they owned sheep and cattle, raised grain, and lived in adobe houses, some of which are three or four stories high."\footnote{"Journal History" (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historian's Library), November 14, 1853.}

This growing consciousness, along with the establishment of an Indian mission in southwestern Utah in 1854, made it merely a matter of time until circumstances provided the impetus necessary to surmount the canyons and river that separate Mormon and Hopi. Flanking interest in the Paiutes as prospective candidates for the gospel's net and the Mountain Meadows Massacre, strange bed fellows though they were, provided this impetus in 1858.

The course of events that year suggests that the Mountain Meadows Massacre provided the immediate incentive. Jacob Forney, Superintendent for Indian Affairs in Utah, had made use of Mormon Indian scout, Jacob Hamblin, in his effort to locate as many of the Massacre's youthful survivors as possible. Writing on August 4, 1858, he commended Hamblin
for his diligent search and, promising compensation, instructed him to
"endeavor to discover the remainder of the unfortunate children still
supposed to be among the Indians." Word soon followed that an effort
should be made to look into rumors that some of the children had been
seen south of the Colorado River. Almost immediately, Hamblin an-
nounced plans to pull missionaries out of the Muddy River area of Ne-
vada because of the unprecedented thievery and defiance manifest among
the Paiutes there during the summer. Fifty missionaries were thus freed
for new conquests. The elders, he wrote, "now intend to visit the Moquis,
Navajo, Crabs, and as many other of the tribes as is necessary to find
those unfortunate children."

It is clear, however, that the expedition also represented an opportu-
nity to fulfill a long-standing desire to preach to the Hopis on the part
of Jacob Hamblin. Plans were laid to leave "one or two" missionaries
"in a place as the way may open, or the spirit may dictate." Schooled by
their experience with the Paiutes, Hamblin thought the elders were well
prepared for a successful work among "a more noble race." The prospect
was nearly overpowering and Hamblin expressed the general spirit when
he wrote, "If I ever rejoiced in this work it is now."

Hamblin, along with a dozen companions including Spanish and
Welsh interpreters, headed for Arizona on October 28, 1858. Making
first contact with Hopi tribesmen at Oraibi, they visited other villages
vainly searching for the missing children before turning homeward. The
party left four of its members behind with instructions to spend the winter
at Oraibi and at one of the villages on Second Mesa.

During the next decade and a half the Mormons sent no fewer than
fifteen official missions to the Hopis. On at least three occasions, mis-
ionaries were left on the mesas with instructions to stay and preach for
periods extending up to a year, but none of them seems to have remained
for more than five months. All told, about 85 white men participated
in one or more of the fifteen expeditions, with total personnel for the
trips approaching 125 men. Jacob Hamblin made every trip. Thales
Haskell and Ira Hatch and one or two others also returned many times.
Expeditions were usually made in the fall or winter and, as a general
rule, lasted no longer than two or three months. In each of the winters
of 1860-1861 and 1862-1863, two trips were made. Between 1865 and
1869 preoccupation with Navajo raids in southern Utah and fear of

\footnote{Forney to Hamblin, August 4, 1858, Jacob Hamblin File (L.D.S. Church Historian's
Library).}

\footnote{"Journal History," September 10, 1858.}
hostile bands along the route apparently kept the missionaries at home. Otherwise, the Mormons sent an expedition to the Hopis nearly every year.6

During this period, no Mormon seems to have employed the name Hopi. Rather, the terms Moquis and Moquitch were commonly used. The mission itself was usually referred to as the Moquich Mission. The missionaries employed a variety of names for the several Hopi towns. Most of these bore little relationship to modern nomenclature, but some like Hotevilla and Moenkopi were exceptions. However, the name Moenkopi (or Moencopi, and other spellings) was also indiscriminately applied to Moenave, an oasis seven miles west of present Moenkopi where John D. Lee lived briefly in 1873, and to the entire system of springs that seeps from the cliffs adjacent to Moenkopi Wash.

The missionaries of 1858 failed to locate any youthful survivors of the Mountain Meadows Massacre but they did find much that intrigued and excited them. In the first place, they found a sedentary people tending farms and flocks and industriously meeting their own needs for homes, clothing, and utensils. More important, the missionaries found an isolated people unspoiled by contact with other whites. Indeed, the Hopi Indians seemed to provide a unique opportunity for the Mormons. Here, as nowhere else, Mormon preaching and Brigham Young’s Indian policy could be tested without interference. Relations with Utah’s tribes had been marred by the frictions of close living, by nomadic life patterns and, following the Utah War, by an Indian policy dictated and conducted by non-Mormon agents from Washington, D.C. Consequently, the Hopis, insulated and aloof, stirred deep feelings of affinity in the Mormons and constituted an opportunity for evangelizing that could scarcely be resisted. This more than anything else explains the church’s persistent interest in the Hopis.

The missionaries also found a people some of whom, at least, seemed to recognize the Mormons as men of destiny. On the first Hopi mission, the whites were hailed into a white-washed hall at Oraibi and told it had been in constant readiness to receive white and bearded ambassadors from the west.7 Hopi tradition, it seems, looked to the time when bearded prophets, usually said to be three in number, would lead the Hopis back

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6 The best single account for the Hopi missions is still James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin, A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer (Salt Lake City, 1881). Other secondary accounts appear in Pearson H. Corbett, Jacob Hamblin the Peacemaker (Salt Lake City, 1952) and Paul Bailey, Jacob Hamblin Buckskin Apostle (Los Angeles, 1961).

