An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of American Indian Histories and Resource Uses within Capitol Reef National Park, Utah and on Lands Surrounding It

Fulfilling Destinies, Sustaining Lives: The Landscape of the Waterpocket Fold

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Rosemary Succe
Intermountain Region
Denver, Colorado
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National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
The mission of the Department of the Interior is to protect and provide access to our Nation's natural and cultural heritage and honor our trust responsibilities to tribes.

This project is made possible by a grant from the Utah Humanities Council, an affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities.
Abstract

This ethnographic review and assessment is an initial background study of American Indian histories, resource uses, and culturally significant landscape features associated with Capitol Reef National Park, in south-central Utah. Eleven tribes participating in this study are demonstrated to have ongoing association with Capitol Reef through current and/or historic traditional uses, occupation of the area predating EuroAmerican settlement, and/or descent from archeologically identified cultural groups. These tribes are: Hopi Tribe; Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians; Navajo Nation; Pueblo of Zuni; Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (the Kanosh and Koosharem Bands); San Juan Southern Paiute; Southern Ute Tribe; Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation; Ute Mountain Ute Tribe; and White Mesa Ute.

Information provided by tribes for this study will aid the National Park Service in identifying management and other issues that may be of concern to associated tribes, in developing its tribal consultation program, and in giving contemporary tribal peoples a voice in park interpretive programs and exhibits related to their cultures.
Foreward
Before this study was initiated in 1996, the National Park Service knew much about the prehistoric Fremont and Anasazi Indians who had occupied the Waterpocket Fold area centuries earlier, and much more about the Euro-American Mormon settlers who arrived there in the late 19th century. There was a significant gap in our knowledge about who occupied those lands between about A.D. 1300 and 1870.

In fairness, not much information on that topic seemed readily available. One well-known Great Basin ethnographer reported to the Indian Claims Commission in 1974 that the rugged area southeast of Fish Lake had been empty of people, a forsaken no-man's-land of desert and canyon, in the centuries before white settlers arrived. A couple of dated ethnographies of Paiute and Ute groups offered occasional references to the Fold area, and some 19th century pioneer journals and anecdotal local histories described events involving Paiute and Ute individuals. Archeology had little to contribute, as few artifacts had been discovered that could confidently be attributed to late prehistoric and historic era groups. Though ripe for research, the question of post-Fremont aboriginal use of the Capitol Reef area drew little professional interest for many years.

What had been regarded as a curious gap in our knowledge became an urgent matter when the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act was signed into law by President George H.W. Bush in 1990. That law, in part, required federal agencies to consult with American Indian tribes concerning objects in museum collections, Native American human remains, and certain types of archeological work. In addition, a series of executive orders issued by the White House in the 1990s directed agencies to establish formal government-to-government relations with tribes, and to consult routinely with them. In order to comply with those directives, federal land management agencies had to determine which contemporary tribes were traditionally associated with lands within their boundaries.

Making this determination was not a matter of simply writing to the nearest reservations. Over the past three centuries, aboriginal groups have moved or been moved far from their ancestral territories. Some groups have merged, forming entirely new tribes. In addition, groups with no known historical association with Capitol Reef nonetheless are associated with the area through descent from prehistoric peoples such as the Fremont and Anasazi. Taking all these possibilities into consideration, by 1996 ethnographers for the NPS Rocky Mountain Regional Office had compiled a list of more than 30 contemporary tribal groups with possible historic and/or ancestral ties to the Waterpocket Fold area. All of these, and others yet unidentified, might have a right to consultation.

This ethnographic overview and assessment is the pragmatic product of that need to know which tribal groups Capitol Reef National Park should be consulting, and what it should be consulting about. It is also, however, much more than that. The author of this work dug deep into the existing literature, and then asked the tribes themselves what they knew of their links to Capitol Reef. She coordinated and supervised numerous field consultations with distant tribes, visited tribal elders in their homes, drafted many pages of text, submitted those pages for tribal review, revised her work, endured multiple park and peer reviews, revised and consulted numerous times more, and polished this report to its present sheen. In the course of that nine-year effort, Rosemary earned the obvious respect of the tribes with whom she worked, and the enduring friendship of many of the tribal elders who shared their knowledge with her. Rosemary's intellectual and emotional connections with these individuals are apparent throughout her work.

As Capitol Reef's park archeologist for most of the years that Rosemary labored on this project, I was privileged to participate in many of her consultations with tribal elders, and to help coordinate her ethnographic fieldwork with a multi-year archeological survey of the park. That kind of interdisciplinary work — and tribal consultation itself — was still a fairly new approach when we began planning our projects in the early 1990s. Now, associated tribes are invited to join in archaeological project planning and field work, and the park routinely seeks their opinions on museum exhibits, interpretive programming, and development and research proposals. The working relationship between the park and its associated tribes evolved largely as a result of Rosemary's consultations and insights.

This overview and assessment should not be considered complete or final. Not all potentially associated tribes were able to participate in this effort, and not all subjects have been fully and conclusively addressed. Nevertheless, this volume represents a huge contribution to our knowledge of Capitol Reef's history and ongoing human relationships to the Waterpocket Fold.

Lee Kreutzer
Cultural Resources Specialist/Archeologist
NPS National Trails System, Salt Lake City
September 2005
I extend my gratitude to David Ruppert Ph.D., cultural anthropologist, and Adrienne Anderson Ph.D., archeologist, of the Intermountain Region of the National Park Service for the opportunity to research and write this ethnographic overview and assessment. I appreciate their patience, support, keen thinking, and constructive feedback. This agency of ours expects only the best from its subject matter experts and is sparing in praise. So I want it to be on record that these professionals routinely provide cogent advice born of decades of experience in their disciplines and with the federal government, as well as a rare and sensitive wisdom that comes from such a combination. They are consummate applied anthropologists.

Another round of gratitude also goes to Lee Kreutzer Ph.D. who was the archeologist at Capitol Reef National Park during the production of this report. Thanks to Lee for her intellectual acuity, superior writing skills, support, patience, and routinely offering thoughtful, though often counter advice and ideas, which rightly caused me to challenge my tacit assumptions.

I especially wish to offer gratitude to all of those individuals, mostly elders, among American Indian tribes and among the residents of Wayne County with whom I’ve consulted and, in many cases, interviewed. The complete list can be found in the appendices. I worked with many of these individuals not only for this study, but for as long as I have been working with Capitol Reef National Park. That began in 1993 when, under Dave Ruppert’s gracious and supportive guidance, I managed the ethnographic survey for the Burr Trail that transects both Capitol Reef and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. In subsequent years I continued to provide assistance to Capitol Reef National Park, as well as to Glen Canyon.

Others have supported me at the beginning and along the way and certainly deserve mention here. Floyd O’Neil and John Peterson, intimately familiar with historical research in Utah, were among the first from whom I sought advice. It was Floyd who referred to the area as “understudied.” Greg Thompson of the Marriott Library at the University of Utah also suggested some research strategies and referred to the Capitol Reef area as a “tough territory” because so little research had been done. Other staff at the Marriott Library that helped me included Roy Webb, Walter Jones, Jane Chesley, Debra Penman, Mark Jensen, Rebecca Airmet, Sabrina Riches, Karen Carver, Paul Mogren, Jim Dooley, and Lorraine Crouse. I wish to extend my appreciation to the staff at the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, particularly Ron Barney, Bill Slaughter, Sharon Carnahan, and Scott Christensen. I was welcomed because I was an employee of the National Park Service and they valued the preser-
viation mission of the agency. At Brigham Young University I extend my appreciation to David Whittaker, Susan Thompson, Albert Winkler, Joe Kewish, Nate Olson, Leeda Farley, and Annette Jensen. Warm thanks also go to Jay Hammond, Kent Powell, and Allan Barnett of the Utah State Historical Society. Joan Healy and Nadine Timothy helped me negotiate the LDS Genealogical Society. While I was a virtual stranger to all of these Utah individuals and others whom I may have inadvertently omitted, they extended themselves and gave freely of their expert advice. All of them made the path much easier.

In addition to internal review, the manuscript draft was submitted to Joel Janetski Ph.D. of Brigham Young University and Robert McPherson Ph.D. of the College of Eastern Utah — San Juan Campus. A hearty acknowledgement goes to these individuals for their thoughtful comments, which helped strengthen the manuscript. Catherine Seelig provided her support and remarkably fine attention to detail in helping to ready the manuscript for publication. It was a joy to work with her.

Special thanks also go to Barry Scholl, one of the founders of the Entrada Institute. Very early he enthusiastically shared his interest in and love for the study area, as well as ideas for documents to research and contacts to make that proved important sources of information. Barry also made it possible for me to speak publicly in Wayne County and to be interviewed on Utah public radio. I thoroughly enjoyed those opportunities. I remember well when he purchased from Vera Charles a miniature pair of moccasins handmade by her. He genuinely treasured those tiny emblems of a huge legacy that has been inadvertently erased from Capitol Reef and the land surrounding it.

In Wayne County, Dee and Bernale Hatch, Perry and Shirley Jackson, and Max Robinson graciously opened their homes and made me feel like family. Your generosity will always be remembered and appreciated. Those at Capitol Reef who shared enthusiasm for the work and in so doing supported me include Keith Durfee, Sharon Gurr, and Donita Pace. Included in these is new park archeologist Anne Worthington who brought the publication of the report to completion.

I also extend appreciation to my brother, David Sucee, who enjoyed discussing what I was learning. Though we do not always agree, I value the opportunity to engage in conversations with him.

As I read through the pages of the report one final time, I am struck with how many of the consultants have died. Native American elders include Vera Charles, Walter Hamana, Lucille Jake, Yetta Jake, McKay Pikyavit, and Douglas Timican. Those who died without being interviewed by park personnel include Edward Dutchie Sr. and Jim Mike Jr. Among the Wayne County residents, these include Golden Durfee, Rulon Hunt, and Dorothy (Dottie) Mulford. There may be others of which I am unaware. In life, they were gracious and giving of their communal and personal legacies.

I lament that the National Park Service does not recognize elders as living treasures in the way that we recognize certain tangible resources as eligible to the National Register. It is, after all, people who are the repositories of the knowledge about the tangible resources we are mandated to protect. When they die, more often than not, that information leaves with them. Most of the American Indian elders I met during the course of this study were specialists in aspects of their communal histories. Each time I heard of one dying, I felt as if all of us were losing a national archive.

American Indian elders, through the conveyance of their oral traditions, have expanded enormously our understanding of indigenous heritage at Capitol Reef, as well as the lands surrounding it. For that remarkable collective gesture, words of appreciation seem insufficient. The true test of appreciation will lie in the park’s full integration of that knowledge into planning, management, and visitor education activities at Capitol Reef.

Before coming to Capitol Reef National Park, I remember reading environmental writers who admonished the citizenry of this country to develop a “sense of place” in order to conserve what remained of our natural heritage. It wasn’t until I started work on this study that I finally came to realize what that phrase meant. I had traveled to Capitol Reef at least three times over the course of two years and had met with many of the residents and park staff there. Each of those times, I drove or walked the country, many of the paved highways, dirt roads, and narrow trails. On the fourth visit, as I was heading down Highway 24 and finally saw Thousand Lake Mountain and the Waterpocket Fold, I unexpectedly had the experience of “coming home” and realized I had fallen in love with that landscape. It was not solely the natural beauty and biodiversity. It was, to an even larger extent, the familiarity I had achieved with the human histories of the place, meeting the diversity of descendents whose ancestors had homesteaded there through the generations, and listening to their vivid retelling of accounts corresponding to the area. Subsequently, whenever I traveled through the country, I found myself reciting who had lived where and when, and what had happened. I had come to know, to have a genuine sense of this place for the first time.

In keeping with that realization, it is my greatest wish for this report that the rich American Indian histories discussed in here make their way back onto the park landscape, and to those counties and public lands that surround it. I would like to see park personnel collaborate with other area federal managers by placing signs
and developing other media in the region so that whoever visits will surely understand that their interest in and attachment for the landscape was preceded by that of American Indians. That would pay homage to the indigenous heritage of those who graciously and generously consulted with the National Park Service, as well as to their ancestors who came here long before.
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Management Summary
Reason for the Study

The National Park Service (NPS) is mandated to manage land and resources within individual park units in a manner that reflects an understanding of their significance to traditionally associated communities (National Park Service Management Policies 2001). In order to fulfill this obligation, the agency must conduct appropriate anthropological research that identifies historically associated groups, their resource uses, and the dimensions of meanings imparted to the resources. The Service must then carefully consider the effects that any NPS actions may have on these ethnographic resources.

The following report is an initial background study of the American Indian histories and resource uses associated with Capitol Reef National Park. Not only does it provide an inventory of tribal nations that have an association with park land, but it identifies resources that have played and continue to play a role in their cultural practices. It simultaneously challenges misconceptions of the park as a vacant wilderness and as a barrier to travel.

Before this study was conducted, Capitol Reef National Park had some elemental sense of potentially associated American Indian tribes. For example, staff knew the Hopi were related to Ancestral Puebloan ("Anasazi") archeology, stylistically similar to Fremont archeology found in the park. However, which tribes claimed a relationship with Fremont archeology was unclear. Park staff had an idea that Paiute and Ute tribes had some association with Capitol Reef, but were uncertain as to which of the 10 Paiute and Ute tribes and bands were associated. The 1993 consultation concerning the improvement of Burr Trail, an unpaved road that traverses both Capitol Reef National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area in Utah, documented that Navajo were associated with the regional landscape but not much more was understood about that relationship.

Findings

Based on primarily documentary research augmented by interviews, at least 11 contemporary tribes are associated with Capitol Reef National Park. These include the following:

- Hopi Tribe;
- Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians;
- Navajo Nation;
- Pueblo of Zuni;
- Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (the Kanosh and Koosharem Bands);
- San Juan Southern Paiute;
- Southern Ute Tribe;
- Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation;
- Ute Mountain Ute Tribe; and
- White Mesa Ute.

These tribes identified as culturally relevant 229 ethnographic resources, with a potential of 103 others. Resource types include archeological sites (including petroglyph and pictograph panels, habitation sites, cairns, and a possible shrine), plants, animals, minerals, trails, the topographic feature of the Waterpocket Fold, and the general direction of the park from the Colorado River. The Waterpocket Fold was known and named by ancestors of two tribes before Euroamericans arrived to bestow its present name. The Fold is regarded as a sacred place, as well as a place to obtain resources, travel through, and recreate in. The regional landscape in which the Waterpocket Fold (Capitol Reef National Park) is located is also considered sacred and is named.

Management Recommendations

Park managers will use the information contained in this report to assist with planning, resource management, and visitor education. It also serves as background material in helping the park to comply with cultural and natural heritage laws. These include the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), Archeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA), National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), the NPS Organic Act; Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), and Executive Order 13007 on Sacred Sites.

Recommendations were provided under separate cover to the Division of Resource Management within the park. They fall into the categories of conducting additional ethnographic research, developing memorandums of understanding on the disposition of human remains and on the collection of plants and other resources, and especially, developing visitor education media that relay the association of American Indians with the history of Capitol Reef National Park.

1 The National Park Service customarily refers to such a study as an "ethnographic overview and assessment" (Cultural Resource Management Guideline 1997:166).

2 "Ethnographic resources" are defined as the cultural and natural features of a park that are of traditional significance to traditionally associated peoples" (National Park Service Management Policies 2001:57).
Introduction

“The National Park Service is coming to understand that parks become richer when we see them through the cultures of people whose ancestors once lived there.”

“Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century,” National Park System Advisor Board, 2001

Purpose

This study was initiated to identify American Indian tribes associated with Capitol Reef National Park in Utah (Maps 1-1 and 1-2) and to identify the park resources that are important in their histories and traditions. As traditionally associated peoples, American Indians generally differ from other park visitors. Resources and places possess attributes of importance to community identity. For example, resources may be associated with the origin of that community or with their development as ethnically distinct people. Certain places may be part of a migration route or associated with other historical events. Some may be locations related to subsistence or to ceremonial activities.

The interest of the National Park Service (NPS) in American Indian places and resources stems from the agency’s responsibilities under the following legal and executive mandates:

• The NPS Organic Act — to conserve the natural and historic objects within parks unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations;

• The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 and subsequent amendments in 1992 — to preserve, conserve, and encourage the continuation of the diverse traditional prehistoric, historic, ethnic, and folk cultural traditions that underlie and are a living expression of American heritage;

• The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 — to preserve important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage;

• The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978 — to protect and preserve for American Indians access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites;

• The Archeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979 — to secure for the present and future benefit of the American people the protection of archeological resources and sites which are on public lands; and

• Executive Order 13007 on Sacred Sites — to (1) accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and (2) avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites.

The information contained in this report is meant to

1 “Traditionally associated peoples” refer to those communities “that have been associated with a park for two or more generations (40 years), and whose interests in the park’s resources began prior to the park’s establishment” (National Park Service 2001:57).
Map I-2. Vicinity
Capitol Reef National Park
United States Department of the Interior - National Park Service

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team, February 2004
enable the park to better plan, manage, protect, and interpret the heritage resources of associated tribes.

**What Was Known About American Indian Association with Capitol Reef National Park**

Before research was inaugurated, the relationship of American Indians with Capitol Reef National Park was surmised from archeological research. It was common knowledge that the Hopi Tribe claimed an affiliation with Puebloan-style archeological sites. They were consulted for the parkwide archeological inventory, as well as for developmental projects that had the potential to adversely affect archeological resources. While archeological material reminiscent of the ancestors of the Paiute and Ute were found in the park, the park did not know the specific Paiute and Ute tribes or bands with which to consult. In 1993 an ethnographic survey of the Burr Trail (Figure I-1) that transects Capitol Reef National Park was conducted (Suvec 1996a and b). Those that declared an association with the Trail included the Hopi, as well as the Navajo Nation (Navajo Mountain and Oljato Chapter Houses), the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Kanosh and Koosharem Bands), the San Juan Southern Paiute, and the White Mesa Ute. It was known that the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah once lived two valleys west of the park, but that was the extent of knowledge. At a 1995 *Traditional Histories* conference sponsored by the National Park Service, the Pueblo of Zuni indicated their affiliation with Anasazi- and Fremont-style archeology. While many geographically distant tribes claimed their association with Capitol Reef National Park, little was known about the nature of their relationships with the park landscape. The park's management efforts were handicapped by this paucity of knowledge.

**Methodology**

As defined by the National Park Service (1997:166), an ethnographic overview and assessment should provide an overview of the historic and contemporary relationships of American Indian communities with park lands. The largest component in producing an ethnographic overview and assessment is the literature review. For this study, archeological and ethnographic reports, histories, and archived documents were examined. Most records were found in repositories around the state of Utah. The repositories include:

- Capitol Reef National Park;
- Dixie National Forest;
- Fishlake National Forest;
- Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument (Kanab Resource Area of the Bureau of Land Management);
- Richfield District of the Bureau of Land Management;
- Special collections at Brigham Young University, Provo;
- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department in Salt Lake City;
- Special Collections at Southern Utah State College in Cedar City (including the William Palmer Collection);
- University of Utah Marriott Library (including the Doris Duke Oral History Collection);
- Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City; and
- Utah State Archives in Salt Lake City.

Most of the examined personal memoirs and diaries were obtained from the Euroamerican descendents of some of the early settlers to the Capitol Reef region.

Interviews with knowledgeable consultants were used to supplement the written record where textual material was sparse. Clearly Capitol Reef National Park and the area surrounding it have been understudied, which has resulted in little documentation about American Indian presence inside or outside of the park boundaries. Consequently, interviews were conducted with representatives from most of the associated tribes and with local county residents whose ancestors moved into the area when Indians were still living there. For an inventory of tribal communities and their representatives contacted and interviewed to inform this ethnographic overview and assessment please refer to Appendix I-B of the report.

**American Indian Tribes Associated with Capitol Reef National Park**

Based on an analysis of textual materials and interviews, the following tribes are determined to be associated with Capitol Reef National Park (Map I-3): 2

- Hopi Tribe (Kykotsmovi, Arizona);
- Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians (Kaibab Indian Reservation, Arizona)
- Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Cedar City, Utah);

2 Time and budgetary constraints limited the amount of information that could be collected. More work, particularly with tribes, needs to be done. This report does not preclude the emergence of new ethnographic or archival information that might identify other Indian nations or that might refute this particular reconstruction of tribal activities in the Capitol Reef region.
Map I-3. Reservations of Associated Tribes in the Vicinity of Capitol Reef National Park

1. Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation
2. Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah
3. Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah
4. White Mesa Ute Tribe
5. Ute Mountain Ute Tribe
6. Southern Ute Tribe
7. Navajo Nation
8. Hopi Tribe
9. Pueblo of Zuni
10. Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians
11. San Juan Southern Paiute

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team
Figure 1-1

Burr Trail switchbacks, Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. NPS photo.
Figure 1-2a and 2b

Waterpocket Fold, Capitol Reef National Park.

1-2a: Looking south towards Navajo Mountain with the Waterpocket Fold on the right.

1-2b: Looking south with Waterpocket Fold on the left, Strike Valley in the middle, and mansos shale cliffs on the right. NPS photo.
• Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Cedar City, Utah);
• Navajo Nation (Window Rock, Arizona);
• Pueblo of Zuni (Zuni, New Mexico);
• San Juan Southern Paiute (Tuba City, Arizona);
• Southern Ute Tribe (Ignacio, Colorado);
• Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation (Ft. Duchesne, Utah);
• Ute Mountain Ute Tribe (Towaoc, Colorado); and
• White Mesa Ute (Blanding, Utah).

Subsequent chapters describe these tribes' histories with Capitol Reef and the surrounding topography.

**Park Needs Assessment**

Before conducting the literature review, managers at Capitol Reef National Park were surveyed to learn whether they had special needs for information that might be accommodated by the research. For example, would information be helpful about resources and places that were likely to be affected by proposed development or management decisions? Were there contentious resource management issues? The goal was to provide as much information as possible to park managers to assist them with their resource stewardship responsibilities.

Of the managers contacted, two responded. Chief of resource management Tom Clark inquired whether tribal communities used the fish in any of the tributaries that passed through the park and what those species were. The oral tradition of Paiute and Ute peoples and descendents of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints revealed that fish were used as a source of food and taken from the tributaries that flow into Capitol Reef National Park. Paiute and Ute tribal members gave names to native fish species. More information about this is provided in Chapter 3. Former park archeologist Lee Kreutzer requested information about specific sites that had the potential to be affected by decisions made in developing the General Management Plan and tribal members were interviewed about those sites. She also expressed interest in knowing the types of traditional American Indian uses that leave little, if any, tangible archeological evidence. These uses are described in Chapters 3 and 4.

**Study Area Expanded Beyond Park Boundaries**

In order to understand American Indian use and occupation of Capitol Reef National Park through time, information needed to be gathered about the geography surrounding the park because little written information exists about the native histories associated with the landmass that became Capitol Reef National Park. The Waterpocket Fold (Figure 1-2a and 1-2b) is located in one of the more remote areas of Utah and, therefore, was one of the last regions of the state to be colonized. The Fold was given protective status as recently as 1937 and proclaimed a park in 1971. By the time data were collected to determine whether the Waterpocket Fold should have federal protective status, American Indians were in absentia or using it intermittently or inconspicuously. Research to establish baseline data for cultural resources in the park was initiated as recently as the 1990s.

Secondly, the geological feature of the Waterpocket Fold that is essentially Capitol Reef National Park has limited habitats or life zones. The Fold is a long, narrow monocline of which 95% is pinyon and juniper, scrub brush, and valley bottoms (Tom Clark, chief of resource management, personal communication, 1998). Historic aboriginal populations, in order to survive, made use of a broader diversity of habitats inclusive of, but not limited to, those encompassed by the park. For example, ample supplies of other life sustaining resources were found in the mountainous terrain that surrounds the northern and western perimeter of the park. To understand how indigenous populations used Capitol Reef, information needed to be sought about a larger geographical area that encompassed the continuum of life zones.

Consequently historical documents pertaining to American Indian occupation of Garfield, Sevier, and Wayne counties (Map 1-4) were searched. These are the counties inclusive of the park and surrounding it. They encompass mountain plateau environments as well as the arid canyon lands of Capitol Reef. Each contains at least one and usually more towns that indigenous people formerly occupied and who were found to be referenced in historical documents. Historical and administrative records were also examined for the federal jurisdictions surrounding the park (Map 1-2).

At most of these locations, rare fragments of cultural information were discovered that appeared incidentally in documents and that had been written for purposes different from this baseline study. Each helped to illuminate facets of historic American Indian lives, actions, and uses of lands in Capitol Reef and the lands surrounding it. These snapshots of data needed to be synthesized and, in many cases, appear here for the first time.
Location and Establishment of Capitol Reef National Park

The 241,263.84-acre park is located in south central Utah (Map I-1). With the exception of privately owned land to the west, public lands surround Capitol Reef (Map I-2). The park is a few hours drive from several other national parks including Arches, Bryce, Canyonlands, and Zion (Map I-1). State parks are within a two-hour drive of Capitol Reef. These include Anasazi Indian Village, Escalante Petrified Forest State Reserve, and Goblin Valley State Park (Map I-2).

The Waterpocket Fold, a 100-mile-long wrinkle in the earth's crust known as a monocline, extends from nearby Thousand Lakes Mountain to the Colorado River (now Lake Powell) (Map I-4). Capitol Reef National Park was originally established to protect a portion of this colorful geologic feature. This uplift exposes some 13 sedimentary formations. In 1937, it was established as a national monument by Presidential Proclamation #2246. At that time, it comprised 37,060 acres. Subsequent presidential proclamations (#3249 in 1938 and #3888 in 1969) enlarged the park's acreage. Finally, in 1971, its status was changed from a Monument to a National Park (Public Law 92-207). While promotional literature highlights the geological features and the Fold's scientific value, legal mandates referenced earlier, as well as administrative mandates, require that cultural attributes be identified and planned for. Relevant administrative documents include the General Management Plan of 1982; Statement for Management 1995; Development Concept Plan 1998; and the Final Environmental Impact Statement, General Management Plan of 1998.

Park Administrative Units

The park is divided into three administrative districts: the Cathedral District (formerly North District), the Fremont River District, and the Waterpocket District (formerly South District) (Map I-5). The Fremont River District includes Fruita where park headquarters is located (Figure I-3). It also is the district that contains primary automobile access to the park, state route 24, which parallels the Fremont River (Figure I-4) and bisects the park. Most of the existing park facilities and developments are in this district (Figure I-5). The Waterpocket and Cathedral districts have few visitor facilities with access by dirt roads and trails. Primitive campgrounds are located within both of the outlying districts.

3 Park personnel who were contacted include former superintendent Chuck Lundy, former management assistant Bob Van Belle, former administrative officer Chris Zinda, chief of resource management Tom Clark, former archeologist Lee Kreutzer, former chief of interpretation Thea Nordling, former chief of maintenance Jerry Robker, and assistant chief ranger Tom Cox.
Figure 1-3
Figure 1-4
Figure 1.5
Map I-4. Place Names in Utah and Arizona Referenced in the Report

Utah:
1. Antimony
2. Boulder
3. Bullfrog
4. Burrville
5. Escalante
6. Green River
7. Halls Crossing
8. Hite Crossing
9. Koosharem
10. Moab
11. Monticello
12. Navajo Mountain
13. Notom
14. Blanding

Arizona:
15. Oljato
16. Pipe Spring
17. Shonto

Legend
- Burr Trail
- Spanish Trail
- Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument
- Forest Service Land
- Glen Canyon National Recreation Area
- Capitol Reef National Park
- Cities/Towns/Chapter Houses
- County Line

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team

Introduction
The Environment of Capitol Reef National Park

The dramatic scenery of Capitol Reef is the result of significant uplift and then erosion. Geologists say that the Fold was formed around 65 to 80 million years ago. It drops rapidly in elevation over a distance of 15 miles from west to east. Mountains as high as 11,000 feet west of the park drop to valleys as low as 4,000 feet in elevation to the east. The elevation within the park varies from 8,960 feet to 3,880 feet. The Waterpocket Fold is deeply cut by west-to-east flowing tributaries. Between these streams and their canyons are sandstone domes or tilted slickrock plates. Valleys are present on the eastern side of the Waterpocket Fold. These are usually less than a mile wide. A second feature for which the park is noted is Cathedral Valley, punctuated with sheer sandstone spires and fins (Figure 1-6).

The life zones at the park are comprised of 55% pinyon-juniper (Upper Sonoran), 40% scrublands and valley bottoms (Lower Sonoran or Southern Desert Shrub), and 5% ponderosa pine (Transitional Zone). No Canadian Zone such as spruce and fir forests is contained within the park (Tom Clark, chief of resource management, personal communication, 1998). Dominant vegetation communities at Capitol Reef are typical of the Colorado Plateau Physiographic Province. They include scrub brush, grassland, upland shrub, pinyon-juniper, forest, and wetland-riparian types. More than 300 species of mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, and fish are found in Capitol Reef. Commonly seen mammals include mule deer, yellow-bellied marmots, bighorn sheep, and coyotes. Birds are numerous in cottonwood stands and among willows along perennial water sources. Bald eagles, peregrine falcons, spotted owls, and several bat species occur in the park because the secluded canyons offer crevices for nesting or roosting. These birds are listed as threatened, endangered, or sensitive species. Reptiles are found throughout the park and include lizards and snakes.

Perennial streams in the park are the Fremont River, Sulphur Creek, Pleasant Creek, Oak Creek, Polk Creek, and Halls Creek. Native and introduced species of fish are found in these. Most streams are subject to summer flash flooding or flooding due to spring snowmelt. Numerous small springs occur throughout the park. Seeps are present, usually at the base of hillsides or canyon sideslopes. Numerous small rock pools, called tinajas or waterpockets, occur in slickrock areas throughout the park (Figure 1-7). These natural catchments vary in their ability to retain water. Water in some lasts only a few days while others may retain water year-round. Most become full after snowmelt and lose water throughout the summer. However they are replenished by the summer monsoons in July and August. Their ability to retain moisture depends on how well they are sheltered and the geology of the depression.

Format of the Report

This ethnographic overview and assessment is presented as an ethnohistory for several reasons. Ethnohistories address dynamic relationships between parks and traditionally associated peoples, including the continuities and changes over time in land use patterns and resource uses. Too, the use of an historical framework allows for the cultural significance of a park place and its resources to come into relief. The resources are not divorced from the progression of historical events and cultural meaning; instead, they are embedded in the matrix of time and culture.

Within this chronological representation, native perspectives and interpretations of their origins, histories, and beliefs are purposely highlighted. Each chapter begins not only with an archeological assessment of tribal ethnogenesis, but is inclusive of tribal origin accounts.

Certain events of large and in some cases international scope serve as a framework for more than one chapter. While some historical events were experienced by more than one American Indian group, the consequent interaction of tribal communities with the land and its resources differed.

Each chapter documents the history of a tribe with and resource uses of what is now park land as well as with the lands surrounding it. Collectively the chapters chronicle the earliest indigenous occupation of the Capitol Reef region to the latest, though by no means do tribal histories or the significance of the resources and landscape end with the tribes' absence from the area. At the end of each chapter, a table summarizes the resources, places, and landscapes identified as being associated with Capitol Reef National Park, as well as the special meaning each holds for the tribe whose history is being relayed.

Using American Indians' Oral Traditions

Archeologists and historians sometimes use indigenous oral tradition as evidence to document the past, but are skeptical of its reliability. The Ethnography Program of the National Park Service views oral tradition foremost as a means by which to understand, from the perspectives of traditionally associated peoples, the nature of their historical and contemporary relationships with park places. Authenticating or corroborating historical facts is not the primary reason for incorporating oral

4 For those of you who are cynical, I would encourage a reading of A Forest of Time. American Indian Ways of History (Nabokov 2002). It may well cause some to reconsider their assumptions.
Figure 1-6
Spires in Cathedral Valley, Capitol Reef National Park. NPS photo.
Figure 1-7
Waterpocket or tinaja in Capitol Reef National Park. NPS photo.
tradition into NPS ethnographic research. Instead, it enlightens the NPS about Indians’ views of parks and their resources, and offers fresh insight into Native interpretations of tangible places and historical events. The National Park Service then applies that information to reach culturally informed decisions about resource management and planning, and to develop culturally sound interpretive programs. Armed with that knowledge, the agency begins to address questions and issues considered important not only to the general public, but to Indian nations whose heritage is represented within park boundaries and that the agency has an obligation to protect.

Oral tradition is also recognized as a means to illuminate the years before contact with EuroAmericans, but from the perspectives of those relaying the accounts. For example, the traditional knowledge that the Hopi and Zuni provided about Capitol Reef National Park represents an unprecedented opportunity to view their sense of precontact antiquity in the region of the Waterpocket Fold. Metaphysical concepts and explanations shared by Native American traditionalists about park landscapes and resources, at least for this report, are not intended to be subject to verification or materialist explanations.

Rightly so, some archeologists have begun to consider indigenous oral histories and cosmologies as a means to understand or explain some of the material manifestations with which they routinely work — or at least to suggest research hypotheses. Utah archeology, however, still rarely seems to consider American Indian worldviews in formulating their hypotheses and findings.5 Without it and without American Indian collaboration, archeologists run the risk of environmental determinism and inaccurate conclusions in explaining precontact indigenous behaviors and material cultures.

This report coalesces the oral traditions of many Native American tribes with the Euroamerican traditions of archeology and history to provide as full and as humanistic an understanding and portrait of Native Americans’ cultural and historical experiences with Capitol Reef and the lands that surround it. The end product is intended to help the park fulfill its mandated responsibilities to manage and protect with a cultural awareness that hitherto was not available.

Relaying Untold Histories and Coming to New Understandings

What initially became apparent is that the landmass of what is now Capitol Reef National Park represents a chronological landscape, or palimpsest, of continuous American Indian occupation. Dates derived from radiocarbon methods reveal that the area appears to have been continuously touched by indigenous people for thousands of years — almost 10,000 — through the early twentieth century. The oral tradition of tribal communities (in tandem with archeological evidence and the relatively recent phenomenon of written records that started to appear in the mid-nineteenth century) provides a facet of understanding about American Indians’ association with Capitol Reef National Park that had not been in our awareness until now. For example, the oral accounts of both the Hopi and the Zuni tell of a deeper time in which humans inhabited the Colorado Plateau, time frames referred to by archeologists as the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Formative periods. The Hopi and the Zuni say their ancestors were among the first peoples to emerge, before farming existed as an adaptation to the land. The Zuni tell of a certain medicine society, still extant at their Pueblo but whose members are deceased now at Hopi, that after emergence journeyed north in the general direction of Capitol Reef National Park. The Hopi chronicle a frame of time, about 1,000 years and known archeologically as the Formative Period, in which clan ancestors stayed north of the Colorado River, farming at places like the Waterpocket Fold and farther north in the Salt Lake region of Utah. They would remain in one location perhaps a year or several years and then continue their spiritually mandated migration.

The oral accounts of the Hopi also convey that many groups of peoples were already residing in Utah when their clan ancestors arrived. Peaceful co-existence, hostilities, and hardships were part of life. Viewing the archeological record, it appears as if that frame of time referred to as the Late-Prehistoric and the Formative overlap. That is, evidence in the archeological record for a hunting and gathering lifestyle (Late-Prehistoric) seems to occur along with evidence for land cultivation (Formative). Some anthropologists speculate that a certain group of language speakers (the Numa) who were hunters and gatherers arrived in the area during the Late Prehistoric. To the contrary, accounts of Paiute and Ute peoples as well as the Hopi suggest that the ancestors to the Numic speakers were already living there.

The last archeological vestige of a Puebloan lifestyle seems to disappear from the area by the end of the 14th century (refer to Table 1-1 in Chapter 1). The oral accounts of the Hopi tell that through time ancestral Puebloan clan groups eventually migrated south and settled permanently at the Hopi mesas and at other Pueblos in Arizona and New Mexico. Still, with the extended stay of Ancestral Puebloan clans in the north and the expanse of time spent with the people already living

5 Capitol Reef National Park proved the exception, however, by seeking the input of some American Indian tribes into its archeological research design so that questions and issues of concern to these tribes were also addressed.
Map I-5. Administrative Units
Capitol Reef National Park
United States Department of the Interior - National Park Service

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team, February 2005
Map I-6. Indian Trails Across the Waterpocket Fold

Legend

- Bears Ears variant of Spanish Trail
- Black Hawk Trail
- Chimney Rock Canyon Trail
- Kaiparowits trails
- Spanish Trail
- Unnamed trail through Rabbit Valley to Spanish Trail

While exact routes are unknown or cannot be verified, approximate routes and destinations are identified in literature and oral tradition.

Note: Contemporary towns are placed on the map as reference points. Many towns were former Indian encampments.

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team
there, some chose to remain, according to one contemporary representative among the Ute Mountain Ute.

At about the time ancestors to contemporary Paiute and Ute (and any descendents of Pueblos) were living in the area, the Navajo were making trips into the Waterpocket Fold, as well as to other parts of the region, for hunting and gathering of animals, plants, and likely minerals. In some cases, they were engaged in hostilities with local Paiute and Ute residents; at other times, they were joining forces with them to combat Euroamerican colonization of the region in the late nineteenth century. At all times, they continued trading with local indigenous inhabitants and with the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as well as other newcomers.

Indigenous communities who lived in the area at any given time sustained themselves somewhere along the continuum of hunting, gathering, and farming. From the accounts that follow about times past, indigenous peoples were organized into smaller groups in contrast with the politically cohesive, larger populations of contemporary American Indian tribes. Members of medicine societies led others, whether as a clan unit or as a co-residential group of relatives, if not friends. Some were small clusters of families, or of men or women, who followed the direction of a leader for specific activities. A sense of fluidness between groups of people also becomes apparent. Whether clans, co-residence groups, or medicine societies moving through time and the space we now refer to as Capitol Reef, they encountered people and lived for a time with them or engaged in temporary hostilities. Groups continually coalesced, dispersed, and coalesced again and again. New forms and new relationships were created through the thousands of years of occupation. Reshuffling and consolidation continued to occur as an outcome of Euroamerican intrusion and colonization. The settlement of the valleys in and surrounding Capitol Reef resulted in the permanent dislocation of indigenous communities. As indigenous populations diminished and re-configured, and as the fledgling profession of anthropology developed, what we know as contemporary designations for tribes were bestowed on remnant groups of American Indians. But the seeming immutability of these contemporary names and discreteness of these groups is belied by the historical accounts from tribal consultants provided for this study. Unfortunately, the straightforward title of each chapter implies a timeless and static condition. In reading the chapters, however, one learns other, very dynamic stories.

Some tacit assumptions about Capitol Reef National Park and American Indian relationships with it were challenged as a result of information collected for the study. First of all, the Waterpocket Fold has customarily been perceived as a barrier, inhibiting human penetration and, as a consequence, promoting diversity in populations. For example, it is speculated to have contributed to the differentiation between the “Kaiparowits Paiute” and the “Ute” (Kelly 1934; 1964). For colonizing newcomers who were complete strangers to the terrain, the Fold was seen as forbidding and impenetrable. The existence of trails across it was considered an “impracticability” (Andrus 1866 in Crampton 1964). It represented “impassable chasms” (Gregory 1931), and was considered “too rough and broken” (Adams 1866 in Gottfredson 1919:223). Ethnographers or cultural anthropologists, too, held a similar perception of the Fold. Isabel Kelly in the 1930s surmised that the Fold represented an “imposing natural barrier” that “forcibly determined [tribal] boundaries” (Kelly 1964:146). She speculated that trade was likely slight due to, among other reasons, “the difficulty traversing the area” (Kelly 1964:165). Kelly’s consultant, though a Paiute, had not lived in the region. She informed the ethnographer that the Waterpocket Fold was “forbidding and seldom traveled...” (Lucy as told to Kelly 1964:64). Julian Steward (1938:223) called the area to the east of the park “arid” with “impassable canyons” and supporting a small Ute population “who had little intercourse with their kin to the east or west.” The first superintendent, consequently, inferred that the Paiute, too, found the Fold “inhospitable” and “slowed the movement of Indians into the region” (Kelly 1951:Chapter 8: 2,11). A Glen Canyon salvage archeologist (Lister 1959) studied the Fold in the 1950s. While he identified a north-south corridor for pre-contact natives, he referred to the Fold itself as a “formidable barrier...and virtually all of it a wasteland” (Lister 1959:289). Continuing the legacy into the 1990s, archeologists (Janetski and Kreutzer 1997:1) referred to the Fold’s “jumble of dome spires, canyons, and cliffs” as an “obstacle to east west travel.” An historian commissioned by the park who wrote its administrative history conceptualized the Fold yet again as an obstacle when he entitled his report From Barrier to Crossroads (Frye 1995).

From the perspectives of associated tribes, the Waterpocket Fold (Capitol Reef National Park) is variously named; contains a healing rock; was once and may still be a shrine; is regarded as home (albeit a temporary one) and homeland; was a place to obtain food and a range of other resources, including water in unsuspecting places; was frequently traveled through for a multi-

6 For example, archeologists say the “Fremont” were both cultivators and hunters/gatherers. Depending upon the resources available and the cultures and histories of groups of people, variations of one or both were options.

7 These named categories are of our own construction and not how people originally viewed themselves. More information about this is contained in subsequent chapters.
tude of purposes; was a locale for remembering and rejuvenating; and is considered sacred. Indigenous inhabitants through time superimposed upon the sandstone monocline a netted web of trails (Map 1-6), some of which were later used by Euroamerican explorers and surveyors (Map 1-7). Some of these routes are links to major arteries of trails that have subsequently become interstate highways. The accounts provided by some tribes suggest that they had—and continue to have—an intimate familiarity with the Waterpocket Fold, not a forbidding sense of it.

The fact that the Waterpocket Fold has been described as a barrier has likely contributed to the other perception of the Fold as lacking the presence of American Indians. Popular literature describing Capitol Reef National Park, including the park’s website, moves from an acknowledgement of prehistoric inhabitants called the Fremont to the appearance of Latter-day Saints who settled the area in the 1870s. For a span of almost 600 years, Capitol Reef National Park, by omission, is viewed as a place devoid of American Indians. At minimum, some understanding exists that the Paiute were the historic native inhabitants of the region, but the implications for Capitol Reef National Park were erroneously reported, let alone investigated. For example, the first superintendent of the monument (now park) knew that Paiute were living in Rabbit Valley and at Fish Lake when settlers arrived, however speculated they had “no regular camping ground in the monument itself” (Kelly n.d.: Chapter 6:2).

Evidence from the oral traditions of Paiute, Ute, and Navajo consultants, as well as archeological evidence, makes apparent that the Fold was used by these groups throughout this span of time. A Numic ancestor of the Paiute and Ute (Pogonoeab in W.S.H.M 1878) tells of battles with the Puebloans that resulted in flight from the area while Numic ancestors remained. Archeology dates the disappearance of farming from the record by the end of the 1300s. Navajo oral accounts begin for the Capitol Reef region around the late 1300s and 1400s. Yet, these accounts mention only the presence of Numic peoples. Ancestors to contemporary Puebloans, by omission, were absent. Native American uses of resources throughout this time span and the significance of the Waterpocket Fold are chronicled in the following chapters.

From the tribal histories that follow, what is now Capitol Reef National Park unfolds as an element in a larger topography of human residence and movement (either confined to local plateaus and canyon lands or as large as the Colorado Plateau province itself). However, the park has been symbolically severed from that topography by the relatively recent creation of jurisdictional boundaries. The perspectives of associated tribes have caused us to see the park not as an entity unto itself, but implacably bound to the total land mass continuously and fluidly inhabited by American Indians. Through the millennia, an array of meanings has been ascribed to the Waterpocket Fold area as the diversity of human lives and community histories transpired in what we categorize as a barrier and know as only a vacant wilderness.

8 “Sacred” in this context reflects a view of nature common among traditional Native Americans. In this worldview, a creator made everything animate and inanimate and imbued each with a spirit. Everything is, therefore, alive. Because all aspects of this world are created by spiritual powers and invested with life, all are worthy of reverence. The gift of life begets obligations. We must reciprocate with respect and stewardship toward kindred spirits that are relatives. Certain offerings and prayers must be made and ceremonies conducted. We must harvest in a manner that ensures continuance of life. Relatedness also entitles us to rights. Our kin, for example, of the animal, plant, and mineral worlds, have responsibilities to care for us by offering themselves for our survival and well being.

Certain individuals within tribal communities acquire the ability to harness the spirit power of these entities that then becomes medicine. Practitioners become the liaison between humans and nature’s spirits. For example, among the Hopi Tribe and Pueblo of Zuni, priests of “medicine” societies assume these responsibilities; among the Navajo, Hathaa or “Medicine” People actively deal with spirits, and shamans have been the designated liaisons among the Paiute and Ute people.

9 Euroamerican settlers usually portrayed indigenous people as possessing a fear of imposing geological features. For example, Paiute Indians were often depicted as being frightened of the monumental canyons at Zion National Park. Indians who frequented Yellowstone National Park were portrayed as being afraid of erupting geysers. These perceptions are, in part, a relic of nineteenth century views of indians as superstitious and intellectually primitive people. They also reflect a lack of understanding for native concepts of sacredness and the concomitant, multifaceted feelings of awe and reverence. Newcomers experienced similar feelings of awe, if not intimidation, at seeing such imposing places associated with what they viewed as terra incognita. We, as their descendants, became so intrigued that we have set aside these spectacular wonders as parks or national shrines worthy of reverence. National parks have become Euroamericans’ versions of sacred sites.
Map I-7. Historic Euroamerican Trails Across the Waterpocket Fold

Legend

1872 route of Almon Thompson’s exploring party. Uncertainty exists as to where Thompson crossed the Fold. It may have been at Pleasant or Oak creeks or further south near the Bitter Creek Divide. Or, the party may have crossed elsewhere along the Fold.

G.K. Gilbert’s 1875 route to Henry Mountains

Burr Trail

Spanish Trail

Schematic representation of trails. Exact route is unknown or cannot be verified. However, destinations are known.

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team
Chapter 1

Pueblo of Zuni's (A:Shiwi) Relationship with Capitol Reef National Park
"Yesterday we saw the areas expressed in our prayers. This is what we are saying in our prayers. We finally realize what we have been told."

Pueblo of Zuni, October 5, 1998
This chapter discusses the manner in which the Pueblo of Zuni is associated with Capitol Reef National Park. In the first section, a brief overview is provided about the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Formative archeology at the park and on adjacent federal lands. The Zuni Tribal Council passed a formal resolution saying that they are related to the peoples who lived during these archeologically designated timeframes (Pueblo of Zuni 1995). While Paleoindian evidence is scarce at the park, materials from the Archaic and Formative periods are more numerous. Formative materials include remnants of structures, ceramics, macrofossils of domesticated plants (corn, beans, and squash), pictographs, and petroglyphs. From these data, archeologists infer that people who lived then practiced some form of farming in and around Capitol Reef National Park for almost 1,300 years (79 B.C. – A.D. 1403) (refer to Table 1-1).

The remainder of the chapter focuses upon Zuni traditional (oral) knowledge as it relates to the Paleoindian and Archaic periods in the general region of Capitol Reef National Park. Oral accounts from members of the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team (Appendix I-B) focus upon a particular medicine society that led a group of migrants north from emergence somewhere in the Grand Canyon. According to the Pueblo of Zuni, the earliest ancestors of the Zuni and the Hopi were the first peoples to emerge and were led by this medicine society, still extant at the Pueblo in New Mexico. Consequently, the traditional histories of the Zuni are long and dynamic, and include accounts of the economic shift from hunting and gathering to corn agriculture. Contemporary Zuni also recognize their affinity with the farmers who came later and whose stories are represented on the rock walls of Capitol Reef National Park. Zuni leaders of contemporary ceremonial organizations who visited the park recognized symbols of migration, travel routes, farming, hunting, deities including kacinas, and clans. However, the significance of the Waterpocket Fold environment for the Pueblo of Zuni is realized in the context of very early (pre-farming) migration accounts after emergence.

1 This chapter was sent to the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office (ZHHPO) for review. Coordinator Jonathan Damp (personal communication 2001) advised that several factors prohibited them from reading and commenting upon it. These include limited funds, a shortage of staff, and a daunting volume of work. He recommended that federal agencies compensate tribal representatives for reviews of reports required for management activities. When Capitol Reef National Park was approached for funds, it, too, was experiencing a shortage of money and could not pay for the review of this chapter by the ZHHPO.
### Table 1-1

**Radiocarbon-Dated Formative Period Sites in Capitol Reef National Park and on Surrounding Lands**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JURISDICTION</th>
<th>ARCHEOLOGICAL APPEARANCE OF FORMATIVE TRAITS</th>
<th>ARCHEOLOGICAL APPEARANCE OF LATE PREHISTORIC TRAITS</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capitol Reef National Park</td>
<td>79 B.C. – A.D. 1026</td>
<td>ca. 1290 (Baadsgaard et al. 1998)</td>
<td>From a sample of sites tested in association with a multi-year inventory (Janetski and Talbot 1997:Table 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampstand Ruin (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>A.D. 700 – A.D. 1200</td>
<td></td>
<td>From various features at site (Janetski and Talbot 1997:Table 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anasazi Indian Village State Park (Map 1-1) Also known as the Coombs Site</td>
<td>A.D. 835 – A.D. 1170</td>
<td></td>
<td>Radiocarbon and tree-ring dates from site (Prince et al.1998:Table 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixie National Forest (Aquarius Plateau/Boulder Mountain)</td>
<td>A.D. 500 – A.D. 900</td>
<td></td>
<td>From a few sites on the Forest at Boulder, Utah (Marian Jacklin, personal communication, 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishlake High Top Plateau (Fishlake National Forest)</td>
<td>Ca A.D. 200; A.D. 700 – A.D. 1100s; and A.D. 1300s</td>
<td>Sites appear to have been continuously occupied from late Archaic through historic times (Janetski et al. 1998)</td>
<td>Dates from selected features of Fish Lake sites (Janetski et al. 1998:6-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glen Canyon National Recreation Area</td>
<td>600 B.C. to A.D. 1300</td>
<td>ca. A.D. 1300 date on a brush structure in the Escalante River Basin (Geib and Fairley 1997:59)</td>
<td>With 600 B.C. to A.D. 500 representing the Early Agricultural or transitional period from hunting and gathering (Geib 1996:8-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogan Pass area (Fishlake National Forest)</td>
<td>A.D. 600s – A.D. 1350s</td>
<td>Continuous occupation of several sites since Archaic Period through historic times (Metcalf et al. 1993)</td>
<td>SV23 and SV1425 near Paradise Lake (Metcalf et al. 1993:v)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richfield District of the Bureau of Land Management (including the Henry Mountains and lands east of Capitol Reef)</td>
<td>No radiocarbon dated Formative Period sites</td>
<td>No radiocarbon dated sites in this timeframe</td>
<td>Material from site near Teasdale, Utah, described in Morss 1931, has not been radiocarbon dated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Rafael Swell/I-70 corridor</td>
<td>A.D. 340 – A.D. 1403</td>
<td>Earliest dated Late Prehistoric materials ca A.D. 1309 (Greubel 1996)</td>
<td>Various sites/features mitigated for the creation of Castle Valley to Rattlesnake Bench I-70 corridor (Greubel 1996:504-506)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both the Pueblo of Zuni and the Hopi Tribe believe their ancestors are related to people who lived during the frame of time archeologists refer to as the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Formative periods. Because they consider themselves descendents of those precontact people, a brief discussion follows about the meaning of these archeological categories, the nature of these material remains in the Capitol Reef region, and what archeologists surmise about the people who lived back then. This section will serve as a foundation with which to discuss both Zuni (this chapter) and Hopi (Chapter 2) associations with Capitol Reef National Park.

Paleoindian Period refers to approximately 3500 years of time (10,000 – 6500 B.C.) when indigenous peoples occupied North America, including the Colorado Plateau. Materially it is characterized by certain types of projectile points (Clovis, Folsom, Plano, and others) and archeological sites near major water courses (Office of Public Archaeology 1996:3). Pleistocene megafauna lived during this span of time, contributing to the characterization of resident Indians as big-game hunters. Paleoindian projectile points have not been found within Capitol Reef National Park (Lee Kreutzer, personal communication, 2002). Some Paleoindian artifacts reportedly have been discovered on lands surrounding the park (Office of Public Archaeology 1996:3).

The Archaic Period encompasses about 6500 years of history (6500 – 1 A.D.). Though the megafauna had become extinct, evidence as interpreted by archeologists suggests that indigenous peoples continued to hunt and gather with greater reliance on wild plants. In excavating sites dated to this timeframe, archeologists have found projectile points and other materials that seem to differ stylistically from those of the Paleoindian Period (Office of Public Archaeology 1996:4). Archaic sites are fairly abundant in Utah, including Capitol Reef National Park.

The Formative Period is regarded as the timeframe when people in the prehistoric Southwest — including Utah — relied to varying degrees on cultivation of crops to sustain themselves. For the Capitol Reef region, this period spans about 1,000 years (200 B.C. – A.D. 1350) (Office of Public Archaeology 1996:6). The nomenclatures “Anasazi” and “Fremont” have been applied by archeologists to classes of artifacts, features, and sites, as well as to the people who practiced some form of farming, either part-time or full-time.

“Anasazi” and “Fremont” were originally used to differentiate a suite of material remains by style, chronology, and spatial distribution. However, usage has come to imply more than archeologists originally intended. Each has come to connote a singular collection of people, perhaps cohesively organized, occupying and moving through the Southwest region with other similarly
large archeological defined groups like the Mogollon, Hohokam, Salado, and so on. 4

We must not lose sight of the fact that "Anasazi" is a technical term invented by archaeologists to deal with all of this stuff, and that [the term] bears little relationship to the people who were culturally, in fact, Pueblo people.

(Linda Cordell in Widdison 1991:22)

In practice, it is difficult to refer to the names of these classifications without conceptualizing a group of people with the same cultural identity, particularly if regional similarity exists in tangible objects. As we will see from the traditional knowledge of the Hopi and Zuni, the information they shared about their ancestors residence in places like Capitol Reef provides another perspective about the way these peoples identified and organized themselves, as well as what was meaningful to them when their ancestors lived there.

Archaeologists consider Fremont materials as stylistically different from, yet broadly similar to, Anasazi materials. Anasazi and Fremont classifications share the same artifact and feature types. These include "formal architecture, gray ware ceramics, and projectile point styles" among others (Janetski and Kreutzer 1997:1). Differences include styles of images inscribed on rock, basketry, and the use of moccasins rather than sandals. Within the "Fremont" classification, geographical similarities in materials have been observed and named. They are referred to as the Great Salt Lake, Parowan, Sevier, San Rafael, and Uintah "variants" (Marwitt 1986:163-171). Fremont archeological materials have been observed throughout Utah (north of the Colorado River), eastern Nevada, western Colorado, southern Idaho, and southern Wyoming (Marwitt 1986:161).

Regional variations have been noted for "Anasazi" materials, too. The geographical areas have been named Kayenta, Virgin, Northern San Juan or Mesa Verde, and Chaco. The southern portion of Capitol Reef National Park lies within the geographical area where Kayenta and Virgin archeological materials are said to interface (Office of Public Archaeology 1996:10).

Hopi cultural advisors who visited Capitol Reef National Park suggest that factors other than group cohesion may explain similarities in material traits. Similar attributes may reflect adaptation to specific environments and cultural borrowing through trade and ceremonial exchange. Like Hopi villages and clans today, people back then were practical and adopted, across social boundaries, durable, useful, and more efficient technology. One representative suggests archaeologists should look at smaller units of social organization, like clans and ceremonial organizations, for group identity (Leslie David, Clay Hamilton, and Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, May and November, 1997; Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998). 5

The farmers referred to as the Fremont seemed to be less dependent on farming than were those referred to as the Anasazi. Archaeologists still do not understand the reason for the different adaptation to the same or similar environments. Some believe equitable reliance on farming and wild resources originated locally as corn was introduced to hunters and gatherers of the region. Some archaeologists argue for an in-migration of Anasazi farmers. Others think a Plains-style farming adaptation influenced the florescence of farming in Utah (Office of Public Archaeology 1996:6).

Archaic and Prehistoric Puebloan (Anasazi and Fremont) Sites within Capitol Reef National Park

As of 1998, more than 45 Archaic Period sites had been recorded within park boundaries. This number represents about 18% of all identified prehistoric sites from two years of survey work (Richens et al.1997; Baadsgaard et al. 1998). 6 Petroglyphs and pictographs associated with the Archaic Period and referred to as the Barrier Canyon Style are present in Capitol Reef, but not with the frequency of images typically associated with the Formative Period.

Formative Period sites within and surrounding the Waterpocket Fold caused an archeologist in the late 1920s to differentiate Anasazi- from Fremont-style materials. Noel Morris (1931:76), who assumed that a distinctive suite of archeological remains connoted a cohesive cultural community, referred to the "Fremontors" as...
a “peripheral culture” to the “mainstream” Puebloan (Anasazi) manifestations further south. He said that the people who made the sites and artifacts were “partly agricultural,” but also depended “in good part on the game supply.”

Formative (farming) Period sites occur throughout Capitol Reef National Park. Those that have been radiocarbon-dated range from about 79 B.C. to A.D. 1026 (Janetski and Talbot 1998:68). Materials diagnostic of Anasazi-style are found predominately in the south end of the park. These include ceramic sherds and petroglyphs. Fremont-style occupation and petroglyph sites, however, are relatively common throughout Capitol Reef. Cultural remains include masonry or wattle-and-daub granaries, slab-lined storage cysts, pithouse depressions, rockshelter occupations with middens (particularly along the Fremont River), campsites, and lithic and ceramic scatterers. The Waterpocket Fold is viewed as a travel corridor, not a barrier, for destinations such as the Coombs Site (Anasazi Indian Village State Park) (Map 1-1) to the west because the density of sites increases where the monocline was crossed (Janetski and Talbot 1998:72).

Paleoindian, Archaic, Prehistoric Puebloan (Anasazi and Fremont) Archeological Sites on Lands Adjacent to the Parks

The Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument (GSENM) is west of the park (Map 1-1). Radiocarbon dates from farming sites throughout the monument demonstrate “a continuous sequence of occupation” from A.D.1 through 1300 (McFadden 1997:93). Anasazi and Fremont-style sites with architecture and ceramics are distributed throughout the GSENM. From observations of these sites, an archeologist for the monument (Doug McFadden) has identified two styles of farming, referred to as “adaptations.” His analysis of Virgin Anasazi material seems to indicate that year-round farming occurred at dispersed residential sites, whereas Fremont sites seem to indicate that farmers practiced agriculture during the summer in perennially watered canyons, spending winters hunting game in the uplands. He notes that the Anasazi-style sites indicate a “conscious process” of reoccupation and remodeling of residences. He attributes the frequent moves in and out of these sites to environmental factors. He also speculates that the size of the groups occupying a farmstead could have included a nuclear or extended family (1997:191-102).

According to the histories of the Hopi Tribe described in Chapter 2, clans that migrated through a region like Capitol Reef were directed to temporarily sojourn in locales and then continue their migrations. During this time, they tended to re-occupy and architecturally modify sites once they had been established.

In the Circle Cliffs of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, west of Capitol Reef, Lampstand Ruin (Map 1-1; Table 1-1) is a site with remnants of at least two discrete room areas (pueblos) with walls, other rock alignments, and an array of ceramic types (Figure 1-1). Radiocarbon dates from various features range from A.D. 700 - A.D. 1200 (Janetski and Talbot 1998). Archeologists Janetski and Talbot suspect a relationship exists between this site, other northern sites like the Coombs Village, and with Formative sites in the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park.

West about 40 miles from Lampstand Ruin, on the southern slope of the Aquarius Plateau at an elevation of 6,700 feet, is a Puebloan farming village called the Coombs site, officially designated Anasazi Indian Village State Park within the town of Boulder, Utah (Map 1-1). As many as 87 rooms and 10 below-ground structures were excavated. The site is dated to the 12th century A.D. Ceramic artifacts and architecture suggest to archeologists a cultural affiliation with the classification of “Kayenta Anasazi.” What are referred to as “intrusive” ceramics suggest association with the classifications of Virgin Anasazi and Fremont (Prince et al. 1998). Numerous other sites, some with architecture, exist in proximity (Lister 1959:4).

