



UTAH INDIAN CURRICULUM GUIDE

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**The University of Utah's American West Center and the Utah Division of Indian Affairs
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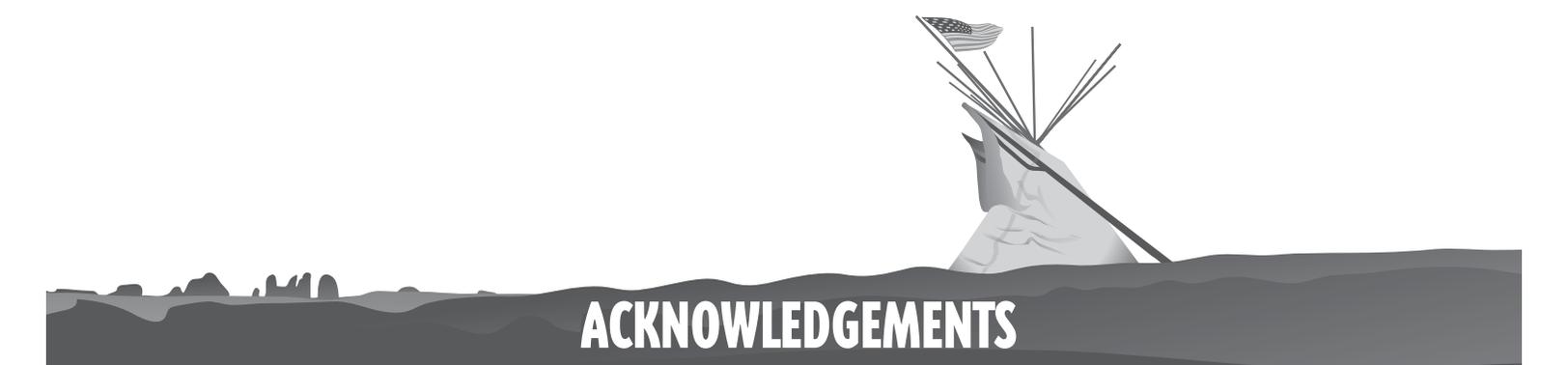
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UICG was inspired by the five-part PBS series *We Shall Remain: A Native History of America* that first aired in spring 2009. Although the following materials can be used alone, they were developed by the American West Center at the University of Utah to compliment the five *We Shall Remain: A Native History of Utah* documentaries that explore the history and culture of Utah's five Indian nations. Special recognition goes to the Utah *We Shall Remain* production team led by Ken Verdoia at KUED Channel 7, the University of Utah's PBS affiliate.

The University of Utah's American West Center (AWC) produced the curriculum materials in consultation with the Utah Division of Indian Affairs, Utah State Office of Education, KUED 7, and the Goshute, Northwestern Band of the Shoshone, Southern Paiute, and Ute nations.

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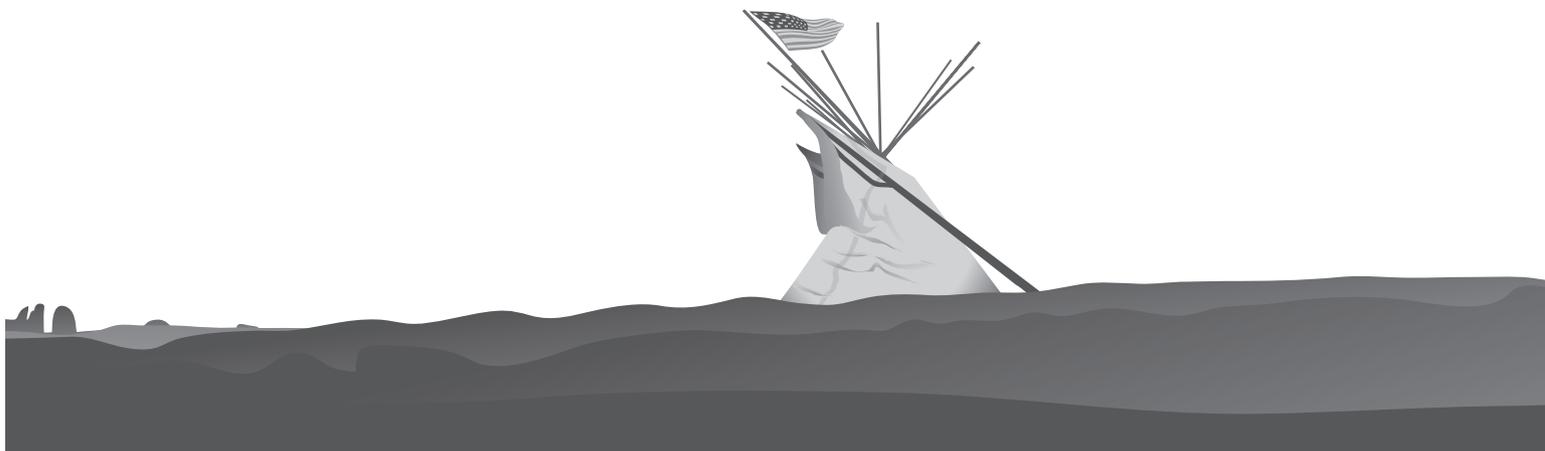
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INTRODUCTION



A LETTER TO TEACHERS FROM FORREST CUCH

Dear Educators:

For too many years, we have only provided a glimpse of the history of Utah's American Indians in the classroom. Though unintended, this quick fix was a disservice to both the American Indian and non-Indian students of our state. The result has been marginalization of Utah's Indigenous people and their cultural presence in our state. Over time, marginalization manifests as a form of unintentional dehumanization of Indigenous people, which can be very devastating to native people, especially our youth. Carried further, this lack of accurate depictions and renditions of our history only reinforces Hollywood clichés and stereotypes. It is thus no wonder that both Indian and non-Indian people struggle with a full understanding of what actually happened in the past—the true history of this land.

This Utah Indian Curriculum Project, funded by the 2008 general session of the Utah legislature, was designed to change all that. Sponsored by the Division of Indian Affairs, Department of Community and Culture, the project was developed by the American West Center at the University of Utah in cooperation with the University of Utah's KUED Channel 7, the PBS American Experience's five part national series, *We Shall Remain*, and the Utah State Office of Education—Indian Education Specialist and Social Studies Section.

It was always been our intent to not only develop a curriculum that is thorough, well designed, and well organized but also to make it easy to access for teachers and to make their job of presenting Utah Indian history easier and more meaningful. We think we have succeeded in accomplishing our objectives. We hope that you will enjoy and utilize this information to its fullest extent possible. And it is our fond hope that better understanding between all people will emerge from this work.

Sincerely,



Forrest S. Cuch, Director
Division of Indian Affairs



AN INTRODUCTION TO THE UTAH INDIAN CURRICULUM GUIDE

Fellow Teachers,

The American West Center at the University of Utah, along with our partners the Utah Division of Indian Affairs, KUED-7, the Utah State Office of Education, and the American Indian nations that call Utah home, is proud to present the *We Shall Remain: Utah Indian Curriculum Guide* (UICG). UICG provides educators with a comprehensive resource to teach the unique history and culture of Utah's Ute, Navajo, Goshute, Southern Paiute, and Northwestern Band of the Shoshone nations.

The history of Utah—and, indeed, of the United States—looks significantly different when viewed from the Indian perspective. It is essential for students to learn about Utah's tribes' long struggles for survival and why those struggles occurred. It is just as essential for students to realize that while each of these tribes has had setbacks and tragedies, they have also had triumphs. In making their stories the centerpiece of this project, the American West Center has drawn on more than forty years of experience collecting, preserving, interpreting, and disseminating the remarkable histories of the West's diverse populations, particularly American Indians. The Center's history of collaboration with tribal communities and commitment to weaving heretofore silenced Indian voices into the historical narrative will be very apparent in these lessons.

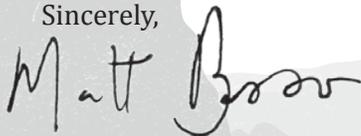
In consultation with K-12 teachers we have developed twenty-four complete lesson plans, eight each for fourth grade, seventh grade, and tenth/eleventh grade. At each grade level, the lesson plans are united by a common theme—"culture" in the fourth grade, "ingenuity" in the seventh grade, and "sovereignty" in high school. Each lesson plan is grade-leveled, tied to NCSS Standards, Utah State Standards, and Accreditation Competencies, and has detailed objectives and procedures.

UICG complements and extends the classroom use of KUED-7's acclaimed *We Shall Remain* documentaries; however, each lesson plan can also stand alone. All lesson plans offer numerous modifications for teachers and come with materials specially designed for students, such as excerpts of primary source documents, and for teachers, including an *At a Glance* section with a strong but concise historical background. Because our goal for this project is to empower teachers to make the history of Utah's five American Indian nations a central part of their teaching, we have also added a number of introductory resources, including brief histories of each of the five nations and an overview of Great Basin American Indian history.

The online version of UICG replicates the print version, but it also contains a variety of built-in links, including six interactive Google Earth maps that expand a number of lesson plans in highly useful ways. Additionally, as part of our larger curriculum project, we have fully integrated UICG with the Utah American Indian Digital Archive (UAIDA), a research tool recently developed by the American West Center and J. Willard Marriott Library Special Collections. UAIDA—which, like the online version of UICG, is at www.UtahIndians.org—provides keyword-searchable access to thousands of maps, photographs, oral histories, books, articles, and government and tribal documents related to Utah's American Indian communities. These sources supply teachers and students with a deeper background on the history of the tribes and facilitate student research projects.

There's no question that extraordinary ingenuity and a deep and abiding respect for their traditional cultures have been the cornerstones for the survival and success of Utah's tribes. The American West Center and our partners salute you for your commitment to teaching the stories that bring this saga alive and for making the history of Utah's native citizens a central part of your teaching.

Sincerely,



Dr. Matthew Basso
Director, American West Center

A WELCOME TO THE *WE SHALL REMAIN* DOCUMENTARY SERIES

Dear Educator,

KUED and the American West Center, supported by a generous appropriation from the State of Utah, are delighted to provide your school with this valuable new teaching tool to explore the history of Utah's American Indians. In no area of American history have the challenges of exploring unique voices and experiences while meeting curriculum standards been more obvious than in chronicling the indigenous experience.

Through the five-part KUED *We Shall Remain* series, produced in conjunction with the national PBS series, and the rich lesson plans developed by the American West Center to meet state standards, we hope to provide a rich resource to help you share a more complete history of our state with your students.

The five KUED films included in this binder tell the stories of Utah's five principle tribes—Ute, Paiute, Navajo, Goshute and Northwestern Shoshone—through their own voices. The films explore the culture, history, contributions of, and challenges facing Utah's tribes.

The films, which were selected by PBS World for national broadcast last April, have been nominated for the George Washington Medal of Honor from the Freedom Foundation and for the Christopher Award for Achievement in Human Values in Broadcasting. Both nominations came from Utah teachers.

In celebrating the stories of the first people of Utah, we celebrate the story of our state. Thank you for sharing the history of Utah with the next generation.

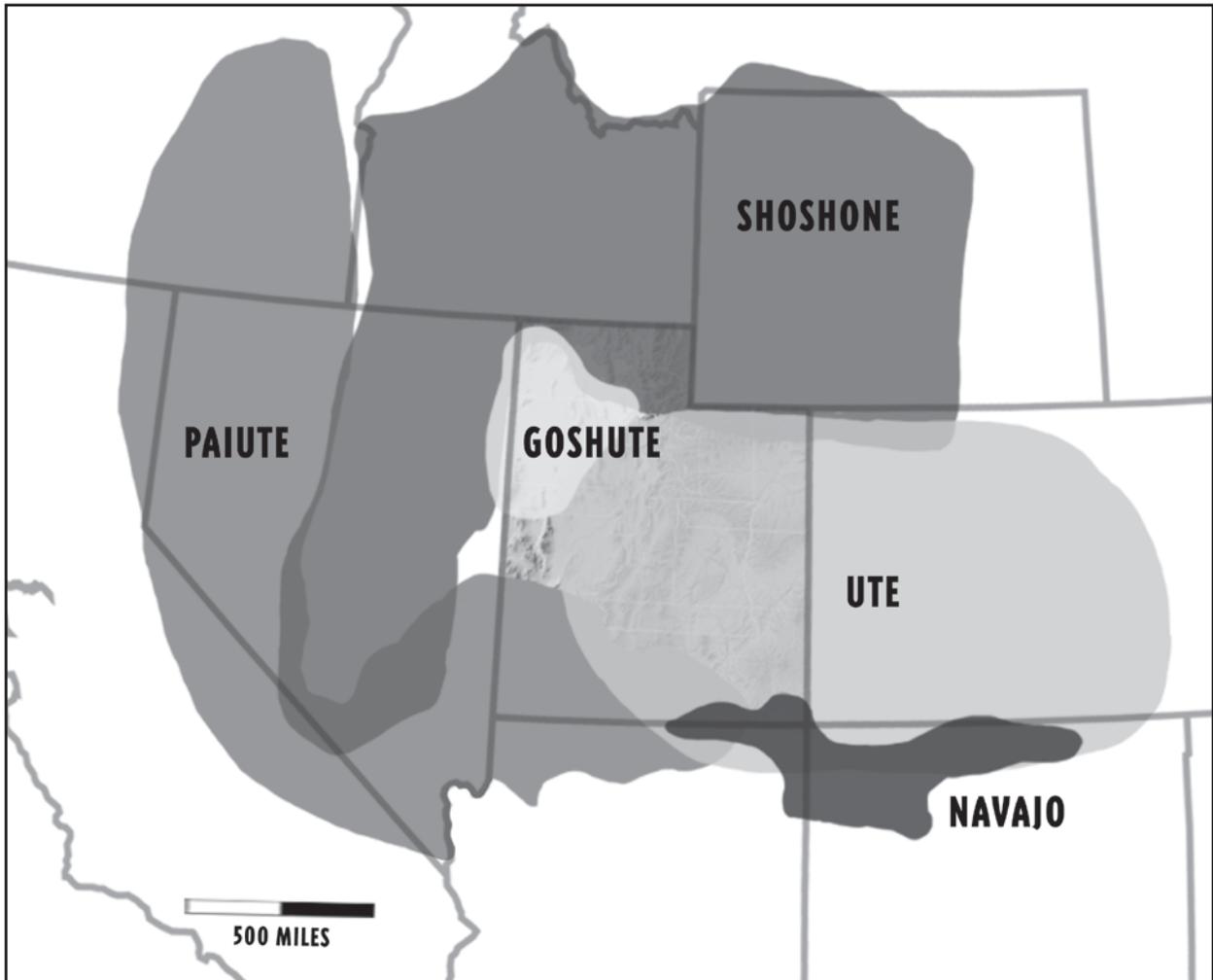
Warm Regards,



Larry S. Smith
KUED General Manager



MAP OF UTAH INDIANS' GREAT BASIN TERRITORIES





Another characteristic of the region of study is that it was not so much an area of conflict between tribes as was often the case elsewhere. The Rocky Mountains and the Great Basin were both defined by terrain and climate features that made them difficult for enemies to invade. These same barriers also slowed European colonial powers. Relative to other tribes in the U.S., Great Basin Indians encountered Europeans quite late. The first non-Indian contact came from the south when the Spanish empire thrust northward two thousand miles from Mexico City, stopping at the southern border of the Ute area in northern New Mexico. The Spanish occupation of the Pueblo area of New Mexico, which began more than four hundred years ago, had already alerted the Great Basin tribes to the European invaders. The Europeans introduced diseases previously unknown to North America's native populations, and also brought with them new fauna, flora, and goods, including wheat, horses, sheep, steel tools, and cooking pots. These diseases, animals, plants, and new technologies dramatically changed the world of Native Americans in the West, just as they had throughout the U.S.

The first direct influence of the Spanish on the Great Basin tribes was through trade. The Utes were engaged with the Spanish by the early seventeenth century, exchanging goods and often meeting with Spanish governors. Both sides profited, with the Spanish using the opportunity of friendship with the tribe to protect their borders. The desire by Spanish governors and military officials for a road to connect their outposts in Alta California to their settlements in New Mexico prompted the first visit of non-Indians into the Great Basin. Two Franciscan priests, Dominguez and Escalante, led the party into Utah in 1776, and their well-written account gives us insight into the conditions of Utah's tribes during this period. After the Dominguez-Escalante party spread word about the area, illegal trading began from Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico. Spanish traders, for example, visited Utah Lake in 1805 and 1811.

The fur trade brought an increasing number of traders into the Great Basin area by the early 1820s, further destabilizing tribal patterns. Besides the early traders who came from Santa Fe and Taos in the south, new groups of British traders came from the north while Americans came from the east. Antoine Robidoux opened the first trading post in Utah in 1837. The Utes in particular traded both furs and horses, activity that increased following the opening of a trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles by the Mexicans in 1829. The Utes prospered as a result of this trade, but the Goshutes and Paiutes suffered. As part of this new network of exchange, they were captured by the Utes and sold as slaves. In the 1840s, the fur trade declined very rapidly as alliances fractured. As part of these developments the Utes burned Ft. Robidoux in 1844 and drove out the trappers.

In 1847 the arrival of a huge tide of permanent Mormon settlers massively—and permanently—changed the lives of Utah's American Indians. These immigrants were agriculturists, and they sought arable land that could be irrigated. They spread quickly into Ute, Goshute, Northwestern Shoshone, and Southern Paiute lands. This moved the white settlers into areas where nearly all of the native population lived. In traditional pattern, non-Indians pushed the natives off their land; hence, armed conflict with settlers and then U.S. government forces followed.

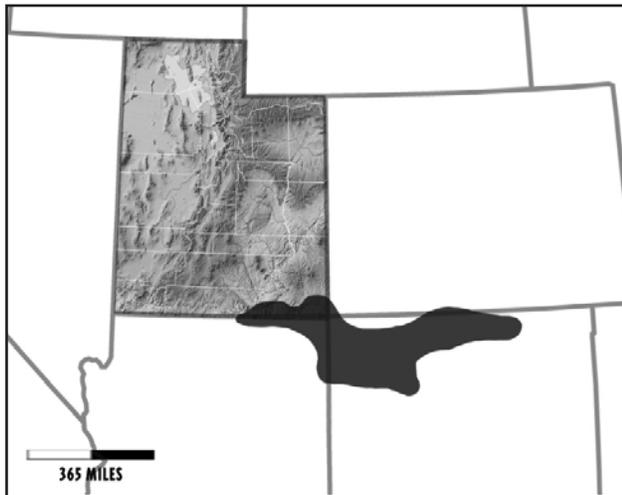


Following the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, the federal government had begun to play an increasingly large role in the lives of Great Basin Indians. The government gradually built forts across the west, including Camp Douglas at Salt Lake City, to defend immigrants. The most violent confrontations occurred in the removal of the Utes. The Southern Paiutes had a small, scattered population; they were more easily dominated. The eastern end of Goshute land was soon lost; likewise the southern end of Northwestern Shoshone territory. The Navajos also suffered at the hands of the government and settlers prompting their expansion northward into Utah after 1868.

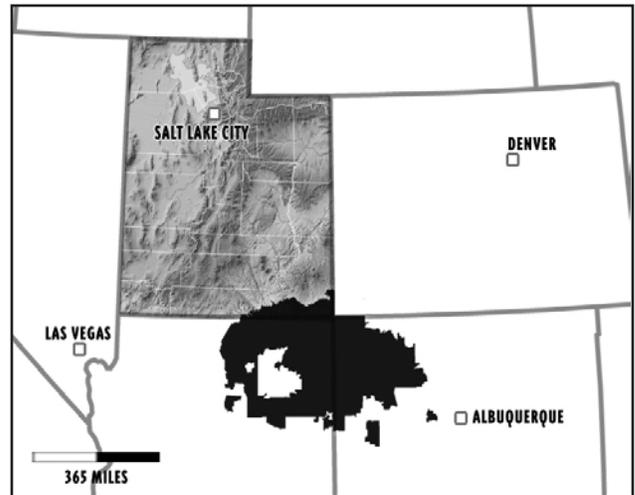
The two Great Basin wars that resulted from Indian-white conflicts were principally over resources. These wars confirmed that resources would become a constant point of tension between native people and settlers and that the government would have a significant oversight role in regard to the tribes. Besides employing the military, the federal government used the Bureau of Indian Affairs to exercise control over the day-to-day interaction with the tribes. Between 1848 and 1869 the government also signed treaties with the Great Basin tribes, while after that point they signed agreements. These two types of instruments were meant to regulate relations between sovereign nations, but the U.S. government broke many of these treaties and agreements. During this period Indians were placed on reservations. Even the so-called “reserved lands” were not safe from loss, as the government constantly valued the non-Indian population’s hunger for more land over its obligations to the tribes. Still, it should be noted that federal government modes of control would prove very different for each group: direct for the Utes, sporadic for the other tribes. Unlike the U.S. government, local town and city governments and the government of Utah largely ignored the tribes until conflicts between these parties over resources emerged in the twentieth century.

Late nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments are covered in the KUED documentaries and in the following lesson plans, but it is safe to say that since World War II the tribes have become more vocal. They have also developed vibrant relationships with other tribes. Indian voices are now bringing more attention by local citizens to the issues facing Utah’s tribal peoples. These lessons are a part of that enhanced voice.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF UTAH'S NAVAJOS



ANCESTRAL NAVAJO TERRITORY



CURRENT NAVAJO RESERVATION

The Navajos tell the story of the Emergence, in which First Man, First Woman, and the people moved from First World to the Fourth World, the Earth-Surface World. First Man brought the four sacred mountains from the Third World to the Earth-Surface World, and these mountains—Sis Naajinii, or White Mountain (Blanca Peak, in Colorado); Tsoodzil, or Turquoise Mountain (Mount Taylor, in New Mexico); Dook’o’ooshíid, or Yellow Mountain (Mount Humphreys, in Arizona); and Dibé Ntsaa, or Dark Mountain (Hesperus Peak, in Colorado)—mark the sacred homeland of the Navajo people. Anthropologists hypothesize that the Navajos split off from the Southern Athabaskans and migrated into the Southwest between 200 and 1300 A.D.

Between 900 and 1525 A.D. the Navajos developed a rich and complex culture in the area of present-day northwestern New Mexico. Here the Navajos created trade networks with both the Anasazi and historic Pueblo peoples, bringing new goods and technologies, such as flint points and moccasins, to the Southwest. The Navajos may have moved into southeastern Utah as early as 1620; by the eighteenth century they had spread into northeastern Arizona and southeastern Utah.

The Navajos came into contact with early Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century. In 1680 Navajo and Apache groups aided Pueblo Indians in the Pueblo Revolt, a war for independence from the Spanish, who had brutalized and enslaved the Pueblos for decades. The rebellion forced the Spanish back into Mexico for a time, but in 1693 the Spanish reconquered the area of the Rio Grande Valley. Some Pueblos took refuge among the Navajos, resulting in an intermixing of Navajo and Pueblo cultures.

The arrival of the Spanish also introduced sheep, goats, and horses to the Navajos. The Navajos were highly adaptive and incorporated domestic livestock and agriculture into their subsistence system. They also adopted the horse and, like other tribes who used the animal as a means of transportation, sometimes engaged in slave and food raids on neighboring tribes.



In the late-eighteenth century, the Navajos became involved in direct conflict with Spanish forces intent on conquering the Southwest. The Spanish formed alliances with the Comanches and Utes to weaken the Navajos, and many Navajos fell victim to the Spanish slave trade.

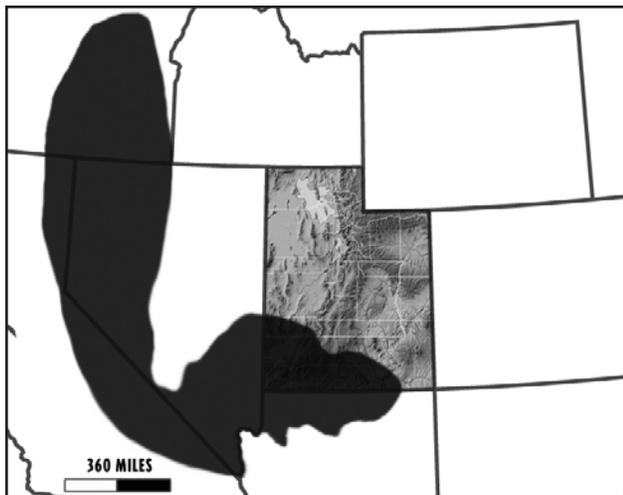
The culmination of hostilities came in 1863, when the U.S. Army, under the command of Christopher “Kit” Carson, used “scorched earth” tactics to force the surrender of the Navajo. This defeat resulted in the infamous Long Walk from their homeland to Fort Sumner in central New Mexico. Hundreds died or disappeared during the grueling three-hundred-mile forced march. Those who survived were held at the overcrowded, undersupplied, insanitary Bosque Redondo Reservation at Fort Sumner.

After four years of interment, an 1868 treaty allowed the Navajo to return to their original homeland. The Navajo Reservation, set aside by the Treaty of 1868, has subsequently been enlarged through executive order and special legislation, including an 1884 executive order through which much of the land in present-day southeastern Utah was added. The Navajo raised goats and sheep and eventually developed a barter economy, exchanging rugs and silverwork with white traders. In the 1920s, oil and mineral exploration began in the Four Corners region. Oil and gas discoveries in the 1950s and 1960s on the Utah portion of the reservation have enriched the Navajo Nation and the State of Utah a great deal, although oil wells have also caused environmental problems, contaminating water and damaging rangelands. Uranium mining, which began in the 1940s, has also had mixed results for the Navajos. Mining brought much-needed funds to the tribal treasury, but radioactive contamination has left a legacy of death and disease in mining communities.

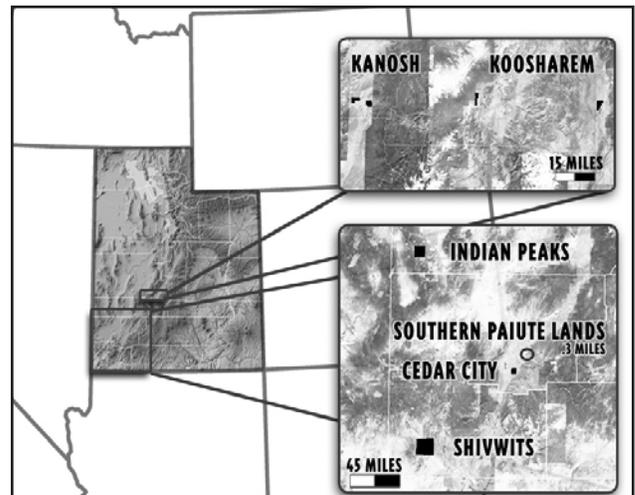
Although Native Americans were not granted citizenship until 1924, Navajos have a proud history of wartime service in the twentieth century. Many Utah Navajos served in the First World War. During World War II, Navajos played a major part in winning the war in the Pacific by developing a code based on the Navajo language that proved impossible for the Japanese to break. These “Code Talkers” are now famous, but over three thousand Navajos also served in the army, navy, Marine Corps, and Women’s Army Corps. Several thousand more left the reservation to work in war-related industries.

The decades following World War II were ones of both opportunity and disappointment for the Navajo people. Motivated by experiences in the war effort, many Navajos turned to the legal system and political activism to seek greater control over land, resources, and their own lives. Navajo leaders and communities sought more involvement in programs once administered by the federal government. Education, especially, became an important priority for the Navajos. In the 1950s they began to build local schools so that Navajo children could receive an education and still live at home. Utah’s Navajos struggled for decades to get schools for their children, and in the 1990s they won a case against the State of Utah that required the state to build adequate facilities for Navajo children on the reservation. Through efforts to improve education, healthcare, and the reservation economy, the Navajos have developed a great degree of self-sufficiency and authority within their lands.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF UTAH'S PAIUTES



ANCESTRAL PAIUTE TERRITORY



CURRENT SOUTHERN PAIUTE RESERVATIONS

The Paiutes trace their origin to the story of Tabuts, the wise wolf who decided to carve many different people out of sticks. His plan was to scatter them evenly around the earth so that everyone would have a good place to live, but Tabuts had a mischievous younger brother, Shinangwav the coyote. Shinangwav cut open the sack and people fell out in bunches all over the world. The people were angry at this treatment, and that is why other people always fight. The people left in the sack were the Southern Paiutes. Tabuts blessed them and put them in the very best place.

Scholars suggest that the Southern Paiutes and other Numic speaking peoples began moving into the Great Basin and Colorado Plateau around 1000 A.D. Prior to contact with Europeans, the Paiutes' homeland spanned more than thirty million acres of present-day southern California, southern Nevada, south-central Utah, and northern Arizona. Their lifestyle included moving frequently, primarily according to the seasons and plant harvests and animal migration patterns, and they lived in independent groups of three to five households. Major decisions were made in council meetings and the traditional Paiute leader, called naive, offered advice and suggestions at council meetings and would later work to carry out the council's decisions.

The Spanish settlement of the American Southwest brought disruption and violence to the Southern Paiutes. Most importantly, the Spanish introduced the violent slave trade to Great Basin Indians. Because the Paiutes did not adopt the horse as a means of transportation, their communities were frequently raided for slaves by neighboring equestrian tribes, New Mexicans, and, eventually, Americans. Slave trafficking of Paiutes increased after the opening of the Old Spanish Trail, a trade route that connected New Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The demand was highest for children, especially girls.



Though the mid-1800s the Southern Paiutes had encountered non-Indian traders, travelers, and trappers, but they had not had to deal with white settlement on their lands. In 1851, however, members of the LDS Church began colonization efforts in the area of southern Utah, and by the end of 1858, Mormons had established eleven settlements in Southern Paiute territory. Initially, the Paiutes welcomed the Mormon presence, as it offered them some protection against raiding Utes, Navajos, and Mexicans. Unfortunately, Mormon settlement also brought sweeping epidemics. In the decade following settlement, some Paiute groups lost more than ninety percent of their population to disease. Eventually, the large number of Mormon settlers also led to competition over Paiute lands and resources.

One of the most controversial events involving the Southern Paiutes occurred in September 1857 near what is now Cedar City, Utah. At the Mountain Meadows Massacre, more than one hundred emigrants bound for California were attacked and murdered. For over a century, the common history was that Paiute Indians first attacked the wagon train. The Paiutes then supposedly appealed to LDS settlers for aid, and the settlers approached the emigrants under a flag of truce. After convincing the emigrants to give up their weapons, the settlers led the wagon train to a secluded spot, where they subsequently slaughtered most of the emigrants. Here again the Mormons claimed that Paiute Indians took part in the treachery, and for years the Paiutes bore the brunt of the blame for this tragic event. While many aspects of the massacre are still shrouded in mystery, it is important to stress that Paiute oral tradition *strongly indicates* that the Paiutes did not participate in either the initial attack or the following massacre.