7 Little, Jacob Hamblin, A Narrative, 62; Bailey, Jacob Hamblin Buckskin Apostle, 205.
across the Colorado River whence they had come as the result of an ancient treaty with the Paiutes. As told to Jacob Hamblin and his associates, this story implied that the Mormons were the long-awaited white leaders. In their dealings with the missionaries the Hopis used the tradition to meet a variety of situations: to explain their scorn for the Paiutes who had broken the treaty, to justify reluctance for crossing the Colorado River prematurely, and most frequently to explain the alleged Hopi rejection of other whites and their affinity for the Mormons. Characteristic of its use in the latter connection was an assurance given Jacob Hamblin in 1863 that the Hopis were confirmed,

in the traditions of their forefathers; that a white and bearded men would come from the East and try to destroy them, therefore, they ought to have as little as possible to do with them; but white and bearded men would come from the West who would have a good spirit and would bless them and try to save them; the tradition teaches that when these from the West should appear they were to be taken into the houses and supplied with the best fare they had to give. This tradition is deeply rooted in the minds of the Moqui. Many of the old men say their fathers told it to them, hence when they meet us they meet us as good men and friends.

It is difficult to know how sincere the Hopis were when they recounted such stories, but it is certain that the bearded prophet tradition continued to affirm the Mormon's own idea of himself as a messenger of destiny and to buoy his aspiration that the Hopis would one day respond to his preachments.

The Hopis also are reported to have predicted that the Mormons would eventually come and live among them. In fact some of them expressed this sentiment to Jacob Hamblin during his first visit. Returning to southern Utah he related “that some of their chief men felt impressed to state, that some of the Mormons would settle in the country south of them, and that their course of travel would be up the Little Colorado.” James G. Bleak who heard Hamblin make this report later noted that, “There was at that time no thought of such a thing among the visitors, or their coreligionists; but since has such been actually the case.”

As the foregoing indicates, the Hopis were usually friendly. The Mormons were treated with politeness and were repeatedly fed and housed. The Utahns were also given sanctuary from marauding Navajos. Some of them found true and close Hopi friends. Tuba, who was gen-

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8 Jacob Hamblin to Brigham Young, May 18, 1863, Hamblin File (L.D.S. Church Historian’s Library). For another version of the “three prophets” story see James G. Bleak, “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission” (Utah State Historical Society), Book A, 49.

erally amenable to Mormon efforts to alter the Hopi life style, was friendly from an early time, appearing first in the diary of Thales Haskell for 1859-1860. At times, the Hopis displayed a certain willingness to submit to Mormon teaching though few were truly influenced by it. Mormons were also included in the ceremonials of the Hopis and were undoubtedly among the first Anglo-Americans to see the famous Hopi dances. Speaking of the first dance he witnessed, Jacob Hamblin wrote, “I have been to many an Indian dance but this surpassed any I ever witnessed.” One of the best Mormon accounts of Hopi dances appears in John Steele’s report of the 1862 mission. Of this Steele wrote:

Saturday was the Fest [sic] day and into whatever house we entered, we were presented with victuals and enjoyed ourselves as well as could be expected, it being a feasting and dancing time to bring down snow to water their ground, which was at the new moon. For three days and nights they danced and made preparations for the final religious rites of bringing down snow, which was performed in a large cellar, the only one in town into which we were not permitted to enter. Whether they were ashamed of their works, or thought our faith would operate against them, I do not know. However they sent runners all round town with a prepared corn

10 Utah Historical Quarterly, XII (January-April, 1944), 86.
11 Jacob Hamblin to Brigham Young, December 18, 1858, Hamblin File (L.D.S. Church Historian’s Library).
husk, which was handed in great haste to the inhabitants of each house, who breathed on it and handed it to their next neighbor who breathed on it and so on until all the inhabitants had breathed several times on it. They handed it to us, and when we found out what was wanting, we could perform the ceremony as well as any of them. We were next presented with a painted stick with feathers tied on at several places and a handful of consecrated meal which was distributed among us, and with brother Haskell at our head we marched through town to a certain place outside, where the stick was stuck in the ground among some hundreds of the same kind, and each one sprinkled his meal on the feathered stick. This was done to incorporate our faith with theirs, in order that snow might come down and water their land. Several of them had hair wet and meal sprinkled on, in imitation of snow.\textsuperscript{12}

Steele reported a heavy snowstorm as the missionaries left the village two days later.

In addition to the dances and ceremonials that accompanied them, Mormon accounts sometimes mention a sacred stone kept in an Oraibi kiva. The stone was not shown to many but its presence was later documented in the publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.\textsuperscript{13} Bearing inscriptions which, according to the Hopis, described the advent of prophets from the west, the stone and indeed the entire ritual and tradition of the Hopis, seemed to suggest parallels to Mormon doctrines and ceremonies.