Consultants from the Cultural Preservation Office of the Hopi Tribe visited the Coombs Site in November 1997. They suggested two possibilities for the presence of pottery that resembles ceramics from northern Arizona and that archeologists classify as “Kayenta.” Not only could the pottery have been traded, it could have been made on site by visiting clans who carried the knowledge to make stylistically similar wares with them (Bradley Balsenquah, Leslie David, and Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). Leigh Jenkins Kuwanwiswma (personal communication 1996), Director of the Cultural Preservation Office for the Hopi Tribe, argues that what seems like “trade-ware” to archeologists is, in fact, reflecting the movement of clans.

Also west of the park, yet north of the GSENM and Anasazi Indian Village State Park, is the Aquarius Plateau (Map 1-1), which is frequently referred to as Boulder Mountain. This topography is administered by the Dixie National Forest (Map 1-1), which encompasses more than 2 million acres. The archeologist for the forest (Marian Jacklin, personal communication, 1999) says that both Archaic and Formative period sites have been found. She estimates that approximately 40 Formative sites about Capitol Reef National Park. The

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7 These include Tusayan black on red, Moenkopi corrugated, Sosi and Dogoszhi black on white, Black Mesa black on white, and gray wares (Janetski and Talbot 1997:72).
Map 1-1. General Locations of Selected American Indian Sites within and surrounding Capitol Reef National Park

SITES
1) GA1443 5) WN2002 7) SV2229, SV1478 11) EM1879, EM1881 15) WN1954
2) WN0008 6) Anasazi Indian 8) SV23, SV1425 12) Capitol Reef Shields Site 16) GA3954
3) WN0149 Village State Park 9) Lampstand Ruin 13) Fish Creek Cove Site
4) WN0006 (Coombs Site) 10) GA3123 14) Glass Mountain

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team
majority appear to be classified as Fremont, with a few
typed as Anasazi. Most are habitation sites with room
blocks, pit structures, and associated granaries. Bigger
residences occur in the broad plains of large drainages.
Lithics and ceramics are scattered on the ridges above
canyons. The largest concentration of Puebloan-style
sites is located in broad canyons near water. Above
8,000 feet, the site density diminishes. Several drainages
adjacent to the park have never been surveyed.

North of the Aquarius Plateau and west of Capitol
Reef National Park are Poverty Flat and Rabbit Valley,
in which the communities of Torrey and Loa are located
(Map 1-1). Most of the land is privately owned and
farmed. In a dry cave near Torrey (Map 1-1), Ephraim
and Dorothy Pectol found three large buffalo hide
shields in 1925. The shields were wrapped in juniper
bark; no other artifacts were found in association with
them. Originally referred to as the “Pectol Shields,” but
now called the “Capitol Reef Shields,” they are the old-
est known leather shields in North America. They were
radiocarbon dated at circa A.D. 1500 (Loendorf and
Connor 1992). A renewed interest in the cultural affil-
iation of the shields was precipitated by passage of the
Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation
Act (NAGPRA). 8

Settlement and development of Rabbit Valley/Poverty
Flat has pre-empted archeological work there. When
settlers came into an area like this, they immediately
cultivated the bottomlands. Still, learning how this 25
mile long valley was settled by Archaic and Formative
peoples seems an integral piece to understanding how
humans survived in the territory that embraced both
uplands and canyon lands.

The Fish Creek Cove Site (Map 1-1; Table 1-1) is near
Torrey on land managed by the Richfield District of the
Bureau of Land Management (BLM). It consists of an
overhang with numerous petroglyphs and pictographs;
stone and wooden structures comprising rooms, storage
cysts, and hearths; and numerous artifacts including
pottery, basketry fragments, corncobs, lithics, and
groundstone (Morr 1931:17-22). Among the images on a
pictograph panel are a series of seemingly beheaded
ungulates (Figure 1-2) and a painted shield anthropo-
morph (Figure 1-2). To the far right side of the panel is a
pecked bison image. 10 In 1928 Noel Morr excavated the
site as part of the Claffin-Emerson expedition. From the
excavation and materials, Morr determined that the
site was occupied by the horticulturists he deemed the
“Fremont Culture” (Morr 1931:33). Local settlers refer
to the locale as the “Indian farm.” They knew that these
Indians constructed ditches, brought water from Fish
Creek, and “raised corn” (Hanks 1981:5).

Just north of Rabbit Valley and also west of Capitol
Reef National Park lay the federal lands administered by
Fishlake National Forest (Map 1-1). Five-mile-long Fish
Lake, fed by numerous small creeks, dominates the
Hightop Plateau (Figure 1-4). At 8,800 feet, it is the
headwaters for the Fremont River. Cutthroat trout once
prevailed as the primary native fish. Diagnostic artifi-
cacts and radiocarbon dates indicate that sites such as SV2229
and SV1478 (Map 1-1) were used continuously from the
Archaic Period, through the Formative, and by historic
Indians who were the ancestors to contemporary Paiute
and Ute (Janetski et al. 1998).

Also on Fishlake National Forest, east of the lake, is a
cluster of excavated sites in the vicinity of Hogan Pass.
These sites were continuously occupied from the Late
Archaic Period through the early twentieth century.
Food resources most heavily used during the Formative
Period were wild resources and not cultivated crops.
The most intense occupation seems to have occurred
during the Formative Period (Metcalfe et al. 1993). A
Fremont village site (SV23; refer to Map 1-1 and Table 1-1)
at this location was occupied from the late A.D. 600s
through A.D. 1350. At about this time, the site seems to
shift in use to a short-term campsite (Metcalfe et al.
1993:20). Less than a mile south, another warm season
campsite (SV1425; refer to Map 1-1 and Table 1-1), con-
tinuously occupied, is located beside Paradise Lake on
Thousand Lake Mountain (Map 1-4).

In the vicinity of Interstate 70 to the north-northeast
of Capitol Reef (Map 1-1), 11 sites were excavated in the
San Rafael Swell. Early, aceramic Formative sites
(EM1879 and EM1881; Map 1-1 and Table 1-1) date from
A.D. 340 with continuous occupation through approxi-

Land under the jurisdiction of the Richfield District
of the Bureau of Land Management also lies to the
north and east of Capitol Reef National Park. The

8 Loendorf and Conner (1992) took a sample for radiocarbon dating from a
strap, not the shield. This sample is potentially problematic in that
straps could have been replaced making the date of the shield appear
more recent.

9 Neither the Hopi Tribe nor the Pueblo of Zuni claimed the shields under
the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).
However, three claims were received from the Navajo Nation; the Ute
Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, the Paiute Indian
Tribe of Utah and the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians jointly; and the
Southern Ute Tribe and the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe jointly. Evaluation of the
three claims and tribal notification of the determination favoring the Navajo
claim was completed in July 2002. The claimant tribes were informed of
their right to dispute the determination before the NAGPRA Review
Committee. The NPS held the shields for more than a year following that
determination to give all parties opportunity to appeal or dispute the
decision. No tribe requested review of the determination. The shields were
repatriated to the Navajo Nation on August 6, 2003 (Lee Kreutzer,
personal communication, 2004).

10 “Shield anthropomorphs” etched or painted on rock faces consist of
human figures with shields covering most of their body. Shield anthropo-
morphs are known to be a Fremont-style motif in rock writings.

11 Radiocarbon dates for federal lands like Capitol Reef National Park, the
vicinity of the Henry Mountains, and Dixie National Forest are sparse.
Certain factors limit the ability to obtain radiocarbon dates. These include
costs associated with the process, the limited development that occurs in
national parks, as well as the kind of projects that result in collection of
materials suitable for radiocarbon dating.
Doug McFadden, an archeologist at Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, and Wilton Kooyahoema, a member of the Hopi Tribe, examine standing architecture at Lampstand Ruin. Rosemary Sucec photo.
Figure 1-2 **Below**
Bradley Balenquah, a member of the Hopi Tribe, Craig Harmon, archeologist for the Richfield District of the Bureau of Land Management, and Wilton Kooyahoema, a member of the Hopi Tribe, examine the ungulate pictographs at Fish Creek Cove Site, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.

Figure 1-3 **Right**
Robert Colorow, a member of the Ute Indian Tribe, points to the shield anthropomorph at Fish Creek Cove Site, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.
Figure 1-4
Fish Lake from Mytoge Peak, Utah. NPS photo.
Richfield District encompasses some significant topographic features like the Awapa Plateau (Map 1-1) west of Capitol Reef, and the Henry Mountains to the east (Map 1-1). The BLM land to the east of Capitol Reef National Park is referred to as the Henry Mountain Resource Area (Map 1-1). BLM archeologist Craig Harmon (personal communication 1999) says that of the 9 million acres under BLM jurisdiction for the District, only about 10% of the land is surveyed. Fremont and Kayenta Anasazi diagnostic materials are found associated with the Henry Mountains and on other lands east of the park (Craig Harmon, personal communication, 1999). Fremont-style sites contain architecture, pottery, and lithics (Craig Harmon, personal communication, 1999).

South of the park is Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GLCA) (Map 1-1). Glen Canyon encompasses about 1.2 million acres surrounding the shores of Lake Powell, and includes a major portion of the lower Escalante River Basin. Its boundaries abut park boundaries on the western side. Paleoindian-style-projectile points have been discovered in a few places and generally date human occupation to about 11,500 B.C. to 8000 B.C. (Geib 1996:7; Geib and Fairley 1997:55). A strong representation of Archaic Period sites are documented for GLCA and date from about ca. 8000 B.C. to 600 B.C. (Geib 1996:7). Barrier Canyon-style images, customarily associated with the Archaic Period, are profuse in GLCA. Phil Geib, who specializes in Glen Canyon prehistory, breaks out the Formative Period to include a span of time when a transition was being made from hunting and gathering to the cultivation of corn and squash (Geib 1996:8). This “Early Agricultural Period” lasts about 1,100 years (600 B.C. to A.D. 500) in the Glen Canyon area. Formative sites, including transitional ones, date from about 600 B.C. to A.D. 1300 (Geib 1996:8-9). Archeologists argue, based on differences in material remains and the dating of corn in association with them, that the Fremont-style grew from the cultivation of corn within the bounds of GLCA north of the Colorado River; that it appeared around A.D. 100 and continued through A.D. 1000 (with ceramics developing about midpoint); and then, around A.D. 1050, Anasazi-classified material appears and is associated with Fremont artifacts. Until that time, Fremont-style alone predominated north of the Colorado River (Geib and Fairley 1997:58).

Some Observations about Formative Period Archeology on Lands within and Surrounding Capitol Reef National Park

Though the time scale is gross, archeological dating seems to indicate that people continuously resided in the region from at least the Archaic Period (as early as 8000 B.C.) until the arrival of the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in the 1870s. Evidence for this continuity exists at places like Fish Lake on the Hightop Plateau, the vicinity of Hogan Pass northwest of the park, and the Glen Canyon area. This evidence would seem to refute the popular linguistic and archeological theory that ancestors of the historic and contemporary Paiute and Ute peoples (who are Numic speakers) migrated to the region after the Formative Period, at about the time farming seems to have been abandoned.12 Instead, it suggests groups of people were already in place when the artifacts of agriculture made their appearance in the archeological record. And, as the consultants for the Hopi and Zuni suggest in this and the following chapters, many of these artifacts appeared when small groups — whether ceremonial societies or clans — began their migratory journey northward across the Colorado River.13

Ancestral Puebloan settlements in the region range from villages to small farmsteads. Villages are present at Boulder, southwest of the park, and at Hogan Pass, northwest of it. At the Hogan Pass and Fish Lake settlements, semi-sedentary procurement of wild resources and not farming seems to have formed the heart of subsistence during the Formative Period. On the rest of the landscape, including Capitol Reef National Park, small, short-term farming operations seem dispersed throughout. Small and extended families occupied residences. Throughout the extensive landmass to the west of the park (Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument), sites seem to have been re-occupied repeatedly after residents left.

Dates for the Formative Period in the region span almost 1,300 years, from about A.D. 79 through A.D. 1403 (Table 1-1). At the end of the fourteenth century, archeological manifestations of a farming lifestyle abate or become obscure, if not disappear. According to the oral tradition of the Hopi Tribe, those people with a farming lifestyle continued their migrations elsewhere (letter from Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office of the Hopi Tribe, to Rosemary Sucec, January 18, 2001). Only a few Formative sites within Capitol Reef National Park have been radiocarbon dated. Based on these dates, the range of Formative occupation there extends from 79 B.C. until about A.D. 1026.4

The significance of these sites to the Zuni is dis-
cussed below. The foregoing narrative on regional archeology also is applicable to the discussion of the Hopi Tribe’s association with Capitol Reef National Park described in Chapter 2.

12 This theory is referred to as the Numic Expansion theory and is discussed in Chapter 3, “Paiute and Ute Peoples’ Relationship with Capitol Reef National Park.”

13 I am introducing a new line of evidence, that of oral tradition, which is not customarily used by Utah archeologists when addressing two problematic issues of Great Basin/Southwest archeology: the relationship of the Numic-speakers with the Fremont and the origin of the Fremont. Archeologists have, however, integrated various DNA studies that argue for genetic disconnects between Formative (e.g. Fremont) and Post-formative (e.g. Numa) peoples (Parr 1998; O’Rouke et al. 2000). This suggests that Fremont origins may lie to the south, as the oral tradition of the Hopi claims. Methodological issues, including that of small sample sizes, beg for cautionary interpretation of DNA data, particularly as it applies to issues of ethnicity and affiliation, which are complex social processes.

14 Archeological investigations continue at Capitol Reef National Park. Additional radiocarbon dates are expected for the Formative Period.
Traditional Knowledge from the Pueblo of Zuni about Zuni Origin and Migrations to the Vicinity of Capitol Reef National Park

Zuni Medicine Societies

Most all Pueblo of Zuni members possess general knowledge of early Zuni history. For example, most know about a time when groups went in different directions before arriving at the Middle Place. They began a journey...in search of the Middle Place, the center of the world, the mid-most spot among all of the great oceans and lands, the spot in the middle of all the heavens of the universe, a spot destined to be their home. (Ferguson and Hart 1990:22)

However, only medicine societies (not clans) possess richly detailed accounts of Zuni origin and migrations (Chinik'yana'kona penane). Each of the medicine societies associated with emergence has its own account and only those initiated know the information in detail. That knowledge is not shared with the public or between and among societies (Dongoske et al. 1997:603; Ferguson and Hart 1990:21; Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team in field notes, Sucec, September 17, 1998).

Medicine societies have the responsibility for “carrying out the traditional practices that have been passed on for centuries from...ancestors” (Dishta et al. 1997:8). They possess specialized knowledge that ensures the well-being of the community (Pandey 1991:10). At Zuni, 10 medicine societies are associated with emergence; however, only eight remain (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, September 17, 1997). Members, depending upon their expertise, possess “the knowledge of physical and mental powers that exceed ordinary human capacities” as well as “powerful curing knowledge” (Tedlock 1979:503, 504).

Ancestral peoples traveling on migrations were what anthropologists refer to as co-residence groups (Dongoske et al. 1997:605). Co-residence groups can include those who are relatives or kin and those who are not. The Enoté, or “Ancient People,” migrating north consisted of a co-residence group led by the medicine society known as the Lexwekewe (Pueblo of Zuni in letter to Lee Kreutzer, former archeologist, Capitol Reef National Park, November 23, 1998).

Emergence

Contemporary Zuni say their ancestors emerged from the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River at a place called Chinik'yana'kya deya (Ferguson and Hart 1990:21). The Enoté, after their emergence from the fourth underworld,

...migrated in search for the Idiwana [the Middle Place]. They settled at a certain area where they separated into three groups. The first group went East, the second group
Figure 1-5
Glass Mountain outside the boundary of Capitol Reef National Park. NPS photo.
Consultants from the Pueblo of Zuni identified these petroglyphs at Highway 24 pullout as deer kacinas. Rosemary Sutcliff photo.
One of the panels at GA 1643. Zuni consultants recognized the Colorado River and a system of trails among these petroglyphs. Consultants from the Hopi Tribe also referred to this panel as a map and added that it also told which clans were at this site, for how long, and where they went (refer to Chapter 2). Alan R. Smith photo.
went South, and the third group went North. The third group that went North was led by a medicine society, Le:we:kewe. They migrated North to the land where the climate is cold. During their migration, they established homelands, sacred shrines, camp sites, burials, and other offering places. The group named specific areas such as Bishide Kusutsuki yallawe (the North Rugged Mountains [Rocky Mountains]). They continued on their migration East. In their settlements to areas, they built habitation sites, branching out in different directions as they migrated. They lived, taught themselves, and survived on what Mother Earth provided for them. The group's migration continued on eastward and some stayed behind and others left loved ones who weren’t able to continue the journey. As they moved eastward setting in areas, places were named along the way as they migrated into areas now known as the present Heshda Bitsu:liya Chaco area. The group later migrated into an area now known as Bandelier National Monument. After the initial separation of the three groups, the group that went east found 1:dwana. The group that continued northward in their migration going East traveled into areas such as Tsu Yalla (Santa Fe Mountains), Chibiya Yalla (Sandia Mountains), Dewon:kwi kyaba:chu Yalla (Mt. Taylor), and rejoined the main group at 1:dwana. The group that went South continued in their migration of never rejoining the main group or the other ancestral Zuins. (Pueblo of Zuni letter to Lee Kreutzer, former archeologist, Capitol Reef National Park, November 23, 1998)

Some accounts of emergence say ancestors of the Zuni came into this world with the ancestors of the Hopi; others say the two emerged separately (Ferguson 1998:44). However, their mutual ancestors preceded others (Comments of the Pueblo of Zuni, Affiliation Conference on Ancestral Peoples of the Four Corners Region, April 18, 1998).

Consequently, their oral accounts convey a depth of time and progression of events spanning the millennia.

In time immemorial, we came out as one. As those migrated out this way to the north, some [Hopi] stayed behind... All had a quest to find the center of the World. So while the major group made its way through, some stayed behind, but all came back... All Pueblos are related, [we have the] same clans as the Hopi and others — almost the same religion...They stayed behind, formed their own language, farmed, formed [their] own religion, but when we emerged, one group came out led by the medicine society.... (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Succe, October 5, 1998)

The Hopi confirmed that a group, upon emergence, migrated north (refer to Chapter 2).

The first group went up north. Those are the people who had the knowledge to melt ice, they went upwards, and then they turned clockwise [east]. (Walter Hamana in field notes, Succe, November 20, 1997)

Descendants of this group once resided at Hopi Mesas, but are deceased now (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Succe, October 5, 1998).

Northern Migration of the Le:we:kewe Medicine Society

The Le:we:kewe are referred to as “Caretakers of the Cold Elements” who mastered the condition of cold. They were directed to migrate north. According to the Pueblo of Zuni, they brought the cold with them when they migrated. Their supernatural abilities are responsible for the covering of snow on the Rocky Mountains and the generally colder weather pattern associated with the northern half of the continent (Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team in field notes, Succe, September 17, 1997).

It is important to note that the oral accounts of the Le:we:kewe Medicine Society does not specify the exact route taken north, but the direction and general topography is known. Society members also know the place names, but, for a number of reasons, do not have direct experience with the area.

The landmass covered in their migration was expansive. They started in northern Arizona and traveled into southern Utah. They reached as far north as Idaho and North Dakota. They passed through Colorado and sojourned at what is now Mesa Verde National Park. They traveled into New Mexico and temporarily settled at Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Aztec Ruins National Monument, Chaco Canyon Culture Historical Park, Bandelier National Monument, and the Sandia Mountains. Eventually they reached the Middle Place where contemporary Zuni are now located (Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team in field notes, Succe, September 17, 1997).

Right now at the Pueblo of Zuni only two members of the Medicine Society remain. When they die, this society and its deeply rooted cultural knowledge will disappear (Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team in field notes, Succe, September 17, 1997).

Logistics of Migration

The Le:we:kewe

led the establishment of ancestral sites[,] traveled so many miles, built[1] small pithouse structures for protection, staying, coming back, building villages, day by day, year by year; several hundred years, many centuries to
take the route ahead to the Middle Place. (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998)

As they journeyed, Enoté experimented with and developed their technology. Pithouses were constructed and then rooms. Whatever was found in a particular area was used. Wherever Enoté traveled, they collected food, medicine, herbs, and minerals. What was necessary to sustain them through their migrations would be obtained from the land (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 6, 1998).

Stories tell of encounters with other groups of people throughout the migrations. Enoté ancestors named those they encountered. They also interacted and exchanged ideas and technology with local groups. Sometimes hostilities and raiding resulted (Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team in field notes, Sucec, September 17, 1997 and October 5, 1998).

Crystal Deposits near Capitol Reef National Park

A geologic formation outside the park (Map 1-1 and Figure 1-5) was identified by the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team as having “immense significance” to ongoing religious practices at the Pueblo of Zuni (ZHHPO letter to Lee Kreutzer, former archeologist, Capitol Reef National Park, November 23, 1998). Minerals, like crystals, that were found along the migration trail became useful sacred objects for ceremonies. All medicine societies continue to use the type of crystals found at the site outside the park boundary (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 6, 1998). Crystals have been kept in the possession of the Lewekewe Medicine Society for many generations. In fact, the crystal is the emblem of the “Caretakers of the Cold Elements.” It is not personal property, but communal property. If an ancient society goes extinct, crystals are buried with its last member (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998).

Shrines at Capitol Reef National Park

Medicine societies were responsible for building shrines and other offering places. Because the Pueblo of Zuni consultation was limited to a one-day field visit to pre-selected sites, there was not enough time to locate shrines and related sites. Before Enoté established locations to live, they customarily made offerings at shrines to signify the “sacred setting in perpetuity” (Dishta et al. 1997:4). Shrines differ in function, location, and distance to archeological sites. Only specialists in medicine societies

15 The Society also is known by the names of “Ice People” or “Sword People” (Tedlock 1979:503).
16 Because of hostilities with other indigenous residents and later establishment of land jurisdictions and restrictions on use, contemporary Zuni have not continued to make pilgrimages to ancestral lands. When sites are re-visited, offerings are made and materials such as plants and minerals are collected (in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998).
possess the knowledge to identify and distinguish them (Dishta et al. 1997:4). Because archeologists are not trained to recognize shrines, the Pueblo of Zuni argues that tribal involvement is needed in archeological fieldwork, otherwise these significant sites have the potential to be destroyed (in field notes, Sucec, October 6, 1998).

*Evidence of Ancestral Puebloan (Formative Period) Presence at Capitol Reef National Park*

Zuni clans developed late in migration history, long after the Paleoindian and Archaic periods. Zuni ancestors adopted a clan system after they migrated into northern Utah, when they were traveling through the Little Colorado River valley, just before arriving at *I/diwana*, the Middle Place (Dongoske et al. 1997:605). Zuni representatives recognized clan symbols made during the Formative Period on the petroglyphs at Capitol Reef National Park (Pueblo of Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office (ZHHPO) letter to Lee Kreutzer, former archeologist, Capitol Reef National Park, November 23, 1998). Images include those related to migration, farming, hunting, kacinan figures, deities, encounters with others, and everyday life (Pueblo of Zuni ZHHPO letter to Lee Kreutzer, former archeologist, Capitol Reef National Park, November 23, 1998).

According to the consultants, anyone in the community could make the images. Pecked-over images signify some sort of disagreement. The disagreement may have pertained to territory, but did not necessarily entail warfare (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998).

*Petroglyph Pullout in Capitol Reef National Park*

On the first set of panels at the highway pullout, the Zuni identified anthropomorphic images with horns as "deer kacinans" (*Figure 1-6*) (in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998). Kacinans, according to the Pueblo of Zuni, are supernatural beings who came during certain ceremonies and then returned to their homes. Initially the women of the community were attracted to them and would follow them. To prevent the loss of their female companions, medicine societies selected men to go with the kacinans, learn from them, and return to the community with that knowledge. According to Zuni consultants, they are the ones who etched the kacinans on the rock walls (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998).

*Petroglyphs at WN0006*

Deities and deer kacinans are portrayed here. Wildlife in the area also is depicted. According to the Zuni, a hunter who made a kill sometimes recorded it. Animals encountered by the hunter were sometimes recorded, as was the hunting locale. Dots on the rock overhang symbolize stars (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998).

"A Place to Get Water and Draw" (GA1443)

At this site, after reading the images on stone, Zuni consultants commented that the area had been occupied by Ancestral Pueblos for numerous years. They referred to this specific site as a "place to get water and draw." The consultants immediately recognized a system of trails on the three panels. They suggested that one of the images (a long, curvilinear line) likely symbolizes the Colorado River (*Figure 1-7*) (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998). This became a significant observation. The canyon of the Colorado River, according to the Zuni, is their place of emergence. That a system of trails was in association with the river suggests these also may be the trails of their earliest ancestors, members of the *Le:we:kewe*, those they say were among the first to emerge and travel north.

The Zuni regard trails as sacred because their ancestral people established them. Most trails lead to shrines, other offering places, areas to hunt, and/or residences. Such places were blessed before their use and, "once blessed, they are blessed in perpetuity" (Dishta et al. 1997:7). Blessings are renewed in ceremonial activities at the contemporary homeland of Zuni.

The Zuns' perceptions of these panels contrast with, but do not contradict, the Hopi perspectives. The Hopis recognize numerous clan symbols and at least one deity of great significance, and said that their ancestors farmed at the site. As discussed earlier, Zuni oral accounts tell of the Hopi departing on their own path. Hopi ancestors "came out as one [with the Enotes]... stood back, farmed, formed their own language, own religious organizations..." Everyone, however, shared a quest to find the Center Place or Middle Place (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998).

*Finding I/diwana or "Middle Place"*

The group of Enotes led by the Le:we:kewe finally reunited with the others.

When the journey of the Zuni people brought them close to the middle place, K'yan'asdebi, a water spider, assisted them in finding the exact center point, I/diwana. The water spider spread his legs out until he reached the four oceans in the east, west, south, and north, and also touched the zenith and nadir. When he had thus spread out to find the six cardinal directions, his heart was over the long-sought middle place, and it was here that the Zuns settled for the final time. The Zuns had finally ended their quest for the middle place, but all aspects of the spots they visited during the long journey remain sacred to the people. (Ferguson and Hart 1990:23)
Meaning of Capitol Reef National Park to the Pueblo of Zuni

Early in the emergence and migration accounts, during a timeframe archeologists refer to as Paleoindian and Archaic periods, a medicine society extant among Zuni led a group of ancestors north into Utah. While the exact route is not known, the general direction and some place names are known.

As Enotet traveled, they collected those things essential for survival, and for the protection of all beings. Minerals, plants, and animals on the landscape sustained Zuni ancestors. For example, crystals, such as those found outside Capitol Reef National Park, are among the objects with medicinal powers that were (and continue to be) used by the Le:we:kewe.

While no oral accounts among Zuni exist of ancestors who were farmers in the area of Capitol Reef National Park, they recognized images on rock walls of Puebloan farmers who shared similar beliefs and customs when their ancestors became farmers. Symbols of corn agriculturists were recognized at several sites within Capitol Reef National Park (Figure 1-8). These include images of deer kicas, migration, hunting, wildlife, and those associated with daily activities. The oral tradition of the Pueblo of Zuni identified the ancestors of the Hopi as those who farmed in the area and that is confirmed in the second chapter.

The resources of Capitol Reef National Park identified as significant to the Zuni are summarized in Table 1-2.

The land, with its resources and sites, has not receded into the past for contemporary Zuni.

Each stream or spring, each ancient...site, each stopping place on the origin trail of the Zunis became a sacred shrine, still remembered in prayers, and at which offerings are still left when the Zuni people return to them. (Ferguson and Hart 1990:22)

The landmass north of the Colorado River, of which Capitol Reef National Park is inextricably a part, imbues the park, and the land surrounding it, with special significance to the Pueblo of Zuni. It is associated with the "origin trail" of the modern Pueblo. The Le:we:kewe, some of the progenitors to Zuni, journeyed in this region though the exact route is unknown. The ancient ancestors and their relationship with the land here made it possible for the present to come to fruition for the Pueblo of Zuni. These historical processes contributed to the creation of the contemporary Pueblo. Visualizing the tangible reality of what they were told, but never witnessed, the chasm of time was spanned. The distant past came alive in the present.

These things existed back then. Religious and cultural activities show the generations what we've been told
Consultants among the Pueblo of Zuni recognized petroglyphs created by Puebloan agriculturalists. They told staff at Capitol Reef that their ancestors' likely migration through the area would have occurred before corn agriculture, sometime during the Paleoindian or Archaic periods. *Rosemary Sucec photo*

*Figure 1-8*

through oral tradition of how migrations happened. It goes back to our ancestors. It all comes back to life. *(Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998)*

Such places are referenced and revered in daily religious practices at Zuni. In reciprocity and with respect, they continue to live on in Zuni traditions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESOURCE</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capitol Reef National Park</td>
<td>Encompassed in a larger area regarded as sacred. A group of ancestral Zuni, the Le:we:ke:we medicine society, migrated north into southern Utah. Though the exact route is not known, land in this direction, including Capitol Reef National Park, is considered significant for what it represents</td>
<td>Visit to Capitol Reef NP and lands around it by Pueblo of Zuni, October 5, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrines</td>
<td>Blessed places; places of offerings. As they are ancestral sites, they also are sacred. The blessing of a place exists in perpetuity. Sites are remembered in prayers at Zuni because they represent the places associated with the historical migrations of ancestors</td>
<td>Believed to exist in the area, though none were identified during the field visit by Pueblo of Zuni, October 5, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crystal deposit (Map 1-1) outside Capitol Reef National Park</td>
<td>Source of crystals that may have been used in ceremonies by the Le:we:ke:we medicine society. Objects found and used by ancestors during migrations are regarded as sacred</td>
<td>Visit to Capitol Reef NP and surrounding lands by Pueblo of Zuni, October 5, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highway 24 petroglyph pullout</td>
<td>Images of deer kacinas and deities representative of shared beliefs with ancestral and contemporary Puebloans</td>
<td>Visit to Capitol Reef NP and surrounding lands by Pueblo of Zuni, October 5, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN0006</td>
<td>Images of deer kacinas, deities, wildlife hunted in area, and stars on the ceiling of the alcove. Representative of shared beliefs with ancestral and contemporary Puebloans</td>
<td>Visit to Capitol Reef NP and surrounding lands by Pueblo of Zuni, October 5, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA1443</td>
<td>Indicates Puebloan farmers were in the area for many generations. System of trails on the three panels, one of which may be the Colorado River. Images representative of shared beliefs with ancestral and contemporary Puebloans</td>
<td>Visit to Capitol Reef NP and surrounding lands by Pueblo of Zuni, October 5, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anasazi and Fremont archeological sites</td>
<td>Though Zuni do not have oral accounts of their ancestors migrating through the park during the Formative Period, the images represent shared beliefs with other Puebloan farmers.</td>
<td>Visit to Capitol Reef NP and surrounding lands by Pueblo of Zuni, October 5, 1998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2

Hopi Tribe’s Relationship with Capitol Reef National Park

“We knew what we were doing, we knew where we were going.”

Wilton Kooyahoema, November 19, 1997
“Visiting these sites confirms a lot of our knowledge of how many clans have migrated through this area. I have seen my clan identities which confirms what they have been telling me a long, long time ago.”

Walter Hamana, November 20, 1997
Introduction

This chapter describes some Hopi clan histories with Capitol Reef National Park. It focuses upon a time archeologists refer to as the Formative Period from roughly 100 B.C. to A.D. 1400, a span of almost 1,300 years. Formative materials include remnants of masonry structures, ceramics, macrofossils of domesticated plants (corn, beans, and squash), pictographs, and petroglyphs. From these data, archeologists infer that people who lived then practiced some form of farming in and around Capitol Reef National Park. For a review of park archeology from the Paleoindian through the Formative periods, please refer to the first section of Chapter 1. The Hopi Tribe passed a formal resolution declaring their relationship with the peoples who lived during these archeologically designated timeframes (Hopi Tribe 1974).

What follows is a synthesis of the traditional (oral) knowledge provided by Hopi consultants concerning their origin, and especially the migrations of their farming clans throughout what is now Capitol Reef National Park. The consultants who visited the park and whose information is relayed below are among the descendants of early residents of the park. They are the recipients of beliefs, customs, and histories that have been kept alive, via oral tradition, for numerous generations. This knowledge is applied to what we know about the archeological record in the park and on surrounding lands.

The information conveyed by the Hopi is consistent with the picture archeologists portray. While the archeological perspective brings an explanation of the material record based on environmental influences and adaptations, the Hopi bring their cultural knowledge and lived experience: the beliefs that compelled ancestral peoples to continually migrate and the stories of these journeys through Capitol Reef. Their origin, the hardships they endured including warfare, how clans got their names, their ceremonial lives, memorable events, and their reputation as skilled farmers and artists are accounts that stem from their long wanderings and that are conveyed on the rock walls at places like Capitol Reef National Park (Figure 2-1).

One of the intents of this chapter is to bring into relief the humanity of those who left the archeological record at the Waterpocket Fold. It is meant to evoke a glimpse of these people who organized themselves to cope with hardships and to practice a chosen system of beliefs. This chapter represents a snapshot in time, if you will, before the consolidation of diverse clans at Black Mesa. The onset of village life there resulted in a reconfigured social organization, with interlocking relationships of residential areas, households, clans, phratries, and religious societies. By contrast, this chap-

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1 This chapter has been reviewed and approved by the Cultural Preservation Office (CPO) of the Hopi Tribe. The CPO also approved the spelling of Hopi words that appear in the text and in quotations from interviews for this study.
Consultants from the Hopi Tribe (left to right: Leland Dennis, Owen Numkena Jr., Byron Tyma, and Harlan Williams) read the writing on the rock walls of a petroglyph site at Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.
ter portrays a moment in time when smaller, though diverse, communities (herein referred to as clans) were on a mission of survival to fulfill their destiny, an imperative that has sustained, into the present, what we now know as the Hopi Tribe.
Emergence

The oral tradition of the Hopi chronicles the arrival of their ancestors in this world and their centuries-long migrations until final settlement near Black Mesa.²

The Hopis emerged into this, the Fourth World, from the Sipapuni in the Grand Canyon. Upon emerging, they encountered Ma'saw, the guardian of the Fourth World. A spiritual pact was made with Ma'saw, wherein the Hopis would act as the stewards of the earth. As a part of this pact, the Hopis vowed to place their footprints throughout the lands of the Fourth World as they migrated in a spiritual quest to find their destiny at the center of the universe. Hopi clans embarked on a long series of migrations that led them throughout the Southwest and beyond, settling for a time in various places. Following divine instructions, the Hopis continued their migrations until after many generations they arrived at their rightful place on the Hopi mesas...During the period of migrations, the Hopi clans established themselves throughout the land by cultivating and caring for the earth. (Ferguson et al.1993:27)³

According to the Hopi, their ancestors understood that though the clans would be dispersed for awhile, all of them would eventually be destined to arrive at a certain place which would be revealed to them and that would signal the end of migrations (Courlander 1991:9-13; Ferguson et al. 1993:Prologue).⁴

Tangible Evidence of Covenant with Ma'a'saw and Clan Migrations

The Hopi say that certain physical evidence validates the accomplishment of this spiritually inspired mission

² The Hopi recognize different types of oral narrative. Navoti is the knowledge of events gained through the personal experience of the speaker. Tutavo is theological teachings and guidance. Wuknavoti is the knowledge known as prophecy. And, Tuuwutsi includes "oral history learned from another person as well as narratives that are labeled by Euroamericans as myths, legends, or folk tales" (Dongoske et al. 1993:28). The Hopi request that researchers be aware of these distinctions—particularly that between Navoti (personal, historical knowledge) and Tuuwutsi (generational knowledge)—when conducting interviews and evaluating their data. According to the Hopi, these narratives are regarded as "precious aspects of their cultural patrimony" and should be used only with the agreement of the Hopi Tribe, preferably in collaborative research (Dongoske et al. 1993:28-30).

³ Sipapuni or "Place of Emergence," is located in the Grand Canyon. Oral narratives collected by anthropologists from elders at First Mesa and Oraibi say the Zuni also "came up from below" in the Grand Canyon. Some say with the Hopi at Sipapuni and others nearby (Ferguson 1998:44). Others from First Mesa and Oraibi thought the Zuni and Havasupais emerged at a different location, but still in the Grand Canyon (Ferguson 1998:44).

⁴ Our contemporary notion of "Hopi" as a cohesive entity is a relatively recent phenomenon (James 1994). The Hopi cultural advisors who visited Capitol Reef National Park speak of themselves as clan members and as clans comprising the Hopi. They have maintained their clan identity to the present, though most Euroamericans think of them as only Hopi tribal members.
and fulfills their pact of stewardship with Maa'saw (Ferguson et al.1993:27; Jenkins 1991:33).

These people were there to survive. The[y...experienced hardship and various ways of living...They got sick, they went hungry, they got cold. But this record here indicates that...they had fulfilled their obligation to the Creator of this World. (Clay Hamilton in field notes, Sucec, 1997)

Ceramics, architecture, and shrines are some of the tangible signs that reveal the path of early Puebloans. The symbols of the pictographs and petroglyphs are another that give testimony to the presence of ancestral Hopi in an area like Capitol Reef National Park. Some of the images placed on rock surfaces are clan symbols that have been passed down through generations and can be recognized by contemporary Hopi. Other images tell about migration and relay some of the history of the group (Courlander 1991:32). Oral tradition tells that clans purposefully left their marks on rocks to let others know they had been at a place. One oral record states:

Gogyeng Sowuht, Spider Grandmother, spoke. She said, “...You will go on long migrations. You will build villages and abandon them for new migrations. Wherever you stop to rest, leave your marks on the rocks and cliffs so that others will know who was there before them.” (Courlander 1991:32)

According to the Hopi, the existence of tangible archeological evidence from their ancestors verifies their clan histories and “their divinely directed spiritual migrations” (Dongoske et al. 1993:27).

**Pact with Maa'saw Represented on Petroglyph Panels at Capitol Reef National Park**

Two petroglyph panels (GA1443 and WN0008) within Capitol Reef National Park portray Maa'saw and symbolize the agreement that joined together the new immigrants and the Fourth World Caretaker. Two images of Maa'saw are etched on panels at a site (GA1443) in the Waterpocket District. On the southernmost panel, he is in walking motion and at the head of a long line which transverses at least one other panel of images (Figure 2-2). The long line symbolizes the “life line” or way of life led by Maa'saw and followed by numerous clans throughout their migrations (Clay Hamilton and Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, December and November 1997). Maa'saw carries what appears to be a vessel in one hand. A Hopi elder, who suggested that the vessel might be either a bag of seeds or a gourd of water, talked about the agreements made with Maa'saw.

We all know we came to this Fourth World from the Third. There is the First, the Second, the Third, and the Fourth. They say this is the last, there is no Fifth. So when we came to this Fourth World, there was a person that was here before us, who is Maa'saw, who is the Creator, the Caretaker of this world...And when we started migrating all over this country, ...Maa'saw told us, when we asked him if we can reside here on this Fourth World, he asked us, “If you promise to live my way of life.” “How is that?” “I have a planting stick, I have a gourd of seed, and I have a gourd of water. That’s how I live. If you promise me to live my way of life, I will allow you to reside here.” So we did that, but on top of that, he said, “You will have to survey and research this entire world. But I will advise you to look for what we call Tuuwannasawi, the center of the universe where soil is so pure that anything can grow.”

So as of then we started migrating...Finally we found what we were looking for, and we’re still there — Hopi Reservation...And the shrine was there [at the center of the universe] when we found it, and what did we find in the shrine? Planting stick, seeds, and a gourd of water. (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997)

Typically, clans would place their symbols on or along that lifeline (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). Different clan symbols are associated with the line at GA1443 including the Bear, Bear Strap, Badger, and Coyote clans. The composite image represents the answer Hopi clans gave to Maa'saw, the compact they made with him.

So that tells you exactly what we said. You know, this is actually a story...that’s been put on these walls, what’s happening on this Fourth World. A lot of communication was being set [down]. And how it indicates also part of our instructions [for] how we should live on this world.

(Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997)

Two elders spoke of other ways the “germinator” or Maa'saw is portrayed on petroglyphs. He frequently has his arms and hands up, sometimes carrying or holding this world. On the northernmost panel of GA1443, Maa'saw has one arm and hand upright (Figure 2-3). At WN0008, he is portrayed with both of his arms and hands upward. Also at this site, he is pictured as lying down with a planting stick, seeds, and a gourd of water. Associated with him is a lengthy trail line indicating his long commitment to the farming way of life. Images of the old man Maa'saw with planting stick and seeds always indicates some kind of farming occurred at that location (Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997).

Sometimes Maa'saw is etched carrying a torch on one side (Walter Hamana and Wilton Kooyahome in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). A torchbearer imparts knowledge, truth, or inspiration to others and acts as leader. Maa'saw has many roles: he controls fire, and is
Figure 2-2

To the far right of this rock panel, a stick figure leads at the beginning of a long line which extends to the far left of the panel. Hopi consultants say that this walking figure is Maa'saw. In one of his outstretched arms he is carrying what is a bag of seeds or a gourd of water. Along the line representing their sustained migrations, various clans etched their symbols. For example, to the immediate left of Maa'saw, members of the Badger Clan have placed their clan icon. Just above the paw print to the left is the symbol for the Bear Strap Clan. To the left of the Badger Clan symbol is that of the Coyote Clan. Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Alan R. Smith photo.
On one of the petroglyph panels at GA1443, Maa'saw is walking with one arm upright. Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Alan R. Smith photo.
the spiritual guardian of this earth and of the Hopi lifeway. He imparted knowledge of farming to the Hopi clans. In exchange for allowing their presence on this earth, they agreed to live as “humble and hardworking farmers” (Ferguson 1998:37). They also vowed to act as stewards and place their footprints on his land, referred to as Masutsqua, which was to become Hopitutswa (Hopi land) through the process of fulfilling one of Maa’saw’s stipulations of migrating “in a spiritual quest to find their destiny at the center of the universe” (Ferguson 1998:38).

Upon emergence, the new immigrants spent time with Maa’saw who gave them instructions on how to fulfill their obligations, including how to live peacefully with one another. He also taught them “the history of this world, what this world is all about” (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucee, November 1997). He provided us with many altars and many emblems which, with us, are to represent the land and the people. These He placed in the hands of our leaders through whom we follow this new life. (Hermequaftewa in Ferguson 1998:38) Maa’saw is an awe-inspiring, powerful, and complex deity. According to Hopi, he rules the underworld where they return upon death through the Sipapuni. He is the proprietor of the earth. He owns fire and crops and has the ability to control the growth of plants. He made all animals and vegetation. He is the defender of the lifeway Hopi clans have chosen. Maa’saw, then, is associated with both emergence and with afterlife, with life and death. As such, he inspires reverence among traditional Hopi (Ferguson 1998:38-39).

First People or “Motisinom”

Not everyone emerged at once. The first people to emerge are referred to by the Hopi as the Motisinom, “from whom many Hopi clans are descended” (Ferguson 1998:275). These people are roughly equivalent to those who lived during the timeframe archeologists refer to as the Paleoindian and Archaic periods.

Hopi cultural advisors caution that the concept is more complex than this. In Hopi culture, the Motisinom are not just known through oral traditions; key elements of the Motisinom are still reenacted in the ongoing ceremonies of the Hopi people. In ceremony, teaching, and ritual the Hopis claim an ancestral tie to the Motisinom but a full explication of this concept requires sensitive ritual knowledge that the Hopi priests are not ready to divulge to uninitiated Hopis or to non-Indians. (Ferguson 1998:275)

Among these earliest ancestral people were members of the Snake and Deer clans. Members of the Snake Clan possessed the “...power to bring rain, learned from the snakes” (Page and Page 1986:156).

The people who came first were well prepared through initiation into societies to achieve what we are here for in this world. The first group went up north. Those are the people who had the knowledge to melt the ice, they went upwards, and then they turned clockwise. The second group who had the knowledge to control weather, they went east, Atlantic Ocean...but then they turned this way, they went counterclockwise...And that's when this migration started. (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucee, November 1997)

Through Tribal Council Resolution H-70-94 (Hopi Tribe 1974), the Hopi Tribe has formally declared its cultural affinity with the Archaic and Paleoindian phases of human inhabitation.

Snake and Deer Clan Symbols in Capitol Reef National Park

Images of the Snake Clan (Figure 2-4) and Deer Clan (Figure 2-5) can be seen on several panels within park boundaries. These include GA1443, WN0008, and WN0149. The Snake and Deer peoples originated from the Tokonavi or Navajo Mountain area of southernmost Utah (Fewkes in Ferguson 1998:82). Tokonavi overlooks the Colorado River to the north. The Colorado River is called Pisiswayu.

The Snake Clan (Tsungyam) traveled — among other places — “up and down Pisiswayu during their migrations” (Polingyooma in Ferguson 1998:82). They temporarily settled as far north as the vicinity of present-day Salt Lake City. Small groups also journeyed to places in Arizona we know as Wupatki National Monument and Montezuma Castle National Monument (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). Snake peoples did not travel alone, but in the company of other clans. For example, they journeyed from Tokonavi to the Grand Canyon with members of the Parrot Clan. Some of the Kaakutsngyam or Lizard Clan joined them in their journey to Oraibi. The Snake peoples were the second clan group to arrive at the Hopi Mesas. It is important to remember that migrations of small clan

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5 A symbol associated with the Deer Clan can also be seen west of the park near Teasdale, Utah on land administered by the Richfield District of the Bureau of Land Management.

6 The fact that Fremont-style archeological remains extend as far north as Brigham City in Utah seems to validate the oral tradition of the Hopi. As recently as 1998, a Fremont village was discovered in downtown Salt Lake City. Construction for a light rail system unearthed the remnants of the village. Bison remains were found in association with the site (Ron Rood, deputy state archeologist, Utah State Historic Preservation Office, personal communication, 2000). Bison remains occur in many sites along the Wasatch Front (Joe Janetski, personal communication, 2002).

7 As will become apparent in reading further about clan migrations, many of the Puebloan ancestral home sites have become national parks. It is understandable, then, why contemporary Puebloans take an active interest in park management on the Colorado Plateau and in the Desert Southwest.
Figure 2-4
Snake Clan symbol at WN0008 Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.

Figure 2-5
groups occurred through an extensive depth of time, as many as 1,300 years in the Capitol Reef region. The Deer peoples (Ahlnngyam) lived in the Tokonavi area before migrating north. As with all clans, they migrated in the four directions. Before arriving at the Hopi Mesas, they journeyed as far north as the region of the Great Salt Lake. Cadres of clan members also temporarily resided at other locations. These included the area of Sedona and Camp Verde, and Lyman Lakes at the Rattlesnake Pueblo (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). The clan symbol is “Flute boy” (Len Tiyo) or “Flute deity” (Lenangwu) (Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, personal communication, 2002). “Flute boy” has been referred to as “Kokopelli,” however, that is not the appropriate Hopi terminology for the symbol (Kuwanwisiwma, personal communication, 2002). Images of the deity are seen at a park site in the Cathedral District, and at the petroglyph pullout on Highway 24.

**Other Clans Who Migrated North to Capitol Reef National Park and Throughout Utah**

While the Snake and Deer peoples were the predecessors, many other clan groups followed in their footsteps and spread throughout Utah. From places like Capitol Reef National Park, some clans traveled as far north as the Great Salt Lake region. What follows is a brief description of the clans that have a history of migrating through the Waterpocket Fold area (Table 2-1). However, it is important to keep in mind that this list is not exhaustive. The locations at which clan symbols were identified represent only three significant sites viewed by Hopi cultural advisors. Most of these sites have and will continue to experience heavy visitor use. Other petroglyphs and pictographs exist within the park but were not visited by the consultants.

Members of the Badger Clan (Hon’ngyam), while living for awhile in the Waterpocket Fold area, also traveled to the Grand Canyon, southwestern Colorado (at present-day Crow Canyon and Ute Mountain Ute Tribal Park), and to the Mogollon Rim. Archeologists refer to those who lived on the Rim as the “Salado” groups (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). Badger Clan people are noted for their artistic abilities (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). Their clan symbols were

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8 The Hon’ngyam (Bear Clan) was the first and settled at Lower Shungopavi (Page and Page 1986:148).
9 Refer to the section on Puebloan archeology at the beginning of Chapter 1.
10 In addition to the Snake and Deer clans, at least four other clans are associated with the Tokonavi area. These included the Bear Strap, Coyote, Eagle, and Fire clans (Ferguson 1998:82-83). They also journeyed further north to Capitol Reef National Park as evidenced by Hopi oral tradition and by icons on rock faces.
### Table 2-1

**Clans Inhabiting Capitol Reef National Park**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>HOPI NAME</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Badger</td>
<td>Honangyam</td>
<td>GA1443, WN0008</td>
<td>Also traveled further north to the Salt Lake City area and east to Arizona (Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>Hon'ngyam</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0008; Highway 24 petroglyph pullout</td>
<td>Traveled further north to the Salt Lake region and east to Arizona (Hamana 1997). Some debate as to whether bear or badger claws are represented along the lifeline associated with Ma'a'saw at GA1443.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear Strap</td>
<td>Pqösngyam</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0008; Highway 24 petroglyph pullout</td>
<td>Bear Strap Clan members made the sun symbol at GN1443, which told the best time to plant crops at the site (Byron Tyma in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bighorn Sheep</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0008; and Highway 24 petroglyph pullout</td>
<td>At WN0008, a sheep or a ram's tail acts as the lead for a long line. A similar image is repeated at GA1443 (Harlan Williams in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn?</td>
<td>Pikyasngyam</td>
<td>GA1443</td>
<td>Hopi consultants in 1993 suggested that the Corn Clan is represented at GA1443. In 1997, others identified it as the Greasewood Clan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyote</td>
<td>Isngyam</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0008; site in Cathedral District</td>
<td>May also have come from the Tokonavi area (Mindeleff in Ferguson 1998:82). Traveled further north into the Salt Lake region (Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Ahlingyam</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0149; site in Cathedral District; Highway 24 petroglyph pullout; site near Teasdale, Utah</td>
<td>Also traveled north to the area of Salt Lake (Hamana 1997). “Flute boy” (Len Tyo) or “Flute deity” (Lenangwu) is the clan symbol (Leigh Kuwanwiswima, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, personal communication, 2002). At a site near Teasdale, image is associated with a religious society (field notes, Sucec 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Kwawungyam</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0008; and WN0006</td>
<td>Said to have come from the Tokonavi area. Six figures at the back of the alcove (WN0006) are associated with the Eagle Clan of Orabi and represent guards or guardians who scouted for the people on their migrations (Harlan Williams in field notes, Sucec, May 1996). Traveled further north into the Salt Lake area (Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Kookopngyam</td>
<td>Consultants did not point out the clan symbol</td>
<td>Clan history of migrating through the Waterpocket Fold area (Leigh Jenkins, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, letter to Michael Snyder, January 11, 1993) and then north into the Salt Lake region (Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLAN</td>
<td>HOPI NAME</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
<td>COMMENTS</td>
</tr>
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<td>---------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Leengyam</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0008</td>
<td>The Flute Clan is affiliated with the Water Clan (Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, letter to author, January 18, 2001). Also traveled to the Salt Lake City area and to Arizona (Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Patkingyam</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0008</td>
<td>A frog, totem of the Water Clan (Ferguson 1998:86), is etched above the tinaja at GA1443 (Byron Tyma in field notes, 1996). Migrated into the Salt Lake City area (Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greasewood</td>
<td>Tepngyam</td>
<td>GA1443</td>
<td>Also traveled north to Salt Lake City area and east to Arizona (Hamana 1997). Hopi cultural advisors during the Burr Trail consultation – none of whom were Greasewood Clan members – identified the same symbol as the Corn Clan symbol (Sucec 1996b:46).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killdeer</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>GA1443</td>
<td>Continued their migrations further north into the Salt Lake City area (Hamana 1997). Clan members place marks on new male initiates (Eric Polingyouma in field notes, Sucec, April 1993).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizard</td>
<td>Kuutkutsngyam</td>
<td>WN0006 and Highway 24 petroglyph pullout</td>
<td>The Lizard, Sand, and Snake clans are affiliated, referred to by anthropologists as a “phratry” (Lowie 1929:331; Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, letter to author, January 18, 2001). Clan members journeyed north into the Salt Lake City area (Hamana 1997). These clans came from the vicinity of Tokonavi (Fewkes in Ferguson 1998:82).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sand</td>
<td>Tuwangyam</td>
<td>GA1443 and WN0008</td>
<td>Also traveled north to the Great Salt Lake region (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.; Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Tsungyam</td>
<td>GA1443; WN0008; WN0006; and Highway 24 petroglyph pullout</td>
<td>Continued their migrations into the Salt Lake region (Hamana 1997). Also called the “Rattlesnake” Clan (Ferguson 1998:83; Hamilton in Sucec 1998:3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard</td>
<td>Asangyam</td>
<td>Clan symbol not yet observed at Capitol Reef</td>
<td>Clan accounts tell that their ancestors settled in the Capitol Reef region (Leigh Jenkins, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, letter to Michael Snyder, January 11, 1993; Hamana 1997). Traveled as far north as the Great Salt Lake area (Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Koyonngyam</td>
<td>GA1443</td>
<td>Also traveled north to the Salt Lake City area and east to Arizona, the Chinle/Nazlini area (Hamana 1997).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Anthropologists refer to groupings of related clans as “phratries” (Fox 1971:92). Marriage within a phratry, called an “exogamous unit,” is prohibited.
observed at GA1443 and WN0008.

The Bear Clan (Hon'nyam) and the Bear Strap Clan (Piqosngyam) resided at Capitol Reef for awhile. They also lived together at places like the Grand Canyon in Arizona (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). Small groups of the Bear Clan settled at locales independent of the Bear Strap. These places included southwestern Colorado (Crow Canyon, Mesa Verde National Park, and Ute Mountain Ute Park), as well as Arizona (the Chinle/Nazlini area). The Bear Clan was the first to establish a permanent settlement at the Hopi Mesas. Bear Strap Clan members lingered at places like Tokonavi, Mogollon Rim, and the Roosevelt Dam area (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.; Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, letter to author, January 18, 2001). These two clans got their names in the following manner:

One band, on its journey east from what is now the Little Colorado River, came across a dead bear and decided they would call themselves the Bear Clan. Another band found the same bear, took some of its skin and made straps to help in carrying their heavy loads, and became the Bear Strap Clan. (Page and Page 1986:155; Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, letter to author, January 18, 2001)

Contemporary Hopi tell that after those who became the Bear Strap Clan passed by the carcass, the next band to find the bear found it little more than a skeleton. They became the Bone Clan or Uhkam. When others followed, they observed bluebirds perched on the skeleton; they assumed the name of the Bluebird Clan (Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, letter to author, January 18, 2001). Clan symbols of the Bear (Figure 2-6) and Bear Strap (Figure 2-7) can be seen at GA1443 and WN0008 within Capitol Reef National Park.

The Coyote Clan (Jsngyam) originated in the Tokonavi area (Mindeleff in Ferguson 1908:82). The presence of their clans symbol (Figure 2-8) suggests that these people settled at places within the Waterpocket Fold (GA1443 and WN0008) and on land now managed by the Richfield District of the BLM at a site near Teasdale, Utah.

The Eagle Clan (Kwawungyam) left evidence (Figures 2-9a and 2-9b) of their migration through Capitol Reef National Park at three sites (GA1443, WN0008, and WN0006), at least. It is told that they came from northwest of Hopi Mesas, probably from the Tokonavi vicinity (Ferguson 1908:82-83). Other places migrants settled for awhile were the Colorado River corridor and the vicinity of the Padre Mesa-New Lands area in Arizona (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.; Sucec 1998:3). The Eagle Clan has members and clan houses at Hotevilla and Mishongnovi (Leigh Kuwanwisiwma,
Figures 2-9a and 2-9b
Symbols of the Eagle Clan at the petroglyph panels of GA1443 (a) and WN0008 (b). Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photos.
Figure 2-10

Figure 2-11 Below
The Fire Clan peoples (Kookopngyam) were among those who inhabited the Tokonaví area and went as far north as Capitol Reef before joining other Hopi clans at Awiiwi (Ferguson 1998:83; Leigh Jenkins letter to Michael Snyder, January 11, 1993; Succe, 1998:3; Valjean Josheyama in field notes, Dave Ruppert, April 1993). They also had brief residences at the Grand Canyon, near Sedona and Camp Verde, and at the Rattlesnake Pueblo near Lyman Lakes (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). Members of this clan were founders of the Warrior Society, Mountcitt, when they arrived at Oraibi and acted in defense of the pueblo (James 1994:26).

While the symbol for the Fire Clan was not specifically pointed out, their oral history documents settlement in the Capitol Reef region (Leigh Jenkins letter to Michael Snyder, January 11, 1993).

Evidence of Flute Clan (Leengyam) presence can be seen at Capitol Reef. They also lived in the vicinity of Tokonaví for awhile, along with other clans. At times they traveled with members of the Rattlesnake Clan (Ferguson 1998:84). The Salt Lake region was among the northern reaches of their migration route (Hamana 1997). Through the generations, small groups resided at diverse places. After living at the Grand Canyon, they traveled with the Antelope Clan east to what is now Canyon De Chelly National Park. They stayed for awhile in southwestern Colorado (at Crow Canyon and at Ute Mountain Ute Tribal Park). Places in Arizona became home sites, such as Sedona and Camp Verde, and the Camp Townsend Pueblo near Flagstaff (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). Eventually they joined other Hopi clans at First Mesa (Ferguson 1998:84).

The Greasewood Clan (Teengyam), that is, many small bands through several generations, settled at a number of places before arriving at the Hopi Mesas. They traveled through the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. Their route took them to the home of the Snake People at Tokonaví. They also spent time in northern Utah, including the environment of the Great Salt Lake (Hamana 1997). Cadres of Greasewood Clan members continued east, to southwestern Colorado and settled at places like Crow Canyon and Ute Mountain Ute Tribal Park. While they never lived at the pueblos of Mesa Verde National Park, they interacted with clans there through trading (Leigh Kuwanwiswima, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, to author, January 18, 2001). They joined with the members of the Tobacco Clan and moved to Aztec Ruins National Monument in northwestern New Mexico. In Arizona they stopped at the Rattlesnake Pueblo before discerning that it was time to finally settle at Oraibi (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.; Walter Hamana in field notes, Succe, November 20, 1997; Jenkins 1996). The following account from Clan oral history documents their migration to present day Utah and beyond:

[From the south], We went to another place, Navajo Mountain. Met up with the Snake People. Different kinds of compacts were reached. Went up northwest and then encountered the place of the Rainbow Spirit...called “place of the rainbow.” These were arches, natural arches...Arches National Park. We went around them, which meant further northwest. As we traveled there we began to have a significant change...A clash of cultures. There were also other clans that told these stories. We were carrying ceremonial. We encountered these people. They began to raid our villages, took our kids...Some warfare...We went east and there we met up with the Utes, and our clan the Greasewood found the Utes to be very good people. We traded with them. Began to have very good relationships with them. They brought us bison. They were good hunters. There was long interaction with the Utes and Greasewood, my clan. Today in Oraibi tradition they call Greasewood people “Utes” (Jenkins 1996; Leigh Kuwanwiswima, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, personal communication, 2002)

The clan symbol (Figure 2-10) for the Greasewood people is represented on a rock wall (GA1443) in the South or Waterpocket District (Map 1-5) of the park.

The Killdeer Clan sojourne for a time at the Waterpocket Fold in the South District. Their clan symbol (Figure 2-11) can be seen on the petroglyph panel at GN1443. Members of the Killdeer Clan are responsible for marking young men’s faces as part of their initiation into manhood. As part of his rigorous training, a young Hopi man of 18 or 20 goes without sleep and without salt. When a young man successfully passes this initiation, he is eligible to marry (Eric Polingyouma in field notes, Succe, April 1993).

Besides their temporary residence in the Capitol Reef environment, the Lizard Clan (Kuutkutsngyam) also journeied to places like the Grand Canyon and Wupatki National Monument near Flagstaff (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). When the time came to settle on the Hopi Mesas, Lizard Clan members traveled to Oraibi with members of the Rattlesnake Clan (Ferguson 1998:83). Clan symbols can be seen in the park at WN0006 and the petroglyph pullout on Highway 24.

The symbol for the Mustard Clan (Asangyam) was not observed on panels at Capitol Reef National Park. Still, clan history conveys that small groups settled in the area for awhile before migrating to northern Utah and the region of the Great Salt Lake (Hamana 1997; Leigh Jenkins letter to Michael Snyder, January 11, 1993).

