Notes to Chapters

Notes—Setting the Stage: Native America Revisited


3 It is problematic to discuss Native American beliefs in general terms, since each tribe has specific ways of explaining the sacred. Even within the tribe or band there may be differences. For the reader who wishes to explore published works on the worldview of some of the tribes in Utah, the following books are suggested: Fred Conetah, Norma Denver, Daisy Jenks, Kathryn MacKay, Floyd O’Neil, Stories of Our Ancestors—A Collection of Northern-Ute Indian Tales (Salt Lake City: Uintah-Ouray Tribe, 1974); Trudy Griffin-Pierce, Earth is My Mother, Sky is My Father (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); Gerald Hausman, The Gift of the Gila Monster—Navajo Ceremonial Tales (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993); Ake Hultkrantz, “Mythology and Religious Concepts,” Handbook of North American Indians—Great Basin, volume 10 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1986): 630–40; Franc Johnson Newcomb, Navaho Folk Tales (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990); Karl W. Luckert, Navajo Mountain and Rainbow Bridge Religion (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977); Robert S. McPherson, Sacred Land, Sacred View—Navajo Perceptions of the Four Corners Region (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1992); William R. Palmer, Pahute Indian Legends (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1946); Anne M. Smith, Ethnography of the Northern Utes, University of New Mexico Anthropological Papers 17, 1974; Anne M. Smith, Ute Tales (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992); Colin F. Taylor, Native American Myths and Legends (London: Salamander Books, Ltd., 1994); and Paul G. Zolbrod, Dine bahane (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984).
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4 McPherson, Sacred Land, Sacred View, 67–68.
5 See John W. Van Cott, Utah Place Names (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990).
8 Ibid., 154–57.
9 Ibid., 157–60.
10 There is a profusion of literature concerning the Anasazi. A good general overview may be obtained from Jesse D. Jennings, Prehistory of Utah and the Eastern Great Basin, University of Utah Anthropological Papers 98 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978): 95–153; and Winston B. Hurst, “The Prehistoric Peoples of San Juan County, Utah,” San Juan County, Utah, ed. by Allan Kent (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1983), 17–44.
12 See McPherson, Sacred Land, Sacred View, 77–127.
13 Jennings, Prehistory of Utah, 235.
17 Ibid., 238.
21 Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and
Notes—Shoshone

David E. Miller, Utah’s History (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 689.
22 Ibid., 357.
23 Ibid., 730.
24 Compare and contrast the previously cited works by Arrington, Brooks, and Christy for examples of the variety in interpretation scholars have made concerning Native Americans and their relations with white immigrants to Utah.

Notes—Shoshone

1 See Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 11, Great Basin (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1986); Brigham D. Madsen, The Northern Shoshoni (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1980); Robert H. Lowie, “The Northern Shoshone,” Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 2 (New York, 1909); Omer C. Stewart, “Shoshoni History and Social Organization,” Idaho Yesterdays 9 (Fall 1965); David B. Madsen and David Rhode, eds., Across the West: Human Population Movement and the Expansion of the Numa (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994). These works describe the territory of the Shoshone bands and their social organization and relationships to other Great Basin region inhabitants prior to white contact. Indian Agent Frederick W. Lander reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in February 1860 (United States National Archives, M234: Utah) the different bands of the Shoshone: the “Shoshonees or Eastern Snakes” (Washakie’s Eastern Shoshones), the “Salmon River Snakes, Bannacks
and Snakes and Sheep Eaters” (the mixed band of the Lemhi Valley), the “Western Snakes,” (the Northwestern Shoshone bands including Pocatello’s), the “Bannacks, or Panackees or Pannacks” (the mixed buffalo-hunting bands of the Fort Hall region), “Bannacks of Fort Boise” (probably the mixed group which became known as the Boise Shoshones), the “Salt Lake Diggers, Lower or Southern Snakes” (the Northwestern Shoshone bands that lived among the Mormon settlements of northern Utah), and the “Warraricas, [‘Sun-Flower Seed Eaters’] or Diggers or Bannacks, Below Fort Boise, West of the Blue Mountains” (probably the Paiute speakers known as “Snakes” in Oregon).