But Hopi friendship had its limits. This was particularly true when food was in short supply. Each of the first two resident missions failed in part because of problems in finding sufficient food. The mission of 1858 left Benjamin Knell, William M. Hamblin, Andrew S. Gibbons, and Thomas Leavitt on Second Mesa. Without food or trade goods, their welcome quickly wore thin. They sought to sustain themselves by trading the few items they had or by working and begging for food. None of these measures succeeded and they were quickly reduced to near starvation. In recording their experiences, Andrew Gibbons wrote:

\begin{quote}
Myself, Bro. Knell traveled round through village, found difficulty in obtaining food and that we did get was filthy beyond description, calculated in its nature to produce disease. At night we all met in council to see what was best for us to do for we was satisfied in our own minds that we could not sustain ourselves in this place. When we labored hard all day, carrying corn and wood up the rocks they gave us a little meat cooked in the most filthy manner.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{12} "Journal History," January 8, 1863.

After similar experiences at Oraibi and an unsuccessful hunting trip, the whites yielded. Trading their guns and ammunition to acquire a scant outfit and suffering intensely from cold and hunger, they finally made it back to the Mormon settlements on December 27.\(^\text{14}\)

Only two men, Thales Haskell and Marion J. Shelton, were left in the Hopi country the following year. Unlike their companions of 1858, they were well outfitted with trade goods. As long as these lasted, the missionaries apparently found their welcome secure, but as their trading stock was reduced attitudes shifted. As early as the end of November, both whites noticed that their Indian friends were acting "rather distant."\(^\text{15}\) Such worries notwithstanding, Haskell and Shelton continued on at Oraibi until March before giving up and heading for home.

From the time of Chief Walker’s first report in 1852, the Mormons entertained the idea that the Hopis were anxious to trade. The first mission seemed to confirm this belief and even to suggest that an economic bond might be forged between the two peoples by developing trade, particularly in agricultural and textile implements. Experience, however, proved that the Hopis were at best lukewarm in their interest in trade. Stubbornly resisting social change — a trait that has since become clearly apparent — and in possession of the only homegrown food supply in the region, the Hopis occupied a remarkably strong bargaining position. In 1859, Brigham Young sent a good supply of farming and textile tools along with other trade stuffs but, to the disappointment of the missionaries, the Hopis showed little interest in trading as they said that similar implements could be had for the asking from the army at Fort Defiance which lay only a few days march to the east. Later efforts to introduce Mormon industrial techniques met a similar reception.

Although it was never a good market, other trade goods attracted more favorable attention and pack trains of up to fifty animals were taken by the Mormons on some of the Hopi expeditions. Much of this commerce appears to have been conducted under church auspices. However, individual missionaries occasionally did take advantage of their journey to carry on petty private enterprises. Trading continued throughout the entire period, 1858-1873 but, despite one report of “a thousand Indians trading” at Oraibi, the Hopis never became dependent upon the whites. Indeed, Mormon accounts indicated that the Hopis retained essential control of the market, bargaining with shrewdness and caution if not

\(^{14}\) Gibbons, “Diary,” November 21 to December 27, 1858.

\(^{15}\) Utah Historical Quarterly, XII, 84.
outright reluctance. Typical was Thales Haskell's report of December 2, 1859:

We have cut up our bed tick and are trying to trade it for beans, meal, dried peaches, etc. They are the hardest customers to trade with I ever saw. They often want a shirt for a quart or so of beans. We sometimes get all out of patience trying to trade with them. Concluded to quit trading for a few days to see if we cannot get better trades.16

The Hopis also trafficked with other Indians. Walker and his brother Aripene made regular trading trips to Oraibi. In 1859, while Haskell was at Oraibi, Aripene sent his agents throughout Hopiland and among neighboring Navajos announcing that he would establish trading headquarters at the site of present Hotevilla. This notice attracted large numbers of both Hopis and Navajos. Paiutes wandered widely in northern Arizona and they, too, probably engaged in trade with the Hopis and other Indian groups.17

Judging from Mormon accounts, the Hopis were the fixed element in an otherwise fluid frontier. There is evidence that most of them did not travel widely for trade or for any other purpose. Numerous references are made to Indians who had spent their entire lives between their farms and villages — all within a radius of less than ten miles. Characteristic was the following report by Marion J. Shelton in 1869:

The inhabitants travel very little, save it be those who go for salt, which they are constrained to carry on their backs from ninety to one hundred and fifty miles. One may often meet with hoary headed persons amongst them who assert that they have never been to the nearest village, seven miles distant. The farthest they have ever been from home is to the wild potato patch, three miles away.

As Shelton suggests, a major factor in Hopi travel was salt, and passing reference exists of Hopi trails to the Colorado River, the Little Colorado River and to a source of salt beyond the New Mexico border.18 Furthermore, three Oraibis returning from Utah with Jacob Hamblin in 1863 showed more than casual knowledge of trails along the south side of the

16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., 82-83. The Mormons were dependent upon the Paiutes for much of their information on Arizona and Paiute guides accompanied most expeditions. One Paiute is said to have done missionary work for the Mormons. Of him Hamblin wrote: "We learn from the Indians that Tutsegavit is preaching to a small band of the Apaches, and spreading a good influence among them. They live between this place [a Colorado crossing below the Grand Canyon] and the Cohonena Country [in the neighborhood of the San Francisco Peaks]. Tutse was ordained by bro Brigham some years since preach to the Indians, but has preached none for two or three years until the present time." Jacob Hamblin to Erastus Snow, November 26, 1862, Hamblin File (L.D.S. Church Historian's Library).
18 Deseret News, October 30, 1869.
Grand Canyon. But on the whole the Hopis stayed close to their traditional homeland.