Members of the Sand Clan (Tswangyam) were noted for their artistic abilities (Cultural Preservation Office
n.d.). Symbols for the Sand Clan can be see in the Waterpocket Fold at GA443 and WNo008 (Figure 2-12). In addition to journeying north to the Salt Lake region, the Sand groups temporarily settled at places along the Colorado River, at what is now Wupatki National Monument, the Mogollon Rim, and at the Rattlesnake Pueblo near Lyman Lakes (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.).

A frog is etched above the largest tinaja or waterpocket associated with an extensive site that encompasses a set of three petroglyph panels (GA443). The frog is the totem for the Water Clan (Pakinyagam) (Ferguson 1998:86). The Clan originally came from Central America (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.; James 1994:23). The Hopi Tribe says that clans originated in the north (including, but not limited to, the Grand Canyon), as well as the south, in Mesoamerica. Before permanently settling at Hopi Mesas, Water Clan groups stayed at places such as the Grand Canyon, at Wupatki National Monument, on the Mogollon Rim, and at the Roosevelt Dam area (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). The Water Clan is respected for their artistic abilities (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.). Another symbol for the Clan can be seen at WNo008.

Other clans sojournerd in the Capitol Reef region, but they are extinct now. These include the Bumble Bee, Turkey (Koyonnyagam), and Stick clans (Eric Polingyouna in field notes, Sucec, April 1993). Images associated with each of these clans can be found in the park (GA443). The Stick Clan peoples are of Towa origin (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.; Ferguson 1998:82-83). Though members of these clans are not living, nearest relatives became the recipients of ceremonial knowledge and responsibilities. Extinct clans survive because other children take on their names. The young, then, are addressed as “father” to honor the deceased predecessors (Eric Polingyouna in field notes, Sucec, April 1993).

The Logistics of Migrations

At one time, there were as many as 120 names recorded for clans and 12 phratries of associated clans (Bradfield in Ferguson 1998:78). Through hundreds of generations, clans became extinct, merged, and were revived. Hardships caused clans to diminish to about 40 in the 1930s. Presently, about 34 clans remain (Eric Polingyouna in field notes, Sucec, April 1993).

Clan ancestors who emerged into this world traveled expansively in four directions. Each clan followed its own route and established its own history. Migrations extended to Canada and to South America (Clay Hamilton in field notes, Sucec, November 1997; Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, to author, January 8, 2001). Some clan ancestors are descendents of the some of Incas, Mayans, and the Aztecs who traveled north and east to Mesa Verde. Most migrants in making their rounds crossed three rivers (the Colorado, Rio Grande, and San Juan Rivers) before reaching their final destination in Arizona and New Mexico where contemporary Puebloan peoples reside, including the Hopi (Eric Polingyouna in field notes, Sucec, April 1993).

Ancestral Migration Symbol on Petroglyph Panels in Capitol Reef National Park

The migration symbol (Figure 2-13) is found on all of the petroglyph and pictograph panels within Capitol Reef National Park visited by the Hopi consultants. It can be seen on many others that were not visited by the elders.

Hardships

Hardships were endured throughout the migrations. Small groups faced death, drought, disease, famine, and warfare. Though ancestral people were widely dispersed, the population in some areas may have exceeded the natural resources that could support them and increased the pressure on some groups to move elsewhere (Parsons 1921:214). Sometimes territorial battles ensued with groups choosing to leave particular places. A shortage of food, or an interest in obtaining more of it, caused some neighbors to become enemies. One of many advantages for locating a field house with a view was to guard the cultivated crops from potential raiders (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). For those clan groups that may have been decimated by hardships, sometimes they captured people, particularly women, to ensure their survival (Hamilton in field notes, Sucec, November 1997).

Resting Areas

Bands of migrants would search for temporary residences or “resting areas” along their route (Wilton Kooyahaema in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). Small clusters, of perhaps three or four extended families associated by clan, traveled eight to ten miles a day, took a break for a day or two, and then continued their journey in search of a place to raise crops, hunt, and collect plants (Table 2-2). Come springtime, customarily preparations were made to travel elsewhere, but sometimes the group stayed longer (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997; Eric Polingyouna in field notes, Sucec, April 1993).

Perennial water was not a requirement at farmsteads. Immigrants to the Fourth World had been given instructions from Maa'saw about how to live on the earth and they progressively refined their dry land farming tech-
Figure 2-12
This zigzagged horizontal line is the symbol for the Sand Clan at a site near Teasdale, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.
Figure 2-13  Left

Figure 2-14  Below
Leslie David and Walter Hamana of the Hopi Tribe holding a stick, used to make arrows, from Greasewood (Sarcobatus sp.). The stem is run through a hollowed antler to smooth it. Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.
Figure 2-15
Valjean Joshevama, a member of the Hopi Tribe, holding in one hand the red flowers of the Indian paintbrush (*Castilleja scabrida*) along with a sprig of Juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*). Along the Burr Trail in Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Dave Ruppert photo.

Figure 2-16 Below
Rabbitbrush (*Chrysothamnus naseous*) along the Burr Trail. To early Hopi ancestors, the presence of this plant was one indicator of a location with the potential for dry farming. Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Rosemary Suvec photo.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>HOPI NAME</th>
<th>LOCATION/NOTES ON TRADITIONAL USE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bladderpod</td>
<td><em>Lesquerella intermedia</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Observed in the Waterpocket District. Members of Snake Clan chew on this plant while dancing. Spicy, hot flavor that satisfies thirst (Sucec 1996b:43).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greasewood</td>
<td><em>Sarcobatus sp.</em></td>
<td>Teeva</td>
<td>Waterpocket District (GA1443). As arrow shaft, passed through the cavity of an antler to shape (Wilton Kooyahoema in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). Four limbs tied together and used as a stirring tool to mix pudding (Harlan Williams in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian paintbrush</td>
<td><em>Castilleja scabrida</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Observed in Waterpocket Fold District. Flower may be worn as a decoration (Sucec 1996b:43).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juniper; cedar</td>
<td><em>Juniperus osteosperma</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Observed at the western boundary of the park. Ceremonial, food, and medicinal uses (Sucec 1996b:43).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milkweed</td>
<td><em>Asclepias involucrata</em></td>
<td><em>Isahavu</em></td>
<td>In Fruita District (WN0006). Used by women to rub on their chest when they are not producing enough milk to nurse a baby (Harlan Williams in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormon tea; also</td>
<td><em>Ephedra viridis</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Observed in Waterpocket Fold District. Medicinal and food purposes (Sucec 1996b:43).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>called &quot;Hopi&quot; tea</td>
<td><em>Atriplex cuneata</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Observed in Waterpocket Fold District. Also used as a seasoning for stews and soups (Sucec 1996b:43).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mound saltbush</td>
<td><em>Pinus edulis</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Pitch burned for purification and/or used as a medicinal cleanser. Nuts eaten. (Sucec 1996b:43).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinyon</td>
<td><em>Opuntia</em></td>
<td><em>Naavu</em></td>
<td>Abundant throughout the park, but observed at Oyster Shell Reef in the Waterpocket Fold District. Thorns removed, boiled, and eaten. When re-boiled and baked with corn, it assumes a sweeter taste (Harlan Williams in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prickly Pear Cactus</td>
<td><em>Chrysothamnus nauseousus</em></td>
<td><em>Sivaapi</em></td>
<td>While abundant throughout the park, observed at Oyster Shell Reef in the Waterpocket Fold District. Necklace of rabbitbrush gauls can be used by Hopi babies for teething. Mashed blooms were worked into a pigment for ceremonial purposes (Harlan Williams in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbitbrush; false</td>
<td><em>Artemisia tridentata</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Observed on the western boundary of the park. Branches used as material for arrows and to start fires (Sucec 1996b:44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goldenrod</td>
<td><em>Rhus aromatica</em></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Waterpocket Fold District. Berries placed in the mouth to allay thirst. Berries also used to make a lemonade-like beverage. Also used with cornmeal to produce a red ceremonial paint (Sucec 1996b:44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagebrush (big)</td>
<td><em>Rhus trilobata</em></td>
<td><em>Suvipsi</em></td>
<td>Waterpocket Fold District (GA1443). Cradleboards are made of sumac (Wilton Kooyahoema in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumac</td>
<td><em>Yucca angustissima</em></td>
<td><em>Mooho</em></td>
<td>Observed at Oyster Shell Reef. In the spring, hair from the sides of the leaves are removed and each is split into progressively finer filaments of about 8 or 10. Dried in the sun until they turn yellow. The filaments are sorted by length with the longer being best for baskets. Yucca roots keep a fire smoldering. Basket making is women's work (Leland Dennis in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Hopi consultants explained that an entire plant with roots would not be taken. Instead, only leaves were collected to enable the survival of the plant (Wilton Kooyahoema in field notes, Sucec, November 1997).
Figure 2-17
niques. “Ever since then we were noted as the best dry farmers in this country. We don’t need irrigation, we strictly rely on rain, by performing our ceremonies” (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997).

Dry farming relies on rainfall and flood water. Corn is planted in sand dunes at the base of a mesa, in the floodplains of washes, or where water disperses at the mouth of arroyos. Where year-round streams did not exist, the water catchments or tinajas in the Waterpocket Fold (Figure 1-7) could have supplied culinary water. A sign of potentially productive farmland is the growth in sandy soil of saltbush (sia'vi) and greasewood (de’eva). The presence of rabbitbrush (sivapi) (Figure 2-17) also indicates a good place for farming (Ferguson 1998:262-263). Greasewood and rabbitbrush are prolific at GA1443.

**Resting Areas within Capitol Reef National Park**

Numerous sites within the park are places where clan members stayed for awhile and then continued on mandated migrations. While archeologists refer to them as “habitation” or “residential” sites, the Hopi call them “resting areas,” a term that reflects temporary cessation from the norm of migration. At such places, remnants of architecture, ceramics, and usually petroglyphs and pictographs can be seen. GA1443 and WN0008 (Figures 2-17 and 2-18) are examples of resting areas in the Waterpocket District.

At GA1443, the Hopi referred to some of the images there as a map (Figure 1-7) for other clan members to see during their migrations (Valjean Joshevama in field notes, Sucec, May 1993). The images told who was at that place, how many clans visited the site, for how long, and where they went. Trails are represented, as well as features of the regional topography, including springs. Images also conveyed information about medicine societies, as well as the ceremonies they performed there. The deity Maa’saw also is represented at the site (Figures 2-2 and 2-3). The Hopi say his presence is a visual reminder of the spiritual pact ancestral clans made with the caretaker of this Fourth World in order that they and their descendents could live here. His image with a planting stick, seeds, and water also means that some kind of farming took place at the site (Walter Hamana in field notes, November 1997).

Cultural advisors for the Hopi Tribe described the type of farming that might have occurred at GA1443. Crop farming was done on the alluvial flats and at the

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13 Waterpockets vary in their ability to retain water. While water in some lasts only a few days, others may retain moisture year round. Monsoons replenish water loss (Sandy Borthwick, former biologist at Capitol Reef National Park, personal communication, 1993).

14 The Zuni consultants referred to this as a “place to get water and draw.” They, too, identified the site as a map and interpreted some of the glyphs as trails (Pueblo of Zuni in field notes, Sucec, October 5, 1998).
bench across and to the north of the deep water pockets. People who lived there used culinary water from the deepest tinaja. Deciphered symbols (that also include an image of a frog) above that water catchment indicate that ancestral people were there for "possibly nine days, nine months, or nine years at a time" (Byron Tyma in field notes, Sucee, May 1996).

At another site, WN0006, Hopi elders found evidence that at least 11 clans had sojourned at this location. One image portrayed a settlement symbol (Figure 2-39), a long line with a segment encircled. The symbol likely means that clan peoples settled awhile (Harlan Williams in field notes, Sucee, May 28, 1966). Certain images on the rock face also indicate that societies performed ceremonies there. Maa'saw can be seen on the panel, resting with his planting stick. In addition to symbolizing a spiritual pact, his presence is an indication that farming took place at the site. Other resting areas or farmsteads, what the Hopi call their "footprints," include sites like WN0006 along tributaries.

"Farmer's Almanac" At Capitol Reef

On a rock wall at GA1443 a certain petroglyph can be found which provided agricultural information to the migrants who came to the site (Figures 2-20 and 2-21). The symbol told the newcomers about the best time to plant crops. The Hopi call it a "seasonal" or "sun" symbol. According to the consultants, the seasonal movement of the sun interacted with this image which gave information to ancestral clans about the planting season at this location. It told when winter solstice, spring equinox, summer solstice, and autumn equinox occurred at the site. Becoming intimately familiar with the seasonal motion of the sun reduced some of the high risk of producing food in the arid environment. It was a critical piece of knowledge in a complex web of subsistence information that helped to maintain the food supply of clan groups and increased their chances for survival.

Given their accord with Maa'saw, it was clear to travelers that residences were to be temporary (Clay Hamilton in field notes, Sucee, December 1997; Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucee, November 1997). Clan groups, therefore, tended to expediently re-occupy sites once established. Evidence of this kind of conscious reoccupation, as well as remodeling, of sites occurs on land to the west of the park, that is, at Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument (McFadden 1997).

Sometimes clans would grow in size, which required division of the group, with an agreement to meet at another resting area along the journey (Wilton Kooyahoema in field notes, Sucee, November 1997). At that particular place, they

strategize[d] their routes...renewed their migration pat-
terns ceremonially...[and] their religious societies, then they split up and went in different directions. "Okay, your clan, you go this way, and my clan, we'll go this way. But we will eventually meet someplace again." And that's how they were migrating through this area.

(Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997)

If the small cadre did not arrive as expected, marks would be left on a rock wall indicating that those waiting had been there and the direction they took. The information would then be deciphered by the later arrivals that would look at the signs and say, "Hey, we're on the right track. They went this way" (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997).

Small groups encountered one another in the landscape and learned "that we are all one people. That we are all looking for one particular place..." (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). Before bands traveled together who were unknown to one another, the proficiency of ceremonial skills was tested on behalf of the welfare of the entire group. For example, skills at bringing rain would be evaluated (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997; Lowie 1929:310-312). Small cadres occupying outlier hamlets of larger villages, e.g., such as Coombs Village (now Anasazi Indian Village State Park) at Boulder, Utah sometimes petitioned for entrance (Maps I-1 and I-4). If their ceremonial skills were not perfected, they would take the time to do that before they were accepted into the village (Clay Hamilton in field notes, Sucec, December 2, 1997; Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997).

The religious responsibilities of the clan were taken along as they traveled. When clan families settled for awhile, sometimes in unison with others, religious shrines representative of certain societies were set up. Rituals and offerings were made at these shrines during ceremonies. Certain images on a rock wall formed part of the ceremonial altar. Hopi consultants said that such images reveal to them that ceremonies of certain societies took place there. For example, consultants observed etchings associated with the ceremony of the Flute Society on at least one panel (GA1443) (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). Shrines and places where ceremonies were performed are remembered in contemporary ceremonies at Hopi. Offerings are prepared and sometimes pilgrimages back to the shrine can be made for protection and the honoring of ancestors (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997).

Ceremonial Calendar on Alcove Wall at Capitol Reef National Park

According to Hopi consultants, a ceremonial calendar is represented on the alcove wall of WNo006 along the Fremont River (Harlan Williams in field notes, Sucec, May 1997). Traditional Hopi perform particular ceremonies at certain times of the year. The approximate dates for these ceremonies are determined by the position of the sun and by the lunar calendar. A general plan is common to all ceremonies, each lasting a certain frame of time and with specific rituals for each phase (Cultural Preservation Office n.d.; Frigout 1979).

A Call to Move On

Hopi consultants reminded us that though a resting area or site may have been inviting, migrant farmers did not stay there. Priests of societies associated with clans "would receive omens and spiritual signs, either through some supernatural phenomenon, or a natural event like a pestilence or earthquake, that directed the people to continue their migrations" (Dongoske et al. 1993:27).

Before a group departed from a temporary home, sometimes the leader would place a print of his hand on a rock wall (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997). Seeds also were left in granaries as a symbolic gift to those who subsequently occupied a site (Jenkins in Ferguson 1998:262). Within Capitol Reef, seeds of corn, squash, and beans are common in granaries, as they are elsewhere (Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2002).

Relationships with Native Residents of Utah

Clan ancestors of contemporary Hopi "stayed for some time up in Utah" (Jenkins in Ferguson 1998:209). During their history of approximately 1300 years in Utah, clans encountered a diversity of people. Some of these included the ancestors of contemporary Shoshone and Ute (Jenkins 1991:32; Jenkins 1996; Jenkins in Ferguson 1998:209). According to Hopi oral tradition, the Shoshone were living there when farmers arrived, but a subsequent influx occurred "of some of the Ute people from farther north" (Jenkins in Widdison 1991:32). Relationships with early Utah residents were sometimes hostile, as well as amicable. Some clans tell stories of warfare in which villages were raided and children kidnapped. In other situations, farmers enjoyed good relationships with local hunters. For example, the Greasewood Clan traded with the Utes who brought

15 Members of the Bear Strap Clan made this symbol (Byron Tyma in field notes, Sucec, May 1996).

16 At contemporary Hopi, ceremonies are customarily controlled by one or several clans and organized by a Society. Ceremonial societies include the Snake-Antelope Society, Flute societies (Blue and Gray), and the initiation societies of Wutsin, Marav, One Horn, Two Horn, and Agave (Frigout 1979:572-575).

17 Precisely where clans were living in Utah when they encountered the immigration of Ute was not provided.
Figure 2-20  Below
This agricultural symbol at GA1443 provided information to migrating farmers about how to grow crops at a particular "resting area." Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.

Figure 2-21  Right
Walter Hamana, a Hopi consultant to Capitol Reef National Park in 1997, drew a similar symbol in the sand and identified the symbol as a Hopi calendar. He said that when the sun hit it, clan members could determine planting time at a particular location, as well as the timing for ceremonies. Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.
them bison (Jenkins 1996). The Greasewood Clan became so close with the Ute people that "today in Oraibi tradition they call us Yoise'e (Utes) in jest" (Jenkins in Ferguson 1998:209). Some of the knowledge of the Ute people was carried back to the mesas of Hopi when the ancestral Greasewood arrived there (Jenkins 1991:32).

Given multiple generations of time in Utah, farming clan people were assimilated among the ancestors to the Shoshone and Ute. For example, the Deer Clan people adopted Ute language and customs, but still retained their ceremonies and religious beliefs (Clay Hamilton in field notes, Lee Kreutzer, May 1997).

Despite the long, long time on the northern Colorado Plateau and in the eastern Great Basin, the directive to migrate was not forgotten. Members of the Deer Clan, for example, made their way to the Hopi Mesas though they had taken up residence among Ute ancestors (Clay Hamilton in field notes, Lee Kreutzer, May 1997). Though their language and some of their customs had changed, still they retained their religious belief that directed them to continue on their migrations until they found the "center place." Re-learning language did not deter them from fulfilling their spiritual directive.

Some of the Greasewood and Ute were so close that they migrated together. The Clan's oral tradition tells that they eventually left Utah.

Both of us learned about other villages south. This turned out to be Mesa Verde [National Park]. So the Greasewood and Utes traveled south to find out about these villages. There was a significant amount of clans in the Mesa Verde area. [There were] bands of the Kacina clan. This was the time to see what ceremonies needed to get us back to the spiritual center, the Hopi Mesas... We asked if our ceremonies could become part of their [ceremonial] cycle... We together sought acceptance into Mesa Verde... We were... told we were unable to get into their religious and social life at Mesa Verde. We went on south and east until we met up with another group of people. Went further south and came to another village. These were the Tobacco People and Rabbit People that came up from Mimbres country. This was Hoo'ovi, the "Place of the Arrow," or what is known as Aztec National Monument. So our clans were now part of the convergence to Aztec National Monument. Our ceremonies were now full and complete... This is where our clans fully establish[ed] the Salako (Shalako) ceremony. Other clans experienced it. It brought rain. There the clans awaited. We heard about another area that was even more significant — Chaco [Culture National Historical Park]. My clan the Greasewood never went there... From there we received messages that it was time to come home. So clans began to converge... So my clan traditions carry me from Mesoamerica, to [what the archeologists call] Hohokam, to Salado, Sinagua, to Anasazi, to the Fremont era. (Jenkins 1996; Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Cultural Preservation Office, Hopi Tribe, personal communication, June 12, 2002)

Relations with Ancestors of the Paiute and Ute Peoples in the Capitol Reef Area and Why Evidence of Farming Seems to Disappear from the Archeological Record There

Some clues exist as to the relationship between the Paiute/Ute ancestors and the immigrant farmers who occupied the Capitol Reef vicinity near the end of their time there. Just due west of Capitol Reef National Park, at Red Lake, a battle occurred. An elderly headman of the Umpqua'pawugh'wutseng or Red Fish People was interviewed in the 1870s (refer to Chapter 3). He relayed an historical account just a little over 400 hundred years old at that time. Pogoneab told of warfare between the local hunters and gatherers and the resident farmers.

Many years ago the country now known as Sevier Valley, and many of the adjoining valleys, was peopled by the Moquis Indians. The Utah Indians, being very warlike, made war upon their civilized and peaceful neighbors, the Moquis, with serious effect. Here, in the lower part of Rabbit Valley, the fleeing and persecuted Moquis made their last desperate stand, but were overcome and compelled to flee down the Dirty Devil stream [Fremont River in Capitol Reef National Park] across the Colorado River to where they are now located. (Pogoneab in W.H.S.M. 1878:2)

The manner in which Pogoneab relays the story seems to suggest that for a time all parties lived somewhat peacefully as neighbors until the assault or series of assaults caused clans to leave for another temporary home or to make the final journey to present-day Hopi.
Convergence at Hopi Mesas

While there is not complete agreement among archeologists, most believe that drought was the major cause of the movement of Ancestral Puebloan peoples away from the northern Colorado Plateau. A region-wide climatic change that made farming even riskier coincides with the disappearance of traits archeologists use to define the farming lifestyle (Eggan in Ferguson 1998:80; Page and Page 1986:150). In the Capitol Reef region, the latest dated Formative materials include those near I-70 northeast of the park (A.D. 1403), at Hogan Pass, west of the park (A.D. 1350); at Fish Lake (A.D. 1300); and in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (A.D. 1300) (Table 1-1).

Some archeologists suggest that other, more local conditions such as warfare, disease, and reduction in resources may have caused the convergence — not disappearance — of farmers southward to the Hopi mesas of Arizona, to the Acoma-Zuni area, and to the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico (Widdison 1991). The process of consolidation into large aggregated communities occurred slowly, over a span of several hundred years, with the movement of small numbers of people (Widdison 1991).

According to the Hopi, as part of the fulfillment of their spiritual pact with Maa'saw, all clans knew they would be destined to find a place where descendants would establish permanent residence. After many generations, they arrived at their “rightful place” (Dongoske et al. 1993:27). Some bands knew when their migration was complete by the position of a certain star in the evening sky (Valjean Joshevama in Sucec 1996b:57). The oral history of the Bear Clan, who migrated through and inhabited Capitol Reef National Park, tells that they “followed the clouds and the stars and they have brought us to this place, which is the center of things.” They said to Maa'saw, “Assign us land to till so that we can plant the blue corn given to us at the sipapuni” (Courlander 1991:36-37). Other clans journeyed to the same place.

Following prophecies and signs in the sky, still other clans or parts of clans came together where the Bear Clan had settled....Whenever a family arrived,...lands [were assigned] to it....The generations lived on, one after another, and still people kept coming in from the wilderness. Some had been on their migrations so long that they

18 Trade was seen as a means to improve the quality of life. More durable and effective products were desired. Objects, as well as the methods for making them, were readily adopted (Walter Hamana in field notes, Sucec, November 1997).

19 Red Lake is now Bicknell Bottoms very near present-day Bicknell (Map 1-2).

20 It is worth noting that a few sites within the boundary of Capitol Reef have shield images painted on rock faces. I offer, for investigation, that these shields, while possibly having ceremonial meaning, also may be associated with a defensive event or series of events such as is relayed in Pogoneab's account.
Figure 2-22
Hopi consultants (left to right: Leland Dennis, Byron Tyma, and Harlan Williams) identifying clan symbols on the petroglyph panels of the Highway 24 pullout. While none of these consultants had come to Capitol Reef National Park before, the traditional knowledge they hold allowed them to validate that certain clans had once lived there. Capitol Reef National Park, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.
no longer spoke the Hopi language. They spoke the Shoshone language, or Paiute, or the languages of the Jemez [Jemez] people, the Zunis, and the Kawikas, and they had to relearn Hopi, the language given to them at sipapuni...Beyond the Colorado River to the west,... and in the north, and elsewhere in the wilderness there were Hopis who were moving imperceptibly toward the center of things, the land which had been given to the people by Masauwu, Owner of the Upper World. (Courlander 1991[1987]:39,40,41-42)

Each clan was admitted into the Black Mesa villages at the end of migration by possessing rituals or ceremonies important to the whole of the Hopi (Ferguson 1998:80). For example, the Water Clan that once lived in Capitol Reef was asked what they could do for the community's welfare upon arrival at Hopi Mesas.

The Water Clan chief then demonstrated his power to bring rain, as given to his people by the Horned Water Serpent. He had the women of his clan open their mantas...and he took out beautiful baskets decorated...with feathers. As the women sang four different songs, heavy white clouds came rolling in from the south... Then snow began to fall. By nightfall it was knee deep...realizing the great power possessed by the Water people, the Snake Chief welcomed them to Walpi and assigned them fields... (James 1994:24-25)

In the women's Lakon ceremony, the traditional history of the Clan is reenacted (James 1994:25).

When the three mesas were settled, Hopi ancestors consolidated all of the religious knowledge from the various clan families into an organized religious practice. These traditions are still practiced today and have survived migrations, warfare, drought, famine, disease, and external oppression.

The Value of Archeological Sites in Capitol Reef National Park to Contemporary Hopi Clans

Ancestral archeological sites are regarded as "places with which the Hopi people retain a strong emotional and ancestral affiliation" (Dongoske et al. 1993:27). This view contrasts with the portrait of these sites as having been abandoned.

The Hopi people believe that their ancestors who were laid to rest at these archeological sites were intended to — and continue to — maintain a spiritual guardianship over them. Many of the sites continue to be referred to specifically by the Hopi during the recounting of particular clan histories by clan elders within the ceremonial rooms known as kivas (Dongoske et al. 1993:27).

Hopi cultural advisors who, for the first time, saw Puebloan archeological sites within Capitol Reef National Park expressed that seeing these sites validated clan histories (Figure 2-22). It confirmed the stories they were told and demonstrates that the Hopi fulfilled their pact with Maa'saw.

All over this country we've seen a lot of petroglyphs and pictographs, and that's our footprint. And that's why these sites are very important to us, even though we do our ceremonies out there on the reservation, but we have spiritual connections with these sites...We have spiritual connections. (Walter Hamana in field notes, Suvec, November 1997)
Ancestral Hopi clans homesteaded at Capitol Reef National Park. Evidence exists in the archeological record and is confirmed by Hopi traditional knowledge. Archeological sites demonstrate that small groups of people were practicing a farming lifestyle within the park from somewhere around 100 B.C. through about A.D. 1300. Sites associated with a farming lifestyle include residential pit structures and alcoves, granaries where seeds were stored, petroglyphs, and pictographs. These places are near and also removed from perennial water. For example, GA143 is a dry land farming site where rain irrigated crops at the confluence of intermittent drainages.

These archeological sites became ethnographic resources (Table 2-3) when Hopi cultural experts identified these sites as made by their ancestors and as integral to their traditions and clan histories. These histories relay real movements of small groups of farmers into Capitol Reef and then elsewhere. These migrations spanned 1,300 years in the region. Hopi consultants identified some sites as long-term resting areas where cadres of clan families stayed at least a year, sometimes longer, cultivated crops and performed ceremonies. They pointed to images on rock walls that relayed these historical events, including etchings in rock of Maa'saw with whom they made a pact to embark on a long series of migrations, settling for a time at various places including the Waterpocket Fold.

The significance of Puebloan archeological sites at the Waterpocket Fold (Capitol Reef National Park), then, is profound. These sites confirm the histories of clans as relayed through generations to contemporary Hopi. They also represent tangible evidence of a Hopi covenant with Maa'saw, the deity who, as proprietor of the earth, made it possible for them to live in this world and in the environment of what we now know as the Fold. Far from forgotten or abandoned, these places are remembered and revered in clan histories and songs, and re-enacted in ceremonies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESOURCE</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GA1443</td>
<td>This location is called a “resting area,” a place to grow food and perform ceremonies before migration began again. Many clan symbols are represented on panels.</td>
<td>Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) consultation with Hopi Tribe, May 27–28, 1996. Ethnographic Overview and Assessment consultation with Hopi Tribe, November 19–20, 1997.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN0006</td>
<td>Another resting area. Farming site where ceremonies occurred. Many clan symbols and a ceremonial calendar represented.</td>
<td>SAIP consultation, May 27–28, 1996.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrines</td>
<td>Used by ceremonial societies. Rituals were made and offerings would be left at locations. Contemporary Hopi remember shrines and places where ceremonies were performed.</td>
<td>While none were positively identified within Capitol Reef, one was suspected. Like the Zuni, Hopi consultants said they would need more time at sites to make positive identifications.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plants</td>
<td>Ceremonial, medicinal, culinary.</td>
<td>Refer to Table 2-2 for all plants identified during consultations at the park (refer to Appendix 1-8).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestral sites</td>
<td>Fulfills pact with Maa'saw, the deity who made it possible for the Hopi to live in this world.</td>
<td>Includes all Paleoindian, Archaic, and Puebloan style (Fremont and Anasazi) archeological sites.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 The Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) administered through the National Park Service provides for the survey of park land. In Capitol Reef National Park, the Office of Public Archaeology at Brigham Young University conducted a four-year parkwide survey. About 10 percent of the park was surveyed with over 600 sites documented (Lee Kreutzer, former park archeologist, personal communication, 2000).
Chapter 3

Paiute and Ute Peoples’ Relationship with Capitol Reef National Park

"...We lived everywhere, move[d] here and move[d] there."

Florence Kanosh, born in 1889 at Fish Lake, was 94 years old at the time of this 1983 interview.
Sometimes there was little food and the snow would get deeper in the mountains, so we could not hunt. Then people would come out on the desert...the seeds of the desert grasses would keep us alive. I can remember catching the tiny desert lizards for food...

Jimmy Timican in Will 1968, born 1895, nephew of Florence Kanosh
Introduction

What follows is an account of how ancestors to contemporary Paiute and Ute tribes and bands lived for almost a millennium or more on lands that include Capitol Reef National Park.¹ This account does not solely focus upon Capitol Reef’s story because these ancestors repeatedly established temporary residences across ecologically diverse habitats inclusive of canyon lands and mountain plateaus. An account of their lives in the Capitol Reef region has not been documented before. In fact, anthropological literature mistakenly placed some of these inhabitants farther west of their customary homeland in the region of Capitol Reef (for example, see Steward 1938:225, 228).

The information that follows is a synthesis of archaeology, documentary sources, and limited interviews. Interviews were conducted with indigenous descendants and with descendants of Euroamerican settlers to the region. What little written information exists comes from the ecclesiastical documents of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), as well as the diaries and memoirs of LDS settlers to the region. A few cultural anthropologists conducted some work in the 1930s. Most of that work, however, focused on neighboring groups whose core areas included what are now the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument and the Henry Mountains (Map 1-2).

Still, considering the volume of information that exists for American Indian communities elsewhere, and for the hundreds if not thousands of years ancestral Paiute and Ute peoples resided in the region, information about historic indigenous inhabitants is sparse. This likely is the result of several factors. The region of Capitol Reef was one of the last areas of Utah to be colonized with EuroAmericans establishing permanent residence there in 1874. Too, archeologists and cultural anthropologists generally ignored hunters and gatherers of this region (as well as others) because of a fascination with farming cultures. Deciphering the sparse archaeological evidence of Paiute and Ute origins has been difficult and the meaning of the evidence continues to be debated. Very little textual information originates from the United States government because it did not become actively involved with local Indians until the early 1900s. Until that time, the Latter-day Saints assumed responsibility for indigenous inhabitants. The LDS who made first contact with local Indians of the region were dealing with their own hardships of settling a new territory.

¹ This chapter was sent to the following Paiute and Ute tribal communities for review: Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah; the San Juan Southern Paiute; Southern Ute Tribe; Ute Indian Tribe; Ute Mountain Ute Tribe; and the White Mesa Ute. Those that responded to letters and telephone calls, and that read and approved the chapter with minor changes, include the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah at Cedar City, Utah and the Ute Indian Tribe at Fort Duchesne, Utah. I was told by a governmental representative of the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians that the last living descendent of the Capitol Reef area had died and it was no longer necessary to consult with the Kaibab.
Map 3-1. Paiute and Ute Peoples Resource Use in the Study Area

Resource Areas:
1. Awapa Plateau
2. Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain)
3. Capitol Reef NP
4. Fishlake Hightop Plateau
5. Grass Valley
6. Henry Mountains
7. Kaiparowits Plateau
8. Potato Valley (Escalante Valley)
9. Rabbit Valley
10. Thousand Lake Mountain

Symbols:
- Antelope
- Bear
- Berries
- Bighorn Sheep
- Bison
- Clover
- Duck/eggs
- Fish
- Fruit
- Lizard (reptiles)
- Minerals
- Onions
- Pine nuts
- Prairie dog in Rabbit Valley and Marmot at Fish Lake
- Rabbit
- Roots
- Sage Hen
- Seeds
- Wild potatoes

Note: Most resources represent historic use

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team.
When pioneers did write about their experiences with Indians in journals, diaries, or in memoirs, they wrote minimally, most often relaying anecdotes.²

Collectively these anecdotal stories illuminate aspects of local Indians’ lives that provide a context for their use of park and regional resources (Map 3-1). For example, information was provided about the location of encampments, seasonal migrations that included information about hunting of animals and gathering of plants and minerals, social activities, ceremonies, technology, and so on. Weaving together these numerous fragments, a sketchy history is drawn of ancestral Paiute and Ute in the study area, as well as their relationship to contemporary Paiute and Ute tribes and bands. What becomes apparent is that these individuals and communities did more than search for food, the dimension archeologists most frequently portray given the evidence with which they work.

Additional information could have been included in this chapter, but was outside the scope of study. For example, the history and progression of the Black Hawk War in the region is discussed only in so far as it involved the use of Capitol Reef National Park.³ Omer Stewart (1942) and Isabel Kelly (1964) reported information about Indians that resided on lands east of Capitol Reef, however, only information that provides a glimpse of their likely use of Capitol Reef is included. Controversial issues about indigenous occupation of the region deserve more attention, but are not examined.⁴

As it pertains to Capitol Reef National Park, what data exist concerning the Paiute and Ute use of the Waterpocket Fold is still fairly limited and tentative. As I learned in reviewing previous anthropological work for the area, unwarranted conclusions were made from limited data. I hopefully avoided that here.

² These most often describe encounters with one or two local Indians. When the names of these Indians appeared in written sources and interviews, I recorded their names in a table (Appendix 3-A). Any biographical information about these individuals was also included. Until now, the indigenous Paiute and Ute peoples of the region remained essentially nameless. This compendium brings a sense of reality and fullness to the multifaceted lives of these people who obviously endured significant hardships, enjoyed the company of one another, and lived intimately with the landscape of the Waterpocket Fold region.

³ From about 1865 through 1872, Black Hawk (Figure 3-1) and at least 300 followers resisted settlement by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The focus of their raids was the Sevier Valley and for a few years Black Hawk and his followers forced an evacuation and cessation of settlement in the valley. His followers consisted of an amalgamation of representatives of many different groups of Utah and Arizona Indians including the Elk Mountain Utes, Sheberetches, Weeminuche, Timpagognos, the Paw goosad’uhmputseng (Water Clover People, occupants of the Grass Valley area), Navajo, and Paiute. This event and its association with the Waterpocket Fold are discussed later in the chapter, as are some of these historic groups.

⁴ For example, whether local Indians gave away water rights, as well as access and use rights, to Fish Lake and the Fremont River remains an unresolved question for indigenous descendents who wonder whether the native signatories understood the terms of the agreement with the Fremont Irrigation Company.
Anthropologists disagree about the origin of Numic-speaking populations. Generally arguments about origin fall into two camps. Some archeologists claim the Numic evolved from earlier populations of Fremont and Anasazi people, while others say they originated in the western or northern Great Basin (Sutton and Rhode 1994:10-11). Most archeologists subscribe to the latter theory and believe that small groups of Numic speakers migrated into new territories throughout the far eastern Basin, the Colorado Plateau, and the Rocky Mountains at least 1,000 years ago (Rhode and Madsen 1994:214-217). Some think groups of them started moving into central Utah as early as A.D. 1150 (Euler 1966; Madsen 1975; Black and Metcalf 1986; Tipps 1988). Those who subscribe to a dispersion theory have not been successful in demonstrating human movement into the area (Madsen and Simms 1998; Simms 1990; 1994).

The time when Numic-speaking groups resided in and made use of the Capitol Reef region is variously referred to by archeologists as the “Protohistoric,” “Late Prehistoric,” or “Post-Formative” Period. The period is typified by a hunter-gather lifestyle. The preceding “Formative Period,” in contrast, is typified by a farming way of life.

Desert side-notched projectile points and brownware pottery are considered diagnostic artifacts of the Late Prehistoric Period. Campsites reflect use by mobile groups. Sites like these have no permanent structures, but consist mostly of shallow hearths, usually with lithics, and sometimes groundstone. These material markers of hunters and gatherers come into relief and dominate the archeological record during the Late Prehistoric. This phenomenon has customarily been explained as an in-migration of Numic-speaking peoples to the study area. Whether these material traits are a product of in-migrating Numic speakers or an outcome of resident Fremont/Anasazi populations continues to be debated by archeologists.

Given what we’ve just learned from the Hopi Tribe in

5 “Numic” is a word used by linguists, archeologists, and cultural anthropologists (collectively known as “anthropologists”) to refer to the ancestors of the Paiute, Shoshone, and Ute peoples. The English word “Numa” has its origin in the Northern Paiute term nimi which means “the people” (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:463). John Wesley Powell was the first to propose that “Numa” be applied to Numic-speaking peoples (Fowler and Fowler 1971a:38). Linguists (Miller 1986) apply the word to related languages in the Uto-Aztecan language family of which the Paiute and the Ute are speakers.

6 The range of time may vary depending upon the archeologist, the classification system used, and the area studied. For example, Late Prehistoric Period dates range from as early as A.D. 700 to as late as 1850 when Latter-day Saints began to settle the state (Hauck 1991; Janetski 1994; Office of Public Archaeology 1996; Reed 1994; Schroedl in Tipps 1991; and Simms 1990). At least one archeologist breaks out “Late-Prehistoric” into the “Protohistoric” phase to demarcate American Indian contact with Spanish colonizers in the 1500s through the 1700s (Geib 1996:9). This chapter chronicles that contact.
Figure 3-2
Petroglyph panel in Capitol Reef National Park that contains images of horses (some with riders), bison, and anthropomorphs at WN0149. Rosemary Sutec photo.
Chapter 2, an alternative explanation is plausible, especially if we also conceptualize agriculturalists as mobile populations. The Hopi, in the last chapter, told us people already were living in the Capitol Reef region and the eastern Great Basin when small farming clans migrated into it. From the archaeological record, these natives appeared to be hunters and gatherers. Oral tradition from the Hopi, as well as from the Paiute and Ute as we will see below, suggests that ancestors to contemporary Paiute and Ute were continuous residents in Utah at least since the Archaic Period, if not earlier. Based on radiocarbon dating, the Puebloan farmers spent at least a millennium co-existing, though not always peacefully, with some of these native inhabitants. And, according to a Ute headman at the end of the last chapter, his ancestral hunters and gatherers drove out the remaining farmers from the Capitol Reef locale. The archaeological record of the Late Prehistoric may, in fact, reflect the blending of aspects of a continuously resident hunter and gatherer population with the characteristics of farming communities who migrated into the Colorado Plateau — along with their technologies including pottery — and who stayed there for around 1000 years, with most gradually migrating back to the Southwest. Pottery may have been one of the remnant material aspects that remained and was transformed by its Late Prehistoric makers into what we know as Numic pottery today.

This chapter attempts to chronicle the history of Paiute and Ute hunters and gatherers residing in the area of Capitol Reef up to and then following LDS settlement there. The colonization by The Church of Latter-day Saints caused dislocation and consolidation of local indigenous populations, eventually resulting in their placement on reservations, becoming the contemporary Paiute and Ute tribes and bands we know today.

What Contemporary Paiute and Ute Say about Their Origins

While anthropologists disagree about the origins of the Numic Indians, the Paiute and Ute say they were brought to life in their traditional homelands by Coyote

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7 A study of Fremont archeology in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake and Desert suggests a continuity of Fremont materials with the antecedent Archaic. Fremont archeological traits such as pottery, maize, and others are added to the Archaic Period assemblage without the marked cultural continuity suggestive of population replacement. Recent studies of Late Prehistoric materials (those customarily associated with Numic-speakers) suggest continuities with the Fremont phase (Dean in Simms 1990). At least two archeologists (Madsen and Simms 1998) argue for a continuously resident population that retained some material customs through time even as people were born and died, formed alliances, engaged in warfare, and moved on. Another (Janetski 1991:63), however, cautions against assuming Late Prehistoric ceramics, for example, are associated with historic Numic speakers without more archaeological research to refine the presently limited understanding of this period. What I am suggesting here is that two different ways of knowing about the past, archeology and oral tradition, seem to confirm that at least some of the progenitors of the Numic speakers have continuously lived in the region, rather than being only recent emigrants.
or Wolf (Laird 1976:149–152; Lowie 1924; Martineau 1992:22–24; Sapir 1930:358). For example, the San Juan Southern Paiute tell that Coyote opened his sack and released the Paiute people near Page, Arizona within their traditional area (Bunte and Franklin 1987:227). The Shiwits say that they were released from the “sack of all tribes” south of Shiwits country near St. George, Utah (Martineau 1992:22). The Southern Ute say the Ute were the last tribe to leave the sack where Coyote opened it, and they remained in that spot (Lowie 1929:3–5).

Cultural anthropologist Anne M. Cooke Smith (in Stewart 1966:41–42) did a comprehensive study of Paiute, Shoshone, and Ute origin stories in the 1940s. She discovered that, where stories exist about the origin of humans and the origin of the world, the beginning uniformly occurred within a territory familiar to the group. Smith also found that migration stories were absent among Numic-speaking peoples. This markedly contrasts with the traditional histories of contemporary Puebloan like the Hopis and the Zunis. Their origins occurred in another world, entering this one from somewhere along the Colorado River. Puebloan histories tell of their ancestors’ spiritually mandated migrations on this continent. For the Hopi and the Zuni, this included passage through the Capitol Reef region, until they purposefully coalesced in Arizona and New Mexico at the “center place” they were directed to find. This seems to suggest that ancestors to contemporary Paiute and Ute were in place when the Hopi farming clans migrated into the area.

Possible Numic Sites Within Capitol Reef National Park

Within the more than 241,263 acres of Capitol Reef National Park, 27 sites have been identified as Late Prehistoric based on the presence of diagnostic projectile points and pottery styles. Only nine of them are single component sites (Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2003). A good portion contains hearths, ceramics, groundstone (metates and manos), and all contain lithic tools or debris. One petroglyph panel is tentatively associated with Numic peoples because of the images of horses. Of the 27, two campsites were dated at approximately A.D. 1290 and A.D. 1482–1680.

Two possible Numic campsites were recorded in the Cathedral Valley (formerly North) District of Capitol Reef National Park (Map 1-1) (Baadsgaard et al. 1998). One (WN0002) incorporates a spring and is dated at A.D. 1290. “Fremont” farmers also used this site.

Ten campsites have been documented in the Waterpocket (formerly South) District of the park (Map 1-5) (Davis et al. 1997; Richens et al. 1997). Eight of these also have “Archaic” and “Formative” components suggesting continuity in occupation through a span of time. Five of the 10 sites lie along the Waterpocket Fold (WN1399; GA3970; GA3971, GA3646; and GA4055). One site (GA3954) near The Post dates to about A.D. 1580–1720 (Map 1-1). Three are within the Fold at the base of a canyon near Cedar Mesa (GA4020; GA4025; and GA4029), and one is located on top of the Waterpocket Fold (GA4027) near that same canyon which suggests it was used as a passage across the Fold. It is not surprising to find sites along the escarpment despite the fact that Halls Creek is not a perennial source of water until further south along its course. This sort of environment would have yielded grass seeds to harvest.

Seven Late Prehistoric campsites have been identified along drainages in the park (WN0006 (Map 1-1); WN1805; WN0177; WN1871; WN1882; WN1884; and WN0148). While none of the sites have been radiocarbon-dated, the presence of time-sensitive diagnostic artifacts such as pottery and projectile points led these sites to be designated Late Prehistoric. A petroglyph panel (WN0149) near the Fremont River (Map 1-1) portrays horses with figures mounted on them, a figure with a shield, and a bison (Figure 3-2). Two walking figures are also present, one of which is “skirted” (Figure 3-3). A friend of the first park superintendent, in considering the elements of the panel collectively, thought it depicted a bison hunt (Beckwith 1946:11). Because horses are portrayed on the panel, at least a portion of it dates to no earlier than the 1600s when at least some of the Numa, as well as other indigenous groups, would have obtained horses from Spaniards (see discussion below).

Observations About Possible Numic Archeology Within Capitol Reef National Park

While 27 positively identified sites seems a small number, it is noteworthy that these sites are represented in all districts of the park. Archeologists offer possible explanations for what seems a smattering of archeological information about the Indians who resided in and made use of Capitol Reef National Park during the Late Prehistoric Period. Some say that few sites with diagnostics reflect both a sparse and highly mobile population (Office of Public Archaeology 1996). By inference, this particular set of circumstances would result in a meager amount of archeologically diagnostic materials from short-term use of sites by a few people. A paucity of small, mobile groups who resided briefly in the park would not have left much to recognize in the archeological record. Fewer diagnostic materials exist with which to identify their presence. Numic speakers would not have traveled with much to leave on the ground. And some materials, such as basketry, aren’t easily preserved
in the archaeological record. This pattern contrasts with an array of material traits, including architecture and prolific images on stone, used to identify Formative sites.

Other explanations are possible for Late Prehistoric sites without diagnostic materials that do not necessarily connote a small population. Some Numic-speaking groups did not make pottery. For example, the *Antarimunts*, who lived to the east of Capitol Reef National Park and who are described below, did not manufacture pottery (Stewart 1942:263). It's not known whether Indians to the immediate west of the park made pottery. Too, at a place like Capitol Reef National Park, the available food resources, their seasonality, and the means for procuring them would affect the diagnostic materials left. Life zones determine the food sources available for people. The vegetation types that predominate in Capitol Reef are valley bottoms where grass seeds grew and pinyon and juniper forests where pinyon nuts likely were harvested. The exploitation of these resources would have occurred on a seasonal basis only, would have resulted in short-term use of sites, and

8 For purposes of this report, “Archaic” is defined as 6500 B.C.—1 A.D. as distinguished from the Paleoindian Period (10,000–6500 B.C.). Archeologists make this distinction based on perceptions of the material record. A Paleoindian-style of big game subsistence is contrasted with an Archaic-style pattern of exploiting a broader range of resources and environments (Office of Public Archaeology 1996:4). How people obtain their food is only one aspect of their lives. Subsistence information, however, is the most readily discerned from the archaeological record. The designated timeframe for the “Formative Period” dates from 200 B.C.—A.D. 1350. It refers to a prominently practiced subsistence strategy of farming along with “permanent or semi-permanent habitations, and pottery production” (Office of Public Archaeology 1996:6).

9 Five sites also yielded materials that are used as cultural identifiers for “Formative” or farming peoples.

10 While viewing a similar image in the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, a Pueblo of Zuni consultant stated that such figures represent an Ancestral Puebloan hunter in ceremonial regalia (Sucee, October 6, 1998, field notes).

11 Other speculative interpretations are possible. A close examination of one rider seems to suggest the figure is wearing a “flat hat” (Figure 3-4). Perhaps the rider could be a Spaniard and a portion of the panel represents Spanish use of the Waterpocket Fold as a corridor. Or, perhaps the rider with the possible wide-brimmed hat is a mounted Navajo and the Navajo created a portion of the panel. Stylistically, Navajo horses have squared rumps and “proud curved necks,” among other attributes (Schaafsma 1995:330). A few of the horses on this panel possess those characteristics (Figure 3-2). For a discussion of Navajo rock art, including depictions of horses and Spaniards, see pp. 15-19, 306–307, 322, and 325–333 in Schaafsma 1995.

12 A now-deceased resident of Wayne County claimed to have created these petroglyphs. Two different styles on the panel suggest independent inscriptions. The bison and one or two of the horses seem to have been created by the same scribe, while the “skirted” figure and one or two horses seem to have been made by another person (Lee Kreutzer, former park archeologist, personal communication 1998).

13 Historic Numic names for Paiute and Ute groups are italicized in this chapter. Some, however, have become official tribal names, official place names, or common parlance, for example, the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe, the Ute Indian Tribe at the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, and Kaiparowits Plateau. In those cases, Numic names are not italicized.

14 However, a shattered pot was found on the ground west of the park boundary and pottery sherds have been found on Richfield District BLM land surrounding the park. More information is contained in the next section.
Figure 3-4
A possible "flat hat" rider which may depict a Spaniard or a Navajo at WN0149.
would not have required the sort of technology that would lend itself to leaving the diagnostics archeologists use to determine cultural affiliation. For example, grass seed processing involved groundstone artifacts that, while indicative of a broad timespan including the Archaic Period, often are not diagnostic of a particular cultural group.

One cannot assume that few diagnostics suggest a sparse population (especially in the mountain plateau environment surrounding the park), sporadic visitation, and/or use restricted to travel corridors like drainages (for example, see Davis et al 1997; Office of Public Archaeology 1996-31). Instead, it may suggest that our means for determining use by Numic peoples is problematic. In the 1960s, in an effort to find out more information about Paiute sites without diagnostics, archeologists employed a Paiute consultant to help with a survey in the area of the Henry Mountains and at Escalante, Utah (Map 1-1). Out of 38 sites visited, 75% (27) did not have diagnostic pottery, but were identified as Paiute based on "informant identification" and characteristic lithic scatters and groundstone (Sweeney and Euler 1963:7). Another possibility is that collectors have systematically removed diagnostic artifacts.

Implications exist for Capitol Reef and for other national parks in Utah. Three recently conducted surveys in the park have yielded about 40-42% culturally unidentifiable sites (Hauck 1991; Office of Public Archaeology 1996, 1997). If 75% of these were used by Numic peoples — as the Sweeney and Euler study suggests may be statistically appropriate — then Numic use of archeological sites in Capitol Reef would be far greater than the archeological data alone suggest. Relying solely upon archeology has the potential to result in incorrect conclusions about indigenous history and use.

Dating of culturally identifiable sites within Capitol Reef National Park tells us that, archeologically speaking, we have evidence of Numic peoples use of the park between 1290 A.D. and 1720 A.D. Using radiocarbon-dated sites surrounding the park, the range dramatically increases from approximately A.D. 1000 through the 1900s (Table 3-1), representing almost 1,000 years and ending just shortly after Euroamerican settlers arrive in the region.

It is also important to keep in mind that these sites, in tandem with others, represent continuous occupation of the region from at least the Archaic Period (refer to Chapter 1, especially Table 1-1). As described earlier, many are multi-component sites with artifacts spanning occupation during the Archaic, Formative, and Late Prehistoric periods. The Late Prehistoric manifestation in the Capitol Reef region, then, represents continuities with the material past, as well as variations from it. These variations may be in some part reflective of an in-migration of farmers (as the Hopi's oral tradition informs us), trade, co-residence as well as competition with pre-existing hunters and gatherers, and other social processes that create changes in technologies. Or, as one archeologist phrased it, the way to look at differences is to see them as "variations in a frequency of attributes" rather than as "different...industries" (Simms 1990:12).

It is worth remembering, too, the chronological overlap of Formative and Late Prehistoric diagnostic materials (Tables 1-1 and 3-1). For example, at Hogan Pass both Formative and Late Prehistoric materials are dated to within the same, almost 300-year timespan. As we learned from the last chapter, Puebloan farmers had been in the region for at least 1000 years before the Late Prehistoric materials seem to be manifested. Its expression, then, may reflect a fruition of the exchange and/or intermingling between small groups of people with different ways of making a living.

The Late Prehistoric sites within Capitol Reef suggest short-term, seasonal use by small groups to quarry toolstone, to harvest seed grasses and pinyon nuts, to hunt small game, and perhaps to fish in tributaries that traverse the Waterpocket Fold. The waterways as well as other routes across the Fold were likely used as travel corridors. These sorts of uses are indeed borne out by the ethnohistorical and ethnographic data below.

Possible Numic Sites on Lands Adjacent to the Park.

While 27 Numic sites have been recorded inside Capitol Reef National Park, others have been documented on lands surrounding the park. These lands are predominately federally managed, but some private lands about the western boundary of the park.

On the westside of the park lies the Kanab Resource Area of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), now

15 As will be seen below, at places such as Hogan Pass in the Fishlake National Forest (Map 1-1) villages (SV23, SV1425, and SV1478) were established likely to take advantage of the abundant resources in that environment and seem to have been continuously occupied through periods of time.
16 The Paiute individual told the authors that purely lithic scatters were temporary hunting camps. Relatively permanent camps contained "basin milling stones of basalt, unlined fire hearths and bone and stone debris" (Sweeney and Euler 1963:7). This preliminary report provides information, based on a Paiute's experience and traditional knowledge, about the sorts of archeological materials associated with different Numic site types when diagnostics are not present.
17 Archeological investigations continue at Capitol Reef National Park. Additional radiocarbon dates are expected for the Late Prehistoric Period.
18 Archeologist Joel Janetski (personal communication 2002) retorts that one could argue with Simms by stating that the variations in frequencies of attributes is just another way of saying that the traditions are in fact different.
19 For example, some archeologists argue that the interaction of foraging and farming groups over the millennium brought changes to the Uto-Aztecan language family, including the differentiation of Numic (Madsen and Simms 1998; Simms 1990; 1994).
the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument (GSENM) (Map 1-1). Doug McFadden, archeologist for these lands, says that three possible Numic sites are located west of the Waterpocket Fold (personal communication 1998). One is referred to as a "pot drop" by archeologists, which means only a shattered pot on the ground was found, but no other artifacts or features normally associated with a site. This site is located on top of the Fold, just south of the Burr Trail (Map 1-4). Tipps (1988) found another campsite of stone flakes and a projectile point in the Circle Cliffs. The third site (GA3123) is a camp located at a chaledony quarry on the Burr Trail, dating to about A.D. 1200-1281 (Map 1-1). Site data suggest the camp was used short-term to procure stone for tools, to collect, grind, and cook plants, and possibly to consume animals (Tipps 1991:13-3).

Also west of the park and north of GSENM lands, is the Aquarius Plateau (Map 1-1) which is most often referred to as Boulder Mountain. This area is administered by the Dixie National Forest (Map 1-2). The archeologist for the forest estimates that about 60 possible Numic campsites among the pinyon and juniper have been recorded from Highway 12 east to Grover (Marian Jacklin, personal communication, 1998). Also she is aware of campsites along various creeks and at the location where Dellenbaugh and Thompson (of Powell's 1871-1872 expedition) met a group of Indians seed gathering and fishing (1991:215-214). She describes the sites as short-term camps with shallow hearths, flakes, and some groundstone and ceramics, but no evidence of structures. Lithics appear to be re-rounded or re-sharpened for further use. She notes, too, that on forest land in this vicinity, the density of Late Prehistoric sites significantly increases among the pinyon and juniper as contrasted with the spruce and fir forest. Little more is known of the forest land due west of Capitol Reef because there has been no timber harvesting in the area, which would be preceded by archeological survey.

North of the Aquarius Plateau and west of Capitol Reef National Park lies Rabbit Valley. The communities of Grover, Torrey, Bicknell, Lyman, Loa, and Fremont are located in the Valley (Map 1-2). Most of the land is privately owned and farmed. North of Torrey, Sulphur Creek begins its southeasterly journey toward the Fremont River. In a dry cave west of the park boundary, Ephriam and Dorothy Pectol found three large, buffalo hide shields in 1925 (Map 1-1). The site is unrecorded. The shields were burned in juniper bark and no other artifacts were found with them.

Commonly referred to as the "Pectol Shields," but for purposes of this report are identified as the "Capitol Reef" Shields, they are the oldest known leather shields in North America. The mean age of the three radiocarbon dates is 407 ± 45 years B.P. or about circa A.D. 1500 (Loendorf and Conner 1992). The Fish Creek Cove site is located southwest of Torrey (Map 1-2) on land managed by the Richfield District of the Bureau of Land Management. The site consists of an overhang with numerous petroglyphs and pictographs; stone and wooden structures such as rooms, storage cists, and hearths; and numerous artifacts like pottery, basketry fragments, corn cobs, lithics, and groundstone. Among the pictographs is a painted shield anthropomorph and to the far right (east) of the site is a pecked bison image. Noel Morss excavated the site in 1928 as part of the Claffin-Emerson expedition. He determined the site was occupied by farmers he called the "Fremonters." Materials from the site have not been radiocarbon-dated. County residents refer to the locale as the "Indian farm." They knew that Indians constructed ditches, brought water from Fish Creek, and "raised corn" (Hanks 1985:5).

Continuing west beyond Torrey and Grover, and forming the western boundary of Rabbit Valley, is Awapa Plateau (Map 1-4), administered by the Richfield District of the Bureau of Land Management. Awapa Plateau is locally referred to as "Parker Mountain" and an antelope drive site (WN1934) is located there (Figure 3-5). The antelope trap is an arc of basalt boulders with an opening on the southeast side. While stone flakes have been found on the drive site, no time-sensitive diagnostic artifacts have been found. Radiocarbon dating of materials associated with the site has not occurred so no calendrical date is available to provide us with information about its origin and span of use. While archeologists do not know when the antelope drive was built, information from interviews and ethnohistorical documents reveals that this drive site was used by Indians who lived in Wayne County (Map 1-4) prior to settlement in the 1870s. More information about its purpose, how it was used, and by whom will be provided later in the chapter.

Just north of Rabbit Valley and also west of Capitol Reef National Park lies Fremont Valley. General William B. Pace nicknamed the Fremont Valley for the plenitude of rabbits he observed there in 1866 while chasing Black Hawk into present-day Capitol Reef National Park (Wayne Stake Historical Records, entry for 1865).

20 The radiocarbon dates were taken from the strap, not the shield. This may be problematic in that the shields could have been constructed earlier. Dates obtained from three samples include 364 ± 91 B.P. (A.D. 1473), 459 ± 89 B.P. (A.D. 1536), and 397 ± 83 B.P. (A.D. 1531). The mean age of the three dates is 407 ± 45 years B.P. or about circa A.D. 1500 (Loendorf and Conner 1992:8). Refer to footnote 9 in Chapter 1 regarding their repatriation under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

21 "Shield anthropomorphs" etched or painted on rock faces consist of human figures with shields covering most of their body. Shield anthropomorphs are known to be a Fremont-style motif in rock writings.

22 Information about the drive site was obtained from the site form provided by archeologist Craig Harmon of the Richfield District of the BLM.