The first Paiute reservation was established in 1891 on the Santa Clara River west of St. George. The reservation was formally recognized by the government in 1903. In 1916 President Woodrow Wilson issued an order that expanded the size of the reservation to its current 26,880 acres. Three other Paiute reservations soon followed. Because the reservations proved too small and resource-poor for the Paiutes to sustain themselves, they were often dependent on Mormon charity and the federal government's good will.

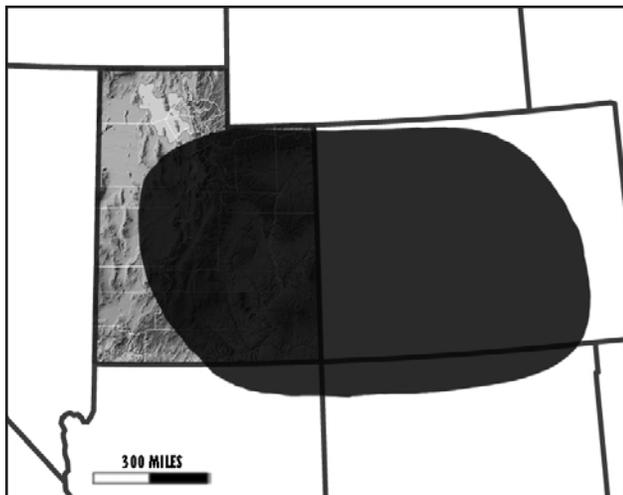
That good will ended abruptly in the 1950s under the federal government's policy of termination, which was intended to enforce assimilation and encourage self-sufficiency among Indian tribes but instead had devastating social and economic consequences. Prior to 1954, each Paiute band—except the Cedar band—had its own reservation and functioning tribal government. However, under termination these bands lost federal recognition and, therefore, their eligibility for federal support. Many reports indicated that the Paiute tribe was not prepared for termination, and it is still a mystery as to why they were selected to be part of the program. The Paiutes suffered immensely under termination. Nearly one-half of all tribal members died during the period between 1954 and 1980, largely due to a lack of basic health resources. Without adequate income to meet their needs, the Paiutes could not pay property taxes and lost approximately 15,000 acres of former reservation lands. A less tangible, but equally important, result was the Paiutes' diminishing pride and cultural heritage.



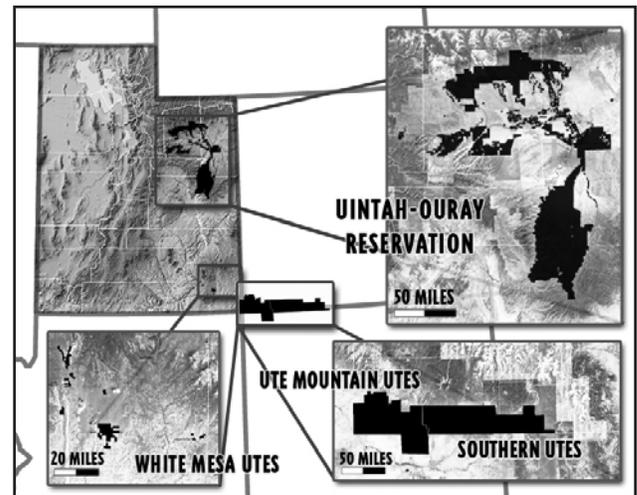


In the early 1970s the Paiutes began concerted efforts to regain federal recognition. Finally, in 1980 Congress restored the federal trust relationship to the five bands, which were reorganized as the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. Under restoration, the Paiutes received 4,770 acres of generally marginal reservation land scattered through southwestern Utah, only a fraction of the land they had lost under termination. Today the Paiute tribal government has improved healthcare and education on the reservations, and the Paiute Economic Development Committee is working to create job opportunities close to home. With a land base now in place, the Paiutes are finally becoming a visible presence in southern Utah. Their annual Restoration Gathering brings attention to the pride and heritage of the Paiute people.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF UTAH'S UTES



ANCESTRAL UTE TERRITORY



CURRENT UTE RESERVATIONS

Ute tradition suggests that the Ute people were brought here from the south in a magic sack carried by Sinauf, a god who was half wolf and half man. Anthropologists argue that the Utes began using the northern Colorado Plateau between one and two thousand years ago. Historically, the Ute people lived in several family groups, or bands, and inhabited 225,000 square miles covering most of Utah, western Colorado, southern Wyoming, and northern Arizona and New Mexico. Each of these bands was independent, but the Ute people were bound by a common language, close trade relationships, intermarriage, temporary military alliances, and important social and religious events. The major event for the Utes was, and still is, the Bear Dance, an annual gathering to celebrate the coming of spring. The Ute people ranged over a wide but well-known area to engage in a sophisticated gathering and hunting economy. They gathered seeds, berries, and roots, and hunted deer, rabbits, birds, and fish. Long before white settlers arrived in Utah, many of the Utes raised corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, and potatoes.

The introduction of the horse in the 1600s brought major changes to the Ute way of life, although some Ute bands used the horse more than others. The horse allowed the Utes to travel farther and more quickly, and the Utes began to adopt many aspects of Plains Indian culture, living in mobile teepees and hunting buffalo, elk, and deer over long distances. They developed trade relationships with the Spanish and tribes that were once out of reach and earned a reputation as fierce warriors and raiders and expert horseman.

Contact with the Spanish also introduced the violent slave trade. Ute children were captured as slaves, and the Utes captured members of other tribes, such as the Paiutes, and exchanged them with the Spanish for horses, guns, and other goods. As a result of the slave trade, violence between the Utes, Paiutes, and Navajos became frequent, particularly after the 1829 opening of the Old Spanish Trail, a trade route that connected New Mexico to the Pacific Ocean and transversed Ute lands.



Further disruption to Ute life came with the arrival of LDS settlers in the Salt Lake Valley. Although the valley was an area of joint occupancy between the Utes and Shoshones, the Mormons expanded quickly into Ute territory, and competition for resources resulted in conflict. Led by Wakara and his brother Arapeen, the Utes retaliated against encroaching settlers with a series of raids. The so-called Walker War (1853–54) resulted in some Mormon and many more Ute casualties and began the process of Ute displacement. Brigham Young outlined his policy toward the Indians by suggesting “it is cheaper to feed than fight them,” but because the Mormons desired Ute land, fighting was perhaps inevitable.

Between 1855 and 1860, local Indian agents undertook an initiative to create organized Indian farms, but the traditionally nomadic Utes resisted settling on the farms, which soon collapsed. In 1861, at the request of the Mormons, Abraham Lincoln established the Uintah Valley Reservation by executive order. Congress confirmed this order in 1864, but at least initially, the government made few efforts to force the Utes onto the reservation.

The Utes still hunted and gathered over large portions of land, but game became increasingly scarce and whites began to occupy the Uintah Reservation. After suffering a smallpox epidemic and famine in the winter of 1864–65, Ute leader Black Hawk intensified the raiding of nearby settlements, seizing livestock and supplies. Black Hawk agreed to peace in 1868, although some of his followers continued the raids until 1872. That year federal officials began to send supplies to the Uintah Agency, and many Utes peacefully gathered on the reservation.

Some Northern Ute bands continued to resist reservation life, but their efforts eventually proved futile. In 1881 the federal government forcibly removed the Yamparka and Parianuc (White River) Utes from Colorado to the Uintah Reservation. In 1882 the federal government established the Uncompahgre (later renamed Ouray) Reservation adjacent to the Uintah Reservation and moved the peaceful Taviwac (Uncompahgre) Utes to this remote, dry area. The two reservations were consolidated in 1886.

The General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887, which gave tribal members individual parcels of land and opened the rest of the reservation to white homesteaders, immensely decreased Ute tribal lands; between 1882 and 1933, the Uintah and Ouray reservation lands decreased by over ninety percent. Allotment scattered the Utes’ land base and made the traditional lifestyle of hunting and trading over long distances impossible. The Utes were expected to farm, but this proved disastrous due to cultural resistance and competition from better-equipped and more-experienced white neighbors. Accordingly, the Utes turned raising sheep, cattle, and horses, which also proved challenging because of limited grazing lands. In 1906, as an act of protest and defiance to land loss and bad government administration, a group of between four hundred and six hundred Utes left their reservation and trekked to South Dakota, hoping that the Sioux would join them in their defiance. The Sioux refused, and after two years of little rations or support, the federal government escorted the Utes back to their reservation.



The Southern Utes in living southeastern Utah avoided reservation life for a while longer. They repeatedly resisted attempts by the federal government to remove them to Ute Mountain Ute Agency at Towaoc, Colorado, but in 1923 tensions between the Utes and white settlers culminated in the “Posey War” in San Juan County, Utah. In reality the “war” was a few shots meant to delay a white posse chasing local Utes and Paiutes who were fleeing for a traditional sanctuary. However, the Posey incident became an excuse for the federal government to send many Ute children to the boarding school at the Ute Mountain Ute Agency and force the remaining Utes onto small land allotments near Allen Canyon and Montezuma Creek.

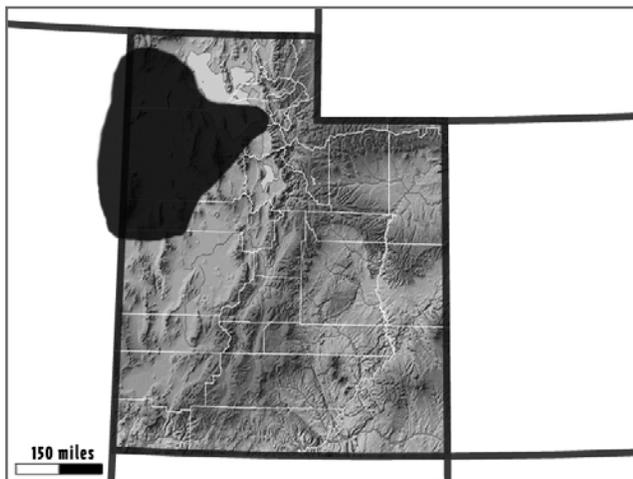
The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 facilitated major changes by allowing the Utes to organize their own tribal government. In 1938, the Utes filed a lawsuit against the U.S. government claiming forty million dollars in losses from the dispossession of their land. In the 1950s the Utes won a series of legal battles and settled for \$32 million in reparations.

Starting in the 1950s, the Allen Canyon Utes began to build houses on Ute-owned land eleven miles south of Blanding, Utah. Now known as White Mesa, the new settlement fostered a sense of community among local the Utes. Today White Mesa residents’ biggest challenge is that they are isolated from their tribal headquarters at Tawaoc. Still, they have successfully developed several education and health programs and run a cattle company and convenience store.

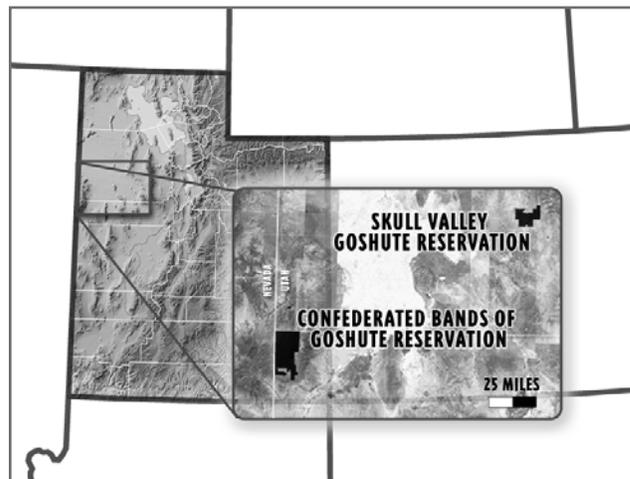
Today the Northern Utes also operate several businesses. Cattleraising and mining of oil and natural gas are vitally important to the reservation economy. While the Northern Ute Tribe is becoming a more powerful force in local and state politics, they continually strive to maintain their language and culture while also developing the economy and education of the tribal members.



A BRIEF HISTORY OF UTAH'S GOSHUTES



ANCESTRAL GOSHUTE TERRITORY



CURRENT GOSHUTE RESERVATIONS

According to the Goshutes, their people have always lived in the desert region southwest of the Great Salt Lake. Scientists argue that the Goshute Indians migrated along with other Numic-speaking peoples from the Death Valley region of California to the Great Basin, probably around one thousand years ago. The word Goshute (Gosuite) is derived from the native word Kuttuhsippeh, which means “people of the dry earth,” and the name is fitting. The Goshute people occupied some of the most arid land in North America and exemplified the Great Basin way of life. As highly efficient hunters and gatherers, the Goshutes maintained the fragile balance of the desert, providing for their needs without destroying the limited resources of their arid homeland. They knew and used at least eighty-one species of vegetables. They harvested and cultivated seeds from many of these species. For the most part, the Goshutes lived in extended family units, but larger groups would sometimes come together to hunt. Goshute bands chose a local wise man to lead them, but he had limited political power.

The Goshutes have both benefited and suffered from their desert isolation. The harsh desert conditions provided an effective barrier against white encroachment until the middle of the nineteenth century, although the Goshutes did encounter transient trappers, emigrants, and slave traders in their territory before that period. While they encountered few whites, the Goshutes were not unaffected by Spanish settlement of New Mexico. They were the frequent victims of slave raids between 1829 and 1859.

Major white settlement began in the 1850s with the arrival of the Mormons. Permanent settlements encroached upon Goshute lands and resources, upsetting the careful ecological balance the Indians had cultivated. Mormon settlement also displaced nearby Ute Indians, who, after 1854, were forced from their homeland around Utah Lake and began encroaching on Goshute territory. Facing competition for scarce natural resources, the Goshutes responded by raiding Mormon settlements and



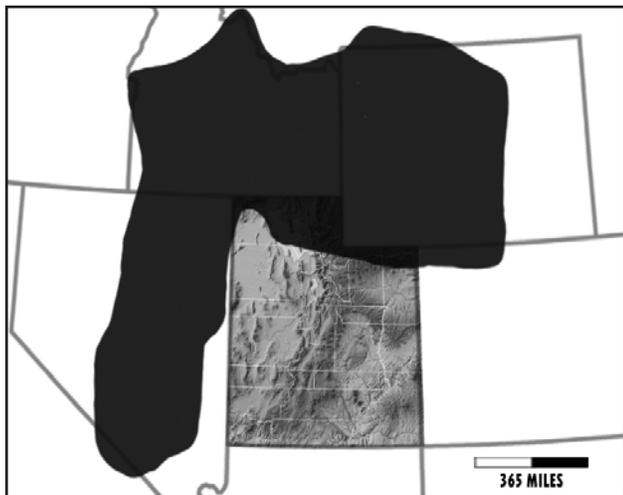
stealing livestock. Mormons retaliated by raiding Goshute encampments to retrieve stolen goods, sometimes resulting in Indian casualties.

Federal authorities established a government farm at Deep Creek for the Goshutes in 1859, but the project was abandoned by the next year. Attacks on the Pony Express and Overland Stage, which ran through traditional Goshute territory, resulted in an 1863 treaty between the Goshutes and the federal government to allow peaceful travel through Goshute country. The Goshutes did not cede any of their territory in the treaty, but federal officials were intent on removing the Indians. Between 1864 and 1912 they undertook efforts to remove the Goshutes to the Uintah Basin, Idaho, Nevada, and Oklahoma, but when these attempts failed, the Goshutes received reservation land in their native Utah. The Skull Valley Reservation was created in 1912, and the Deep Creek Reservation was formed in 1914.

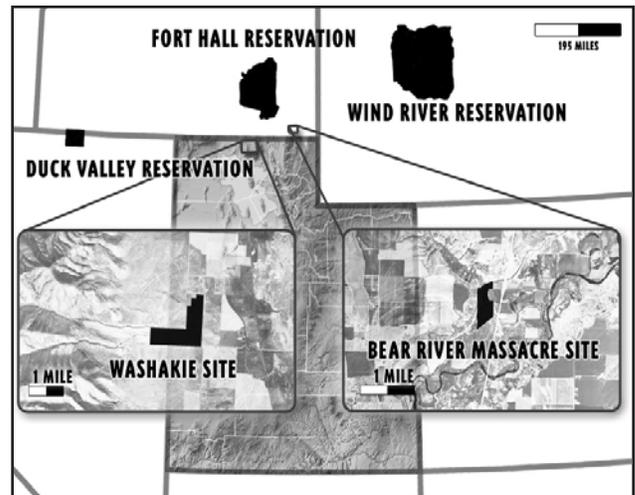
The creation of reservations ensured the Goshutes ownership of some of their traditional homeland, but the reservations also brought Indian agents and federal employees with the mission of reordering Goshute life along a white model. Tensions between the Goshutes and federal authorities frequently resulted, although the conflicts were generally civil and peaceable. The Goshutes, who had always been extremely skilled and efficient in their use of wild plants, took up farming as early as the 1860s. In the reservation period, federal agents promoted agriculture as a means of “civilizing” the Goshutes, but their desert lands generally could not support self-sufficient farming. Without a strong economic base, unemployment and poverty have been constant problems on the reservations.

In the second half of the twentieth century, lack of economic opportunity led the Goshutes to seek outside development. A now-defunct steel fabrication plant opened at Deep Creek in 1969. The Deep Creek Band currently manages an elk herd, and profits from the sale of hunting permits go back to the tribe. In 1976 the Skull Valley Band of Goshutes built a rocket motor testing facility, which it leases to Hercules, Inc. The Skull Valley Band also is actively pursuing the development of a storage facility for spent fuel rods from nuclear power plants. This controversial project is opposed by the governor of Utah, environmental groups, and the Deep Creek Band of Goshutes.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF UTAH'S NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONES



ANCESTRAL SHOSHONE TERRITORY



CURRENT SHOSHONE LANDS AND RESERVATIONS

The Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation is a branch of the larger group of Shoshone people that traditionally lived in Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada. When whites began encroaching on the area that is now Utah in the 1840s, three different groups of Northwestern Shoshones lived here. The misnamed Weber Utes lived in Weber Valley near present-day Ogden, Utah. The Pocatello Shoshones dwelt between the northern shore of the Great Salt Lake and the Bear River. A third group lived in the Cache Valley along the Bear River. They called themselves kammitakka, which means “jackrabbit-eaters.”

The Shoshone people were very mobile and skilled at hunting and gathering, and with each change of the season they migrated to obtain the food and other resources they depended on to survive. In the early autumn, the Northwestern Shoshones moved into the region near what is now Salmon, Idaho, to fish. After fishing was over, they moved into western Wyoming to hunt buffalo, elk, deer, moose, and antelope. They sun-dried the meat for winter and used the hides as clothing and shelter. In the spring and summer, the Northwestern Shoshones traveled around southern Idaho and throughout Utah.

During these months, they spent their time gathering seeds, roots, and berries and socializing. In late summer they dug roots and hunted small game. Around late October, the band moved into western Utah and parts of Nevada for the annual gathering of pinyon nuts (or pine nuts), a nutrient-rich food that formed an important part of the Shoshone diet. The wintering home of the Northwestern Shoshones was in an area around what is now Preston, Idaho. Based on these migration patterns, experts have claimed that the Northwestern Shoshones were among the most ecologically efficient and well-adapted Indians of the American West.

By the 1840s, the Northwestern Shoshones had adopted some aspects of Plains Indian culture, using the horse for mobility and to hunt large game, such as buffalo. The Shoshone way of life came under attack when non-Indian emigrants began to traverse Shoshone lands on the trails to California and Oregon in the early 1840s. The arrival of the members of the LDS Church in 1847 brought added pressure. The Mormons initially settled in the Salt Lake Valley but quickly spread into the Weber



and Cache Valleys, entering Shoshone lands and competing for vital resources. Conflict between the Shoshones and white settlers and emigrants became a serious problem in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Responding to the destruction of game and grass cover and the unprovoked murder of Indians, Shoshone leaders like Chief Pocatello retaliated with raids on emigrant trains. After the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862, more and more whites traveled over Shoshone land. In response to incidents of violence committed by the travelers, some Shoshones, including a group led by Chief Bear Hunter of the Cache Valley, began to raid wagon trains and cattle herds.

Violence erupted on January 29, 1863 when Colonel Patrick Edward Connor and about two-hundred army volunteers from Camp Douglas in Salt Lake City attacked Bear Hunter's people. A group of 450 Shoshone men, women, and children were camped on the Bear River twelve miles from Franklin, Washington Territory (now Idaho). In the early hours of the morning, Connor and his men surrounded the Shoshones and began a four-hour assault on the virtually defenseless group. Some 350 Shoshones were slaughtered by the troops, including many women and children. This was one of the most violent events in Utah's history and the largest Indian massacre in U.S. history.

In the aftermath of the Bear River Massacre, white settlers moved unopposed into traditional Northwestern Shoshone lands. As American settlements grew around them, the few remaining Northwestern Shoshones lost their land base and could no longer sustain their traditional nomadic lifestyle. In 1875, after years of struggle and starvation, many Northwestern Shoshones converted to Mormonism and settled on a church-sponsored farm near Corrine, Utah, an area where the Shoshones had traditionally wintered. The farm was short-lived, as federal officials, responding to unfounded rumors that the Shoshones were planning an attack on Corrine, expelled them from the farm and attempted to force them onto the newly founded Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho.

Some Northwestern Shoshones did move to Fort Hall, but those who wanted to remain in their traditional homeland were left without a reservation and had to search for alternative means to secure a land base. Beginning in 1876, using rights guaranteed under the Homestead Act, the Northwestern Shoshones acquired and settled land between the Malad and Bear rivers. The Malad Indian Farm was eventually discarded due to its insufficient size and the difficulty of irrigating in the area. The Northwestern Shoshones considered moving back to the Cache Valley but instead moved to a new farm in the Malad Valley just south of Portage, Utah. They named the farm after their admired leader Washakie, and the settlement, which was managed by members of the LDS Church, was the Northwestern band's home for the next eighty years. Tragically, in the summer of 1960, representatives of the LDS Church, who mistakenly believed that Washakie had been abandoned, burnt the Shoshones' houses to the ground in preparation for the sale of the church farm. The church later gave the band 184 acres of land near Washakie to atone for this mistake.

Until 1987, the Northwestern band was administered by the federal government as part of a larger Shoshone tribe. That year the government recognized the tribe as independent, and the Northwestern Shoshones adopted a constitution and tribal council. In addition to the Washakie land, the tribe holds some private lands held in trust by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and is attempting to purchase more land to solidify its home in Utah. The Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation is quickly developing and, in so doing, is reasserting its rightful place in the history of Utah.



SOVEREIGNTY

The Goshutes, Utes, Navajos, Northwestern Shoshones, and Paiutes are more than just groups of people who share cultural traits; each is also a sovereign nation that existed long before non-Indians came to the western United States. Though the actual practice of sovereignty by Indian nations has been complicated by the various ways the U.S. federal government, state governments, and non-Indian individuals have viewed native people's unique legal status, asserting and protecting sovereignty remains a vital issue to Utah's Indian nations.

These lesson plans, designed to coordinate with the existing state and national standards for high social studies curriculum, focus on the theme of sovereignty. They include lessons that are broad in scope, looking at sovereignty in Indian communities across what is now the United States and throughout Utah, and five lessons that focus on specific issues of sovereignty that affect each of Utah's Indian nations. These issues include struggles over land and natural resources that have their basis in history but are also very much a part of modern life for Utah's Indian tribes.





AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

RETHINKING MANIFEST DESTINY: WESTWARD EXPANSION AND AMERICAN INDIAN SOVEREIGNTY

TEACHER BACKGROUND

While commenting on the annexation of Texas in 1845, Democratic journalist John L. O’Sullivan wrote that it was, “the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence.” At that time, many Americans agreed with Sullivan, assuming that it was the divine right of those of European descent to settle America from sea to shining sea. As white Americans pushed westward throughout the nineteenth century, the rights of the American Indians were rarely considered. While the settlers who came to the Salt Lake Valley in the mid-nineteenth century migrated west for a variety of complicated reasons, the ideology of manifest destiny was evident in the history of white settlement in Utah and had devastating consequences for Utah’s Indians.

OBJECTIVE

The student will be able to weigh the events of history influenced by the assumption of manifest destiny by examining the underlying concepts and points of view involved.

TEACHER MATERIALS

At a Glance: Manifest Destiny from the American Indian Perspective

We Shall Remain: The Ute (chapter 2, 3:25–8:19)

We Shall Remain: The Northwestern Shoshone (chapter 2, 2:19–11:32)

We Shall Remain: The Navajo (chapter 2, 5:27–9:02)

We Shall Remain: The Goshute (chapter 2, 8:55–17:00)

STUDENT MATERIALS

John L. Sullivan Describes America’s “Manifest Destiny”

The Domínguez-Escalante Expedition Encounters a Band of Utes

Heinrich Lienhard Describes the Salt Lake Valley

Henry Smith’s Account of Chief Seattle’s Oration

William Clayton Describes Mormon Settlement of Utah

Toney Tillohash Discusses Paiute Relations with Mormon Settlers

Connor Chapoose Discusses Tensions with Mormon Settlers

Washakie LDS Ward

Ute Group in Salt Lake City

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS NEEDED

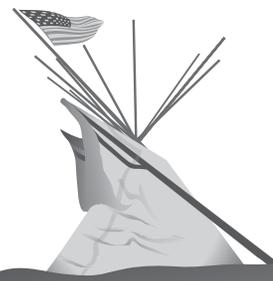
Copy paper

Dictionary

Textbook

TIME FRAME

One period with homework



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PROCEDURE

Give each student a sheet of blank copy paper to fold into four boxes. Have them write the word “destiny” across the top of the first box. Give them two minutes to brainstorm in that box on the meaning of the word destiny. (Depending upon time this may be a Think-Pair-Share.)

Have students title the next box “history.” This box is for brainstorming on the question of “Does destiny play a role in the events of U.S. history?” (Think-Pair-Share)

The third box should be titled “manifest.” Have a student look up this word in the dictionary and share the definition with the class to record in the box. (You may need to direct them to the definition that will be the most useful.)

The last box on the front side is for the definition of “manifest destiny” from the textbook glossary. On the backside of the page have the students find four references to manifest destiny in their textbooks. Each box can contain one reference page number, a short description, a notation as to whether the information available is fact or opinion, and the point of view offered on the event.

Each student now has a prewriting guide to write a five-paragraph document-based question evaluating the impact of manifest destiny on Indian cultures. Although most of the documents focus on Utah, instruct your students to keep the national context in mind.

ASSESSMENT/PRODUCTS

Pre-write page
Essay

VARIATIONS/EXTENSIONS

Students can search www.UtahIndians.org to find documents to create their own DBQ on this theme.

Students can be split into groups representing differing historical points of view to debate the impact of manifest destiny.

Students can reflect on the religious themes that led to the conflict between the Wampanoag and the Pilgrims as shown in *We Shall Remain: After the Mayflower* (chapters 7, 8, 9) and how they compare with the religious themes of manifest destiny. This could be a discussion or an essay.

Students can discuss how Andrew Jackson’s actions, as shown in *We Shall Remain: Trail of Tears* (chapter 4), facilitated manifest destiny and the settlement of the American West.

The events of *We Shall Remain: Geronimo* (chapters 2, 7) are geographically relevant to manifest destiny in Utah. Have students compare the situations.

Have students debate whether the events of 1973, as shown in *We Shall Remain: Wounded Knee* (chapter 6, 7), can be considered the final acts of manifest destiny.



AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

Alley, John R., Jr. "Prelude to Dispossession: The Fur Trade's Significance for the Northern Utes and Southern Paiutes." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1982): 104–23.

Reeve, W. Paul. *Making Space on the Western Frontier: Mormons, Miners, and Southern Paiutes*. Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois, 2006.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED

State Standards

High School – United States History II: 1/3/a&e

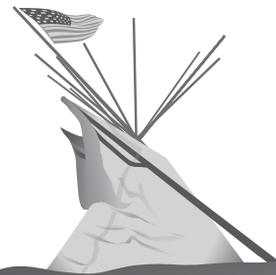
High School – United States Government and Citizenship: 3/1/c; 4/3/a; 6/1/c

Accreditation Competencies

Social and Civic Responsibility/Demonstrates an appreciation of diversity and interdependence of all people/Understands the history, people, and traditions that have shaped local communities, nations, and the world

NCSS Standards

High School: 1/b&f; 2/c,d&e; 3/h,i&k; 4/g; 5/a&e; 6/f



AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

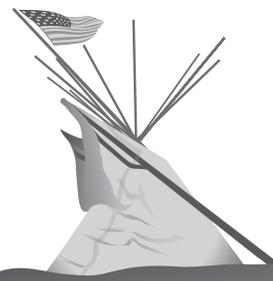
AT A GLANCE: **MANIFEST DESTINY FROM THE AMERICAN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE**

Newspaper editor John L. O’Sullivan first coined the phrase “manifest destiny” in an 1845 editorial wherein he argued that it was America’s “manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.” Historians have since used the term to characterize the expansionistic exuberance that typified the 1840s. By that point, white Americans had come to believe that both geographic expansion and population growth were a part of the national character. The United States had doubled in size with the addition of the Louisiana Purchase territory in 1803. James K. Polk ran for the presidency on an expansionist platform, and the U.S. would nearly double in size again with the annexation of Texas in 1845, the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute with Britain in 1846, and the acquisition of what would come to be called the American Southwest following the U.S.-Mexican War in 1848. During the same time period, the population of the United States quadrupled. As O’Sullivan articulated it, and many Americans came to believe it, God seemed to destine that the United States span North America from coast to coast. As settlers spread across the continent to occupy these new lands, they brought Anglo-centric worldviews that caused them to perceive the indigenous peoples they encountered in negative terms, which ultimately produced devastating land and population losses for Native Americans. In Utah, the story was no different.

Eventhough “manifest destiny” is most specifically applicable to the United States in the 1840s, it can be broadly defined to include any nation’s impe-

rialistic and expansionistic thrusts. In this regard, Indians in the area that would come to be called Utah, encountered expansionistic ideals first with the Spanish imperialists and then with English, American, and French fur traders and trappers (for more information on this earlier period see “Rethinking First Contact: The Effects of European Arrival on the Established Cultures of North America”). Then, in the 1840s, non-Indian emigrants began to traverse Utah on their way to the West Coast. In 1841, a portion of the Bartleson-Bidwell Party became the first non-Indians to bring overland wagons through Utah. Government explorer John C. Fremont was not far behind. Fremont was married to Jessie Benton, daughter of Senator Thomas Hart Benton from Missouri, an ardent expansionist who ensured that his son-in-law’s explorations were well funded and that they would enjoy immediate government publication. Three of Fremont’s five western explorations took him to Utah, and his findings were published and widely read. Fremont greatly expanded the available knowledge about western lands and their potential for settlement. Before departing for the West from Illinois members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly called the Mormons) read Fremont’s report and used it to determine potential settlement locations.