As always when diverse races meet, communication was a problem. The peculiarities of Mormon attitudes in this respect led to some interesting developments. These had their inception in 1852 when Chief Walker first called Mormon attention to the Hopis. Somehow John D. Lee got the impression that Walker had met Indians speaking a Welsh dialect in northern Arizona. To begin with Lee apparently believed the Welsh Indians to be a tribe apart from the Hopis but later reference indicates that the Hopis themselves, with alleged light-colored skin, brown hair, and occasional white (albino) individuals, were thought to have some mysterious connection with the Welsh—probably part of the Welsh Prince Modoc myth. I have found no evidence of how the Welsh myth found its way into Utah history, but it seems likely that Lee or other whites, by use of leading questions, opened the way for Walker’s intriguing account. The development of the myth during the next few years is uncertain, but it lived on and attracted sufficient credence to result in the appointment of James Davis to the mission of 1858 as Welsh interpreter. Davis apparently listened in vain for evidence of Gaelic in the Hopi tongue for no word of his success has been found and the missionaries quickly turned to other expedients for breaking this particular sound barrier.

The Welsh myth was abandoned more slowly by church leaders. In 1863, when a Hopi delegation appeared in Salt Lake City, they were rushed to experts in the Welsh language. This time the verdict was promising. Wise heads agreed the Hopis managed the near impossible sound of certain Gaelic gutturals without difficulty. So impressive was this discovery that some months later when the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Arizona passed through Utah he was assured the Hopis “could pronounce any word in the Welsh language with facility, but not the dialect now in use.” After being formally committed to the report of the Indian Commissioner, Utah’s Welsh Indians story appears to have come to rest and no more is heard of it.

An even more remarkable experiment in communications involved the Deseret Alphabet which was in great vogue with Mormons of the

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19 Typical of the Welsh myth was James G. Bleak’s entry that Welsh words had been reported among the Hopis and that they might prove to be of Welsh descent; for this reason a Welsh interpreter was made one of the company. Bleak, “Southern Utah Mission,” 40.
20 Deseret News, February 13, 1863.
era. A young missionary named Marion J. Shelton, who was caught up in the Deseret Alphabet's potential for lingual reform, was assigned to teach the Hopi missionaries Spanish after the 1858 mission revealed that some Hopis spoke that language. His attention thus directed to the Hopis, Shelton immediately saw in them a unique opportunity to put the Deseret Alphabet to practical use. With Jacob Hamblin supporting the plan, he was soon called as an elder to the Hopis with a special obligation to instruct them in the alphabet.22

On arriving at Oraibi in the fall of 1859, he commenced at once to give oral lessons. By the time Hamblin left to return to Utah three weeks later, the enthusiastic Shelton could report that “those to whom I have given lessons have taken right hold to the alphabet and several of them know the first six characters, and we can hear them hollowing the sounds throughout the village.” 23 This brief application of the alphabet had pointed up the need for an additional character. Suggesting simply an “I, a straight mark,” Shelton wrote requesting Brigham Young's approval for its incorporation in the alphabet. During the next three months Shelton continued his efforts. His own skills increased, but after its initial popularity the Deseret Alphabet attracted decreasing interest until Shelton finally seems to have been compelled to bribe his one remaining student to keep him working at it. Shortly before Shelton and his companion, Thales Haskell, left Oraibi in March of 1860, the latter, with the lag of his spirits very much in evidence, wrote that he had “tryed in vain to learn the Indians the misteries of the Deseret Alphabet.” 24 The hope that unlettered natives might be assisted in their course towards civilization by this experiment in language reform was evidently abandoned with the return of Shelton and Haskell and no later attempt was made to revive it.

After 1860, Welsh dialects and language reform forgotten, Mormon elders sent to the Hopis concentrated on Spanish and Hopi. The interest in Spanish was much broader than the Hopi Mission, and all Mormon colonists to Arizona and Mexico were encouraged to learn it. Many of them did so, thus facilitating communication with the Hopis and other Indians of the southwest. Only a handful of missionaries learned Hopi: among them were Marion Shelton, Thales Haskell, Ira Hatch, Jehiel

22 Brigham Young to Jacob Hamblin, September 18, 1859, Hamblin File (L.D.S. Church Historian's Library).

23 Utah Historical Quarterly, XII, 97.

24 Ibid., 93.
McConnel, Jacob Hamblin, and, at a somewhat later date, Christian Lingo Christensen.

From the beginning of the Hopi Mission, the Mormons were determined in their effort to entice some of the Indians to return with them to Utah. In part, this was the old ruse of inviting a small group to visit the centers of white society on the sound assumption that the natives would be baffled and awe stricken by what they saw. But it was also more. The Mormon entreaties for a Hopi visit envisioned an outright gathering to Zion. In 1860 Brigham Young actually hoped that substantial numbers of them might choose to escape the constant badgering of the Navajos as well as the uncertainties of life on the mesas and migrate to Utah. Once in the territory, it was planned to locate them in small communities along with an adequate force of missionaries to instruct them in the ways of civilization including modern agriculture and Mormonism. But Brigham Young reckoned without the Hopis' obdurate commitment to their own tradition and none came.