23 This site is another example of a site likely used during the Late Prehistoric by ancestors of contemporary Paiute and Ute, but it lacked diagnostics that provided such a clue to archeologists.
### Table 3-1

**Calendar Dates Representing Late Prehistoric, Possibly Numic, Occupation of the Capitol Reef and Vicinity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>A.D. DATES</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SV2229 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>7-1600s</td>
<td>Occupation at Fish Lake on the Fishlake National Forest</td>
<td>Janetski et al. (1999:226-230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV1478 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>1043 through 1303</td>
<td>Hogan Pass vicinity on the Fishlake National Forest</td>
<td>Metcalf et al. 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WN2002 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td>Campsite in the Cathedral Valley District of Capitol Reef National Park</td>
<td>Baadsgaard et al. 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV1425 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>1300s through 1800s</td>
<td>Hogan Pass vicinity on the Fishlake National Forest</td>
<td>Metcalf et al. 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM1879 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>1309–1475</td>
<td>Campsite north-northeast of park along I-70 corridor on Richfield District BLM lands</td>
<td>Gruebel 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM1881 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>1457–1954</td>
<td>Campsite north-northeast of park along I-70 corridor on Richfield District BLM lands</td>
<td>Gruebel 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitol Reef Shields site (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>Circa 1500</td>
<td>Found in dry cave outside western boundary of Capitol Reef National Park</td>
<td>Loendorf and Conner 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA3954 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>1580–1720</td>
<td>Campsite in Waterpocket Fold District of Capitol Reef</td>
<td>Richens et al. 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV23 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>1665 through 1955</td>
<td>Hogan Pass vicinity on the Fishlake National Forest</td>
<td>Metcalf et al. 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV1425 (Map 1-1)</td>
<td>1712 to present with midranges in the 1850s to 1860s</td>
<td>Hogan Pass vicinity on the Fishlake National Forest</td>
<td>Metcalf et al. 1993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3-5
Wallace Bramsford, Utah sportsman, sitting in one of a group of three blinds associated with WN1954 on Awapa Plateau. Note line of rocks extending to the left which guided the game towards the blinds. Photography by Charles Kelly, Utah Historical Society. Photo number 9701. Negative number 14361.
Federal lands under the jurisdiction of the Richfield District of the BLM lie to the west, north, and to the east of Capitol Reef National Park. The area to the east is referred to as the Henry Mountain Resource Area (Map 1-1). The District to the west encompasses the Awapa Plateau. Archeologist Craig Harmon (personal communication 1998) says that of the nine million acres under Richfield BLM jurisdiction, only about 10% of the land has been surveyed. Of that, about 50% of the sites have no cultural affiliation because they lack diagnostic artifacts. Of those that do have diagnostics, only about five sites on the east side of Capitol Reef National Park have been determined to be Late Prehistoric, possibly Numic, based on found ceramics.

South and southwest of the park is Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GLCA) (Maps 1-2 and 1-1). Ten sites there have been identified as possibly Numic by the presence of brownware ceramics and/or Desert Side-notched projectile points. The archeologist for GLCA says that these sites appear to be temporary camps used for the procurement of seasonal resources (Chris Goetze, personal communication, 1998).

Observations About Possible Numic Archeology on Lands Surrounding Capitol Reef National Park

Archeological evidence for the presence of Numic peoples in the park and the surrounding region is sparse compared to the number of documented sites that date to the Archaic and Formative Periods (Baadsgaard et al. 1998; Davis et al. 1997; Greubel 1996; Hauck 1991; Metcalf et al. 1993;14; Office of Public Archaeology 1996; and Richens et al. 1997). 25 In fact, limited archeological manifestations of possible Numic occupation during the

25 These later dates suggest that even after Euroamerican colonization of the valley, indigenous people were still going to customary subsistence sites likely performing traditional activities.

26 A similar situation occurred at a site for the 1-70 project, where a calendrical date range from 1457 A.D.—1954 A.D. was derived (Greubel 1996:506–507). The late date was considered an anomaly and a result of contamination. In fact, some Shebretches (an historical Paiute/Lake group) were known to have occupied the Castle Valley area through the late 1800s and the early 1900s (Eligh Behunin in Tippetts 1964:172). Another pattern may be emerging here that discounts as implausible twentieth century radiocarbon dates. While legitimate reasons do exist for unreliable radiocarbon dates (materials like old wood and contaminants can skew the results), it is also possible that late nineteenth–early twentieth century dates do reflect late occupation or at least traditional, subsistence uses extending into the twentieth century. Archaeologists are used to dealing with deeper frames of time and, in tandem with non-existent or a paucity of ethnographic data for their study area, may inadvertently dismiss late dates without corroborating evidence of contamination/skewing, without archeological materials representative of late nineteenth–early twentieth century occupations and, or without ethnographic information. As this report demonstrates, Paiute and Ute peoples in some parts of Utah remained in their traditional territories retaining fragments of their customary subsistence patterns, if not other traditions, through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

27 Of prehistoric sites documented in three years of archeological survey at the park, 25% were identified as Archaic, 25% as Formative, 4% as Late Prehistoric, and 39% as unknown due to the absence of diagnostics (Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2002).
Late-Prehistoric Period are the pattern for the state of Utah (Office of Public Archaeology 1966:12). What is true for lands contained within Capitol Reef National Park appears to be true for the state. The issue may not be limited Numic presence or sparse population, but our ability to see the presence of these sites in the record. Reasons were suggested earlier for this seemingly confounding shortage.

Calendrical dates derived from radiocarbon dating in the region indicate that people continued to live in the Capitol Reef area from the early 1200s through the twentieth century. These people could have been using the area as late as the 1700s, 1800s, and 1900s based on dates derived from the Hogan Pass archeological mitigation. Indeed, ethnographic and ethnographic data described below confirm the presence of Numa in the region as late as the 1900s.

Sites associated with the mountain plateau landscape surrounding the park (for example, at Fish Lake and Paradise Lake in the vicinity of Hogan Pass) suggest that resources were so abundant that long-term seasonal residence was the pattern there. The presence of architecture, hearths, roasting pits, and middens suggest semi-sedentary occupancy in this zone. Activities at these sites included lithic procurement, hunting and gathering, and plant and animal processing. At Fish Lake, fishing was one of the principal undertakings, documented by oral and written records.

At more arid places such as Capitol Reef, where food resources exist but with less density and more spatial distribution, shorter-term campsites are located. These include places where seed was harvested from grasses, pinyon nuts were collected, stone was procured, and miscellaneous other short-term encampments where seasonal resources were obtained and/or small groups were in transit from one place to another. If the radiocarbon dates are correct, the Capitol Reef shields made of buffalo hide could have been used during this timeframe. Among historic indigenous inhabitants, oral accounts relay that bison were present and hunted in the area. The oral tradition of historic Paiute also documents the use of a communal game drive site on Parker Mountain (also known as the Awapa Plateau).

Ethnographic information about the activities that occurred at some of these archeological sites will be provided in the following sections. The information is always considered in terms of the insight it provides about the lives of the Indians associated with Capitol Reef National Park and the implications for resource uses within the park.

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28 However, the nature of their relationship with the landscape shifted from residents to visitors as a consequence of permanent Euroamerican settlement, though it seems not to have affected traditional uses. Through the twentieth century they were still returning to places familiar to them, including Capitol Reef National Park.
Opal phytoliths from plants and fossilized plants from packrat middens enable a reconstruction of vegetation thousands of years ago. In studies undertaken at Capitol Reef National Park, the results of such analyses reveal that ancient plant communities contained more forbs and shrubs and were dominated by cool-season grasses (Fisher et al. 1991). For example, pre-settlement middens contained fossils of winterfat, rice grass, sagebrush, and pinyon. Grasses such as needle-and-thread and six-week fescue were common and are now scarce or absent (Cole 1992; Cole et al. 1997). Explanations for a shift in vegetation have been attributed to historic cattle grazing and climatic changes. One study looked at the effects of grazing, climate change, and fire on plant growth of seed grasses in the Capitol Reef vicinity (Spence 1994). These grasses were food sources to the Southern Paiute who noted their conspicuous absence along the Burr Trail in Capitol Reef National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (Spence 1996a). Most grasses would have decreased from long-term grazing, and two from aridity (Spence 1994). Overall the climate in the study area has become drier as contrasted with a cooler, moister climate several hundred years ago (Cole 1992; Cole et al. 1997; Fisher et al. 1991; Spence 1994). One researcher (Fisher et al. 1991) suggested the cooler climate approximately 500 to 800 years ago (A.D. 1193–1500) created a prehistoric grassland environment in the Capitol Reef vicinity.

Grasslands fostered the evolution and spread of the American buffalo. While the actual distribution of bison in Southern Utah is difficult to determine, the area's rangelands might have been capable of supporting migratory bison herds, particularly if grasslands were more abundant in prehistoric and early historic times. Journals of early settlers record that grass in the area was tall and lush prior to the introduction of domestic cattle. An early naturalist (Seaton in Lupo 1996:169; Seaton in Steward 1938:37) estimated that bison ranged throughout most of Utah in 1500 and that the range contracted as time passed, but it is unclear how these estimates were derived.

Petroglyphs and pictographs in Capitol Reef and the surrounding vicinity depict bison. One etched image is in the park (WNo149) alongside a tributary to the Fremont River (Figure 3-2). At least one other is located along the Fremont River corridor in the park (Adrienne Anderson, archeologist, personal communication, 1999). Two images are located in the San Rafael Swell (Matthew Obradovich, Richfield District BLM biologist, personal communication, 1998). Petroglyphs in the Paria River area "are unquestionably bison" (Steward 1938:37). While images of bison are depicted that far south in
Utah, it does not conclusively prove they foraged there, despite contentions by Lupo (1996) and Steward (1938). It may suggest that indigenous hunters traveled distances to hunt the mammals, yet depicted them closer to home.

Numerous artifacts made of bison hide, hair, and bones have been recovered from the vicinity of Capitol Reef (Morss 1931; Steward 1941). These include the Capitol Reef shield discovered just outside the western boundary of the park. The hide shields are of a size large enough to cover the human torso, similar to the shield anthropomorph on the panel at the Fish Creek Cove site that are attributed to the Fremont. An etched bison (not in close proximity) is inscribed on the same panel. Shields of bison hide replaced wicker ones in the Late Prehistoric, around A.D. 1300 (Le Blanc 1999:107). While artifacts made from bison have been found at sites throughout southern Utah, their origin is unknown. The bison may have ranged there, or raw materials from a hunt or exchange could have been brought into the area.

Archeologically, no bison bones have been found in the faunal assemblages for Capitol Reef National Park, at Fish Lake, or at Backhoe Village within the city limits of Richfield, Utah (Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2002).

However, bison remains have been discovered on the Aquarius Plateau (locally referred to as Boulder Mountain) (Map 1-4) abutting Capitol Reef National Park, in Arches National Park to the east, and in Marysvale and near Richfield to the northwest of the park. The remains found on Boulder Mountain date to 630 B.P. + 40 years or A.D. 1340 (Lee Kreutzer, personal communication, 2000). The remains at Arches have been radiocarbon dated at 405 ± 82 B.P. or A.D. 1589 and 355 ± 60 B.P. or A.D. 1839. No radiocarbon dates exist for the Marysvale find but they were discovered in association with Fremont-style material (Bob Leonard, personal communication, 1999). 39 specimens of bone identified as bison came from Five Finger Ridge in Clear Creek Canyon southwest of Richfield (Talbot et al. 2000:650).

Collectively, these sources of evidence suggest that bison were present in the region, if not grazing on or migrating through land that is now Capitol Reef National Park. They appear to have been present as early as the 1300s, when Puebloans were still living in the area, through to the early part of the nineteenth century. Oral accounts relayed below continue the presence of bison in the area to the mid-nineteenth century.

Historical documents and oral tradition concur. Early explorers and settlers made references to bison in southern Utah. Parley Pratt described the plateau valleys east of the Wasatch Front as abundant with “the old bones and skulls of buffalo” (Journal History, September 5, 1848 entry). Settlers to the Sevier Valley in the 1860s reported bison wallows in the river and the presence of bison bones (Fowler in Euler 1966:26). Paiute consultants claimed that “the Sevier River took its name from a transliterated Paiute word referring to bison” (Fowler in Euler 1966:26).

The oral traditions of park-associated tribes relay accounts of bison in the immediate area of the park, as well as the region. In the 1840s, bison apparently still remained in Rabbit Valley and on the Awapa Plateau (Jimmy Timican of the Koosharem Band to Catherine Sweeney Fowler in Euler 1966:26; Catherine Fowler, personal communication, 1998). An elderly Weeminuche (an historic band of Ute) reported that in the early nineteenth century buffalo were found along the Green River and east of Moab (Map 1-4) (Stewart 1942:335).

Buffalo Hunting at Time of Contact

Ancestors to the contemporary Paiute and Ute hunted bison before they became equestrians. Before obtaining horses, they killed buffalo in the Rocky Mountains, in the vicinity of Green River, and in the Great Basin (Stewart 1966:49). Individual hunters and large groups united to kill numbers of bison. Techniques included impounding them or driving them over arroyos (McHugh 1972:61). Hides or heads might have been donned as a disguise (George Frison, personal communication, 1999).

From written records, it cannot be determined if shields, like those discovered by Bishop Pectol and his wife, were used to communally hunt bison. If the radiocarbon dates for the shields are correct, they date to the time when Numic speakers occupied Capitol Reef National Park. They also are made of buffalo hide, and buffalo were in the vicinity. However, reliable references were not found in the ethnographic or ethnohistorical literature, nor do any exist in oral accounts, about using body shields for hunting. Humans moving in a formation disguised by shields may not have alarmed or even aroused the curiosity of bison, especially if hunters were downwind. Still, researchers familiar with bison behavior do not see an advantage to the hunter for such a use (George Frison, personal communication, 1999).

However, a reference exists that describes Ute marching in unison with large shields as protection (Jefferson 1972:58). A Franciscan priest in the 1600s described a band of Yutas traveling together on the Plains:

They never travel alone or in small groups but in groups of a thousand or more families; they have no villages nor do they live in one area but move from one place to another on the plains... They fight in the same formation.
they march. Whenever marching they form themselves into squadrons whose front and sides are made up of a file of women, each one carrying a shield made of three layers of stiffened buffalo hide which no weapon can pierce. Inside the file of women, also in a file, are the men with their weapons ready for fighting; in the center, also in a file, are the old men and women. (Niel circa 1700: 84-86)

So the Capitol Reef shields might have been used as weapons of warfare. Hopi indicated in Chapter 2 that clans lived with ancestral Ute for an extended period of time. An historic Indian of Ute ancestry relayed an account of warfare between his people and the farmers that had been living in close proximity.

Many years ago the country now known as the Sevier Valley, and many of the adjoining valleys, was peopled by the Moqui Indians. The Utah Indians, being very warlike, made war upon their civilized and peaceable neighbors, the Moquis, with serious effect. Here, in the lower part of Rabbit Valley, the fleeing and persecuted Moquis made their last desperate stand, but were overcome and compelled to flee down the Dirty Devil stream [Fremont River in Capitol Reef National Park] across the Colorado River to where they are now located. (Pogonab in W.H.S.M. 1878:2)

Or, the Capitol Reef shields may have ceremonial significance, unbeknownst to us. At this point in time, radiocarbon dating, archeology, and the written record have not yielded their particular histories. What remains to be learned is the traditional knowledge tribal peoples may wish to share about the shields.

29 Similar images have been found east of Capitol Reef National Park, near Moab, in Sego Canyon, at Westwater Creek in the Book Cliffs, and at White Canyon, Utah (Map 1-4). Shield anthropomorphs are believed to be Fremont-style motif in rock writings. Another shield figure is found at WNO149 in the park, near the Fremont River. There, a torso-size shield is held by an unmounted figure. A bison, horses, and mounted riders are also portrayed. Whether they are associated is unknown. Both the cultural affiliation and authenticity of the panel are unclear. See footnotes 11 through 13. Large shield images without associated human figures are engraved into panels along the Fremont River corridor within the park.

30 Bison remains found in the park would conclusively prove that the Fold was used as part of their habitat, if at least as a corridor.

31 However, Numic words for bison do not suggest Sevier. For example, qiutxen (Behunin 1875:4) or kwutsun (Miller 1977:157). A Sevier County historian (Bishop 1997:59) claims that the name "is a corruption of the Spanish Rio Severo (severe), named for the river's sometimes turbulent character."

32 Refer to Appendix 3-A for more information about Jimmy Timican.

33 The historic aboriginal territory of the Weeminuche was farther to the east and south of Capitol Reef National Park, however some Weeminuche did frequent the area before it became a park. An interview was scheduled with an elderly descendant of the Weeminuche, but was cancelled. Park personnel did not reschedule the interview and that individual died before he could relay his knowledge about Sheberetch and Weeminuche relationships with the Fold region.

34 In the 1870s, an LDS missionary (Behunin 1875) recorded the name local Indians had for a shield. They referred to it as Tap po.
1500s through the Early 1800s:  
Local Numu Contend with Spanish and  
New Mexican Merchants and Miners

Spaniards Arrive in Utah

During the Late-Prehistoric (and at the same time the  
Capitol Reef shields could have been made and used),  
events of a global proportion were unfolding which  
would have ramifications for the peoples and landscape  
of what is now Capitol Reef National Park. European  
states had begun to explore and colonize all continents  eyond their borders. Iberians (Spaniards and  
Portuguese) sent forces to claim territory and wealth in  
the “New World.” In 1493 the Spanish colonized land in  
what is now New Mexico.

The Spanish brought with them the encomienda  
system, sanctioned by the Spanish government and the  
Catholic Church.

The encomienda system, early established in the West  
Indies, provided that the encomienda (protector)  
who was given control of a particular area was obligat-  
ed to Christianize and civilize the natives, but was  
permitted to exploit their labor. Naturally, more atten-  
tion was given to exploitation than to directives for  
Indian improvement, and the encomienda system  
became notoriously tantamount to slavery. (Hafen and  
Hafen 1993:261)

Spanish colonies were built along the Rio Grande from  
the 1500s through the 1600s. Indian labor was required  
to sustain settlement and expansion. Native labor was  
used to build, grow food, work in mines, serve as house-  
hold servants and herdsmen, and participate in cam-  
paigns to quell resistance (Hafen and Hafen 1993:261;  
Wolf 1990:143-149).

Spanish Perceptions of “Yuta”

The Spanish government required that records be kept  
of every exploratory journey, every campaign...  
[which]...contain descriptions of the way of life...and  
other data concerning specific Indian tribes...” (Tyler  
1951:153). Spanish documents provide valuable insights  
into Numic-speaking Indians during a time about which  
little is known. Spanish emissaries made contact with  
those they referred to as the “Yutas” as early as 1533,  
over 200 years before the Dominquez and Escalante  
journey of 1776.

The Spaniards made no attempt initially to differenti-  
ate the Indians they saw and collectively referred to  
them as Las Naciones Yutas (Tyler 1951; Schroeder 1965).  
This name was applied to the groups we refer to today  
as the Southern Paiute, the Chemehuevi, and the  
Ute. While historian Lyman Tyler and ethnohistorian  
and archeologist Albert Schroeder disagree as to when  
the Spanish began to distinguish and name groups,  
both concur that they continued to refer collectively
to the Southern Paiute and Ute as Yutas or some variation thereof.

It’s important to note that the initial contact Spaniards made with the Yutas was limited to a few small groups or “bands” of Indians and not an aggregation of all of them. Schroeder (1965) makes clear in his essay about Southern Ute contact with the Spanish that it was specific bands (the Capote and Muache) that were nearest the Spanish settlements and initially engaged them. The author of the official tribal history of the Northern Utes says it was customary that only a few bands would make alliances; it would never involve all groups which the Spanish labeled as the “nation” of Yutas (Conetah 1982:29). As time passed and as a result of expeditions further into the interior of the Yuta domain, other groups began to be distinguished.

Tyler (1954:343-344) believes Spanish documents by the 1600s and 1700s gave enough information to get a sense of the territory of the Yutas. It apparently encompassed areas that we traditionally demarcate as Southern Paiute, as well as traditional Ute domain. Though landmarks like the Waterpocket Fold were not named specifically, Capitol Reef National Park and the surrounding region were included within the Numic aboriginal domain as that portion of land north of the Colorado and San Juan rivers in southern Utah (Tyler 1954:344).

Expeditions into Yuta territory occurred early. Humana and Oñate in 1593, 1601, and 1604 passed through Yuta country. A source dated 1620 says they came into contact with the Yutas along the Colorado River “which ran through their country, and that was said to be thickly populated all the way to its source.” Some of these populations, Tyler speculates, could have been ancestors to contemporary Chemehuevi (1951:159,160). They also met Yutas north of Taos Mountain on the Plains (Niel circa 1700:83). In the 1900s and throughout the 1600s, Yutas were regularly trading at places like Pecos (every October) and Taos “tanned animal skins and buffalo hides” in exchange for horses, flour, corn, among other things (Bandelier in Tyler 1951:157; Niel circa 1700:86). In a letter dated 1680, reference was made to the Spanish traders being able to pass freely within the territory of the Yutas, although the parameters of this range is not provided. Simultaneously, plans were being made to conduct missionary activity within the territory of these Indians (Tyler 1951:162).

**Numic Peoples Acquire the Horse in the Capitol Reef Region**

Groups of Yutas acquired horses and other commodities through trading and raiding at Spanish settlements. In a group or alone, they would raid other indigenous groups (Comanche, Apache, Navajo, and Puebloans) for horses, produce, and captives to be sold as slaves. For example, groups of Yutas and Comanches raided the Puebloans for people, horses, and produce. Las Naciones Yutas as well as other communities of Indians became mounted through simultaneous processes of exchange and raiding; horses and Spanish goods passed from one indigenous group to another (Conetah 1982; Hafen and Hafen 1993; Jefferson et al. 1972; and Tyler 1951).

Horses may have reached the Utes north of the Colorado River as early as the 1650s (Forbes and Tyler in Shimkin 1986:517). The area of the confluence of Colorado and Green rivers has been identified as the area of the Elk Mountain Utes and the Sheberetches. By mid-nineteenth century the Sheberetches “almost entirely” held commercial intercourse with New Mexico and Arizona (Head 1868:609). They and the Elk Mountain Utes later allied with Black Hawk (Figure 3-1) and his followers (Head 1866:128,129; 1868:612; Peterson 1998:77, 210; Powell and Ingalls 1873:42; Tourtellotte 1870:606), who were known to use the mountain valleys west of Capitol Reef as a refuge and the Waterpocket Fold as a

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36 According to Tyler (1954:344), Yuta was probably first employed circa 1620 by Francisco Zarate Salmeron, who transcribed it from a word spoken by a Jemez Indian. Salmeron recorded other forms of the name as Gavuptuh, Guaputa, and Qusutus. Schroeder (1965:54) suspects that similar terms, Guagutu and Guaputu actually referred to the Capote band of southern Ute who, like the Muache, lived closest to the Spanish settlements.

37 Tyler did not provide locational information about their journey.

38 Historians (Conetah 1982; Jefferson et al. 1972) of Ute tribes say that raiding was an enterprising and expedient means to obtain horses, certainly easier than hunting deer and other animals or trading for livestock, including horses. Horses became a source of status and power. The more horses, the more influence an individual headman or “chief” and his group might have. Stealing horses, particularly, was seen as honorable and daring, not disgraceful. After all, other indigenous groups, the Spanish, Mexicans, and members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were seen as outsiders. Raiding or warfare was characterized as “hit-and-run” for horses, humans, food, and other objects rather than engagement in a full-scale battle (Jefferson et al. 1972:61).

39 Variations on this name include the Sevairits (Powell and Ingalls 1873-42; Hodge 1907-1910:514), the She-be-retches (Steward 1938:225), the Asivorches (Callaway et al. 1988:366), Cibariches (Scheeden 1965:66), and the Suwiiwhwhv duktus or Suwiiwhwhvavwutseng, which means “Squawbush Water People” (Martineau 1992:52, 154, 155) and “anglicized by the white man to Sheberich” (Martineau 1992:52). At least one anthropologist (Steward 1938:225) and Utah Indian commissioners (Head 1868:612; Tourtellotte 1870:606) differentiate the Sheberetches from the Elk Mountain Ute, while an historian of Ute ancestry (Conetah 1982:88) believes they are the same.

Observers variously identified Sheberetches’ territory as the Castle Valley region in west central Utah (Hodge 1907-1910:514) covering an area near Price to Monticello, Utah, including the confluence of the Green and Colorado rivers (Timican and Kanosh in Martineau 1992:52, 156); as land south of the San Rafael River and east of the Wasatch Mountains (Tourtellotte 1870:606); and as a vast domain from the Green River to the Sevier River (Powell and Ingalls 1873-42). However, numerous other groups occupied portions of this landscape (Map 3-2, including the Ungkwapawggwutvutseng (Red Fish People), Paw gosawdubhwhutvutseng (Water Clover People), and the Antarianunts. These will be discussed later in the chapter.

In the early days, the La Sal Mountains in eastern Utah just south of the Colorado River were referred to as “Elk Mountain.” Elk Ridge, an appendage of the Blue or Abajo Mountains west of Monticello, also was referred to as “Elk Mountain” (Robert McPherson, personal communication, 2003).
travel corridor to remove stolen livestock from the LDS settlements in the mid-1800s. If the horse was introduced early to the Elk Mountain Utes and Sheberetiches, it subsequently may have been passed to their western plateau neighbors who resided in the Capitol Reef vicinity, and who will be discussed later in the report.

Indian captives (women and particularly children) and animal pelts were the primary commodities Yutas traded for horses from the Spanish and Mexicans from approximately the mid-1700s through the mid-1800s (Hafen and Hafen 1993:264). While all indigenous communities were susceptible to raiding by the Yuta groups, those Indians who were still pedestrian (that is, without horses) and without the quantity of natural resources like buckskin to trade for them were the most vulnerable. This might have included a group of Indians, the Antarianunts, to the east of Capitol Reef (Map 3-2). They lived in an area dominated by scrublands and valley bottoms, and did not have access to mountain plateaus or highlands.

Petroglyph of Horses in Capitol Reef National Park

Seven horses are etched on at least one panel in Capitol Reef National Park (WNO149) along the Fremont River corridor (Map 1-1 and Figure 3-2). Whether or not people of Numic origin scribed the horses, their representation on this panel does signify a noteworthy event: contact with Spaniards who brought horses from Europe. Acquisition of the horse by some local Indians and not others was to have profound consequences, some of which are discussed below.

The Emblematic Horse and the Inauguration of the "Southern Paiute" and "Ute" Conventions

As Spaniards continued interaction with Yutas, they began to distinguish diverse groups within this aggregate category and gave names to them. Some of the names are those Indians used to label themselves; others are names Dominguez and Escalante devised to label groups based on conspicuous attributes. For example, Yutas Cobardes refers to the timid behavior exhibited by Numic Indians now referred to as the Southern Paiute. The timidity reflects the wariness of those who were without horses and who lived along the slave-raiding corridor. If groups of Spanish speakers or mounted Indians approached them, they acted with appropriate fear or fled to prevent being taken captive for sale as slaves (Euler 1966:31-33, 36-37).

The horse is an example of a cultural attribute used by non-Indians to differentiate indigenous groups. Cultural anthropologists and archeologists (see Euler 1966; Fowler and Fowler 1971b; Kelly and Fowler 1986; Schroeder 1965; Steward 1938, 1974; Steward 1966) began to use the horse (and associated Plains traits) as the defining difference between the Southern Paiute and Ute. For example, one anthropologist writing about the Northern Ute demarcated phases of their collective history based upon their lack or possession of horses (Jones 1955). As time passed, other attributes were used to set apart the Paiute from the Ute, including band organization and horticulture. None, however, are as well known as the symbol of the equestrian. For now, I avoid applying the labels of "Paiute" and "Ute" to the people who lived in the Capitol Reef region. Confusion already exists among archeologists, cultural anthropologists, and county residents about the identity of local historic Indians. Instead, it seems appropriate to let their histories unfold. From admitted-
Map 3-2 Approximate Locations of Nineteenth Century Paiute and Ute Groups Inhabiting the Vicinity of Present-day Capitol Reef National Park

A. Paw goosawd-uhmpuhtseng (Water Clover People)
B. Ungkaw' pawguh'u vutseng (Red Fish People)
C. Antarianunts (Untaw'duheutseng)
D. Kaiw yi gaci (Mountain Turn People)
E. Tavinwac (No know translation)
F. Sanwawitimpaya (Sagebrush Canyon Mouth People)
G. Kwaguiuavi (Seed Valley People)
H. Avua (Pocket Between Hills People or Semi-circular Cliffs People)
I. Sheberetches

Legend
- Capitol Reef National Park
- Lake
- River

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team
Map 3-3. Spanish Trail

Legend

Routes of the Old Spanish Trail

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team
ly limited information, the process of their lives, as much as we can reconstruct it, should reveal who they were and who they have become.

Aside from determining ethnicity, acquisition of the horse had other important consequences for the Numa. Some communities rapidly acquired the horse, while others did not. Possession of the horse conferred an advantage in wealth and status to some individuals and groups. Lack of horses had disadvantageous consequences for others who often became prey to raiding by their better-equipped neighbors.

The Spanish Trail and Capitol Reef National Park

Through the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Spaniards and then New Mexicans frequently made expeditions into Yuta domain. The famous 1776 expedition of Dominguez and Escalante attempted to blaze a trade route between Santa Fe, New Mexico and the port of Monterey, California to gain access to European goods and California-bred livestock. The Franciscan friars also were assigned to inventory new lands for the Spanish Crown. At least nine Yutas were their guides, eight of whom were from the Uintalas (Warner and Chavez 1995:viii). It was on this journey through Colorado, Utah, and Arizona that numerous other groups of Yutas were encountered and identified. Among these were the Huascarí (Cedar City Indians), Lagunas (Timpanogotzis or Timpanogots), Pagampachi (Kaibab Indians), Pahute (Shivwits), Payuchi (San Juan Southern Paiute and Cosinicas or Havasupai), Sabuaganana/Ancapegari (Mowatavivaatiu or Uncompahgre), Tabeguache (Tabeguache), Tíañgapaí (Pahvant), Chemehuevi, and Cobardes (Southern Paiute) (Stewart 1942:236-237; Warner and Chavez 1995:147). The route traveled by Dominguez and Escalante missed the Capitol Reef region and the Numic Indians residing there (Fowler and Fowler 1971b:7). Instead, they entered Utah near present-day Vernal, traveled west along that axis, turned south at the Wasatch Front, and continued into Arizona.

Frequently, Spaniards rode deep into Yuta territory to obtain slaves and furs, and to prospect for mineral wealth. Juan Maria de Rivera in 1765 and 1775, Mestas in 1805, and Arze and Garcia in 1813 undertook expeditions of this kind. The Arze and Garcia expedition reached the Sevier River. Apparently the route to Utah Lake was so routine that they did not begin their journal entries until they turned south to the Sevier River (Hafen and Hafen 1993[1954]: 52-53,85-86,266-267). Explorers and merchants like these traversed segments that evolved into the route we know today as the Spanish Trail (Map 3-3).

The authors (Hafen and Hafen 1993) of The Old Spanish Trail say that the name is a misnomer. The trail was not Spanish, but instead connected two towns of Spanish origin, Santa Fe and Los Angeles, the latter of which was established in 1781. The Spanish did not blaze the trail, but individual Spaniards and Mexicans traversed it, guided by Indians. The 1,200-mile course took about two months to travel each way. While its formal path was being forged in the 1700s, commercial traffic proliferated in the 1830s and 1840s after Mexico assumed control of the Spanish territory in 1821. An annual caravan to exchange New Mexican woolen blankets for horses and mules continued for 20 years, setting off in the spring and ending travel in late fall.

This was a folk trail, mastered segment by segment through many years and by many forces — Spanish padres bent on reclaiming pagan souls, Mexican traders bartering for Indian slaves, prospectors in search of fabled mines, Indians coveting the...horse and... [weapons], and American Mountain Men seeking beaver pelts. (Hafen and Hafen 1993:20)

By 1841, Los Angeles was producing horses and cattle in such numbers that they became a liability for the Spanish, preyed upon by Americans, Mexicans, and American Indians. These groups collaborated to take stolen livestock along the Spanish Trail for sale in Santa Fe and later to the Latter-day Saints when they arrived in Salt Lake City.

Enterprising Ute, such as Wakara, a Timpanogos, became wealthy from the Spanish Trail. In the 1830s and 1840s, he extracted tribute for use of the trail (Conetah 1852:33). He also made a profession of raiding and selling for slaves and horses. Wakara was so adept at driving horses away from the Californian colonies that he was nicknamed "Napoleonic of the Desert" (Hafen and Hafen 1993:248). Others among the Yutas, such as the Payuchi (later referred to as "Southern Paiute"), Navajo, Spaniards, and the Mexicans, raiding for slaves along the Spanish Trail. As with livestock, the trail became a corridor to obtain and then transport slaves primarily to New Mexico (1993:269).

Contrary to popular belief, several groups of Payuchi

44 Cultural anthropologist Omer Stewart (1942) researched, among other things, the ethnohistory of indigenous Ute and Southern Paiute groups. Stewart’s determinations of the contemporary identities of historic groups differ somewhat from Warner’s. None of the accounts on this matter seem to agree. This is likely a consequence of the limited information that originally existed and the multiple relocations and consolidations of groups throughout the colonization process.

45 Diminishing European resources brought states like Spain to the New World. Wealth, particularly in the form of gold and silver, helped to finance government and warfare. Gold was preferred and shipped from the New World to Spain, significantly increasing European gold supplies (Elliott in Wolf 1990:135). Silver eventually became the principal export with over seven million pounds reaching Seville. The irony is that Spain’s wealth in ore could not prevent bankruptcy; Spanish royalty was overextended in its European military pursuits (Wolf 1990:139).

46 In 1841, the colony of Los Angeles alone had over 80,000 cattle, 25,000 horses, and 10,000 sheep (Hafen and Hafen 1993:40).
Figure 3-6
Howard Blackburn of Loa, Utah, in 1948 pointing out a relict of the Spanish Trail near Fremont, Utah. Utah Historical Society. Photo number C-114. Negative number unknown.
or Southern Paiute raided for slaves. The Moapa, Shivwits, Saint George, and Pahranagat accused the Beaver, Cedar, Gunlock, and Panguitch of capturing women and children for sale as slaves (Kelly and Fowler 1986:368). Before small groups were consolidated under the Kaibab Band of the Paiute Indians, one group, the Ankati, reported that the Koosharem and Panguitch would steal children for the slave market (Kelly 1964:91).

What is referred to as the "eastern," "alternate," or "southern" route of the Spanish Trail passes very close to Capitol Reef National Park, about 30 miles to the northwest of it, and traverses the shore of Fish Lake (Map 1-7 and Figure 3-6). According to Leroy and Ann Hafen (1993:299), it was a shortcut and a "high path preferred for late season travel." A Wayne County resident, Perry Jackson, informed the Hafens of the likely route through the Fishlake National Forest:

The East Route goes up the East Fork of the Sevier and its Otter Creek affluent, over the divide to Fish Lake, and thence over the mountains to a branch of Salina Creek.... [According to Perry Jackson] the route after leaving Fish Lake must have been up Seven Mile Creek, over the divide and down Nioche Creek. These streams, he says, traverse wide, grass-covered valleys that provide feed and an easy travel for horse herds or pack trains, and together form the only route suitable for such use. (Hafen and Hafen 1993:299–300)

The eastern route of the Spanish Trail left the mountainous plateau and followed Otter Creek where the communities of Greenwich, Koosharem, and Burrville (Map 1-7) are now located in what is referred to as "Grass Valley."48

Local Indians as Slave Raiders?

It is difficult to piece together the impact of the Spanish Trail and slave raiding upon local Indians whose traditional domain incorporates the eastern route. These groups will be discussed more fully in the next section. However, fragmentary evidence exists. The Spanish were likely present or they were familiar to indigenous residents as suggested by the Numic name for them, Co-quiets, in Mosiah Behunin’s Baptism Book (1875). Whether or not the Numic Indians became victims of

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47 These groups prove the exception to the commonly held belief that all Southern Paiute were without horses.

48 Otter Creek transects Grass Valley and drains into the Sevier River. When members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints colonized the valley in the 1870s, they established the communities of Burrville, Koosharem, and Greenwich. "Koosharem" is an anglicized version of the Numic word for clover. Koosawd or Koosawd’ means clover (Martineau 1992:139). The bountiful clover root in Grass Valley is the reason the community was given that name. The former indigenous residents, the Paw goosawd'uhmpuhtseng, were named after the prolific clover there. Their name translates to "Water Clover People" (Martineau 1992:154). Koosharem also refers to the name of a contemporary band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah.
Figure 3-8
Florence Kanosh holding the pair of gauntlets she made for Perry Jackson of Fremont, Utah. Photograph taken by Perry Jackson, date unknown.

Figure 3-9
Photograph of Rosie Timican, in her eighties, taken by Omer Stewart. From his Cultural Element Distributions: XVII Ute-Southern Paiute (1942).
Figure 3-10
R.D. Adams took this photograph of Tom Quakanab in the early 1900s. A note on the photograph indicates that at the time "Old Tom" was "more than 100 snows." Utah Historical Society. Photo number 9705. Negative number 14513.
R.D. Adams took this photograph in 1905 of the Indians who resided at Greenwich near Koosharem, Utah. Back row, left to right: George Hatch (LDS caretaker of the Koosharem enclave at the turn of the century), Joe Bob (son of Sally and Bob Walker), Nick (Hopi or, in the vernacular of the day, "Moqui"), Mustache, Joe Bishop and his wife Wahuluta (both from Arizona), Crockett Kanosh, George (Timicant?), Tom (Mix? Quakanab?), John Timicant (Timicant), and his wife Rosie Quakanab Timicant. Next row: Alice (small girl), Peaweeds (wife of Chief Walker; also identified as "Peawitch" or "Sarah"), Henry (small boy), Dora or Thimba (holding the cradle board in which the baby Stella is covered), Walker Ammon (son of Chief Walker), his wife Dora, Alma (Walker Ammon's boy), Mokwonusik, Charlie Arrowgarp (or Charlie Aicupk according to Warnock (1949:219)), his wife Millie Arrowpane, Minnie and Jesse Jim, and their child standing in front of them. Sitting on the ground: Minnie Kanosh, Nancy Timicant, Florence Timicant, and Jimmy Timicant. Identifications gleaned from the information Florence Timicant Kanosh provided to LeVan Martineau (1992:171) and from Anne Snow's Rainbow Views: A History of Wayne County (1985:11). Photograph from the archives of the Utah State Historical Society. Photo number 9707. Negative number 20149.
the slave raid and/or actively engaged in it cannot be known with certainty. Still, some information is available. The Koosharem along with the Panguitch had a putative reputation for taking slaves among a group of the Kaibab (Kelly 1964:91). In an 1880 census record of Indians residing in Grass and Rabbit valleys, some families were reported to have “servants” living with them (Bureau of Census 1880:9–10). It is possible that LDS census takers wrote “servants” as a euphemism for “slaves.” Together, these sources suggest that local Numic indigene of Grass and Rabbit valleys had horses and were enterprisingly engaged in the slave trade with the Spaniards and the Mexicans.

Of documented expeditions or caravans described by Leroy and Ann Hafen and other sources, none are identified as having passed through Capitol Reef National Park, despite its proximity to the now-institutionalized Spanish Trail. However, at least one turn-of-the-century story from a local miner, E.T. Wolverton (1928), suggests that an Indian trail passed through Capitol Reef National Park and linked with the Spanish Trail. According to Wolverton, the trail (Map I-6) originated at Elk Ridge, near Bears Ears in the Manti-La Sal National Forest, and continued beyond the Henry Mountains. Passage through Capitol Reef via Rabbit Valley enabled the trail to connect with the Spanish Trail, though it predates the route formally established in the early to mid-1800s. Wolverton suggests that the Spanish used this trail in their search for ore and refers to it as the “Older Spanish Trail” or “Bears Ears Trail.”

According to Wolverton, the Spanish were prospecting for profitable minerals, that is, gold and silver, in the Henry Mountains. He tells that a Numic Indian at Pipe Spring (Map I-4) led a cattleman to the Spanish mine in the Henries and relayed a story about the exploitation of the local Indians.

Many, many years ago the Spaniards dug gold out of the side of the mountain. They employed the Indians to do the hard labor, and treated them shamefully. They were forced to labor from dawn to duskness, and often beaten and kicked like dogs. One morning the surrounding hills were full of warriors. A terrible battle followed, lasting all day. Many Indians were killed, but in the end all the Spaniards were destroyed, their shelters burned and their workings carefully filled and all sign obliterated.... (Wolverton 1928:2–3)

Wolverton continues to tell the saga of the mine, which allegedly had an imprecation placed upon it by an Indian spiritual leader to prevent future abuse. He says that in 1868 and again in 1874, “local Indians” drove away prospectors. In notes to Wolverton’s original text, a poem is provided which conveys that a Navajo elder, Hashkenii, knew of the Spanish abuses at this mine (Wolverton 1928:16).

Stories also exist about a Spanish mine on the Fish Lake Hightop Plateau. The mine is now called the Josephine Mine (Martineau 1992:80). A Koosharem elder (Vera Charles, Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-7) relayed a story from her aunt (Florence Kanosh, born 1889; Appendix 3-A; Figures 3-8 and 3-11) and her father (Jimmy Timican (Figure 3-11), born 1895). She said that the local Indians

...used to get the gold out...Indians didn’t know what they were getting ‘cause they didn’t know anything about gold. And so the Spanish told them that they could pay them for going in there. But instead they went and got a whole bunch of Indians and turned ‘em into slaves, and they had ‘em in, what do you call that thing, where they were all chained up and they can’t go out and tell other people?...And when they [the Spanish] were gonna go back to their own country, they went and put all those Indians in there, and blew up the entrance to the mine, and all those Indians were in there. I guess they must have died in there...There’s lots of...[Spanish] [that] used to come around. I don’t know how they found out there is a gold mine there. (Charles 1997)

Another Koosharem elder (Timican 1995) confirmed this account. Fishlake National Forest archeologist Bob Leonard says he, too, is aware of the story (personal communication 1997).

Plausibility of Spanish Intrusion into the Henry Mountains

While at present no confirmation exists of the Spanish mines on lands surrounding Capitol Reef National Park, the stories about them are plausible for several reasons. One of the charges of Spanish expeditions was to locate sources of gold and silver throughout Yuta country. Spain was in economic crisis and New Spain was relied upon to supply the wealth required to maintain the empire. The colonists of New Spain had a notorious reputation for exploiting native labor.

Further, the Henry Mountains and the Fish Lake Plateau were in close proximity to trail systems in place long before the Spanish Trail was institutionalized. This network of trails was incorporated into the Spanish Trail.

That Indians could have been present in each of the events outlined by Wolverton is credible. His story relays that there were Indians in the vicinity of the Henry Mountains, those who allegedly became laborers in the Iberian mine as well as those who supposedly descended upon the mining operations. According to Wolverton, Indians in 1868 and again in 1874 discouraged other prospectors from working the claim. Cultural anthropologists asked Indians who resided in the
Koosharem enclave (Figure 3-11) and who had knowledge of their grandparents’ generation of the mid-1800s about the Henry Mountains. Rosie Quakanab Timican (Appendix 3-A and Figures 3-9 and 3-11) and her son Jimmy (Figure 3-11) reported that a group of Numic Indians known as the Antarianunts lived in the vicinity of the Henry Mountains and to the east (Euler 1966:107; Kelly 1964:107,144–145; Kelly and Fowler 1986:368,394; Martineau 1992:154–156; Stewart 1942:237,239). Tom Quakanab (father to Rosie; Appendix 3-A and Figure 3-10) and his brother were born in the Henry Mountains about 1814 when the Spanish were making forays into the Yuta territory just before Mexico became independent from Spain in 1821. One of Tom’s brothers was “traded to Mexicans” (Martineau 1992:276,293,292).

That this group of Indians was isolated is far from reality. Tom talked to Kelly about learning the Bear Dance from the Uintahs whose traditional territory was to the north. Subsequently, he and another man brought the Bear Dance to the Kaibab. As late as 1872, Dellenbaugh (1991:205) notes that the Indians he and Thompson met at “Indian Bench” near Pleasant Creek on the Dixie National Forest (Map I-2) knew about the Henry Mountains because they directed the surveyors to a trail that led there. Dellenbaugh guessed that their territory ranged between the Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain) and the Henry Mountains (Dellenbaugh in Kelly 1964:60).

Too, oral narratives from three different indigenous

49 The Spanish Trail (Map I-6), as we know it today, evolved from a set or system of trails previously forged by American Indians. They routinely migrated through the landscape on hunting and gathering expeditions, for trade, to conduct warfare, for social and ceremonial visits, and, in some cases, as part of spiritually mandated journeys like those undertaken by Ancestral Puebloans (refer to Chapters 1 and 2).

50 “Imprecation” is an earnest request, prayer, or invocation for something harmful, injurious, or undesirable to occur in a particular circumstance. Euroamericans commonly refer to this action as a “curse.”

51 Indians were rarely named or distinguished from one another in documentary history of this era, nor are they named or groups differentiated in interviews with individuals who were children at time of first contact.

52 Hashkéniini was a Navajo headman or leader during the mid-1800s. He died in 1909 (Robert McPherson, personal communication, 2003). With his extended family and two female Ute slaves, he sought refuge at Navajo Mountain for six years (1863–1869) to avoid Kit Carson and incarceration at Bosque Redondo. In 1880, Cass Hite and Hashkéniini became friends. Hashkéniini showed Cass where gold ore was located in the sands at Dandy Crossing, now referred to as Hite Crossing (Kelly 1953; Luckert 1977). Information about his relationship to the Capitol Reef landscape is provided in Chapter 4.

53 At least one anthropologist (Kelly 1964) places the homeland of the Antarianunts at time of contact all the way to the Green River. If this is true, their area overlapped that of the Sheberetches as defined by Conetah (1982:18) and Martineau (1992:154–156). Other researchers (Kelly and Fowler 1986; Martineau 1992) set the Dirty Devil and Fremont rivers as their eastern boundary. Opinions vary as to whether the Antarianunts or Yantari fall into the “Paiute” or “Ute” classifications embellished by anthropologists. Some say they were transitional (Euler 1966; Kelly 1964; and Kelly and Fowler 1986).

54 I have heard “Mexicans” and “Spaniards” or “Spanish” used interchangeably among American Indian communities. Without a date or some way to relate a story to a time frame, it is sometimes difficult to know which of the two groups are being referenced.
community triangled with one another. These historical accounts about Spanish mines and native exploitation existed among the Kaibab Paiute, the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, and the Navajo.

From 1883 through 1912, a minor gold rush occurred in Glen Canyon, which included the nearby Henry Mountains (Crampton 1988:13). In 1883, Navajo headman Hashkeninii showed Cass Hite where placer gold was located at what is now Hite Crossing. As Hite’s discoveries became known, a light rush of prospecting began (Crampton 1988:13). Other miners asked Hashkeninii for the location of a silver mine in the area (Luckert 1977:9). Hashkeninii is the same individual who knew of the Spanish exploitation and whose knowledge of that event was memorialized in a poem set into the notes of Wolverton’s narrative.

Other Historic Indian Trails Across the Waterpocket Fold

Interestingly, Indian trails through Capitol Reef National Park (Map I-6), to the Henry Mountains and beyond, had been noted at least 60 years before Wolverton told his story in 1929. In the late 1800s, scientists with the U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey made two independent expeditions to the Waterpocket Fold region. Almon Thompson and Frederick Dellenbaugh were on a land reconnaissance for the second of the Powell expeditions and journeyed across the Fold and passed the Henry Mountains. While on Boulder Mountain, just short of contemporary park boundaries, they met a group of Numic Indians who directed them to follow a trail to the Henry Mountains that passed through what is now the park, though exactly where they crossed the Fold is not known. They could not convince a guide to go with them and they unintentionally left the trail (Dellenbaugh 1991:195–214). In 1875–1876 a geologist traveled through what is now the park to get to the Henry Mountains. He identified four routes of travel across the Waterpocket Fold and one he referred to as the “Indian Trail” which aided his passage (Gilbert 1880:16). Map I-7 shows the trails across the Fold used by explorer scientists Thompson and Dellenbaugh, and geologist G.K. Gilbert.

Archaeological Evidence of Indigenous Life at Capitol Reef National Park during the Spanish Entrada

A lithic and groundstone scatter (GA3954; also refer to Map I-1) on a large dune southwest near the base of the Waterpocket Fold where the Burr Trail crosses was radio-carbon dated at about A.D. 1580–1720 (Richens et al. 1997:63). From materials present and from flotation
samples, seed gathering and processing as well as game hunting is suggested. The topography along the eastern escarpment of the Fold would have yielded grass seeds to harvest. This site suggests that local Indians at least were procuring seasonal plants and some animals in what is now the Waterpocket District of the park (Map 3-1). Based on the archeological artifacts and features present, Paiute consultants in the 1960s said such a place would have served as a relatively permanent encampment (Sweeney and Euler 1963:7). By implication, it would have been used repeatedly to harvest seasonal resources. Jimmy Timican, at the opening of this chapter, describes a similar desertscape activity that his people participated in during the late nineteenth century. As evidenced by this site, obtaining food if not other resources in the desert of what is now Capitol Reef National Park was customary as far back as the sixteenth century — and earlier as evidenced by other Late Prehistoric, radiocarbon dated sites at the park and in the vicinity (Table 3-1).

Implications for Use of Capitol Reef National Park during the Spanish Intrusion

Archeological data provide a glimpse into some of the daily, albeit seasonal, activities of local Indians between the A.D. 1500s through 1700s. On the eastern escarpment of the Waterpocket Fold, near the present-day Burr Trail, they were gathering and processing seeds, as well as hunting game.

Through the processes of trading and raiding, horses may have reached native peoples in the Capitol Reef area as early as the mid-1600s. Interestingly, horses are depicted along one of the major corridors through the Waterpocket Fold. If the images on the petroglyph panel at WNo149 are authentic, horses might have been novel enough in the area to have been "remarked" upon in stone, especially along a corridor that was and, we will learn, continued to be used by native groups as a passage through the Fold.56

By the 1800s, the Iberians and New Mexicans had forged what we know as the Old Spanish Trail, which travels north of present-day Capitol Reef National Park. From Wolverton's account and evidence provided by two geographical surveying parties, a pre-existing trail system to the south and east linked with the main commercial corridor (Map 1-6). A few of these trails traversed the Waterpocket Fold. Several appear to have passed by or near the Henry Mountains and continued across the Colorado River toward New Mexico. These routes and the eastern (or alternate) route of the Spanish Trail along Fish Lake were subsumed within the traditional domain of local Numic Indians.

Some evidence exists of local indigenous encounters with Spanish intruders at Fish Lake and in the Henry Mountains. Independent of one another, oral accounts converge about Spanish exploitation for mineral wealth in the area from natives at Pipe Spring, Arizona, from four members of the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indians of Utah, and a Navajo.57 If Wolverton's story is true, other local indigene might have had enough horses to surprise and defeat the Spaniards who are alleged to have been mining in the Henry Mountains. These might have included the Ungkaw' pawgul' u vutseng or "Red Fish People," the Elk Mountain Utes, the Sheberetches, and the Navajo. At least some of the Indians in the region had horses, while others farther southeast (such as the Antarianunts) might not have possessed them until later, if at all.58

With the close proximity of the Spanish Trail and its related network of trails to local indigenous populations, the corridor was bound to have effects. Numic groups likely became engaged both as human commodities and merchants in the Spanish and New Mexican trade system where surplus horses and native slaves dominated the exchange. Fragmentary, circumstantial evidence seems to suggest that those in the plateau valleys to the west of Capitol Reef, nearest the main corridor, might have become enterprising merchants in the slave trade. These may have included the Paw goosawd uhnpuhitse on or "Water Clover People" of Koosharem and the Ungkaw' pawgul' u vutseng or "Red Fish People" (see below; also Map 3-2). Those further to the southeast (such as the Antarianunts), in the more arid canyon lands associated with the Henry Mountains, seem to have become unwilling commodities. That at least the Mexicans, if not the Spanish, had reached the Antarianunts is documented by an indigenous account of one of their children being traded. If the horse did

55 Geologist William Lee Stokes, a long-time contributor to and interpreter of Utah geology, confirms that gold, albeit in small quantities, does exist in the Henry Mountains. He states that a "small amount of gold, associated with cooper, has been produced from fissures on Mt. Ellen and Mt. Pennell and a little placer gold has been obtained from gravels derived from the mountains" (Stokes 1968:186).

56 See footnotes 11 through 12, and footnote 40.

57 The stories of Spanish mining are still considered apocryphal by scholars (Joel Janetki and Robert McPherson, personal communication, 2003), despite, in this case, the convergence of oral accounts documenting Spanish exploitation from three different Native American tribes. In part this skepticism reflects concerns about the historical reliability of oral tradition. If one is using oral tradition for historical verification (though oral tradition serves many other purposes), it is my experience that there are usually kernels of truth in these accounts. Interestingly, stories of Spanish mining occur in other parts of the state, e.g. Johnson Canyon near Provo (Joel Janetki, personal communication, 2002). It would be worth bringing together and contextualizing these disparate accounts, including those from native oral traditions, to reassess the plausibility of Spanish mining in Utah.

58 Given their particular historical fate, described later in this chapter, the Antarianunts may have been decimated by disease and/or slave raiding, or relocated themselves before they acquired horses. Or, they may have acquired the horse later rather than sooner. As residents of lowlands to the east of the mountain plateau country, they would have had far fewer resources to trade to Spaniards and Mexicans for horses.
come early to plateau valleys like those west of the park, it likely gave the Indians living along the eastern or alternate route the distinct advantage of becoming enterprising merchants in the slave trade and possibly forestalled them from becoming prey for captors.

The foregoing information is sketchy about the interaction of the local Numic Indians with Spanish and New Mexican merchants and miners. However, in the nineteenth century, the lives of Indians who resided in the Capitol Reef region become further illuminated. Euroamericans with the tradition of the written record started to visit the Capitol Reef area. As a consequence, references to local Numic Indians begin to appear in documents produced by surveyors, early settlers, territorial militia, and members of LDS ecclesiastical organizations. In the early 1930s and 1940s, Euroamerican anthropologists interviewed some indigenous inhabitants who were children when the newcomers arrived (Cooke 1938; Kelly 1964, Kelly and Fowler 1986; Smith 1974; and Stewart 1942). The indigenous histories conveyed in these interviews are complimented by the interviews conducted for this study with contemporary Paiute and Ute elders.
The Regional Effects of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty

With the signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty in 1848, territory in Colorado and New Mexico was ceded to the United States. After the signing of the treaty, travel along the Spanish Trail began to diminish as Mexico extricated itself from the region.

At about the same time, records of journeys along the trail began to be kept by Euroamericans. Intending to take the alternate route along Fish Lake, Orville Pratt’s group inadvertently bypassed it, though came close to Fish Lake in September of 1848. If the party saw any indigenous residents, no mention was made of them (Hafen and Hafen 1993:349–359).

Though Pratt missed his intended destination of Fish Lake and the Indians who made seasonal use of it, Kit Carson and George Brewerton (Figure 3-12) camped during the summer on the shore of Fish Lake en route to Santa Fe in 1848. In the fall of 1848, an attorney (George Brewerton) who traveled the Spanish Trail wrote what is considered to be the first complete journal about the expedition. Of the Indians they encountered at the Lake, Brewerton wrote:

*There we were again visited by the Eutaw Indians,* who, as usual, behaved in a very friendly manner. Our provisions had now become so scanty that it was necessary to add to our stock by purchasing what we could from the Indians. From the party who here visited us, we managed to obtain a portion of a Rocky-Mountain sheep, or “big-horn,” as it is often called; and, upon Kit’s asking for fish, one of the Indians departed, but in a few minutes returned with a fine trout, which we bought for a couple of charges of powder. Our bargain had hardly been placed on the fire when we discovered that the fish had been killed with an arrow-wound in the back. While we were wondering at this novel mode of taking trout, two of our men came into camp with as many fish as they could carry...this stream they represented as swarming with fish.... (Brewerton in Hafen and Hafen 1993:331)

In this brief passage about the Numic Indians who visited their camp a lot can be learned. They were mounted and had been hunting big horn sheep in the area. Bows and arrows were used to kill fish in this case, but they also possessed guns, likely obtained from the Spanish and/or Mexicans. They were able to trade the locally abundant natural resources for the scarce commodity of ammunition. This enterprising exchange probably occurred repeatedly with travelers on the Spanish Trail and may be one reason why the local Indians were friendly.

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60 This appears to be a variation of the Spanish word Yutas.
Figure 3-12
Etching of George Douglas Brewerton. From his
The War in Kansas, 1865.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Visited Park?</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Contact with Indians?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George Brewerton and Kit Carson</td>
<td>Summer 1848</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Carson escorted Brewerton and others over the Spanish Trail</td>
<td>Yes, at Fish Lake (Hafen and Hafen 1993:316-337)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orville Pratt</td>
<td>September 1848</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Journey to California via Spanish Trail</td>
<td>None mentioned (Hafen and Hafen 1993:342–359)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General W.S. Snow and 103 men of the Navoo Legion</td>
<td>September 19–22, 1865</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>To search out Black Hawk who was reported to have a refuge near Fish Lake</td>
<td>Yes, at Red Lake. Skirmish killed some Indians and injured some militia (Gottfredson 1919:167–169; Martineau 1992:54–55; Sevier Stake Manuscript History, entry for 1865; Snow 1985:5–6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General William B. Pace with men of the Navoo Legion</td>
<td>June or July 8–15, 1866</td>
<td>Yes. Took route through Rabbit Valley (named by Pace) and probably camped at Fruita, led there by an Indian trail with evidence of cattle driven through 3–4 weeks prior</td>
<td>No, but evidence of the livestock trail taken by Indians through Capitol Reef National Park along the Fremont River (Dorcheus Memoirs, June 11, 1866; Loa Stake Records, 1865 entry [which is an error; expedition occurred in 1866]; Utah Territorial Militia Records #1539)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain James Andrus with 61 men and Lieutenant Joseph Fish with 18 men of the Navoo Legion</td>
<td>August 15–October 1866</td>
<td>No. However Andrus provides the first written description of the Water-pocket Fold. See below</td>
<td>To pursue the Colorado River crossings used by Indians and to evaluate the country between St. George and the Green River for settlement</td>
<td>Yes, two Indians stealing horses near headwaters of Paria River. Evidence of a Grass Valley encampment of Indians who had stolen livestock. Evidence of &quot;Pieds&quot; on an elk hunting party on Boulder Mountain. Many Indian trails observed (Crampton 1964:144–161; Fish n.d.:24–29; Utah Territorial Militia Records #962)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis Simmons, Special Agent to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, F. H. Head</td>
<td>June 1867</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>To find and convince Black Hawk to stop depredations</td>
<td>Yes, at Fish Lake visited a camp of Indians to earn whereabouts of Black Hawk (Simmons 1868:185)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal Creek John (of Cedar City) and Kanarra's son, George, sent by General Snow and authorized by Brigham Young</td>
<td>July 22, 1869</td>
<td>No, but very close to the western boundary of the park at Red Lake, now Bicknell Bottoms</td>
<td>To persuade Black Hawk and followers to stop depredations. Talks of sending Jacob Hamblin next</td>
<td>Yes, encounter with those encamped at Red Lake (Journal History entry for July 22, 1869, pp. 2–4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Hamblin</td>
<td>Summer 1870</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>To persuade Black Hawk and followers to stop raiding</td>
<td>Yes, at Fish Lake (Letter from Brigham Young to Erastus Snow, Journal History, July 22, 1869; Little 1971:96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Bean, A.K. Thurber, William B. Pace, Tabiona (Figure 3–13), and others</td>
<td>June 11–July 1, 1873</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>To explore, for settlement, the region of Grass Valley, Fish Lake Plateau, and Rabbit Valley; and to persuade those once associated with Black Hawk to allow settlement</td>
<td>Yes, found a group of Indians at Fish Lake, Red Lake (south of Bicknell), and Potato (Escañante) Valley (Bean 1945:168–171; Gottfredson 1919:324–330; Sevier Stake Manuscript History, 1873 entry; Snow 1985:6–9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

59 The exact location of Red Lake remained obscure to all but the local residents for a long while. Older residents of Bicknell say that Red Lake is now the Bicknell Bottoms. When the Forsyth Reservoir dam broke in about 1927, the silt coming down through the valley filled the lake (Douglas Oyler, Paul Pace, and Bob Leonard, Fishlake National Forest, personal communication, 1997).
Figure 3-13
Photograph of Tabiona in the archives of the Utah Historical Society. Photo number 970.2. Negative number 14417.
The newly acquired territory, including southern Utah, suddenly found itself subject to exploration conducted under federal auspices for the purpose of establishing commercial corridors. Howard Stansbury of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, explored and mapped the Great Salt Lake, Utah Lake, and eastward. The data he collected were instrumental in establishing a stagecoach and railroad route (Poll et al. 1978:129).

Ordered by the federal government to locate a northern railroad route to the Pacific Ocean, John C. Fremont's 1853-1854 expedition party entered the Capitol Reef area. He stashed equipment including tents, blankets, and ammunition near the present town of Fremont in Rabbit Valley (Hafen and Hafen 1993:300). Likely because they were enduring winter travel and experiencing food shortages, no detailed description of this portion of the journey is provided by Fremont or the daguerreotypist Carvalho. No documentation was made of Indian encounters. Oral accounts tell of Wakara (Appendix 3-A) sending his brother or half-brother, Ammon, to retrieve the cache left by the Fremont expedition members. They were informed of its location in Rabbit Valley by a member who had dropped out of the Fremont party upon arrival in Parowan (Hafen and Hafen 1993:300).