In 1846, one year before the Mormon migration, an enterprising western promoter named Lansford W. Hastings persuaded four overland parties to leave the well-worn Oregon/California trail and take a proposed “cutoff” across the south end of the Great Salt Lake and the salt des-



AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

ert. It proved an ill-conceived plan, as the area was not conducive to wagon travel. The last of the groups Hastings attracted to his cutoff was the ill-fated Donner Party, but the less-well-known Lienhard Party preceded the Donner group across Utah. Heinrich Lienhard, a young Swiss immigrant for whom the party was named, wrote in his journal of the impressive natural resources that the Salt Lake Valley seemed to offer. He suggested that he might have been tempted to stay and settle “had there been a single family of white men to be found living here.”

The perceived isolation of the Great Basin, kept most overland immigrants moving westward, while it was that very isolation that attracted the Mormons to stay. Both perspectives failed to recognize the region’s Native American peoples as having long-standing claims and deep cultural ties to the land. America’s agents of manifest destiny tended to ignore or dismiss Indian occupation, choosing instead to see the West as a blank slate waiting to be “civilized.” Because the Protestant majority in America viewed the Mormons themselves as uncivilized, heathen, and barbaric, the Utah manifest destiny story sometimes diverged from the national narrative, but it was also bleakly conventional.

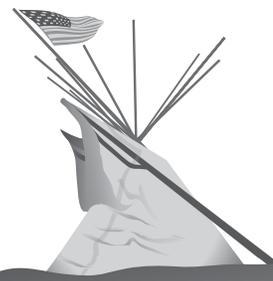
Mormons differed from other overland migrants in important ways. They were, on average, poorer than the middle-class migrants who went to California and Oregon, they were not voluntary migrants but were forced from their homes, and they migrated as an entire people. Rather than agents pushing American progress, individualism, and acquisitiveness forward, Mormons saw themselves as builders of a communal and godly kingdom. They were religious refugees seeking isolation and a place where they could withdraw

from the world, economically, as well as spiritually. Despite these differences, the end result for the Native Americans was the same: they suffered loss of land and population and were removed to reservations.

As historian John R. Alley argues, both the Utes and Southern Paiutes initially welcomed Mormon settlers but for different reasons. The Utes saw Mormons as permanent trading partners. No longer would they have to go to Spanish settlements or wait for caravans along the Old Spanish Trail. The Southern Paiutes also invited the Mormons to settle because they saw the Mormons as a potential buffer against Ute slave raids and hoped to gain access to Euro-American material goods which the Utes had long used against them.

Utah’s indigenous people did not fully understand the sheer numbers of Mormon settlers that would pour into the Great Basin during the last half of the nineteenth century. The Mormon doctrine of “the gathering” motivated converts to migrate to Utah and brought an influx of settlers from the eastern United States, Canada, Britain, and northwestern Europe. By 1860 over 42,000 Mormons had migrated to Utah Territory. They soon spread out across the Great Basin to occupy traditional Native American hunting, fishing, gathering, farming, and camping locales. By the time of his death in 1877, Brigham Young had directed the founding of over three hundred Mormon communities in the Intermountain West, making him one of America’s foremost colonizers.

Native Americans experienced this colonization as a devastating series of events that dramatically changed their ways of life. Mormon settlers



AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

brought diseases for which native peoples had no immunity. Mormon settlement also produced crippling land loss and diminished access to and availability of natural resources. As the Mormon population increased, the Native American population diminished. An estimated 20,000 Native Americans occupied Utah on the eve of the Mormon arrival; by 1900 the native population had dropped to about 2,000—a ninety percent decline over fifty years. It would not be until the mid 1980s that the population of Utah’s indigenous peoples would recover to its pre-settlement level.

Naturally, conflict erupted between Mormons and Native Americans. After Mormons occupied Utah Valley in 1849, settlers and Indians fought. Brigham Young authorized a limited extermination before he finally concluded in 1852 that “it is cheaper to feed the [Native Americans] than it is to fight them.” Even still, the Mormon attempt

to curtail the Ute slave trade and settlers’ pressure on Ute lands and resources erupted into the Walker War. The Black Hawk War, which involved the Utes and some Navajos and Paiutes, followed. Although Utah’s tribes were able to resist for a time, eventually all were removed from their ancestral lands and confined to reservations. The devastating ramifications of manifest destiny played out across Utah and reverberated into the twentieth century.

Viewed from the Indian perspective, the story of manifest destiny is tragic. However, it also demonstrates Indians’ remarkable resilience and persistency. In the twenty-first century, Utah’s Native American population is growing. In 2005 about 33,000 Native Americans lived in Utah, comprising about 2 percent of the state’s population. Tribes occupy about 4 percent of the land in the state.

JOHN L. SULLIVAN DESCRIBES AMERICA'S "MANIFEST DESTINY"

Newspaper editor John L. O'Sullivan first coined the phrase "manifest destiny" in an 1845 editorial wherein he argued that it was America's "manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." Here he describes the reasons he believes white Americans are so exceptional.

The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity.

It is so destined, because the principle upon which a nation is organized fixes its destiny, and that of equality is perfect, is universal. . . . What friend of human liberty, civilization, and refinement, can cast his view over the past history of the monarchies and aristocracies of antiquity, and not deplore that they ever existed? What philanthropist can contemplate the oppressions, the cruelties, and injustice inflicted by them on the masses of mankind, and not turn with moral horror from the retrospect?

America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defence of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes. We have had pa-

triot to defend our homes, our liberties, but no aspirants to crowns or thrones; nor have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy. . . .

We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. . . .

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfilment of our mission—to the entire development of the principle of our organization—freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man—the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?

John L. O'Sullivan, "The Great Nation of Futurity," *The United States Democratic Review* 6, no. 23 (1845): 426–30

THE DOMÍNGUEZ-ESCALANTE EXPEDITION ENCOUNTERS A BAND OF UTES

The Domínguez-Escalante expedition began in July 1776 and was led by two Spanish padres, Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Veléz de Escalante, who wanted to establish a trade route from the Spanish colony at Santa Fe to the newly founded colony on the west coast at Monterey. Spanish officials were also interested in finding potential converts to Christianity, exploring Spain's northern frontier, and learning of its peoples, plants, and animals. Spanish accounts of this expedition provided the earliest historical record of many of Utah's Native Americans.

“On the 29th, about ten in the morning, five Sabuagana Yutas, yelling loudly, let themselves be seen on top of some hills on the other side. We figured them to be those whom we had sent to be sought out, but as soon as they arrived where we were we realized that they were not from among those summoned. We gave them wherewith to eat and smoke, but after a long parley—its subject being the quarrels they had been having this summer with the Yamparica Comanches [possibly Comanche, Eastern Shoshone, or a different band of Ute Indians]—we could not draw out of them anything useful for our plan, because theirs was to fill us with fear by exaggerating the danger to which we were exposing ourselves of being killed by the Comanches if we continued our course. We refuted the validity of these pretenses, by which they were trying to stop us from going ahead, by telling them that our God, who is everyone's, would defend us if we should happen to run into these foes.”

Fray Angelico Chavez, trans., *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, ed. Ted J. Warner (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 27.

HEINRICH LIENHARD DESCRIBES THE SALT LAKE VALLEY

Heinrich Lienhard, a young Swiss immigrant, traveled through the Salt Lake Valley with an emigrant train in 1846. He wrote in his journal of the impressive natural resources that the Salt Lake Valley seemed to offer.

On the 7th [of August 1846] we reached the flat shore of the magnificent Salt Lake, the waters of which were clear as crystal, but as salty as the strongest salt brine. It is an immense expanse of water and presents to the eye in a northeasterly [northwesterly] direction nothing but sky and water. In it there are a few barren islands which have the appearance of having been wholly burnt over. The land extends from the mountains down to the lake in a splendid inclined plane broken only by the fresh water running down from ever-flowing springs above. The soil is a rich, deep black sand composition [loam] doubtless capable of producing good crops. The clear, sky-blue surface of the lake, the warm sunny air, the nearby high mountains, with the beautiful country at their foot, through which we on a fine road were passing, made on my spirits an extraordinarily charming impression. The whole day long I felt like singing and whistling; had there been a single family of white men to be found living here, I believe that I would have remained. Oh, how unfortunate that this beautiful country was uninhabited!

Heinrich Lienhard's journal, as quoted in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 224.

HENRY SMITH'S ACCOUNT OF CHIEF SEATTLE'S ORATION

The following is the oration allegedly spoken by Chief Seattle, leader of the Duwamish and Suquamish Indians of Puget Sound, to Isaac Ingalls Stevens, governor of the Washington Territory, in 1854 or 1855. Physician Henry Smith was supposedly present for Seattle's speech, and he wrote it down in 1887. However, because over three decades passed before Smith wrote out his account, it is unclear to this day whether these words should be attributed to Chief Seattle or Henry Smith. Depending on its source, the speech says different things about the meaning of manifest destiny.

Yonder sky that has wept tears of compassion upon our fathers for centuries untold. . . . The son of the White Chief says his father sends us greetings of friendship and good will. This is kind of him, for we know he has little need of our friendship in return because his people are many. They are like the grass that covers the vast prairies, while my people are few: they resemble the scattering trees of a storm-swept plain. . . . There was a time when our people covered the whole land as the waves of a wind-ruffled sea covers its shell-paved floor, but that time has long since passed away with the greatness of tribes almost forgotten. . . . When the last Red Man shall have perished, and the memory of my tribe shall have become a myth among the white man, these shores will swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children's children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone. . . . The White Men will never be alone. Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless— Dead—I say? There is no death. Only a change of worlds.

Henry A. Smith, "Chief Seattle's 1854 Oration," *Seattle Sunday Star*, Oct. 29, 1887, as quoted in T. C. McLuhan, *Touch the Earth: A Self Portrait of Indian Existence* (New York: Promontory Press, 1971).

WILLIAM CLAYTON DESCRIBES MORMON SETTLEMENT OF UTAH

The following is an excerpt from William Clayton's journal written on July 22, 1847 overlooking the Salt Lake Valley. Clayton was an English convert to Mormonism and was a part of the first group of Mormons to enter the Salt Lake Valley.

For my own part I am happily disappointed in the appearance of the valley of the Salt Lake, but if the land be as rich as it has the appearance of being, I have no fears but the Saints can live here and do well while we will do right. When I commune with my own heart and ask myself whether I would choose to dwell here in this wild looking country amongst the Saints surrounded by friends, though poor, enjoying the privileges and blessings of the everlasting priesthood, with God for our King and Father; or dwell amongst the gentiles with all their wealth and good things of the earth, to be eternally mobbed, harassed, hunted, our best men murdered and every good man's life continually in danger, the soft whisper echoes loud and reverberates back in tones of stern determination; give me the quiet wilderness and my family to associate with, surrounded by the Saints and adieu to the gentile world till God says return and avenge you of your enemies.

William Clayton's Journal, as quoted in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 225–26.

TONEY TILLOHASH DISCUSSES PAIUTE RELATIONS WITH MORMON SETTLERS

F: Were these people [Kanab-area cattle ranchers] pretty good to the Indians?

T: Oh yeah, they pretty good.

F: Did they help people along with food and everything?

T: Oh, they give them work on the farm. They little farms, and let them work there. They want to move. The government want 'um move all the Kaibabs. They move them over into San Juan out that way. They say they going to move over there in San Juan, Utah.

F: Over there around Blanding maybe?

T: Yeah, right there on the Colorado, on the Colorado River.

F: And did the Mormons favor this?

T: There was Dave Wooley, and he says he can't move 'um. He says they belong to us. This is the way they were raised. They gonna—we not going to send them away. Like that, they say that's our helper. They gonna stay right here. They told them, you know, that a government man they can't move 'um. So they leave us alone.

F: Is that when they established the reservation at Moccasin?

T: Yeah, that's when. Not him. This a different, different man. They was just a little school there. Day school was abolished over that, over into Shivwit. Then they move it to, oh, to Panguitch. The little—Panguitch below the Panguitch cities, towns.

F: Yes, in those early days did the Mormons try to get the Indians to follow their religion?

T: Who?

F: Did the Mormons try to get the Indians to become Mormons?

T: Oh yes, I'm a Mormon.

F: Yes.

T: Yeah, they baptize kids when they get, oh, eight years old. A lot of them got baptized.

F: Did they follow that religion, the Indian people, or did they keep their own?

T: Both the Indians and the Mormon people, too. Some of them are Indians. They go out to Mormon bishop. Bishop—that a bishop, Indian bishop.

F: A special Indian bishop?

T: Yeah, Mormon bishop. They call 'um 'bishop.' He's right there, farm, on the reservation, but he lives down in St. George now, right here, over on the left side.

F: You don't know his name?

T: Yes, Stewart Snow.

F: Oh.

T: You know him?

F: No, but I've heard his name.

T: But he belong to the Shivwit. He live with us. His house there.

Toney Tillohash, interview with Kay Fowler, June 16, 1967, St. George, Utah, Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project, American West Center, University of Utah, t.s., 8–9, 12–13.

CONNOR CHAPOOSE DISCUSSES TENSIONS WITH MORMON SETTLERS

B: Well, Connor, . . . would you discuss with me a little bit how you think the Utes feel about whites in general, and how do you think they felt toward the whites when they first came in contact with the whites, and how that feeling has changed, if it has, over the years since then?

C: Well, I think, Jack, one of my comments on that is that I've always referred to it as I've heard so many of our councilmen comment to a party that appeared before meetings with our older Indians. They always asked at these meetings, "Are you a white man or a Mormon?" Some place in their line of thinking or to their knowledge or experience they believed they had been mistreated by so-called Mormons. When they tried to work with them other than by tricks and other means, they were more or less distrustful of so-called Mormons. But I would say, as far as we say a white person, I think Mormons were just as white as white people, but in beginning those meetings, they would ask that question, "Are you a Mormon or a white man?" I guess there was two distinctions in their meanings there, because they wouldn't trust the so-called Mormon, if he was representing the Mormons. The Indian was not in a position to do business with the Mormons at all, because some place, some where, they had done wrong. . . .

B: Do you know of any reason why this should have been the case?

C: Yes, as I said, the Mormons had mistreated them, and they thought they would not trust them.

B: After the Mormons came into the valley here, they mistreated the Indians?

C: Yes. At the same time that they said they were doing right, I think a lot of them in the histories there, they did discredit themselves. They did much things as were wrong. They falsified their statements and their manners, and their rulings that the Indians were savages and hostile. But they're the ones that damned themselves by disguising themselves as Indians and even killed their own people in order just to discredit the Indians so they could say it was Indians.

B: I see.

C: I think that was one of the main things. They disguised themselves to gain possession of certain things which the Indians were disqualified for. Of course, on the Mormons' side, they did make it look like the Indians were the ones doing this, when they were the ones doing one of the most savage acts themselves and discrediting the Indians who weren't actually doing it. Thinking up these schemes to possess certain things, and they done it through false intent to discredit the Indians. So that was the reason the Indians did feel awfully strong against the Mormons at the time.

Connor Chapoose, interview with John Boyden, Sept. 16, 1960, Salt Lake City, Utah, interview no. 8, Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project, American West Center, University of Utah, t.s., 22-24.

WASHAKIE LDS WARD



The Washakie settlement was a farm established in the 1880s by members of the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone and officials from the LDS Church. This photo shows members of the Washakie LDS ward meeting with Mormon Church officials in Salt Lake City, April 5, 1931.

UTE GROUP IN SALT LAKE CITY



This photo shows a group of Utes in front of the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution in Salt Lake City, circa 1870. The Utes display their weapons and horses.



AN INTRODUCTION TO UTAH'S INDIAN HISTORY

LIVING IN TWO WORLDS? BEING INDIAN IN UTAH

TEACHER BACKGROUND

Utah's tribal nations hold a sovereign status that is independent of the state of Utah. As a result, Utah's American Indians are citizens of their native nations, of the state of Utah, and of the United States. Affiliation with multiple political bodies has complicated political and cultural implications. In addition to membership in their tribes, Utah's Indians are both Utahns and Americans, but their relationship to the state and nation is marked by a legacy of maltreatment that began with white expansion into their tribes' sovereign territories. (For more on the history of settlement and its relationship to Indian sovereignty, see the "Rethinking Manifest Destiny" lesson plan and Appendix B.)

This lesson plan illuminates some of the challenges contemporary native people face in navigating their ties to sovereign Indian nations, the state, and the U.S., a situation often called "living in two worlds," although the reality for most is more complex than the bifurcation this term suggests.

OBJECTIVE

The student will be able to perceive the challenges of navigating multiple cultures faced by contemporary Indians.

TEACHER MATERIALS

At a Glance: Sovereignty, Tribal Culture, and "Living in Two Worlds"

We Shall Remain: The Paiute (7:43–10:10; 20:50–23:18; 24:30–26:10)

We Shall Remain: The Ute (15:00–17:30; 23:30–25:28)

We Shall Remain: The Goshute (4:40–17:00; 22:03–25:18)

We Shall Remain: The Navajo (9:40–10:30; 24:00–25:30)

We Shall Remain: The Northwestern Shoshone (13:06–18:15; 21:30–23:30)

STUDENT MATERIALS

Venita Taveapont Interview,
We Shall Remain: The Ute

Ella Cantrell and Candace Bear Interviews,
We Shall Remain: The Goshute

Patty Timbimboo-Madsen Interview,
We Shall Remain: The Northwestern Shoshone

Jennifer Denetdale and Joe Shirley Interviews,
We Shall Remain: The Navajo

Travis Parashonts Interview,
We Shall Remain: The Paiute

TIME FRAME

One or two class periods with homework



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PROCEDURE

Allow the class to watch the clips that address the issues of “living in two worlds” in the Paiute, Ute, Northwestern Shoshone, Navajo and Goshute *We Shall Remain* films.

Discuss the clips to reinforce the human element of this political and cultural situation. How does navigating multiple cultures impact the individuals shown in the films?

Have students search the internet to find articles that suggest how Indians have grappled with “living in two worlds.” Instruct them to pay close attention to the issues of Indian tribal sovereignty and self-governance and the way these issues relate to the political, cultural, social, and economic challenges that come with “living in two worlds.” If possible, you should require a number of articles about a number of different tribes; samples from tribal newspapers or websites, such as www.indianz.com and www.indiancountrytoday.com; and coverage that compares Utah-based issues to those in other western states or other regions, which can be found at websites like www.hcn.org.

Have students develop a product to report on their findings—this could be an essay, a PowerPoint presentation, a debate, a chart or bulletin board, or a zine. You may choose to have this product submitted as graded homework or presented in the following class (thereby extending the time requirement for this lesson); or, if the product is focused on Utah tribes, you may use it to frame subsequent classes on the sovereignty issues of the Goshutes, Paiutes, Northwestern Shoshones, Navajos, and Utes.

ASSESSMENT/PRODUCTS

Article choice and number

Chosen product

VARIATIONS/EXTENSIONS

Split students into five groups and have each group read one of the supplied interview excerpts. Have them make an argument about what it means to “live in two worlds” based on that source.

Invite a guest speaker to address issues not covered by student research.

Have students use chosen products to teach this issue to a seventh grade class learning Utah history.

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

McCool, Daniel, Susan M. Olson, and Jennifer L. Robinson. *Native Vote: American Indians, the Voting Rights Act, and the Right to Vote*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Child, Brenda. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Cuch, Forrest S., ed. *A History of Utah's American Indians*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000.



AN INTRODUCTION TO UTAH'S INDIAN HISTORY

STANDARDS ADDRESSED

State Standards

High School – United States Government and Citizenship: 3/1/c; 3/2/d; 4/3/a

Accreditation Competencies

Thinking and Reasoning/Integrates new learning with existing knowledge and experiences/Uses various reading and writing strategies to organize, interpret, analyze, and comprehend information; Social and Civic Responsibility/Demonstrates an appreciation of diversity and interdependence of all people/Analyzes diverse viewpoints of social and civic issues in local, regional, and global events

NCSS Standards

High School: 1/a-f; 4/c,e&f; 5/a,b&d;10/c



AN INTRODUCTION TO UTAH'S INDIAN HISTORY

AT A GLANCE: SOVEREIGNTY, TRIBAL CULTURE, AND “LIVING IN TWO WORLDS”

This lesson explores how Utah's Indians negotiate their place in Utah and the United States. As members of tribes, they are part of sovereign aboriginal nations that predate the United States. This means that they belong to a group that can govern itself independently from federal, state, and local governments. Sovereignty for these five nations is rooted in ancient ties to their homelands and traditional cultural practices and resides, in part, on articulated agreements between tribes and the federal government, in tribes' explicit pronouncements of sovereignty as written into formal governmental constitutions, and in tribes' powers to control their membership. It is important to remember that each of the tribes represented in this curriculum guide have distinct histories of sovereign relations with the U.S. and the states, and they articulate aspects of their sovereignty in distinct ways.

Although members of a political entity that possesses inherent sovereignty in its relationship to state and federal governments, Utah's Indians also are part of life in Utah and in rest of the United States. Contrary to the perception of some non-Indians, being a tribal member does not exclude one from being a citizen of the United States or participating in state and city activities. The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 formally conveyed American citizenship to American Indians and confirmed their right to vote in both tribal elections and state/local government elections. Unfortunately, the act was not uniformly applied; Utah, for instance, did not allow Indians to vote until the 1950s, making it one of the last states

to do so.

Utah's failure to grant Indians the vote prior to the 1950s—despite the federal ruling—is in keeping with a history of marginalization that has profoundly shaped the experience of being Indian in Utah. Historically, many non-Indians viewed Indians as inferior to white Europeans and Americans. The doctrine of white superiority supported the idea that it was legitimate to take away vast tracts of Indians' original territory and place Indians on reservations.

The settlement of Utah, contrary to popular belief, was in many ways typical of the national story. In his introduction to *A History of Utah's American Indians*, Forrest Cuch, the director of the Utah's Division of Indian Affairs and a Ute educator, identifies two major “myths” about Utah history: that “no one” lived in Utah prior to Mormon settlement and that after settlement, Utah's American Indians received better treatment than Indians in other states. Both assumptions about the state's past are inaccurate and deny Utah Indians their rightful place in the state's history. The second assumption is particularly damaging because it masks the mistreatments and injustices that Utah's Indians suffered. Indeed, as Cuch points out, “in the case of the Bear River Massacre . . . treatment was even more harsh and severe than what was experienced by Indians residing in other states.”

Ironically, while most whites did not want Indians in their midst, they also believed that



AN INTRODUCTION TO UTAH'S INDIAN HISTORY

Indians should be forced to assimilate into Euro-American culture, and starting at the end of the nineteenth century the federal government implemented a series of policies aimed at forcing Indian assimilation. Perhaps the most well-known example of the national assimilation effort was the policy of sending Indian children to boarding schools, where they were not allowed to use native languages or engage in indigenous practices. In Utah, the push for assimilation was more complicated because it could come from both the federal government and the dominant immigrant group, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Some Indians rejected Mormon doctrine as incompatible with their traditional belief systems and church-sponsored farms as contradictory to their traditional economies. But others embraced Mormonism and the social and economic support the LDS Church provided, although for many Indians, conversion did not necessarily mean giving up all ancestral spiritual beliefs and practices.

Contemporary Indians, as KUED's documentaries make clear, are well aware of whites' historic desire to eradicate or alter their native cultures. They are also aware that some whites still do not acknowledge the importance of Indian cultures today, but still think of Indians as "out of place" when they engage in "white" cultural practices, especially in cities and towns outside of tribal sovereign boundaries. Such prejudices affect tribal members' perception of their relationship to both tribal and national culture. While some choose to stay on ancestral lands to maintain close ties to their communities, others may do so because they believe that they would not be accepted in white society. At

the same time, while some Indians disdain mainstream American and Utah culture, the majority engage deeply with those cultures. Indeed, we should not see "American" culture as completely separate from tribal cultures, given that the latter predate the American nation and have profoundly influenced its formation. Accordingly, the notion of "living in two worlds," which is used repeatedly in the KUED documentaries, accurately reflects some Indians' individual experiences but does not fully convey the complexity of those individuals' relationships to their sovereign cultures and American culture at large.

In spite of being an oversimplification, the idea of "two worlds" is useful because it reminds us that tribal cultures remain distinct from—and marginalized by—the dominant U.S. worldview. Listening to current members of each of Utah's five tribes discuss their and fellow tribal members' place in the world is the best way to understand how they have personally experienced historical efforts to erode their tribe's sovereign rights and culture. For example, in the *We Shall Remain: The Paiute* documentary, tribal member Travis Parashonts discusses how the history of marginalization of the Paiutes has made Paiutes feel that they must choose between being Paiute and participating in the world at large. Parashonts says, "You can have balance in the modern world, the white world, and you can have balance in the Indian world, and when I went to college I had this thing called marginalism for my people. We live in a world of marginalism—we walk the fence, and sometimes this fence is made up of all kinds of obstacles. . . and the Indian person has to walk that. Where do they fall in at, you know? A lot of them get confused. Where am I in life? Who am I, you know?"



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Parashonts uses the metaphor of “two worlds” to show how Paiute cultural values have been undermined in the broader American society.

Because of such marginalization, it becomes increasingly necessary for Indians to experience and assert their distinctive and sovereign tribal cultures. In *We Shall Remain: The Ute*, Ute language and cultural studies instructor Venita Taveapont argues that it is important for students to learn tribally specific cultural practices such as speaking the Ute language. Such knowledge benefits both the tribe and the individual; as the tribe’s *Ute Indian Tribe Education Department Plan of 2004* states, students need a strong Ute cultural program so that they will “realize their maximum learning potential in maintaining dignity and self-worth throughout their lives.”

Indians can exert this cultural sovereignty and also participate in American culture at large. In *We Shall Remain: The Goshute*, student Candace Bear suggests that Goshute people can both maintain their cultural knowledge and be part of the larger world. She feels that the real question is “Do we go forward or back?” and notes that her grandfather used to tell her, “There is another day coming.” She also points out that

the Goshute people have survived the effects of non-Indian settlement in their territory, and this persistence serves as evidence that the Goshutes have a bright future and can move forward as a distinct people living in the broader world.

These are only a few examples of the reflections by tribal members in *We Shall Remain*, and more extensive excerpts have been included in the student materials for this lesson. These diverse voices indicate the complex ways Utah’s Indians negotiate tribal, state, and national cultures and remind us of the distinct histories and cultures of each of Utah’s tribes. The *We Shall Remain* documentaries—along with the individual lesson plans that follow—testify to the value of tribal sovereignty, but they also insist that Indian cultures and individuals are integral to the cultures of America and Utah.

VENITA TAVEAPONT INTERVIEW, *WE SHALL REMAIN: THE UTE*

Interviewer: What does it mean to walk between two worlds? What's the experience like?

Taveapont: Okay. You know, they have some people say that they walk in two worlds. You know, the non-Indian world and the Indian world. But one of the things that I've found, as an Indian person, is that I think you have to be strong in your own language, in your own culture, in your own identity, knowing where you come from, and in knowing where you're going and to be able to do that. If you lack knowledge, in either, then you're not going to be able to do that. If you have knowledge of non-Indian culture, non-Indian world, non-Indian language, you know, you're going to be able to do that successfully. But if you don't, if you don't have a good command of that, then you're not going to be able to do that. And I found that most of the Ute people that are successful can do that, but they also know their own language. They also know your own culture, and participate in the cultural practices, traditional practices, and they're able to move easily between the two worlds. And I find that, in my own experience, that in living in the Uintah Basin, and working with what we used to call the good ol' boys, you know, I knew what kind of language to use with them. And it's English, but it had to be the way they thought. And I couldn't do that if I didn't have knowledge of them. And, in working with my own people, I have to have knowledge about the language and the cultural practices—because if I didn't, then I would be ignorant, or looked at as ignorant, and being impolite and disrespectful. And so that helps me in my other world. And I think the students today, or young people today, have a hard time, because they don't have that knowledge of being able to move easily between the two. And sometimes I see them hurting because of that, not being able to. And my experiences, I try to share with them, so they'll be able to see, and be able to do that.

Venita Taveapont, interview with Nancy Green, n.d., *We Shall Remain*, KUED Public Television,
<http://www.kued.org/productions/weshallremain/pdfs/Venita.pdf>.

ELLA CANTRELL AND CANDACE BEAR INTERVIEWS, *WE SHALL REMAIN: THE GOSHUTE*

Cantrell: I'm 85 years old. I take great pleasure in telling about my life as it has been. Well all I can say is that the Goshutes have come a long way from the time that they were I'd say interned on that reservation like they were some kind of prisoners. The way my elders told me, the reason why we were there on the reservation was that the white men put us there within that barbed wire fence, and if we ever found out that we were outside that line, that we'd get taken off to jail. And, we came to fear the white people, for that reason, because I'd say every time we see a white person we'd think that they're coming, coming to take us off the reservation and put us somewhere else, or make us a slave of some sort.

I was 16 years old. I realized that I needed to learn this new language. We were told at school not to speak our language, and if we did we, we'd get extra duties; we'd have to clean toilet bowls and washbasins and mop floors and scrub floors, and this and that. So that's how it, our life has been and it, it hasn't been easy.

Bear: Growing up in Skull Valley really has been a joy; I feel my life is truly blessed. I would never say that I've had a bad life. I'm very happy [laughs].

As a teenager and Native American I suppose the biggest struggle is just that constant decision "Do I modernize or do I stay?" Well the real question is do we go forward or back. That thinking, that we have to fit the stereotype, we really don't.

I think that as far as Goshutes go, Skull Valley band of Goshutes, for us the biggest thing is to survive. Tradition of course, even if we didn't practice it in government or economy we would still practice it at home. That's our way of preserving it, keeping it close to the family.

PATTY TIMBIMBOO-MADSEN INTERVIEW, *WE SHALL REMAIN: THE NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONE*

Interviewer: What does it mean to be federally recognized, what does it mean to you to be a Northwestern Shoshone tribe member? What does it mean to be Northwestern Shoshone?

Timbimboo-Madsen: I think about so long ago when Columbus came and what did he call the Indians? He thought he was in India and called us Indians; not really knowing where he was, the label he put on us and it stuck. I think about when the trappers came into the area and they came with an Indian guide probably. And they asked, what, “Who are these people?” We call them Shoshones. Well then, it’s another label given to you by somebody else. So then if you ask me who I am, I would say I’m Newe; Newe meaning “the people,” the people of this area. I think you have a lot of Native American people who are going that way, the Ute, Nuche. You have Denai, the Papago people, Tohono O’odham, are going back to the traditional names. And I think that certainly for us, is our identity, not somebody else identity that was given to us. So, to recapture that, it’s almost like we talk about the circle. We’re coming back to where we were. And I think a lot of the stuff that we are doing to try to enrich our children’s lives is what we need to do to make them whole too.