During the early years of the Hopi Mission, Jacob Hamblin made repeated requests that a delegation of Hopis return the compliment of his own visits by paying a call on Brigham Young and the Mormon capital. The Hopis were polite enough but stubborn. Their tradition forbade crossing the Colorado River. This was enough and Hamblin's best offers were futile until the winter of 1862-1863.

The expedition of that winter, which had gone south by way of a crossing below the Grand Canyon, was met by a rare show of force. Not expecting the Mormons to approach their village from the south, the Oraibis assembled intending to give them "a warm reception." However, on learning the identity of the visitors the Oraibis received them kindly enough, and Jacob Hamblin was able to report a growing friendship between the Hopis and the Mormons. On returning to St. George on January 10, 1863, Hamblin related that he had again extended an invitation to "the Moqui people to send some of their chief men to visit Utah and have a talk with some of the Mormon chief men." Objecting as usual that they could not cross the river until "the re-appearance of the three prophets who had led their fathers to that land, and who had told them to remain on those rocks until they should come again," the Hopis at first declined. However, after further consultation they changed their

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24 Ibid., January 8, 1863.
25 Ibid., May 18, 1863.
26 Ibid.
decision and sent four men. Some doubtful moments ensued when the Oraibus hesitated to cross the Colorado River, but the party arrived safely in the southern Utah towns where one native remained to learn English. The other three were taken on to Salt Lake City by Jacob Hamblin. There the delegation was handsomely received. They were house guests to Apostle Wilford Woodruff and made the rounds of the Mormon headquarters including visits to Brigham Young, the Church Historian's office, and photographer Charles Savage, as well as the Welsh interpreters referred to above. As a parting gesture, they were given a variety of hand tools and a cash gift. Aside from perfunctory statements that the Indians responded favorably, there is no account of how the Hopis reacted to the experience. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that the Latter-day Saint leaders were excited by the meeting and plans were laid immediately to send a party of one hundred missionaries to Hopiland. Writing of these plans, George A. Smith summarized the aspiration of the church:

29 In his "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," James G. Bleak states that only three Indians accompanied Hamblin back to Utah on this 1863 expedition. He reckons accurately that three went on to Salt Lake City but makes no reference to the fourth man. Providing a clue, he refers in an 1869 entry to a "Moqui Indian name Lah-se" returning with the expedition of that year. Book A, 113 and 135. Other accounts of the 1863 expedition, including the official report by John Steele, indicate that four Indians went as far as St. George. See John Steele, "Report of the Mission of 1862-1863," December 21, 1862, "Journal History."
while the protection of 100 brave generous and high minded missionaries would render their flocks and their herds, as well as their scalps, comparatively safe while that moral and religious training which is necessary to make the descendents to Lehi, Ishmael and Zoram, a white and delightful people, can successfully be bestowed on their heads. The Lord requires us to do that which is in our power for the redemption of those remnants of Jacob, and the result, after doing our duty we leave in His hands.\textsuperscript{30}

During the winter of 1863, Hamblin accompanied three of the Hopis back to Oraibi. While in Arizona, he explored extensively, looking for a feasible wagon road between the Grand Canyon and the San Francisco Mountains and studied the area south of these mountains for possible colonization sites.

But in 1863 conditions in northern Arizona were changing radically. Escaping federal forces sent against them, Navajo renegades found refuge in the canyonlands of Black Mesa and Navajo Mountain from which they conducted raids on Hopi flocks and on the Mormon settlements west of the Colorado River. These hostilities halted Mormon attempts to colonize northern Arizona for a decade and even the annual trips to the Hopi Mission were interrupted from 1865 to 1869.

But the vision of a permanent Hopi Mission persisted. In 1876, when the Mormon frontier was successfully extended south into Arizona, one of its objectives was to draw the Hopis to it. This policy enjoyed limited success at Tuba City where the Mormons lived as neighbors to the Hopis in Moenkopi for over thirty-five years. Joint occupation was less successful in the Little Colorado River towns. At least sixty-five Hopis lived for a time at Sunset near present Winslow. However, after floods swept their harvest away in August of 1878, these left convinced their predictions had been verified that the Little Colorado valley could not be successfully farmed.\textsuperscript{31} Ironically, once a substantial number of Mormons had moved to Hopiland, the interest that had sustained the Hopi Mission for fifteen years soon abated. Wilford Woodruff, who lived at