Just a year before the signing of the treaty with Mexico in 1848, Brigham Young and his followers of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) arrived at present-day Salt Lake City escaping persecution in the Midwest (Arrington 1993; Larson 1965). Their arrival at Salt Lake, however, was not the end of colonization in the Utah Territory, but only the beginning. In four subsequent decades, the Latter-day Saints settled valleys throughout the state, proceeding south along the Wasatch Front. In all, over 450 settlements were established (Peterson 1977:26-53).

The colonization process was interrupted at least three times by Indian wars. These included the Walker (Wakara) War of 1853-1854, the Goshute Tintic War of 1856, and the Black Hawk War of 1865-1872. LDS colonies co-opted indigenous settlement areas and disrupted subsistence practices which precipitated conflicts. For example, the Sanpits and the Ungkau'pawuhi'u vutseng or Red Fish People wintered in plateau valleys and regularly harvested the abundant plants and animals in riverine and lake wetlands. The Ungkau'pawuhi'u vutseng or Red Fish People at time of contact were residing in Rabbit Valley just west of the contemporary boundary of Capitol Reef National Park.

Indigenous Bands Described in This Chapter

The Red Fish People were one of many Numic-speaking bands in the vicinity of Capitol Reef when the Latter-day Saints settled the region (Map 3-2). These groups are identified in Table 3-3. Using historical texts, ethnographic data, and interviews with Indians and non-Indians, the chapter discusses — as best as can be known — the lifeways of these communities and the nature of their relationship with what is now Capitol Reef National Park.

61 An employee (now deceased) at Capitol Reef National Park partnered with a researcher at a New Mexico museum. With the aid of Carvalho's daguerreotypes, they discovered that the Fremont expedition did travel through Cathedral Valley in what is now Capitol Reef National Park and into a portion of Goblin Valley State Park (Kreutzer 1997:20-21).

62 Another "Ammon," "Walker Ammon," allegedly the son of Wakara, became a resident of the consolidated enclave of Indians at Greenwich near the town of Koosharem (Map 1-4) in Grand Valley (Martineau 1992:273; Appendix 3-A). Like Wakara, he was a Timpanogots. While at Greenwich he lived with Dora Walker (Appendix 3-A) from Thistle Valley, Utah. The Thistle Valley area of Utah was once the traditional territory of the Timpanogots.

63 In the case of the Walker War, LDS interference with the economy of the slave trade and the profits to be gained by enterprising Indians like Wakara was another compelling reason for resistance (Larson 1952).
### Table 3-3

**Interdependent Communities of Numic Speaking Indians in the Vicinity of Capitol Reef National Park**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Group</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Avua</em> (&quot;Pocket Between Hills People&quot;) (Kelly 1964:149–150; Martineau 1992:154)</td>
<td>Southeast of the park. Wintered in the upper Paria Valley area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kaiwiyigaci</em> (&quot;Mountain Turn People&quot;) (Kelly 1964:143, 144, 151)</td>
<td>Southeast of the park. Resided at the base of Circle Cliffs where the Cliffs meet the Aquarius Plateau. This locale might be due south of Boulder Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kwaguiwavi</em> (&quot;Seed Valley People&quot;) (Kelly 1964:149–150)</td>
<td>Southeast of the park. Lived between the Paria River and the Kaiparowits Plateau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Paw goosawd’uhmpuhtseng</em> (&quot;Water Clover People&quot;) (Martineau 1992:154)</td>
<td>West of the park. Wintered in Grass Valley and summered at Fish Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sanwawitimpaya</em> (&quot;Sagebrush Canyon Mouth People&quot;) (Kelly 1964:150–151)</td>
<td>Southeast of the park. Lived in Escalante Valley, referred to as &quot;Potato Valley&quot; by local residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tavinwac</em> (Kelly 1964:144, 151)</td>
<td>Southeast of the park. Possibly resided in Boulder Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Unknown</em> (Blackburn 1946; Kelly n.d.; Tippetts 1964)</td>
<td>Accounts of wintering at Notom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ungkaw’pawguh’u vutseng</em> (&quot;Red Fish People&quot;) (Martineau 1992:154)</td>
<td>West of the park. Wintered in Rabbit Valley and summered at Fish Lake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
West of Capitol Reef National Park:
The Ungkaw’ pawguh’ u vutseng
(Red Fish People) and the
Paw goosawd’ uhmpuhtseng
(Water Clover People)

Those few, mostly locals, who know something about
the presence of historic Indians in the region think of
the Fish Lake Indians. They recall the anecdotal stories
of Indians harvesting an abundance of fish there.
While Fish Lake played a significant role in the lives
of regional Indians, it was only a seasonal residence and
the time spent there is part of a much larger story.
Plateaus, valleys, and canyon lowlands were incorpo­
rated into the traditional domain of these two indige­
 nous communities (Map 3-2). We know that one of these
groups, the Ungkaw’ pawguh’ u vutseng, made use of
resources in Capitol Reef National Park.
The Ungkaw’ pawguh’ u vutseng resided at Rabbit
Valley (west of Capitol Reef) through the fall and win­
ter. Other valleys in which seasonal encampments were
made included those of Grass, Rabbit, Paradise, Boulder,
and Escalante. Plateaus were frequented in the summer
and fall. These included the Awapa Plateau (Parker
Mountain); Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain); the
Fishlake Hightop Plateau; and Thousand Lake
Mountain. Desert places used by the Red Fish People
included what is now Capitol Reef National Park, and
the lands east of park including the Henry Mountains.
Permanent Euroamerican colonization forced the
Ungkaw’ pawguh’ u vutseng, and other regional Indians,
to seek refuge at Grass Valley where they became known
as the Koosharem Indians (though they lived at Green­
wich adjacent to the small town of Koosharem). For his­
torical, political, and economic reasons, even Grass
Valley proved unsuitable. Many re-settled in Richfield
(Map 1-r) and Joseph (south of Richfield), Utah, where a
sizeable community of Koosharem still resides.
The Paw goosawd’ uhmpuhtseng, or Water Clover
People, customarily lived in Grass Valley through part of
the fall and for the winter. They would travel to Fish
Lake during the summer. What little is known of their
traditional territory is presented below, along with
other, albeit limited, information. The LDS militia mas­
sacred the Water Clover People in 1865 during the Black
Hawk resistance.

Anthropological Misunderstandings of the Red Fish
People and Their Territory

References to the “Fish Ute” are sparse in governmen­
tal documents, anthropological literature, and popular
texts (Callaway et al. 1986:340; Head 1868:609,613;
Steward 1938:225,228; Tourtellotte 1870:606–607). And,
their association with Rabbit Valley went unnoted.
There are some reasons for this phenomenon. When
governmental or ecclesiastical officials visited Fish Lake
or sent representatives, it would have been in the sum­
mer when encampments of Indians were located there.
These Indians became associated, then, with that partic­
ular place. Information would not have been solicited about their occupation of or transhumant movements in the region surrounding the Lake; early observers were not were not cognizant of that particular environmental adaptation. These factors may help to explain why sightings of Indians at Fish Lake resulted in the presumption that they resided there and nowhere else. Unfortunately, groups with high residential mobility also were interpreted as having an ephemeral attachment to the land when, in fact, they regarded all of their territory as homeland.

Anthropologist Julian Steward (1938) inadvertently reinforced the perceived absence of Indians from Rabbit Valley, as well as the larger topography. Steward recognized that Indians he called the "Fish Ute" were associated with Fish Lake. However, he misinterpreted locational information he picked up from Peter Gottfredson’s *Indian Depredations* (1919:327-329). That omission had the effect of eradicating the presence of Indians from Rabbit Valley in anthropological literature.

A close reading of Gottfredson (1919:328) makes clear that some local Indians were residing in the lower end of Rabbit Valley when they were visited by a Latter-day Saints peace-making party in 1873. Steward, however, placed them two valleys to the west at Marysvale (1938:225, 228). In the evidence he amassed for the Indian Claims Commission, he compounded the problem by repeating the same error and by placing the "principal area of Fish Ute settlement" in Grass Valley (Steward 1974:93). Steward conceded that he knew little else about the "Fish Ute."

When attempting to establish which American Indian communities have association with a specific area, it is customary practice for researchers in anthropology to draw upon fieldwork done by their predecessors. The presumption is that earlier work is as accurate as possible. Other anthropologists inadvertently repeated Steward’s error. While the *Great Basin* volume of the Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians identifies the Fish Ute and their association with the *Moanunts* at Fish Lake, no references were made to these Indians making use of a more extensive territory that included Rabbit Valley. It also placed their headquarters at Koosharem on Otter Creek in Grass Valley (Callaway et al. 1986:340).

Other cultural anthropologists gathered information about Paiute and Ute peoples in Capitol Reef country. However, theoretical orientations and objectives of the time precluded gathering certain types of information about them or their territory. For example, in the 1930s when Omer Stewart (1942:236,238) talked with Rosie Quakanab Timican (*Figures 3-9 and 3-11*), a member of the *Ungkaw'pauguh u vutseng* or Red Fish People, his focus remained with material traits and not culture history or cultural ecology. In documenting the ethnohistory of the Southern Paiute, Robert Euler (1966:107) briefly discussed the question of Fish Ute identity (that is, whether they were Ute or Paiute), but did not provide a culture history of the Red Fish People at time of contact.

The fact that those Indians who wintered in Rabbit Valley were forced to relocate near Koosharem in Grass Valley in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries compounded the problem; anthropologists presumed it was this group that was associated with Fish Lake. For example, while Isabel Kelly (1964) made a number of allusions to the Koosharem enclave of Indians, no reference is made to those who occupied Rabbit Valley and the lands surrounding it. When Kelly did her fieldwork in the 1930s, regional Indians were already relocated in Grass Valley, including those who once wintered in Rabbit Valley. While the *Great Basin* volume of the *Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians* mentions the Koosharem enclave (Callaway et al. 1986:365; Kelly and Fowler 1986:389), no reference is made to Indians that lived on lands to the east, including Rabbit Valley, or that the Red Fish People consolidated with them.

What follows is an attempt to restore the presence of these Indians to their homeland, depict how they conducted their lives in the environmentally diverse landscape that included the Waterpocket Fold, and briefly chronicle the events that resulted in their removal. Ultimately, however, the purpose is to understand their association with Capitol Reef National Park.

**Naming Indians West of the Park**

Those groups residing west of the park have been called as many as 25 different names (*Table 3-4*). Needless to say, this has contributed to the confusion concerning their identities.

Those non-natives who encountered indigenous peoples typically did not learn the names they had for

64 Rather than first hand experience, Steward seems to have obtained this information from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and from Gottfredson’s *History of Indian Depredations in Utah* (1919). According to Catherine Sweeney Fowler (in Holt 1992:10), Steward based his assessments about the social, political, and economic organization of Great Basin — Colorado Plateau groups from his fieldwork with only two Nevada communities.

65 It is clear that the exploratory party of Bean and Thurber was making its way down Rabbit Valley when it ran into the group of Indians located near Pine Creek (at Red Lake), a tributary to the Fremont River south of Bicknell. Another source chronicling this event indicates the party was still in Rabbit Valley when it met a group of Indians near Pine Creek (Snow 1985:6-9). Jimmy Timican, born in Loa in Rabbit Valley, provided LeVan Martineau (1992:154-157) with indigenous names for regional Indian communities. He differentiates those inhabiting the Capitol Reef region (the *Ungkaw'pauguh u vutseng* or "Red Fish People" and the *Paw goosawd umpohtseeng* or "Water Clover People") from those residing around Marysvale. He calls the Marysvale group *Tosaw kawuhul ndengwoontseeng* or "White Sitting People," a name taken from the Tushar Mountains that skirt the valley in which Marysvale is situated.
Figure 3-14
Photograph of White Horse, also known as Tamaritz or Shinavegin. White Horse was an ally of Black Hawk during the war and later resided in Grass Valley (refer to Appendix 3-A). Photography from the archives of the Utah Historical Society. Photograph number 970.2. Negative number 14415.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NAMES</th>
<th>DEMOGRAPHIC DATA</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Eutaw Indians</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Brewerton (in Hafen and Hafen 1993:331)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865 (July)</td>
<td>Indians; squaws; papooses; Koosharem Band</td>
<td>Encampment of women, old men, and children at Burrville in Grass Valley</td>
<td>Gottfredson (1919:159–161); Martineau (1992:55–57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865 (Sept)</td>
<td>Indians; Paiutes</td>
<td>At least 16 (Pogoneab, 10 men, and 5 women at Red Lake, south of Bicknell)</td>
<td>Gottfredson (1919:167–169); Martineau (1992:54–55); Sevier Stake Manuscript History (entry for 1865); Snow (1985:5–6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866 (June)</td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>None contacted by Pace expedition</td>
<td>Dorchus Memoirs, June 11, 1866; Loa Stake Records, entry for 1865 [expedition occurred in 1866]; Utah Territorial Militia Records, #1539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866 (Aug-Oct)</td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>Two observed stealing horses near the Paria River</td>
<td>Crampton (1964:144–161); Fish n.d.:24–29; Utah Territorial Militia Records #962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866–1872</td>
<td>Tupatanupi-ci; Pav-t-wats; Tupperovits; Pavogogwunin (referring to Black Hawk's bands of the &quot;upper Sevier and Fish Lake region&quot;)</td>
<td>None (other accounts say as many as 300 allied themselves with Black Hawk)</td>
<td>Cooke (1938:629–630)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Pi-Edes; Fish Utes who speak the &quot;Utah&quot; language</td>
<td>Simmons saw a camp of &quot;Pi-Edes&quot; at Fish Lake in June. Head enumerates &quot;Fish Utes&quot; at 400</td>
<td>Simmons (1867–1868:185); Head (1868:174)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Fish Utes</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Head (1868:609,613)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870 (summer)</td>
<td>Red Lake Utes at Fish Lake</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Letter to Brigham Young from Erastus Snow, July 22, 1869, Journal History; Little (1971:96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Fish Utes around Red Lake</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>Tourtellot (1871:606)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Red Lake Utes</td>
<td>Approximately 22 men, women, children, and elders representing several families gathering seeds and fishing along Pleasant Creek on Boulder Mountain</td>
<td>Dellenbaugh (1991:195–214)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873 (June 11–July 1)</td>
<td>Indians; Grass Valley Indians</td>
<td>150 individuals representing groups from Fish Lake, Red Lake, and Escalante gathered in Grass Valley agreeing to peace</td>
<td>Bean (1945:168–171); Gottfredson (1919:324–330); Sevier Stake Manuscript History, 1873 entry; Snow (1985:6–9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873 (Sept)</td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>3 or 4 bands in Grass Valley</td>
<td>Memoranda of George Teacum Bean, son of George Washington Bean and one of first Euroamerican residents of Grass Valley, June 27, 1940, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Lumped with the Seuv-a-ritos (Sheberetches)</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>Powell and Ingalls (1873:42,45,50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>83 baptized &quot;at Fish Lake Utah during the summer.&quot; Also in the notebook, it identifies the Indians as being associated with Grass Valley</td>
<td>Mission Notebook of Mosiah Stephen Behunin (1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>NAMES</td>
<td>DEMOGRAPHIC DATA</td>
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<tr>
<td>1877-1900</td>
<td>Rabbit Valley Indians; Fish Lake Camp</td>
<td>&quot;Lots of Indians&quot;; &quot;Quite a colony&quot; in Lyman</td>
<td>Statement of Erastus Sorenson, appointed &quot;Indian Bishop&quot; by president of Wayne Stake. Original in possession of Fremon Sorenson and family in Lyman, Utah. Interview with Erastus's son, Fremon Sorenson, September 25, 1997.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1870s</td>
<td>Rabbit Valley Indians</td>
<td>400-600</td>
<td>Chloe Morrell Jackson, mother of Perry Jackson, first Euroamerican child born in Rabbit Valley. Interview with Perry and Shirley Jackson, December 22, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Piutes; Utes</td>
<td>15 families (about 90 individuals) at Grass Valley</td>
<td>Koosharem Ward of the Sevier Stake, Historical Records and Minutes, introductory notes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Indians in the vicinity of Loa</td>
<td>&quot;Many with each small band having a chief&quot;</td>
<td>Interview of Howard Blackburn by Charles Kelly, March 1, 1946, p.3, Library, Capitol Reef National Park, Torrey, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878 (Aug)</td>
<td>Piedes</td>
<td>8 to 10 &quot;lodges&quot; (32-100 individuals) leaving Grass Valley for Rabbit Valley. 10 &quot;lodges&quot; (40-80 individuals) remained at Grass Valley under &quot;White Horse&quot; or Tamaritz (Figure 3-14).</td>
<td>Letter of August 23, 1878 written by Albert K. Thurber to President Joseph Taylor. Sevier Stake Manuscript History, entry for 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Fremont Precinct Indians;</td>
<td>Seven families (40 individuals) in Rabbit Valley; 12 families (75 individuals) at Greenwich in Grass Valley</td>
<td>Bureau of Census (1880:9,10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-1926</td>
<td>Piute</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>William H. Callahan's autobiography including recollections of Wayne County Indians from 1892-1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Mostly Utes located there by A.K. Thurber (presumably from Rabbit Valley)</td>
<td>40 near Koosharem in Grass Valley</td>
<td>Koosharem Ward of Sevier Stake, LR 4509, Series 2, LDS Historical Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Letter to Erastus Sorenson from Joseph Eckersley, February 16, 1899. Original in possession of Fremon Sorenson and family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle to Late 1800s</td>
<td>Pagiv (fish) was the name given by a Kaiparowits resident</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Lucy in Isabel Kelly (1964:144)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1800s</td>
<td>Pahvant (who, it is said, would travel as far as Fish Lake. Blackburn says a Pahvant leader, Parashont, presided over the region that included land west of the park)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Conetah (1982:24); Blackburn interview of March 1, 1946, p.3, library, Capitol Reef National Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1800s</td>
<td>Indians; Fish Lake tribe; Grass Valley Indians; Wayne County faction of Ute Indians</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Snow (1985:12,16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66 Gottfredson (1919: 18 inset) in speaking about Indians who resided in the valley around Manti, Utah estimates that a "lodge" contained from four to 10 Indians, "young and old to each lodge."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NAMES</th>
<th>DEMOGRAPHIC DATA</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late 1800s</td>
<td>Pavógowunsin (two groups, one at Fish Lake and one at Maryswale)</td>
<td>Steward takes population information from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs</td>
<td>Steward (1938:225,228)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1800s</td>
<td>Pavogogwunsm; Moavinunts; Uintahnunts; Pagónunts, Pagogowatsnunts (Pahvant name)</td>
<td>Steward does not provide demographic information</td>
<td>Steward (1974:62; Stewart 1942:236)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1800s</td>
<td>Moanunts; Uintah (water-edge people); Fish Ute</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Callaway et al (1986:340, 366)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1800s</td>
<td>Moanuché</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Clifford Duncan of the Ute Indian Tribe and Terry Knight of the White Mesa Ute, Consultation at Capitol Reef National Park, October 15, 1997.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1800s</td>
<td>Seed Grass People</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Douglas Timican interview, October 21, 1997. (Douglas (Figure 3-15) is a descendent of the Red Fish People and now a member of the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. Refer to Appendix 3-A for more information.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1800s</td>
<td>Ungkaw'pawgú'utseng (Red Fish People) and Paw goosawd' uhmpuhtseng (Water Clover People)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Jimmy Timican as quoted in Le Van Martineau (1992:154). Refer to Appendix 3-A for more information about Timican.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3-15
Photograph of now-deceased Douglas Timican at his home in Richfield, Utah. Taken in 1997.
Rosemary Suvec photo.
themselves. Instead, they used aggregate names such as “Indians,” “Yutas,” “Utahs,” “Eutaw Indians,” “Utes,” “Piedes,” or “Paiutes” (Table 3-4).

John Wesley Powell, who conducted intermittent ethnographic work among Paiute and Ute peoples from 1868–1880, learned how natives customarily identified themselves:

An Indian will never ask to what nation or tribe or body of people another Indian belongs but to “what land do you belong and how are you land named?” Thus the very name of the Indian is his title deed to his home.... (Powell in Fowler and Fowler 1971a: 38)

A Ute Mountain Ute consultant (Knight 1997) who visited Capitol Reef National Park confirmed that people were named by where they lived, what they did, or ate—all attributes of a land-based existence. Of course, this phenomenon ceased after colonization when native peoples could no longer adequately support themselves from the land that had been or would soon be taken from them. Land no longer determined, to a large extent, how they were identified.

Some names on Table 3-4 do reflect association with a particular place or with a food associated with that place. For example, Moanunts or Moanche means “people...from the high places” (Duncan 1997) or “mountain pass” (Callaway et al. 1986:366). It aptly refers to those people seen living part of the year on top of the plateau. Stewart (1942:236) obtained the name Moanunts from an Indian who was a local resident, then moved to the Uintah Reservation, and returned to lead a Sun Dance in 1931. The names Pagiv (“fish”), Pagömunts (“fish people”), and Ungkau’pawgh’u vutseng (“Red Fish People”) refer to food eaten by those living west of the park, what anthropologists and government officials referred to as the “Fish Ute.” Pagiv was the name known for them by a member of a neighboring group (Lucy in Kelly 1964:144). Uintabamunts refers to the Red Fish People who lived at the water’s edge, possibly of Fish Lake (Callaway et al. 1986:340,366; Kelly 1964:144; Martineau 1992:154-156; Steward 1938:225,228; and Stewart 1942:236).

Only two native names for the Indians of Rabbit Valley and Fish Lake can be traced to the indigenous residents at time of contact. One of them is “Seed Grass People” (Timican 1997). The name alludes to both the abundance and diversity of seed grasses in the valleys and canyon lands of the Capitol Reef region before settlement, as well as their pursuit and reliance upon seed grasses as an important food source. Ungkau’pawgh’u vutseng or “Red Fish People” is the other name residents of Rabbit Valley and Fish Lake gave themselves. It refers to the color of the meat of native trout (Martineau 1992:154-156) they harvested in the spring and summer. The vividness of the red flesh caused one elder, decades later, to metaphorically refer to the fish as “salmon” (Charles 1997).

Names given by outsiders did not necessarily match what the community called itself. For example, the Spanish term Yutas originated from the Pueblo of Jemez and was not a name Ute peoples called themselves, at least not in the early decades of contact (Knight 1997). Similarly, those who were called “Paiute” were initially perplexed at its application to them (Kelly 1934:548).

Contact with Euroamerican settlers and the consequences of the colonization process resulted in a series of name changes. In the span of about 50 years, from the mid-1800s to the beginning of the 1900s, the Ungkau’pawgh’u vutseng (Red Fish People) and Paw goosawd’ umpmuithteng (Water Clover People) lost those nomenclatures. For example, the Water Clover People became first the Greenwich, and then the Koosharem Indians. Anthropologists and government officials aggregated them as the Paiute. They are now federally recognized as the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe.

The custom of labeling people by where they lived continued with Euroamerican settlers. If indigenous residents were observed at or near towns, valleys, or topographical features with English names, they were labeled with those names. For example, the Ungkau’pawgh’u vutseng or Red Fish People, observed at Fish Lake or Rabbit Valley, became known as the “Fish Lake tribe” or “Rabbit Valley Indians” (Table 3-4). Anthropologist Isabel Kelly who conferred with Paiute peoples in the 1930s labeled some groups of Paiute with non-native terms like “Gunlock,” “St. George,” and “Cedar City” (Kelly 1934:549; Table 3-4). By the time Kelly conducted her fieldwork in the 1930s, over 60 years had transpired since the Latter-day Saints colonized the area. Colonization resulted in the consolidation of Indians into enclaves near LDS settlements. When Kelly conducted her interviews, she found that, in some cases, Nemic terminology for self-identification was “lacking...overlapping or unwieldy.” As a convenience, she labeled some groups with the names of the settlements at which remnant groups were located (Kelly 1934:550). In another case, the “Fremont” Indians and the “Greenwich” Indians assumed these identities after the 1880 federal census was taken in the Fremont and Greenwich precincts (Table 3-4; Bureau of Census 1880:9,10). After colonization and the conflicts associated with it ended, these enclaves became refuges for indigenous peoples from around the state who preferred not to settle on reservations. More information about this phenomenon is provided later in the chapter.

Events such as warfare resulted in the creation of new
names. For example, in the late 1800s, some Numic residents of the plateau valleys were in confederacy with Black Hawk (Figure 3-1). Names such as Tupatanupi-ci, Pavt-wats, and Tuparonovits were bestowed upon them (Cooke 1938:629-630; Table 3-4). These names were subsequently applied to the Indians living west of Capitol Reef National Park, though the followers of Black Hawk were drawn from numerous other Indian communities (Cooke 1938:629).

The territories and perhaps names of other Indian groups were erroneously applied to that of local Indians. For example, the territories of the Pahvants (Conetah 1982:24) and Sheberetches (Powell and Ingalls 1873:42,45,50) were thought to extend to the Capitol Reef region. To have designated the Sheberetches territory and that of the Pahvant so broadly is likely indicative of the customary range of these nomadic equestrians. Indians from around the region, including the Pahvant, visited Fish Lake in the spring and summer to glean the abundance of fish and to socialize (refer to Table 3-4 and discussion below).70 Too, the Sheberetches during the Black Hawk War forged alliances with Indians living in Rabbit and Grass valleys (Tourtelot 1870:606-607; Powell and Ingalls 1873:42). In league with many others, they successfully forestalled settlement in the region for a number of years. The “Fish Ute” became synonymous with the “wild and disorderly” Black Hawk coalition. Others, infamously labeled, included the Elk Mountain Utes and the Yampahs (Tourtelotte 1870:606-607). The amalgamated bands, referred to as the Tupatanupi-ci, Pavt-wats, and Tuparonovits, used places like Grass and Rabbit valleys as staging areas, refuges, and passages to remove stolen livestock. After the Black Hawk War and in response to factors such as disease and encroaching settlement, members of the Sheberetches took up residence in the late 1800s at the Koosharem enclave, identified as “near the Head of the

67 Douglas Timican (Appendix 3-A) could not remember the Numic word for this name. Douglas is a Koosharem elder and descendent of the Ungkawawguk's vutseng, or Red Fish People. Unfortunately, I did not have an opportunity to discuss this name with other descendents. Mr. Timican said that Frank Woody (Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-16), one of the last Koosharem residents of Grass Valley, told him “Grass Seed People” was the name for those who wintered in Rabbit Valley. Other interviews conducted and a search of historical records did not turn up a similar name. Names people called themselves were rarely asked or recorded.

68 A member of the Red Fish People, Jimmy Timican, remembered the name (Martineau 1992:154-156). He was born in Rabbit Valley in 1895. Refer to Appendix 3-A for more information about him.

69 The 1880 census provides valuable information about the names, occupations, and numbers of Indians who were still residing in Rabbit and Grass valleys.

70 One of the consultants working with anthropologist Robert Euler told him that the Red Fish People differentiated themselves from the Pahvant (1966:107).
Sevier [River],” (Powell and Ingalls 1873:47).71

That Isabel Kelly in the 1930s considered names for groups or bands “unwieldy” is not at all surprising. While groups would have names for themselves, their neighbors or those distantly removed also had names for them. Political events like the Black Hawk resistance resulted in new names for coalesced groups. Contact with Spaniards and others of European descent compounded the confusion by overlaying an additional set of identities. Colonization resulted in amalgamated communities that engendered yet other sets of names (e.g. “Koosharem,” as well as those aggregate labels imposed by governmental entities and anthropologists, e.g. “Numa,” “Paiute,” and “Ute”).

It should be apparent that names for communities, whether self- or other-identified, changed with frequency; they were not constant. Group labels are contingent upon many factors, including, but not limited to, regular movements associated with availability of food resources, fluidness of group composition, and last, but certainly not least, time and all of the social, historical, and political forces associated with its passage. Making statements about historical group identity is a tentative endeavor at best.

**Families and Leaders (Social and Political Organization)**

Based on her work with Paiute elders during the 1960s, cultural anthropologist Catherine Fowler recently remarked about the Capitol Reef region that there was a “native presence in the whole area” (personal communication 1997). A descendent of the Red Fish People confirms Fowler’s sense:

*They were all over[,] the Indian peoples. There were some...living over there [Fish Lake and Rabbit Valley] and there were some more living over here where the Koosharem Reservoir [is located]...You know how the Indians are, they’re moving their land to someplace and then move back to the same place again.* (Campbell in Campbell and Timican 1995)

When observed by early settlers, local Indians seemed to be gathered into small clusters, variously referred to by the newcomers as “colonies,” “small bands,” “bands,” “encampments,” “camps,” “lodges,” and “groups” (Table 3-4). For example, when General Snow engaged a group of Indians at Red Lake in 1865, *Pogonoeab* (leader for fish distribution at Fish Lake) later told that the group consisted of 16 men and women, including himself (Sevier Stake Manuscript History, 1865 entry). He omits reference to children, though they might have been there. In the late spring of 1872, explorers from the Powell expedition, Almon Thompson and Frederick Dellenbaugh,
encountered 22 individuals — women, men (including an elderly man), and children — alongside a creek that drains into Capitol Reef National Park.71 The explorers noted that the Indians were gathering seeds, fishing, and possibly hunting (Dellenbaugh 1991:203-205).72

The 1880 Indian census of Rabbit and Grass valleys provides information about the average number of individuals within a single family. The average seems to be about six (1880 census records). The 1880 census enumerated seven families (40 individuals) living in Rabbit Valley and 12 families (75 individuals) living at Grass Valley. Extrapolating from 1880 census data, the group that Dellenbaugh and Thompson met comprised possibly three to four families. The group that General Snow met at Red Lake in 1875 could have consisted of two to three families.

Anthropologists have their own terminology for a group of families. They variously call them "kin units or demes," "economic clusters," "households," "politically independent groups," "local groups," "co-residence groups," "corporate groups," and/or "bands" (Callaway 1986:353; Kelly 1964:142; Kelly and Fowler 1986:380; Steward 1938:81; and Wolf 1990:89). "Kin units" refer to those families related through marriage and including offspring from marriages. It is entirely possible that these local groups consisted of more than just kin. Individuals who were friends, those who had no kin ties, and perhaps migrants from other groups might have been included. Anthropologists refer to a mixed fluid group of this sort as a "co-residence" group.

Depending upon activities and season, the size of the group varied from one to two nuclear or extended family households to as many as 10-20 households. Families traveled together throughout the year, provided mutual aid, and collaborated in hunting and gathering activities at different locations. Groups of families pooled their labor under headmen to harvest abundant resources at different locales, but these seem to have been short-lived events, recurring seasonally. Group members were most likely related, but others could be included. Membership in a particular group was fluid. If they chose for whatever reason to join with others, they had the latitude to do so. While they would make seasonal rounds, they would have "recurrent residence in at least one fixed area" (Callaway et al. 1986:353; Kelly and Fowler 1986:380). Or, as Rhode Campbell tells us, "[Indians] are moving their land to someplace and then move back to the same place again."

Leaders would advise a band of families in movement of camps, in food collecting activities, and in contact with outsiders.73 Ne-ab is the Numic name for such a leader (Behunin 1875:5). For example, Pogoneab's name translates to "fish leader." Family groups advised by a leader would be politically independent from one another and most frequently would be named by the topography or food source with which they were associated (Kelly 1964:142). John Wesley Powell (1873:49) observed that these family communities inclusive of their leaders reflected the political unit of organization.

When newcomers met aggregated families of Numic Indians, they usually interacted with the headman. For example, when Dellenbaugh and Thompson met a band of Indians west of the Capitol Reef boundary, the "chief" gave them directions to the Henry Mountains and the Colorado River (Dellenbaugh 1991:205). The June 1873 reconnaissance and peace-making party of Bean, Thurber, Pace and Tabiona (Figure 3-13), but guided by Pogoneab, met another group of Indians at Red Lake at a time when others would have been at Fish Lake. They engaged the headman Angewetimpi and remarked upon how different the group looked from those at Fish Lake (Gottfredson 1919:339; Snow 1964:142; John Wesley Powell 1873:49) observed that these family communities inclusive of their leaders reflected the political unit of organization.

71 It is noteworthy that the Sheberetches are not located on the Ute distribution map in the Great Basin volume of the Handbook of North American Indians (Callaway et al. 1986:337). They are, however, mapped elsewhere (Cometh 1982:16; Martineau 1992:155). According to Joel Janetski (personal communication 2002), Omer Stewart would not allow the inclusion because he contended the Sheberetches did not exist. Janetski argued against it, citing Julian Steward's (1938:225) reference to them from earlier historical sources, which include the annual reports from Utah Indian commissioners.

72 Dixie National Forest archeologist Marian Jacklin (personal communication 1999) mapped the likely route of the Thompson/Dellenbaugh expedition from Kanab to the Indian encampment. From the description of Dellenbaugh's account, she says she cannot accurately locate the stream along which they met the Numic Indians, but she does think it might be the place referred to by locals as "Indian Bench" and designated as such on forest maps.

73 These families were on Boulder Mountain about the same time of year others would have been at Fish Lake. This suggests that not everyone in the area simultaneously moved to Fish Lake for the season.

74 The word "band" is common parlance. It's frequently used in historical documents, including diaries, reminiscences, and governmental documents, to refer to indigenous groups. "Band" and "tribe" are often used synonymously, particularly in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (ARCI). In anthropology, however, it has restricted meaning (Steward 1938:181) and immediately becomes a source of debate when applied to Paiute peoples. It will be used here in a more flexible sense than Steward intended and as interchangeable with words like "groups" or "cluster" to mean a group of people joined together in a common purpose.

73 "Leader," "headman" or "boss" will be used here to refer to those who achieved status by virtue of their skills. This includes women who, for example, directed plant gathering. These leaders achieved proficiency in directing the subsistence movements of groups, in leading cooperative hunting and gathering, and in dealing with outsiders (whether other indigenous groups or Euroamerican settlers including representatives of the federal government). Historically, "chief" was usually bestowed by Europeans upon "any native person of influence who was in a position to forward or to hinder their interests" (Wolf 1990:96). The Latter-day Saints were no exception. They appointed leaders or chiefs among the Paiutes who willingly accommodated their settlement. Settlers sometimes built homes in their communities for those headmen (Gottfredson 1919:49; Hoit 1992:12).

145
A local Wayne County resident, Howard Blackburn (1946), reminisced that in 1879 there were “many Indians in the vicinity of Loa with each small band having a chief.” The bands referred to were possibly several clusters of coalesced families, each with a headman.

Seasonal Subsistence and Encampments

(Economy)

Knowing how local Indians made their living during this span of time contributes to an understanding of their use of Capitol Reef. As with an earlier period, local Indians went into the Waterpocket Fold and associated desert country to gather plant and animal food. The Fold represented both a corridor and capital. The economic pattern sketched below was radically altered with permanent settlement of the area. Indians’ lost self-sufficiency and became dependent upon the LDS Church and the federal government.

Winter

Groups returned to different places for the winter. These included Rabbit Valley, Grass Valley, Notom, the Uintah Basin, and — perhaps — as far away as Moab. Those who resided in Rabbit Valley for the winter season camped south of Bicknell at Red Lake, at Loa, and Lyman. These are the very places newcomers chose to make their permanent residences. Consequently, the Red Fish People were relocated at least once within Rabbit Valley and then were completely removed to Grass Valley.

Loa

A contingent of Indians always returned to the vicinity of Loa for the winter. A Koosharem elder, Vera Charles (Figure 3-7), said Loa “was their winter home... that was my dad’s [Jimmy Timican’s] family and their aunts and uncles and... six other families” (Charles 1995; 1997). The Loa encampment was west and south of the Chappell Cheese Factory in a small valley or “hollow” (Charles 1995).

Other elders confirm the return of families from Fish Lake to Loa for the winter (Campbell and Timican 1995; Pikyavit 1995). Florence Kanosh (Kanosh 1983)77 said they returned to the valley in the winter “because it was cold...” at Fish Lake. While not naming Rabbit Valley, elsewhere in the interview she reports living there and identifies herself as not a member of the Koosharem group.78 One of the LDS settlers of Rabbit Valley recalled that the Indians who wintered at Loa “owned Fish Lake, where they camped every summer” (Blackburn 1946).

Jimmy Timican recalled wintertime in Rabbit Valley:

Sometimes there was little food and the snow would get deeper in the mountains, so we could not hunt. Then the people would come out on the desert... the seeds of the desert grasses would keep us alive. I can remember catching the tiny desert lizards for food when I was a boy. They move very fast and are hard to catch. But when it was cold, even the lizards were gone. Sometimes we would have to eat our horses. (Timican in Will 1968:43; Kanosh 1983; Map 3-1)

While Jimmy does not specifically name the “desert” to which they would migrate for replenishment of winter food, it has a strong possibility of being Capitol Reef National Park. The Waterpocket Fold lies east of Rabbit Valley. The corridor along the Fremont River (what is now Highway 24) and through Capitol Gorge afforded natural passage from Rabbit Valley to the canyon lands and desert beyond.

That the Red Fish People used Capitol Reef National Park is confirmed by the son of the “Indian Bishop” of Rabbit Valley in the years 1877 through 1900:

Yes, the [Indians in Rabbit Valley went to the desert in the winter], especially the Fish Lake Indians, called the Fish Lake Camp... they'd follow the channel of the [Fremont] River, the Dirty Devil, and out into the cliffs and canyons where they had shelter... And of course there weren't the game and fish down there. They would subsist on other things... (Sorenson 1997)

Jimmy also talks about hunting animals like deer in the wintertime unless the depth of snow prevented it. He tells of riding up to a ridge on the east side of Fish Lake that would be laid bare by the wind in the winter. The ridge afforded a passage to the lake where they ice fished (Timican in Will 1968:42; Kanosh 1983; Map 3-1).79

Lyman

The benches and canyons east of Lyman were winter home to some groups of Indians. The “Indian Bishop” remembers “quite a colony [of Indians] in Lyman” (Sorenson n.d.). Some of Florence Kanosh’s relatives lived there, including possibly her maternal grandfather Tom Quakanab (Figure 3-10), who along with others sold the water of Fish Lake to the settlers who used it for crop irrigation. Florence’s Aunt Sally (Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-17) lived there earlier with Bob Walker (Appendix 3-A), another signatory to the agreement. Rosie Quakanab Timican (Figure 3-9), Sally, and Florence lived near Lyman at a time when they were the last Indians in Rabbit Valley. Some of their relatives are buried there (Charles 1997; Jackson and Jackson 1996; Kanosh 1983).
Red Lake

In the vicinity of Red Lake (now Bicknell Bottoms), near a spring in the canyon of Pine Creek, a community of Indians had its winter village (Kanosh 1983). Vera Charles recalls her Aunt Florence talking about "big water running there" (Charles 1997a). Local Indians named the spring Awtawm' eegots or "Comes Up" (Martineau 1992:189; Timican 1997). Disease killed most of the Indians there (Kanosh 1983).

The Later-day Saints and the federal government knew about the Red Lake community of Indians. In the 1860s and 1870s, the "Red Lake Utes" were believed to be in league with Black Hawk (Journal History, July 22, 1869). One mile west of Bicknell, Indians also camped at Dab Keele Spring to escape the wind in the valley. The place was called Saukhwaw' Ooweep or Green Canyon (Martineau 1992:188).

Grass Valley

The Paw goosawd'uhmpuhtsent or "Water Clover People" were anchored to Grass Valley. When the Saints braved their first winter there in 1873, three to four bands of Paw goosawd'uhmpuhtsent were camped there, too (Bean 1940). In the spring, they migrated to Fish Lake. Brigham Young sent Albert K. Thurber, among others, to explore places such as Grass Valley and make sure settlement was agreeable to local Indians

Figure 3.17

Sally was the sister or daughter of White Horse (Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-14). She is said to have been married to Pogoneab and to Bob Walker, and a companion to Pete while in Escalante. She had three sons, one of whom, Joe Bob, is pictured in Figure 3-11. Sally variously resided in Escalante, Rabbit Valley, and Greenwich near Koosharem. It is likely that her other moniker of "Sally Bob" was taken from her alliance with Bob Walker.

Photograph from Anne Snow's Rainbow Views. A History of Wayne County.

76 No details were provided about the distinguishing attribute(s). The noticeable difference, however, may relate to the presence of other bands at Red Lake in coalition with Black Hawk. These included the Sheberetches and the Elk Mountain Utes. In 1861, the latter were described by a Utah Indian commissioner as "very well clothed for Indians" (Vaile 1862:380). Plateau valleys like Grass and Rabbit valleys were not only homeland for some groups, but places of refuge, as well as staging areas for the resisters. Too, Indians from long distances came to the Fish Lake summer rendezvous. Refer to the section entitled, "The Significance of Fish Lake and the Hightop Plateau."

77 Florence was Vera's aunt. Refer to Appendix 3-A.

78 The archeologist who interviewed Florence Kanosh in 1983 reported that the band of which Kanosh was a member would return to Grass Valley in the winter (Jack 1983:20). While this seemingly contradicts what Florence Kanosh and her relatives say, it may also be compatible with statements made by them. Before settlement it is possible that some of Florence's relatives returned to Grass Valley while others returned to Rabbit Valley; she may have changed residence during her childhood and been among those who occasionally returned to Grass Valley. It is also possible Florence, her family group, and others were still making migratory rounds to Fish Lake after they moved to Koosharem. She moved with her aunt and mother from Rabbit Valley and became "a member of Koosharem" in the early 1900s (Kanosh 1983). Florence may have been referring to that period. Jennifer Jack (1983) also may have assumed Florence meant Grass Valley because of the enclave of Indians who coalesced there in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As discussed earlier, anthropologists like Steward were not aware that the territory of the Fish Lake Indians included Rabbit Valley.

79 Jimmy Timican also may be speaking about a frame of time approximately 25-35 years after settlers arrived in the area.
who were allies of Black Hawk. Thurber told of the difficulty in convincing Indians to remain in Grass Valley to irrigate the first field of grain they sowed in 1874. Instead, they left for Fish Lake. Thurber also noted that the Indians living there had “many ponies [that] would summer on the luscious grass” (Warnock and Warnock 1949:217-218).

**Spring and Summer Activities**

When spring arrived in Grass Valley in 1874, the few Saints who braved their first winter visited the Indian encampments to see how they managed through it. They discovered that many of the Indians “were out in the low lands digging thistle roots as a part of their livelihood [sic]” (Bean 1940; Map 3-1). The specific location for collection was not indicated.

**Willow Gathering**

Women in Rabbit Valley would collect willow canes in early spring before the sap rose (Map 3-1). From these canes, they would make a variety of baskets. One LDS immigrant to Rabbit Valley reminisced:

> They would take the last year’s growth where the willows would spring up from the ground to a height of three to six feet and scrape the bark off with a knife. This left a tough flexible with from the size of a lead pencil to smaller. From these they wove baskets of many sizes and shapes and for a number of purposes, sometimes dyeing the willows and weaving in designs. (W.H. Callahan 1895–1926:106–107; Figure 3-18)
Grass Seed Collecting and its Significance for Capitol Reef National Park

Spring and summer also were the time to harvest ripening seed grasses. Grass seeds must have been plentiful in Rabbit Valley. Ranchers who settled Loa in 1876 "found grass stirrup high all over the country" (Blackburn 1946). One immigrant recalls local Indians gathering seeds from mare's tail in the valley (Callahan 1895-1926:102). An Ungkau'pawu'uk u vutseng descendant (Timican 1997) remembered that plants were gathered at Rabbit Valley, though he forgot their names. What he did remember is that these people were called the "Seed Grass People." Seed grasses also were harvested in what is now Capitol Reef National Park and east at Caineville and Hanksville (Map 3-1). Sally Bob and Florence Kanosh gathered seeds at all of these places (Charles 1997; Secc 1996:53-54). In late spring of 1872, women were observed collecting seed grasses along a creek just outside the western boundary of Capitol Reef National Park on Boulder Mountain (Aquarius Plateau) (Dellenbaugh 1991:195-214; Map 3-1). Some of the Red Fish People traveled to the Henry Mountains to harvest rice grass (Martineau 1992:189; Map 3-1). We learned that ricegrass is a spring ripening species which suggests that perhaps some of them traveled to the Henries in the spring. They apparently also traveled in the summer to the Henry Mountains, but from Fish Lake. Though the reason is not stated, perhaps they sought to harvest the seed grasses that ripened after the monsoons and into the early fall (Jimmy Timican to Martineau 1992:156; Jimmy Timican to Will 1968:43).

Bear Hunting

Bear hunting may have been another springtime activity. A grizzly bear canine tooth pendant was found in an archeological site at Fish Lake, with other artifacts (brown ware ceramics and projectile points) suggestive of Numic-speaking Indians (Janetski et al. 1999:228). Ute elders said the best time to stalk and kill bears was after hibernation (as told to Smith 1974:52). In June 1873, an LDS party sent by Brigham Young to negotiate with local Indians observed the day before they arrived in Grass Valley a "grizzly bear that had just been killed and skinned" (Gottfredson 1919:325).

Fishing

The onset of spring spawning signaled the migration of some, if not most, family groups in Rabbit and Grass valleys to Fish Lake. The number of local family bands who regularly returned to Fish Lake is not known. However, at least some information about this can be obtained from the 1889 Fremont Irrigation Company agreement (Appendix 3-B). A local rancher (Blackburn 1946) remembered that the Indians who signed the agreement "owned" Fish Lake "where they camped every summer." The 1889 agreement contains the signatures of eight males who could have functioned as headmen for their respective family groups. These were Pogoneab, Bob ("Old Bob"), Tewauk, Griatotot, Tom (likely Tom Quakanab; see Appendix 3-A; Figures 3-10 and 3-11). Joe, Gray Head, and Timican (Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-11). Enough information exists about four of these individuals (Pogoneab, Bob, Tewauk, and Joe) confirming they were headmen at one time.

It appears as if not all groups journeyed to Fish Lake in the spring and summer, or perhaps visitation there was staggered. Dellenbaugh and Thompson's encounter with the Boulder Mountain group in May or June of 1872 and Thurber and Bean's visitation to the Red Lake group in June of 1873 indicates that not every-one in the vicinity of Fish Lake set up residence there at the same time, if at all. Fishing at the lake could have been optional because of the abundance of fish in the plateau waterways. But the draw of gathering together with a large community of infrequently seen friends and relatives, the opportunity to arrange marriages, and the chance to trade may have made a pilgrimage there mandatory.

80 In 1878, White Horse (called that because he rode one) or Tamaritz (Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-14) was identified as the "chief" of the Grass Valley Indians who wintered there. Tamaritz, in league with Black Hawk, was considered to be as courageous. Tamaritz may have been the headman of some of the Burrillville Indians who were massacred by General Snow and the Navuoo Legion in July of 1865. Tamaritz was known to the "Indian Bishop" Erastus Sorenson of Rabbit Valley, and was feared by local residents (Bean 1940; Bean 1945:251; Cumiskey 1973:59-72,142, 149-152; Sevier Stake Manuscript History, 1879 entry; Snow 1985:16; Sorenson 1997).

81 The thistle root collected could have been the spiny Cirsium calceareum, which has large edible roots. An alternative would be the Argemone species or prickly poppy, which is a desert genus growing in dry places. To the untrained eye, these plants look like true thistles. The Cirsium species grows in damp low areas, such as Grass Valley, not in desert environments (John Spence, botanist, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, personal communication, 1998).

82 William H. Callahan was born in 1885 and died in 1954. In his memoirs, he chronicles, among other things, daily life in Wayne County from 1892 through 1926. He also painted scenes he depicted with words. Unlike other memoirs. Mr. Callahan spent several pages describing his observations of the lifeways of local Indians with descriptions of some in particular.

83 Grass seeds ripen at various times. Spring species ripen in the spring (early April through early June) and include ricegrass, needle-and-thread, and dropseeds. Summer grasses ripen after the monsoons and into the early fall (August through October). They include muhly and grama grasses. Wetland species of grasses produce seeds based on available moisture. Likely the common seed grasses in Rabbit Valley were blue grama, needle-and-thread grass, dropseeds, and perhaps Indian ricegrass, along with muttongrass (Poa fendleriana) (John Spence, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area botanist, personal communication, 1998).

84 Remember that what family groups did and ate were expressed in names.

85 The Fremont Irrigation Company agreement made permanent colonization of the area possible by providing irrigation water to Rabbit Valley farms. Some indigenous descendents of those who signed the agreement understood it forfeited Indian use of Fish Lake, i.e., the water in it and the land surrounding it (Behunin n.d.; Timican 1995).
The Significance of Fish Lake and the Hightop Plateau

Fish Lake was open to Indians wherever they came from (Bushhead 1995; Charles 1995; Kanosh, 1983; Timican in Martineau 1992:156; and Ralph “Red Cloud” Piyavvit 1995). Two of the first settlers to Rabbit Valley (Jerry and Chloe Jackson) recalled that as many as 400 to 600 Indians from the Uintah Basin traveled through and camped at Rabbit Valley on their way to Fish Lake. They recalled that these Indians went back to the Uintah Basin for the winter (Jackson and Jackson 1996). Apparently the Pahvant, originally of Corn Creek or Kanosh, Utah, traveled to Fish Lake for the season (Conetah 1982:24). 87 The Kaibab, too, traveled from northern Arizona to Fish Lake (Lucille Lake in Succeed 1996a: 66).

Florence Kanosh reminisced about the significance of Fish Lake and the abundance of food there. She used a compelling metaphor. Fish Lake “... was like a big garden... it was our main hunting ground where we would gather food supplies for winter use” (Kanosh, 1983). Native trout must have been a principal food source. 88 Euroamerican visitors to Fish Lake before and shortly after settlement of Rabbit Valley marveled at the plenitude of fish. In 1848, the streams draining Fish Lake were referred to as “swarming with fish” (Brewerton in Hafen and Hafen 1993[1954]:331). In 1873, the peace-making party upon visiting the Fishlake Hightop Plateau referred to the “deer being nearly as plentiful as the fish” (Gottfredson 1919:328; Map 3-1). In 1884, another observer noted that “large trout go up these streams to spawn, and any person can throw them out with his hands...” (Woodruff in Sevier Stake Manuscript History, n.d.).

Camps of families organized their exploitation of this resource from the harvesting and distribution to the preparation for winter use. Methods for harvesting varied with the bodies of water fished. Techniques ranged from the use of willow traps at falls, arrow points (later made of steel) and spears in still water, and creating a dam in a stream and using hands or clubs to reap the fish (Smith 1974:61-63). At a place like Fish Lake, a fish “boss” directed harvesting. In the memories of those of Florence’s generation it was Pogoneab.

His name was fish chief or boss... Indians use to make basket out of willow and then hold it under the falls and fish would fall into it, and there was lots of Indians sitting around in a circle, and after they get the basket full they would pull it out and dump it. Give each person two fish at a time and men use to kill the fish by biting the heads of fish till the fish were gone. And do the same thing over and over until the people get what they needed for winter use. It was given to Indians by the Fish Chief. (Kanosh 1983)

Once caught and killed, fish were stripped, hung, and dried (Timican 1995). Fish as well as other produce from the garden of Fish Lake Hightop Plateau was stored in pits.

First they put the cedar bark in ground. They dug a hole in ground and then put cedar bark and put the meat or whatever food you gathered during the summer month and then you line it with bark again and put different kind food in there, line it again until you had enough for your use.... (Kanosh 1983)

Among vegetables harvested by the summer residents were wild potatoes which were dried on buckskin and cooked, Kooshals or clover root which was ground and cooked, onions, and seeds gathered with baskets (Campbell and Timican 1995; Charles 1995). Florence Kanosh recalls that her mother, Rosie Timican (Figures 3-9 and 3-11), “used all kinds of plants that’s eatable. Made it... it taste really good” (Kanosh 1983).

Males hunted a variety of animals on top of Fish Lake Plateau (Map 3-1). However, women prepared the meat. Kanosh recalled that her Aunt Sally prepared woodchuck (marmot) by burning off its hair. The meat was dried for winter use. Woodchucks were so plentiful that the Hightop Plateau was called Yungum Paw Kaiou Auveen or “Woodchuck Water Mountain Lying” (Martineau 1992:182). The meat of the deer hunted there was dried for winter use. Elk and bighorn sheep were hunted, too. Brewerton, upon visiting Fish Lake in 1848, was grateful for some of the bighorn meat the Indians shared with him and Kit Carson.

Florence Kanosh remembered lots of ducks at Fish Lake (Map 3-1). Both the ducks and their eggs were used as food. Eggs were favored. She remembered taking so many duck eggs that it pleasantly surprised her the ducks replenished themselves in the spring. Ducks and eggs also were harvested at Paradise Lake, on the east side of the Hightop Plateau, and in Rabbit Valley near Rock Point (now Bicknell Bottoms, but once Red Lake) (Brewerton in Hafen and Hafen 1993:331; Charles 1995; Kanosh 1983; Martineau 1992:129; Timican 1995).

It is no wonder that the legendary bounty inspired Joe Piyavvit and Emily Sobiquinti (Appendix 3-A) to say that Fish Lake made them feel “like an Indian. When you’re an Indian, it’s good to be close to a mountain” (Bushhead 1995). While these sorts of traditional economic pursuits would diminish with settlement, at least death held the promise of returning to this abundance and the well being it instilled. Death, among the Red Fish People and other Utah Indians, was referred to as the passage to the “happy hunting ground” (Gottfredson 1919:317). 89

Fish Lake was not the only place teeming with fish and certainly not the only place fish were harvested.
It was but one location in the larger plateau topography of lakes, streams, and rivers that generously yielded aquatic creatures. Local Indians customarily caught fish in the Fremont River (Euler 1966:31; Map 3-1). The Fremont passes through Rabbit Valley, continues through Capitol Reef National Park, and then empties into the Dirty Devil River beyond Hanksville. The first historian for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reported that

When Rabbit Valley first became known to the pioneers of Utah, the Indians were roaming around ... and often made their camps in Fremont Valley [Rabbit Valley], as Fish Lake and the Fremont River abounded in fish.

(Jenson 1941: 929)

The Aquarius Plateau and Thousand Lake Mountain were abundant with trout (Map 3-1). A settler in the 1880s remembered that the small lakes on Boulder Mountain were frequent fishing holes (Euler 1966:31). As we learned from the Brewerton account, local Indians exchanged trout (and other natural resources) with newcomers for desired items.

**Fishing and Capitol Reef National Park**

No oral or written evidence documents that indigenous people fished on the tributaries within contemporary park boundaries, and fish remains are absent from the faunal assemblages for the park (Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2004). However, bone fish hooks of unknown provenience from the Pectol Collection suggest that some person of Native American ancestry was fishing in the vicinity, if not the park. Documentary evidence does reveal that local Indians were fishing on tributaries surrounding the western perimeter of the park.

The Powell exploring party of 1875 met such a group,

86 Ralph is the son of Joe Pikyavit, one of the elders interviewed by Isabel Kelly (1964) in the 1930s. Refer to Appendix 3-A.

Fish Lake may have served as a rendezvous much as Utah Lake did when the Latter-day Saints first settled that area in the mid-1800s.

"...Provo was the great annual gathering place for all the Ute bands of the valleys for two hundred miles, east and south, on account of the wonderful supply of fish...[Meeting at Provo, and hav[ing] a great good time, [they would participate in] horse racing, trading, gambling and eating fish, for several weeks every year" (Gottfredson 1919:21).

87 Members of the Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, such as Ralph "Red Cloud" Pikyavit, are among the descendents of the Pahvant.

88 Pawguh'uats is the Numic name for fish. Trout, however, were called Ungkaw'pawguh'u which means, literally, "red fish," after the color of its meat (Martineau 1992:133-134).

89 Perry Jackson tells the story of his father, Jerry Jackson, who was on a trip to get wood on a winter's evening in 1893 (twenty years after settlement). Jerry found an elderly Indian man seated in the snow and singing. When Jerry inquired as to what was making him so happy, he said to Jerry that he was going to sleep, to the "happy hunting ground." Jerry knew he planned to die that night. Jerry told his son that though he wanted to take the man in, he did not want to interfere with local custom and risk the anger of the old man's community (Jackson and Jackson 1996). From all accounts, Jerry Jackson was considered a good friend by the Red Fish People of Rabbit Valley.
fishing on a creek in what is now the Dixie National Forest. In Rabbit Valley, pioneers noted the abundance of fish on the Fremont River as well as Indian encampments in that valley. Local Indians routinely caught fish on the Fremont River, as reported by ethnohistorian Robert Euler (1966:31). The Fremont flows into the Waterpocket Fold. If native trout were harvested on the perimeter, Indians were likely to have harvested them on creeks and rivers inside the Waterpocket Fold.

**Prairie Dog Hunting**

Prairie or “ground” dogs were hunted at Loa where Florence Kanosh’s family lived in the winter (Kanosh 1983). According to Florence, lots of prairie dogs were available around Loa from early spring to late fall. An early settler described their preparation:

* A place in the hot ashes would be scooped out and one to six or eight “dogs” placed in the hole and covered over with hot ashes and coals. This...without benefit of skinning or cleaning...An hour or more later they would be pulled out done...hair scorched off and ready to pop open. They could be peeled out of their baked skin as easily as a tangerine. And with one deft twist of the wrist the entrails were in the fire. (Callahan 1895–1926:103)

Newcomers interpreted Indians’ eating of prairie dogs as a sign of starvation (Snow 1985:10).

**Sage Hen Hunting**

A sage hen hunting blind, located east of Loa, was used by the *Ungkah’pawguhu vutseng* band to which Jimmy Timican belonged.

* It consisted of a shallow hole about 18 inches deep and about 5 to 6 feet in diameter with a circle of low rocks around it. It was big enough for the hunter to hide in this low brush-covered flat where there was little concealment. (Martineau 1992:131)

The sage hen was used for food and the feathers for arrows. Timican said sage hen feathers “are strong, last a long time, and help the arrow shoot straight” (Martineau 1992:131).

**Rabbit Hunting**

Remember that the namesake for Rabbit Valley comes from the plenitude of rabbits seen there by General William B. Pace who was tracking Black Hawk. Rabbits could possibly have been hunted year round in the Valley. Late summer and early fall may have been the time for communal hunts, called “drives.” This is when the *Panguitch*, who resided in a plateau valley to the
west, held them (Kelly 1964: 181). Rabbits can be hunted individually or in a group. If a group gathered together to hunt, they were led by a “boss” or headman (Callaway et al. 1986: 341; Smith 1974: 56-57). A Kanosh elder recalled that a drive using the following method did take place in Rabbit Valley.

“They gathered them around in...a big...circle, and made noises, and they all called to the center. Then [they] just clubbed them with big old clubs.” (Joe Pikyavit as told to Ralph “Red Cloud” Pikyavit 1997)

Other communal methods included the use of nets and fire (Kelly 1964:181). Rabbits were a source of summer food and food stored for winter (Bushhead 1995; Campbell and Timican 1995; Charles 1995; Pikyavit 1995; and Timican 1995).

**Fall Activities**

Fall brought opportunities to reap distinctively different produce. The Red Fish People, in search of seasonally ripening resources,

*would make a yearly migration from Fish Lake, that would include the Henry Mountains and the Escalante area...this route was through the territory of other bands.* (Martineau 1992:156)

**Seed, Berry, and Pine Nut Harvesting**

Seed grasses, berries, and pinyon nuts were harvested throughout the topography (Map 3-1). Monsoon-ripening seed grasses were collected in the desert canyon lands and in the vicinity of Henry Mountains (Martineau 1992:189; Timican in Will 1968:43). Plateau ripening berries were harvested at Fish Lake, the Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain), at Thousand Lake Mountain, and along the Fremont River (Kanosh 1983; Robinson 1996; Timican 1995). Pine nuts were collected on the Awapa Plateau (Parker Mountain), the Henry Mountains, and on the eastside of the Hightop Plateau (near Last Chance Creek) (Chloe Morrell Jackson and Jerry Jackson as told to Jackson and Jackson 1996). Antelope Spring on the Awapa was a regular fall campsite where pine nuts were routinely gathered. The tradition continued through the early 1900s. As a little boy, a descendant of the Red Fish People recalled how he and his family would spend at least a week there (Timican 1995; 1997). Indians at Rabbit Valley traveled, too, to the Henry Mountains to gather pine nuts (Timican 1997).