3 Ibid., 13–14. Chief Washakie (1804–1900); Chief Pocatello (ca. 1815–1884); Chief Sagwitch Timbimboo (1822–1884); Chief Bear Hunter (d. 1863) Chief Sanpitch (d. 1863); Chief Lehi (dates unknown). Sagwitch and Bear Hunter were cousins. The LDS leadership decided in their earliest encounters with native tribes against attempting to “buy” land. A policy of feed rather than fight with local tribes was decreed by Brigham Young in the earliest days of settlement and continued to be semi-official doctrine through the 1850s and 1860s, even though many individual Latter-day Saints complained about being forced to bear the economic hardship the policy entailed.


6 Mae Parry research. Traditional building methods of the “green-
houses” have been preserved through continued use; Kippie and Positze Norigen and other community residents built a traditional “greenhouse” each summer at Washakie, Utah.

7 Mae Parry research. Annie Camasovah owned one of these blankets at Washakie, Utah, and showed construction methods.

8 The author’s grandmother Yampatch Wongan Timbimboo taught her grandchildren the traditional methods of food gathering and preparation.

9 Mae Parry research. Moroni and Yeager Timbimboo showed their descendants (and photographed) the remnants of sagebrush corrals used during their and their parents’ lifetimes. Diamond Womehup and Grouse Creek Jack related stories of large animal hunts.

10 Mae Parry research. Annie Camasovah related this custom; and Wallace and Hazel Zundel attended a ceremony of this type.

11 Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 185. A California newspaper reporter accompanying Colonel Conner on the expedition which resulted in the Bear River Massacre in 1863 reported hastily dug entrenchments in both the ravine embankment and by the river. In the days following the massacre those who inspected the site concluded that neither was the case. On the ravine side, what were reported as foxholes were actually shallow steps to facilitate climbing up out of the ravine to the horse pasturage area, and those “entrenchments” by the river were judged to be natural depressions.

12 Mae Parry research. Tribal history was passed to current generations of Northwestern Shoshones in this way. Survivors of the Bear River Massacre, including the author’s direct ancestor Chief Sagwitch and his children, handed down the Indian account of what happened that day.

13 Christensen, “Sagwitch: Shoshoni Chieftain,” 34–36; Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier*, chapter 9; Mae Parry research. Northwestern Shoshone oral tradition holds these three men from the Northwestern Shoshone camp on the Bear River as responsible for one of the key events that precipitated the army’s attack in January 1863; Christensen and Madsen place the men’s actions in a larger context of events which began in late 1862 and continued through December.

14 Brigham D. Madsen, *Chief Pocatello: The White Plume* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986), 54–55; Madsen cites the author’s report of Northwestern Shoshone oral tradition which claims the men responsible for these murders were from Pocatello’s band.

tensions on both sides, writing, “The Mormon settlers of Cache Valley played their part. Tensions with neighboring Northwestern bands increased after the July 1860 killing of Chief Pagumap at Smithfield and the loss of two of the Saints at the hands of the revenge-seeking natives. Fighting seemed to be the rule during the next two years. Cache Valley residents mounted guard over their herds and fields and Chief Bear Hunter skillfully sought provisions for his people while negotiating with the Mormon leaders, but anger and frustration escalated on both sides as their impossible situation grew worse.”

16 Oral tradition passed through the author’s family describes this event.

17 Mae Parry research. As a direct descendant of Chief Sagwitch and Yeager Timbimboo, the chief’s youngest surviving son of the massacre, the author was told stories of what happened that morning.

18 See Brigham D. Madsen, Glory Hunter: A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990); Madsen, The Shoshoni Frontier, 167. Colonel Connor’s intent of broad retribution to discourage further Indian aggression is well documented through Nevada and Utah in 1862–63. Before a similar punitive engagement in Nevada in late 1862, Connor ordered Major Edward McGarry to “destroy every male Indian whom you may encounter in the vicinity of the late massacres.” As in Nevada, in the heat of fighting no distinction was made between men, women, children, young or old during the Bear River Massacre.

19 Madsen, The Shoshoni Frontier, chapter 9. Madsen gives a point by point reconstruction of the course of the day’s fighting and aftermath from army records and eyewitness accounts from white settlers and army participants.

20 Mae Parry research. Ray Diamond lived at Washakie and was a family friend and neighbor of the author.

21 Mae Parry research. Yeager Timbimboo is the author’s grandfather.


23 Ibid., 193, 200.

24 Mae Parry research. Oral tradition from family and other survivors.

25 Ibid.

26 Two monuments now are found at the site. The first, erected by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, describes the conflict as a battle and celebrates the bravery of the soldiers and praises the aid offered by Cache
Valley residents to the wounded soldiers. The second, erected by the National Park Service, describes the conflict as a massacre and relates the basic facts of the Northwestern Shoshone and army positions on that day.