\textsuperscript{31} See Christian Lingo Christensen, “The Hopis,” Times-Independent (Moab, Utah), March 9, 1922. According to Christensen, whose reminiscing account was written over forty years later, a preaching visit which he along with Lot Smith and others made to the Hopis in February of 1877 “resulted in the fact that 65 Hopi men went... down to Sunset where by the help of the Mormons they raised 400 bushels of wheat which they carried home in the fall of 1877. In 1878 many more came but they suffered the same fate we did when we lost all our crops. This ended the Hopi farming as well as our own on the Little Colorado. It was a pitiful sight to see these people wading out of the tremendous flood with their small belongings on their backs. They bade us goodbye sorrowfully, and expressed the hope that none of us would die in this display of the Creator's anger stating that they had left the corn fields and cotton fields of their forefathers' inheritance and this was their reward. Superstition works a hardship on innocent, ignorant people, always.”
Moenkopi for several months and on the Little Colorado for a full year in 1879-80, probably expressed the opinion of most Mormons when he wrote in 1883 that the "Oribas and Moquies are very dull and superstitious and hard of understanding compared with the Navajos, Zoonies, Lagoonies and Islatos." 32

With a few exceptions, such as Tuba City’s Christian Lingo Christensen, the Mormon missionary impulse lay dormant as far as the Hopis were concerned after 1880. After that time the federal government began to take a belated interest in the Hopis and initiated educational efforts among them. About the same time protestant missionaries and Gentile traders began to appear.

In light of the cumulative experience of these various thrusts into Hopiland, we may now ask what the effect of the Mormon mission had been. In terms of the Hopis, it was small enough. No more than a dozen or so natives became members of the church. With the possible exception of Tuba and Tom Polacca, these appear to have had little understand-
ing of what their new association implied and continued to live by their native traditions. It is likely that the establishment of Moenkopi was accelerated by the coming of the Mormons, but the development of a permanent village there would probably have occurred in any case when Navajo hostility declined after 1870. Otherwise, one finds little measurable evidence that the Hopi, or Moquich, mission had any influence upon the Indians. There is no evidence that any Hopis made the transition into the white society. No Hopi children were raised in white homes and, though there was some discussion of its possibility, no marriages appear to have been consummated between Hopi women and Mormon men.

The Hopis, on the other hand, wrought a considerable influence upon the Mormons. Their presence in northern Arizona did much to attract the Latter-day Saints in that direction. Routes and roads over which the Mormon migration moved after 1876 were pioneered by the Hopi missionaries. And of greatest consequence the Mormons, who were ever attentive to the dictates of a mission, were doubtlessly influenced in the southward bent of their colonization by the hope that the Hopis would prove pliant in their hands and become "a white and delightsome people."

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**I Am an American**

**BY GERTRUDE CHAPOOSE WILLIE**

**AN INTERVIEW BY NORMA DENVER**

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D: Gertrude, a lot of people put your dad [Connor Chapoose] down as one of the most famous of the Ute people in our later days and one of the great leaders. Can you think of anything that your dad ever told you that really spurred you on or helped you to go ahead in this world?

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1 The complete interview with Gertrude Chapoose Willie of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation is in the collection of the Duke Indian Oral History Project at the University of Utah.
W: Well, he’s always told us, “Never be ashamed of who you are.” And you’re never too proud to stoop over and help the person that’s in need. You might be better off than most people, but don’t forget who you are and where you come from. My dad used to tell me to never take a back seat to anybody. Always be proud of your heritage and who you are. Speak up for yourself ’cause nobody will do it for you. And this is the same thing I have told my kids over and over again. If you get knocked down get back up and defend who you are. If you are labeled as something, say that “I am an American.”

The only thing that I can really strongly remember that he hashed over and over with us kids was, some day you’re going to lose your identity as Indians. You’re going to forget your language. You’re going to forget your culture, your tradition, and all of that. And that’s just where you’re going right now, by not teaching your kids how to speak Ute, he’d tell us. And he told us be sure to teach the kids, your kids, my grandchildren, he says, teach ’em to speak Ute. And don’t let them ever forget how we’re supposed to live, who we are, where we come from. You know, it was really a big thing; we don’t look at it like that.

But when President Lincoln set the slaves free he set the red man free too, he says. And he said, “Some day it’s going to be asked who is the Indian, who’s an Indian now?” Who’s got their right heritage to claim this land? And you know what we’re going to do? We’re going to say, “I am.” And that person is going to say, “Okay prove to me that you’re an Indian.” And what are we going to say? You are going to stand up and you’re going to speak in English, “Well, I’m so and so’s daughter, my grandparents are this.” And he’s gonna say, “No, that’s not what I’m looking for.” And some day somebody, it’s got to be somebody that’ll say [Ute]; and that’s the one that that man’s gonna say to, “Right, you’re the Indian, the only Indian that’s left.” The only Indian that’s gonna get all this reward or whatever is going to be at the end of that time.
In Memoriam

Charles Kelly
1889–1971
Editors note: It is with great pleasure that the Utah Historical Quarterly presents this special Indian issue made possible through the fine efforts of Dr. C. Gregory Crampton and the contributing authors. The Quarterly was in mid-production when news of Charles Kelly's death was received. Dr. Crampton had already secured permission for the Quarterly to reproduce Walker's portrait on the cover. It seemed appropriate, therefore, to commemorate the historical "leg work" done by Charles Kelly by printing a previously unpublished letter in which he details his discovery of the Ute chief's grave; and to follow that with a memorial essay by A. R. Mortensen.