**Seed and Pine Nut Gathering at Capitol Reef National Park**

In 1993, elders from the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah and the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians in Arizona visited the Burr Trail landscape in Capitol Reef National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. At the time, they commented that eight native plants observed growing along the Capitol Reef portion of the Trail would have been used by their ancestors (Succc 1966a:38; Table 6-1; 47-55). The Koosharem elder (Vera Charles) said her relatives gathered the seeds from grasses and stored them for winter use. She confirmed that they collected plants from the areas of Capitol Reef, Escalante, and Hanksville, Utah (Succc 1996a:55; Map 3-1). Interestingly, when the elders toured the Trail, they commented on what they perceived to be the conspicuous absence of the *Poaceae* family of grasses that they once harvested with their relatives (Succc 1996a:53). In an evaluation of six species of seed-yielding grasses, botanist John Spence (Succc 1996a:Appendix C) determined that most grasses used as food would have decreased from long-term grazing, while at least two would have decreased from aridity.

No oral or written documentation places Indians within the Waterpocket Fold collecting pine nuts. Still, it is likely local Indians harvested this nutritious food within what is now the park, especially given that 55 percent of the park landscape comprises pinyon and juniper.

**Antelope Drives**

Abundant antelope may have precipitated an antelope drive in the fall.90 A basalt boulder antelope trap (WN1954) still sits on the Awapa Plateau, the northern rim of Rabbit Valley. Awapa Plateau (Parker Mountain) was named *Wantsay* *Kaw* or “Antelope Mountain” by local Indians (Martineau 1992:18; Map 3-1).91 Jimmy Timican recalled as a boy helping drive the antelope past rocks where hunters waited and, when a little older,

90 Joel Janetski (personal communication 2002) wonders if “prairie dogs” were, in fact, ground squirrels. Douglas Timican, in a conversation with Joel, told him that ground squirrels (kumputs) were better eating and they used to catch them in the Richfield area where the Koosharem Indians eventually moved. He also talked about catching ground squirrels around Seven Mile Creek near Johnson’s Reservoir.

91 Northern Ute in the 1930s told that antelope drives occurred in the fall (Smith 1974:55). Steward’s consultants said these drives took place in the spring (1937: 629). The seasonality of the communal antelope drive in Rabbit Valley is unknown.

92 Richfield District BLM Archaeologist Craig Harmon recorded the antelope trap. The interior arc is “full of chert flakes” (IMAACS Site Form). Masonry blinds are associated with the winged coral. Some of the “wings” or rock alignments “run across the flat, grass-covered plateau for 2 to 3 miles” (Euler 1966:26). Harmon said a Fremont-style projectile point was also found in the center of it (personal communication 1998). The antiquity of the trap is unknown. Though a point was found suggestive of use by horticulturists, it may date farther back in time to the Archaic Period.
being one of the hunters. Other elders remembered that local Indians used the trap (Charles 1997a; Pikyavit 1995; Timcan 1997).

The trap worked something like this:

The run consisted of low rows of rocks running for a considerable distance and ending in a narrow funnel shape. Occasional piles of rocks for people to hide behind were scattered at intervals along the run. The rocks were permanent landscape features so the antelope would become accustomed to them. The rocks were situated so that hidden Indians could rise up with a blanket to scare the fleeing antelope if they sought to break through the sides of the run. The antelope were being spooked in the direction of the narrow funnel-like section of rocks where the antelope would have to crowd together and slow down. Armed men would hide behind the rocks in this narrow place and rise up and shoot the antelope as they crowded through the funnel. (Timcan as told to Martineau 1992:233)

Jimmy Timcan remembers that when he was old enough to be one of the hunters, the settlers were established in Rabbit Valley and “soon there was no more antelope” so the trap fell into disuse, but still remains on the Awapa Plateau (Timcan in Will 1968:42). As many as 200 antelope were driven into a trap in northern Utah where from five to six men would join together under the leadership of a headman, who was chosen on the basis of his hunting skills (Smith 1974:55-56). Nothing is known about how the drive was organized on the Awapa Plateau, for example, how many would participate in the drive and who might have led it. Another antelope trap is located just north of Cottonwood Wash near the Kaiparowits Plateau and was likely used by the community of Indians who resided there (Kelly 1964:156; Map 3-1).

Deer Hunting, Navajo Raiding, and the Waterpocket Fold

Deer were hunted in the fall on the high plateaus (Map 3-1). Stories exist of Indians hunting deer on the Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain) (Joe Pikyavit to Bushhead 1995). Jimmy Timcan recalled a story his father, Timcant or Timcan, told him of hunting deer with others on Thousand Lake Mountain (Map 1-4) when they encountered a Navajo raiding party. The hunting party came by way of Rabbit Valley and then passed over and into a canyon east of the Mountain known as Chimney Rock Canyon. Most of the canyon transects the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park with an outlet at the Fremont River. A party of Navajo attacked an encampment of women and children associated with the hunters. The hunters chased the Navajo down Chimney Rock Canyon to the Colorado River.

When my father was a young man, before I was born [1895], once some of our people camped there. My father was among them. The men went into the hills to kill deer for meat, but the women and children stayed in camp. Among them was the first squaw of my father [Liza Quakanab; Appendix 3-A], and his child. A war party of Navajos came and found the unprotected women and children...slaying all of them but one boy who escaped and went to find the warriors....The enemy was driven down the canyon...our warriors knew this canyon had no way out for many winding miles. The walls are of smooth sandstone that cannot be climbed. So some of our warriors made a hard ride and got to the mouth of the canyon ahead of the enemy and waited for them there, while others chased the Navajos down the canyon. At the mouth of the canyon all the Navajos but one were killed. For days the warriors chased this one, clear down to the big river [the Colorado River probably at Halls Crossing (Map 1-4)] but our warriors would not cross the river into Navajo country. The Navajo swam the river and got away, but my grandfather called to him, and told him to come back with more Navajos, as he had not yet tired of killing Navajo warriors. (Jimmy Timcan in Will 1968:41-42)

Another version relays that Indians from Escalante Valley or “Potato Valley” were part of the hunting party (Martineau 1992:48-49). Given the likely abundance of deer at mid-nineteenth century, it is possible that men from neighboring communities pooled their labor so that many families benefited from the hunt.

Chimney Rock Canyon Trail and Capitol Reef National Park

At least we know that Chimney Rock Canyon was a corridor of travel for local Indians through the Fold (Map 1-6). In these stories, it served as a trail to deer hunting grounds. It is possible the upper reaches also were used as a base camp. For example, it may have been a place where the women and children were camped, awaiting the hunting party, when the Navajo raided.

Deer, Antelope, and Mountain Sheep Hunting in Capitol Reef National Park

Archaeological evidence reveals that deer, as well as antelope and mountain sheep, were hunted in the park (Map 3-1). In a parkwide archaeological survey, which included some minimal site testing and excavation, an analysis of faunal assemblages revealed the presence of these animals. Based on a statistical analysis of the remains, ante-
lope and big horn sheep outnumbered the deer hunted (Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2002).

**The Presence of Buffalo and Buffalo Hunting**

From the oral testimony of a Red Fish descendent, bison ranged in the Rabbit Valley and on the Awapa Plateau to about the 1840s (Jimmy Timican as told to Fowler 1966:26; Map 3-1). Oral accounts also exist of buffalo hunts on the rangelands to the east of the Waterpocket Fold (Map 3-1). Apparently some of the plateau Indians to the west of the park hunted bison in the vicinity of the Henry Mountains (Sucic 1996a:64; Map 3-1). A deceased Kanosh elder, with knowledge of his grandfather's generation of the mid-1800s, said that bison were hunted all the way to Green River and south of Hanksville (Joe Pikyavit as remembered by Ralph "Red Cloud" Pikyavit 1997; Map 3-1). Local Indians apparently had names for bison. They were called Quitsen. Buffalo skin was named Quitsen-Pooch (Behunin 1875). On Boulder Mountain, a buffalo skull was found and radiocarbon dated to approximately A.D. 1340 (630 B.P. + 40 years) (Lee Kreutzer, personal communication, 2000).

**Bison in the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park?**

Faunal remains from Boulder Mountain, Marysvale, and Arches National Park suggest that bison grazed areas around the Waterpocket Fold from as early as the 1300s through the 1500s. The climate through the fifteenth century produced a grassland environment that would have been attractive to these animals (Fisher et al. 1991). Petroglyphs of bison exist outside as well as within the park, along the Fremont River corridor. Oral accounts of local Indians relay that bison were present in Rabbit Valley until the mid-nineteenth century. Collectively evidence suggests — though does not conclusively prove — that historic buffalo were within what is now Capitol Reef National Park and may have used places like the Fremont River corridor as a route from canyonlands to plateau.

**Mineral Collecting and Capitol Reef National Park**

On the south side of Thousand Lake Mountain, which abuts the park, local Indians obtained white pigment (Martineau 1992:190; Map 3-1). Some also collected blue

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93 The blanket may have been one obtained by trade with the Navajo who traveled to the area in the fall. More about this event is described below and in Chapter 4.

94 This seems to contradict an account of a member of local Indians (Antarianunts) who resided in the Henry Mountain vicinity to the east of the Fold (Rosie Quakanab Timican in Stewart 1942). This account is discussed in a following section. The time frame is not known. It may have occurred after buffalo were introduced to the Henry Mountains.
pigment on Sandy Creek, a tributary to Sulphur Creek that traverses the Waterpocket Fold. Vera Charles tells a story about her father, Jimmy Timican, who searched for it in a canyon that transected Highway 24 a few miles east of Torrey and “before...the café” (Charles 1997a; Martineau 1992:86; Map 3-1). The pigment was collected from the south side of the road. The last time she took her father there in the 1960s, he walked south of the highway. She did not know if he went into what is now the park.

Colored mineral paint was used for many purposes. It decorated faces and bodies for ceremonies, dances, birth, puberty, and death. It was used on equipment such as arrows, straps, and baskets (Stewart 1942:267, 270, 277, 279). Blue paint was used to adorn the body for special occasions such as dances and even death (Callaway et al. 1986:346, 352; Kelly 1964:154). Red was used both as skin protection and for ceremonial reasons, for example, to recognize puberty (Kelly 1964:159; Kelly and Fowler 1986:374-375,380; Smith 1974:78). Red ochre is still used by Ute peoples in Sun Dance ceremonies (Knight 1997).

**Social Celebrations, Ceremonies, and Death**

As predictable as seasonal produce and locales for camping, so were the occasions when people would gather together to celebrate and do ceremonies. One elder put it this way:

...there's areas where they wintered, and there's areas where they summered. They had get-togethers and had their powwows. Like they do now, you know....
(Surveyor 1997)

Coming together afforded the opportunity to renew informal bonds of friendship and family relationships. It also permitted communication between and among groups who had not seen one another for awhile. Marriages, too, were arranged (Conetah 1982:2; Gottfredson 1919:344; Jake in Sucec 1964a:66; Ute Mountain Tribe 1986:21).

Special events were wed to seasonal activities. Bear Dances would traditionally happen before the separation of families in spring (Jefferson et al. 1972:70-71). The Red Fish People had the Bear Dance and it was customarily danced until March. They would never sing the songs associated with the Bear Dance in the summer for fear bears would kill them (Tom Quakanab in Kelly 1964:108). Here is an account of the origin of the dance:

Once in the fall a man came to where a bear lay asleep in her hole. The man took off his clothes; he was naked. He had two partners with him. He told his partners, “Come back in March (taman). “He went in there and slept all winter with the bear. His partners came back and talked
to him. They asked, "Are you all right?" He said he was. He came out. He was all covered with hair. He could still talk. He told them not to be afraid; [that] he was still their partner. He said, "I'll give you a bear dance. I'll give you songs and the step. I will dance. My wife [the bear] and I will give them to you. Dance this in March. Now go and tell all the Indians." He told them, too, "Make a stick [rasp]; cut notches in it. When you come back next time, I'll go with you. They told the people, "He will give us a dance and songs. He has a bear wife now. He is covered with hair; he has claws now." ...He went to camp. He sang for them. They did not understand the dance. "You will learn," [he said]. "Dance and sing all day long." ...Then he left with his wife. He told his partners, "For ten years, don't kill any bear; you might be killing me." (Tom Quakanab as told to Kelly 1964:108)

While some elders recall their relatives telling them Bear Dances were held at Fish Lake (Bushhead 1995; Charles 1995; Pikyavit 1995), others are doubtful (Campbell and Timicin 1995; Timicin 1995). Instead, they remember the Bear Dance as children at Koosharem in Grass Valley in the early 1900s. A chronicle of the Black Hawk War reminisced about a 10-day Bear Dance in Sevier Valley in 1914 which both Kanosh and Koosharem Indians attended. While observing, he was told about its meaning:

...the bear dance celebration is in part...a religious rite to show thankfulness that another winter has been survived, that summer is again at hand and all is well. It is a custom for friendly tribes to come together to renew friendship and cordiality. (Gottfredson 1919:344)

With so many families gathered at Fish Lake during the summer months, it makes sense that celebrations would occur. A descendent of the Red Fish People (Timicin 1995) heard from his father, George Timicin, (Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-11) that horse racing was one of the activities during summer gatherings at Fish Lake. Others (Bushhead 1995; Pikyavit 1995) heard their parents say circle dances were part of the festivities at the Lake.

While social occasions happened at Fish Lake, at least one significant ceremony was conducted there. In July of 1932, a Sun Dance took place at Bowery Haven. It was the only one (Duncan 1997; Timicin 1995). An elder among the Northern Ute knew about the Dance:

The man that held his Sun Dance here, the one that came down from [the Uintah Reservation], was a Sheberetch, and his English name was Ed Frank, but he had an Indian name, too...that was because he was from here...he pulled these people [who lived in the plateau valleys] together...Then when he got through with it, ...he [moved]...back up into the Uintah Reservation again....But you always gotta remember that these people are tied-in together. (Duncan 1997)  

Tom Mix (Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-11) from the Koosharem enclave went up to White Rocks, Utah and asked someone to lead a Sun Dance at Fish Lake (Timicin 1997). Indians throughout the region participated in the Sun Dance. The Sun Dance boss brought people with him from the Uintah Reservation. Tom Mix from the Koosharem enclave danced. Indians participated from Cedar, Shivwits, Goshute, Indian Peak, Kaibab, Kanosh (Joe Pikyavit), and Moapa. Toby Johns and Walter and Jorometry (Appendix 3-A) danced, but their band identity is unknown. Non-Indians attended the event, which was reported in the Sevier Valley newspaper, the Richfield Reaper (Bushhead 1995; Campbell and Timicin 1995; Charles 1995 and 1997a; Duncan 1997; Hatch 1996; Robinson 1996; Timicin 1995 and 1997).

The bounty of fall sometimes ushered in the Round Dance, variously referred to as the Harvest, Pine Nut, Rabbit, Squaw Dance, or Circle Dance (Kelly and Fowler 1986:384). The Round Dance was performed at other times, too.

Typically, men and women, especially young people, alternated in a circle, each facing inward, arms linked...and moved clockwise...Men — seldom women — took turns singing without accompaniment. (Kelly 1964:104–106; Kelly and Fowler 1986:384)

Descendents of settlers recall seeing circle dances and horse racing at Koosharem in the early 1900s (Hatch 1996; Jackson and Jackson 1996). Dee Hatch, a descendent of George Hatch (Figure 3-11) who was appointed caretaker of the Koosharem enclave at the turn of the century, recalls the festivities at Koosharem:

...they'd have horse races and then they'd have squaw dances. They'd have a good time...and have feasts together with the white people...they had a race track...Just as you go into the village, it was going east and west, and they'd challenge the white people to horse races. So they'd ride their ponies as best they could, and have a good race. (Hatch 1996)

Fall festivities were held at Rabbit Valley, too. Before settlement and shortly after, and before the Indians at Red Lake were decimated by disease, powwows would be held at their encampment on the south side of Red Lake near the Pine Creek spring, Awtawn' eogats. Indians from all over the region would attend, including those from Grass Valley (in which the communities of

95 The Sun Dance ceremony originated about 1700 and then diffused rapidly throughout the Plains tribes and beyond. Reasons varied for its performance and included success in wars, on hunts, and for the general welfare of the community. With the onset of reservation life, the Dance was meant to address the consequences of colonization including poverty, misery, and oppression by promoting individual and community well-being (Jorgensen 1986:665–667).

Burrville, Koosharem, and Greenwich are located), Navajo Mountain, Blanding, and Escalante (Map I-4). Together they would dance, sing through the night, and play hand games, particularly one known as the "bone game" (Timican 1907). The Indian Bishop at Lyman remembered these powwows and how the local Indians would dance, play sports, and sing all night long (Erastus Sorenson to Fremon Sorenson 1997).

Powwows also would be held at the encampment near Lyman in Rabbit Valley on the occasion of trade with the Navajos, who would visit in the fall (Figure 3-19). 97

The big occasion came along in the fall of the year when the Navajos cross the Colorado River and came up in the Ute country to trade. For several successive years these encampments or tribal get-togethers occurred about a mile north of the town of Lyman. On these occasions the Navajos would come up the river (Dirty Devil) after crossing the Colorado, laden with blankets of all sizes and designs in brilliant colors. These hand woven blankets are a valuable commodity as every one knows among the whites as well as the Indians...Chief commodities sought in exchange for blankets were horses, cash, food, clothing, etc.

Business was usually carried on through a Ute interpreter as some of the Navajos spoke little or no English... This trading and traffic would carry on a couple of weeks or until the Navajos had disposed of their wares and were in possession of the exchange goods, then the fun would begin.

There would be horse racing and contests among the young men, powwows and dancing accompanied by singing until the wee hours and gambling galore... They had many devices for winning and losing money, but chief among them was the white man's playing cards adopted to the Indians' habits and understanding. (Callahan 1895-1926:105)

While regional Indians attended the powwow at Red Lake, it was also customary at the turn-of-the-century for residents of Rabbit and Grass valleys to attend social events at other places. Contemporary descendents tell of going with their parents to Cedar City, Blanding, Escalante, and Ft. Duchesne. They attended Bear Dances and powwows (Charles 1995, 1997a; Mulford 1996; Pikyavit 1995, 1997; Timican 1995).

Death was a significant event that needed to be redressed through ceremony for the departed and for those left behind. A Euroamerican resident of Rabbit Valley recalls that, in the early 1900s, upon a baby's death, the "Indians, of course, felt bad about it, and they had a big, sounded like a powwow. I guess they was cryin'..." (Golden Durfey in Durfey et al. 1997).

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a mourning ceremony borrowed from the Mojave was adopted
by Indians in northern Arizona and southern Utah, and eventually made its way to Grass Valley. It is variously referred to as a “Cry,” “ Burning,” or “ Pawpow.” Traditionally it is held from three months to a year after a loved one’s death (Kelly and Fowler 1986:383).

A “Cry” lasted five days and nights...to “show respect” for the dead; and involved burning of considerable property and slaughtering of horses. There were four song cycles — roan, coyote, bird, and mountain sheep... The words...presumably were in Mohave... Apparently all songs had rattle...accompaniment. Not only was there highly emotional demonstration of grief, but likewise opportunity for major diversion in the form of the circle dance, gambling, card games, foot races, and arrow-target competitions. (Kelly 1964:95)

Apparently a Cry occurred in 1901 that drew over 300 participants. It happened on the East Fork of the Sevier River, south of Grass Valley. Former residents of the area with ties to Kooshare people sponsored it. Those who organized the ceremony were from St. George and Moapa. Representatives attended from Kaibab, St. George, Moapa, Cedar, San Juan, the Kaiparowits groups, and Shoshone from western Utah (Kelly 1964:33-95).

The Black Hawk War and Capitol Reef National Park

Several causes exist for the Black Hawk War, which started in 1865 and continued through 1872. Primary among them was the usurpation of traditional hunting, fishing, and gathering grounds that resulted in food shortages for the Utah Indians. Further, the federal government’s misappropriation of funds and the Indian agency’s failure to feed Indians living on the Uintah Reservation contributed followers to the resistance. Some Utah Indians blamed the Saints for a smallpox epidemic that resulted in a significant number of deaths, including that of a prominent leader, San-Pitch (Head 1868:128; Conetah 1982:88; Gibbs 1931:108; Gottfredson 1919:129). The cumulative effect of these events precipitated the Black Hawk War. Southern Utah settlements, particularly those in the Sevier Valley, became the focus of hit-and-run raiding of livestock and the slaying of settlers. The Nauvoo Legion of the LDS Church learned that Grass and Rabbit valleys, particularly the encampment at Red Lake, were the stronghold and staging area for Black Hawk band members. The Waterpocket Fold served as hideout, escape route, and a corridor through which to remove stolen livestock.

The Nauvoo Legion made at least three forays into Capitol Reef plateaus, valleys and deserts (Table 3-2). As will become apparent by the excerpts below, the region was terra incognita to Legion members. In July 1865, General Snow took 100 men to Grass Valley where they killed at least some of what may have been Goosaw’ umpingtheng or Water Clover People (Gottfredson 1919:159-161). In September of 1865, Snow took another group of militia to Red Lake (south of Bicknell) in search of Black Hawk and his men. A skirmish occurred and Snow retreated for fear “these hills might contain Black-hawk with several hundred followers” (Sevier Stake Historical Records, 1865 entry). What may be fortifications related to this battle are located in the vicinity of Red Lake (Lee Kreutzer, personal communication, 1998). Finally, in June or July of 1866, General Pace gave chase to what is thought to have been Black Hawk and members of his band transporting livestock through the Waterpocket Fold along the Fremont River corridor (present day Capitol Reef National Park). A member of the expedition recorded his impression of the canyon walls of the Fold, including Capitol Gorge:

I was called with the others...to join General Pace’s command...going up...the head of Grass Valley thence over on the head waters of the Muddy Devil [Fremont] River thence...following a trail of Indians down the deep gorge where they had driven the cattle and horses. The canyon was deep and the waters sank and rose in the gorge. The walls were high and straight up for hundreds of feet in the air. There was but one trail and that was in the bed of the creek with room only for one down this gorge the Indians had drive cattle. General Pace called a halt...and it was decided to abandon the pursuit... (Dorchoues Memoirs 1866: 33-34)

General Pace described his unfavorable impression of the Fold this way:

...moved down Lake Creek [Fremont River]...to...where Genl Snow had his fight in Sept...we proceeded down lake creek 3 miles through an open kanyon...here the country became rough...nothing but perpendicular rocks presented themselves without the least show for getting out on south high mountains covered with pine...we concluded to move on, tho the country was becoming so broken it was almost impossible to get through, by accident we found an old cattle trail whre a few head of stock had been driven some three or four weeks prior, which aided us in finding a way down as far as the junction of Lake and little creek a distance of 10 miles and encamped sent scouts down stream to look farther, on their return they reported, the kanyon closed on lake creek one mile below, with perpendicular Rocks on either side, no trail through, that the cattle trail we had been following turn’d up lake creek, then cross’d the hill south over the worst looking country imaginable without any

97 The Navajo used, among other trails across the Fold, the Fremont River corridor to reach Rabbit Valley. More information is provided in the next chapter.
Figure 3.19
William H. Callahan’s interpretation of the Lyman encampment during which the Navajo brought blankets to trade and gambling and horse racing occurred. He entitled his sketch, painted in 1951, “Ute Village.” Other interesting details about camp life are portrayed in the painting.
Clearly Pace’s unfamiliarity with the area caused him to perceive the Waterpocket Fold as a barrier, which, if he continued his pursuit, might have been life threatening. The Nauvoo Legion had been instructed not to follow Indians into unfamiliar territory; experience had taught that it was disadvantageous and often resulted in disaster (Journal History, May 3, 1866). That fact must not have been lost on Black Hawk or his warriors.

Black Hawk ultimately surrendered, but his strategy was effective. Sevier Valley was completely evacuated and settlement was in abeyance for several years. His successes caused his followers to increase. He also shared his wealth in livestock with band members. At one point, he had at least 300 followers from among Timpanogots, Sheberetches, other Ute bands, Paiute, and Navajo (Culmsee 1973:99).

Despite Black Hawk’s death in 1870, some of his followers who lived in Grass Valley continued raiding. *Tamaritzz* or White Horse (Figure 3-14) may have been among these. Brigham Young in 1875 sent representatives to the region to make peace and seek permission to settle. These included General Pace, G.W. Bean, Albert Thurber, and *Tabiona*. They met with indigenous residents of Grass, Rabbit, and Escalante valleys. The 1873 July meeting at Cedar Grove came to be known as the Black Hawk Treaty. No written document of the agreement has yet been found; it may only have been an oral agreement.

**The Fate of the Paw goosawd’uhmpuhtseng or Water Clover People of Grass Valley.**

Only limited written information was found about the original historic inhabitants of this valley. We do know Indians were based there. Florence Kanosh (1983) distinguished between Indians who were “from Koosharem” and killed there and those who later came to the area, but didn’t originate there. We also know these Indians traveled from Grass Valley to Fish Lake in the spring. In late spring 1865, a group of families made its way up from the Sevier Valley and camped in Grass Valley. In Sevier Valley they may have been harvesting lowland resources like thistle root, visiting settlers there, or returning from winter camp (Martineau 1992:55–57).

Sometime after the acquisition of the horse, the Indians that later became known as Koosharem because they resided at Greenwich near that settlement, exchanged buffalo robes and horses with the Kaibab (Kelly 1964: 90). Kaibab would reciprocate with buckskin, Navajo blankets, and horses. A buffalo robe was worth at least a horse. The Kaibab assumed the robes came from the Uintah Basin people (Kelly 1964:90). Depending upon the date of exchange, the buffalo robes may have come from bison in the plateau valleys. Oral testimony from a Red Fish descendent reported that bison ranged in the area as late as the 1840s (Jimmy Timican as told to Fowler 1966:26). A missionary in 1875 recorded vocabulary words for buffalo among Wayne County Indians. *Quitsen* referred to “buffalo” and *Quitsen-Pooh* referred to “buffalo skin” (Behunin 1875).

Contradictory information exists about the July 1865 Cedar Grove or Burrville massacre at Grass Valley. Though details vary, versions of the following story are told in militia reports, by local settlers, and in the oral tradition of Numic-speaking descendents whose relatives rode to the aid of the Burrville encampment. When other Indians were at Fish Lake, over 100 of General Snow’s militiamen marched up to Grass Valley and came upon an encampment at Burrville spring. Thinking these were Black Hawk’s followers, the soldiers killed most of the members of the camp, which included women and children. A child escaped and sought the help of Indians at Fish Lake. Some Indians at Fish Lake rode back to the massacre site, but the militia had left.

It is not known if families with men were present as documented by militia reports, or whether only women, children, and old men were camped as documented in the oral tradition of Florence Kanosh. Florence Kanosh was the granddaughter of one of the men who rode to rescue those at the Indian encampment (Kanosh in Martineau 1992:55–57). According to one version, told by Walker Ammon (Appendix 3-A), the Indians had just arrived [in July] from Glenwood. If only women, children, and old men remained at Burrville, it’s possible the male members of the group had left to hunt.

However, the result was a massacre of what sounds like, from Kanosh’s account, local Water Clover People. They may or may not have been allies of the Black Hawk resistance and they may have included other Indians.

Regardless of who was massacred, Indians remained tethered to that valley. As documented by ecclesiastical records, Indians wintered there, migrated to the lowlands for thistle, traveled to Fish Lake, grazed horses in the valley, and were baptized there. In 1875, Mosiah Behunin, as first missionary to Grass Valley Indians, baptized 83 (Behunin 1875). In 1878, Saints remarked in church documents that 15 families or about 90 Indians were living in Grass Valley. The 1880 federal census enumerated 75 “Greenwich Indians” or 12 families (Bureau of Census 1880).

Immediately upon settlement, Latter-day Saints initiated a program to teach farming to the Indians at Grass Valley. Food was distributed only to those who cleared sagebrush to create agricultural fields. Callused hands
were rewarded with food (Bean 1940). Indians were loaned horses-drawn wagons to bring timber from the mountains which was used by them to build houses. Local Indians were incorporated into school and church programs (Bean 1940).

As permanent Euroamerican settlements in Utah grew and thrived, Indians from around the state chose to relocate to Grass Valley in lieu of residing on the Uintah Reservation. Greenwich near Koosharem became an amalgamated community of Indians, including the Panguitch from the Circleville area, Indians from Escalante, from Thistle Valley (Timpanogots territory), Pahvant or Kanosh from Corn Creek associated with the town of Kanosh, Sheberetches from as far east as Moab, and some Red Fish People from Rabbit Valley (Callahan 1895-1926:106; Charles 1997a; Gottfredson 1919:339; Kanosh 1983; Kelly 1964:34,175; Powell and Ingalls 1873:47; Smith 1974:22-23; Snow 1985:12-13; Tillohash 1967). This conglomerated group became known as the Greenwich or Koosharem Indians.

The land Indians lived on near the community of Koosharem was made a reservation in the 1920s. Some Indian families continued to farm at Koosharem until the 1940s and 1950s. Eventually, though, all of the Indians moved from Grass Valley. They could not support themselves by farming, and jobs were not available in the valley. In the 1950s the enclave of Koosharem was terminated from federal trust status. The two Koosharem families who farmed there left at termination (Timican 1997).

The Significance of Capitol Reef National Park from 1848 - Circa 1900

A synthesis of the foregoing reveals that the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park was used as a place to obtain animals (not only small game, but antelope, mountain sheep, and deer), plants (such as seed grasses), and as a corridor for travel (through the Fremont River and along the Chimney Rock Canyon trail). Although no camping places were explicitly identified within park boundaries, these activities suggest the probability of encampments. The winter Indian village at Notom was very near the eastern boundary of the park.

Other resources within the park at least had the potential to be used. These include native trout, miner-
als, and pine nuts. Only inferences can be made about the use of these resources within the Waterpocket Fold. Oral accounts of settlers, descendents, and early explorers, as well as historical documents at least suggest it. For example, Indians were observed gathering willows and berries along the Fremont River west of the park and they may have extended their collection inside the created boundary. Native trout spawned in tributaries that traversed the Waterpocket Fold and if they were harvested outside the western boundary, they may have been harvested inside the park at places like the Fremont River and Pleasant Creek. If minerals such as blue pigment were routinely collected at Sulphur or Sandy creeks and white pigment at Thousand Lake Mountain, it is possible they were collected inside the park. Pine nuts were collected on land surrounding the park. If pinyon-juniper comprises over 50% of the park, the pinyon nuts in what is now the park were likely exploited.\footnote{Since evidence of bison surrounds the current park boundaries, bison may have grazed in and used the Waterpocket Fold as a corridor between plateau and lowlands. If buffalo grazed there, local Indians may have hunted them for food and other materials. Until bison remains are found, this cannot be conclusively proven. No bison bones have yet been found in faunal assemblages from the park (Joel Janekski, personal communication, 2002).}

Indian trails evidently crossed the Waterpocket Fold (Map 1-6), referred to by the militia as “the worst looking country imaginable without any prospect of turning towards the Green River” (W.B. Pace letter to General D.H. Wells, July 15, 1866). At least two trails across the Fold were identified in the previous discussion. The Fremont River corridor was likely used as the route of the Red Fish People to obtain winter food in the desert and to travel to the Henry Mountains. It was probably the route of those who wintered at Notom and traveled to Rabbit Valley. The Utes used it, as the most expeditious route, coming from the Uintah Basin to Fish Lake and the Hihtop Plateau. The Navajo used it as one of the trails across the Fold to trade with Rabbit Valley indigene (refer to Chapter 4). Black Hawk’s cadre escaped the militia and transported livestock through this corridor, referred to as the trail “in the bed of the creek” (Dorcheous Memoirs, June 11, 1866). Indians in league with Black Hawk had sufficient knowledge of park landscape to make a swift escape with livestock. In contrast, the pursuing LDS Legion found the Waterpocket Fold an unknown and forbidding barrier.

Local Indians’ intimacy with the topography of the Waterpocket Fold is disclosed in the story of the Navajo raid of a fall hunting camp near Chimney Rock Canyon. Local Indians, in pursuit of the Navajo, were familiar not only with the Canyon trail (which they used to hunt deer on Thousand Lake Mountain), but they knew that it joined the Fremont River as a corridor out of the park, and as a route east to the Colorado River. Further east, the Green River joins the Colorado.
East of Capitol Reef National Park:
The Winter Village at Notom

Apparently a group of families wintered at what is now Notom (Map 1-4), where Pleasant Creek exits the Waterpocket Fold on the eastern boundary of Capitol Reef National Park (Kelly n.d.:3). It is unknown if they customarily wintered in the Notom area before LDS settlers arrived, or began to make a winter camp there after settlers homesteaded the area.

What little other information exists about these people comes from the memoirs of early pioneers. Two different headmen were identified for this group. Howard Blackburn (1946) recalled that Tewauk102 (Appendix 3-A) led the Indian settlement there. Eliuh Cutler Behunin, among the first settlers of Capitol Reef, remembered White Horse or Tamaritz as the leader of the band who wintered there in 1885. During that winter, the group contracted measles and appeared to be starving. Behunin solicited food from among the few LDS colonizers (Tippetts 1964:105-106).

Implications for Capitol Reef National Park

In transit to and from the plateau country to the west, this group would have used trails that passed through the Fold (what is now the park). Corridors may have included Pleasant Creek and the Fremont River.

102 Tewauk also signed the Fremont Irrigation Company agreement, which allotted use of Fish Lake water to Rabbit Valley newcomers (Fremont Irrigation Company Agreement, March 1, 1889). In the late nineteenth century, Tewauk was competing for "chief" of the Rabbit Valley Indians (Snow 1985:10,14).
Also East of Capitol Reef National Park:
*The Antarianunts* 105

These people made their customary home in the region punctuated by the Henry Mountains (Map 3-2). They lived on the “other side” of the Henries, between the Dirty Devil and the Green rivers (Tom Quakanab to Kelly 1964:144-145). They would cross the Colorado River at what is now Hite Crossing (Map 1-4) (Stewart 1942:237).

The topography of this region differs from the plateau valleys to the west of Capitol Reef National Park. It is more arid and contains canyon lands typical of the park. The Henry Mountains represent the only high plateau environment in the region. A major river, the Dirty Devil, transects the area; the Fremont River is a tributary to it. The intermittent North Wash runs parallel to the Dirty Devil. Numerous springs dot the Henries. While abundant food sources were lacking, the diversity matched that of the plateau valleys.

**Naming Their Place**

As with the plateau country to the west of Capitol Reef, Numic names were bestowed upon the Henry Mountains and the places associated with them long before John Wesley Powell’s brother-in-law, Almon Thompson, gave them the names they officially hold. *Untaw’dee* refers to the entire range. It also is the name for the people who lived there (Martineau 1992:154,189). Each peak had a name, too. *Un-ta’-ri is* what we know as Mt. Ellen; *Un chu’-ka-re* is Mt. Pennell; *Un-ka’-pa-chung-it* for Mt. Hillers; *Nu’-is’-chaw* for Mt. Holmes; and Mt. Ellsworth is *Kwog’-a-chur* (Fowler and Fowler 1971a:141).

Springs associated with the Henry Mountains had names. *Pau-wu-na-pa* is the name for the spring between Mt. Ellen, the northernmost mountain, and Mt. Pennell. Almon Thompson noted this spring during his overland reconnaissance of the region, the same trip during which he met the Indians on Boulder Mountain (Thompson 1939:87). The spring between Mt. Holmes and Mt. Ellsworth was called *Pa-o-ats*. One spring east of the Henries, known as *Pa-ruk’-a’munts*, is called McMillian Springs on contemporary maps. The stream which runs east of Mt. Pennell and Mt. Hillers, either Slate Creek or Trachyte Creek, was called *Pa-ruk’-gwa-na-kwint* (Fowler and Fowler 1971a:141).

**Subsistence**

Cultural anthropologist Omer Stewart (1942) conducted interviews with a member of the *Antarianunts*, Rosie Quakanab Timican (Figures 3-9 and 3-11), then in her eighties. What follows is a summary of some of the information she provided to him, which suggests how they may have used the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef.
Among the plants they gathered were acorns, pine nuts, grass seeds, yucca, tule, cactus, thistles, berries, roots, tubers, “sugar” from cane or reeds, and tobacco (Stewart 1942:250–251, 300). According to Rosie, her people knew tobacco grew best in a burned area and would set fires to encourage its growth. Fire would be set to promote the growth of grass seeds, too. After being processed, plants like acorns, pine nuts, roots, tubers, and berries would be stored for winter use (Stewart 1942:250–252).

Animals hunted included deer, elk, antelope, bighorn sheep, rabbit, badger, waterfowl, fish, prairie dogs, woodchucks, and snakes. Insects such as cicadas were collected in baskets in the morning and roasted in the fire. People gathered together temporarily to hunt antelope, duck, and rabbit. Leaders were appointed for hunts (Stewart 1942:224–244). Fish were caught using weirs, dams, basketry, spears, and hands. Creeks were diverted, too. Fish and their eggs were eaten and some eggs were used for medicinal purposes (Stewart 1942:249–250).

Women manufactured all kinds of baskets to glean the produce of the region. They used the fibers of the yucca, willow, squawbush, and tule. The baskets were used for fishing, harvesting berries and seeds, as trays, bowls, and ladles, and for carrying water. The Antarianunts did not make pottery (Stewart 1942:269–271).

The meat of animals was prepared for winter use. It would be cut into thin slices and dried by the fire at night, in the sun, or on a frame of domed willow. Some meat would be pulverized with a metate on hide or with a mortar and pestle. Storage would occur in hide sacks, in grass- or bark-lined pits and in caves or rock shelters. Fish meat was dried, too, and stored in loose bark inside a family’s dwelling which was a conical home, like a wickiup (Stewart 1942:252–254).

**Bison Hunting in the Henry Mountains?**

Rosie Quakanab Timican said there was no hunting of buffalo by the Antarianunts. Nor does she recount the use of bison parts for blankets or cordage by her people. 104 This differs from the stories told by Florence Kanosh, one of Rosie’s daughters. According to Florence, Indian people from Grass Valley hunted bison in the Henry Mountains (Vera Charles in Sucec 1962a:64). Florence also told an account about the creation of the buffalo (Vera Charles in Sucec 1962a:64).

When that occurred is not known. It may have happened after buffalo were introduced to the Henries in the 1940s, or it may have occurred at a time when buffalo were extant in the area.

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**The Horse and the Antarianunts**

Rosie said that the horse came late to the Antarianunts. She recalls that they obtained it from the Mexicans before the arrival of the Latter-day Saints (Stewart 1942:342). Her father’s brother was traded to the Mexicans (Martineau 1992:292). He may have been traded for horses. If the trade happened earlier than the 1820s or so, Spanish or indigenous equestrians might have raided the pedestrian Antarianunts, or indigenous horsemen might have ridden to their rescue, especially if Iberian miners exploited them as the earlier account of Wolverton suggests. A possible explanation for the late arrival of the horse to the Antarianunts may, in some part, be explained by the lack of deer in their environment with which to make buckskin hides. The hides would have been traded for horses.

**Social Celebrations, Ceremonies, and Death**

Like their neighbors, the Antarianunts hosted social and ceremonial events. Invitations “carried by messenger” would broadcast news of a dance or recent death to others living in the region (Stewart 1942:321).

The Circle or Round Dance could be performed anytime and for a variety of purposes: for pleasure, to make the seeds grow, to bring game, in association with a communal drive, and for a pine nut harvest. Bear Dances were also performed by the Antarianunts to commemorate spring, for the pleasure of visiting with friends and relatives, and to form marriage alliances. The Circle and Bear Dance lasted four days. Rosie Timican told Stewart (1942:321–322) that the Antarianunts also performed the Ghost Dance. 105 According to Tom Quakanab (Figure 3-10), the Bear Dance was learned from the Uintah to the north and Tom took it to the Kaibab, where he later resided.

He recalls that even the Uintah did not have this dance at one time (Kelly 1964:108–109).

Death was the occasion for a funeral ceremony. Male

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103 These people also are called Untaw’dohuteutseng or Untaw’ddee (Jimmy Timican and Florence Kanosh as told to Martineau 1992:154, 155, 156, 189) and Yantavi by Tom Quakanab (Kelly 1964:107, 144). The difference is due to pronunciation (Robert Euler, personal communication, 1998). I have chosen Antarianunts because it has become an anthropological convention. A member of the Antarianunts said that the name referred to the source of an unknown creek in the region (Tom Quakanab in Kelly 1964:144). That source may be a peak or the entire range of the Henry Mountains (Martineau 1992:154, 189). Omer Stewart (1942:238, 239), who worked with Rosie Quakanab Timican, was the first to record the name Antarianunts.

104 No bison bones were reported for the excavations at Bull Creek in the area (Jennings and Sammons-Lohse 1981).

105 The Ghost Dance is considered to be a response by some American Indians to the effects of colonization. These effects include diseases that decimated populations, warfare, placement on reservations, poverty, depression, and alcoholism. Wovoka, a Northern Paiute, is credited with the origin of this social movement in 1889. Adherents believed that those who wore “ghost shirts” were immune to bullets (Mooney 1896; Jorgensen 1986).
elders made speeches and all relatives expressed vocal grieving or "crying." Crying could occur every day for a year. Food and water were left in the grave along with gifts for the deceased. Those who lost a loved one abstained from certain food and dancing. A permanent taboo against mentioning the name of the dead would apply. The Ute introduced the annual mourning ceremony to the Antarianunts (Stewart 1942:312-314,322,347).

**The Fate of the Antarianunts**

Some information can be pieced together. Events such as the putative exploitation by Spanish miners, slave raiding, and disease may have decimated Antarianunts. For example, stories from a turn-of-the-century miner and a Navajo headman say local Indians were exploited as laborers in a Spanish mine on the Henry Mountains. Too, if the horse came late to the area as Rosie said, and her people were on foot, they were probably prey to the Spanish, Mexicans, and mounted Indians (possibly the Elk Mountain Ute or the Sheberetches, or perhaps even the Indians at Grass Valley). We do know that one of the Antarianunts was sold to Mexicans. Contact with European colonizers, and their diseases, could have resulted in the death of many Antarianunts. In the face of these adversities, some may have chosen voluntary relocation. As population dwindled, it would make sense to take up residence with relatives and friends living nearby. For example, Tom Quakanab's family returned to his mother's homeland in the Kaiparowits region near the Circle Cliffs. Tom later became a resident of Escalante, stayed a few years with the Kaibab (where he said he introduced the Bear Dance), and then lived the remainder of his years at the Greenwich enclave among the Koosharem Indians. Rosie moved to the plateau valleys on the west side of the park around 1885, perhaps when she married Timicant. Some of the Henry Mountain people left for the Uintah Reservation, and some took up residence in places such as Rabbit and Grass valleys in the last decades of the nineteenth century (Euler 1966; Jimmy Timicant, personal communication to Catherine Fowler, date unknown); Kelly 1964:108; Stewart 1942:239, Wolverton 1928).

**Implications for Use of Capitol Reef National Park**

Rosie Quakanab Timicant's information unfortunately was limited to an inventory of cultural traits. Stewart did not gather information about interactions with other communities in the region or seasonal migrations. However, Rosie said that messengers were sent to other Indian enclaves to announce social occasions and special events. And, we do know that people who lived on the westside of Capitol Reef National Park visited the territory of the Antarianunts to harvest seed grasses and likely joined with them in celebrations or ceremonies. If other people traveled to the Henry Mountains, it seems plausible that the Antarianunts would visit other places to glean resources and to socialize. If so, they likely would have journeyed through the Waterpocket Fold (Capitol Reef National Park), if not camped or harvested resources there. Earlier we learned of Indian trails that crossed the Fold into the Henry Mountain region and beyond (Map I-6).
Southeast of Capitol Reef National Park: Avua, Kwaguviuavi, Sanwawitimpaya, Tavinwac, and Kaiviyigaci Communities

When anthropologist Isabel Kelly did her fieldwork in the 1930s, she knew very little about the region west and southwest of Capitol Reef National Park, now the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. However, Kelly spoke with four Indians who had lived there. These included “Dick,” Tom Quakanab (Figure 3–10), Joe Pikavits (also spelled “Pikavit”), and “Lucy.” Kelly was doubtful about the information she obtained from these individuals. One (Joe) was deaf. Another (Dick) had moved so frequently it was difficult “to identify his statements with locality” (Kelly 1964:3).

Still, she pieced together some information about possibly five population clusters that lived in this vicinity (Map 3-2). Clifford Jake, an elder with the Indian Peak Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah and whose ancestors came from this region, recalls:

*The older ones, they used to live around that place over there, all right. They know all the names for water, spring, and the mountain, whatever, to Boulder and clear down to House Rock [Arizona], down that area. Paiute people, they were all scattered along through there, one time, you know.* (Jake and Jake 1997)

Kelly aggregated these communities by naming them Kaiparowits, after a prominent regional landmark. She reasoned that almost all of the groups shared a dialect. And, topographical features seemed to her to enclose the area, acting as barriers. Waterpocket Fold, for example, seemed to be to Kelly an appropriate northeastern boundary to the Kaiparowits territory.

Kelly does give the names these people had for themselves. She commented that each group spoke “of themselves in terms of local places, tacking on the suffix to designate ‘people’” (Kelly 1964:142). Still, based on the attributes of language and topography, she named all of them “Kaiparowits,” which became the anthropological convention for naming historic Indians in this area.

*I have designated arbitrarily as Kaiparowits (Kelly 1934) an area containing several population clusters in the desert zone immediately east of the Paria and in the nearby Potato-Escalante Valley. It adjoins the Kaibab on*

106 Lucy was sometimes referred to as “Rosie,” but was probably not Rosie Quakanab Timican (Kelly 1964:3).

107 While Kaiparowits was the Numic name for a prominent plateau, it was not the name local Indians used for themselves. Kelly’s consultants told her political cohesiveness was absent among these groups.

108 A legacy of biological and genetic models adopted from the natural sciences, if not from human evolutionary studies, is the notion that population diversity stems from topographical barriers and/or social isolation. Frederik Barth, a social anthropologist and cultural ecologist who did research on ethnicity, argued against this common misconception. According to Barth (1969:9–10), ethnic distinctions do not depend on the absence of mobility, contact, or information, but stem from social processes of exclusion and inclusion unrelated to topography. As already seen from a description of populations occupying the region, a topographic feature like the Waterpocket Fold, perceived as a barrier by settlers, archeologists, and anthropologists, instead served as a corridor for indigenous groups.
the northeast and the Panguitch on the southeast. (Kelly 1964:142; refer to Map 3-4)

In this arid environment, campsites were selected for availability of water, as well as firewood such as juniper, sagebrush, and pinyon. Groups made use of seasonally available food sources on mountainous plateaus as well as in canyon lowlands (Kelly 1964:142,146,149).

I've chosen to briefly discuss all of these groups because of the manner in which trails (including those that crossed the Waterpocket Fold) linked indigenous populations of the region. I refer to this network of corridors as the “Kaiparowits trails” (Map 1-6). Based on the information that follows, we learn population enclaves, such as those that Kelly discusses, used these corridors to maintain relationships with others. In the process, they were likely navigators of the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park, if not familiar with natural resources there such as water, plants, animals, and minerals.

The Avua lived farthest west from Capitol Reef (Map 3-4). Avua means “pocket between hills” (Kelly 1964:149). These people also were called Awe’wutseng or “semi-circular cliffs people” which is the name for Bryce Canyon in their territory, now a national park (Jimmy Timicin in Martineau 1992:154). They wintered in the upper Paria Valley. Sometimes, however, they wintered with the Escalante Valley Indians (Kelly 1964:150). Their customary territory extended south along the east bank of the Paria River to Cottonwood Wash (Kelly 1964:149) and encompassed what are now the communities of Cannonville, Henrieville, and Tropic (Martineau 1992:157). Others (Florence Kanosh and Tony Tillohash, a consultant for J.W. Powell and linguist Edward Sapir) confirmed that Indians once lived in this area. 110 A trail, used by the enclave of Indians who lived at Kanab before the settlers arrived, extended to Avua (the upper Paria River region) (Tillohash 1967). The trail continued into Escalante Valley, to another Indian enclave (see below; Tillohash 1967). At least one trail from this point also crossed the Waterpocket Fold (Kelly 1964:165).

To the southeast of the Avua people, the Kwaguiuavi (“seed valley” people) lived between the Paria River and the Kaiparowits Plateau, and south of Cottonwood Wash (Kelly 1964:149, 150; refer to Map 3-4). Kelly said that potholes and a large wash in the area, Wahweep Creek, provided water. Winter was spent on a knoll near the Paria where juniper was obtained for firewood. The Kaiparowits Plateau was visited for roots, pine nuts, and seeds. Summer and fall hunts were conducted near Canaan Peak on the Kaiparowits Plateau (Kelly 1964:149-150). One trail led from Avua to this community. Trails continued further east to hunting grounds, including the Kaiparowits Plateau, and into Escalante Valley, where at least one trail continued on across the Waterpocket Fold (Kelly 1964:165). 111

The Sanuwawitimpaya (“sagebrush canyon mouth”) people lived in Escalante Valley (Kelly 1964:149, 150, 151; refer to Map 3-4). Indigenous residents of Rabbit Valley called these people Tuh’duew duhts’eng or “barren valley” people (Jimmy Timicin in Martineau 1992:154, 155, 157; Tillohash 1967). Tom Mix (Figure 3-11), who later resided at Greenwich near Koosharem, was born here (Fowler, personal communication, 1997; Timicin in Martineau 1992:157). Two of his sisters never left the area and are buried in the Escalante cemetery (Martineau 1992:157).

Winter camps were made just up slope from the valley for the pinyon firewood (Kelly 1964:150-151). Spring and summer was spent around Escalante Valley and south of it to harvest seeds. Local Indians, as many as five to six individuals, conducted communal rabbit drives in the Valley (Gregory and Moore 1931:27). 112 Fall found them hunting on the Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain), as well as picking pine nuts and berries (Kelly 1964:151; Timicin 1997; Wooley 1866). 113

A favorite mineral-gathering site was located at upper Birch Creek, a tributary to the Escalante River. While frequented by local Indians, the red pigment was traded to the Kaibab. Faces were painted daily with red ochre. For special occasions like dances, many colors of mineral paint were applied (Kelly 1964:159; Figure 3-20).

A network of trails extended from the Indian community at Escalante Valley. A trail from the west led all the way from Kanab, through Avua, and into Escalante Valley (Kelly 1964:164-165; Tillohash 1967). The Escalante Indians traveled north to the Aquarius Plateau into Rabbit Valley (George Timicin as told to Timicin 1997). Settlers to Rabbit Valley recall that in the early 1870s, Escalante or Sanuwawitimpaya Indians would camp near their nascent townsites (Snow 1985:17-18,165). 1114 One route traveled southwest to the Kaiparowits Plateau (Kelly 1964:164). Another traveled eastward to the Henry Mountains and crossed the Waterpocket Fold.

110 The Drye family of Kaibab and the Jakes, also of Kaibab and Indian Peak, originated in the Tropic vicinity, but subsequently relocated to other parts of Utah (Florence Kanosh in Vera Charles 1997a).

111 A trail from the Kaiparowits Plateau traveled south to the Colorado River where a ford was located at the tip of Straight Cliffs. Indians used this route to visit San Juan Southern Paiute, while Navajo used it to come north for trade. (Kelly 1964:165).

112 Between 1875-1876, the first wave of Saints to settle Escalante Valley observed four to five “Piute” families (about 24 to 30 individuals) living there (Gregory and Moore 1931:27).

113 LDS militia in 1866 observed on Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain) the tracks of a “party of Piedes...hunting elk...near the rim of the basin and Deep Lake...” (Wooley 1866).

114 The Larsen family recalled that bands of Indians would regularly pass through Rabbit Valley. It appears as if the Valley was something of a thoroughfare. It was certainly a route from the canyonslands to the Fishlake Hightop Plateau and linked with the Spanish Trail there and in Grass Valley (Snow 1985:17-18,165; Map 1-6).
Map 3-4. Area of the Eastern Bands of the Southern Paiute

- Tribal boundaries
- Tribal boundaries, doubtful
- Band boundaries
- Band boundaries, doubtful
- Economic clusters

- Approximate location of springs
- Resident chief
- Springs whose occupants shared same seasonal cycle
- I-X Kaibab economic cluster
- XI Avua/Kaiparowits cluster
- XII Kwaguavi/Kaiparowits cluster
- XIII Samawa/timpaya/Kaiparowits cluster

--- Band boundaries, doubtful
Figure 3-20
Illustration of various face paintings seen by Tony Tillohash, Kaibab, at a 1910 round dance. According to Tillohash, those attending included the Kaibab, Shinwits, and Cedar. Taken from Isabel Kelly’s Southern Paiute Ethnography (1954:67).
Latter-day Saints Observed “Old Indian Trails” in Escalante Valley

LDS militia, explorers, and early settlers were the first to observe signs of Indians in this vicinity. For example, in the late summer and early fall of 1866, members of the Nauvoo Legion pursuing Indians across the Colorado River passed through Escalante Valley, which they designated “Potato Valley” for the abundance of wild potatoes growing there (Wooley 1866). While the exploratory party did not see Indians, sufficient signs confirmed that the “Pajiedes” were living there. Captain James Andrus noted the network of “old Indians trails” extending in different directions from the valley (Wooley 1866). Some went north up Boulder Mountain (Aquarius Plateau) alongside Cottonwood and Pine Creeks. The southerly “Paijede” trail appeared to be a foot trail leading to the Escalante River. Yet another trail traveled over Boulder Mountain and dropped down onto the East fork of the Sevier just south of present-day Antimony (Map 1-6), the southernmost portion of Grass Valley.

The Tavinwac was one of two other population clusters that resided closest to the Waterpocket Fold. This group frequented the southern flanks of the Aquarius Plateau, east of Potato or Escalante Valley, and on the “small streams that head there and drain south to the Escalante” (Lucy to Kelly 1964:144,151; refer to Map 3-4). It is possible, though not certain, that the Tavinwac could have wintered in the valley that contains the town of Boulder, Utah. Not much is known about this community of families. However, two brief references identify Indians there. In 1879, LDS settlers chased Indians to the community of Boulder in the belief that they took stolen horses there (King Diary: July 31, 1879). At about the same time, an early settler got lost in Boulder and was rescued by Tewauk and a group of families camped there.

To the east of Tavinwac, apparently a few families resided at Kaiwi yi gaci or “mountain turn” (Map 3-4) at the base of Circle Cliffs, where the Cliffs meet the Aquarius Plateau. At this spot, both the Circle Cliffs and the Escalante River shift in a southerly direction. This locale is east of Tavinwac. Kaibab people who told Kelly about this community provided little information, only that the dialect of the families that spent time here differed from the other communities in the Kiparowits region (Kelly 1964:143,144,151). They also told her of a trail that transected this area, coming from Escalante area and going eastward to the Henry Mountains. This trail crossed the Waterpocket Fold (Kelly 1964:164), but exactly where is not known (Map 1-6).

Network of Trails Southwest of the Waterpocket Fold and the Fold Given a Name

From her consultants, Kelly learned that

The Kiparowits region was pretty well traversed by trails. Because of the rugged relief, some routes were circuitous, and because of the scarcity of springs and pot holes in certain areas, water was carried in basket jars. (1964:164)

This extensive network of trails connected the enclaves of the Kiparowits territory with regional communities of Indians to the south, north, west, and east (Map 1-6). Trails went south of the Kiparowits Plateau across the Colorado River; southwest to Kanab through Henrieville and Tropic; north across Boulder Mountain to Grass and Rabbit valleys; and north and then east transecting what is now the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park. While Lucy was not familiar with any established trail over the Fold, she knew that it was crossed. In fact, the Fold has a name, Timpiavic, which means “water rock” (Ernestine Lehi, personal communication, 1998). Lucy also told of a trail to the Henry Mountains via Kaiwi yi gaci territory (at the base of Circle Cliffs) and across the Aquarius Plateau. At some point, it would have had to traverse the Waterpocket Fold. The trail crossed north of Circle Cliffs on the Aquarius Plateau first and then would have crossed...
the Fold (Kelly 1964:147,164–165). It might have been the very trail along which Dellenbaugh and Thompson met an encampment of Indians and the route across the Waterpocket Fold the Indians suggested to them. Given the intimacy with which local Indians knew about water pockets, it would not have been necessary for the trail to follow drainage lines like Pleasant or Oak creeks.

That the Sanuwanitimpaya and other communities south of the plateau country (now referred to as the Dixie National Forest) had relationships with the Koosharem Indians is demonstrated not only by the presence of trails there, but in their adoption of Koosharem methods of tanning deer skin (Kelly 1964:145,161).

**The Fate of the Aueva, Kwaguiuavici, Sanuwanitimpaya, Tavinwac, and Kaivi yi gaci.**

As with the Antarianunts, those living on lands south of the Aquarius Plateau were decimated by Euroamerican disease. Some chose to relocate elsewhere. Tom Mix brought diphtheria into the Escalante Valley enclaves and many of the Indians died (Charles 1997a; Timicain 1997). Some of the Sanuwanitimpaya or Escalante Indians moved to places where enclaves of other Indians lived. A few moved to Greenwich (adjacent to Koosharem) in Grass Valley. For example, Sally, Florence Kanosh’s aunt, and Tom Mix, both from Escalante Valley, moved to Greenwich. Sally, along with others, continued to make routine pilgrimages to her old homeland and also incorporated visits to the new settlement. Women such as Sally and Janey (Appendix 3-A) would beg for food and clothing. Indian men would visit with local male settlers. Members of the migrant band participated in what the newcomers called a “powwow,” likely a circle dance and celebration (Charles 1997a; Mulford 1996; Pikyavit 1997; Snow 1983; and Tillohash 1967). By the 1930s the Tavinwac, or those who were living in the vicinity of Boulder Valley, had died (Lucy in Kelly 1964:144). When Isabel Kelly briefly visited Escalante in the 1930s, she commented that no Indians were living there at the time (1964:144,145).

In 1873, Brigham Young sent a party of explorers and peacemakers to the plateau valleys east of Sevier Valley. Their task was to assuage the local Indians allegedly in alliance with Black Hawk as well as seek their permission to settle in the valleys. They journeyed down Rabbit Valley, across the Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain), and into Escalante Valley where they visited “a small band” of resident Indians. They, too, were invited to attend the peacemaking session at Cedar Grove in Grass Valley, referred to as the Black Hawk Treaty. A marker on Highway 24 on the north end of Grass Valley commemorates this event (Gottfredson 1919:329; Snow 1983:6–9; Figure 3-11).

**Implications for the Use of Capitol Reef National Park**

It is clear that indigenous residents of the Kaiparowits region had knowledge of the lands now contained within Capitol Reef National Park. To have designated the Waterpocket Fold with the name “water rock” suggests they traversed the Fold with sufficient frequency to be familiar with the tinajas that yielded water, sometimes year-round. People traveled on trails from the Kaiparowits landscape across the Waterpocket Fold anywhere they were able, as Lucy told Kelly (1964:164), and at designated locations, as the headman on Boulder Mountain told Dellenbaugh and Thompson (Dellenbaugh 1991:203–205). If they had a name for the prominent feature of the park and they knew trails across it, possibly they camped within the area of the Fold during their travels. At the same time, they may have made use of the water holes, as well as the animals and plants there.

It is not known whether indigenous groups to the southeast would have exploited winter food resources in the Waterpocket Fold or whether a group like the Tavinwac (in the Boulder Valley vicinity) would have wintered in the park or to the east of it. Tewauk and Tamaritz of Rabbit and Grass valleys were known to winter at Notom and the Aueva people (Paria River area) were known to winter occasionally among the Escalante Valley people. We have the potential to learn more through additional archaeological research and oral histories.

Indigenous groups to the southeast of Capitol Reef National Park were obviously known to others in the region. The external relationships of the Kaiparowits groups extended to trading ideas and technology, marriage alliances, and sharing residences. The Water Clover People of Grass Valley shared techniques for tanning hides. The Red Fish People knew the names for the Indians living in the Kaiparowits region and married with them. Sally, of the Escalante Indians, met and lived with Bob Walker in Rabbit Valley though she would frequently return to her homeland. Tom Mix relocated to the Koosharem enclave. Lucy’s consultant, lived in Aueva, married into Koosharem, and lived in many other Indian enclaves. The fluid network of social relationships, involving trade, marriage alliances, subsistence, ceremonies, and celebrations, was mirrored in the vast network of trails that facilitated movement and communication across the region, including the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park. The trails, then, become a tangible symbol of the complexity of relationships between and among indigenous peoples in the region, as well as with the diverse landscape that sustained them.
Figure 3-21

Daughters of the Utah Pioneers erected a plaque commemorating the 1873 agreement between the Latter-day Saints and indigenous residents of Grass, Rabbit, and Escalante valleys.