Interviewer: Do you feel like you are defined by everybody else? That the Newe, the people, have been defined by the surrounding culture?

Timbimboo-Madsen: I certainly think at times that they have, they have stereotyped us and it’s been done by TV—you think about Buffalo Bill. Buffalo Bill started the powwow, it wasn’t the Indians. It was him. Because of what he created and

at times, you saw the savage part of it, and there was also at times, the romantic part of it. But I think that in any culture there’s always good and there’s always bad. And that’s the same way with the Indian people. But how did you deal with it? You don’t blame a whole group of people for what one person did. You deal with that one person and that’s the way the Indian people would deal with, with things. There was a lady who came into our encampment here last week and she says, “My word, you speak good English.” And I thought, “How am I supposed to speak?” Certainly in our household, my mom and dad both spoke Shoshone and I always thought it was a language for them. They didn’t want us to hear what they were saying. So it wasn’t really anything. As I got older, I realized that my mother was spanked during her school years for speaking Shoshone. And in my mind I thought, maybe that’s why we were never taught. Because she didn’t want us to go through what she did. I really didn’t think about the way I spoke as anything different than anybody else. Only ’til I got to school, when I went to Utah State, that was probably back in about 1972, and the Indian students, the other Native American students, came and says, “You don’t act like an Indian.” And that was the first time I ever hurt, I ever felt prejudice, was that my own, I thought were my own people telling me, “You’re not an Indian because you don’t speak like one, you don’t act like one.” But it didn’t, for me it really didn’t matter because I felt that if they don’t like me it’s ok, and just move on. And after about a year I got to know more of ’em and it was ok. But I could still feel that, a little uneasiness in my life.

Interviewer: Do you think that's because the Northwestern Shoshone, and correct me if I'm wrong, have lived more of an assimilated life-style?

Timbimboo-Madsen: Umm-hmm.

Interviewer: Explain to me that assimilation, and the way that affects you.

Timbimboo-Madsen: I think for those of the Northwestern band, the assimilation came, it was both good and it was both bad, because you had to give up something for the other. But it was a way to survive, too. I think after the massacre they felt that it could happen again and maybe next time there will be none of us left anymore. I think they had to try and if the leaders of the tribe said, "This is the way we need to go to survive; this is what we're going to do." They embraced the Mormon Church.

One of our elders, Kenneth Neaman, said that it, the religion, was so much like our own religion. We believe in life after death, we believe in one great being or spirit or god. Maybe the difference is how you pray to it, to them or to him or whatever but it's the same. I think the idea of family also touched them because you know, without that family structure for Native American people, you can't survive. You need all those helping hands. You need to pass on your skills to the next generation. So that unity was important.

Interviewer: Is there a cost to that assimilation? Is there a cost to the living with both worlds?

Timbimboo-Madsen: I think the cost for the assimilation for us has been the, the loss of some of the living skills of our ancestors. Certainly, and the skills that they had then, how useful are they now? But I know and my husband has certainly said, we can survive if anything ever happens. We can put meat on our table. We can clothe our family. And we can probably survive in the elements. And those skills, so many people don't have and take it for granted that the store is always gonna be there. Look, is there gonna be gas there tomorrow? But trying to recapture it, it makes it so much more important because it was lost. It means more. I think as far as living in the communities, I would say, education was important to the people our tribe. But not everybody was fortunate enough to take advantage of that. But some of 'em were, and some of 'em did go far with their education.

There's a lady up in Fort Hall, and we would go up there and they would say, yes you guys are our relatives and you were the people that wash a lot. Or you were the, we wanna come down and visit you people because you people put up fruit.

But that's what they learned from the Mormon people, was that part that people looked at us and said, "Those are those Indians, those Mormon Indians." It helped because the people of the communities knew us. I think back around 1860s, seventies and eighties, when the communities were still trying to settle in. There was a lot of dissension. I think land ownership was important to the nonnative people that came in to here. And so it caused some problems.

JENNIFER DENETDALE AND JOE SHIRLEY INTERVIEWS, *WE SHALL REMAIN: THE NAVAJO*

Interviewer: How do the Navajo interpret manifest destiny?

Denetdale: The interpretation of manifest destiny, you often hear—I think it’s still true—that American western history is about American expansionism into the West, acquiring lands and attempting to extinguish indigenous peoples’ claims to the land. And so manifest destiny has meant to the Navajo people the loss of their land, the loss of their liberty, and the loss of their personal freedom. Manifest destiny has meant genocide to indigenous peoples.

Interviewer: How do Navajo perceive the world differently than western worldviews?

Denetdale: One of the most important reasons for retaining the language is because the language has within it a people’s worldview. The language has within it a very distinctive way of seeing the world. And for the Navajo people that way of seeing the world is founded upon the philosophy of Hozhó. Hozhó, the path to beauty and old age—that is the quest. It is the fulfillment of a life well lived. To understand that Navajo worldview, one has to know the language and to understand it, to appreciate it.

Interviewer: How have the Navajo, over the years, managed to maintain themselves as a separate and distinct people?

Denetdale: Integral to Navajo identity is the land. We have managed to keep a significant land base, and I think from that is rooted our identity and our philosophy as Navajo people. I think that’s one of the main reasons for our capacity to remain Navajo.

Interviewer: What does it mean to be a sovereign nation?

Shirley: It means pride, it means independence; it means doing for self, and, if there’s anything left over after having done for self, being a contributing member of society here in the world.

Interviewer: What are the greatest ambitions of the Navajo Nation?

Shirley: What is the greatest ambition of the Navajo Nation, I think is getting back our independence, getting back to standing on our own. I think the Creator created us to be just that; as his children, as being members of the Holy People, and stand on our own. I think that can be the greatest ambition.

Interviewer: What are the obstacles to those ambitions?

Shirley: We’re a different people, and we don’t have the same values as those that are on the outside. Money doesn’t mean the way it means to the outside world. We need jobs, we need revenues, we need infrastructure, we need a lot.

Interviewer: What does culture mean to you?

Shirley: Culture is the essence of being. The Creator created us with our language, with our color, with our land, with our paraphernalia, with our herbs. There’s only one way that we can grow, and this is to be Navajo, this is to speak the language, to have the color, to know the herbs, to know the sacred songs and the sacred stories. Nobody else can grow that way. To me, the difference is culture.

Jennifer Denetdale, Ph.D., interview, n.d., *We Shall Remain*, KUED Public Television, <http://www.kued.org/productions/weshallremain/pdfs/WSRDenetdaleInterview.pdf>;

Joe Shirley, interview, n.d., *We Shall Remain*, KUED Public Television, <http://www.kued.org/productions/weshallremain/pdfs/WSRShirleyInterview.pdf>.

TRAVIS PARASHONTS INTERVIEW, *WE SHALL REMAIN: THE PAIUTE*

Parashonts: People look at me and they think that well, you know you're doing good, you know you've got a job and everything seems like it's going . . . but it's not true. Even I have imbalance in my life—in my spirit and my soul, and I think that's what that is saying that today there may be an imbalance in some people's lives. . . . You can have balance in the modern world, the white world, and you can have balance in the Indian world, and when I went to college I had this thing called marginalism for my people. We live in a world of marginalism—we walk the fence, and sometimes this fence is made up of all kinds of obstacles—the Mormon Church, religion, culture, tradition, white world, Indian world, white education, Indian education, you know it's . . . and the Indian person has to walk that. Where do they fall in at, you know? A lot of them get confused. Where am I in life? Who am I, you know? Because we live in a white world yet we want to be Indian. We want to be Indian, but we want all of the things that the white people have, so how do you find the balance? . . . Termination threw us way out of balance. Our tribe is way out of balance. When we got federally recognized in April 3, 1980, the pride just came back—to be able to own land again, you know, just the level of pride just shot up, and when we first started this powwow over here, we had very few people who were dancers, and now we have lots of people who are dancers, and you know you talked about Shanan earlier. She was just a little girl when termination happened, when restoration happened, and you know now she has been taught a lot of those things, and she brings that pride into that circle, into the powwow arena, as well as all of the other Paiutes who come and dance and sing, and to me that's very gratifying for me to see, you know, to see that happen because back in 1979 in the '70s, you never saw any of that, you know. It was all lost. It was all gone. . . .

Travis Parashonts, interview, June 14, 2008, *We Shall Remain*, KUED Public Television,
<http://www.kued.org/productions/weshallremain/pdfs/TravisParashonts.pdf>.



THE NAVAJOS

THE LONG WALK AND THE ESCAPE TO UTAH

TEACHER BACKGROUND

In the winter of 1863/1864, after their crops, livestock, and homes had been destroyed by the United States Army under Christopher “Kit” Carson, over 8,000 Navajos were forced to walk twelve-to-fifteen miles a day—with little food and little or no protection from the winter weather—from their ancestral homelands to the remote and desolate Bosque Redondo Reservation. The memory of the Long Walk has haunted generations of Navajos, and the story of the Long Walk is important to the history of Utah’s Navajos. Some Navajos were able to escape the army and moved into what is now southeastern Utah. Their continued presence in this area eventually led the government to add additional lands in Utah to the Navajo Reservation.

OBJECTIVE

The student will be able to examine United States Indian policy by understanding the events surrounding the Long Walk. They also will be able to understand how the Long Walk and the escape to Utah serve as examples of Navajo determination and persistence.

TEACHER MATERIALS

At a Glance: The Long Walk and the Escape to Utah

Navajo Interactive Map (available online at www.UtahIndians.org)

We Shall Remain: The Navajo (chapter 2, 5:57–9:02)

STUDENT MATERIALS

Federal Indian Policy Vocabulary

Grey Eyes Remembers the Long Walk

“The Carson Expedition—Depredations of the Navajoes”

“Kit Carson’s Expedition against the Indians”

“The Navajoes”

TIME FRAME - VERSATILE

Two standard class periods with homework

One block period with homework

Three standard class periods

PROCEDURE

Using the Navajo Interactive Map, the information from *At a Glance*, and/or a clip from *We Shall Remain: The Navajo*, introduce students to the story of the Long Walk. Ask the students to think about what it would have taken to survive such an experience, whether they had been among those who were forced to Bosque Redondo or whether they were part of the group that escaped north. Ask the students to consider how these experiences might have affected the future of the Navajo. Give the students the Federal Indian Policy Vocabulary worksheet and tell them to study the vocabulary.



THE NAVAJOS

PROCEDURE (CONT.)

The next day (or following a study period), review the Federal Indian Policy Vocabulary and then distribute copies of the newspaper articles and the Navajo oral histories. Have the students read the newspaper stories and the oral histories. The students should review the materials and write a description of what the newspaper stories and oral histories suggest about federal Indian policy. Following this activity, the class may discuss how primary historical documents can reflect a historical event in different ways.

ASSESSMENT/PRODUCTS

Discussion contributions

Writing assignment

VARIATIONS/EXTENSIONS

Continue the story of the Navajo to include the restoration of the Navajo to their ancestral homelands with the Treaty of 1868.

Have the students view *We Shall Remain: Trail of Tears* and compare/contrast the Navajo Long Walk to the Cherokee removal experience.

Have the students do additional research/writing assignments on a particular aspect of federal Indian policy or a specific element of Navajo government or culture

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

Bailey, L. R. *The Long Walk: A History of the Navajo Wars, 1846–1848*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1964.

Benally, Clyde, with Andrew O. Wiget, John R. Alley, and Garry Blake. *Dinejí Nákéé' Nááhane': A Utah Navajo History*. Monticello, Utah: San Juan School District, 1982.

Denetdale, Jennifer. *The Long Walk: The Forced Navajo Exile*. New York: Chelsea House, 2008.

Iverson, Peter. *Diné: A History of the Navajo*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Maryboy, Nancy C., and David Begay. "The Navajos of Utah." In *A History of Utah's American Indians*. Ed. Forrest S. Cuch. Salt Lake City: Utah Division of Indian Affairs and the Utah Division of State History, 2000.

McPherson, Robert S. *The Northern Navajo Frontier 1860–1900: Expansion through Adversity*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED

State Standards

High School – United States History II: 1/3/a,c&e

Accreditation Competencies

Thinking and Reasoning/Understands the process of accessing background knowledge when organizing information/Recognizes situations in which a variety of conclusions can be drawn from the same information; Social and Civic Responsibility/Understands that appropriate social interaction is critical for productive civic engagement/Analyzes diverse viewpoints of social and civic issues in local, regional and global events

NCSS Standards

High School: 1/d,f&g; 2/d&e; 6/a,d,&f



THE NAVAJOS

AT A GLANCE: THE LONG WALK AND THE ESCAPE TO UTAH

The Navajos' ancestral homeland covered parts of what is now Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. The Navajo people believe that their ancestors emerged into the place between four sacred mountains and that they have lived there since time immemorial. Without the Navajos' knowledge or consent, the United States laid claim to these lands in 1848 as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the U.S.-Mexican War.

As the Civil War began in 1861, the United States government sought greater control over New Mexico in order to protect gold shipments coming from California and to guarantee that the area would not fall into Confederate hands. Federal officials also wanted to secure valuable mining and grazing lands for white settlers, who had moved into the Navajo homeland in the 1850s and 1860s. These outsiders threatened the Navajos' livelihoods and way of life, and the strain on resources and cultural differences between the two groups led to constant tension. After many soldiers were removed from the area to fight in the Civil War, conflict between the Navajos and settlers escalated.

In 1862, Brigadier General James Carleton was given command of New Mexico Territory. Carleton, like many non-Indians at the time, felt that the best way to resolve the conflict was to remove the Navajos to a reservation, where they would be taught to farm and learn Christianity. As a destination for the Navajos, Carleton chose to build the Bosque Redondo Reservation, guarded by the nearby military post Fort Sumner, on the Pecos River in eastern New Mexico. Though many military officials warned the site contained

insufficient resources, Carleton persevered with his plan and sent word to the Navajo leaders that they must surrender by July 20, 1863. Noted trapper and scout Christopher "Kit" Carson was chosen to oversee the removal of the Navajos from their homeland to Bosque Redondo. Carson and his approximately seven hundred soldiers, scouts, and New Mexico volunteers began a series of patrols through Navajo land, destroying crops, homes, watering holes, and livestock in order to force the Navajos to surrender.

Facing starvation, in the winter of 1863/1864 many Navajos decided to surrender to the U.S. government at places like Fort Canby and Fort Wingate. In the book *Diné: A History of the Navajo* Peter Iverson writes, "Albert H. Pfeiffer led an expedition through Canyon de Chelly in January 1864, taking as prisoners Diné who were 'half starved and naked.' Pfeiffer reported that he killed one Navajo woman 'who obstinately persisted in throwing rocks and pieces of wood at the soldiers.'" After they surrendered to the army, the Navajos endured a three hundred mile forced march, with little food, clothing, shelter, or medical attention, through unusually cold winter conditions. Many sick and elderly died, and other tribes took the Long Walk as an opportunity to raid the Navajos for women and children who could be sold into slavery. The Long Walk continued throughout 1864, and over eight thousand Navajos made the long journey to Bosque Redondo. Numbers vary as to how many Navajos died or disappeared along the trail, but it may have been two hundred or more.

Once the Navajos reached Bosque Redondo, they found miserable conditions. The compiled



THE NAVAJOS

problems of poor planning by Carleton, a feud between the army and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Navajos' unfamiliarity with how to prepare the food provided, bad water, and crop destruction due to weather and insects all meant that the Navajos had insufficient food and shelter. In 1868, in response to Navajo petitions and concern over conditions at Bosque Redondo, a treaty was signed that allowed the Navajos to return to a reservation in their ancestral lands. Though they had participated in large-scale farming and had lived in large settlements while at Bosque Redondo, once they returned to their homeland they resumed their traditional lifestyle, including living in small groups and practicing their own cultural traditions.

Utah plays an important part in the story of the Long Walk, as many Navajos were able to escape the army raids. The secluded and difficult-to-reach areas in what is now known as southeastern Utah, though loosely controlled by the opposing Ute tribe, made excellent places of refuge for the Navajos. For example, a Navajo man named Haskeneinii, who lived near Monument Valley, was able to escape the advancing troops and live at Navajo Mountain for the next four

years. Through the efforts of Navajo leaders in Utah, particularly Manuelito, Utah's Navajos were able to survive and avoid being moved east. These Navajos continued to fight the soldiers and settlers who attempted to force them off their land. Cooperation with the local Paiute bands was another factor that allowed the Navajos to survive both Ute and U.S. Army raids. The Paiutes were especially useful allies because they often helped to mediate conflict between the Navajos and Utes. In 1933, due to their continuous presence in southeastern Utah, this area was restored to the Navajos' reservation, though, as a testament to the fact that it was an area of joint occupancy, this section of the reservation is referred to as the "Paiute Strip."

FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY VOCABULARY

ASSIMILATION The absorption of people from one culture into the dominant culture. Many federal government officials, including several presidents, felt that by leaving their native culture American Indians could become part of the dominant white society. This often led to policies that attempted to destroy Native American cultures and lifeways.

RELOCATION This term can refer to two different efforts by the federal government. The first, which occurred from the beginning of United States history through the nineteenth century, was an attempt to push Native Americans off of lands desired by non-Indian settlers, initially by moving them west and then by forcing them onto reservations. A later program in the twentieth century sought to move Native Americans off of reservations and into major cities throughout the western and midwestern United States with the goal of forcing them to assimilate into the dominant American culture.

RESERVATION Areas that are defined by treaties or other agreements between the federal government and a particular Indian tribe or tribes for the use of that group. Today, reservations serve as important land bases for the exercise of tribal economic and cultural sovereignty.

SOVEREIGNTY The ability, right, and power of a governing body to control its territory, and the actions therein, free from external influence.

TREATY A contract or binding agreement between two nations. From 1778–1881, the United States signed treaties with individual groups of Native Americans. These treaties usually dealt with the transfer of land to the United States in exchange for certain rights and/or goods, including other land, monetary compensation, and/or continued rights to the use of land for hunting, fishing, and other practices. Throughout the nineteenth century the United States consistently failed to fulfill its treaty obligations to Indian nations.

GREY EYES REMEMBERS THE LONG WALK

The people were going to be herded to Ft. Sumner, and the people were cornered. They were herded into tight places where they couldn't get out anymore—run away anymore. And all the stories lead to Toh-lizhini (black water). And at the top of Toh-lizhini there were tents pitched and wagons that were standing by, and in the canyon people were meeting—or gathered. And from somewhere around A-hi-di-dini (place where the flows come together or join) there was a man named Ma-ee (coyote), and the land is even named after that, Ma-ee-bi-keh-ya (land belonging to the coyote). Maybe he belonged to the Ma-eedesh-geezh-ni clan. And he picked up something from over there, I don't know what it was, but he tied something white to a piece of wood, and came on out—or moved out, and he came out waving that wood, I guess—to—came out through Tseh-bi-na-az-eli (flow around the rock). And this other person wondered who it was, and he found out that it was this one guy, the one that was named Ma-ee.

And he made peace and—with the army, I guess. And having made peace, the people moved into the camps, and from there they were started herding—herded to Ft. Sumner. First they were placed at Ft. Defiance. And then they moved on and placed at Fort Wingate. And then they were moved on to Nakai-na-bi-deh-teen (tracks of Mexicans), and then on to Dzil-nah-yisi-bi-geezh (between the turning mountain), and then on to Fort Sumner, and it's told they spent four years over there. And through the people's negotiations, they were returned to their lands. And the people were crying for the Canyons. . . . I don't know how many people were killed. And the food killed some of them—they didn't know how to prepare it. And many died from sicknesses, and others from large sores (infections), and many died from fever.

Grey Eyes, interview with Sally Pierce Hansen, June 28, 1965, interview no. 966, Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project, American West Center, University of Utah, t.s., 21–23.

The following newspaper stories contain highly inflammatory and racially charged language and attitudes regarding the Navajos. Such language was, unfortunately, common in that time period, but it is entirely inappropriate today. It does, however, suggest the historic extent of bias against Indian peoples.

THE CARSON EXPEDITION - DEPREDATIONS OF THE NAVAJOES

We learn from the Santa Fe papers that at last accounts from the Navajo country, Col. Carson's expedition was making good progress. While near the Moqui villages, in the western part of the Territory, he encountered a band of Navajos, killing twelve men, and capturing thirty women and children; also three hundred horses and a large flock of sheep. After the battle, Koneatchs, the Utah Chief, and the men left Col. Carson, and arrived at Fort Defiance, (now Ford Canby,) on the 15th ult. He claimed that he and his Utes, having done the killing and capturing, were entitled to the horses, &c. and said that Col. Carson having refused to let him have them, he concluded to leave and go home. However valuable these people may be as guides and spies, it is not to be presumed that Col. Carson would allow them to dictate to him the terms upon which the prisoners and stock captured should be disposed of.

The command was in pursuit of another party of Indians when the Ute Chief left. It is supposed that the larger part of the Navajos are in the country where Col. Carson is operating.

In the more southern portion of the Territory the Navajos occasionally make their appearance with booty stolen from the settlements. These occasions give rise to exciting pursuits on the part of the volunteers stationed there, which develop and manifest their capacity and fitness for Indian fighting. We will here direct attention to one of these pursuits, which was

conducted by Capt. Henry A. Green, First Infantry, California Volunteers, from Fort McRea on the 8th ult. With a small body of men (twenty in number) mounted on wagon mules, he followed the Indians for five days through a desert country and finally overtook them among the mountains, the numerous cañons of which afforded them opportunities to escape without being drawn into a conflict with the Captain and his men. But the booty was recovered. About 1,600 sheep were recovered and returned to Fort Craig.

The difficulties in the way of hunting up the enemy in that country (as in all wild country) are, however, very great. As showing this, Maj. Wills reports that with one hundred and thirty men he spent twelve days and traveled two hundred and eight miles, in the direction of Zuni, accomplishing nothing beyond the arrest of a Navajo squaw, though he was satisfied there were bands roving through the region he traversed.

The Santa Fe Gazette of the 29th says: "Major Wallen, Inspector-General of the Department, leaves for Denver City to-day, accompanying his family that far on their way to the East. On the Major's return to Fort Union, he will enter on a tour of inspecting duty from that point to Forts Bascom, Sumner and Stanton to Santa Fe."

— St. Louis Republican, 18th.

KIT CARSON'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS

Correspondence of the St. Louis Republican,
FORT CANBY, NEW MEXICO, Monday, Jan 18, 1864.

As you may find some interest in ascertaining how the "Navajo Expedition," under command of Col. Kit Carson, First Cavalry, N.M. Volunteers is progressing, I have concluded to send you the following items for information.

On the sixth of the present month the command left Fort Canby for the renowned Gibraltar of Navajo-dom, Cañon de Chelly. One division of Companies B, C, D and K, under the lead of the colonel, to penetrate the Cañon by the east opening; the other, under the command of Capt. A. H. Pteiter, with companies E and H, who will enter by the west opening. The Cañon is some fifty or sixty miles in length, perhaps longer. The command took with them two mounted howitzers – the field pieces being under the charge of Lieut. Franklin Cook, Fifth Infantry, U.S.A., Capt. A. B. Casey, Thirteenth Infantry, U.S.A., Chief Quartermaster, also accompanied the expedition. There are about eighteen officers and 500 enlisted men with the Colonel. Col. Carson is somewhat sanguine in the belief that he will be able to capture a good many Indians in this hiding place of the Navajos, at all events he will thoroughly explore its hidden recesses, so that it will no longer be a mystery to the outside world, and the 'rest of mankind." The command is rationed for 30 days and will probably return to this post about the 1st or 5th of February, 1864. As soon as the Colonel gets 100 Indians, (captives,) men, women and children, he will leave here enroute for Santa Fe and the Bosque Redondo.

New York Times, Feb. 28, 1864, p. 6.

THE NAVAJOES

The Navajoes. That fierce and untameable tribe of redskins, the Navajoes, whom we have been fighting for the last eighteen years, are reported to have lately surrendered to our forces in New Mexico; and on the heels of this news, we have the announcement from Washington that an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars is asked for Congress for the subsistence of the tribe. It is thought in official circles, we are informed, that it will be more economical to support the Navajos than to fight them. We doubt the accuracy of this theory; though on grounds of humanity, we might concede the wisdom of giving these galloping wretches rations of bread and beef rather than of bullets and cold steel. In the meantime, our soldiers, who have just got through with a big fight with the Navajos, are dividing their rations with them being themselves put on short commons for the purpose of feeding the savages. This is certainly very nice. In future it is proposed to give each individual of the tribe, numbering seven thousand in all, a daily allowance of one pound of flour and one pound of fresh meat, which, if they consume it all, will, it is thought leave them little stomach for the fight. But the Navajos are very treacherous, and pay little regard to treaties or agreements with white men. Col. Doniphan beat them and made a treaty with them in 1846, but they soon forgot it; Col. Washington did the same things in 1849, with the same result; Col. (subsequently Major-General) Sumner repeated the operation in 1851, but we have heard of their depredations almost every year since. The fact is, fighting has been the ceaseless and immemorial occupation of the Navajos; and we fear that the bread and beef now furnished to them will only give them strength and muscle to fight us again the coming summer.

New York Times, Apr. 9, 1864, p. 4.



THE GOSHUTES

THE SKULL VALLEY GOSHUTES AND THE NUCLEAR WASTE STORAGE CONTROVERSY

TEACHER BACKGROUND

The Skull Valley Band of Goshute Reservation, located approximately forty-five miles southwest of Salt Lake City, was established by executive order in 1912 and covers 17,248 acres. With limited land holdings in a sparse, secluded landscape, the Skull Valley Band has struggled to develop a viable economic base. In the 1990s, the nation's executive council undertook efforts to locate a temporary nuclear waste storage site on the reservation. The history of this controversial issue highlights the Goshutes' struggle for sovereignty, economic independence, and environmental security.

OBJECTIVE

The student will be able to comprehend how tribal sovereignty is complicated by disagreements over land use, economic development, and state vs. federal control. They will also understand the economic and ecological variables that have shaped the Skull Valley Band of Goshute's attempted acquisition of a nuclear waste storage facility.

TEACHER MATERIALS

At a Glance: Goshute Sovereignty and the Contested West Desert

We Shall Remain: The Goshute (chapter 4, 18:37–22:05)

STUDENT MATERIALS

Debate: Should the Goshutes Build a Temporary Nuclear Waste Storage Site on the Skull Valley Reservation?

YES: Forrest Cuch

NO: Margene Bullcreek

TIME FRAME - VERSATILE

Two block periods with homework

Three standard periods with homework

PROCEDURE

Using information from *At a Glance: Goshute Sovereignty and the Contested West Desert* and clips from *We Shall Remain: The Goshute*, teach your students about the controversy over nuclear waste storage on the Skull Valley Band of Goshute Reservation. Emphasize the way these issues are related to tribal sovereignty and economic stability.

Split your students into debate teams and assign each team a position either for or against temporary nuclear waste storage on the Skull Valley Band of Goshute Reservation. Provide each "debate team" with a starter oral history excerpt and have them search for at least three additional credible sources of their own. Remind them to keep the focus of their arguments on sovereignty.

Have students debate their topics and judge as is appropriate for your classroom.



THE GOSHUTES

ASSESSMENT/PRODUCTS

Debate resources chosen
Debate participation

VARIATIONS/EXTENSIONS

Rather than having in-class debates, ask students to do a research paper on the issue of Goshute nuclear waste storage. Make sure they articulate the arguments on both sides of the issue and tie their arguments to the issue of tribal sovereignty.

Have students research other issues related to Goshute tribal sovereignty, such as the Southern Nevada Water Authority's plan to pump water from the Snake Valley Aquifer (part of which underlies the Goshute Reservation) to Las Vegas. Have them report their findings either in-class or in a research paper.

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STANDARDS ADDRESSED

State Standards

High School – United States Government and Citizenship: 3/1/c; 3/2/d; 4/3/a

High School – United States History II: 9/1/a&d; 10/1/a; 10/2/b

Accreditation Competencies

Thinking and Reasoning/Integrates new learning with existing knowledge and experiences/Uses various reading and writing strategies to organize, interpret, analyze, and comprehend information; Social and Civic Responsibility/Demonstrates an appreciation of diversity and interdependence of all people/Analyzes diverse viewpoints of social and civic issues in local, regional, and global events

NCSS Standards

High School: 1/a-f; 4/c,e&f; 5/a-d; 6/a-e



THE GOSHUTES

AT A GLANCE: GOSHUTE SOVEREIGNTY AND THE CONTESTED WEST DESERT

The Goshutes have lived in the Great Basin region of present-day western Utah and eastern Nevada since what they describe as time immemorial. Although there is controversy in Western science over the exact date of Goshute arrival in the Great Basin, the Goshutes certainly predate non-Indian settlers. As is typical of American Indian history, contact between the Goshutes and settlers included a mix of conflict and violence, missionary activities, and a few moments of peace. In the early 1900s, the federal government established two Goshute reservations through executive orders.

The contemporary Goshutes are comprised of two federally recognized nations, each with its own reservation and governance. The Confederated Tribes of the Goshute Reservation is located in the West Desert, straddling western Utah and eastern Nevada. The governing body of the Confederated Tribes of the Goshute Reservation is a five-person tribal council. The Skull Valley Band of Goshute Reservation is located approximately forty-five miles southwest of Salt Lake City in the Skull Valley between the Stansbury and Cedar mountains. A general council (all members of the tribe) and a three-person executive committee serve as the governing units of the Skull Valley Goshute.

For nations with limited land holdings, the Goshutes have faced many controversial issues related to their sovereign use of that land. From 1996 to 2006, the Skull Valley Band of Goshute engaged in a controversial battle over the storage of 40,000 metric tons of high-level nuclear waste on their reservation. This delicate and controver-

sial issue highlights the Goshute struggle for sovereignty and economic independence.

The idea of temporary storage of high-level nuclear waste first gained the notice of the Skull Valley Band of Goshute in the early 1990s. Due to anticipated delays in the Yucca Mountain High Level Nuclear Waste Repository, in 1987 Congress created the Office of the Nuclear Waste Negotiator with the goal of finding a temporary storage site for high-level nuclear waste until Yucca Mountain opened. The siting process was voluntary, and the agency offered significant monetary compensation in exchange for storing high-level nuclear waste. Four Native American nations reached the final stage of consideration: the Skull Valley Band of Goshute, the Mescalero Apache, the Tonkawa, and the Fort McDermitt Paiute and Shoshone. Although the Skull Valley Band was poised to sign an agreement for a storage facility, Congress cut funding for the program in 1994, before an agreement was made.