CHARLES KELLY DISCOVERS
CHIEF WALKER'S GRAVE

Torrey, Utah, May 1, 1946

Dear Rod and Dale:

According to Carvalho, Chief Walker was camped on Meadow creek when he died. I had heard from Frank Beckwith a good many years ago that Walker was buried somewhere near there. Beckwith is well acquainted with the Indians at Kanosh, and so last Easter Sunday I asked Beckwith to go with me to Kanosh and see if Joe Pickavit, the chief, would take us to the grave. He agreed readily enough and we started out from the Indian camp near Kanosh.\(^1\)

Joe took us up Dry canyon, the first canyon north of Corn creek, and just south of another called Walker canyon. We drove as far as the road went, then hiked up a side draw, always climbing toward the top of the mountain. . . .

We climbed the mountain until we were beneath a very large rock slide near the summit. Above was the highest peak, and on the peak an outcrop of white rock. Joe said the grave of Walker should be directly beneath that marker. He looked for a dead pine tree and some aspens. We found them just below us. Dropping down, we came to a small rock slide entirely surrounded by aspens, the only aspens we saw on the mountain. Joe said he thought the grave ought to be there somewhere. We started hunting for it. While he looked above I dropped down below to

This letter, a carbon copy of which is on file at the Utah Historical Society, was edited for publication by Charles S. Peterson.

\(^1\) J. Roderic Korns and Dale L. Morgan who had collaborated on *West from Fort Bridger*, published as volume 19 of the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, and who were long-time friends of Charles Kelly. An article growing out of this experience, "We Found the Grave of Chief Walker," appeared under Kelly's by-line in *Desert Magazine*, vol IX, (October, 1946), 17-19.

Frank Beckwith was among Charles Kelly's most intimate friends. Born in Evanston, Wyoming, the son of a banker, Beckwith was the long-time publisher of the *Millard County Chronicle* at Delta, Utah. His interest in and knowledge of Indian history and anthropology were proverbial. In no small degree his knowledge of the Indians was first-hand, as few Utahns knew their Indian neighbors as intimately as did Frank Beckwith. Joe Pickavit, whose name Kelly spells "Pickyavit" in the *Desert Magazine* article, was a Kaibab chief with whom both Kelly and Beckwith had been friendly for some time.
examine some rocks which appeared to have been moved. Suddenly, near the bottom of the slide, I found the grave — a hole in the slide rock about 6 feet deep. Everything had been removed. Joe said the grave was robbed by whites about 1909, and perhaps that is why he did not hesitate to show it to us.

This hole had been made by removing rocks in the slide, which is the usual Indian method of burial. The body had been put in and cedar poles laid across, then stones had been piled on the poles. The robbers had thrown out the rocks and also the poles, which were still piled near the grave. We made several photographs of the hole and surroundings. Then, hunting further, we found another grave, perhaps two, which had not been opened. I presume his Piede slave women were buried there. Two were killed when Walker died. Also a boy was buried alive on top of Walker’s grave. He was walled in with rocks, and this accounts for the “wall” around Walker’s grave reported by pioneers. Gottfredson says some Indians passed the grave two days after burial, and the boy was still alive. He wanted to be let out; said Walker had begun to stink. I don’t put much faith in that, since Walker was buried January 30, and the boy would have frozen to death in one night. Also it was so cold that Walker’s body would not have begun to smell. But in any event, all accounts agree a 10 year old Piede boy was buried alive with Walker. The two small girls buried alive may have been put in a different place. Or they may be in the graves not opened.

After we had looked at the place, Joe told us he had never been there before. Said he got his information from an old Indian 25 years ago, and remembered it. I am sure he was telling the truth, because he did not know just what to look for, and in fact I discovered the grave before he saw it.

I never expected to see Walker’s grave, so this was a unique experience. We probably photographed it for the first time. Joe asked us not to do any digging, but otherwise showed no fear in approaching the place. We all sat on the edge of the hole, and Beckwith even got down into it. As I said, everything, to the last bead, had been removed. Joe says the slide is never covered with snow in winter, because warm air from a cave lower down keeps it melted. We did not go down to the cave, but he may be correct.

Yours,

(signed) Kelly

Frank found horse bones.

With reference to the grave robbers Kelly wrote elsewhere: “No doubt the bones of Chief Walker and some of his belongings are still in existence, but the man who robbed that grave has never dared talk, and if there are any relics of this famous chief still in existence, their a location is unknown. Strangely enough, many lesser Indians are commemorated by markers along our highways, but there never has been a monument to the great Chief Walker, without whose constant friendship the settlement of Utah would have been delayed many years.” Quotation from an unidentified newspaper clipping on file at the Utah Historical Society.

Peter Gottfredson, Indian Depredations in Utah (Salt Lake City, 1919), 84.

Written longhand below the typed body of Kelly’s letter was his notation: “Frank found horse bones.” In the Desert Magazine article Kelly wrote that both Beckwith and Joe Pickyavit found horse bones and found them in sufficient quantity to convince him that the fifteen horses reportedly killed as part of the burial rites had indeed been slaughtered at the site.

Kelly, “We Found the Grave of Chief Walker,” 19.
IN MEMORIAM

The obituaries have been written, the eulogies have been spoken, Charlie Kelly's volatile spirit is at rest. Death came to this long-time friend and supporter of the Utah State Historical Society on April 19 in Salt Lake City. Harriette his wife of more than fifty years, survives.