**INDIAN PEACE TREATY**

JUNE 16, 1873 BRIGHAM YOUNG CALLED ALBERT K. THURBER AND GEORGE II. BEAN INDIAN INTERPRETERS, W. S. PAGE, WILLIAM JEN AND OTHERS TO EXPLORE GRASS VALLEY FOR SETTLEMENT AND MAKE PEACE WITH THE INDIANS. CHIEF TABONIAC ACCOMPNIED THE PARTY AND ACTED AS GUIDE AND PEACEMAKER. THEY CAMPED NEAR FISH CREEK JUNE 22ND WHERE THEY EXPLAINED THEIR MISSION TO A GROUP OF INDIAN BRAVES LED BY CHIEF RAIN - CA - NE - AH. THE INDIANS FROM THE SURROUNDING TERRITORY MEET AT CEEDAR CREEK JUNE 1873 WHERE THE CHIEFS PLEDGED PEACE AND HANDSHAKE. THIS PEACE WAS NEVER BROKEN.

DAUGHTERS OF UTAH PIONEERS

No. 254

ERECTED 1888
Late 1800s and Early 1900s: 
"Contact" Brings Radical Changes

If they made forays into the Capitol Reef region, the Spanish and New Mexicans seem not to have taken up residence there. Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, however, established permanent colonies that caused profound changes in the lives of local Indians.

**LDS Religious Beliefs Concerning American Indians**

The Saints that came to Utah brought with them specific beliefs about American Indians. The Indians, or "Lamanites," as the Saints refer to them,

*had once practiced an advanced form of Christianity, having been taught its principles by Jesus Christ after his Crucifixion; but through their "abominations and loss of belief," these early settlers [to the continent] had eventually become "wild," "full of mischief," "loathsome," and "full of idleness."* (Book of Mormon, specifically 1 Nephi 12:22–23; 2 Nephi 5:24, in Arrington and Bitton 1992:143)

As a consequence, the skin of Indians on this continent darkened. One of the goals of Latter-day Saints was to enable the Lamanites to become re-acquainted with God through teaching and conversion. In fact, the purpose of the *Book of Mormon*, according to an early revelation of Joseph Smith's, was to allow the Lamanites to have access to the teachings and heritage of their early ancestors in Israel (Peterson 1998:22). By restoring them to the precepts of Christ, they would soon "become a white and delightsome people" (1830 version of the *Book of Mormon* in Euler 1966:62). Another of Smith's revelations made the conversion of Lamanites a "precursor to the Second Coming of Christ" to earth (Peterson 1998:23). If necessary, according to Smith, the Lamanites would aid the Saints in ridding the earth of earthly kingdoms and corruption to prepare for Christ's coming. Non-LDS who knew of these prophecies in the Midwest, including the federal government, viewed these beliefs as a threat (Peterson 1998:24–27).

**LDS Political and Economic Policies**

Because the Latter-day Saints believed Lamanites were related by "blood and heritage" (Peterson 1977:41), their policies towards them were conciliatory and peaceful, especially when contrasted with the policies of the United States government. At places like Washita in Oklahoma and Bear River in Idaho, federal militia hunted down, mutilated, and massacred Indians. The ultimate outcome in both cases, however, was conquest and domination.

The Saints employed several strategies meant to overcome the distrust of Indians, as well as to convert them and enable expansion with as few casualties or disrup-
tions as possible. Very early in the leadership of Brigham Young (approximately 1854), he articulated a pragmatic, yet ultimately influential approach towards Indians: “It is cheaper to feed them than fight them” (Arrington and Bitton 1992:48; Gottfredson 1995). From start of settlement in Utah, the responsibility for feeding Indians fell upon individual families (who themselves were impoverished) and the food stores in every community’s tithing house. “Indian Accounts” were established at each of these storehouses and communities were encouraged to disburse “presents” to migrating bands of Indians. Indians came to expect and depend upon this assistance. They would visit settlements and families and “beg” for food. Between 1863–1888, the Cache Valley tithing office disbursed $16,044.26 in food (Arrington and Bitton 1992:49; Carter 1965:77-80).

Other strategies were employed. For example, representatives of the LDS Church were delegated to make peace with resident Indians and seek their permission for settlement. Women’s relief societies made clothing for Indians. Forts were erected in new settlements. Indian missions were established, particularly in southern Utah. Indians gleaned fields. Indian “farms” were created as unofficial reservations (Fowler and Fowler 1971b:109). Local natives were invited to settle there and be converted. Such a farm was established at Kanosh, Utah.

The Role of LDS Missionaries in Colonizing the Capitol Reef Region, Including a Relative of One of the First Settlers to the Waterpocket Fold

Brigham Young also appointed men and women who had a calling and skill to work among Indians. They acted as brokers between Indians and local communities. As interpreters, they encouraged understanding and promoted peace (Arrington and Bitton 1992:145-160). These individuals included George Washington Bean, Jacob Hamblin, and Mosiah and Caroline Behunin, missionaries to the Capitol Reef region. Mosiah was brother to one of the first settlers of Capitol Reef National Park, Elijuh Cutlar Behunin.

The Fate of the Ungkaw’ pawguh’ u vutseng or “Red Fish People”

More written information exists about the impact of permanent settlement upon the Red Fish People than any other indigenous regional group. The sequence of events will be chronicled that caused Indians’ removal from the plateau valleys west of the park and, in the process, correct the perceptions that Indians were absent from that area.

Infusion of Euroamerican Newcomers and Livestock

Settlement of Rabbit Valley progressed rapidly. In the spring of 1874, just two years after Dellenbaugh and Thompson traversed Boulder Mountain and the Waterpocket Fold, the Saints began to establish permanent residence there (Snow 1985:210). In the first year of settlement, between 1200 and 1600 head of cattle were grazing in the valley. Almost annually, articles were written in the “Deseret News” describing the progress of and encouraging settlement there. By 1881, over 600 people populated the 25-mile-long valley. In the 1880s, the townsites of Fruita in Capitol Reef National Park, Notom, Caqneville, Giles, Elephant, Blue Valley, and Hanksville were established (Chappell 1975:11; Snow 1985:130, 244, 277, 293; Wayne Stake Historical Records, n.d.). In 1889, valley residents organized the Fremont Irrigation Company to regulate water for farming and culinary purposes. The population had grown too large to manage the water by oral agreements alone. They met with the indigenous headmen of Rabbit Valley and obtained the water rights to Fish Lake (Chappell 1975:44). By 1900, livestock were grazing at Fish Lake, on all sides of the Aquarius Plateau, Thousand Lake Mountain, and the Henry Mountains. Sheep and cattle were being driven from Boulder Mountain, along Pleasant Creek and through the park (Bullard 1991). By 1905, the region had become overgrazed and the federal government intervened to impose restrictions (Chappell 1975:11; Snow 1985:19-22,54).

120 A contemporary version of the Book of Mormon [Smith 1881(1830):2 Nephi 30:6] has been amended to read:

“And then they shall rejoice; for they shall know that it is a blessing unto them from the hand of God; and their scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a pure [italics mine] and a delightsome people.”

Early Latter-day Saints were not the only people of European ancestry to equate darkness with inequity or inferiority, which was justified first religiously then scientifically. The modern concept of race emerged at this time (Om and Winant 1994:61-64).

121 Another leader articulated the “feed not fight” policy differently. His statement reveals the conscious intent of LDS authorities to establish control of Indians in the new territory. Franklin D. Richards remarked that the Latter-day Saints’ policy was to “shoot Indians with tobacco and bread and biscuits rather than with powder and lead” (Peterson 1977:42).

I think it important not to attribute the same motives to settlers such as those who came to Rabbit Valley and who understood that their spiritually mandated responsibility was to enable the survival of their Lamanite relatives by providing meals and other food. The act of feeding, imbued with this meaning, and the begging associated with it, partially explains why the Indians and settlers in the area possessed few sentiments of shame and resentment linked with it. Only recently has embarrassment been expressed about it (Charles 1996a:26-27; Sorensen 1997).
The Effects of Settlement on Local Indigenous Subsistence

Settlement adversely affected the traditional subsistence practices of local Indians. Access to land base and resources such as plants, animals, and water was restricted; food supplies were decimated; and customary encampments were pre-empted. For example, townsites, homesteads, and farms were established in Rabbit Valley where local Indians had made winter camps. Livestock herds were grazed there, too. The settlement pattern of newcomers also displaced Indians from customary plant gathering, fishing, and hunting locales. Grazing livestock and field plowing depleted food sources such as seed grasses, forbs, and shrubs. Some pinyon trees were taken for fuel and construction. Settlers hunted animals that had been hunted by Indians. Antelope drives that routinely occurred on Parker Mountain ended for scarcity of antelope. Rabbit drives in the valley could have terminated for similar reasons, but likely for the inability to access private property. Land with edible plants and animals was fenced for private use. One of the Red Fish People described the effects of settlement upon food collecting:

When I was a boy, there were only a few whites around... We could still hunt, go where we wished. Most of the country was still ours to ride over. But more and more came. Soon all the best grass... was put inside fences... the settlers hunted too, and soon most of the game was gone... (Jimmy Timicin to Will 1968:44)

Settlers placed restrictions upon Indian fishing and hunting practices (Chappell 1975:15-16; Snow 1985:10). For example, in Grass Valley local Indians made an agreement, "with a certain amount of misgiving," that they would refrain from hunting until their crops were raised (Behunin, n.d.). Indians really had no option. To stay in the plateau valleys and avoid being sent to the Uintah Reservation, they had to cooperate with requests made by LDS officials. A similar arrangement may have been struck with Rabbit Valley Indians. These Indians felt the effects of the Fish Lake water agreement, as well as homesteading in their valley, through severely restricted access to traditional fishing locales. Land and resources required to sustain and develop the communities of newcomers would have simultaneously circumscribed access by indigenous residents.

Consolidation of Local Indians

Concomitantly, the physical movement of Indians in Rabbit Valley was managed. With the increase in human and livestock population, an effort was made to consolidate Indians living in the valley. Sometime before 1895, Bishop Albert King Thurber rounded up resident Indians and relocated them next to a "rock fence" on the south side of Rabbit Valley (Figure 3-22). It is not clear whether Thurber included all Rabbit Valley Indians or a group that customarily made its winter residence at Lyman. Florence Kanosh remembers that "the Indians use to live by Lyman but later on they were chased further from there to [the] place [of] the rock pile or rock fence..." (Kanosh 1983). Vera Charles amplified upon these recollections:

At that time... Bishop Thurber, he went and got a place for them down below Loa, where it has a rock fence. And he said, "This is going to be your land. You're going to stay here as long as you want to... And that's where my dad [Jimmy Timicin] was born... (Charles 1996a:9)

The "fence" has a Numic name; it is called Mokov (Martineau 1992:188). It is unknown whether the rock fence is a natural outcropping or was built for the purpose of demarcating the area designated for Indians. LeVan Martineau (1992:188) suggests it is a natural outcropping.

Conversion of the Rabbit Valley Indians

The indigenous residents of Rabbit Valley were actively converted. Bishop Thurber was the first LDS official appointed to work with the local Indians. In 1888, Erastus Sorensen assumed that responsibility in Rabbit Valley. Beyond the care of souls, Thurber and Sorensen assumed multiple responsibilities. For example, Sorensen, as "Indian Bishop" for Rabbit Valley, managed the disbursement of food from the tithing storehouse, supervised farming, acted as an advocate, resolved conflicts, "cared for the [Indians] in sickness and death," fed them when they came for food (despite the impoverishment of his own family), and generally provided for "there [sic] wants and needs" (Sorensen n.d.). Indians were instructed in the LDS religion at church and at Sunday school. They were baptized, usually in the Fremont River, as were non-Indians (Charles 1997a; Lee Kreutzer, personal communication, 1999). They were given Christian names to replace their Numic ones. William Callahan, a settler at the time, reminisced:

When the Indians were baptized they were given a christian [sic] name by which they were usually known among the white people. This applied particularly among the squaws so we had Sally and Mary, Nancy and Jane, etc. Some of the buck Indians took christian [sic] names, but some of them retained their own Indian name if they were pronounceable by the whites. (Callahan 1895-1926:99-100)
This rock alignment, known by the Numic name of Mokov, was a boundary marker designated by Albert Thurber in consolidating the Indians in Rabbit Valley. Jimmy Timican was born near this feature. Identified by Vera Charles in 1997.

Photograph taken by Rosemary Sucec.
Florence Kanosh (1983) remembers that all of her family were baptized into The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and would regularly attend services on Sundays.

**Local Indians Instructed in Farming**

Latter-day Saints believed that teaching Indians how to farm would improve the quality of their lives. It also partially compensated them for the loss of their customary subsistence practices. To the Saints, few things were "more legitimate than to cause the earth to yield her fruits and treasures in abundance" (Jesse Knight in Gottfredson 1919:96). Like their neighbors in Grass Valley, Rabbit Valley Indians were taught to farm. William Callahan, an early settler of the valley, remembered:

*The Indians did some farming, but on a rather unsatisfactory basis. Unsatisfactory for the reason that they had to depend upon the white man for everything with which to farm — land, water, seed, implements, and motive power. About all the Indian had that he could furnish was himself, and he was not skilled in farming. Indian farming projects were handled in about the following fashion.*

One farmer would have a few acres he was not going to farm for any number of reasons such as land new and uneven, brushy, or insufficient water, or poor land. So he would donate it to the Indians for a season. Another farmer might donate a water turn. Sometimes the farmers would give a half days work and get the ground plowed. In summing up the situation, one is forced to the conclusion that what the Indians got was what the white man could do without. By this I do not mean that the Indian was never given anything of value because quite the contrary was true.

Still in most cases the best land and the most seasonal periods for doing the work were reserved to the white man with the result that much of the Indians' work was late and out of season. This together with his natural aversion to hard and extended effort, netted him many failures and always poor crops. His harvest was on the same basis. We cut his grain when we came to it or when there was no grain to cut for pay, and from one year to the next he had no assurance that he would be able to farm at all. Some of the Indians were too "proud" to farm anyway. (Callahan 1895-1926:104)

A member of the Red Fish People, Jimmy Timican, remembered it this way:

*The whites told us we would have to learn to grow crops. But we had no machinery. And we did not know how to use it. Some of the whites tried to teach us, but it was very strange to us, and hard to learn, and then we were told we were lazy and did not want to learn to work. (Timican to Will 1968:44)*

After establishing an Indian farm at Greenwich, Thurber instructed Rabbit Valley Indians in farming. "Indian Bishop" Erastus Sorenson succeeded him (entry for 1879, Kooshareh Ward Historical Records; Sorenson 1997). Incentives were offered to local Indians such as food provisions as well as membership in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, including temple privileges and endowments (Bee 1940, Sevier Stake Historical Records, entry for August 19, 1879).

**Effects of Disease**

Diseases decimated indigenous residents. In 1885, Indians residing at Notom during the winter contracted measles and many died (Buhunin n.d.; Tippets 1964). A diphtheria epidemic swept Rabbit Valley in 1889 and again in 1892, followed by a flu epidemic in 1896. Typhoid persisted in the region from the 1890s through 1905 (George Davidson, handwritten notes, Capitol Reef National Park library files; Snow 1985:215). Most of the Indians at Red Lake died from contracted diseases (Kanosh 1983). Younger Indians were stricken with venereal disease, leaving children without parents. LDS settlers, in some cases, adopted these children. For example, Chloe and Jerry Jackson adopted Liza Jackson, the granddaughter of Tom Quakanab (Callahan 1895-1926:100; Jackson and Jackson 1996).

**Removal and Relocation**

Pressure was exerted to remove Utah Indians, including local ones, from their homelands. As early as 1850 and throughout his tenure, Brigham Young urged Congress to extinguish Indian title to Utah territorial lands and place Indians on reservations (Carter 1965:76-77). Contrary to customary practice, Congress delayed for fear of strengthening the LDS Church. Eventually it agreed and only in tandem with plans for an influx of gentiles into the territory (Peterson 1998:29).

The pressure to remove Indians from Rabbit Valley was felt locally. From time of settlement and through the years, numerous invitations were extended to the Indians to move to the Uintah Reservation or nearer by to Grass Valley (at the Kooshareh enclaves). Encurances of land and money were made.

Some Ute guy came down...and said, “Why are you guys living here? Why don’t you all move to Uintah?...There’s lots of money up there. They’re gonna give you money, they’re gonna give you land. Why don’t you go up there and do that? Don’t stay down here.” Some of the people
that used to live there in Wayne County, they packed up all their belongings and went up to Ute country. And my dad and my aunt, all of the family, they didn't want to go up there. They said, "...we don't want to go. This is our home." (Charles 1996a:8)

An early attempt failed at placing some Rabbit Valley Indians at Grass ‘allc\ (SC in takc Historical Records, cntr) for 1879). A lime passed, relocation at both place (Uintah and Grass ‘allc) occurred. As elders died, younger Indians were more apt to move to Grass ‘alle). As a young man, Jimmy Timican stayed a few short years there and then returned. Around 1905, Vera Charles’ family of Rosie Quakanab Timican, possibly Tom Quakanab, Sally, and Florence Kanosh were the last to leave Rabbit Valley. Rosie’s husband, Timicant, had died and they had no men to hunt for them. Rosie’s daughter, Nancy, already had moved to Grass Valley, if not others of the 12 off-spring. The small cadre of holdouts decided to move to Grass Valley to join the community of Indians residing there (Figures 3-23a, 3-23b, and 3-23c). The last indigenous residents of the former Ungkaw’pawguh’u vut-seng or “Red Fish People” vacated Rabbit Valley, moved to Kooshare, and officially became members of the Koosharem band. Florence Kanosh puts it this way: “We’ve come to be...member[s] of Koosharem [ever] since” (Callahan 1895–1926:106; Charles 1996a, 1997a; Kanosh 1983; Martineau 1992; Snow 1985; Timican 1997).

**Interim Life at Grass Valley: From Political and Economic Independence to Dependence**

Grass Valley became a haven for Indians from around the state of Utah. Sheberetch and Pahvant individuals relocated there in lieu of living on the Uintah Reservation. Relatives and friends living in Grass Valley likely drew them (Callaway et al. 1986:365; Powell and Ingalls 1873:47). Timpanogots from Thistle Valley and Indianola, including Ammon Walker and Dora (Figure 3-11), moved to Grass Valley (Snow 1985:12–13; Timican 1997). Some from the Henry Mountains eventually resided there, including Rosie and Tom Quakanab (Catherine Fowler, personal communication, 1997). Members of the Circleville Panguitch migrated to Greenwich (Kelly 1964:33–34). Indians from the south and southwest, such as Kaibab, the Escalante Indians (Sanwawitimpaya), and other members from the Kaiparowits region, moved to Grass Valley. Among these were Tom Mix and Sally (Kelly and Fowler 1986:389; Snow 1985:12–13; Tillohash 1967).

122 As early as 1879, Red Fish People were pressed to relocate and some chose to move to Greenwich. Most likely these inhabitants continued in their traditional seasonal rounds, despite living at Grass Valley. It is most probably this sort of pattern that Jennifer Jack (1983) captured in her discussion of settlement and subsistence in south central Utah.
Figures 3-23a, and 23b
Remnants in 1997 of Deere Kanosh’s house (a), and Frank Woody’s house (b), at the Greenwich enclave near Koosharem. Refer to Figure 3-16 for photographs of Frank Woody and Deere Kanosh and to Appendix 3-A for information about Deere and Frank. Photographs taken by Rosemary Suvec.
Indians at the Koosharem enclave were not immune from pressure to relocate to the Uintah Reservation. As late as 1914, Bishop Seegmiller had a meeting with indigenous residents and inquired again as to their interest in moving north. When they declined, he informed them that if they stayed,

they should assimilate the conduct of their 'Mormon' friends, quit their begging and farm industriously, fence their farms, build houses, raise horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, etc., make gardens, go to meetings on the Sabbath day, send their children to the District School and to the Sabbath school, and thus become independent and sustain themselves. (Gottfredson 1919:341)

However, the land base at Greenwich was insufficient for those who lived there. Too, inherent problems with the indigenous farming system at Rabbit Valley also plagued Grass Valley. Indians depended upon the Latter-day Saints for equipment, supplies, and assistance. The higher altitude at Grass Valley challenged even the most accomplished LDS farmer. If a choice had to be made, the Saints placed the survival of their families over the needs of local Indians.

Permanent settlement by newcomers radically altered indigenous self-sufficiency. Ingeniously, Indians incorporated alternatives into their economy that enabled them at least to survive, but still kept them dependent upon the LDS Church and subsequently the federal government. While some seasonal hunting and gathering continued, it was augmented by begging, farming, gleanning fields, migrant wage labor, as well as exchange for and sale of their own merchandise. A resident of Torrey recalled that in the 1920s and 1930s

...they were still doing hunting and gathering around here...they supplemented what they could gather off the mountain,...with the women...they'd go around and... ask for food and ask for potatoes. And I think everybody gave them whatever they had. There are people that'd buy things from 'em too. So they were living pretty much of a nomadic type, except when they were back over on the farm there in Koosharem. (Robinson 1996)

Despite their inventive responses, outside observers as well as Indians were aware that they were becoming "poorer and poorer" (Hatch 1966).

Seasonal employment was available in Rabbit and Grass valleys. In exchange for help with the fall harvest, including threshing, Indians received store credit or wages (Callahan 1895–1926:105; Kanosh 1983; Timican 1997). Some helped with the potato and beet harvests in Rabbit and Sevier valleys (Charles 1996a:4.6–7,52). Jimmy Timican assisted with sheep herding in the Henry Mountains. Others helped with sheep shearing. Timican also found work at local farms and ranches mending
Figure 3-25
Perry Jackson and his wife Shirley in 2000 hold the gauntlets made by Florence. Taken by Rosemary Sucec.
Figure 3-26

Some of the reservation land of the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah at Joseph, Utah. This settlement is located on the east side of Sevier Valley. Photograph taken in 1997 by Rosemary Sucec.
fences and helping with irrigation (Charles 1996a:48; Catherine Fowler, personal communication, 1997; Hunt 1996; Jackson and Jackson 1996). During the depression, regional Indians were hired into the Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) and constructed buildings and roads on the Fishlake Higdrop Top Plateau (Charles 1996a:22; Timican 1997). When automobiles became available, men, and sometimes their families, traveled long distances for seasonal work (Hatch 1996). In Grass Valley, Roy Timican (Appendix 3-A) earned wages driving children to school (Charles 1996a: 43).

Merchandise exchanged or sold by local Indians was as diverse as seasonal employment. Early on, fish was traded for usable goods (Behunin, n.d.; Euler 1966:31). Pine nuts, baskets (Figure 3-18), tanned hides, furs, handmade gloves or gauntlets (Figures 3-24 and 3-25), moccasins, buckskin jackets, and beadwork earned them income or credit at local stores such as the Grass Valley Mercantile, or with local farmers and ranchers. Pine nuts, obtained as far away as Nevada, were sold in the fall (Callahan 1895-1926:107; Chappell 1975:47; Charles 1996a; Hatch 1996; Jackson and Jackson 1996; Robinson 1996).

To encourage Indians to move onto reservations such as the Uintah or to the Moapa Reservation in Nevada, the federal government adopted a policy of neglect (Holt 1902:32-60; Kelly and Fowler 1986:388). A federal reservation was not established at Grass Valley until 1928. By the 1940s, families were moving away to towns like Richfield because local jobs did not pay enough or were not available. Vera Charles recalled her family's move from Greenwich: “There was no jobs...there for anybody, you know, for us to live on” (Charles 1996b:3). A non-Indian resident of Rabbit Valley corroborated Vera's account: “They were actually getting down to where they didn't have...[a] way to make a living” (Hatch 1996). Only two families continued to farm while others had moved west to Sevier Valley (Kelly and Fowler 1986:390). In 1957, the Koosharem and other Paiute tribes were terminated by an Act of Congress. The LDS community assisted Indians with a place to live by providing land in the Sevier River valley at Richfield.

Realizing that those who had been terminated were suffering more, the federal government in 1980 restored the Koosharem to federal status. However, it took an additional 4 years for the Koosharem to receive monetary compensation and new land (Figure 3-26). The land they received, however, was land "no white individual or corporation wanted” (Holt 1992:146-147).

**Begging in the Capitol Reef Region**

"Begging" is mistakenly attributed to food shortage or starvation resulting from settlement of aboriginal territories. Those who couple it with food shortage (Behunin n.d.; Euler 1966:92; Fowler and Fowler 1971b:106) seem not to be aware that the LDS policy of feeding Indians was intentional and the effort was to control and obtain compliance. Feeding begget begging and the two were pervasive in the state of Utah among the Latter-day Saints, Paiute, and Ute peoples. Inaugurated at time of contact by the LDS Church, the phenomenon expressed itself in the Capitol Reef region when the settlers arrived there in the 1870s and continued into the 1930s while Indians were still living at Grass Valley. It was customary for settlers to feed Indians by inviting them in for meals and giving them food (Gottfredson 1919:53). As early as the late nineteenth century, Indians who once resided in Rabbit Valley would routinely return there after relocating to Grass Valley. Some of the descendants of the settlers recall visitations in the spring and fall. Sometimes individual families would be visited once every two weeks. Women begged for supplies such as flour, sugar, pork, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit. Sometimes clothes were given. Latter-day Saints were generous. "Everybody gave willingly” (Hatch 1996). Nor does it seem that Indians seeking handouts were judged. "It was just something they'd do” (Hatch 1996). While camping for two or three days at ranches or farms near Loa, Fremont, Lyman, and Torrey, Indians visited their white friends and the children played together. Sometimes the men helped local farmers and ranchers. Neldon Adams remembered that Indians camped and begged for fruit at Fruitia inside the park. "They came to get fruit, you would always have to give it to them, they never paid for anything...it was a one way trade" (Adams 1983:21). Sentiments of embarrassment or resentment were rarely expressed until recently. One of the pioneer descendants interviewed for this study euphemistically re-named the practice a “contribution” (Sorensen 1997). The origin of begging preceded the shortage of food caused by settlement. However, it later proved to be an effective strategy to adapt to shortages once they occurred (Chappell 1975:16; Charles 1996a:26-7; Durfee 1997; Hatch 1996; Jackson and Jackson 1996; Robinson 1996; Sorensen 1997).

**Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Use of Capitol Reef National Park and Surrounding Land**

During this time, some accounts of indigenous use of the Waterpocket Fold do exist. Local Indians continued to use the Fold as a travel corridor, as well as, perhaps, a source for rejuvenation. Jimmy Timican, with Tom Mix, traveled on horseback into and through the Waterpocket Fold. They visited friends at places east of the park, and passed over into Escalante Valley (Charles
In the early 1900s, another Grass Valley Indian traveling through the Fold met a group of outlaws there.

When he was young, he used to [go] ridin’ around horseback, all over. He met...outlaws, he met one of those guys down there. [He] said they were pretty good guys... I guess they give him money... They were from Hanksville. (Frank Woody (Figure 3-16) as told to Douglas Timican 1997)

Frank, who was a descendent of the Red Fish People, may have met members of Butch Cassidy’s gang or other cattle rustlers. The early 1900s were the heyday of cattle and livestock ranching in Garfield and Wayne counties. Outlaw groups would use the Waterpocket Fold and the Henry Mountains as hideouts.

Others continued the tradition of using the Fold as a passageway. For example, in the 1900s family groups of Numic Indians passed through Caineville on their way north to Rabbit Valley (Hunt 1996). The route took them through the Waterpocket Fold. Jimmy Timican was seasonally employed as a sheepherder in the Henry Mountains and traveled from there, across the Fold, and back to Grass Valley (Catherine Fowler, personal communication, 1997).

Gathering seed grasses inside the park continued. Jimmy Timican remembered traveling into the desert to get winter food. “We had to go far onto the desert to find grass that was not closed in by the whites” (Timican in Will 1968:43).

The LDS settlers at Fruita within Capitol Reef National Park provided a new food source to the Koosharem Indians. Once they established orchards, Indians traveled to Fruita to glean fruit. An early pioneer (Adams 1983:21) recalls that while he was living in Fruita, between 1906–1926, “those Koosharem... Indians... came through” to get fruit. Neldon Adams (1983:21) said they would beg for it and would be given the fruit without exchanging anything, Douglas Timican (1997), a descendent of the Red Fish People, remembered as a child going to Fruita to get the produce. He said his father borrowed a buggy and they would make a day trip, spend the night, and then return. Local Indians enterprisingly incorporated this means of food gathering into their economic system at a time when traditional subsistence methods were being radically altered.

Plant gathering in close proximity to the park still continued. For example, in the 1920s Indians who lived in Rabbit Valley came back in the fall, camped along the Fremont River, and gathered bull berries (Robinson 1996). They may have collected along the Fremont River into the park. Indian women also continued to gather willow canes along the Fremont River in the spring, when they would come back to Rabbit Valley to beg, camp, and visit friends. The collection may have taken place inside park boundaries.

Mineral collecting, too, continued in the vicinity of the park. Vera Charles remembered taking her father, Jimmy Timican, in the 1930s or 1940s to collect mineral pigment along a drainage that extends into present-day Capitol Reef National Park. Vera did not know whether he crossed park boundaries (Charles 1997a; Succc, field notes, 1997).

### A Healing Rock in the Waterpocket Fold

A natural rock feature within the Waterpocket Fold, location unknown, holds special meaning. A member of the Cedar City Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Arthur Richards, personal communication, 2000 and 2004) recalls Jimmy Timican telling him about a “healing rock” there. As a child, Mr. Richards spent much time with Jimmy Timican and his wife.

Far back in time, that rock, that park, was a temple for the Indians at one time. Because the Indians weren’t living right, it was turned into stone. But the creator still left a healing rock there. You laid down on the rock and what was wrong with you was gone. Always gave something to it. It had baskets, arrowheads, and offerings around it. You couldn’t miss it. It was a huge rock. No man around could pick it up.

One of the Indians told the Mormons and they tried to find it. Uncle Jimmy thought the creator might have moved it because they couldn’t find it.

Another member of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, from the Kanosh Band, said their people have “a sacred connection with the Capitol Reef” (Pikyavit 1997). However, Ralph “Red Cloud” Pikyavit was unwilling to share any further information about it. It is not known whether he, too, was referring to the healing rock, if he meant the entire formation of the Waterpocket Fold, or yet another meaning.

### Into the Twentieth Century

As the decades of the 1900s progressed, descendants of the *Ungkaw’pawgul’i vutseng* (Red Fish People) and the *Paw gosaud’humphutseng* (Water Clover People) eventually came to be viewed only as visitors to the land they once inhabited. Within Capitol Reef National Park, LDS residents infrequently saw them, other than to glean fruit at Fruita or to pass through. In the 1920s and 1930s, an evaluation was made of the Waterpocket Fold to determine if the National Park Service should manage it. Administrative reports from this era make no reference to contemporary Indians. In 1937, a portion of the Fold was established as a national monument. While federal documents make reference to the impressive
petroglyphs in the park and the remnants of structures left by early Puebloan farmers, no mention is made of extant Indians camping, collecting, or hunting in what eventually became, in 1971, Capitol Reef National Park. At about the time the Fold was established as a monument in 1937, a few of the last local indigenous residents, then living at Grass Valley, were forced by economic necessity to move still further away from their old homeland, to Richfield, Utah.

123 This poignant vignette seems to confirm the custom of outlaws to share their wealth with others in need (Hobshawn 1959).

124 Jimmy was married to Annie Johns. Arthur Richard's mother was Carrie Johns, Annie's sister (Arthur Richards, personal communication, 2004).
Contemporary Paiute and Ute American Indian Communities Associated with Capitol Reef National Park

Introduction

Long before settlement forced radical changes, Paiute and Ute peoples, with or without horses, were mobile and well connected. The network of trails across the Fold and in the region is a testament to that. Colonization resulted in “considerable reshuffling and condensing” of people and their traditional ranges (Fowler and Fowler 1971b:107). Social alliances, whether by blood or through marriage, and friendship, served an important function when contact resulted in dislocations. Having relatives elsewhere provided a place to go when living in your accustomed home was no longer an option. Clifford Duncan, an elder among the Ute Indian Tribe, best sums up this phenomenon when he states: “...you always got to remember that all these people are tied in together...They were kind of overlapping, so that’s why we have relations...down here, and...vice versa” (Duncan 1997). Consequently, most Paiute and Ute tribes and bands have some historical association with Capitol Reef National Park. These groups and the nature of their association with the park are discussed below.

Kaibab Band of the Paiute Indians

As the settlement of south central Utah progressed, some indigenous people occupying the region of Capitol Reef National Park chose to migrate south and live with the Kaibab. Clifford Duncan knew that some “people went south...and some became part of the Uintahs” (Duncan 1997). A now deceased Kaibab elder, Lucille Jake, once told personnel at Capitol Reef National Park that her maternal grandfather and great grandfather came from the Capitol Reef region. Her maternal grandfather regarded this place as his home, but once he registered to live on the reservation (established in 1907) among the Kaibab, he was told never to go back. Her grandfather would talk frequently about the area. Though he was warned not to return, he did go back in the 1930s to sell pinyon nuts (Succe 1996a:66). He may have returned to dance in the Sun Dance held at Fish Lake in 1932. Clifford Duncan (1997) knew that some Kaibab, including Dan Bullets, had participated in the ceremony. Ms. Jake said that Kaibab would travel as far north as Fish Lake to fish. Perhaps these Kaibab would take the trail from Kanab through the region of the Kaiparowits peoples, and then either travel north through Grass Valley or across the Aquarius Plateau. Some Kaibab were living at the Koosharem Indian enclave when it was designated a reservation in 1928 (Kelly and Fowler 1986:389). According to Kaibab officials, after Lucille Jake died, no elders remain who have accounts about the area of Capitol Reef. Further,
tribal officials said it was no longer necessary for Capitol Reef National Park to consult with them as long as the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, specifically the Koosharem and Kanosh bands, were consulted (Carmen Bradley, Angelita Bulletts, and Vivienne Jake, personal communication, May 7, 1997).

**Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah**

Members of the Pahvant regularly harvested fish at Fish Lake during the summer (Conetah 1982:24). In the regionwide diaspora of indigenous people after settlement, some Pahvant settled among the Koosharem at Grass Valley (Callaway et al. 1986:365). One of the sons of the famous Pahvant “chief” Kanosh (Figure 3-27), had a male child, John Kanosh. John married a Koosharem woman and had a son, Crockett Kanosh (Appendix 3-A; Figure 3-11). Crockett married two daughters (Florence Kanosh (Figures 3-8 and 3-11) and Nancy Timican (Figure 3-11) of Timican (Figure 3-11) and Rosie Quakanab Timican, members of the Red Fish People of Rabbit Valley. John died in the Koosharem enclave (Martineau 1992:283). Joe Pikyavit, formerly of Kaibab but who relocated to the Kanosh enclave, beget twelve children by Emily Sobiquint who lived at Kanosh, Utah. Joe was a frequent visitor to the plateau valleys and canyon lands of the Capitol Reef region. He danced in the Sun Dance at Fish Lake. One of his sons, Ralph “Red Cloud” Pikyavit shared many of Joe’s accounts about the region. In fact, it is Ralph who said that places inside the boundaries of Capitol Reef and in the vicinity of the park are considered sacred, but wished to protect the reasons why. The Kanosh should continue to be consulted.

**Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah**

Most of the members of this band are descendants of the Red Fish and Water Clover Peoples. For the Red Fish People, the Waterpocket Fold was part of their territory. They made regular seasonal forays into the desertscape. Jimmy Timican, a deceased band member, shared information about a revered rock formation within the Fold. Consultation should continue.

**San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe**

The San Juan Southern Paiute organized hunting expeditions to the Capitol Reef region, specifically to the Henry Mountains (Bunte and Franklin 1987:19; Euler 1966:106). Regularly they crossed the Fold to make visitations to the region of the Kaiparowits. The San Juan reported that they married into the Indian communities there (Kelly 1964:99,168). Grace Lehi, an elder with the San Juan Paiute, knows about the trail that extends from the vicinity of Navajo Mountain (where some of the San Juan continue to live) to the Henry Mountains, and beyond across the Fold to the land of the Kaiparowits (Succc 1996a:66). It is possible that this is the trail about which Indians informed Dellenbaugh and Thompson. A system of trails obviously linked the Capitol Reef region with other regions. During the Burr Trail consultation in 1993, Ms. Lehi said that the San Juan Southern Paiute possess accounts and songs about their movement through the Capitol Reef landscape, but said it was inappropriate to provide more information (Succc 1996a:66). Jim Mike, also called “Mike Boy,” a deceased elder among the San Juan Southern Paiute, owned a wealth of knowledge about the Waterpocket Fold area. So much so that in the 1960s, he aided anthropologist Robert Euler in identifying Paiute sites, including the antelope drive site on the Awapa Plateau (Euler, personal communication, 1998). Capitol Reef National Park should continue its effort to consult with the San Juan Southern Paiute. Despite many attempts at arranging interviews with Grace Lehi and other elders among the San Juan Paiute of northern Arizona, the interviews did not happen. Park personnel should, in concert with tribal government, arrange for interviews with those elders who are willing to share their knowledge about the Waterpocket Fold region.

**Southern Ute Tribe**

Members of the Capote, Muache, Weeminuche and comprise the Southern Ute Tribe. Powell and Ingalls noted in 1873 that some of the Sheberetches who occupied eastern Utah chose to join the Ute in Colorado rather than relocate to the Uintah Reservation (1873:47). Some Sheberetches were once allies with Black Hawk, and together they used the plateau valleys west of Capitol Reef as a refuge. They also ran stolen livestock through the Fold. The Committee of Elders and the Cultural Committee of the Southern Ute Tribe do have accounts of the area, including Fish Lake, but wanted to wait to tell their stories until they could see it again. Alden Naranjo, then Director of the Cultural Preservation Department, worked to bring the committees to the park, but that visit did not happen. Personnel at Capitol Reef National Park should contact the Southern Ute Tribe to ensure that this visit takes place. Time is of the

125 Though scholars (Joel Janetski and Robert McPherson, personal communication, 2003) doubt his credibility, Wolverton (1928) believed that the trails associated with the Henry Mountains extended south to Santa Fe. When you consider that native trails extended from Mexico to Canada and from the western to the eastern states, it seems plausible that Indian trails extended as far as Santa Fe, and probably well beyond. The Hopi, in Chapter 2, suggest that trails extended into Latin America.
Figure 3-27a and 27b

Kanosh, leader of the Pahvant Ute (photographer unknown, dated before 1869). From the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection. 27b is a photograph from the Utah State Historical Society, photographer and date unknown. Photograph number 970.2, negative number 14399.
essence, as these knowledgeable old people are dying.126

Ute Indian Tribe

We know from descendants of the Rabbit Valley Indians that they were repeatedly invited to live at the Uintah Reservation. Some accepted, and then returned. Others permanently relocated among the Uintah. Some of these included Dick and John Kwib, related to Lester Kurrip; Nick of Rabbit Valley (Figure 3-11); Old Man Greyhead of Rabbit Valley, his first wife, Pew'v, Andrew Greyhead; Shawkom; and Charlie (Martineau 1992:80). It is not known whether relatives of these individuals continue to live at the Uintah Reservation. These names were learned subsequent to consultation with the Ute Indian Tribe. Individuals from the Timpanogots and the Sheberatches also took up residence at the Koosharem enclave. These were absorbed into the Uintah at Ft. Duchesne (Callaway et al. 1986:366). Anthropologists such as Julian Steward (1938), Omer Stewart (1942), and Anne M. Cooke Smith (1974) obtained information about the Indians in the Capitol Reef region from individuals living at the Uintah Reservation. Tribal officials (Betsy Chappoose, Director of the Cultural Rights and Historic Preservation Department, as well as Larry Cesspouche, Director of Public Relations) have requested that Capitol Reef National Park continue to consult with the Ute Indian Tribe.

Ute Mountain Ute Tribe and White Mesa Ute

The White Mesa Ute are part of and governed by the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe (Ute Mountain Ute Tribe 1986:12). The band ancestors of contemporary Ute Mountain Ute and White Mesa Ute were predominately Weenimuche, but others also settled with the Ute Mountain Ute and White Mesa Ute (Ute Mountain Ute Tribe 1986:3-11). These included the Sheberatches who once lived in the vicinity of the La Sal and Blue Mountains (Terry Knight, Ute Mountain Ute, and Edward Dutchie Sr., White Mesa Ute, personal communication, 1997). Florence Kanosh said the Sheberatches were the largest group of Indians in the state of Utah. Disease and warfare decimated them (Martineau 1992:156; Powell and Ingalls 1873:47). Sheberatches were among Black Hawk’s allies, some seeking refuge in the vicinity of Capitol Reef. When they were asked by the federal government to leave their traditional domain and settle on the Uintah Reservation around 1873, they chose to disperse. Their decision likely was based upon family and friends who were living in other communities. Some went west to Rabbit and Grass valleys, some to the Cedar City Paiute, others to the Pahvant and to the Southern Ute of Colorado, and some to the Allen Canyon Paiutes, now known as the White Mesa Ute (Knight and Dutchie, personal communication, 1997; Powell and Ingalls 1873:47). Those who went up to the Uintah Reservation were absorbed into the Uncompahgre and Uintah bands (Conetah 1982:24).

Unfortunately Edward Dutchie Sr., of the White Mesa Ute, could not attend a consultation at Capitol Reef National Park to which he was invited. Mr. Dutchie was knowledgeable about the histories and traditions of Paiute and Ute bands that inhabited southern Utah. While of Weenimuche ancestry, he also possessed knowledge of the Sheberatches and their association with Black Hawk, their occupation and use of the Capitol Reef landscape, and their dispersal and absorption into other Indian enclaves. Personnel from Capitol Reef National Park were encouraged to interview Mr. Dutchie, but unfortunately he died before that happened. That rare information is now lost to the park and to the state of Utah.

126 The oral traditions conveyed by tribal elders, particularly at locations within or near parks, help to keep cultural traditions and histories alive. Seeing the landscape with its plants and animals that played an integral role in tribal histories precipitates memories and stories that would otherwise have remained dormant or become forgotten. Unlike archeological data which generally remains intact in the ground, if work is not done with aging tribal peoples, the traditional knowledge they do possess often dies with them and then is lost to the generations that follow and to a park such as Capitol Reef.
Summary and Conclusions

The most frequently documented use of the Waterpocket Fold was as a travel corridor (Table 3-5). That is, the Fold facilitated — not obstructed — travel by regional indigenous groups from one destination to another. In the last half of the nineteenth century, LDS and governmental surveyors, as the first Euroamericans in the region, documented the existence and antiquity of Indian trails. To the newcomers, the trails served as a compass, orienting new explorers.

Indigenous routes across the Fold were at designated locations and, at the same time, the Fold could be crossed anywhere given the profusion of water pockets. Some documented corridors included the Fremont River, Chimney Rock Canyon, and Pleasant Creek. Other crossings were made at locations that cannot be verified at this time or that will remain unknown to us.

Travel corridors across the Waterpocket Fold were used for a multitude of reasons. Groups traveled from one place to another to harvest food such as rice grass and reach deer hunting grounds. Messengers crossed the Fold to convey news of celebrations and ceremonies. Indigenous, Spanish, and Mexican intruders possibly used routes to prey on local Indians, and local Indians we do know used the same routes to chase intruders away. Indian resisters to colonization used corridors to transport livestock and escape capture. Members of local indigenous enclaves, en route to visit other compatriots, crossed the Fold.

Trails across the Fold linked with thoroughfares such as the Spanish Trail and with trails that crossed the Colorado River. Collectively they formed an interregional transportation system that made it possible for Indian people to communicate, conduct commerce, pursue their seasonal harvest of food, participate in ceremonies and celebrations, engage in warfare, and economically support themselves with seasonal employment when their traditional subsistence practices subsided and then ceased. Whether beaten paths or random crossings, routes across the Waterpocket Fold served many purposes.

Travel across the Waterpocket Fold through time and for diverse reasons suggests familiarity with the Fold, as does the existence of a name for it. Timpiawec or “water rock” belies an awareness of an important resource in that desert environment and the potential for its use when crossing the Fold on a given trail or away from it. Indians had knowledge of tinajas as well as tributaries.

The Waterpocket Fold also was a destination for indigenous people. Archeological data and oral tradition confirm that the Fold was a place where at least seed grass harvesting and likely small game hunting continued for a significant span of time (Table 3-5). At one archeological site (radiocarbon-dated at A.D. 1580) seed gathering and processing, as well as game hunting, is
suggested. The oral tradition of Red Fish People such as Florence Kanosh, Sally, Jimmy Timican, and his daughter Vera Charles suggest that collection continued through the early 1900s.

At least by the early 1900s, Fruita in the Waterpocket Fold became a destination to glean fruit from the orchards (Table 3-5). By this time, local Indians enterprisingly incorporated this means of food gathering into their economic system when traditional methods of subsistence were being radically altered by forces beyond their control.

From oral accounts, the Fold also appears to have become a destination for rejuvenation (Table 3-5). Descendants of the Red Fish People took horseback trips there. In one instance, an individual, Frank Woody, met up with outlaws.

Yet, while Indians traveled across the Waterpocket Fold and gathered plants and hunted animals there, not much detailed information was provided about other resource uses and specific places associated with the Fold. For example, beyond seed grasses and lizards, names of other plants, animals, or minerals were not provided. Beyond the eastern escarpment of the Fold, only one other location was referenced.

A very large rock formation was known to be a place of healing in the Waterpocket Fold, but its location remains unknown (Table 3-5). Perhaps that is the place that Jimmy Timican and Tom Mix were riding to or trying to find. According to an elder among the Cedar City Band and a relative of Jimmy’s, that feature seems to have been a remnant of an earlier time when what we know as the Fold was other than a sandstone monocline and, as such, was — in its entirety — a place of worship and perhaps continued to remain so. Reverential reference to the entire Fold was echoed by another elder among the Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Table 3-5), but without any explanation. While it may refer to the meaning shared by the Cedar City Band elder who learned it from Jimmy Timican, it may possibly reflect the significance of the Fold as a parcel of homeland. At such places, community histories transpired and cultural traditions emanated. Nevertheless, the Fold acted on behalf of indigenous people as a physical and as we’ve only recently learned, a spiritual provider. Knowledge about it would have been passed across the generations. That knowledge included a Numic name, one that originated from experience with the Fold as a place yielding the important resource of water.

While some uses of Capitol Reef can be known for certain, others cannot. Data summarized in this chapter suggest that certain plants, animals, and minerals might have been obtained in the Waterpocket Fold because Indians were procuring them on the perimeter of what is now park land (Table 3-6).

For example, local Indians were sighted fishing for trout on the Fremont River and by Dellenbaugh and Thompson at another area to the west of the park. New settlers sighted Indians gathering willow cane and berries in the Rabbit Valley vicinity. Oral accounts tell of mineral pigment being collected close to the Fold and on Thousand Lake Mountain. Deer hunts occurred on Thousand Lake Mountain close to what is now park land. Pine nuts were routinely harvested by groups of families at locations near the park. Over 50% of pinyon and juniper forest on park land suggests that those forests may have been harvested for pinyon nuts.

Oral and written information about Numic Indian use of the Waterpocket Fold is not dense when contrasted with information about other topographic features in the region such as Fish Lake. Ethnographic and historical documents suggest that shorter-term encampments of family groups were made at strategically located food resources associated with the Fold; that is, where ripening seed grasses grew and/or where small animals could be hunted. Capitol Reef was not a place where people spent a full season collecting abundant resources. The Fold’s food resources are diverse but sparse when contrasted with the mountain plateaus. Other places such as Fish Lake and Paradise Lake at Hogan Pass had abundant resources that could be efficiently collected by the pooled labor of many families throughout a season. Consequently, family groups stayed longer in those areas, harvesting and preserving enough food to help them through the winter.

It is worth noting that Notom, on the eastern perimeter of Capitol Reef near Pleasant Creek, may have been a winter village for local Indians. Accounts from pioneers suggest that indigenous people lived there alongside newcomers. Whether the area was routinely inhabited in winter and prior to LDS settlement is not known at this time.

What of the meaning of Waterpocket Fold to the regional Indians who used it? Descendants of the Red Fish People made a pragmatic statement about its significance in the late nineteenth century, almost twenty years after settlers arrived in Rabbit Valley. It was a place where they enlarged their food supply, particularly in winter. Jimmy Timican said, “Sometimes there was little food and the snow would get deeper... so we could not hunt. Then the people would come out on the desert...” Lowland food resources were a necessity to local Indians. An element of their survival included winter expeditions to augment the food supply. The value of lowland resources increased as development of Rabbit Valley proceeded, and as access to traditional food resources in the valleys and plateaus was restricted.

The significance of the Waterpocket Fold (Capitol
Table 3-5

Paiute and Ute Ethnographic Resources at Capitol Reef National Park

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESOURCE</th>
<th>USE/MEANING</th>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cacti</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Kelly 1964; Sorenson 1997; Timican in Will 1968</td>
<td>The places where cacti was collected are unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Adams 1983</td>
<td>Obtained from homesteaders at Fruita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Healing rock&quot; in the Waterpocket Fold</td>
<td>A place to be healed and then offerings left</td>
<td>Jimmy Timican as told to Arthur Richards. Personal communication with Mr. Richards in 2000 and again in 2004</td>
<td>Mr. Richards as a child spent a portion of his youth with Jimmy Timican, who taught him about Paiute history and traditions associated with the Capitol Reef region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizards and other small game</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Sorenson 1997; Timican in Will 1968</td>
<td>Throughout the Waterpocket Fold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seed grasses in the Poaceae family</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Charles 1997a; Sorenson 1997; Sucec 1996a; Timican in Will 1968</td>
<td>Particularly the eastern escarpment of the Fold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterpocket Fold</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Ernestine Lehi, personal communication, 1998</td>
<td>Paiute name for the Waterpocket Fold which means &quot;water rock&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jimmy Timican as told to Arthur Richards. Personal communication with Mr. Richards in 2000 and 2004</td>
<td>Mr. Richards learned about this meaning from Jimmy Timican who told him that the formation of the Waterpocket Fold, once a place of worship for Indians, was changed to stone due to inappropriate behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ralph &quot;Red Cloud&quot; Pikyavit 1997</td>
<td>Mr. Pikyavit chose not to disclose the reason for designating the Fold a sacred place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sacred place</td>
<td>Charles 1997a; Timican 1997</td>
<td>Mention of this use in the early 1900s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rejuvenation?</td>
<td>Charles 1997a; Dellenbaugh 1991; Dorcheous Memoirs: n.d.; Hunt 1996; Jackson and Jackson 1996; Kelly 1964; Lehi in Sucec 1996a; Martineau 1992; Timican 1997; Will 1968</td>
<td>Crossed &quot;anywhere&quot;; traveled through Chimney Rock Canyon; Fremont River (Capitol Gorge), Pleasant Creek; possibly Red Canyon and the Burr Trail. For resource procurement; warfare; visitation; thoroughfare, and route to employment opportunities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reef National Park) takes on another dimension when viewed in a larger context of the ecologically diverse regional landscape. For the Ungkaw' pawguh' u vutseng or "Red Fish People" and their ancestors, this terrain became a homeland in which they led their lives for at least 700 years, or from their time of origin in that place. Those who were born in and lived on the land (and their descendants) have understood and felt this significance long before we came to realize it. As Florence Kanosh tells us, "...before, we lived everywhere, move[d] here and move[d] there" (1983:4).

Before settlement, all of it was their permanent residence. While more time and larger groups were spent in some places and less time and fewer people in others, the entire landscape was their home. "We lived everywhere." It is a type of relationship with a place that challenges our customary Euroamerican notion of what it means to "reside" somewhere.

A broad range of Paiute and Ute places or sites was discussed in this chapter. Subsistence sites include antelope game drive sites, plateau hunting locations, sage hen blinds, fishing locales, and plant gathering places. Winter residences were located in valleys (obscured by development) and lowlands (at Notom). Summer sites occurred at plateau lakes (Fish Lake and Paradise Lake). Short-term encampments include those within Capitol Reef National Park. Sites of celebrations and ceremonies include a Sun Dance site (Bowery Haven at Fish Lake), pigment gathering locations, a Cry site, and places where dances or powwows were held (Fish Lake, Lyman, Red Lake, and Koosharem). Trails linked these resources and places and included those that crossed the Waterpocket Fold. These places and sites on the regional terrain (in some cases tangible and discernable, and in others not), are symbols of the richness, variety, and complexity of the lives led by the Paiute and Ute peoples, and of their sensitive adjustments to the bounty of diverse natural resources contained within this vast landscape.
### Table 3-6

**Potential Paiute and Ute Ethnographic Resources at Capitol Reef National Park**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESOURCE</th>
<th>USE/MEANING</th>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berries</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Robinson 1996</td>
<td>In the 1920s and 1930s local Indians sighted collecting berries along the Fremont River. However no sightings inside the park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Food; equipment</td>
<td>Fowler 1966; Pikyavit 1997; Timican in Will 1968</td>
<td>Fowler, Pikyavit, and Timican refer to buffalo on lands surrounding the Fold, e.g., in Rabbit Valley and on lands east of the present-day park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Dellenbaugh 1991; Euler 1966</td>
<td>References to fish being caught in the Fremont River and Pleasant Creek outside park boundaries. However, no references to fishing inside current boundaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juniper</td>
<td>Food, coloring hides, arrow shafts, among other uses</td>
<td>Sucec 1996a:49-50</td>
<td>Information from Kanosh and Koosharem elder in 1993, as well as others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitol Reef shields</td>
<td>Their significance is identified in the two jointly filed repatriation claims of the tribes listed in the &quot;comments&quot; column.</td>
<td>Lee Kreutzer, personal communication, 2004</td>
<td>The Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, and the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians jointly; and the Southern Ute Tribe and Ute Mountain Ute Tribe jointly made repatriation requests for the shields. The NPS determined that the preponderance of evidence favored the Navajo Nation claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinyon nuts</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Sucec 1996a:51-52</td>
<td>Information from those who researched Paiute ethnobotany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigment</td>
<td>Use uncertain, but likely for body</td>
<td>Charles 1997a; Knight 1997</td>
<td>Collected by Jimmy Timican possibly from Sulphur or Oak painting Creek. However, whether pigment was collected with present-day Capitol Reef is unknown. Ute Mountain Ute representative (Terry Knight) said that red pigment is used for Sun Dances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbitbrush</td>
<td>Food, fuel, basketry</td>
<td>Sucec 1996a:49</td>
<td>Information from Koosharem elder in 1993, as well as others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhubarb (wild)</td>
<td>Food, dye</td>
<td>Sucec 1996a:52-53</td>
<td>Information from Paiute elders in 1993, as well as others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagebrush</td>
<td>Medicinal, ceremonial arrow shafts, fuel</td>
<td>Sucec 1996a:49</td>
<td>Information from Koosharem and San Juan Southern Paiute elders in 1993, as well as from those studying the ethnobotany of Paiutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sego-lily</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Sucec 1996a:49</td>
<td>Information from Koosharem elder in 1993, as well as others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squawbush</td>
<td>Food, basketry, fuel</td>
<td>Sucec 1996a:52</td>
<td>Information from Kaibab and San Juan Southern Paiute elders in 1993, as well as other sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toolstone quarries</td>
<td>Local sources of chert, sandstone, and other materials to make stone tools.</td>
<td>Richens et al. 1997; Baadsgaard et al. 1998; Baker and Baker 2000; and Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2003)</td>
<td>More than 20 toolstone quarries were identified during an archeological survey of the park. However, in consulting with contemporary Paiute and Ute tribal members, toolstone was not mentioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>Basketry</td>
<td>Callahan 1895-1926</td>
<td>Local Indians collected willow canes along the Fremont River. It is not known whether they collected in present-day Capitol Reef National Park.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

Navajo Peoples’ Relationship with Capitol Reef National Park
"As far as I can remember, when I was a boy, when I first realized, stories were told before and beyond, about Navajos from here and other parts who would get together and hunt in those areas. It is a ritual to hunt and bring back venison once a year...We were able to go when there were no settlers...After settlement, we had to work with them."

Buck Navajo, Hataahii, Navajo Mountain, Utah, October 17, 1997
Introduction

The following depicts Navajo uses of Capitol Reef National Park within the framework of traditional Navajo beliefs and customs. It also places Navajo use of park resources and of the surrounding land within the context of regional and global historical events.

Various sources of evidence were used to document Navajo association with Capitol Reef, including archeology, historical documents, oral histories from Euroamerican settlers and their descendents, and oral tradition recorded in documents, as well as study by knowledgeable elders among the Navajo Nation (Appendix I-B).

Collectively, this evidence reveals a fuller bodied, longer association with and uses of Capitol Reef country than hitherto documented. Navajo traditional uses of Capitol Reef National Park include hunting, gathering, raiding, warfare, herding, trading, and use of park land as a thoroughfare (Map 4-1). The Waterpocket Fold has a descriptive Navajo name, Tò bìl yıldız (“The Depression with Water”). The Fold, and the landscape that surrounds it, is regarded as a significant aspect of Navajo traditional culture for the role it plays in furnishing the resources that work to ensure the well-being of the Navajo people in southernmost Utah and northern Arizona.

Certain factors, however, have precluded this richer understanding until now. For example, in some circumstances Navajo uses of park and other federal land across the Colorado River have not always left discernable tangible evidence. Too, archeologists are not yet familiar with the type of physical evidence associated with some traditional uses. Political considerations have prevented traditional Navajos from readily sharing information about this land use. Further, oral tradition as a source of knowledge has not routinely made its way into documentary history for Utah. While the oral histories of settlers to the region corroborate the presence of Navajo in the area, some of the Navajo knowledge about specific resources and their uses are considered esoteric, that is, appropriate for only certain individuals to know and not for public disclosure. Therefore, settlers were not aware of the complexity of activities associated with Navajo presence in the area. It also has resulted in limiting the information that could be included in this chapter.

The Navajo ethnographic resources described in this chapter are integrated with the historical narrative. At the end of the chapter, a table identifies Navajo ethnographic resources in Capitol Reef National Park. First, however, a brief summary is provided of what is known about Navajo archeological sites in and nearby Capitol Reef National Park.

1 This chapter has been approved by the Navajo consultants who provided knowledge from their oral tradition to help Capitol Reef National Park understand Navajo history at the Waterpocket Fold and thereby appropriately manage Navajo ethnographic resources. The Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department at Window Rock also reviewed and approved the text in this chapter.

2 More literal Navajo translations are “The Start of a Wash or Canyon Made by Water” or “Pockets Made with Water” (Pauline Wilson, tribal liaison, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, personal communication, 2004).
Resource Areas:
1. Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain)
2. Boulder (town and canyon)
3. Capitol Reef NP
4. Escalante (town and canyon)
5. Fifty-Mile Mountain
6. Fishlake Hightop Plateau
7. Grass Valley
8. Halls Crossing
9. Harris Wash
10. Henry Mountains
11. Hite Crossing (Camp Stone)
12. Hole-in-the-Rock
13. Kaiparowits Plateau
14. Notom
15. Rabbit Valley
16. Richfield
17. Thousand Lake Mountain
18. White Canyon

Note: Some resources represent historic as well as contemporary use. See text for an explanation. Also, this map does not include hogans settlements, or cairn, echo, and stone image sites.

Produced by the NPS Intermountain Geographic Resource Information Management Team.
An Overview of Navajo Archeology in Capitol Reef National Park and on Surrounding Lands

Navajo Sites Within Capitol Reef National Park

No sites have been positively identified as Navajo within the park. However, two sites are suggestive of Navajo presence. These sites include a petroglyph panel in the Waterpocket Fold and a multi-component site in the Cathedral District of Capitol Reef.

A petroglyph panel along the Fremont River (WN0149) contains a variety of elements (Figure 7-2). These include horses, some mounted with figures; a "skirted" figure which some archeologists (Hauck 1991; Office of Public Archaeology 1996) suggest represents a female; a male figure armed with a lance and carrying a torso size shield; a bison, and a bighorn sheep. A friend of the first superintendent of Capitol Reef National Park interpreted the collection of individual elements as a bison hunt (Beckwith 1946:1). Elements may have been scribed at different times. According to former park archeologist Lee Kreutzer (personal communication 1997), a Wayne County (Map 1-4) resident claims to have created the panel.4

One archeologist (Hauck 1991:89), who assumed the images were made at the same time, calls the panel

probably Navajo...[The images] were drawn after the reintroduction of the horse...created sometime after contact by the protohistoric wandering Navajo although there is no evidence or ethnological documentation of Navajo use of the Capitol Reef area.