Around the same time, a consortium of energy companies called Private Fuel Storage (PFS) approached the government of the Skull Valley Band of Goshute about leasing reservation land for a temporary high-level nuclear waste disposal site. Private Fuel Storage and the Skull Valley Band of Goshutes signed a lease agreement in 1997, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) approved the proposal in 1998. In September 2005, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) approved a license for Private Fuel Storage to store 40,000 metric tons of nuclear waste on land leased from the Skull Valley Band of Goshute Reservation, but a year later, two separate rulings, one by the BIA under



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the Department of Interior, and one by the Bureau of Land Management, voided the 1998 NRC license, effectively stopping nuclear waste storage on the Skull Valley Band of Goshute Reservation. Both the Skull Valley Band of Goshute executive council and Private Fuel Storage contested the rulings. In July 2007, the Skull Valley Band of Goshute filed suit against the Department of Interior calling for a reversal of the 2006 rulings.

The proposed Skull Valley nuclear waste site stirred up controversy for at least two reasons. First, the state of Utah's opposition to the proposal threatened the Skull Valley Band of Goshute's sovereignty. In 1996, former governor Mike Leavitt was reported as saying that nuclear waste would come to Utah "over [his] dead body." As a sovereign nation, the Skull Valley Band of Goshute is not under the jurisdiction of the state of Utah but rather in a trust relationship with the federal government. The Bureau of Indian Affairs—the intermediary between Native Americans and the federal government—approved the lease agreement between PFS and the Skull Valley Band of Goshute. The executive council and members of the Skull Valley Goshute argued that the state's efforts to stop the PFS/Skull Valley nuclear waste storage facility was an affront to Native American sovereignty and self-determination. Several local environmental organizations in Utah also opposed the waste storage facility. Similarly, their objections to the decision of a sovereign Native American nation could be seen as a violation of the principles of sovereignty.

Second, although the Skull Valley Band of Goshute executive council, under the leadership of former chair Leon Bear, was in favor of the nuclear waste facility, there were several members of the tribe who opposed the council's decision. Margene Bullcreek and Sammy Blackbear are two prominent opponents of the site. Bullcreek opposed the site because she believed it was part of a pattern of environmental racism targeting Native American lands for the disposal of nuclear and other toxic wastes. She also argued that the site would have violated the reservation land that she believes is sacred.

Several parties in the controversy considered the Skull Valley site ideal for nuclear waste storage because of the reservation's geographic seclusion and sparse landscape. Indeed, in his advocacy of the proposal, Leon Bear noted that the reservation is already surrounded by toxic facilities that damage the landscape, including the Tooele Army Depot, Magcorp, and Deseret Chemical Weapons Incinerator. Storing nuclear waste, Bear argued, might be the best bet for economic development in an area already considered to be a "wasteland." Ironically, these features have perhaps also prevented the fruition of alternate economic development projects for the Skull Valley Band of Goshute Indians. The Tekoi Balefill landfill, leased on the southwest corner of the reservation, is the only current source of economic development on the reservation

DEBATE: SHOULD THE GOSHUTES BUILD A TEMPORARY NUCLEAR WASTE STORAGE SITE ON THE SKULL VALLEY RESERVATION? YES: FORREST CUCH

DE: Can you give an example of [a political issue] that doesn't get closely examined?

FC: Well the nuclear issue, nuclear energy. We've gone the spectrum of slapping down the Skull Valley Goshutes but now we're entertaining these building studies to construct seven—possibly seven nuclear plants here in Utah. So that to me is, it's not only hypocrisy, it's outrageous. It's—to me it reflects people who lack information. They're too quick to judge and they don't examine issues. It also suggests that people jump to conclusions here. Just because you store nuclear spent [fuel] rods, does not mean you have to jump into the nuclear industry or vice-versa. I was essentially opposed to the concept of storing nuclear spent rods until I heard the testimony of numerous scientists from the University of Utah in particular. And most of their presentations indicated that it could actually be stored safely, to which I come to see that that was a wonderful business opportunity for Skull Valley Goshutes. It didn't mean an endorsement of the nuclear industry whatsoever, in my view, but some people took it that way. So I had to stay—Working for the governor, I had to stay neutral on the issue. But in the end I simply did not think that it was damaging to the earth especially due to the fact that nuclear energy is a reality of most communities east of the Mississippi [River]. And this was information that most people weren't exposed to prior to this time. I heard complaints about the fact that Skull Valley Reservation was so close to Salt Lake City [Utah]. And they kept saying “Oh it's only 35-40 miles” and that was a lie. I went and checked it myself. It's over 65 miles to Skull Valley from Salt Lake City [Utah] and that's from, well, like the airport. You get out to the airport and from there on it's about 60 miles. So it's—people were really unfair and the information that was exchanged about that. I happened to live in Massachusetts for

six or seven years and I happened to know that there's a reactor that is within a short distance from the metropolis of Boston, and that's the Seabrook reactor. And that's not very far. I mean that's within twenty miles, 15-20 miles I believe, I'm not sure. But it's certainly much much closer than Skull Valley. And that was spent rods; that's not a reactor. You know what I'm saying. I mean to me there was an overreaction on the part of—Utah is—what really bothers me is it really has a “the sky is falling,” you know, reaction to things. It's like a reaction to many—so many things. And that's because they lack so much information about things and have leaders who are overzealous in their reactions. . . . So I've seen this state turn around from one of slapping down the [Skull Valley] Goshutes for even considering the idea. “How dare you in our own backyard?” And then turn around and entertain the possibilities for even more exposure to dangerous levels of atomic energy and waste. So especially considering the fact that we have a socially acceptable organization, Energy Solutions, that keeps wanting to raise the level of waste from hazardous to nearly nuclear. And it's such a hypocrisy to me. I think that's what stands out the most about the Skull Valley situation there. And so my education and my experience was directly contrary to what Governor Levitt and what everyone else was saying. I just kept shaking my head saying, “Don't they understand there's another world out there? That France has been operating on nuclear energy for decades and they have been able to store it safely. Don't they know that most of the communities east of the Mississippi rely and most products are manufactured using nuclear energy?” I mean, wake up. You know, I was always told you need to gather the facts and no one was gathering the facts at that time.

I would think if people are so concerned about their health and radioactivity etcetera, they ought to be concerned about particles and the pollution in the air in Salt Lake Valley. That's certainly a far more serious situation here. And they ought to be concerned about the emissions that are coming from the coal firing plants—power plants in our state. And, of course, there's so much politics and money involved in that. They're not about to even consider that. And the idea that you can have clean coal-burning plants is a fiasco also. I heard the good side of that and then I heard the bad side of that and I've come to realize that that's a joke. We need to be pursuing alternative sources of energy with rigor, not in a mediocre fashion or as something we can do in our spare time. This needs to be taken seriously.

DE: So you mentioned several times that there were fairness issues, . . . that it was unfair. Who was it unfair to?

FC: It was unfair to the [Skull Valley] Goshutes. It was unfair to Leon [Bear], the chairman of the Skull Valley Tribe. He was villainized as the bad guy, the person who wants to expose Utah citizens to waste—nuclear waste. And there have been far more bad guys that have endangered the health of Utah citizens far more than Leon Bear. You have the atomic energy experimentations. You have nuclear bombs in Nevada, the [Nevada] Test Site. Then a lot of the fallout was entering Utah and a lot of people were exposed to the fallout and consequently died of cancer—various forms of cancer. And they certainly were far more dangerous than Leon Bear. The originators and the operators with Envirocare and now, Energy Solutions are far more dangerous to Utah citizens than Leon Bear. The owners and operators of Magcorp that were dumping tens of thousands of gallons of waste from chlorine gas into the air—and they've been doing that for some thirty years—are far more dangerous than Leon Bear. But these people are never spoken about. You know, you don't hear anything about them. They get away with it. And they make millions of dollars in the process. And that's not fair. It's not fair that some people in this state get paid hundreds

of thousands of dollars not to grow crops while my brother and I barely can't—we lose money raising hay to feed our horses. Some of these are very wealthy people that are getting paid by U.S. Department of Agriculture. So there's lots of unfairness you know.

DE: So can you talk about the role of sovereignty and in relationship I think to this unfairness that you're talking about or just in general to the Skull Valley situation.

FC: Well sovereignty is like freedom to the American citizens who talk about fighting and dying for freedom. American Indians have fought and died for sovereignty. Sovereignty existed here before the Europeans—Euro-Americans ever entered this continent. Indian nations were governing themselves and they had the full authority to do so. And the colonial governments dealt with Indian nations accordingly because at the time they had to. The Indian nations were strong enough militarily to defend themselves and to wage costly wars against the colonials. And so the sovereignty that Indian people enjoy today was brought about as a consequence of war. In the State of Utah alone there were over 150 battles fought between all the tribes and the Mormon settlers. This was a bloody confrontation. People would have you believe otherwise but it's not true. There were lots of bloody confrontations here. One of the largest military encounters in the United States was the Bear River Massacre. And although it was in southern Idaho—just over the border—it involved Utah American Indians, the northwest band Shoshone.

So sovereignty nowadays comes about as a result of war, which is based at the end of those wars, and then people surrendered certain rights in return for agreements in exchange for land. Certain services were guaranteed by the U.S. government in exchange for peace and for those lands. And those services range from education to housing to health. And those agreements are still in force today because those treaties were considered international instruments of law and they are binding to this day. They have an international

connotation because they are dealing between different nations. And Indian nations are nations within the U.S. nation. So that's what kind of makes them kind of distinct in that respect, but they are nations nevertheless. And so tribes are very protective of that sovereignty. And it's important for people to understand that because most people only see sovereignty as applying to city, county, and state governments. And they don't see how it applies to an Indian tribe unless they get a history lesson about the military confrontations that took place not only in this state but throughout this country. And only then do they seem to understand how sovereignty applies to Indian tribes. We're not like other groups. We have a political relationship with the U.S. government not a racial one. It's a political one based on solemn agreements. Okay. Our people are referenced in the commerce clause of the U.S. Constitution as being—having sovereign qualities. So we are different. We're not like other ethnic groups. And the Indian people are very protective of that because we don't want to be swallowed up in the mire and in the context of the great American melting pot. Indian people want to retain their identity and their culture. They don't want to be mixed in with other minorities either. Because they would lose their identities just as sure under the minority context as they would under the dominant culture context. Indian people are very protective of their identity. Even though we are very oppressed and would seem to suffer low self-esteem—which we do—our heritage we hold high.

DE: So you mentioned that if people don't get this history, that they may not know about this sovereign relationships. I know that you were a teacher, and of course have gone through the school system. Do you think that's taught enough?

FC: No. That's why there's so much ignorance. That's why people going all the way to the U.S.—not to the U.S.—but our own state legislature lack that history—that information. If they had that information then they—there would be—they would have more understanding of our plight, our situation.

DE: And then returning to the Skull Valley controversy, do you think that that lack of information or the sovereignty issue came up in that controversy or did it not?

FC: What I meant to say also, and this touches on that, is...almost—I think all of the Utah tribes, I'm pretty certain, all the Utah tribes opposed the idea of storing nuclear spent rods on Skull Valley Reservation. They opposed the project, but they stood solidly behind the Skull Valley Tribe's right to make that decision. So, although they didn't like the idea, they stood behind the sovereign rights of the Skull Valley Tribe to do so. And that's very important to be pointed out. Is that the tribes, once again, they value sovereignty. And they stood by Skull Valley all the way through this. They stood by the right to Skull Valley to exercise their authority.



DEBATE: SHOULD THE GOSHUTES BUILD A TEMPORARY NUCLEAR WASTE STORAGE SITE ON THE SKULL VALLEY RESERVATION? NO: MARGENE BULLCREEK

SS: What made you first get involved [as an activist against nuclear waste storage]?

MB: For the same reasons—when my brother died, and I somewhat wanted to give up my political thing. There was a lot of unfairness. To build a strong government, having resources to be able to provide for members, to give them, you know, to make things possible so that they could be able to have good homes, and good employment. . . . I'm still doing it today minus my brothers, but I'm always thinking they're there. . . . I feel like I could be able to still stand for the things that we believe in and the things that we believe in is the fairness, is to provide and to want better things for our people. And now, it's the same today. We don't have any homes, we don't have housing for our youths. The children that was, children back then, that are now adults. They still don't have any places to stay. And the employment is still bad; all this is still here. And we have a new council where they can provide all these things, but it's not happening yet. And so it's just continuation after continuation. But the main reason is that, is that I still believe in the same things that I still believe in, like this place. You know, this place still has a lot of meaning to me. This where my broth—my father, my father and mother raised us, and taught us things. And my brothers were here. And I have my brothers buried in a cemetery close to here. There have been times when I felt like I just wanted to go, but I can't because I have my commitments here. And so, um, well there's a lot of things to being a Native American. It's not just all politics; sometimes politics gets in your way, but . . . And then, it knocks on your door . . . When you don't want to be involved in it, it knocks on your day because you're thinking we need this, we need that and

we're going to have to go say something about this issues. Even if we're not being heard, we still have to be, we still have to bring it up. And so, that's how politics, you know, gets me involved in things. But otherwise, you know, I'm very content here, sitting here with the warmth coming from the sun and the wind coming through the trees. I feel very content without having to look down the road and seeing the nuclear waste storage down there. And so, I, I feel very, what can I say? I feel . . . I've been hearing the word blessed a lot lately. I feel content here, now, even now. Because of that we're still holding on to the very things that was taught to us.

SS: What organizations are you involved with? I saw, I did a little bit of background research and a lot of people interviewed you. I saw that you were on the board of HEAL Utah. Are you involved with any other organizations?

MB: Other than HEAL, we have an organization we need to get some money into. So, hopefully, somewhere, we'll be able to get that, but... I'm involved with an organization called Native Community Action [Council]. . . . But what it is, we are doing is, studying the effects from the fallouts, from the test sites in Vegas and how it affected the Native Americans. We have pretty much done most of our studies. It just that we, we have to put the finishing touches on it. The things that they did and the effects that they had in the Native American communities, and how it affected them, and causing cancer today, it'd be overwhelming to think about what's going on. But they were living as how they, their livelihood was being the Native American they are. You know, they lived outside, they hunted during the seasons, they worked more on the outside, and when the test, the test came around, they were all

affected by it, by that. And so, that's one organization. And I've been in close contact with the IEN, the Indigenous Environment Network, in Minnesota, they really helped our organization out by supporting us. And Shundahai [Network] was another one that was um, you know... The chairman for Ohavi. And, ah, that's about all the organizations that I've been really close to.

SS: Great. So, from your perspective, what is the problem with nuclear waste?

MB: What's the problem with nuclear waste?

SS: Um-hm.

MB: The big problem from what I learned over the years is that, that it was something that was created by the DOE [Department of Energy] and they were going to put it at this permanent site. By this time it should have been there [Yucca Mountain], but it's not there. OK and, and, they want to create more, but they don't know where to put this stuff. Our place was, was, was the one place that was going to be possible, and hopefully it won't come about yet. But this was the place where they were going to store it. And this was a temporary stop and from here it was going to go to Yucca Mountain, OK? But I'm saying and I hear this, people say keep it where it's at, keep it in your own backyard. Don't let it come through the states where it's going to affect communities. Keep it where it's at. I believe that they do have spaces because they used to say they have room in their parking lots and they do. Keep it there until it's time to go to its permanent site. The sad part about it is that it's going to go to another Native American territory. And it's their land. And it's just like I'm saying, how come from the start of things that they took over a lot of our Native American country? They took a lot and then this permanent site is a part of that. And it's sad because—that's one of the reasons I was fighting it too. I didn't want this big corporation [Private Fuel Storage] or DOE or nuclear waste is a big thing. It gave, created a lot of corporations and a lot of moneys

for people that are, that wants it. But those of us that are going to sacrifice our land and our livelihood just so that they could create more and create more moneys for themselves by putting this, putting it on our land after we've been stripped of our, the best portion of the lands in the country and put us on the poor, the poor part of the country. And now they want to put it, there's no place else to put it but on our reservation, that's what I'm saying. This reservation that they haven't touched, yet. But to us, there's a lot of there's a lot of values here. Whether it's materialistic or spiritual. And, um, it's just the same thing all over again. That's why, that's how I feel about nuclear waste. And it's not only nuclear waste. Anything that has to do with our Native American land, whether it's nuclear waste or mining or oil drilling or whatever that the country needs. The important thing I'm trying to say is that they've already, they've already dug up the things that they dug up. Why, you know, dig more into our Native American lands? And it's just the same, like the Navajos were telling me about the uranium, you know, you're going to wake up a giant and that's what it did. From that came Hiroshima and all these lot of lives being wasted and lost. And wars. It's just not—it's not right.

SS: You've outlined the problem with nuclear waste, and clearly you're trying to solve that problem. So, how do you see your role in that solution?

MB: The solution I, because the interior, the Secretary of the Interior made a decision, saying that it would affect our homeland security, being who we are as Native Americans and the land that we have, this could affect us, OK. And so, that itself could be a solution because then it could stop the waste from coming not only to this reservation, but to other reservations as well. So, that needs to be, I really feel that needs to be looked into for that, that part of the solution more. You know, I really feel that we need to have support of tribes to work together; we need to have support of your

state legislators, legislatives to work together or the governor because in Utah, they were against it, OK. Not only for, well, for that decision that the interior made. That's, that's what I'm looking at. As far as state-wise, I really feel that they should... if they don't want the waste on our reservation, why create more? And so, why are they talking about having new reactors? What did, what did, what did...why do you think I fought for 13 years? And it's been long years to be able to go up against this opposition. I've lost, I've lost a lot of things; I've sacrificed in other words. And the way I sacrificed is that now I'm not a likely person because I've went against the economic development for the tribe. In a way, we were successful in stopping it because if it wasn't for the very things that we believed in to fight this—to oppose it—then, it wouldn't have happened. Senator [Orrin] Hatch and [Senator Bob] Bennett took that ball and ran with it and made that goal, but they left us behind. They left us behind. They didn't put us up there with them and so we're still sitting here, but then we don't, we realize, we know that if it wasn't for us, they couldn't have stopped this. So, what I would like to see is to be able to have it be like, like a goal for other

reservations as well because this nuclear waste isn't going to stop here on the reservation, the reservation, the Skull Valley Goshute Reservation, the Indian Goshute Reservation. It's going to go somewhere else and it's going to affect those—that community—those Native Americans—those indigenous people, the same way it was affecting us. And we're lucky, we don't have to deal with cancer here. Although there are cancers, but we can't pinpoint it because of the nerve gas and Dugway [Proving Ground] and all that stuff and the government would never recognize it anyway. But we're lucky that we're not affected by the test site, the Nevada test site. Although it might have come this far as, as far as the studies go. But, at least it's not more than half of our members that are stuck with cancer, which is just pretty scary. And so, um, I feel that that would be, um, a solution that's there now. And, ah, but that could be, um, that could be possible for other reservations as well.

Margene Bullcreek, interview with Samantha Senda-Cook, Nov. 3, 2007, Nuclear Technology in the American West Oral History Project, Everett L. Cooley Collection, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, t.s., 9–15.



THE SHOSHONES

THE NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONES, THE BEAR RIVER, AND ECONOMIC SOVEREIGNTY

TEACHER BACKGROUND

This lesson explores the legacy of the Bear River Massacre and the ways the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation is using the site of the massacre for development and the assertion of sovereignty. One of four tribal bands of Shoshones, the Northwestern Shoshones—who were recognized as a sovereign nation by the federal government on April 29th, 1987—today have tribal land in Utah and Idaho. In 1863 approximately 350 Shoshones, including many women and children, were slaughtered by U.S. troops. This little-known massacre was one of the worst in U.S. history and began a long period of displacement for Northwestern Shoshones.

However, the story of the site of the Bear River Massacre also offers a clear example of the importance of American Indian sovereignty over land. Today, while the site still carries a tragic legacy, the Northwestern Shoshones have reestablished sovereignty over the land and are turning it into a place of renewal. The struggle of the Northwestern Band to develop a viable land base and its decision to harness geothermal power at Bear River brings the importance of Indian sovereignty into focus.

OBJECTIVE

The student will be able to understand the tragic circumstances of the Bear River Massacre. They will also discover the adaptability and determination of the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone in their ability to repurpose the site.

TEACHER MATERIALS

At a Glance: The Bear River Then and Now

We Shall Remain: The Northwestern Shoshone (chapter 3, 5:00–11:32; chapter 5, 21:25–23:16)

STUDENT MATERIALS

Henry Woonsook’s Grandmother’s Tale of the Bear River Massacre

TIME FRAME - VERSATILE

Two standard class periods with homework

One block period with homework

Three standard class periods

PROCEDURE

Review the concepts of federalism, sovereignty, and land use with the class, and have them keep those ideas in their minds as they take notes on *We Shall Remain: The Northwestern Shoshone*. (If there is not time to screen the whole film, the selected clips will give them the background they need.) They may want to note people of interest and dates of events.



THE SHOSHONES

PROCEDURE (CONT.)

Give students the oral history excerpt to read; then as a class discuss their impressions and comprehension of the Bear River Massacre and the current use of the land where the event took place.

Have them research both the Bear River Massacre and the geothermal project using the digital archive at www.UtahIndians.org and current newspaper articles. Using direct quotes to support their theses, have them write a narrative essay about this unusual repurposing of land. The essay should reflect the journey of the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone from tragedy to sovereignty.

ASSESSMENT/PRODUCTS

Film notes
Essays
Discussion participation

VARIATIONS/EXTENSIONS

Compare and contrast the current situation of the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone with other Utah tribes.

Students can do additional research and participate in a debate on the merits of the geothermal plant.

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Fogarty, Mark. "Northwestern Band of Shoshone Thinking Big." *USA Today*. June 25, 2004.

Moulten, Kristen. "Shoshone Tribe Plans Geothermal Plant in N. Utah Set to Run in 2010." *Salt Lake Tribune*. Oct. 2, 2008.

Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation. "Historical Events."
<http://www.nwshoshone-nsn.gov/culture/history/index.htm>.

Parry, Mae. "The Northwestern Shoshone." In *A History of Utah's American Indians*. Ed. Forrest S. Cuch. Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs, 2000.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED

State Standards

High School – United States Government and Citizenship: 1/3/b&d; 3/2/d; 4/3/a

Accreditation Competencies

Thinking and Reasoning/Integrates new learning with existing knowledge and experiences/Uses various reading and writing strategies to organize, interpret, analyze, and comprehend information; Social and Civic Responsibility/Demonstrates an appreciation of diversity and interdependence of all people/ Analyzes diverse viewpoints of social and civic issues in local, regional, and global events

NCSS Standards

High School: 1/a-f, 4/c,e& f; 5/a,b&d; 10/c



THE SHOSHONES

AT A GLANCE: THE BEAR RIVER THEN AND NOW

Before white encroachment onto their lands, the Shoshone people lived, hunted, and gathered plants throughout parts of what are now Utah, Idaho, Nevada, and Wyoming. The Northwestern Shoshones predominantly lived in the area that is now southern Idaho and northern Utah. Among the most ecologically efficient and well-adapted Indians of the American West, they moved with the seasons to harvest a variety of foods from the land, and their subsistence practices were cleverly adapted to the region and time of year. (For more information, see “Shoshone Seasonal Land Use and Culture.”) The Bear River site was an important winter campsite for the Northwestern Shoshones, as the deep embankments served as a barrier against the winter weather. The immediate area also served as an important fishing and gathering place.

At the beginning of the 1860s, life became increasingly difficult for the Northwestern Shoshones, as they faced multiple interruptions to and stresses on their way of life. Other powerful tribes to the north and to the south limited the Shoshones’ range, while non-Indian overland emigrants destroyed the Shoshones’ water resources with their livestock and chopped down precious timber for their campfires. At the same time, other, more permanent settlers who were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, began moving farther north and deeper into Northwestern Shoshone territory. In addition to the problems created by other tribes and non-Indian settlers, the United States Army, freed from a duty to fight the Civil War in the Southwest by the Confederate surrender of New

Mexico in 1862, began to have an increasing presence throughout the area.

The Shoshones became angry and frustrated by these threats to their traditional way of life, and tensions started to escalate into violent conflict. In January of 1863, while the Northwestern Shoshones were at their winter campsite on the Bear River, several altercations between whites and Indians erupted. Most of the Shoshones involved were not members of the Northwestern band, but non-Indians from nearby settlements had been putting pressure on the army to remove the Shoshones from the desirable land near the Bear River and to put an end to the conflict through force. On January 29, 1863, troops from the United States Army, under the command of Colonel Patrick Edward Connor, attacked the winter camp. Though the Northwestern Shoshones had been warned of the army’s impending arrival, they believed they would be able to negotiate. Instead, the troops attacked the encampment of over seven hundred Shoshone men, women, and children, killing approximately half of those in the encampment. In addition to murdering so many of their people, the army also destroyed all of the Northwestern Shoshones’ food and shelter, leaving survivors of the massacre destitute.

In the aftermath of the Bear River Massacre, white settlers moved unopposed into traditional Northwestern Shoshone lands. As American settlements grew around them, the few remaining Northwestern Shoshones lost their land base and could no longer sustain their traditional nomadic lifestyle. Some Northwestern Shoshones moved to



THE SHOSHONES

the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, but those who wanted to remain in their traditional homeland were left without a reservation and had to search for alternative means to secure a land base. Many adopted the LDS faith and white methods of agriculture, but they were repeatedly displaced from their farming communities (for a detailed look at these settlement attempts, see “A Brief History of Utah’s Northwestern Shoshones”).

Repeatedly denied a viable land base and scattered throughout the states of Utah and Idaho, the Northwestern Shoshones became active members of their various communities, working as business owners, schoolteachers, and local leaders. In 1987, this diverse community gained official recognition as the Northwestern Band of Shoshone Nation, a group separate from the various other bands of Shoshones. Federal recognition of the nation restored the basis for sovereignty, and today the Northwestern Shoshones have begun to develop their small tribal holdings in Idaho and Utah.

Perhaps most significantly, the Northwestern Shoshones are using one of the most difficult moments of their history in a positive manner through their development of the Bear River. In 1990 the Bear River Massacre Site was declared a National Historic Landmark, and in March 2003, twenty six acres that included the Bear River Massacre site were donated to the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation. In the last two years the Northwestern Shoshones have come up with a plan to develop five plants on their tribal lands and sell the geothermal energy. The plan offers a means of economic development and reflects the Shoshones’ commitment to a clean environment. One of the proposed plants is to be built near the site of the Bear River Massacre. Though this plan has created some controversy, it takes a place that was economically important to the Northwestern Shoshones’ ancestors and allows it to become part of the tribe’s economic future.

HENRY WOONSOOK'S GRANDMOTHER'S TALE OF THE BEAR RIVER MASSACRE

Long ago in 1863 at a place on the Bear River where a lot of Indians were living there was a battle where many Indians were killed. The Indians were wintering there. A white man from Preston, I don't know what kind of white man, maybe a bishop, maybe a stake president, told the Indians that they were going to be killed. "You could all run away to safety," the white man told them. But the chief said, "No. We will not run away." The men of the group said, "We don't have to worry. We can handle the soldiers." The young men were feeling good and were throwing rocks at a target and throwing spears. "We can handle the soldiers," they said. "We don't have to run away."

Then the soldiers, a hundred or more, came over the hill. The soldiers descended the hill toward the camp, saying to themselves as they came that they could kill the Indians right in their camp. The soldiers forded a stream near the camp but did not begin to kill the Indians until they were right up to them. Then they began to battle with the Indians. When the battle began, the chiefs said to the women and young people, "You must stay with us because if you leave the rest will leave." Then those Indians who lived there in that place began to battle with the soldiers. My maternal grandmother said that the place where they lived was a place of many willows and when the soldiers began to shoot, the willows began to fall as if they were being moved by a scythe. The Indians were fighting back and they were killing some of the soldiers.

The Indians fought back but there wasn't much they could do because the white men had guns and the Indians had only bows and arrows. One little boy, whose relatives were killed, lay there on the cold ground among the dead ones. As the

soldiers came through they checked and any of the Indians who were still alive they shot. The little boy lay still and they passed him by. The little boy lay there and pretended to be dead and they passed him by. That is the way he saved his life. After the soldiers had killed all the Indians who were still alive, they left. Some of the Indians had escaped across the river on the ice in the winter and had come north. When the Indians were away from the scene of the battle, they stopped along the river bank and my grandmother, who had a shoulder wound herself, doctored the other wounded Indians. With the Indians who escaped were my maternal grandfather Cikuci, One-Eyed Tom and another man whose name I don't know. That Cikuci was the one who caused it all.

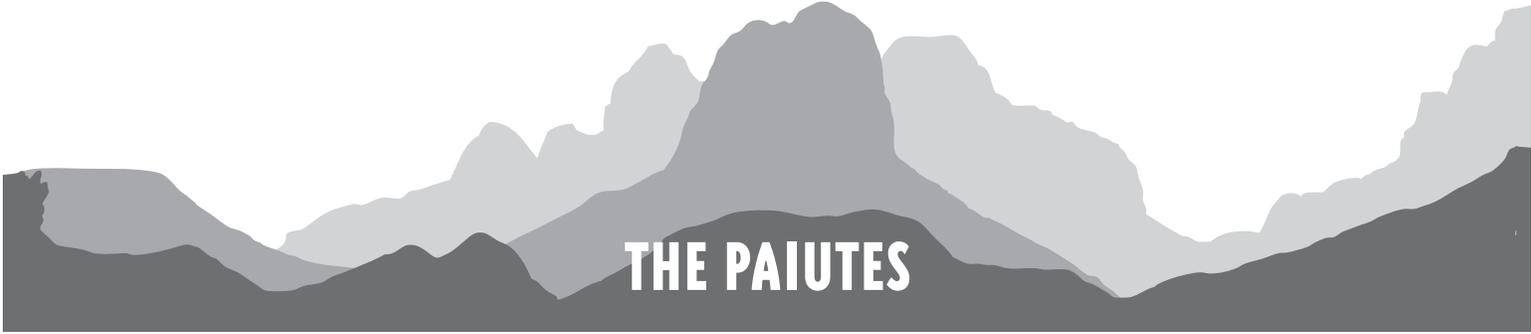
The little boy who had pretended to be dead and who had escaped was suffering from the cold there on the river bank, and Cikuci, who had a buffalo robe wrapped around himself, refused to share it with the little boy. He just ignored the little boy. When they had rested they got up and came on up the river farther until finally they stopped and build another fire and warmed themselves.

The man Cikuci was the one who caused this trouble. He and two other men had raided a California-bound wagon train and had killed the immigrants. They had taken the horses and the belongings from the wagon train and that is why the soldiers killed those people. That was the cause of the Bear River Battle that I have been telling you about.

The little boy who was called Taaboci, "Brush Rabbit," was the son of Segwici, "Little Buddy Boy."

Henry Woonsook, interview with Lorin Gaarder, Fort Hall, Idaho, Feb. 29, 1968, interview no. 352, American West Center Doris Duke American Indian Oral History Project, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, t.s.