27 The Treaty of Box Elder in 1863 officially ended conflict with the Northwestern Shoshone bands. The treaty did not set aside a land base for the bands, though it did outline a territory to which Chief Pocatello claimed ancestral right for his band. The treaty also promised an annuity of $5,000 a year with an immediate $2,000 in goods given to relieve hardships.

28 Mae Parry research. Forty public domain allotments were entered under the Homestead Act for Indian families. Existing records for these are located at the tribal offices on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in Idaho. See Christensen, “Sagwitch: Shoshoni Chieftain, Mormon Elder.” Christensen includes in his appendices a typescript of Chief Sagwitch Timbimboo’s homestead affidavit.

29 Christensen, “Sagwitch: Shoshoni Chieftain, Mormon Elder,” 154–60. After the disaster at Corinne the LDS church more carefully designed the Malad farm to guard against the types of accusations leveled against Hill and the Indians by Corinne townspeople.

30 Ibid. Christensen discusses in detail the Washakie farm and the administration of the farm by the LDS church.

31 The author was born and raised at Washakie. Her family, including her great-grandfather Sagwitch, grandfather Yeager Timbimboo, and father Moroni Timbimboo, held land at Washakie and homesteaded adjacent land to the farm. The description of the settlement and its history comes from family knowledge and the oral traditions of the community.

32 Christensen, “Sagwitch: Shoshoni Chieftain, Mormon Elder,” 182. The Samaria sawmill was founded to provide wood for the completion of a canal needed for Washakie. The sawmill also produced lumber used to build the first dwellings at Washakie.


34 Fullmer Allred and Newel J. Cutler, interviews, 1967, Doris Duke Oral History Project, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Both men were LDS church employees at the Brigham City farm. Allred discusses church involvement in teaching Washakie residents building trades. Cutler discusses buildings and the general standard of living on the farm.

35 Mae Parry research. Existing records for homesteads are located at
the tribal offices on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in Idaho.

36 Moroni and Mrs. Timbimboo, interview, 1967, Doris Duke Oral History Project, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Moroni Timbimboo (father of the author) speaks of the sheep herd and his memories of working on the Washakie farm as a boy.

37 Mae Parry research. The author gathered this information from Washakie community members and from her own experience in the Washakie school.

38 Mae Parry research; typescript held by author


Notes—Goshutes


2 An Act to vacate and sell the present Indian Reservation in Utah Territory and to settle the Indians of said Territory in Uinta Valley, May 5, 1864, Statutes at Large, vol. 13, chap. 77, p. 63.


6 Ibid., 36–37.

7 Steward, Basin-Plateau, 48

8 Ibapah is an anglicized form of the Goshute word “Ai-bim-pa,” which means something like “white clay water.” The water in Deep Creek
is often heavy with fine white clay materials. For more information see John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 197.

9 The meaning of the word Tooele is still in dispute. One source says it is the name of a Goshute Indian leader named “Tuilla”; other sources state it is a reference to the rushes and reeds that are sometimes called “tules.” For more information see Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 372. Oquirrh is a Goshute word which has several meanings, some of which are “wooded mountain,” “cave mountain,” “west mountain,” and “shining mountain.” See also Van Cott, *Utah Place Names*, 282.


11 A number of works relating to human expansion into the Great Basin have been produced in the last decade. Previously held assumptions have undergone major revisions, and some new, controversial hypotheses have been developed. It appears that ancestors of the Goshute could have arrived in the Great Basin as recently as 1,000 years ago, or in a distant past of perhaps 8,000 to 12,000 years, or any time in between. For additional information on the controversy see David B. Madsen and David Rhode, eds., *Across The West: Human Population Movement and the Expansion of the Numa* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994).


18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., 19.

20 Information provided by Goshute tribal members Milton Hooper and Vyrie Grey, April 1996.


22 Ibid., 36.

23 Ibid., 37.
Ibid.


26 Anne M. Smith, ed., *Shoshone Tales* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 42.


34 Hafen and Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail*, 41.


36 *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials passed at the several annual sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Great Salt Lake City: Henry McEwan, 1866), 102–3.