Charles Kelly was born February 3, 1889, in a roaring lumber camp at Cedar Springs, Michigan, where his father, Alfred Kelly, an itinerant Baptist preacher, was holding forth at the time. In Ohio, as a boy of seven, he learned to set type in a small print shop which his father was using to turn out religious tracts. After a stint in college in Indiana, money ran out and Charles began his own peripatetic wanderings as a tramp printer in the Midwest and Far West. He served a hitch in the army in World War I, during which he met and corresponded with Harriette Greener. After discharge he decided to settle in Utah. Here, in February 1919 he and Harriette were married; and here he chose to remain.

For the next twenty years Charlie continued to earn his living as a linotype operator and printer, eventually becoming a partner in the Western Printing Company. In the meantime he had become interested in local history, and as a result of a trip to the Great Salt Lake Desert of western Utah in 1929, he became fascinated with the story of the Donner-Reed party. From that day on, as one of his biographers put it, Charlie was "irrevocably hooked in history." He followed every early trail, he read innumerable journals, diaries, and books on the Intermountain West, and he floated the Colorado River and its tributaries.

For another decade Kelly earned his living as a printer, but his hobby, his avocation, his very passion was the research and writing of the stories of the old West and particularly the Utah-Arizona-Nevada region. His first book, a direct result of that trip to the deserts of western Utah in 1929, was Salt Desert Trails, a history of the Hastings Cutoff and other trails across the Great Salt Lake Desert used by pioneers seeking a shorter route to the gold fields of California. More fieldwork, more research, and in rapid succession a storm of books issued from his typewriter, many of them to go through more than one edition. In 1934, with Hoffman Birney, he published Holy Murder, the story of Porter Rockwell. Two years later Old Greenwood appeared. This was the story of Caleb Greenwood, trapper, pathfinder, and early pioneer of the West. In 1937, with Maurice L. Howe, he published Miles Goodyear, and the next year two more books appeared; Outlaw Trail, a history of Butch Cassidy and his Wild Bunch, and the edited Journals of John D. Lee, 1846-47 and 1859.
As if this outpouring were not enough, simultaneous with his book productions and over the years to the end, a veritable stream of magazine articles and innumerable book reviews flowed from Charlie's typewriter. Many issues of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* carried his by-line. *Desert Magazine* beginning in 1938 published at least fifty-two highly-illustrated feature articles during the succeeding eighteen years. *Arizona Highways, Utah Magazine, Old West, True West, Pony Express*, several Westerners *Brand Books*, and many other magazines carried his name.

On the eve of World War II, Charles Kelly quit the printing business, moved to Fruita, Utah, in the Wayne Wonderland and soon became the first custodian (unpaid for several years) of the newly created Capitol Reef National Monument. Here, miles from a paved road, without electric power or plumbing, he and Harriette made their home for the next eighteen years in the heart of the country he loved so much. In many ways this expanded and developed unit of the National Park Service is Kelly's monument.

Time was catching up with him. In 1958 he retired and returned to Salt Lake City to make his home for his remaining years. Many artifacts, photos, journals, and diaries he had dug up over the years he gave to several institutions, but the Utah State Historical Society was the main recipient. Its library and archives are the richer for his generosity. In 1960 the society awarded him an Honorary Life Membership. In the fall of 1969, just a year and a half before his death, the American Association for State and Local History gave him its coveted Award of Merit for his contributions to the cause of state and local history.

Choosing to live the major portion of his life in a society that was orthodox and conformist, Charlie was neither. That Charles Kelly was a character no one who ever knew him can deny. He was a man with a barbed wire personality, an individualist, opinionated and always strong minded; a man with a short fuse, an extreme liberal in some matters and very conservative in others. With it all, he had a generosity of spirit, an underlining of kindness and loyalty to those who earned his respect and admiration.

All who truly love and are uplifted by the vast open spaces of the Great Basin, the high plateaus of the Colorado, and the mountains in between, forever owe a debt to Kelly for the written legacy he has left behind. More personally, those of us who admired him, who have profited from his counsel, and who loved him, have lost a friend.

A. R. Mortensen, National Park Service
UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Membership in the Utah State Historical Society is open to all individuals and institutions who are interested in Utah history. We invite everyone to join this one official agency of state government charged by law with the collection, preservation, and publication of materials on Utah and related history.

Through the pages of the Utah Historical Quarterly, the Society is able to fulfill part of its legal responsibility. Your membership dues provide the means for publication of the Quarterly. So, we earnestly encourage present members to interest their friends in joining them in furthering the cause of Utah history. Membership brings with it the Utah Historical Quarterly, the bimonthly Newsletter, and special prices on publications of the Society.

The different classes of membership are:

Student ........................................ $ 3.00
Annual ........................................... $ 5.00
Life .............................................. $100.00

For those individuals and business firms who wish to support special projects of the Society, they may do so through making tax-exempt donations on the following membership basis:

Sustaining .................................... $ 250.00
Patron .......................................... $ 500.00
Benefactor .................................... $1,000.00

Your interest and support are most welcome.