THE PAIUTES

THE SOUTHERN PAIUTES OF UTAH: FROM TERMINATION TO RESTORATION

TEACHER BACKGROUND

In 1954, the Southern Paiutes, like many other tribes, had their federal trust relationship severed. Public Law 62 “terminated” the federal government’s responsibility to the Southern Paiutes and left them with no official political status within the United States and Utah. The consequences of termination were dire, as the Paiutes lost aboriginal rights to land ownership and territorial practices important to the maintenance of tribal sovereignty.

For twenty-six years the Southern Paiutes fought to regain their official status as an American Indian tribal government, and finally, in 1980 the federal government restored the Paiute Tribe of Utah as a recognized sovereign entity. Under restoration, the Paiute tribe has begun the process of economic, cultural, and social resurgence. The story of Paiute termination illustrates the importance of Indian sovereignty and the responsibility of the federal government to Indian peoples.

OBJECTIVE

The student will be able to evaluate the effects of the federal government’s termination and restoration policies on the Paiute Tribe of Utah and connect this history to the importance of Native American sovereignty.

TEACHER MATERIALS

At a Glance: The Southern Paiutes and Termination

We Shall Remain: The Paiute (chapter 4, 7:45–9:20; chapter 5, 9:20–10:17)

STUDENT MATERIALS

Excerpt from Gary Tom and Ronald Holt, “The Paiute Tribe of Utah,” p. 139–62 (available online at www.UtahIndians.org)

Carl Jake and Roy Tom Discuss the Reservation and Termination Periods

Worksheet

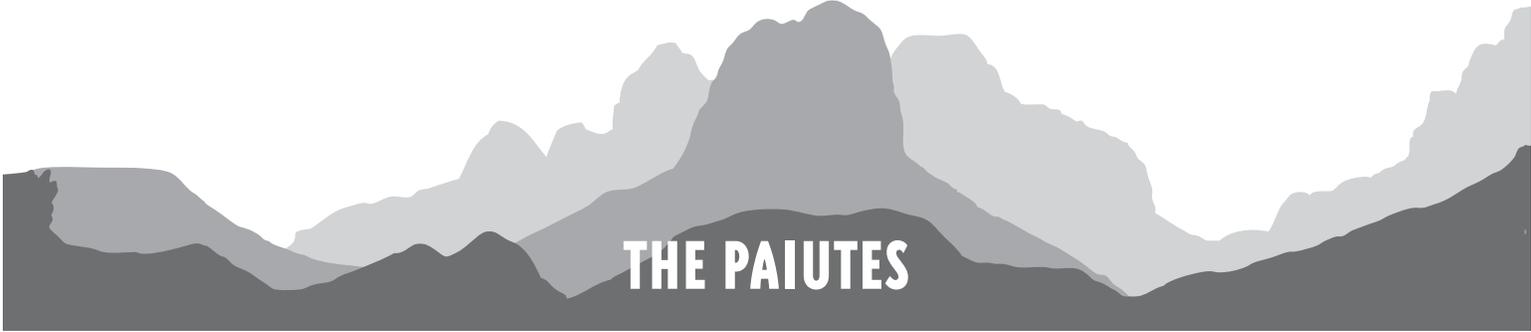
Essay Questions

TIME FRAME

Two or three forty minute periods

PROCEDURE

Assign the excerpt from “The Paiute Tribe of Utah” and the excerpt from Carl Jake and Roy Tom’s oral history. Have students complete the worksheet. The worksheet will be their reference material for the next activity. (This can be a class work or a homework assignment.)



THE PAIUTES

PROCEDURE (CONT.)

Screen the entire film *We Shall Remain: The Paiute* or show the clips listed above, and lead a class discussion. Some possible discussion questions include: How do Paiute tribal members feel about the history of termination of their tribe? Did the Paiutes' relationships with their lands change when they were "terminated"? Did the Paiutes' relationships with their lands change again when the tribe was "restored"? How so? Students may want to take notes on the film and discussion to use on their essays.

Using only their worksheets and discussion/film notes, students will complete a five-paragraph essay (in-class or homework) answering one of the three essay questions.

ASSESSMENT/PRODUCTS

Worksheet
Discussion participation
Essay

VARIATIONS/EXTENSIONS

Show students *We Shall Remain: Wounded Knee* (chapter 5), and have them compare the Paiutes' struggle for recognition from the federal government with the Oglala's struggle for recognition.

Students can research Indian perspectives of termination using the oral histories available at www.UtahIndians.org.

Students can explore the people involved in the restoration of the Paiute Tribe of Utah and discover their other accomplishments in the service of American Indians, Utah, and the United States.

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

Holt, Ronald. *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.

Rogers, Glenn. Interview. Sept. 27, 2008. *We Shall Remain*, KUED Public Television.
<http://www.kued.org/productions/weshallremain/pdfs/GlennRogers.pdf>.

Tom, Gary, and Ronald Holt. "The Paiute Tribe of Utah." In *A History of Utah's American Indians*. Ed. Forrest Cuch. Salt Lake City: Utah Division of Indian Affairs and Utah State Division of History, 2000.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED

State Standards

High School – United States History II: 1/3/a,e

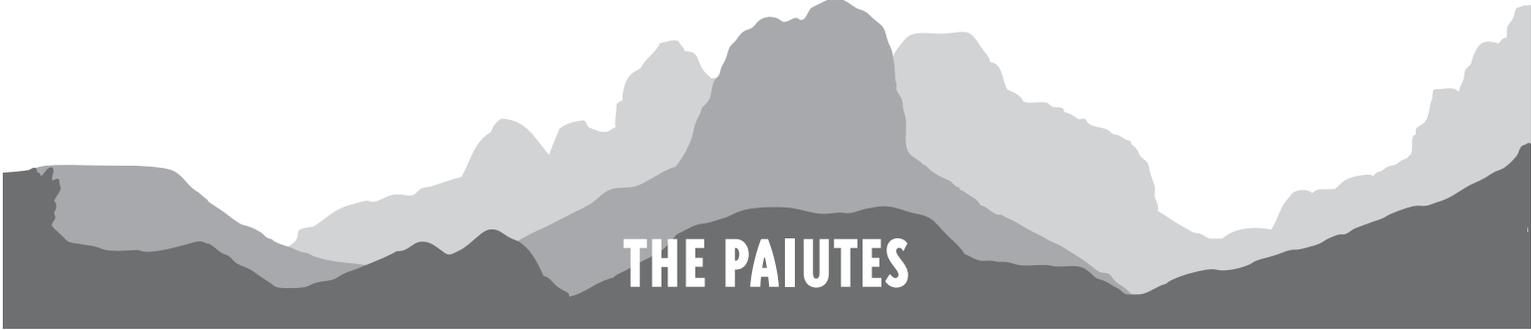
High School – United States Government and Citizenship: 3/1/c; 4/3/a; 6/1/c

Accreditation Competencies Addressed

Social and Civic Responsibility/Demonstrates an appreciation of diversity and interdependence of all people/Understands the history, people, and traditions that have shaped local communities, nations, and the world

NCSS Standards Addressed

High School: 1/b,f; 2/c,d,e; 3/h,i,k; 4/g; 5/a,e; 6/f



THE PAIUTES

AT A GLANCE: THE SOUTHERN PAIUTES AND TERMINATION

In the middle of the twentieth century, the federal government's American Indian policy shifted dramatically. From the 1930s to 1952, the federal government sought to improve American tribal life by enacting policies that facilitated self-government and cultural renewal. However, in the 1950s, the federal government changed course and began to sever important political relationships with certain American Indian tribes and to attempt to relocate Indians to urban areas without strong native political communities. (For a more detailed explanation of the evolution of U.S. Indian policy, see Appendix B, "Understanding the Political Sovereignty of the American Indian Nations.")

In August 1953, House Concurrent Resolution 108 mandated that the U.S. government abolish federal supervision of Indian tribes. This policy, which came to be known as "termination," was justified based on the idea that Native Americans should assimilate with mainstream American society, but it essentially meant that the United States would no longer uphold its treaty agreements with tribes. Though not all Indian tribes ended up being terminated, the Southern Paiutes of Utah became one of the first targets of the policy.

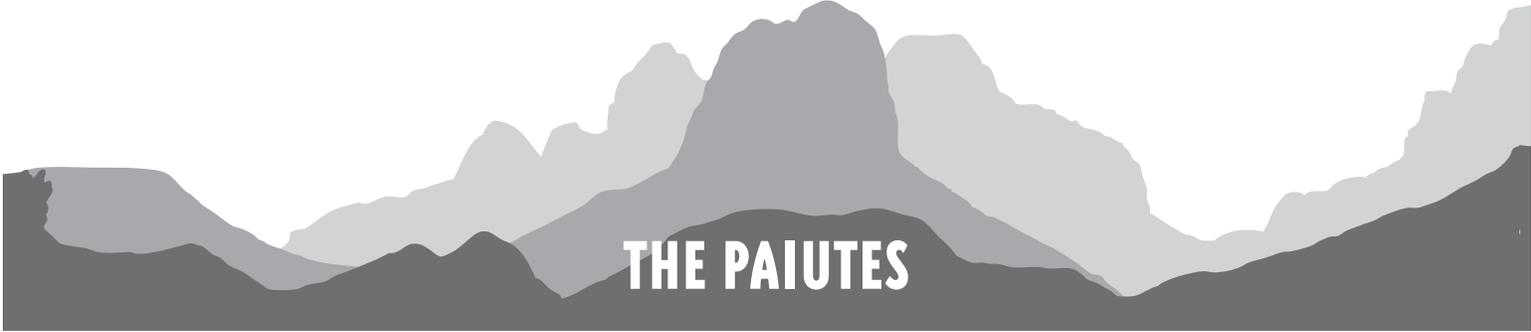
In 1954 Congress passed Public Law 762, an act that "terminated" the federal government's responsibility to the Southern Paiute tribes in Utah and left the Paiutes in an unrecognized political status within the United States and Utah. Once terminated, the land held by the Paiutes became taxable and fell under the jurisdiction of the State of Utah, and the Paiutes could no longer

govern their own affairs without the interference of both federal and state governments.

Denied federal welfare, education, health, and employment assistance, the Paiutes were plunged into deep poverty and despair. Alcohol use increased. A medical consultant's report listed obesity, tuberculosis, an "extreme degree" of malnutrition among young infants, sanitation, and sewage-disposal problems as major health issues among the Paiutes. Without basic health and sanitation services, almost one-half of Utah's Paiutes died during the termination period.

In an interview for *We Shall Remain: The Paiute*, Glenn Rogers, Chairman of the Shivwits Band of Paiutes, discusses the effects of termination policies upon the Paiutes and their relationship to their traditional lands. Rogers says that one of the reasons they were singled out for termination was that Paiute land held valuable minerals that private industry was interested in mining. Rogers describes the process of land dispossession under termination: "So we didn't have it [legal assistance] back then, so they took advantage of us as a little scattered tribe and they took over the land and they said well, they can pay for their land through taxes, um, how were we going to pay for our land . . . what we have through taxation and taxes? And that's how a lot of these little tribes, for instance Kanosh and Indian Peaks lost a part of their reservation is because they couldn't pay their taxes."

By the late 1960s, the federal government ended termination due to the overwhelming evidence that it failed to facilitate American Indian tribal



THE PAIUTES

sovereignty or better the lives of Indian people. For twenty-six years, the Southern Paiutes fought to regain their recognized status as an American Indian tribal government, and in 1980, the United States federal government restored the Southern Paiutes as the Paiute Tribe of Utah, with five bands also recognized as sovereign entities. In her interview for *We Shall Remain: The Paiute*, Karman Grayman, member of the Shivwits band of the Paiute tribe, explains the improvement in Paiute life after restoration: “When we first started with restoration and we had health coverage then more of our people started living. . . . We didn’t have so many deaths. Our age went up.” Because it restored federal services, restoration improved the physical health of the tribe.

Since restoration, the Paiutes have worked to reestablish cultural traditions and gain and develop land. A new cultural activity is the

Restoration Powwow, which is held every year to celebrate the return to recognized tribal status and the pride that came with it. As historian Gary Tom points out, “One of the primary benefits of the [Restoration] Gathering is its visibility; it provides an opportunity for the Paiutes to express their ethnic pride and say to the Anglo community that they are proud of their accomplishments and of who they are. The Paiute people never left their homeland, nor do they ever intend to leave.” Land development has remained a challenge, as the endangered species status of the prairie dog, for example, complicates tribal land management. On the other hand, with economic growth from endeavors like Suh’dutsing Technologies, the tribe is now in a better position to overcome these challenges than ever before.

CARL JAKE AND ROY TOM DISCUSS THE RESERVATION AND TERMINATION PERIODS

KF: So you say the reservation has been sold, then?

CJ: Yes, it's been sold.

KF: And it's no longer . . . was everyone paid for that land?

CJ: Yes.

KF: Who owns it now, then?

CJ: Fish and Game.

KF: Fish and Game. How long ago was it sold?

CJ: I don't know how long ago. . .

RT: It was in '57.

. . .

KF: In those days before 1956, how was the medical or doctor situation handled? Did you pay your own?

. . .

RT: The government paid while we was under government all the time. They paid for like, we went in hospital or something like that. They paid until we were terminated.

. . .

CJ: I went over there [the former Indian Peaks Reservation] about two years ago. It was all knocked down, those pinenut trees. Those trees . . . they shouldn't knock down like that. . . . George Morris, I think he's the one that sold it. . . .

KF: George Morris? He's the one who sold it or handled the selling?

CJ: Sold it for us, yes.

KF: Do you know whether that was the same time they tried to sell the Shivwits Reservation? The government suggested that they sell that one, too.

CJ: Yes, that about the same time.

KF: . . . I gather that they didn't succeed, though. Those Paiutes still have that one.

CJ: Well, the reason we sold that [Indian Peaks] . . . they terminate that, see, but we didn't have no money to pay for tax on it. Terminated, well, we decided "Well, go ahead, sell it." The government partner tried to sell it. He said, "Go ahead, sell it if you want to." That's when we get out of there, see?

KF: Well, how did people feel about that? Did they really want to sell it or would they rather have kept it if they could?

CJ: Rather have kept it but we couldn't afford to pay for tax, that's one thing.

KF: I guess the one at Shivwits . . . their lease just pays for the tax.

CJ: That's all, the lease.

KF: Yes, but I guess if the taxes go up in another few years, they'll have to pay extra on it.

CJ: That Indian Peaks wasn't a reservation a long time ago.

KF: It wasn't?

CJ: No, just was them old people that claim that

little place there . . . long time . . . had water, lots of water. Claimed it clear back to here. The other side of the mountain, had all the mountain over on this side clear on down here about twenty miles. The Indians used to be scattered clear down through that mountain. Camp and camp and camp and camp, that's the way they lived long time ago, before these white people came. Even after they came but it was still there. Not real long ago he was surveying this country, you know. He says, "We going to put you guys in a reservation." Then they cut it down that much, sixteen sections, four miles each way. That's small now, you see.

KF: Yes, that's not very large.

CJ: No, just keep cutting it down so that portion went, right there. We used to have a lot of water and we used to lease it ourselves, the old people, to sheep men, to cattle men. That's the way those people used to live. They give 'um money . . . leasing it out. All the Indians had plenty to eat then. Wasn't no government doing that at that time.

KF: You were doing it on your own? Leasing on your own?

CJ: Yes, they were raising potatoes, everything, onions down there. . . . Nobody would help. Wasn't no government then.

KF: And no agent out there?

CJ: No agent or nothing. I remember that. . . . That's the way it used to be out here a long time ago before they put in any reservations. Those sheep men, I used to see those fellows often. . . . They used to lease that country from the old people used to live there. . . . [T]here's no government bothering us then. . . . They [the sheep ranchers] go out and bring the food in for us. During fall when the time was up, they would take the sheep out then they'd bring the food . . . give money too, during winter.

CJ: Yes, and after government reservation . . . After the government comes, we can't do nothing. Depend on the government, then. The government get all of it. Can't do nothing no more.

KF: And in '56 then, it went on the tax roll so that means it would be taxed.

CJ: After that, the government never show. Even the agents, even those workers, they'd never go here. Too far for them, I guess.

THE SOUTHERN PAIUTES: FROM TERMINATION TO RESTORATION

On a separate sheet of paper, answer the following questions based on your reading of Gary Tom and Ronald Holt, “The Paiute Tribe of Utah,” pp. 139–62 in *A History of Utah’s American Indians*. Please answer in complete sentences.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH EARLY SETTLERS, 139–44

1. What motivations were driving non-Indians to settle the Paiute homeland?
2. What excuses were given for taking control of the land from the Paiutes?
3. What actions, and how many failed attempts, led to the Paiutes ending up on a reservations?
4. How many bands ended up on how many reservations during this early reservation period?

FEDERAL PATERNALISM, 144–46

5. Describe “Federal Paternalism,” as established by the Supreme Court in 1831.
6. How did the Indian Homestead Act of 1875 and the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 affect Paiute land holdings?
7. How did the Great Depression affect the Paiute tribe?

TERMINATION, 147–52

8. What did the government intend to achieve through the policy of Termination?
9. What are the four steps in the termination process?
10. What were the criteria for “termination readiness”?
11. Who were the people pushing the Paiutes toward termination and what was their motivation?
12. What actions were taken to prepare the Paiutes for termination?
13. Once the Paiutes were removed from the trusteeship of the BIA by 1957, how did their lifestyle change?

LIFE UNDER TERMINATION, 152–56

14. How did Termination affect the health of the Paiute people?
15. Why were the Paiutes awarded \$7,253,165.19, and what additional problems did it cause?

RESTORATION, 157–60

16. Who were the people pushing for the Paiutes to be restored, and what was their motivation?
17. What actions were taken to help the Paiutes regain federal recognition?
18. What obstacles had to be overcome?

RESERVATION SELECTION, 160–62

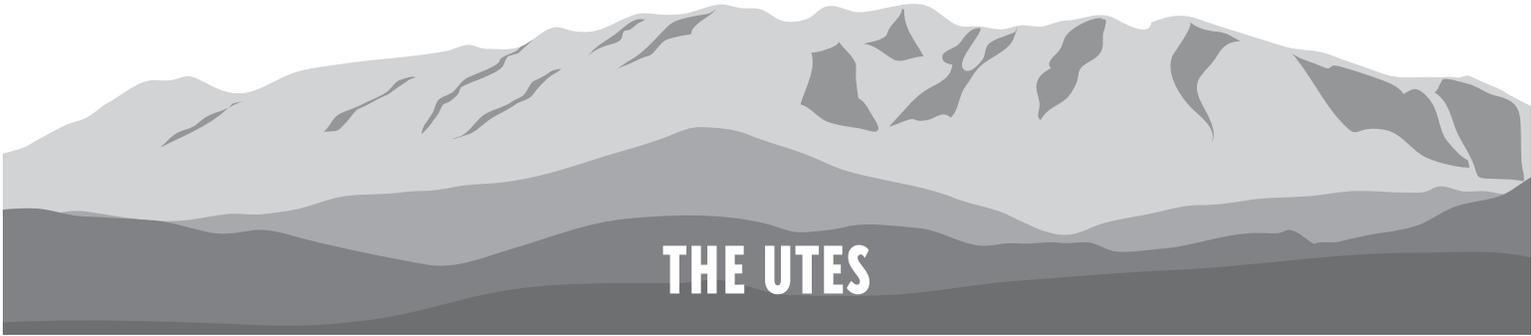
19. What tasks did the Paiutes need to undertake immediately upon being restored to federal recognition?
20. What issues complicated the selection of land for a reservation?

BASED ON YOUR READING OF THE CARL JAKE AND ROY TOM ORAL HISTORY EXCERPT, ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS. PLEASE ANSWER IN COMPLETE SENTENCES.

1. What does Jake suggest about life at Indian Peaks before the reservation period? What does he say about the Paiutes' dependence on the federal government?
2. In what ways, according to Jake, did the establishment of a reservation at Indian Peaks (originally established in 1915) change the economic circumstances of the Paiutes living there?
3. What are some of the consequences of termination that the interviewees identify? What happened to government services? What happened to the Paiutes' lands?

ESSAY QUESTION OPTIONS

1. How did termination affect the financial viability, cultural and educational status, and general health and welfare of the Paiute people?
2. Did termination live up to the expectations of those who implemented it in terms of assimilation, financial independence, and the transfer of land-ownership?
3. What made the Paiutes a poor choice for termination, why were they terminated, and why were they an excellent choice for restoration?



THE UTES

UTE SOVEREIGNTY AND THE COMPETITION OVER RESOURCES ON THE UINTAH-OURAY RESERVATION

TEACHER BACKGROUND

Since lands in eastern Utah were first set aside for the Utes by Abraham Lincoln in 1861, various Ute people of what is now known as the Uintah-Ouray Reservation have struggled with the federal government and non-Indian interests to maintain their access to land and the necessary resources with which to sustain their nation. Because land and resources are crucial to the economic security of the tribe, this conflict is an important element of American Indian sovereignty.

OBJECTIVE

The students will understand the history of the Utes' displacement and dispossession, as well as how vital land and resources are to the sovereignty of the Ute nation in Utah.

TEACHER MATERIALS

At a Glance: Conflict over Land and Resources on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation

Ute Interactive Map (available online at www.UtahIndians.org)

We Shall Remain: The Utes (chapter 2, 11:00–11:05; chapter 5, 21:00–21:05)

STUDENT MATERIALS

Henry Harris, Jr., Describes Allotment

TIME FRAME - VERSATILE

Two standard class periods with homework

One block period with homework

Three standard class periods

STUDENTS WILL NEED THE LINKS TO THE THREE RESEARCH ARTICLES:

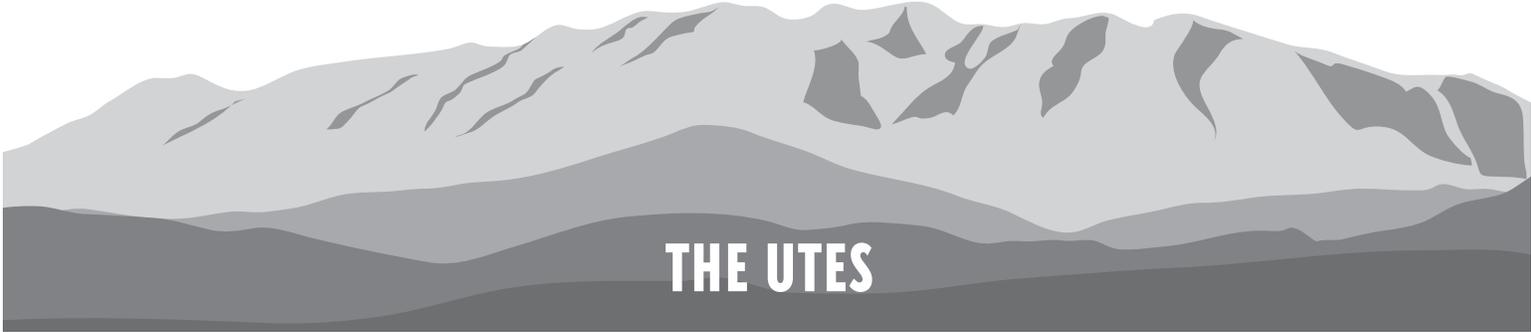
Daniel McCool, "Utah and the Ute Tribe are at War," *High Country News*, June 27, 1994, <http://www.hcn.org/issues/9/285>

Nancy Lofholm, "Tribe Seeks Hunting Rights," *Denver Post*, May 23, 2000, <http://extras.denverpost.com/news/news0523i.htm>

"Court Victory Restored the Utes's Homeland of Desert, Forest and Oil," *Deseret News*, Oct. 9, 1988, <http://archive.deseretnews.com/archive/20034/COURT-VICTORY-RESTORED-THE-UTESapos-HOMELAND-OF-DESERT-FOREST-AND-OIL.html>

PROCEDURE

Using the textbook, *At a Glance*, and Appendix B, "Understanding the Political Sovereignty of American Indian Nations," lead the students through a discussion about sovereignty, its importance, and the resources required to maintain sovereignty. Some possible discussion questions include: What is



THE UTES

PROCEDURE (CONT.)

sovereignty? Why is sovereignty so important? Why is it important to Native American tribes? What would be required for a nation to exercise sovereignty? What resources does a nation need to be successful? What might challenge the sovereignty of an American Indian nation?

Using the Ute Interactive Map or the *At a Glance* materials, describe to the students the land loss that occurred historically to the Ute tribe. As a homework assignment or group activity, have the students think about what such land loss might have meant to the Ute nation. Point out to students that the dispossession of land limited the resources the Utes could draw from for cultural and economical development. Have them write a brief paper or essay about the link between land loss and resources, focusing on how it might have impacted the Ute people and the nation.

Discuss the assignment the students were given on land loss and sovereignty. Pass out the oral history excerpt and have students read it. Then show *We Shall Remain: The Ute*. If time is limited you could show the clips at about 11:00 (end of chapter 2) and 21:00 (end of chapter 5) minutes into the film, which show the reactions of the Ute people to the loss of their land. Have the students look for evidence of things they thought of—or things they may have missed—in their own essays.

Discuss the ways that reservations serve as a basis for Indian sovereignty today, and explain to students that this competition over land and resources continues to be a problem for many Indian nations, including the Utes in Utah.

As a homework assignment or in-class activity, give the students the links to the three newspaper articles. As individuals or in groups, have them read these articles and use them as a starting point to do research on the water, hunting, land, and oil rights of the Ute nation. Ask the students to search for a mix of Indian and non-Indian resources. For example, in addition to searching for mainstream newspaper articles, they could look at *The Ute Bulletin* (online at <http://www.utetribe.com/memberServices/uteBulletin/uteBulletin.html>) or the Ute oral histories at www.UtahIndians.org.

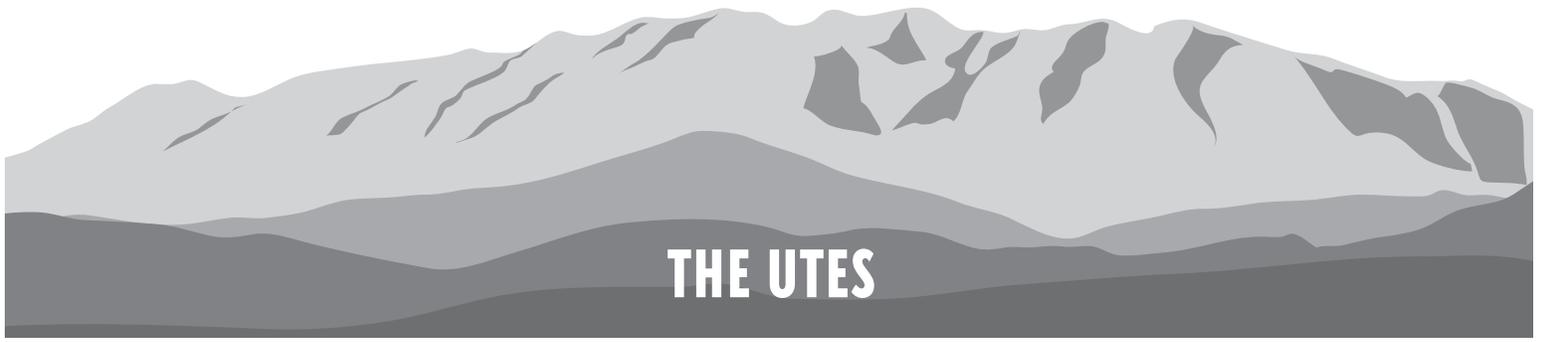
Have the students compare/contrast the contemporary issues they researched with the historical challenges the Utes have faced. Have the students write a paper or create a presentation based on their findings. Reinforce that while many people think of American Indian land and resource loss as something that only occurred in the past, these issues are still being dealt with today.

ASSESSMENT/PRODUCTS

Paper on land loss and resources
Discussion responses
Research paper or presentation

VARIATIONS/EXTENSIONS

Allow students to compare the Utes' experience to the Indian experiences shown in *We Shall Remain: Tecumseh's Vision* (chapter 2), *We Shall Remain: Trail of Tears* (chapter 7), or *We Shall Remain: Geronimo* (chapter 3).



ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

Conetah, Fred A. *A History of the Northern Ute People*. Ed. Kathryn L. McKay and Floyd A. O’Neil. Salt Lake City: Uintah-Ouray Tribe/University of Utah Press, 1982.

Duncan, Clifford. “The Northern Utes of Utah.” In *A History of Utah’s American Indians*. Ed. Forrest S. Cuch. Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs and the Utah Division of State History, 2000.

O’Neil, Floyd A., and Kathryn L. McKay. *A History of the Uintah-Ouray Lands*. American West Center Occasional Papers. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, n.d.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED

State Standards

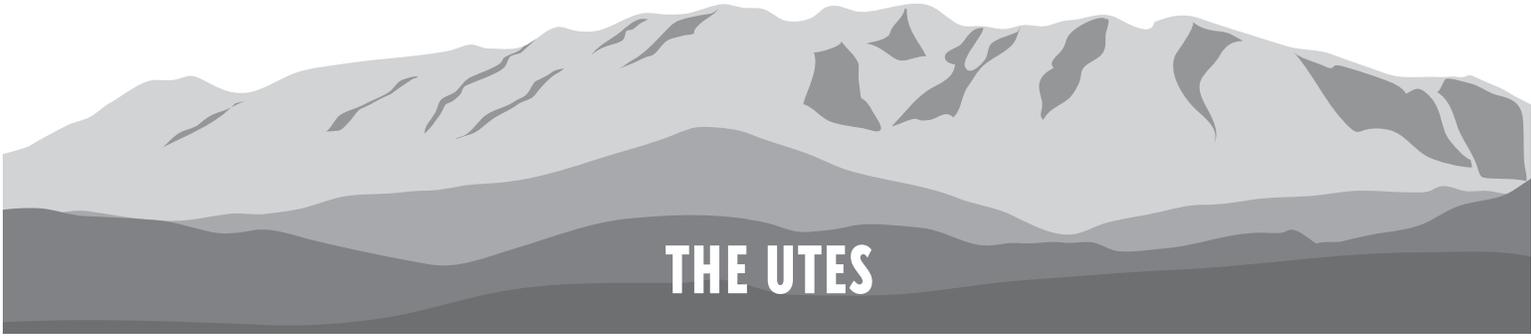
High School – United States Government and Citizenship: 3/1/c; 5/2/b; 6/1/c

Accreditation Competencies

Thinking and Reasoning/Integrates new learning with existing knowledge and experiences/
Uses various reading and writing strategies to organize, interpret, analyze, and comprehend information; Social and Civic Responsibility/Demonstrates an appreciation of diversity and interdependence of all people/ Analyzes diverse viewpoints of social and civic issues in local, regional, and global events

NCSS Standards

High School: VI/b,c,e&f; VII/a&h



THE UTES

AT A GLANCE:

CONFLICT OVER LAND AND RESOURCES ON THE UINTAH-OURAY RESERVATION

Many American Indian groups argue that their claims to sovereignty stem from their ancestral lands which now are now held within the United States. However, in dealing with the reality of being both sovereign nations according to the U.S. Constitution and “domestic dependent nations” based on U.S. Supreme Court doctrine, reservation land holdings have become vitally important to maintaining, and in some cases reasserting tribal sovereignty. In addition to political and legal considerations, the strength of a sovereign nation also depends on control over resources and economic opportunity, and the Utes have constantly battled with the federal government, states, and non-Indian groups to maintain their access to resources of their reservations, including water, grazing, land, and mineral rights.