41 Andrew Love Neff, *History of Utah 1847 to 1869* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), 370–82.


43 *Inventory of the County Archives of Utah, No. 23, Tooele County* (Ogden, Utah: W.P.A. Historical Records Survey, 1939), 16–17, 35–36.
44 Hunter, Brigham Young, 240–42.
46 History of Tooele County (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1961), 311–12, 325.
47 County Archives, 35–37.
50 Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960), 157.
53 County Archives, 18–19; Edward W. Tullidge, Tullidge’s Histories, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Press, 1889), 83–86.
58 Ibid., 745–47.
60 Report of the Commissioner, 1859, 737.
63 Malouf, “Gosiute Indians,” 95.
64 Report of the Commissioner, 1861, 130.
65 Ibid.
66 Mark Twain, Roughing It (New York: New American Library), 118.
67 Burton, City of the Saints, 559.
68 Ibid., 540.
69 Ibid., 558–71; Malouf, “Gosiute Indians,” 129.
Amos Reed to William P. Dole, December 30, 1862, in “Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881,” National Archives, Microcopy M-243), hereafter referred to as “Letters Received.”


James Doty to William P. Dole, April 22, 1863, in “Letters Received.”


An Act to vacate and sell the present Indian Reservations in Utah Territory and to settle the Indians of said Territory in the Uinta Valley, May 5, 1864, Statutes at Large, vol. 13, chap. 77, p. 63.


O.H. Irish to William P. Dole, November 28, 1864, in “Letters Received.”

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


F.H. Head to N.G. Taylor, August 22, 1867, in Report of the Commissioner, 1868, 117.

F.H. Head to Ely S. Parker, August 1, 1869, in Report of the Commissioner, 1869, 20–21; History of Tooele, 29.


J.E. Tourtellotte to Ely S. Parker, March 28, 1870, in “Letters Received.”

J.E. Tourtellotte to Ely S. Parker, April 31, 1870, in “Letters Received.”

H. Douglas to Ely S. Parker, September 20, 1870, in Report of the Commissioner, 1870, 560; John V. Dougherty to J.J. Critchlow, October 18, 1871, in “Letters Received.”

William Lee to J.J. Critchlow, April 23, 1871, in “Letters Received.”

George W. Dodge to F.A. Walker, February 2, 1872, in “Letters Received”; George W. Dodge to F.A. Walker, August 31, 1872, in “Letters Received.” Dodge justified this recommendation by stating that the Shoshone-speaking Indians in Utah and Nevada were related to the Shoshone-speaking Comanches in Oklahoma.
Notes—Paiutes

92 John W. Powell and George W. Ingalls, Report of the Commissioner, 1873, 51, 63.
93 John W. Powell to John Q. Smith, November 26, 1875, in “Letters Received.”
94 William Lee to Edward P. Smith, March 17, 1877, in “Letters Received.”
95 Hunter, Brigham Young, 299.
96 Deseret Evening News, June 2, 1874.
98 Egan, Pioneering the West, 283.
102 Ronald R. Bateman, Deep Creek Reflections: 125 Years of Settlement at Ibapah, Utah, 1859–1984 (Salt Lake City: Bateman, 1984), 367–68.
103 Ibid., 370.
104 Godwin and Smith, Special Symposium 1994, 4.
105 Information provided by Utah State Division of Indian Affairs.
106 Godwin and Smith, Special Symposium 1994, 3

Notes—Paiutes

1 Mae Parashonts, interview with Ronald Holt, October 7, 1982, Holt fieldnotes, in authors’ possession.


See, for example, Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1950), and Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee: Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1962. Numerous articles also have been written, many of which can be found at the Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

See files of Paiute Tribe, Cedar City, Utah, Geneal Anderson, Chairwoman.

Ibid.


Ibid., 57–58. See also Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre*, ix–xii.


O.H. Irish, Articles of Agreement and Convention made and concluded at Pinto Creek, unratified treaty, National Archives, RG 75, 1865.


Ibid.


Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, 73–76.


Frank Scott, Action Taken Report, 1956, BIA files, Cedar City, Utah.
Notes—Northern Utes


30 Lafollette Butler, Letter to Wade Head, 1965, papers of Ronald L. Holt, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

31 Holt, Beneath These Red Cliffs, 126–32.

32 Ibid., 132–34.

33 Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, Proposed Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah Restoration Plan [draft], 1982, papers of Ronald L. Holt, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.


35 Holt, Beneath These Red Cliffs, 150–51.

36 Ibid., 151.

37 Ronald L. Holt, field notes, in author’s possession.

Notes—Northern Utes

1 Some of this history is based on information in Fred A. Conetah, A History of the Northern Ute People (N.p.: Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1982).

2 Deseret News, December 13, 1851.

3 Conetah, A History of the Northern Ute People, 27.

4 Dominguez-Escalante Journal, 60.

5 Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Utah, 278.

6 Deseret News, October 25, 1861.

7 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1866, 144.

8 See Kathryn L. MacKay, “The Strawberry Valley Reclamation Project and the Opening of the Uintah Indian Reservation,” Utah Historical Quarterly 50 (1982).
Notes—White Mesa Utes

1 Billy Mike, interview with Aldean Ketchum and Robert S. McPherson, October 13, 1993, transcript in possession of author.


3 Pamela A. Bunte and Robert J. Franklin, *From the Sands to the Mountains: Change and Persistence in a Southern Paiute Community* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 227.


5 Ibid., 28.


10 Ibid., 33–34.


Notes—White Mesa Utes

13 Ibid., 366. The entire issue about use of Weenuche and Weeminuche is still very unclear. One elder explained that Weeminuche was fine and that Weenuche referred more to the prehistoric Ute peoples, while author Mary Jane Yazzie felt more comfortable with the name Weenuche.


17 William R. Palmer, “San Juan Indians,” Palmer Collection Notes, Special Collections, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, 32.

18 Bunte and Franklin, *Sands to the Mountains*, 183, 232. Historic accounts by careful observers underscore these differences by saying that at times the Utes from the Montezuma Canyon-southwestern Colorado area would help whites control the Allen Canyon group and that the general term of “Paiute” was given to the latter, while those people nearer Colorado were called “Utes.” See Lyman Hunter, interview with Michael Hurst, February 21, 1973, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 2; Kumen manuscript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, 106; Stella Eyetoo, interview with Aldean Ketchum and Robert S. McPherson, December 21, 1994, tape in possession of authors.


20 Julius S. Dalley, “Mancos Jim Mesa—San Juan County,” Utah Writers’ Project, August 11, 1942, Utah State Historical Society Library.


23 Carla Knight, “The Utes and Their Environment,” unpublished paper, used with permission, in possession of author.
Terry Knight, spiritual leader of the Ute Mountain Utes, interview with Mary Jane Yazzie and Robert S. McPherson, December 19, 1994, tape in possession of authors.


Harold Lindsay Amoss, Jr., “Ute Mountain Utes” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1951), 90.

Frank Silvey, “Information on Indians,” September 26, 1936, Utah State Historical Society Library, 1–2. While Silvey’s work addresses this topic specifically, many of the sites mentioned are known from a scattering of historical documents that span one hundred years.

Frank Silvey, “Indians in San Juan,” June 10, 1940, Silvey Files, Utah State Historical Society, 4.


Joseph J. Hill, “Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade North-

38 Ibid., 90.


47 William Brooks to Assistant Adjutant General, July 1 and 15, 1858, Record Group 98, Records of the United States Army Commander, Department of New Mexico, 1858, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

48 Dixon Miles to Nichols, September 3 and 8, 1858, Record Group 98, National Archives.


50 Thomas T. Fauntleroy to Winfield Scott, January 29, 1860, Record Group 98, National Archives.

52 Major Albert Pfeiffer to A.K. Graves, December 10, 1866; Felipe Delgado to Office of Indian Affairs, January 7, 1866, Record Group 75, Letters Received by Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, 1866 and 1868, National Archives.


55 W.F.M. Arny to Charles Mix, October 3, 1868, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs—New Mexico Superintendency, 1868 (hereafter cited as Letters Received—NM).


57 J.B. Hanson, Abiquiu Agency Annual Report, September 11, 1871, RCIA, 408.


60 "Cattle Companies," General File, Monticello Ranger District, Monticello, Utah, 2.

61 Edmund S. Carlisle to W.M. Clark, October 1, 1884; Carlisle to Major Hall (Fort Lewis, Colorado) November 8, 1884; John F. Tapping to William Clark, December 16, 1884, Record Group 75, Consolidated Ute Records, Denver Record Center (hereafter cited as Consol. Ute).

62 George M. Williams to Post Adjutant, December 11, 1889, National Archives, Record Group 75, Letters Received, 1881–1907, Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereafter cited as Letters Received—BIA).