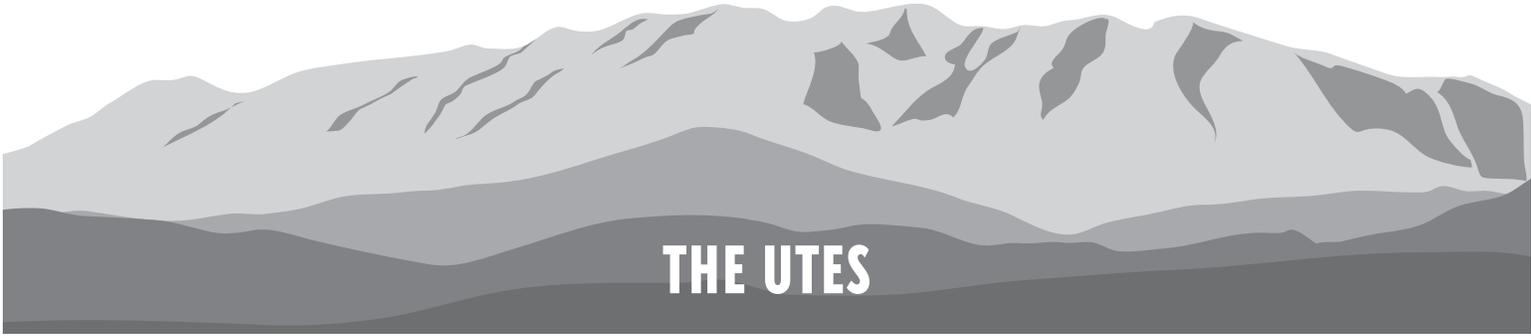
The United States made its first formal claims on Ute territory in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the U.S.-Mexican War. As part of this treaty, the Mexican government ceded the Utes’ homeland to the United States. These lands—without consultation or permission from the Utes—were divided into United States territories and later the states of Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico.

In the 1840s, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints began to create permanent settlements within Ute territory. The presence of these settlers displaced important Ute campsites, disrupted hunting trails, drove out wild game, and put serious stress on the resource-of the area. This competition over resources and threat to their livelihoods led some Utes to raid settlers’ livestock, and armed conflict eventually broke out between the two groups. Relations

between the Utes and the settlers who belonged to the LDS Church were complicated further by the conflict that existed between these settlers and the government of the United States.

In the 1850s LDS Church leaders established three Ute Indian farms, but these efforts failed as a result of the Utah War and insufficient funding. In 1860 a survey party sent by LDS Church president Brigham Young determined that the Uintah Basin was unable to support agriculture. As it was unwanted by whites, LDS leaders recommended that this area should be used as an Indian reservation, thus freeing up more desirable Indian lands for white settlement. In 1861 Abraham Lincoln authorized a reservation in the Uinta Basin for Ute Indians, but the federal government failed to establish and provision the new reservation. The lack of government provisions, dwindling Ute resources, and continued conflict between settlers and the Utes conflagrated into the so-called Black Hawk War of 1865–1872, a period of intensified raiding and violence between Utes and settlers. Black Hawk and other Ute leaders enjoyed some initial success and even enlisted the help of local Navajos and Paiutes. However, by this period, the settlers heavily outnumbered the Indians, and local authorities began moving the Utes to the Uintah Reservation. Though several groups resisted confinement to the reservation following the Black Hawk War, by 1879 the influx of non-Indians and the lack of wild game led most Utes bands to remain on the Uintah Reservation.

Throughout the late-nineteenth century, other bands of Utes were being moved to reservations in Colorado and New Mexico, and the federal gov-



THE UTES

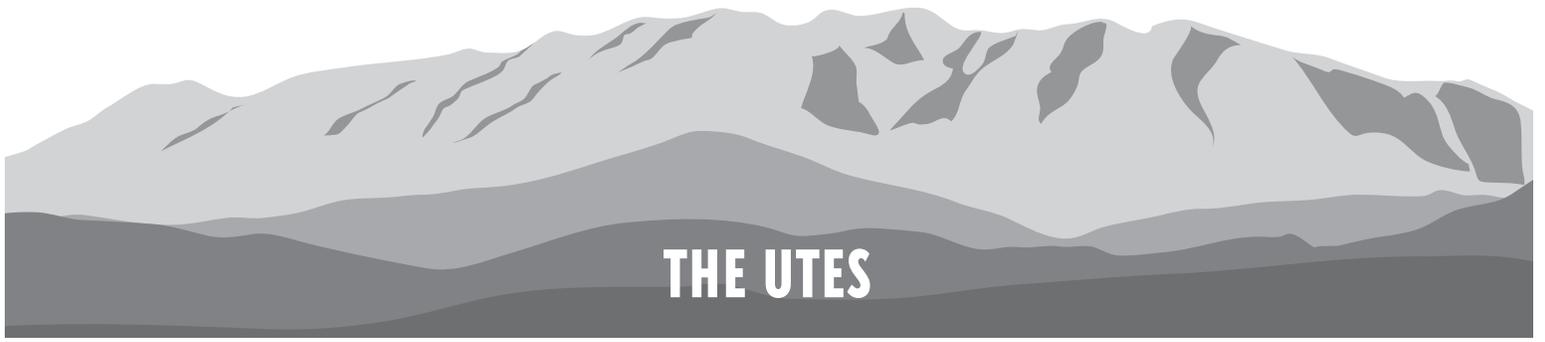
ernment made a series of treaties with different Ute bands, some of which were ratified, and others which remained unratified by the Senate. The overall trend was that the Utes were forced to give up land, often under fraudulent circumstances, while the federal government rarely lived up to its treaty obligations.

In 1871, in violation of the Utes' sovereignty, Congress enacted a bill that ended the making of treaties with American Indian nations. Afterward, negotiations over land were called "agreements," and a number of these agreements were made between the Utes and the federal government. In 1879 the Ute reservations in New Mexico were closed, and the Utes on those reservations were moved to Colorado. After an incident among the White River Utes in Colorado in 1870, in which a highly inept and unpopular Indian agent named Nathan Meeker was killed, the majority of the White River Utes were forced to move from Colorado onto the Uintah Reservation in Utah. In 1882, land was also set aside in Utah for the Uncompahgre Utes. The Uncompahgre, who had remained loyal to the United States government through several incidences of armed conflict, were still forced to move from their mountain home in Colorado to the desert of Utah.

In 1885 the Utes' reservation lands in eastern Utah were combined under one Indian agency and named the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. The Utes of Utah not only had to contend with the opposition of their non-Indian neighbors but also with the difficulties of having three different groups of Utes in one area. Internal differences, paired with the fact that each group had different treaty and agreement understandings with the federal government, exacerbated these difficulties.

Already living on dramatically reduced land holdings, the Utes faced an additional threat in the 1880s when the federal government began the process of allotment. This government policy, which sought to break up tribal land holdings with the twin goals of forcing Indians to assimilate and eventually opening more Indian lands to non-Indian settlement, required that land be broken up into private parcels and allotted to individuals. The Utes fought allotment policies, but in 1903 the Supreme Court decision in *Lone Wolf vs. Hitchcock* declared that Congress had complete power to pass legislation that would change or abrogate (abolish) provisions made in treaties, which limited the Utes' legal options. The Homestead Act of 1905 opened any reservation land that had not been allotted to individuals for homesteading and sale to non-Indians. Rumors of minerals and natural resources led several hundred people to move into former reservation lands, but in truth there was not enough water for farming and the area was not conducive to mining due to the difficult terrain, and many of the new settlers were poverty-stricken by 1912. Within fifteen years of allotment, the Utes had sold or leased 30,000 acres of their best land. Compounding the land loss due to allotment, in 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt withdrew 1.1 million acres from the Uintah Reservation to create the Uintah National Forest. Though the policy of allotment ended in 1934 with the Indian Reorganization Act, the lands that were lost under allotment were not always restored to the tribes. The checkerboard pattern of allotment parcels made recovery of lost lands especially difficult because the remaining Ute lands were not necessarily adjoining.

The Utes continue to have to fight for rights to maintain and develop basic resources on their tribal lands. For example, in 1965 the tribe



THE UTES

signed an agreement with the Central Utah Water Conservancy District, which oversaw the construction of a water project to use Utah's share of the waters of the Colorado River. Under the agreement, the Ute tribe gave permission for the Central Utah Project to draw water from the reservation, in exchange for building a water project on the reservation so that the Utes would be able to utilize their water rights. After decades of neglecting the Ute portion of the project, in 1992 the Ute Indian Rights Settlement (which was part of the larger Central Utah Project Completion Act) gave the tribe money for

agricultural, recreational, wildlife, and economic development. This attempt to make up for the loss of the Ute portion of the Central Water Project also serves as a recognition of the government's failure, once again, to live up to its legal obligations to the Ute nation. For an overview of other contemporary land issues the Ute tribe faces today, see the student research articles.

HENRY HARRIS, JR., DESCRIBES ALLOTMENT

O: Tell me, do you remember the opening of the reservation?

H: I do.

O: These Indians who fled and went to Pine Ridge, obviously they were pretty mad about the opening of the reservation.

H: About the opening of the reservation.

O: Now, what about the rest of the Indians? Were they upset too?

H: No, they weren't upset. They knew it had to come.

O: There was—they were sad about it?

H: They felt sadly about it. But, they didn't care much. They said, "Well, if we have to live like a white man now, we have to do it." But this old man Suckive said, "I'm not going to be a pig in a pen. I want to put a fence—don't fence me in." These guys, Suckive, Moros Cisco and Red Cap and—let's see, there was Suckive, Red Cap, Moros Cisco and Yellowstone.

O: There were the four leaders, huh?

H: Four leaders, yes.

O: I see. When the Uncompahgres were allowed to cross the Green River into this area—let's see, that'd been '86. Did you ever hear your dad tell about them being allotted up in here?

H: Yes, they were allotted, some of them were allotted up here and given farms; some were given as little as 40 acres.

O: I see.

H: There were a lot of these acres allotted. Some of the White River gang was allotted here and a few from Ignacio.

O: Among the oldest Indians that you can remember from a kid, who were the old leaders, say when you can remember, maybe 1910.

H: Well, sir, in 1905, let's see—.

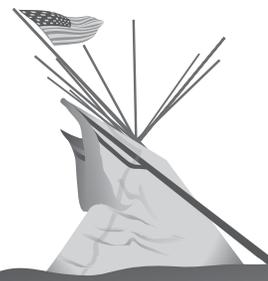
O: You named the four who went to—

H: Yes, they were the renegades

O: They were the renegades.







HIGH SCHOOL ASSESSMENT

AMERICAN INDIANS OF UTAH

TEACHER BACKGROUND

This assessment tool was designed to allow students to show their learning, independent of which resources or lessons were used to teach the unit. Each student will gain different knowledge, and this tool will provide the teacher with a product that can be assessed with the provided rubric or in a subjective manner. The student will need to have been exposed to at least three of the tribes to be able to complete the product.

OBJECTIVE

The student will be able to write an essay using knowledge gained studying the American Indians of Utah.

TEACHER MATERIALS

Assessment Rubric

STUDENT MATERIALS

Set of essay question options

TIME FRAME

One forty-minute period

PROCEDURE

Present each student with the essay question options. Have them choose one essay and complete it in the time allowed.

ASSESSMENT/PRODUCTS

Essay

VARIATIONS/EXTENSIONS

Students may write the essay as a homework and require them to submit a source list or set of articles used for support.

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

HIGH SCHOOL ASSESSMENT

	THESIS	SUPPORT FOR THESIS	ANALYSIS OF QUESTION	CONVENTIONS	ORGANIZATION	VOICE
	0-5 POINTS: 0 - NOT PRESENT, 1 - PRESENT, BUT WEAK, 3 - PRESENT AND CLEAR, 4 - PRESENT AND GOOD, 5 - PRESENT AND EXCELLENT					
NAVAJOS						
PAIUTES						
NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONES						
UTES						
GOSHUTES						
TOTAL						



ESSAY QUESTIONS

Answer one of the following questions using examples from three of Utah's five American Indian tribes.

1. Describe the effects of westward expansion on Utah's indigenous people.
2. Analyze the relationship between American Indian nations and the U.S. government as they relate to land use issues.
3. Compare the outcomes of conflicts between the United States and American Indian nations, whether settled on the battlefield or in the courtroom.
4. Discuss the impact of the Civil War on the American Indians of Utah.
5. Describe progress made by Utah's American Indian tribes in the last hundred years.
6. Evaluate the role of treaties in the history of Utah's tribal nations.



APPENDICES AND RESOURCES



APPENDIX A

ALTERNATIVE GLOSSARY: A NEW WAY TO LOOK AT SOME OLD TERMS

AGRICULTURE The cultivation of the land and soil for the purpose of growing plants; may also include the raising of domesticated animals for food, transportation, and other uses. Many textbooks use agriculture as the first sign of the development of civilization, which implies that if American Indian tribes are not creating a food surplus through farming, they cannot develop a specialized culture and social structure. This understanding of cultural development is misleading in two ways. First, contrary to popular belief, many American Indian groups did “farm.” (The Southern Paiutes of southern Utah, for example, developed sophisticated agricultural and irrigation technologies long before white settlers started farming there.) Second, and perhaps more importantly, many non-agricultural tribes had specialized social structures, disproving the assumption that an agricultural surplus was a prerequisite for those structures.

ASSIMILATION The absorption of people from one culture into the dominant culture. Many federal government officials, including several presidents, felt that by leaving their native culture American Indians could become part of the dominant white society. This often led to policies that attempted to destroy Native American cultures and lifeways.

BAND A group of American Indians, smaller than a tribe, often based on family or kinship ties. Today, the term “band” can also mean a smaller portion of an American Indian tribe who live in a distinct geographical location. In anthropology, this term refers to small hunter-gatherer groups that had little formal political organization.

CLAN A social grouping, larger than an individual family but smaller than the tribe, based on a shared biological or cultural ancestor and/or a spiritual being. In many American Indian cultures, clan ties are essential to social organization and spiritual belief, and members of clans may participate in distinct leadership positions, social roles, rituals, and customs.

CIVILIZATION The term “civilization” is often associated with Euro-American ideas of advancement or progress and can refer to a society that has developed elaborate intellectual, social, and religious institutions and complex material culture (such as arts, crafts, trade goods, etc.). Historically, civilization was understood hierarchically, and complex cultures were assumed to be inherently superior to those that did not create such complex institutions. In the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries, this idea of the advancing stages of civilization was also tied to the Euro-American belief in a racial hierarchy and white superiority, and the view that Indian cultures were “uncivilized” was used to justify policies that benefited white Americans at the expense of native peoples. A more neutral definition of civilization is the type of society and/or culture that existed in a particular region during any given time period.

CULTURE The distinct set of learned beliefs, social institutions, knowledge, values, conventions, and practices shared and created by a specific group of people, which are transmitted from one generation to the next. It is important to note that while we use the all-encompassing terms “Native American” and “American Indian,” these labels actually refer to a number of groups and/or tribes that each have a distinct culture.

- DISCOVERY** The act of obtaining knowledge about, or making known, something that was previously unknown. This word is often controversially used to describe those events in which non-Indian explorers first encountered certain geographic places. These areas had long been known to the native peoples who inhabited them, and using the word “discovery” can inaccurately imply that Indian cultures did not exist (or matter) before the arrival of non-Indian people.
- EDUCATION** The process of providing information and training and of assisting in mental, emotional, and physical development through teaching and learning. Additionally, education can mean to provide information for the purpose of persuading an individual to accept a particular point of view. Education is a vital part of the transmission of culture from one generation to the next and the word carries a complicated legacy for American Indians. The intergenerational trauma caused by federal Indian boarding schools led to an understandable suspicion of Anglo-style education. Some Indians fear that the purpose of education still is to assimilate Indians and destroy their traditional cultures.
- HISTORY** The research, analysis, and interpretation of events of the human past. Often history is associated with a formal, written, systematic account of a certain time period or subject based on written records. More loosely, history can be defined as any story told about the past. American Indian history has been passed from generation to generation through the process of oral transmission, and oral history needs to be recognized as an invaluable historical record of the American Indian experience.
- MYTHOLOGY** A set or system of stories and beliefs, often about supernatural beings or heroes, which usually seek to explain the worldview and beliefs of a particular people or culture, including ideas about the creation of the world and human beings and the workings of natural phenomena. Often American Indian spirituality is inaccurately defined as “myth,” while Euro-American belief systems that are being actively practiced generally receive the more value-neutral label of “religion.” Another way to define a myth as a commonly held belief that is not necessarily accurate, and in this sense there are many misunderstandings about American Indians that can be referred to as myths. For example, the idea that all American Indians lived in teepees would be a myth.
- NATION** The word “nation” has several different definitions. The political definition of nation is that of a group of people in a defined territory who are under an independent and sovereign government. “Nation” can also mean a group of people who share common culture, ancestry, language, etc., who may or may not live within a defined territory. While the traditional assumption is that three nations—the United States, Canada, and Mexico—make up North America, American Indian tribes are also nations with deeply rooted claims to sovereignty.
- NEW WORLD** A term used to describe the countries and continents of the Western Hemisphere, usually the Americas. It should be noted that this term is Euro-centric, as the Americas were in no way “new” to the Indian peoples living here when Europeans first arrived.
- OLD WORLD** Those countries and continents in the Eastern Hemisphere, usually Europe, Africa and Asia. See “New World.”
- ORAL HISTORY** The transmission, recording, and study of past events and experiences based on spoken accounts rather than, or in conjunction with, written records. Oral history is a vital component of the transmission of culture and history for many Native American tribes. It is also a valuable source of knowledge about those tribes.

- RELIGION** a system of beliefs and practices that seek to explain the nature and purpose of life and the universe. These beliefs often include the worship of a supernatural being or beings, specific moral and ethical guidelines, and specific ritual observances, narratives, and symbolism. In Euro-American culture, religion is often seen as separate from the “earthly” or “physical” world, but in most American Indian cultures this distinction does not exist.
- RESERVATION** areas that are defined by treaties, presidential executive orders, acts of Congress, or other agreements between the federal government and a particular Indian tribe or tribes for the use of that particular group. Reservations serve as important land bases for the exercise of tribal sovereignty
- SOVEREIGNTY** The ability, right, and power of a governing body to control its territory, and the actions therein, free from external influence. For American Indian tribes, sovereignty is both inherent and enmeshed in an important and ongoing struggle for the right to control their own lands and live free from outside interference.
- SPIRITUALITY** Generally refers to an individual’s ideas and beliefs about things not directly connected to the biological body or physical matter, sometimes referred to as the soul or spirit. Spirituality often includes ethical and ideological values and involves the ways in which an individual understands the purpose of life and the ways in which the world functions. See also “Religion.”
- TERMINATION** A United States government policy of the 1950s and 1960s, strongly supported by Senator Arthur V. Watkins of Utah, that attempted, through federal legislation, to dissolve federal recognition and responsibility for American Indian tribes, including the division of tribal lands and assets to individuals. This policy terminated the government’s recognition of tribal sovereignty, ended federal support systems on Indian reservations, and ended American Indians’ exemption from state and local taxes. Not all tribes were terminated, but the consequences were devastating for those that were, including the Southern Paiutes of Utah. This controversial subject can be further investigated by watching the *We Shall Remain: The Paiute* or exploring the high school lesson plan about the Paiutes.
- TREATY** A contract or binding agreement between two nations. From 1778 to 1881, the United States and individual groups of Native Americans signed treaties, which usually dealt with the transfer of land to the United States in exchange for certain rights and or goods, possibly including other land, monetary compensation, and/or continued rights to the use of land for hunting, fishing, and other purposes. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the United States consistently failed to fulfill its treaty obligations to Indian nations.
- TRIBE** A group of people, larger than a band, tied by kinship and/or shared culture and traditions. When the term is used in anthropology it often refers to groups associated with more permanent settlements stemming from agriculture. Today the word is often used to designate an organized group of American Indians who share cultural, political, and economic ties, regardless of the size of the ancestral social organization or settlement pattern of that group.

APPENDIX B

UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY OF AMERICAN INDIAN NATIONS

Native American tribes and tribal members, including members of the five tribes of Utah, possess political sovereignty. Each tribe and tribal member has particular burdens, rights, and responsibilities that differ from those of non-tribal members. Tribes have an inherent and inalienable right to self-government and to define their own tribal membership. Tribal governments have the ability to create and enforce laws and to govern all resources in tribal possession, including, for example, land and water holdings that are essential to tribal survival.

The political relationship among tribes and between individual tribes, the federal government, and the state governments has an evolving and complicated history, one which is riddled with contradictory evidence that makes a normative, unified narrative problematic. Furthermore, for each distinct tribe, that history can be just as varied and unique as the history of sovereign relations between the United States and different foreign nations. Because of the numerous contradictions and variations, sovereign relations between a tribe and the United States, or individual states like Utah, are best understood by analyzing the specific historical developments between the parties in question. However, the brief overview that follows provides an historical introduction to the evolving legal framework of political sovereignty for those exploring this critical aspect of United States and American Indian relations for the first time. While this overview concentrates on legal history, it is essential to remember that the actions of individuals and groups, not the abstractions of the law, often played the determinative role in the development of tribal-state relations.

Native American political sovereignty existed long before the establishment of the United States in 1776. In the period of *tribal independence* before Europeans, Africans, and Asians arrived on the American continents, Native Americans governed themselves with no

interference from the outside world. For some tribes this period of independence extended in modified form into the colonial era. From 1492 to 1787, many Indian nations independently controlled their own territory and exercised forms of self-government. Yet, during this same period, as European colonists began to settle in the Americas and extract resources from the land, Indian communities at different times transitioned into an era in which the relationship between individual tribes and colonial government was best characterized as *agreements between equals*. In some places during this period native governments were somewhat more powerful than settler governments, in others the opposite occurred, and in yet others power was equal. But overall, prior to the American Revolution individual native nations and the foreign states that represented the colonists settled disputes as equals through negotiation and the ratification of treaties and other official agreements.

The American victory in the American Revolution meant that some eastern tribes lost a powerful ally in the British. However, at least initially, the American government did not treat Native Americans as a conquered people. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which created the Northwest Territory in the area that is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, pronounced: “The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards Indians. Their land shall not be taken from them without their consent.” The U.S. Constitution, adopted in just two months after the passage of the Northwest Ordinance, outlined the abilities of the three branches of government to deal with Native American communities in two separate articles. Article I, section II specified that untaxed Native Americans were excluded from the population count that determined each state’s share of direct taxes and number of delegates in the House of Representatives. The third clause of Article I, section VIII, known as the

Commerce Clause, empowered Congress “to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes.” This clause, in particular, suggests that the American founders viewed Indian tribes as sovereign governments.

Starting in the 1800s, America’s westward growth increasingly threatened the sovereignty of American Indian communities. During the *removal and relocation era*, from 1828 to 1887, a series of laws and rulings from the U.S. Supreme Court helped define the American government’s evolving approach to dealing with the sovereignty of independent Indian nations. Known as the Marshall trilogy after John Marshall, the justice presiding over the Supreme Court at the time and the author of the majority opinions, these three cases are now understood as the backbone of American Indian law in the United States. *Johnson v. M’Intosh*, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, and *Worcester v. Georgia* all acknowledged the sovereignty of tribal nations and began to shape the legal limits from the American judiciary’s perspective of tribal independence. The first case, *Johnson v. M’Intosh* (1823), held that only the United States government could enter into land sales with American Indians. This ruling was a major step in the U.S. government’s effort to control interactions with American Indians because it stated that states and individuals were not allowed to enter into property sales with native nations. The case recognized aboriginal right of occupancy to lands and decreed that only the federal government can preempt such right. While *Johnson v. M’Intosh* could be understood as providing some legal protection to tribes, that protection relied upon the willingness of powerful individuals and groups to abide by the rule of law. When it came to American Indian sovereignty, that willingness time and again proved elusive.

In 1830 president Andrew Jackson signed into law the Indian Removal Act, in order to legitimize the taking of lands from many southeastern tribes. The act specifically sought to remove the people of the Cherokee nation from their historic homelands in the Southeast to areas west of the Mississippi River. To prevent the implementation of this unjust policy, the Cherokee nation sought recourse through the

United States legal system, which in turn led to *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831). The Court ruled that the United States held no jurisdiction in a case between the state of Georgia and the Cherokee nation. Additionally, the Court expanded the ruling of *Johnson v. M’Intosh* by asserting that American Indians tribes were “domestic dependent nations” separate from state entities. Based upon the Articles of Confederation, the court reasoned that American Indian tribes were both “domestic,” because they were aboriginal to lands that the United States claimed to own, and “sovereign,” because they comprised separate and legitimate nations independent to the U.S. Constitution. Marshall did not advocate for the removal of Indians but rather felt it was an unjust act. However, because of the Cherokees’ sovereign nation status, Marshall believed the Supreme Court was not the appropriate venue for adjudicating the issue.

The final case in the Marshall trilogy, *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) expanded the rights of American Indians nations in the courts of the United States by arguing that states have little to no authority to pass laws concerning American Indian tribes. The court ruled that the Cherokees were a distinct community upon which the laws of Georgia “can have no force.” Once again the record of legal opinions does not tell the full story of Worcester’s influence on how the U.S. grappled with native sovereignty issues. Both the executive and legislative branches responded with hostility to Worcester and continued advocating the removal of the Cherokees from their national homelands. President Andrew Jackson and the State of Georgia blatantly disregarded both the ruling of Supreme Court and the will of the Cherokee nation, and they forced the Cherokees on an exodus from Cherokee lands to what is now Oklahoma. Along with the president’s decision to ignore the Supreme Court, the strength of the U.S. military played an instrumental role in the removal of the Cherokees. Indeed, American military power became a primary tool in the federal government’s campaign to force Indian nations from their national homelands to distant areas, in order to create space for non-native settlers. Closer to Utah, the Navajo people, to name just one such instance, were sent on a brutal forced

march from their homelands into New Mexico (see “The Long Walk and the Escape to Utah” lesson).

While individuals like Jackson did enormous harm to native people by ignoring the law, the effect of the Marshall cases on American Indian sovereignty has been far reaching. For instance, in the twentieth century both the *reserved rights doctrine* and the *canons of interpretation* emerged from the Marshall cases as key judicial methods for adjudicating the relationship between the United States government and native nations. The reserved rights doctrine contends that a tribe only gives up the rights explicitly stated in a said agreement, while preserving all pre-established rights not detailed in the wording of the agreement. The canons of interpretation for Indian law, in simple terms, demand interpretation of a treaty based on the conditions under which the tribe would have reasonably signed it reflecting their own best interests.

At the end of the nineteenth century, during the era of *allotment and assimilation*, a set of destructive practices were formalized and extended, and these policies had a profound effect on the changing relationship between the federal government, state governments, and sovereign tribal nations. Allotment and assimilation policies attempted to break American Indians away from their native identities and move them toward membership in dominant white society. Native children, for example, were removed from their families and communities and placed in boarding schools. The explicit mission of these institutions was to sever student’s ties to their indigenous communities by indoctrinating them in the ways of white society. Similarly, the Dawes Act of 1887 enabled the United States to open sovereignly held Indian lands to non-Indian settlers, a gross violation of previous trust relations between the United States and native nations and also reflective of the effort to erase individual tribal identity. The Dawes Act parceled acreage to individual tribal members based upon the individual’s degree of indigenous heritage, with the intention of dividing tribal communities into individual farmsteads. Tribal members with higher degrees of aboriginal ancestry were allotted larger tracts of

land; however, the federal government chose to hold in trust the land allotted to tribal members with complete aboriginal heritage for a period of twenty-five years. This left many tribal members unable to use the land even if it was their wish to do so. Even more damaging, tribal lands not allocated to tribal members became available to non-Indian settlers. Connected to the Dawes Act is one important Supreme Court case that indicated the U.S. government’s penchant during this era for attempting to erode native sovereignty. In 1903, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* held that “plenary power” of the United States Congress could abrogate treaty obligations between the United States and American Indian tribal nations, including the modification of American Indian land holdings. Lasting until the early 1920s, the assimilation and allotment era whittled away Indians’ land bases and proved devastating to the sovereignty of Indian nations and the related ability of Indian communities to sustain themselves and the ties between land, language preservation, and cultural continuity.

During the *Indian Reorganization* era, from 1934 to 1953, the federal government attempted to repair some of the damage caused by allotment and assimilation policies. The Wheeler-Howard Act, signed on June 18, 1934, became known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). It was intended “To rehabilitate the Indian’s economic life and to give him a chance to develop the initiative destroyed by a century of oppression and paternalism.” In other words, the federal government acknowledged and attempted to amend the damage caused by previous policies and actions. The act secured the rights of American Indians and Alaska Natives to self-government and to gain and manage tribal assets. It also prohibited further allotment of tribal land to tribal members and reclaimed land for landless tribes, partially restoring tribal land holdings by adding two million acres. Although not all tribes adopted IRA provisions, overall this period saw native sovereignty bolstered considerably.

After World War II, the federal government once again shifted Indian policy dramatically. During the termination and relocation era, which stretched from 1953 to 1968, Congress abandoned the goals

of the IRA. In August 1953 Congress adopted House Concurrent Resolution 108, which mandated that the U.S. government should abolish federal supervision of Indian tribes. This new policy came to be known as termination, and it essentially meant the termination of federal benefits and services based on long-held agreements with certain tribes. Over one hundred tribes had services cut and land stripped away. Congress then passed Public Law 83-280, which passed some tribal responsibilities from the federal government to the individual states—the traditional adversaries of the tribes. Also at this time a relocation program began that moved American Indians away from strong native communities into urban areas without large native communities.

The devastating effects of termination prompted enormous activism on the part of native people and, subsequently, a new period for American Indian relations, the *self-determination* era, which extended from 1968 to 1977. In 1968 Congress prohibited states from acquiring any jurisdiction over Indian reservations without the consent of the affected tribe. In 1970, President Nixon denounced the termination era, decreeing, “This then must be the goal of any new national policy toward the Indian people to strengthen the Indian sense of autonomy without threatening the sense on community.” In 1974 two acts—the Indian Finances Act and the Native American Programs Act—enabled tribes to develop more effectively their internal resources. In addition, in 1974 the Supreme Court ruled in *Morton v. Mancari* that hiring preferences in the federal agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for tribal members did not violate the Fifth Amendment. The court found that hiring preferences for tribal members at the BIA was not based on racial bias but rather offered a way to better serve tribal members in their own self-governance. Among the other important legal decisions in regard to sovereignty in this more recent period was *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* (1978), a Supreme Court case that held that tribal courts do not have limited jurisdiction over non-Indians, especially in criminal cases.

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, then, a series of Supreme Court cases and government actions emphasized “Indian sovereignty” and the inherent power of the tribes to assert their economic, political, and cultural authority in appropriate areas. In 1982, the establishment of a United Nations working group to monitor the interactions between various state and indigenous nations added further support to restoration of native sovereignty. And in 1989, the Senate announced a new era of agreements with Indian tribes. But while concrete steps to support native sovereignty partly defined this era, a more thorough analysis affirms that the complexities and contradictions continue to plague the U.S. government’s approach to the question of sovereignty.

American Indian sovereignty, it must be emphasized, exists on its own accord, independently from state and federal governments of the United States. Each tribe expresses sovereignty uniquely in ways that benefit the individual tribe. In this sense, the five tribes local to Utah are distinct in regard to their political organization. The seven lesson plans that comprise the high school curriculum materials all explore the particular histories of sovereignty of Utah’s five tribal nations and their continued struggle to protect their rights. The fourth and seventh grade lesson plans, focused on the themes of culture and ingenuity respectively, also provide a useful context for understanding the roots of tribal independence.



APPENDIX C

LINKS FOR TEACHERS

UTAH INDIAN CURRICULUM PROJECT WEBSITE

<http://www.UtahIndians.org/>
With access to Utah American Indian Digital Archive, Interactive Maps, and other resources.

AMERICAN WEST CENTER

<http://www.awc.utah.edu>

WE SHALL REMAIN LINKS

<http://www.kued.org/productions/weshallremain/index.php>
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/weshallremain/>

LINKS TO UTAH'S TRIBES

<http://www.goshutetribes.com/index.html>
<http://www.navajo.org/>
<http://www.utahpaiutes.org/>
<http://www.utetribes.com/>
<http://www.nwbshoshone-nsn.gov/>

UTAH DIVISION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

<http://indian.utah.gov/>
Check out the Power-Point presentations:
http://indian.utah.gov/power_point_presentations/index.html

UTAH STATE OFFICE OF EDUCATION

<http://www.usoe.k12.ut.us/>
Check out these other great lesson plans:
<http://www.schools.utah.gov/curr/indianed/>

UTAH EDUCATION NETWORK – SOCIAL STUDIES LESSON PLANS

<http://www.uen.org/Lessonplan/LPview.cgi?core=4>

UTAH HISTORY LINKS

<http://historytogo.utah.gov/index.html>
<http://historyforkids.utah.gov/>

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

<http://www.nmai.si.edu/>

UTAH INDIAN CURRICULUM PROJECT PARTNER LINKS

University of Utah Center for American Indian Languages

<http://www.cail.utah.edu/>

University of Utah J. Willard Marriott Library

<http://www.lib.utah.edu/portal/site/marriottlibrary/>

Utah Museum of Natural History – Teaching Toolbox

<http://www.umnh.utah.edu/toolbox#native>

Utah Humanities Council

<http://www.utahhumanities.org/weshallremain.htm>

Utah Arts Council Folk Arts Program – Chase Home Museum

http://arts.utah.gov/experience_arts/galleries/chase_home_museum/index.html

Utah Museum of Fine Arts

<http://www.umfa.utah.edu/splendidheritage>

Center for Documentary Arts – Traveling Exhibit

<http://cdautah.org/projects/traveling/travelingSacred>

Discovery Gateway

<http://www.childmuseum.org/>

Utah State Historical Society

http://history.utah.gov/historical_society/index.html

INDIAN CURRICULUM FROM OTHER STATES

Look at what Alaska has accomplished:
<http://www.alaskool.org/curriculumindx.html>

Look at what Montana has accomplished:
<http://www.mtiea.org/links/teachers.html>

APPENDIX D

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE NAVAJO DVD WORKSHEET

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

ATTENTION QUESTIONS

1. Did the Navajo people emerge from beneath the earth into the Glittering World?
2. Did the Navajos live in teepees?
3. Were the Navajos hunters?
4. Was the introduction of the horse to the Southwest good for the Navajos?
5. Was the introduction of sheep to the Southwest good for the Navajos?
6. Was Kit Carson a friend to the Navajos?
7. Was Barboncito a friend to the Navajos?
8. Did the Navajos enjoy going off to boarding school?
9. Did Navajo students get punished for speaking the Navajo language in boarding school?
10. Did the U.S. government kill off half of the sheep on the Navajo Reservation?
11. Was the Navajo language used to help the U.S. in World War II?
12. Is the Navajo language still being taught?
13. Do the Navajos have their own college?
14. Are the Navajo people respected as excellent silversmiths?
15. Do the Navajos weave baskets and blankets?
16. Do colors have special meanings in Navajo culture?
17. Are sand paintings a form of prayer?
18. Are the Navajos becoming a more powerful and independent nation?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE NAVAJO DVD WORKSHEET

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Describe the relationship between the Navajos and the land.
2. What did the arrival of the horse in the Southwest mean to the Navajo people?
3. How did the arrival of sheep in the Southwest affect the Navajos?
4. Describe the Long Walk.
5. What was the effect of the boarding school experience on the Navajos?
6. What did the loss of the sheep mean to the Navajos?
7. How are cultural traditions of the Navajos being retained?
8. What steps are the Navajos taking to improve the education of their children?
9. What artistic skills have the Navajos maintained as part of their culture?
10. What spiritual practices have the Navajos maintained as part of their culture?
11. What are the issues facing the Navajos today?

CONTEMPLATION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Why do Rose and her husband choose to live a traditional life in this time and place?
2. How do the Navajos remember and deal with the Long Walk experience?
3. Describe how Navajo spiritual beliefs and practices are part of everyday life.
4. Why are the Four Sacred Mountains so important to the Navajos?
5. Do songs and dances have special meaning to the Navajos?
6. Why did the Code Talkers agree to help the U.S. government after all that they had experienced?
7. The Navajos have a very large and complicated government. Why is this important?
8. Why do the Navajos work to become more independent?
9. How do the Navajos make sure their Holy People will recognize them?
10. There were many photographs in the film. What do you remember about them?
11. Many of the people are interviewed in their own homes and yards. What do you learn from seeing where people live?
12. In which places in the film did you hear people talking about teaching their children or grandchildren or being taught by a parent or grandparent?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE NAVAJO - BINGO

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

DID YOU SEE?			DID YOU HEAR?	
MOUNTAINS	RED ROCKS	HORSES	CLAN	
SHEEP	TURQUOISE	VELVET	PRAYERS	FOOD FRYING
COWBOY HATS	FLAGS	PEOPLE SMILING	HAMMERING	MUSIC
WEAVING	HOGAN	FEARING TIME	SINGING	DRUMMING
	FAMILIES	THE NAVAJO LANGUAGE	ANIMAL SOUNDS	LAUGHTER

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE GOSHUTE DVD WORKSHEET

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

ATTENTION QUESTIONS

1. Are there mountains in the Goshute homeland?
2. Does water flow from the Goshute homeland to the Pacific Ocean?
3. Does the word “Goshute” mean “the people” in the Goshute language?
4. Do the Goshute people know how to use plants as medicine?
5. Were rabbits a source of food and clothing for the Goshutes?
6. Do the Goshutes have a way to cook crickets?
7. Is the water jug in the film made of glass?
8. Does Goshute storytelling take place all year long?
9. Are kids allowed to interrupt the storyteller?
10. Did the Spanish bring horses to the Great Basin?
11. Were some Goshutes kidnapped into slavery?
12. Did the Treaty of 1863 mean that the Goshutes would need to stay on a reservation?
13. Did kids get in trouble for not speaking English in school?
14. Are the Goshutes trying to help the Bonneville cutthroat trout from becoming extinct?
15. Is there an Air Force bombing range in northwestern Utah?
16. Are the Goshute people survivors?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE GOSHUTE DVD WORKSHEET

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Describe the landscape of the Goshute homeland.
2. What is the importance of natural springs in the Goshute homeland?
3. How did the Goshutes use the rabbit to meet their needs?
4. Describe how a water jug is made watertight.
5. When were creation stories told?
6. Why was the horse not useful to the Goshute people?
7. Why were people other than the Goshutes trying to cross their land?
8. What did the soldiers and settlers do to make the Goshutes think of them as enemies?
9. What did the Goshutes get for signing the Treaty of 1863?
10. Why can't all the Goshutes live on the reservation?
11. What are the Goshutes trying to protect on their land?
12. What are the Goshutes doing to show respect for their ancestors in a modern way?

CONTEMPLATION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Why is territory of the Goshute homeland so sparsely populated?
2. How do Goshute spiritual beliefs characterize the relationship between the land and the people?
3. Rabbit and insect “drives” are mentioned in the film. Describe a “drive” in your own words.
4. Why do the filmmakers describe the water jug as being “symbolic of the Great Basin way of life”?
5. Why might creation stories be told in the winter?
6. Why did the Goshutes sign the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1863?
7. The film shows files of historical documents that Genevieve Fields has collected. Why has she kept those files, and what does she hope people will learn from them?
8. Why might it be a bad idea to try to grow crops on the Skull Valley Reservation?
9. What words do the Goshute people in the film use to describe themselves?
10. There were many photographs in the film. What do you remember about them?
11. Many of the people are interviewed in their own homes and yards. What do you learn from seeing where people live?
12. In which places in the film did you hear people talking about teaching their children or grandchildren or being taught by a parent or grandparent?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE GOSHUTE DVD WORKSHEET - BINGO

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

DID YOU SEE?			DID YOU HEAR?	
	MOUNTAINS	HAILSTONES	FATHER = SUN	MOTHER = LAND
ANTELOPE	FISH	BERRIES	GRANDMOTHER = WATER	GRANDFATHER = FIRE
CRICKETS	COVERED WAGON	PEOPLE SMILING	LAUGHTER	RABBIT
GREAT SALT LAKE	FLOWERS	CRICKETS	SAGEBRUSH	WINTER
FAMILIES	WATER JUG	THE GOSHUTE LANGUAGE	THE RAT'S TAIL IS CUT!	

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONE DVD WORKSHEET

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

ATTENTION QUESTIONS

1. Did the Shoshones have a warning before the Bear River Massacre?
2. Did the Shoshones eat elk and buffalo?
3. Were the Northwestern Shoshones friendly with the Mormon pioneers?
4. Did all the Shoshones escape before the army marched into the camp?
5. Did the soldiers let the women and children leave?
6. Did all the Northwestern Shoshones join the LDS Church?
7. Did the Shoshones learn to farm?
8. Were the homes at Washakie abandoned before they were burned down?
9. Are some Shoshones still members of the LDS Church?
10. Are dances and songs considered spiritual?
11. Is the eagle the creator?
12. Do some Shoshones practice traditional spirituality and the LDS religion?
13. Do the Shoshones learn their cultural songs from books and television?
14. Are the Shoshones trying to keep their language alive?
15. Have the Shoshones started businesses and bought land?
16. Do the Shoshone people feel a connection to the land?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONE DVD WORKSHEET

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Describe the relationship between the Shoshones and the land.
2. What did the arrival of the Mormon pioneers in Utah mean to the Shoshone people?
3. Why don't historians know how many people died in the Bear River Massacre?
4. Describe how the Shoshone lifestyle changed at Washakie.
5. What happened to the medicine people, the gifted ones?
6. What did the burning of the Washakie homes do to people's faith?
7. How are the Northwestern Shoshones retaining their cultural traditions?
8. What steps are the Shoshones taking to improve their economic status?
9. What has been done to honor the memories of those lost in the Bear River Massacre?
10. What have the Northwestern Shoshones done to help the environment?
11. What are the issues facing the Shoshones today?

CONTEMPLATION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Why have the Shoshones put so much effort into creating businesses?
2. How do the Northwestern Shoshones handle the difficulty of being part of two different spiritual traditions?
3. The Northwestern Shoshone way of life has changed many times in their history. Describe those changes.
4. Why do the Shoshones still feel so connected to the land after all that has happened there?
5. Why is language education so important to the future of the Shoshone people?
6. The Northwestern Shoshones do not have a large reservation to call their home. How has that affected them?
7. Have strong family ties helped keep the Shoshone culture alive?
8. Why might it be more difficult for the Shoshones to keep their traditions alive than for other Utah tribes?
9. What do the words "We Shall Remain" mean to the Shoshones?
10. There were many photographs in the film. What do you remember about them?
11. Many of the people are interviewed in their own homes and yards. What do you learn from seeing where people live?
12. In which places in the film did you hear people talking about teaching their children or grandchildren or being taught by a parent or grandparent?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONE DVD WORKSHEET - BINGO

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

DID YOU SEE?		DID YOU HEAR?		
MOUNTAINS		PRAIRIE DOGS	WHISTLE	DRUMMING
SNOW	DIGGING STICKS	TRIBAL HEADQUARTERS	GUNS	SONGS
FARM	TEARS	PEOPLE SMILING	STORIES	SAGWITCH
STEAM	KIDS	STORYBOOK	LAUGHTER	COYOTE
FAMILIES	ANIMALS	THE SHOSHONE LANGUAGE		WASHAKIE

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE UTE DVD WORKSHEET

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

ATTENTION QUESTIONS

1. Did the Utes learn the Bear Dance from a bear?
2. Did the Spanish introduce the horse to the Utes?
3. Did the Ute way of life stay the same after they got horses?
4. Did the introduction of the horse help the Utes to get along with their neighbors?
5. Are all the Ute reservations in the state of Utah?
6. Did the Utes and the LDS pioneers get along?
7. Were the Utes excited to become farmers?
8. Were there valuable minerals to be mined on Ute land in Colorado?
9. Do the Utes relate their spirituality to the land?
10. Do the Utes relate their spirituality to their language?
11. Is the Utes language taught in school?
12. Do the Utes want to teach their culture to the young people of the tribe?
13. Do the Utes celebrate with powwows?
14. Do the Utes keep the memories of their ancestors alive with their traditions?
15. Are the Utes a tribe of survivors?
16. Do the Utes pass down their traditions within families?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE UTE DVD WORKSHEET

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Describe the relationship between the Utes and the land.
2. What did the arrival of the horse in the Southwest mean to the Ute people?
3. How did the arrival of the Mormon pioneers change things for the Utes?
4. Describe how misunderstandings between the Utes and the Mormons led to conflict.
5. Why were the Utes pushed out of Colorado?
6. Did the relationship between the Utes and the land change when they were moved?
7. How are the cultural traditions of the Utes being retained?
8. What steps are the Utes taking to improve the education of their children?
9. What does the Smoking River Powwow mean to the Utes?
10. What have the Utes done to remember their ancestors?
11. What are the issues that the Utes face today?

CONTEMPLATION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Why do the Utes still celebrate the Bear Dance?
2. How do the spiritual beliefs of the Utes relate to the land?
3. How do the Utes celebrate their traditional culture while living in the modern American culture?
4. Why do the Utes retain emotional connections to land they no longer have control over?
5. Why might teaching the Ute language in schools improve student performance in other classes?
6. Historically, the Utes had many bands that lived throughout Utah and Colorado; now many bands are grouped together. What does this show about the adaptability of the Ute people?
7. The Utes have their own newspaper. What does this say about their desire to remember their past or their plans for the future?
8. Why might non-Indian people of Utah want to learn more about the Ute experience??
9. What words come to mind to describe the Ute people after seeing the documentary?
10. There were many photographs in the film. What do you remember about them?
11. Many of the people are interviewed in their own homes and yards. What do you learn from seeing where people live?
12. In which places in the film did you hear people talking about teaching their children or grandchildren or being taught by a parent or grandparent?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE UTE DVD WORKSHEET - BINGO

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

DID YOU SEE?			DID YOU HEAR?	
BEAR DANCE SHAWLS	MOUNTAINS	HORSES	BEAR DANCE STICKS	
CLASSROOMS	BEADS	DANCERS	LAUGHING	PRAYING
TRUCKS	KIDS	FAMILIES	WALKER WAR	BLACK HAWK WAR
FLAGS	PEOPLE SMILING	SINGING	TEEPEE RINGS	IDENTITY
	HOUSE	POWWOW DRUMMING	ANCESTORS	THE UTE LANGUAGE

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE PAIUTE DVD WORKSHEET

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

ATTENTION QUESTIONS

1. Did the Paiute people know a lot about the plants in their homeland?
2. Did the Paiutes plant farms and gardens?
3. Were rabbits a source of food and clothing for the Paiutes?
4. Was the introduction of the horse to Utah good for the Paiutes?
5. Did diseases brought by non-Indians hurt the Paiutes?
6. Did the Paiutes attack the travelers at Mountain Meadows?
7. Was termination a good thing for the Paiutes?
8. Was the Paiute tribe restored?
9. Do dances and powwows have meaning to the Paiute?
10. Are Paiute cultural practices handed down to the young people of the tribe?
11. Has the Paiute language died out over time?
12. Do Paiute graduates get a laptop to help them continue their education?
13. Do the Paiutes want their young people to be successful in school?
14. Are the Paiutes trying to keep their children from learning about the non-Indian world?
15. Can a person be a member of the LDS Church and a Paiute?
16. Do Paiute people wear their traditional clothing every day?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE PAIUTE DVD WORKSHEET

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Describe the relationship between the Paiutes and the land.
2. What did the arrival of the horse in Utah mean to the Paiute people?
3. How did the arrival of the Mormons affect the Paiutes?
4. Describe how misunderstandings about the Mountain Meadows Massacre have affected the Paiutes.
5. When was the Paiute tribe terminated, and what did that mean to the people?
6. What did the restoration of tribal status in 1980 mean to the Paiutes?
7. How are cultural traditions of the Paiutes being retained?
8. What steps are the Paiutes taking to improve the education of their children?
9. What has made economic development difficult for the Paiutes?
10. What have been the most successful recent projects for the Paiutes?
11. What are the issues relating to the Shivwits Band?

CONTEMPLATION QUESTIONS

Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

1. Why do the Paiutes gather to celebrate a “restoration” powwow?
2. How do the Paiutes view their future as a tribe?
3. How has the geographic distance between the bands affected their history?
4. The word “pride” occurs again and again in the film. What does it mean to the Paiutes?
5. What is the importance of learning songs, dances, and stories in the Paiute culture?
6. Why is it important to the Paiutes to preserve their language?
7. What element of traditional Paiute culture are parents most concerned with helping their children retain?
8. Why might it feel to the Paiutes like they walk in two worlds?
9. What does the phrase “We Shall Remain” mean to the Paiutes?
10. There were many photographs in the film. What do you remember about them?
11. Many of the people are interviewed in their own homes and yards. What do you learn from seeing where people live?
12. In which places in the film did you hear people talking about teaching their children or grandchildren or being taught by a parent or grandparent?

WE SHALL REMAIN: THE PAIUTE DVD WORKSHEET - BINGO

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

DID YOU SEE?			DID YOU HEAR?	
POWWOW DANCERS	MOUNTAINS	PRAIRIE DOGS	TERMINATION	RESTORATION
	TRIBAL HEADQUARTERS	PEOPLE SMILING	PRIDE	BALANCE
FLAGS	RED ROCKS	COMPUTERS	MOUNTAIN MEADOWS	CRADLEBOARD
MONUMENTS	KIDS	DIGNITY	PINENUTS	
FAMILIES	BEADS	THE PAIUTE LANGUAGE	MUSIC	LAUGHTER

APPENDIX E

PHOTOGRAPH, MAP, AND ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

INTRODUCTION MATERIALS

- 4 *Map of Utah Indians' Great Basin Territories*
 - 7 *Map of Indian Territories in the Western United States*
 - 8 *Map of Ancestral Navajo Territory*
 - 8 *Map of Current Navajo Reservation*
 - 10 *Map of Ancestral Paiute Territory*
 - 10 *Map of Current Southern Paiute Lands*
 - 13 *Map of Ancestral Ute Territory*
 - 13 *Map of Current Ute Reservations*
 - 16 *Map of Ancestral Goshute Territory*
 - 16 *Map of Current Goshute Reservations*
 - 18 *Map of Ancestral Shoshone Territory*
 - 18 *Map of Current Northwestern Shoshone Lands and Reservations*
- All map illustrations by Rachel Leiker, The University of Utah's American West Center

HIGH SCHOOL LESSONS

- 32 *Washakie LDS Ward*. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.
- 32 *Ute Group in Salt Lake City*. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.



DVDS

DVDS



WE SHALL REMAIN

A NATIVE HISTORY OF AMERICA AND UTAH



E P I S O D E D E S C R I P T I O N S

EPISODE ONE

The Paiute

Beneath the red cliffs of Southern Utah, along the streams of the Virgin River once lived a humble people who were here long before the arrival of wagon trains. A thriving horticultural society, the Southern Paiute Indians were a peaceful foraging people whose social ties created a network that spread throughout the Western Rocky Mountains, the Colorado Plateau, and the Great Basin. But as different groups and cultures vied for control of the West, the once independent Paiute people were forced to face challenges that resulted in unfulfilled promises, poverty, dependence and profound loss. Horses enabled Ute Indians and Spanish trading parties to capture and sell Paiute slaves. Mormon settlers claimed the Paiutes' favored lands, and epidemics of disease killed more than 90% of some Paiute groups. Conflict continued when local Mormon leaders accused the Paiutes of the 1857 attack and slaughter of the Fancher-Baker emigrant train in a clearing known as Mountain Meadows. In 1957, a century later, Congress would terminate federally recognized status for the Paiute people. The results of termination had devastating social and economic consequences. In 1980, a federal trust relationship was restored to the Paiutes, a contract that would return hope and dignity to a proud tribe.

Today, the five bands of Paiutes (Shivwits, Koosharem, Kanosh, Cedar and Indian Peaks) unite to celebrate their restored status at an annual, intertribal gathering—an event at which youth have the opportunity to learn tribal cultures and traditions. The passing on of cultural knowledge and language is of primary concern for the Tribe's elders and leaders, who are witness to a fading culture, and a dying language. Often Paiute youth find it difficult to achieve meaningful balance between the world of their ancestors and the world of the 21st century. As former Tribal Chairman Travis Parashonts states, "We walk the fence, and sometimes that fence is made up of all kinds of obstacles: the Mormon church, religion, culture, tradition, white world, Indian world, white education, Indian education. A lot of them get confused. Where am I in life? Who am I?"

Credits

Producer: Sally Shaum
Contributing Consultant: Forrest Cuch
Production Assistant: Natalie Avery
Narration: Kolby Rowser, member of the Cedar Band Of Paiutes
Videographer: Doug Monroe

EPISODE TWO

The Ute

The Ute have always been a strong people. For hundreds of years they bartered or negotiated with outsiders in their territory, and fought when necessary. They maintained their homeland and hunting grounds, which ranged across the basin and plains that would one day become Utah and Colorado and into parts of Wyoming and New Mexico. But on July 24th, 1847, everything changed. Mormon pioneers entered the Salt Lake Valley and began settling the region. Hunting grounds and game dried up. The Ute fought back, but the tide of settlers was too great, and the Ute were marginalized onto reservations. The government tried to make the Ute farmers, but it went against their way of life. The final Ute resistance came in 1879 on the White River Agency near present-day Meeker, Colorado. The Ute won the battle, but lost the war. More than 1,500 men, women and children were ordered to leave their homeland and were marched to Utah's Uintah and Ouray reservation. Once again, the Ute were forced off their ancestral land—land that was integral to their spirituality and way of life.

But the Ute didn't forget who they were and where they came from. Today, many work to keep their culture and their language alive, although it is difficult, especially for the young people. As teacher Venita Taveapont states, "They need to learn how to be Ute, and I see too many of the students coming into high school that have little or no knowledge of being Ute . . . of being able to communicate, of knowing cultural practices." Without this cultural identity it can be difficult to achieve in school, and in life. It can be a challenge to "walk in the Indian world and the non-Indian world." But many young people are keeping the past alive. Traditional dances like the Bear Dance still attract crowds each year, and ancient songs mix with new songs at festivals and Powwows as new generations of singers emerge.

Credits

Producer: Nancy Green
Narrator/Contributing Consultant: Forrest Cuch, member of the Ute Tribe
Production Assistants: Colby Tueller, Mike Van Dorn
Videographer: Doug Monroe

EPISODE THREE

The Navajo

They call themselves Diné, which means The People. To the rest of the world they are known as Navajo. Creation stories tell of struggle and evolution through three spiritual worlds, and finally emergence into this world and their present homeland, Dinétah.

A homeland defined by four sacred mountains: Mt. Blanca in central Colorado, Mt. Taylor in New Mexico, The San Francisco Peaks in Arizona, and Mt. Hesperus in southwestern Colorado. It is an area covering 25,000 square miles and the largest reservation in the United States. Its landscape includes national treasures such as Monument Valley and Canyon de Chelly.

Navajo history tells of acculturation and conflict with the Spanish, Mexicans and Americans—a story of struggle and survival against military colonization, slavery, and brutal relocation. According to Navajo historian Dr. Jennifer Denetdale, "Manifest Destiny has meant to the Navajo people the loss of their land, the loss of their liberty, and the loss of their personal freedom. Manifest Destiny has meant genocide to indigenous peoples."

This 30-minute documentary recounts the survival of the Diné from their origins to their present status as a "nation within a nation," and their continuing push toward true sovereignty. They have emerged a unique people with a deep spiritual and cultural identity.

The enduring spirit of the Navajo is embodied in the poem by Edward Navajo: "Walk on a rainbow trail; walk on a trail of song, and all about you will be beauty. There is a way out of every dark mist, over a rainbow trail."

Credits

Producer: Jeff Elstad
Writers: Jeff Elstad, Davina Spotted Elk
Host: Forrest Cuch
Narrator: Vincent Craig, member of the Navajo Tribe
Associate Producer: Davina Spotted Elk
Videographer: Doug Monroe
Additional Videography: John Howe, Gary Turnier

(continued on back)

EPISODE FOUR

The Goshute

The expanse of the Great Basin we now know as Western Utah and Northeastern Nevada is an area where most people cannot survive without outside assistance. Home to the Shoshonne-Goship people—The Goshutes—it is a dramatic and illusive land. Water is life. It forces diversity in this unusually arid land. The Goshute had an intimate knowledge of how to sustain life here. Their extraordinary knowledge of desert life cycles and their medicinal uses of plants are legendary, yet their innovation, balance and strength have been historically overlooked. In light of modern crises of sustainability and renewable resources, they set an example for 21st Century society. At the turn of the 19th century, threats to their balanced way of life erupted on two fronts. The Mormons established Salt Lake City in 1847 and sent their people west to settle in fertile wintering valleys. Soldiers overwhelmed precious springs in the heart of the territory as the roads of the Pony Express and the Overland Stage were built to California. Livestock destroyed the renewable cycle of seeds and plants essential to the Goshute way of life. As tensions increased, Goshute families became the targets of violence. Against staggering odds, the Goshute survived, tenaciously resisting relocation and retaining roots in their ancestral homeland.

The descendants of the Goshute persevere in two distinct sovereign Indian Nations: The Skull Valley Band of the Goshute Indians Reservation and The Confederated Tribes of the Goshute Indian Reservation. While stability and opportunity have increased, there are also looming threats. The Skull Valley Reservation has become surrounded by the most deadly military installations and civilian industries known to mankind, including chemical and biological warfare testing and storage, as well as an Air Force bombing range. In the last decade, the reservation was targeted as the storage site for the nation's highest-level nuclear waste. The question of whether this rich financial opportunity would save or destroy the tribe caused much distress among tribal members. Though the waste storage deal fell through, storing other types of waste remains the largest economic opportunity for those wishing to remain on the reservation. From the south comes another threat. The Southern Nevada Water Authority has begun tapping into a network of ancient aquifers to support the burgeoning population of Las Vegas. The drop of a few feet in the water table may prove disastrous to all life in the Great Basin area. In the face of economic and environmental challenges, the Goshutes' rich past gives this remarkable people fortitude. As Goshute tribal member, high-school teacher and coach Virgil Johnson states, "I think if you have survivor qualities and characteristics, you can survive in any environment. And to me that's what makes the Goshute who they are."

Credits

Producer/Writer: Carol Dalrymple

Narrated by: Laine Thom, Grand Teton National Park interpreter affiliated with the Shoshone, Goshute and Paiute tribes

Production Assistants: Cheryl Neiderhauser, Deborah Blackburn, Davina Spotted Elk

Videographer: Doug Monroe

Additional Videographers: Gary Turnier, Carol Dalrymple

Host: Forrest Cuch

EPISODE FIVE

The Northwestern Shoshone

On January 29th, 1863, the Northwestern Shoshone suffered the largest slaughter of American Indians in the Western history of the United States. Early that morning, Chief Sagwitch spotted steam from the breath of men and horses rising from the hills across the river. Federal troops were approaching. There would be no negotiating. The soldiers reportedly marched on orders to "take no prisoners." A short battle ensued, but the soldiers were too well armed. Soon the battle turned into a massacre. Women and children jumped into the river trying to escape. One wounded mother, Anzee-chee, watched as her baby drowned and floated down the river among the dead in the blood-red ice. No one knows exactly how many Northwestern Shoshone died that day. Accounts claim anywhere from 250 to 500 men, women, and children lost their lives. But one thing is certain; the band would never be the same. Sagwitch and his people saw their way of life disappear. In less than a day, centuries of tradition were wiped away.

But the people did live on. Today the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation fight a new battle—one to keep their traditional cultural practices and language alive. The tribe has only 17 native language speakers, and much of the knowledge about ancient arts and ways of life has disappeared. But the Northwestern Shoshone are determined to preserve their culture as best they can. They still remember their ancestors and the sacrifices that were made nearly 150 years ago. It's something tribal cultural resource manager Patty Timbimboo Madsen feels passionately about. "You remember those back then and you honor them because of the sacrifice they made. To me it's important enough to take what they had been through, to remember that, to try and revitalize some of their lifestyle, to understand who they were—because I am them. That's what makes us whole."

Credits

Producer: Nancy Green

Co-producer: Joe Prokop

Narrator: Stephen Dak Harvey, member of the Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation

Contributing Consultant: Forrest Cuch

Production Assistants: Colby Tueller, Mike Van Dorn

Videographers: Doug Monroe, Gary Turnier

Mondays, beginning April 13, at 9:30 p.m. on



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