63 Ibid.; Silvey, "Indians in San Juan," 42.

64 Charles A. Bartholomew to David L. Shipley, October 13, 1890, Consol. Ute; Bartholomew "To the Navajo Indians," November 11, 1890, Letters Received-BIA.

65 For further information see Faun McConkie Tanner, The Far Country—A Regional History of Moab and La Sal, Utah (Salt Lake City:
Notes—White Mesa Utes


66 Edmund S. Carlisle to William M. Clark, October 1, 1884, Ute Agency Files, Federal Record Center, Denver.


69 Frank Moss Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 55.

70 Ibid., 198.

71 Ibid., 202.


76 For a detailed explanation of this event and others surrounding it see Forbes Parkhill, The Last of the Indian Wars (New York: Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, 1961).

77 “Armed Posse is After Renegade,” Grand Valley Times, February 19, 1915, 1.

78 “1 White and 3 Piutes Are Killed,” Grand Valley Times, February 26, 1915, 1.


80 James C. Wilson to Agent A.H. Symons, January 5, 1917, James McLaughlin Papers, Microfilm #8, Denver Public Library (hereafter cited as McLaughlin Papers).

81 James McLaughlin to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells, January 18 and 20, 1917, McLaughlin Papers.
Undersigned of Bluff to Major James McLaughlin, January 12, 1917, McLaughlin Papers.


“Government Allots Farms and Livestock to San Juan Paiutes,” Times-Independent, April 19, 1923, 1.

Mr. and Mrs. Ira Hatch, interviewed by Floyd A. O’Neil and Gregory C. Thompson, September 10, 1970, Doris Duke Oral History Project, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, 9.

See “Farmers Reports: Allen Canyon, 1925–27,” Record Group 75, Consolidated Ute Agency, National Archives, Denver; Agent E.J. Peacore to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 12, 1929, Record Group 75, Letters Received, Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

For a detailed explanation of the growth of the Native American Church see David F. Aberle, The Peyote Religion Among the Navaho (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).


“Indian Meeting at Blanding Takes up Many Problems Facing Tribe Including Living Conditions in the Area,” San Juan Record, 6 November 1952, 1; “Rehabilitation of Indians to Be a Reality,” San Juan Record, 19 December 1952, 1.
Notes—Navajos

95 “Ute Indian Tribe Building New Homes,” San Juan Record, October 14, 1954, 6.
96 “Progress on White Mesa,” San Juan Record, 29 January 1976, 8.

Notes—Navajos

4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., 9.
7 Ibid., 130.
8 Clyde Benally, with Andrew O. Wiget, John R. Alley, and Garry Blake, Dinéjí Nákeé’ Náahane’ A Utah Navajo History (Monticello, UT: San Juan School District, 1982), 99.
10 Clara Maryboy, interview, July 10, 1999.
12 See John Alton Peterson, Utah’s Black Hawk War (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999) for the most comprehensive study of this conflict, its causes, and participants—including Navajos.
13 Paul Tolakai, interview, July 9, 1999.

15 Ibid., 154.

16 Ibid., 152.


18 Benally, *Dinejí Náčée’ Nááhane’,* 151.

19 Clara Maryboy, interview, June 6, 1992.

20 Navajo Treaty of 1868, Article 10: “No future treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force against said Indians unless agreed to and executed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same.”

21 Clara Maryboy, interview, February 20, 1997.


24 Ibid., 172.


28 Ibid., 179–80.


30 Clara Maryboy, interview, February 20, 1999.


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4 Ibid., 4.
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37 "Uintah and Ouray Indian Reservation," web site information, 29 August 1997, 1-2.


39 Ibid.


41 "Blue Ribbon Committee Meets to Study Creation of New County," *San Juan Record*, November 8, 1995, 1.

42 "New Study Investigates the Issues Involved in Splitting San Juan County," *San Juan Record*, July 9, 1997, 1.


44 "Another School Year Begins This Week," *San Juan Record*, August 20, 1997, 1; enrollment figure from secretary, San Juan School District, telephone conversation with author, December 30, 1997.


51 "1990 County Population by Race," U.S. Bureau of the Census, handout provided by the Utah Division of Indian Affairs.

52 "Utah Division of Indian Affairs Report to the Appropriations Subcommittee," February 1997, Utah Division of Indian Affairs Office.
“1990 County Population by Race.”

“Native Community Connections,” Indian Walk-In Center quarterly newsletter, Spring 1996, 1; Gail Russell, Executive Director of the Indian Walk-In Center, conversation with author, November 13, 1997.