Hauck suspects the images were made by the Navajo because they seem stylistically identical to other Navajo images he has seen (personal communication to Lee Kreutzer, 1999).5 Hauck did know, however, that Navajos would make mounted excursions into the area from lands inhabited due south. Other archeologists (Nixon and Marcus 1978:2) attribute a historic date to the panel because of the horses present on it. Nixon and Marcus implicitly assume the images were made at the same time. In addition to Ute, they note Navajo use of the study area, coming by horseback to trade blankets with locals. They believed the Paiute to be horseless and therefore reasoned the panel could not be Paiute.6

Two Navajo elders visited the panel in 1999 and expressed that ancestral Navajo could have made the horses (Succ, field notes, 1999). Stylistically Navajo horses have squared rumps and proud curved necks, among other attributes (Schaffsma 1995:339). A few of the horses on the panel possess those attributes.7 The Navajo consultants also thought the shield anthropomorph with the spear was a Navajo warrior (Succ, field notes, 1999).

The configuration of an historic structure on another site (WN2054), located in the Cathedral District of the park, is reminiscent of a Navajo structure with an
eastward opening (Shane Baker, Office of Public Archaeology, Memorandum, November 5, 1997). The site form describes the historic feature of a multi-component site as

...somewhat enigmatic, and appears as a roughly circular mound measuring 18 feet in diameter located on a high spot on the ridge near the north end of the site. Testing of this feature suggested a circular, possibly cribbed, structure with an east-facing doorway. (IMACS Site Form)

The evidence, however, is inconclusive. No artifacts such as Native American beads or bangles were found (Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2003). Testing of carbonized material from the structure came back 20+ 50 B.P. With calibration, results suggest a date as early as AD 1680 to 1920, which is consistent with the artifact assemblage (Shane Baker, Office of Public Archaeology, Memorandum, November 5, 1997).

Traditional Navajo from the Ojato and Navajo Mountain chapter houses visited this site in 1999 (Figure 4-1). Before they knew of its existence, they informed the park archeologist that ancestral Navajos had settled in three locales across the Colorado River, one of which was near the base of Thousand Lake Mountain (Map I-4), which would place the settlement somewhere in the Cathedral District of the park. Settlement there could have occurred as early as when Navajos sought refuge from Spanish retribution for the Pueblo Revolt at the end of the 1600s and early 1700s. This site, as well as others yet to be identified, might be associated with the Navajos who sought refuge from the Kit Carson Roundup in the 1860s.

Navajo Sites on Lands Adjacent to the Park

Almost all of the lands abutting Capitol Reef National Park are federally managed (Map I-2). No archeological sites there have been positively identified as Navajo.

On the west side lays the Kanab Resource Area of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), now referred to as the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument (GSEN), (Map I-2). Archeologist Doug McFadden (personal communication 1998) is not aware of any sites identified as Navajo on these lands, but does know of habitation and summer camps near Kanab.

Also due west of the park, yet north of the GSEN, lies the Aquarius Plateau (Map I-4), administered by the Dixie National Forest (Map I-2). "Boulder Mountain" is another name frequently used by area residents for the Aquarius Plateau. Archeologist Marian Jacklin (personal communication 1998) does not know of any Navajo sites on the forest. She notes, however, few timber surveys or prescribed burns have been conducted in the area which would require archeological mitigation.

The Richfield District of the Bureau of Land Management manages the Awapa Plateau (Map I-4), and other lands east of Capitol Reef National Park, including the Henry Mountains (Map I-4). Of the nine million acres, about 10% have been surveyed. Archeologist Craig Harmon (personal communication 1998) says none have been identified as Navajo sites.

The Fishlake National Forest (Map I-2) administers lands west and northwest of Capitol Reef National Park. According to archeologist Bob Leonard (personal communication 1998), no recorded sites have been identified as Navajo.

Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GLCA) lies south and southwest of Capitol Reef (Map I-2). No sites or artifacts have been positively identified as Navajo on the north side of the Colorado River, according to park archeologist Chris Goetze (personal communication 1999). However, she is aware that the Escalante and Circle Cliffs drainages have been and continue to be used for traditional hunting by some Navajo. Park staff report that plant gathering also occurs within GLCA. She suspects that some of the historic can dumps and hunting camps that have been assigned a Euroamerican affiliation may be Navajo.

Some Observations about Navajo Archeology on Lands Within and Surrounding Capitol Reef National Park

Only two known archeological sites within the park could potentially be associated with the Navajo. No Navajo sites have been identified on federal lands surrounding the park including lands adjacent to the Colorado River. Yet, the archeologist for Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and other archeologists who have conducted surveys and produced reports are aware

3 A Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team member, during a consultation at Calf Creek in the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, identified the "skirted" figure as a motif representing an Ancestral Puebloan hunter. The Zuni priest said the "skirt" is symbolic of a kilt, part of the regalia donned for a ceremonial hunt (Rosemary Sucee, field notes, 1998).
4 Kreutzer suspects the panel was created by more than one scribe because it appears to reflect two or more styles. It is not uncommon for petroglyph panels to contain images created at different times and by indigenous peoples using distinctive motifs and execution.
5 Hauck also lists the Paiute as occupants of the Capitol Reef region. As discussed in Chapter 3, historical perceptions of the Paiute have been associated with possession of horses, unlike their Ute neighbors. Hauck may have excluded the Paiute, whose ancestors inhabited the area, because they were pedestrian Indians at time of contact.
6 Part of the confusion here results from the relatively recent designation of the historic indigenous inhabitants as Paiute. Those who lived in the plateau valleys to the west of Capitol Reef National Park before settlement did not have horses. The Indian Claims Commission officially designated the remnant indigenous descendants as Paiute. Refer to Chapter 3.
7 For a discussion of Navajo rock art, including depictions of horses and Spaniards, see Schaeffers 1985:15-19, 306-307, 322, and 325-331.
Figure 4-1
A representative from the Olijato Chapter House stands at WN2054. Photo taken by Lee Kreutzer.
that Navajos have been and continue to use lands surrounding the park for hunting, gathering, and trading. These activities likely have produced at least camps and limited activity sites.

The more subtle manifestations of these traditional use sites have gone unnoticed or are not easily discernible; otherwise they would have been recorded. The sites may be unrecognizable due to the short span of use and nature of activity. Temporally sensitive material may be absent which places the site in the category of "culturally unidentified." Or, as GLCA archeologist Chris Goertz suggests, historic can dumps that could be affiliated with Navajo may be erroneously and generically identified as Euroamerican. The material associated with Navajo hunting camps or plant gathering areas is enigmatic for most archeologists. It may be that at places where plants are gathered or animals dressed, nothing remains that would give archeologists a clue that Navajos, through time, visited or occupied an area. The particular archeological configurations of these Navajo traditional use sites remain elusive.

Federal archeologists in the Capitol Reef vicinity recognize Navajo sites by the presence of hogans and/or diagnostic ceramics. However, as described by the GLCA archeologist, the nature of known traditional use north of the river excludes the use of either of these markers.

The oral histories of traditional Navajos described below document that ancestral Navajo may have been residing west of the Colorado River as early as the 14th century. They tell of a settlement of hogans established in the 1700s. Further, according to the accounts of Navajo Medicine People or Hataali as well as herborists, Navajo peoples have been regularly crossing the Colorado River to hunt, gather plants, collect mineral resources, and to trade with indigenous inhabitants and Euroamerican settlers. The traditional knowledge of these contemporary Navajos, along with accounts from ethnohistorical texts and interviews, are described below.

8 As discussed in Chapter 3, approximately 40% of the sites in Capitol Reef National Park fall into this category suggesting short-term limited activity.
Origins and Early History to Late 1600s

Navajos believe their ancestors emerged through three other worlds into this fourth world. They say the Holy People created rivers and mountains so that the world could be inhabited. Holy Beings reside within them. For example, the Colorado and San Juan rivers are home to such Beings. They answer prayers and act as guardians.

It was Changing Woman who created the Dine, the first Navajo people. Changing Woman intended that her people would not live with her, but migrate to Dine’beke’ya, land bounded by sacred mountains, which would form a protective shield for those living there (Sandoval or Hastin Tlo’tsi hee in O’Bryan 1956:112, 168; McPherson 1992:49). For those traveling beyond home or Kéyah, including to the Waterpocket Fold country, special preparation must be made to ensure protection (Buck Navajo in Luckert 1977; Manheimer in field notes, Sucec 1997, 1998; Navajo 1997; McPherson 1992:49).

From the Viewpoint of Archeologists

Many archeologists hold to the conventional scientific view of Navajo origins and history. They argue that Athapaskan-speaking Navajo arrived in the Southwest around 1500 (though the route is disputed); that Navajo culture was strongly influenced by contact with Puebloans, especially after the Pueblo Revolt and Spanish Re-conquest in the late 1600s; and that Navajo expanded west out of Dinétah9 (Towner 1996:14, map) after 1750 in response to pressure from the Ute as well as drought (Towner and Dean 1996:8, 12).

The Navajo Nation (Downer et al. 1997:6–10) argues that the Navajo, as evidenced by distinctive material culture, emerged in the Southwest; they did not migrate or bring their unique configuration of features and artifacts from elsewhere. Navajo Nation says it has archeological evidence dating Navajo sites to the early 1300s. This evidence, they say, is supported by cumulative tree-ring dates which suggest an occupation 200 years earlier than the commonly thought arrival date of 1500. For such an archeological pattern to emerge, they speculate, would take at least two additional centuries placing “the origins of [it]... in the early 12th century...” (Downer et al. 1997:8).

That Navajo material culture is unique to the Southwest does not preclude the migration of Athapaskans or

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9 While Dinétah means “ancestral Navajo homeland” (Towner and Dean 1996:13), “homeland” has been variously interpreted. It can refer to “wherever a Navajo feels at home,” the land between the sacred mountains, in the Largo-Gobernador area of northwestern New Mexico, and the area where certain features/artifacts are found in association (1996:15). Dinétah is most frequently defined as the Largo-Gobernador area where the earliest universally accepted Navajo archeological remains are located (1996:13). Researchers of early Navajo history have sought to understand migration out of this Dinétah to places like present-day Arizona and Utah.
their adoption of this distinctive material complex. If language and not material attributes is used as the distinguishing marker of identity, some researchers (Benally et al. 1982; Haskell 1987) argue that Athapaskans who migrated from the north formed the core group that became Navajo. They argue that the Athapaskans could have arrived in the Southwest at approximately the same time the Navajo Nation suggests the unique suite of traits began to develop and that early contact with Puebloan farmers could have influenced the emergence story. Another researcher (Brugge in Towner 1996:271) also identifies Athapaskan ancestors as an original core of Navajo ancestors, yet indicates that “massive adaptations” had to be made

...first to the environment and peoples of the Southwest, then to the effects of contacts with Old World peoples... [These experiences] have left remarkably little that can be traced to their Northern Athapaskan ancestors aside from language and basic cultural themes such as individualism, fear of the dead, high status for women, pragmatic and optimistic outlook, and, as a corollary to the last, flexibility in adapting to new situations.

Regardless of the place of origin of Navajo — whether locally in the Southwest, from the south,14 or north — all agree that the ancestors of contemporary Navajo were drawn from diverse populations.

There is a central core of original Navajo people (the Navajos who preceded the creation of the four original clans and those who were the four original clans). This original group absorbed many groups of non-Navajos into the Navajo way of life. (Begay 1997:6)

During the wanderings, the core group grew by accretion. They took in people we know today as ancestors of the Hopi; refugees from other Pueblos like Acoma, Jemez, Keres, Laguna, Tewa, and Zuni; Mexicans; Paiute; Ute; and Havasupai, among others. The women among those incorporated brought their clan identities with them and were responsible, then, for founding clans. As many as 14 or more clans from the Pueblos were added in this fashion. Others who were absorbed, rather than lending their clan affiliations, became members of existing clans. In 1890, 38 Navajo clans could be named. At one time, 75-80 clans may have existed (Benally et al. 1982:66; Brugge 1972:95, 256; 1983:493; Gilpin 1966:195; Collier, Shepardson and Hammond in Towner 1996:16; McPherson 1992:84; Roessell 1973:11)

Among the progenitors of Navajos are the Anasazi or Ancestral Pueblos, according to local occupants of the Grand Canyon who say they are the descendants of the Anasazi Tachii’nni clan (Begay and Roberts 1996:207-210).

Not many people know of this clan...They originated from a site located under a rock overhang or cave. Something like a bad wind killed most of the Anasazi off, but this cave or overhang protected a group of them. After the bad wind passed, those that survived left the canyon in search of others. They finally ended up at Canyon de Chelly where they lived. After a while they began to interact with Navajos and finally became Navajos themselves. They became known as the Anasazi Tachii’nni. There must be some of this clan up towards Chintle, Canyon de Chelly area. (Begay and Roberts 1996:208)

According to a nineteenth century Navajo origin account (Matthews 1994), relationships with Ancestral Pueblos extends further back in time to the Kiis’áani. According to this and another source, the Kiis’áani or ancestral Pueblos were already in the fourth world when the Dine’ arrived (Benally et al. 1982:59; Matthews 1994:68). Kiis’áani are depicted as people who “...cut their hair square in front, who lived in houses in the ground, and cultivated fields” (Matthews 1994:68). One contemporary source among the Navajo Nation says they emerged into this world together (Downer et al. 1997:6). Yet another source who also works for the Navajo Nation says the Kiis’áani are the ancestors of the Navajo and preceded the Anasazi (Marklyn Chee, Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, personal communication, 2001). These ancestral groups intermittently traveled together, shared food and skills, and formed marriage alliances (McPherson 1992:81).

Representatives from among the traditional community of Navajo Mountain and Oljato Chapter Houses (Map I-4), those who frequent the Capitol Reef region west of the Colorado River, do not claim to be descendants of the Anasazi and recognize the Anasazi as those people who came before them (Navajo 1997). “They were here before us...they were actually native to this country” (Roy Atene of Oljato Chapter House in Succc, field notes, 1993). Archeological evidence discussed below seems to confirm an in-migration by Navajo ancestors into the Navajo Mountain area.

Because over half of contemporary Navajo clans trace their ancestry to a historic Pueblo or the Anasazi, the Navajo Nation asserts that Navajos are culturally affiliated with the Anasazi. Consequently they expect to be consulted by all national parks that possess Anasazi or Ancestral Puebloan human remains and items in their collections related to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (Downer et al. 1997:9).15

Research into early Navajo history is evolving, particularly as it pertains to Navajo occupation of lands in areas such as Arizona and Utah west of central New
Mexico (the Largo-Gobernador frequently identified as Dinézhí). For example, oral and written Navajo histories suggest Navajos colonized Arizona in the 1600s, not the post-1750 out-migration customarily argued (Gilpin 1996). At the Grand Canyon where a late presence (1850 or 1860s) is assumed, oral and written histories place Navajos there in the late 1600s, while a re-evaluation of archeological evidence supports a late 1700s to early 1800s presence (Begay and Roberts 1996:199-200; Roberts et al. 1995:34).

Archeological evidence for Navajo occupation lags behind evidence from Navajo oral and written histories. For example, in the area west of the Chuska Mountains only limited archeological studies have been done on early Navajo site types and settlement patterns. These earlier sites, particularly non-habitation sites where hogans are absent, seem unimpressive and, consequently, their association with the Navajo is not easily discerned (Gilpin 1996:195; Brugge 1996:264). Some researchers (Roberts et al. 1995) contend that the assumption of late occupation by the Navajos in the Grand Canyon area has influenced what archeologists see while other manifestations of affiliation go unnoticed. For example, artifact assemblages associated with prehistoric and protohistoric Paiute, Ute, and Hopi as well as those referred to as culturally unidentified have the potential to be associated with early Navajo ancestors (Begay and Roberts 1996). Given that Navajo oral and written histories place Navajos on lands to the west earlier than archeology does, ethnohistorian David Brugge (1996:264) argues for re-focused archeological attention to and search for earlier Navajo sites.

A similar scenario exists for lands west of the Colorado River. Confirmed archeological evidence to date is non-existent. However, oral histories of Navajo traditionalists and chronicles of early settlers tell of Navajo use of Capitol Reef National Park and surrounding Utah land for several centuries.

Eleventh Century Arrival in Southern Utah?

The literature (Benally et al. 1982; Brugge n. d.; Correll 1971; McPherson 1988; 1992) dealing with Navajo occupation of Utah limits discussion to Navajo settlement in San Juan County. San Juan County is the triangular

10 A Navajo employed by the National Park Service told us her clan migrated from the south.
11 Members of clans are not necessarily blood relatives. A Navajo belongs to her/his mother's clan, and is also identified with the father's clan. That same individual is also related to their mother’s mother's clan and their father's father's clan (Downer et al. 1997:6). This phenomenon is referred to as “linked clans” (Roessel 1973). The Navajo Nation (Downer et al. 1997:6) says that reckoning ancestry in this manner “means that almost all individual Navajos are related to at least one Anasazi or pueblo clan” (Downer et al. 1997:6).
12 Contemporary Pueblos take exception to these claims.
13 Limited activity or non-habitation sites can include summer camps, corrals, shed and lithic scatters, storage bins, hunting camps, antelope corrals, and rock art (Gilpin 1996:189).
Figure 4-2

View of the Henry Mountains from the Burr Trail, looking north. Taken by Rosemary Sutec.
land mass just north of the San Juan River and bordered on the west by the Colorado River (Map I-4). Few references are made to Navajos west of the Colorado River in Utah, or to other parts of the state. In fact, the Navajo Nation specifies that the traditional aboriginal territory of the Navajo lies east of the Colorado River, outside of Capitol Reef National Park (Kelley and Francis 1994:134; Navajo Nation and the National Park Service 1998:no page number, Appendix G).

It is unknown when Navajos moved into their northern homelands in San Juan County. Conventional archeological views of Navajo history would say Navajos moved west and north around the mid-1700s through the 1800s in response to pressure from Ute, Comanche, and the U.S. military. An historian of Navajo presence in Utah (Benally et al. 1982:83) suggests that somewhere in the eleventh century small groups of Athapaskans, en route from the north, could have chosen to remain in Utah, for example in the San Juan triangle.

Two general routes are proposed for the migration of Athapaskan speakers, though no consensus exists. Some argue that groups migrated via the High Plains, hunted buffalo on the way, and arrived in the Southwest likely in the 1500s. Others believe small groups migrated through the mountains and valleys of Utah and Colorado and arrived several centuries earlier, in the A.D. 1000s (Brugge, Hall, Harrington, Huscher and Huscher, Jett, Wilcox, and Worcester in Schaafsma 1996:22-27). An ethnohistorian that supports the montane migration route might concur that some ancestors remained in places like the San Juan triangle. He suggests Navajos may have been driven from these lands by Ute expansion and that increased Navajo presence in the nineteenth century reflects their efforts to regain access to lost lands (Brugge 1996:257).17

Navajo Presence in Late A.D. 1300s and A.D. 1400s

Traditional Navajos among the Ojito Chapter House tell that ancestral Navajos were west of the Colorado River in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Some of the clans with a history in the area were the T'iztldini (Many Goats) and Red House peoples. Navajo elders refer to a period of time when some clans were at war with the Taos Pueblo and with some Ute groups. Navajo accounts of this period mention only the presence of Ute peoples in the region. Ancestors to contemporary Puebloans, by omission, were absent (Kit C. Atene and Roy Atene of the Red House Clan in Sucec, field notes, October 1999; Buck Navajo, Navajo Mountain Chapter House, in Sucec, field notes, October 1999). 18

The Early Significance of the Henry Mountains in Navajo History

Traditional Navajos recall stories from their elders about ancestors living around the Henry Mountains (Figure 4-2), to the east of Capitol Reef National Park, referred to as Dzil bichi ádinii or "Nameless Mountain." 19

...the White Men got all our land — north to Dibé Nitsaa (the La Plata Mountains), toward the northwest to Dzil Ashdlá'ii (La Sal Mountains) to the Tó Doot'izhi (Green River), and beyond to the mountain with no name (Mount Henry). The Navajos used to have, and live on, that whole area. (Gorman in Roessel 1973:41)

Though the date is unknown, the residents of the Henry Mountains were once called upon to assist others in warfare. A story is relayed about Navajo ancestors who waged war against the Pueblo of Taos (Benally et al. 1982:19-30). During the second raid, Navajo Corn People suffered the loss of many lives. Years later, they felt ready to avenge the losses. A turtledove "was sent to assemble all the People for the war party" (Benally et al. 1982:20). The Henry Mountains are associated with the route taken by the Ts'áni pinyon jay and Hakidi Mourning Dove. They were seeking those who would join the avengers of Taos (Traditional Culture Program files, Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, letter from Rena Martin to Rosemary Sucec, March 6, 1997). For this and other reasons, the Henries are significant mountains in Navajo tradition.

14 San Juan County encompasses Elk Ridge (of which Bear's Ears is a part), the Abajo or Blue Mountains, most of the La Sal Mountains in the extensive Manti-La Sal National Forest, and White Canyon, a tributary to the Colorado River. The community of Monticello is contained within this triangle and lies along the old Spanish Trail, as does Moab to the north in Grand County (Map I-4).
15 Robert McPherson (personal communication 2003) points out that Navajos raided in the Cedar City/George area up to the late 1860s and families lived in the vicinity of Richfield in the 1850s and 1860s.
16 Some historians believe that the bison hunters witnessed by Spaniards such as Coronado in 1541, and whom they referred to as "Querechos," were early Athapaskan-speaking Navajos. In fact, the High Plains migration scenario is referred to as the "Quericho Model" (Schaafsma 1996:24).
17 The oral tradition of the Hopi Tribe documents an in-migration of Ute from the north while their ancestors were living in Utah. The time is not known. Refer to Chapter 2.
18 A Ute headman relays an account of warfare between Puebloan farmers and ancestral Ute peoples. According to the story taken in the 1870s, farmers were driven out of southern Utah (Pogoneab in W.H.S.M. 1878). Refer to Chapter 3.
19 According to a representative from Navajo Mountain Chapter, some call the Henry Mountains, Dzil-stla'ii, or "Five Mountains" (Manheimer in Sucec, field notes, 1998). Robert McPherson (personal communication 2003) relays that Dzil-stla'ii, or "Five Mountains" is also the name for the La Sal Mountains.
The earliest dated Navajo site in Utah north of the San Juan River is a hogan in the area of White Canyon, a tributary to the Colorado River (what is now Lake Powell) and west of Bear’s Ears (Benally et al. 1982:83; Brugge n.d.:1; Correll 1971:146). A tree-ring date indicates the hogan was constructed at about 1620.20 White Canyon afforded a route across the Colorado River at what is now known as “Hite Crossing” (Map I-4), but which was referred to by nineteenth century Euroamerican settlers as “Dandy Crossing” because of the shallow, calm waters that facilitated passage. The travel route continues up North Wash, on the east side of the Henry Mountains. What is now Highway 95 to Hanksville and Green River, Utah (Map I-1) may well overlay the old trail. Capitol Reef National Park lies about 30 miles west of Hanksville. Oral and written histories from settlers and their descendents, described below, confirm that Navajos would use this route to travel to and beyond Capitol Reef National Park. Depending upon its proximity to the Colorado River, the White Canyon hogan may have played an important role in the hunting tradition, serving as a place of purification once back across the Colorado River. It also could have been used to maintain a farm and herd sheep, even as a base from which to graze sheep across the Colorado River (Navajo 1997).

20 Dating tree rings is problematic because hogan builders may have scavenged wood that had been dead for 100-200 years. The dated event is the death of the tree, not construction of the building. The Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department argues that a pattern of earlier tree ring dates suggests earlier Navajo occupation (Downer et al. 1997:8).
An Epoch of Warfare with Ramifications for Navajo Use of Southern Utah and Capitol Reef National Park: Late 1600s to 1868

Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Spanish Intrusion into Southern Utah

New Spain sent commercial expeditions north and west of its Rio Grande settlement. Some groups entered present-day Utah (Brown 1996; Schaafsma 1996; Tyler 1954). They sought commercial wealth via trade routes and from commodities of slaves, furs, livestock, and minerals. Spain urgently needed gold and silver to finance military pursuits in Europe and support the colony in New Mexico (refer to Chapter 3). Spanish explorers and merchants blazed what was to become the Spanish Trail.

Some Spaniards reached the San Juan River in 1686, but did not go beyond it (Schaafsma 1996:33). Juan Maria de Rivera in 1765 traveled along the Spanish Trail through Monticello and Moab (Map 1-1), Utah (Schaafsma 1996:34-35). In 1776 Dominguez and Escalante traveled along the Wasatch Front of Utah (Fowler and Fowler 1971a:7). Arze and Garcia reached the Sevier River just east of Capitol Reef in 1813 (Hafen and Hafen 1993: 52-53, 85-86, 266-267).

Navajo Traditional History and the Alleged Spanish Gold Mine of the Henry Mountains

In Chapter 3, the possibility was discussed that the Henry Mountains were a site of gold extraction by Spaniards. The oral traditions of Kaibab Paiute say miners exploited local Indians. A Navajo headman by the name of Hashkéniini was aware of the same event (Wolverton 1928:16). With his extended family and female Ute slaves, Hashkéniini sought refuge at Navajo Mountain for six years (1863-1869). They were avoiding Kit Carson and incarceration at Bosque Redondo. Hashkéniini relayed the story about Spanish abuses at a mine in the Henries and the battle that ensued in which Spaniards died, along with Indians. He told his account to miner Cass Hite whom he befriended (Kelly 1953; Luckert 1977). Cass told it to an acquaintance and the story became memorialized in a poem about Hashkéniini.21

21 Conclusive evidence of Spanish mining in the Henry Mountains does not exist. However, the oral traditions of both the Navajo and the Kaibab Paiute tell of this activity, albeit relayed second-hand in Wolverton’s narrative and although skepticism exists about Wolverton’s reliability (Robert McPherson, personal communication, 2003). Also, the oral tradition of the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah relays a story of similar exploitation at an alleged Spanish mine on the Fish Lake Hightop Plateau, about 30 miles west of Capitol Reef National Park (Charles 1997a; Martineau 1992:80; Timican 1995). The Spanish Trail passes over the Hightop Plateau. According to the account, Spaniards employed local Indians as slaves to extract ore and finally murdered them. Refer to Chapter 3.
Refuge in Southern Utah from the Spanish Re-conquest?

One historian of Navajo presence in Utah speculates that perhaps as late as the 1600s and early 1700s, some Navajos may have taken refuge in Utah at places such as Navajo Mountain (Figure 4-3), Oljato (Map I-4), or north of the San Juan. Relatives may have been living in the region and those fleeing Spanish revenge from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 could have joined them (Benally et al. 1982:83).22

Refuge at Navajo Mountain from Indigenous Raiding Groups

Navajo Mountain became a refuge from other indigenous groups during the 1700s through the mid-1800s. These groups included the Utes, Comanches, and Apaches.

Men folks and women folks of long ago told that it was known the Diné had been living around here as far back as 250 years ago in these mountains — Black Mountain, Gray Mountain, Navajo Mountain and White Ash Mountain. Back in those days the Dine started having war with other tribes, like the Nöóda’íi (Utes), Dzilgha’íi (Apaches), and Chisí (Mescaleros). The fighting took place between 250 and 100 years ago. The Dine lived in these mountains because so many enemies were around, and the Diné could hide in various areas. (Clifford Beck Sr. in Roessle 1973:176)

Another narrative from a medicine man confirms the displacement of Navajos. While this story’s time of origin is unknown, Howard Gorman Sr. recalls hearing stories from his elders about this episode in Navajo history.

Ever since I was very young quite a few men folks told me stories. They used to say that the Nöóda’íi (Utes) were our first enemies when we lived at the Dibé Nitsaa (La Plata Mountains) and at the Dzil Ashla’ii (La Sal Mountains). Even though it was a good place to live, because of the Utes the Navajos fled, mostly to the west, from the La Plata Mountains and the La Sal Mountains. (Howard Gorman Sr. in Roessle 1973:187)

Archeological evidence seems to confirm the possibility that Navajos occupied the vicinity of Navajo Mountain during this era. The earliest tree ring dates range from 1775 to 1895. Some of the most reliable date to 1815 and 1829 (Shepardson and Hammond 1970:26).23

For most of the 1700s through the mid-1800s, raiding by the Ute and Comanche may have forced the abandonment of Dinétah and relocation to places such as Navajo Mountain and Oljato (Benally et al. 1982:83).24

They raided the semi-sedentary Navajos, Pueblos, and Spaniards for slaves and livestock. Ute and Comanche raids also served as retaliation for losses they sustained from the Navajos. Some Navajos had been raiding — and would continue to raid — Ute bands for slaves and livestock (Forbes 1994:269).25

Navajo Accounts of Hogan Settlements in Capitol Reef Country including the Henry Mountains

Elders from Oljato and Navajo Mountain Chapter Houses tell of Navajos living in the area in the 1700s. They have knowledge about settlements of hogans located at the base of the Aquarius Plateau (Boulder Mountain) and at the base of Thousand Lake Mountain. According to one elder, the settlement west of the Waterpocket Fold, in the vicinity of the Burr Trail (Maps I-4 and I-7), somewhere near Escalante (Map I-1), also was a refuge or "escaping place" from raids (Roy Atene and Buck Navajo in Succ, field notes, October 1999). Another elder told a story about one of his great, great, great aunts who, in the 1820s, lived at a home site amidst the cluster of the Henry Mountains. When she first arrived, her party crossed at Hite or "Dandy’s Crossing" and followed a path east of the Henrys (possibly what is now Highway 24). It is relayed that she gave birth along the trail (Kit C. Atene in Succ, field notes, October 1999). The Oljato elder tells that his ancestors came to the region for "antelope, sheep, deer, mountain goat," as well as for plants collected by women like his aunt of many generations ago (Kit C. Atene in Succ, field notes, 1999; Map 4-1). They also were drawn to the area for the raw materials to make sandpaintings (Roy Atene in Succ, field notes, October 1999; Map 4-1).

22 Another historian (Robert McPherson, personal communication, 2003) is skeptical that Navajo fled into the Oljato-Navajo Mountain area because of fear of the Spanish.

23 The extent of Navajo involvement in the Pueblo Revolt is unresolved (Luckert 1975:12; McNell in Kelley and Whiteley 1989:4; Towner and Dean 1996:5). After Spanish re-conquest in 1692, Navajos, among others, provided shelter to fleeing Pueblos and together they participated in retribution on the Spanish. Violent campaigns were launched against all resisters (Kelly and Whiteley 1989:14; Towner and Dean 1996:5).

24 While anthropologists (Shepardson and Hammond 1970) documented the social organization of the Navajo Mountain community, they did not include in their book narratives about how ancestral Navajo came to the area.

25 Hashk'ëhinii, for example, had at least two Ute female slaves with him when he migrated in the mid-nineteenth century to Navajo Mountain to avoid internment at Bosque Redondo. When he died in 1909, one source (Correll 1971:160) said he had as many as 32 Ute slaves.
Figure 4-3
Navajo Mountain in the background with Rainbow Bridge in the left foreground. Photograph taken by Rob Arbergec, March 1961.
Possible Navajo Hogan or Field House Site in Capitol Reef National Park (WN2054)

Elders from Oljato and Navajo Mountain Chapter Houses told park staff of a hogan settlement at the base of Thousand Lake Mountain.\(^6\) They provided this information prior to being made aware of a site within the park that might be a hogan associated with the Navajo. The site was occupied in the mid-1800s (Shane Baker, Office of Public Archaeology, Memorandum, November 5, 1997). While at the site (Figure 4-1), they observed rocks that could have supported a structure. The consultants suggested the flakes in the vicinity were used to process game such as deer, elk, or rabbit, as well as for other tasks (Map 4-1). They said other materials of a later era were brought to the site, but it is not clear whether by other Navajos or Euro-Americans.\(^7\) The Navajo traditionalists said one extended family of five or six people possibly lived at the location. They also suggested that a clearing to the east of the structure could have been a cornfield. Two piles of rocks at the perimeter of the clearing and near the drainage suggest to them that the area was cleared to grow crops. They said the structure, then, might have functioned to care-take the crops.

**Early Hunting across the Colorado River**

Accounts are told of Navajos hunting and gathering west of the Colorado River at a time when other indigenous groups and Mexicans raided Navajo settlements, at least during the early 1800s if not the 1700s. *Hataalii* Buck Navajo, of the Navajo Mountain Chapter, spoke to the depth of time with which Navajos have been hunting there:

> As far as I can remember, when I was a boy, when I first realized, stories were told before and beyond about Navajos from here and other parts who would get together and hunt in those areas...It is a ritual to hunt and bring back venison once a year...It is a major undertaking. We were able to go when there were no settlers... (Navajo 1997)

Another traditionalist from Navajo Mountain confirms that hunting and gathering was conducted on lands beyond the Colorado River very early. He tells about the fear male members of a hunting party had for family left behind. Those who stayed at home were subject to raids by indigenous peoples such as the Ute, as well as Mexican merchants.

> Back then, one of the things that worried someone, especially the head of the house, is the family you left behind. Raiding parties sometimes came through. The choice you had was to go hunt or gather plants for ceremonies, you couldn't really take your family with you...The most able member of the household made the trip... (Manheimer in Succe, field notes, 1998)

The fact that the only choice was to leave *Kéyah*, your homeland, and simultaneously put your family at risk speaks to the significance of activities like hunting and gathering to traditional Navajos. In contrast with the American custom of hunting for recreation or trophy value, the hunt is a religious ceremony. It was originally given by the Holy Beings who created the game animals before human beings came into existence. One of the deities said to the animals:

> “In days to come you will be the food of the Earth-people,”...By you, living will be possible,...In days to come, when Earth-people petition,...when they pray...and... sing,... then only shall the Earth-people kill and eat you,...” (James Smith as recorded by Father Berard Haile, O.F.M. in Luckert 1975:99-102)

After game animals were created, the deities supplied knowledge of numerous ceremonies to hunters that included songs, prayers, and rigorous rituals. This knowledge was passed down to ensure the survival of the Navajo people.

According to traditional Navajos (Manheimer in Succe, field notes, 1997, 1998: Navajo 1997), life at *Kéyah* significantly depends upon hunting in Utah. The hunting tradition, and the products obtained from it, work to guarantee the health and livelihood of the Navajo people and the replenishment of wildlife. Observances are made to ensure the continuance of game animals for future hunts. Deer meat feeds families and provides articles of clothing and accouterments. Parts are harvested by *Hataalii* from deer and other animals, such as the bighorn sheep and the mountain lion, and then used in ceremonies of healing and well-being conducted on behalf of Navajo people and their livestock. Hunting fulfills essential religious and practical needs.

**Traditional Practices Associated with Hunting**

The practices described below are similar to those that occurred in generations past and continue into the present. They describe a deer hunt. What follows was provided by Navajo traditionalists who annually hunt on lands west of the Colorado River.\(^8\) That traditionalists have been hunting on lands west of the Colorado River in Utah is confirmed by ethnographic and historical documents (Elmore 1953; Hill 1938; Peterson 1975; Watson 1965).\(^9\) The information below is taken from interviews with members of chapter houses, augmented by written references to documented practices.
The origin of the traditions associated with hunting deer (also referred to as the Deer Huntingway) extends to the time before humans were created, during the time of the Holy People. Later, after men were created, they acquired the knowledge and passed it along from one generation to the next (Claus Chee Sonny in Luckert 1975).

Hunting trips take place in the fall of every year, usually around October. Under the leadership of an Hataalii or medicine man, a party of as many as 20 men may be gone for two and sometimes three weeks. Ritual observances begin just shortly before leaving home and continue through the duration of the hunt until the hunters arrive at home. Only males participate in the hunt.

**Sacredness of the Hunting Ground**

Traditional Navajos believe all of the hunting ground is sacred, including the Waterpocket Fold. It is sacred because it enables the existence and replenishment of animals that nourish the Navajo people. The animals on that land provide parts for ceremonies that cure and strengthen Navajo people and livestock (Manheimer in Sucec, field notes, 1997, 1998; Navajo 1997).

Areas hunted across the Colorado River include what are now the following federal jurisdictions:

- Capitol Reef National Park (the Waterpocket Fold early in the twentieth century);
- Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument (Kaiparowits Plateau, Escalante canyons, and Fiftymile Mountain);
- Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (Escalante canyons, Halls Crossing area, the Waterpocket Fold);

26 The park district in which this site is located was not comprehensively surveyed during the multi-year archeological inventory. Instead, a random sample of transects, thought to be representative, were surveyed in this vast area. Consequently it is possible remnants of a hogan settlement do exist, but were not detected by the sampling process.

27 Former park archeologist Lee Kreutzer (personal communication 2000) talked with the wife of Garn Jeffrey who cowboayed in that area. She told of Jeffrey growing alfalfa "in the field by the ravine." Whether Jeffrey cleared the area or subsequently used it after it had been cleared is not known.

28 These include representatives from Oljato, Navajo Mountain, and Shonto Chapter Houses. The information was collected during consultations for development projects associated with the Burr Trail and Halls Crossing, as well as for this ethnographic overview and assessment.

29 For example, buffalo were observed "through the area which is now Lee's Ferry, and into Colorado" (Fishier 1955:44, n.7). Deer were hunted in the Blue or Abajo Mountains in Utah (Map I-4), on Sleeping Ute Mountain near Cortez, Colorado, and in the La Plata Mountains near Durango, Colorado. All of these were still popular hunting areas in 1933 (Hill 1938:96). Antelope were hunted in Utah (Watson 1965:52) including Grand Gulch (Kelly and Whiteley 1989:29) and on Elk Ridge as early as 1620 (date might refer to the hogan in the White Canyon area) (Peterson 1975:56). No written reference to Navajo hunting in the Waterpocket Fold has yet been found.
Figure 4-4
Example of a cairn in the study area, looking south to Lake Powell and the Glen Canyon Recreation Area. Photo taken by Rosemary Suess.
• Dixie National Forest (Aquarius Plateau or Boulder Mountain);
• Henry Mountain Resource Area of the BLM (Henry Mountains); and
• Vicinity of Richfield (Map I-1), Utah.

**Hunting in the Tó bil yildzis (Waterpocket Fold)**

The canyon country of the Waterpocket Fold, the Escalante drainage, and the Halls Creek area were the preferred places to hunt deer, particularly mature bucks (Manheimer in Sucee, field notes, 1998; Navajo 1997; Map 4-1). Traditional Navajos have a name for the Fold, Tó bil yildzis (Navajo 1997). A Navajo oral account exists of hunting in the Fold during the early twentieth century and is relayed later in this chapter.

**Crossing Rivers and Traveling to Destinations**

The destination of hunters determines which rivers are crossed and where. For example, those at Navajo Mountain and Ojito cross the San Juan and the Colorado to reach specific hunting locales on the Aquarius Plateau and the Henry Mountains.30 Canyons that provide a route across the San Juan include Cascade, Cha, Cooper, Desha, Driftwood, “Hot Water,” Neshkahai Wash, Nakai, Paiute, and Warm Water Creek. Most trails that continue on the other side of the San Juan (some of which cross Wilson Mesa) converge at either Halls or Hite crossings. Travelers who took the Halls Creek route would join the Burr Trail to go to the Aquarius Plateau, as well as to the towns of Boulder and Escalante, Utah to trade. Hite Crossing also afforded a route to the Henry Mountains.

The destination to which hunters travel is determined by the game they seek. For example, mature bucks frequent lower canyons and rims at places such as the Waterpocket Fold (of Capitol Reef National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area), the Escalante canyons (Grand Staircase — Escalante National Monument), and canyons around Halls Crossing (Glen Canyon National Recreation Area). Elk inhabit the Aquarius Plateau (Dixie National Forest). Deer, antelope, and bighorn sheep are inhabitants of the Henry Mountains (Richfield District of the BLM). Bison have been hunted in the Henries.

Unlike other animals, bighorn sheep were hunted for ceremonial purposes when the need arose. Hunting these animals in places such as the Henry Mountains and the Grand-Staircase generally requires the cooperation of several medicine men. Parts of the bighorn are used in healing and to promote health, as are those of mountain lions (Manheimer in Halls Crossing Consultation 1997; Manheimer in Sucee, field notes, 1998).31

**Offerings at River Crossings**

According to traditional Navajos, travel outside of Keyah requires special preparation. The protection offered by the Holy Beings at homeplace is absent away. Therefore when they cross the Colorado, certain observances must be made. Before crossing, the Holy People are petitioned for safety on the journey as well as for accomplishment of goals. Chantways are performed which include prayers, songs and offerings.34

...a lot of prayer was to say you’re going beyond the two sacred rivers, away from your Keyah, your goals will be met, be it hunting, gathering or trading, you’ll travel in safety and then also return in safety and that those loved ones left back home are as safe when you return as when you left them...Also in general thanking Mother Earth and Father Sky for the plant life, animal life, for making you a people. (Manheimer in Halls Crossing Consultation 1997)

**Cairns as Offering Places**

Offerings are made at stone cairns (Figure 4-4).

...if your intent is to cross the river to trade, or your intent to cross the river is to hunt, or if your intent to cross the river is to find and gather herbs, then the offering...is a sign that you’re saying, “I will be able to do it in a good way, in good health; that what I am seeking I will be able to find.” (Manheimer in Halls Crossing Consultation 1997)

Rock cairns (GA3632) at a location in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area were identified as sites of offering. Because no time-sensitive artifacts were found

30 For hunters from those chapter houses, it was easiest to cross both rivers than to take trails below the confluence of the two. Hunters from LeChee and Kaibeto Chapter Houses knew the crossings below the confluence of the Colorado and San Juan rivers (Manheimer, Halls Crossing Consultation, 1997; Manheimer in Sucee, field notes, 1997).

31 The Utah Division of Wildlife Resources limits the hunting of bighorn sheep in the state. They issue a few (20-60) licenses a year which can only be obtained through a lottery system. Once a license has been issued, a hunter is not eligible to re-apply. To hunt bighorn sheep, the permits cost $503 for residents and $1003 for non-residents. For these reasons, Navajo medicine men no longer hunt the sheep. Instead, they use parts that were harvested 10 to 20 years ago and are passed from one generation to the next. Medicine men from Navajo Mountain and Ojito chapters would like to conduct a traditional hunt for bighorn sheep and mountain lion at least every five years to replenish diminishing supplies (Manheimer in Sucee, field notes, 1997).

34 Songs, prayers, and related actions contained within chantways were first used when the world was created for those living on Earth. By continuing their use, the power invested in the land can be obtained, through prayer, for protection (Frank Mitchell in McPherson 1992:16).

35 Lithics, such as long sharp-edged flakes, are good for field dressing deer once the animal has been killed. Chunks of material like chert are good to remove hair from the hide (Roy Atene in Sucee, field notes, 1993).
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESTINATION</th>
<th>RIVER CROSSING(S)</th>
<th>ANIMALS HUNTED</th>
<th>OTHER ACTIVITIES</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abajo Mountains, known as the Blue Mountains of the Manti-La Sal National Forest</td>
<td>Mexican Hat and Bluff crossings</td>
<td>Deer, especially mature bucks</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Inscription House, Oljato, Monument Valley, and Navajo Mountain chapter houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquarius Plateau (see &quot;Boulder Mountain&quot;)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elk Ridge (Manti-La Sal National Forest)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Deer, especially mature bucks</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Inscription House, Oljato, Monument Valley, and Navajo Mountain chapter houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulder, Utah</td>
<td>Hole-in-the-Rock Crossing; Page Crossing; Halls Crossing to Burr Trail</td>
<td>Elk and deer by Navajo Mountain Chapter</td>
<td>Medicinal plants for ceremonies gathered by Oljato Chapter House</td>
<td>Oljato, Navajo Mountain, and Gap Bodaway chapter houses (Holgate in Sucec, field notes, 1993); Manheimer 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulder Mountain earned the name &quot;quick sand mountain&quot; by ancestral Navajo hunters. (Jamie Holgate in Sucec, field notes, 1993)</td>
<td>Hole-in-the-Rock Crossing; Page Crossing; Halls Crossing to Burr Trail; Paria River Crossing for Gap Bodaway Chapter House</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp Stone at the construction site of the Stanton dredge, approximately 45 miles south of Hite Crossing</td>
<td>Camp Stone Crossing (Lake Canyon on the southeast side. Navajos and Ute resided at Red Lake in the Canyon)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Trading at Camp Stone Trading Post which operated from 1902–1903</td>
<td>Chaffin 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitol Reef National Park (Waterpocket Fold)</td>
<td>Halls Crossing</td>
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<td>Cowles and Hall Trading Post at Hole-in-the-Rock</td>
<td>Hole-in-the-Rock Crossing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Trade (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Richard Sprang 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escalante, Utah</td>
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<td>Trade (Map 4-1)</td>
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<td>Escalante canyons and drainage</td>
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<td>Deer, especially mature bucks (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Wintered horses (Holgate in Sucec, field notes, 1993; Manheimer in Sucec, field notes, 1998; Map 4-1)</td>
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<td>Fiftymile Mountain in Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument</td>
<td>Cascade or Driftwood canyons on the San Juan behind Navajo Mountain and then Halls Crossing</td>
<td>Deer, especially mature bucks (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Winter horses (Holgate in Sucec, field notes, 1993; Manheimer in Sucec, field notes, 1998; Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain Chapter House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish Lake (Figure 1-4) and the Hightop Plateau (Fishlake National Forest)</td>
<td>Unknown. Navajos traveled over Boulder Mountain to Grass Valley and Fish Lake (Pikyavit 1997; Appendix 3-A)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Medicinal plants for ceremonies (Manheimer in Halls Crossing Consultation 1997; Pikyavit 1997; Map 4-1).</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain Chapter House; Pikyavit 1997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31 Richard Sprang (1984:45–46), Glen Canyon river guide, illustrator, writer, and former resident of Fruita, recalls that Navajo and Paiute crossed at Hole-in-the-Rock between 1900 and 1902. They patronized the Cowles and Hall Trading Post that operated on the right bank at the foot of the Hole-in-the-Rock. No ferry operated at this crossing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESTINATION</th>
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<tr>
<td>Grass Valley including Koosharem, Burrville, and Greenwich (Map I-4)</td>
<td>Unknown. Traveled over Boulder Mountain to Grass Valley (Pikyavit 1997)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Traded with local Indians and settlers (Callahan n.d.; Charles 1996; Pikyavit 1997; Timicic 1996, Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Consultation with Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (refer to Chapter 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Salt Lake and desert, Utah</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Obtained salt; traded with the Goshute, North-west Shoshone, and Ute</td>
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<td>Navajo Mountain Chapter House (Navajo in field notes, Sucec, August 1999); Kelly 1953:225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halls Crossing (vicinity of) and to east (GLCA and BLM (Map I-4))</td>
<td>Halls Crossing</td>
<td>Deer, especially mature bucks (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain Chapter House</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harris Wash (GSENM)</td>
<td>Cascade and Driftwood canyons on the San Juan behind Navajo Mountain and then Halls Crossing</td>
<td>Deer, especially mature bucks (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain Chapter House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Mountains</td>
<td>Paiute Farms Crossing on the San Juan (Na han za). “A good place to hide from enemies” (Halls Crossing Consultation 1997). Hite or Halls Crossing on the Colorado</td>
<td>Deer, antelope, bighorn sheep, and bison (bison hunted by Oljato) (Map 4-1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaiparowits Plateau and region (GSENM)</td>
<td>Cascade and Driftwood canyons on the San Juan River (Leo Manheimer in Halls Crossing Consultation 1997). Cross the Colorado at southern tip of Straight Cliffs. Paiute call this crossing Ninwinparo (Kelly 1964:165)</td>
<td>Deer (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Traded with the Avua, Kwaguiliwii, Sanwawitimpaya, Tavinac, and Kaiyigaci (referred to as the “Kaiparowits” Paiute by Isabel Kelly 1964:165; Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain Chapter House</td>
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<td>La-Sal Mountains</td>
<td>Mexican Hat and Bluff crossings</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>Paria Valley, “Kaiparowits region,” and early LDS settlements</td>
<td>Crossing of the Fathers (also known as the “Ute Ford”)</td>
<td>Hunting in the 1860s (Gregory and Moore 1931:8,27; Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Trading with and raiding of LDS settlements in 1860s and 1870s during Black Hawk War (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Gregory and Moore 1931:8,27; Journal History, December 7, 1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbit Valley (near Lyman, Utah)</td>
<td>Unknown. Possibly took Halls Crossing. See entry for Capitol Reef National Park</td>
<td>Trading with local Indians (Map 4-1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Callahan 1895–1926:105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richfield, Utah vicinity</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Deer (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Trade (Map 4-1)</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain Chapter House (Buck Navajo in Sucec, field notes, August 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Lake City, Utah</td>
<td>Paiute Farms Crossing then across the Colorado River, but place unknown</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Oljato, Navajo Mountain, Inscription House, and Monument Valley chapters (Roy Atene in Burr Trail Consultation 1993)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waterpocket Fold (see “Capitol Reef National Park”)</td>
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32 These groups are discussed in Chapter 3.
in association, the cairns initially were determined ineligible to the National Register (LeFree 1993). However, subsequent to consultation with representatives from Navajo Mountain and Oljato, the status of the cairns has been changed to National Register eligible.

Navajo Mountain and Shonto Chapter House representatives recalled a cairn in the vicinity of Halls Crossing where such offerings took place. However, a survey of the area revealed that the cairn was obliterated by road, landfill, and gravel pit construction (Succe 1997:2).

**Other Purpose for Stone Cairns**

For the Navajo travelers, cairns also can serve as navigational instruments. Representatives from Navajo Mountain discovered a horse trail in association with a set of cairns inside Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. This trail would have led Navajos on horseback to trading and hunting destinations. This particular set may have indicated a fork in the trail at which travelers could journey to the Henry Mountains or west to the plateau country. According to the consultants, the trail was used later by Euroamerican cowboys, by settlers and miners, and finally by the National Park Service which incorporated it into its road and trail system (Manheimer 1998).

**Echo Place within Capitol Reef National Park**

As Navajos make their way to hunt, to trade, or to gather plants, they encounter certain places where echoes can be heard. Only traditionalists know these places and the special meaning they hold. Representatives from Navajo Mountain and Oljato Chapter Houses identified two such locations, one in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and the other in Capitol Reef National Park (Roy Atene of Oljato Chapter House, in Ruppert, field notes, 1993).

**Stone Images in Capitol Reef National Park and Surrounding Vicinity**

Also along their journey Navajos recognize certain stone formations. For traditionalists, these are holy images. The nature of the images, their meaning, and locations are not provided here because this knowledge is appropriate for only certain individuals and not for public disclosure. In Capitol Reef National Park, Navajo consultants observed at least two such images (Don Atene and Roy Atene of Oljato Chapter House in Succe, field notes, 1993). Others were observed in the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and only limited information was relayed about two associated with the Henry Mountains (managed by the Richfield District of the Bureau of Land Management). During the Long Walk Period when relatives of an Hataahii took refuge in the Henries, they observed one of these images (Don Atene of Oljato Chapter House in Succe, field notes, 1993).

**At the Hunting Location**

Traditional practices continue upon arrival at the destination. An Hataahii instructs hunters about their personal conduct and on activities associated with the event. Ceremonies apply to all aspects, from camping, construction of brush shelters, killing, field dressing the game, to breaking camp and cleansing before reaching home (Hill 1938:98).

An Hataahii (Navajo 1997) at Navajo Mountain who acts as headman during traditional hunts provided an account of what generally occurs during such an event. His description illustrates why land of the Waterpocket Fold region is so important to traditional Navajos.

*Hunting grounds are sacred. Lands within Capitol Reef are sacred hunting grounds... Where animals originate... is really sacred, for example, rim areas and in canyons. Hunting practices are cumbersome in this age, strenuous ritual for many things beyond meat.... Brush arbors lived in with many different rules to abide by, hunters must abide by. So when the group arrives, certain songs are sung and prayers are said.... In the canyons of Capitol Reef and Boulder Mountain and Henry Mountains, already hunting before the sun is up. Not sleeping on the job. When on sacred ground for the purpose of harvesting deer, you are up all day and just before sundown. This hunting is not a break [recreation] from the normal life of home. It's taken seriously with the intent to feed the family and help continue the cycle of life for us and the wild life.

At one time there were no tags or licenses. They would harvest 40–50 bucks....When doing hunts, songs and prayers are said. Upon kill, prayers are offered so that more would be available as food and to continue to use grounds in that area for generations to come. So can continue to hunt, thanking Creator and deer life and wild life in general....We harvest male [of the] species and leave the female to reproduce...the Navajo tradition goes against culling. Sometimes we harvest young bucks, one year, two to three years old. The clever, mature males are not harvested, left to continue to reproduce. Once in a while, a large buck is harvested, beyond prime...[They are] clever, play hide and seek.

When traditional Navajos hunt...It's field-dressed... Must be prepared and harvested in a certain way. Its origination is sacred and the lands are sacred. This is why we say it is sacred....When men hunt, the meat is boned, cut up into small pieces, dried. They would bring
back sacks, sacks of dried deer meat. Everything else is left behind. Sacks brought back. 35

Many thanks are given to the land and to the wildlife for providing to the Navajo people... two rivers are crossed and offerings are made at both crossings before returning, for thanks. Also prayers are done so that the game will continue to be available when we return in the future.

Returning Home

When the hunting trip is completed, a hogan near the river is visited for a purifying sweat before returning home to Kéyah. 36 Hogans are permanent structures, unlike brush arbors. If crossing in the fall, hunters can harvest some of the produce in the garden associated with a hogan. The garden might contain melons, squash, pumpkins, and gourds. Orchards may be in association with the hogan. Remains of brush arbors and hogans still can be seen in the Escalante canyons, although many have been submerged by Lake Powell (Halls Crossing Consultation 1997; Manheimer in Succ, field notes, 1997, 1998; Navajo 1997). 37

Traditional Hunting into the Present

Traditional methods of hunting, such as the one just described, continued through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the twenty-first century, traditional Navajos still continue to conduct similar types of hunting in Utah. 38

An Early Twentieth Century Hunting Episode in the Waterpocket Fold

An Hataahii from Navajo Mountain relays an account of hunting in the Waterpocket Fold in the early 1900s.

I recall that once we were blessed with one foot of snow there. The deer wouldn’t venture away and we were able to harvest in that small area. (Navajo 1997)

While he used to hunt frequently in the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park (Map 4-1), he has not been there in some time. It is not known whether he or other Chapter House members hunt in the Fold.

Plant Collecting West of the Colorado River

Plants, too, are fundamental to the welfare of the Navajo people. They are food for the people and the livestock. We are the plants that live around us... A person grows up on plant juice. Livestock eat certain plants and it makes their meat taste good. A person grows up on this livestock. (Charlie Blueeyes in McPherson 1992:53-54)

Plants also are essential in the performance of ceremonies for healing and well-being. They act as offerings and remedies, as elements of ceremonial structures such as hogans, and are components of ceremonial paraphernalia (McPherson 1992:53-54; Kelley et al. 1998:17).

Herbologists and Hataahii, whether male or female, cross the Colorado River to gather plants. Women, however, do not travel to land beyond Kéyah while men are hunting. Usually they gather in the early spring and through the summer (Manheimer in Succ, field notes, 1998).

Traditionalists who intend to gather plants outside of Kéyah make prayers, offerings, and sing to Holy Beings at the river crossings. The Beings are made aware of the need for certain plants, petitioned for success in gathering, as well as a safe journey (Hubert Laughter in Halls Crossing Consultation 1997).

The time for harvesting depends upon the florescence of the plant and ceremonial needs (Navajo 1997). While plants are not gathered during the fall hunt, the herbologist and/or Hataahii watches out for specific plants, remembers the location, and can return when those plants are needed and ready for pruning (Leo Manheimer in Halls Crossing Consultation 1997).

When medicine people or herbologists “prune” plants they say a prayer of intent, thanksgiving, and for the continued existence of the species. The whole plant is not taken, just the portion needed.

It is not solely the use or ingestion of the plant that heals an ailing person. Many considerations work together to enable a patient’s well-being. Among these are the observances made at the crossings, during the gathering journey, and where the plant continues to grow.

Just knowing about a certain flower or root is not enough to heal; it is the origin of its use, the prayers that accompany it, and the way it is gathered that form the contract between the Holy Being and the patient. (McPherson 1992:55)

Navajo herbologists and Hataahii gather plants throughout the Capitol Reef region. Generally, these places include the Fish Lake Hightop Plateau where an elder Paiute observed Navajos taking medicinal plants (Manheimer in Succ, field notes, 1998; Pikyavit 1997). Plants are also harvested within the boundary of Capitol Reef National Park (Atene in David Ruppert, field notes, 1993; Navajo 1997).
Traditional Plant Gathering in Capitol Reef National Park

We do not know exactly when ancestral Navajos first began harvesting plants in the Waterpocket Fold (Map 4-1). However, according to Hataahii Buck Navajo (1997), they did so before Euroamerican settlers arrived in the area in the 1870s.

According to his great grandson, the headman and singer Hashkéniinii gathered a certain medicinal herb along the Burr Trail (Roy Atene in Succc, field notes, 1993). Whether that was within what is now considered park land is unknown. As a young man, Hashkéniinii became familiar with the region in the early part of the nineteenth century. He grazed horses in White Canyon. In 1863, during the Kit Carson roundup, he moved to the Navajo Mountain vicinity (Correll 1971:150).

Early Nineteenth Century Mexican Slave-raiding and Refuge in Southern Utah

Mexicans continued the slave-raiding legacy of the Spanish when they assumed control of the colonies in 1821. Navajo people became a prime target (Brugge 1983:495).

While some Navajos reciprocated with counter-attacks, others sought refuge. In 1823, Mexican troops pursued a headman to Paiute Canyon, near Navajo Mountain, where evidence of Navajo occupation was observed (Benally et al. 1982:98-99; Brugge in Shepardson and Hammond 1970:28). The expedition members also noted livestock tracks that seemed to be leading across the river in the direction of Bear’s Ears (Correll 1971:146).

Navajos living south of the San Juan River and around Navajo Mountain crossed the rivers to seek refuge from the Mexicans (Pauline Wilson, American Indian Tribal Liaison Officer, Glen Canyon National

36 Hogans also are used for learning the traditions of the Navajo people (Pauline Wilson, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, American Indian Tribal Liaison, personal communication, 1998).

37 In 1955, Richard Sprang, writer, river guide, and former resident of Fruita, observed a hogan at Hole-in-the-Rock on the southeast side of the Colorado River. He presumed Navajos used the hogan to "banish the bad river spirits" (Sprang 1984:46). As learned early in the Chapter, traditional Navajo believe Holy Beings inhabit places such as rivers and that such Beings answer prayers and act as guardians.

38 In the fall of 1997, the Utah Division of Wildlife Resources (UDWR) cited a Navajo hunting party in Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument for traditional practices which differ from and consequently are in violation of state game regulations. The UDWR manages game in the state, including within national parks and monuments.

39 The area of the La-Sal and Blue mountains was Ute territory by 1855. At that time, a party of Navajos requested permission of Utes to use their trails. The Navajos wanted to visit, likely trade with, members of the Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Elk Mission. Once the agreement was made with Arrowpeen of the Ute, the Navajos left “for their country.” Arrowpeen returned to Manti, Utah (William B. Pace in diary, August 5, 1855). Navajos and Elk Mountain Utes also were involved in reciprocal trading. Returning from a buffalo hunt in September, some Elk Mountain people traveled to “Navajo country” to trade (Steward 1938:225).
Figure 4-5
The son of Hashkéniinii, Hashkéniinii-Begay.
Utah Historical Society. Photograph number 970.2
and negative number 14387.
Recreation Area, personal communication, 1999).

Wilson Mesa, near the confluence of the San Juan and Colorado rivers, is called Bñáhoniibizio’ii (Pauline Wilson, personal communication, 2002). Translated as “chase-up,” the name refers to Navajo ancestors who were frantically running from the Mexicans, across the river, and onto Wilson Mesa. From accounts of Navajo traditional histories reported earlier in the Chapter, the area north and west of the Colorado River was already familiar terrain.

That Mexicans were raiding in southern Utah around Oljato and Monument Valley is confirmed by Navajo traditional histories (George Little Salt in Roessel 1973:159-168; Kelly 1953:224-225). Oral testimony for the Indian Claims Commission indicates that Mexicans were routinely raiding in this region for women and children (Correll 1971:150). An elder from Oljato Chapter House told a story about one of his great, great, great grandmothers who, sometime before 1843, was kidnapped by Mexicans from the Oljato area in Utah.

This woman was...taken to Mexico (somewhere in the vicinity of Nogales...), where she was forced to marry. She became pregnant by her captor. To prevent their escape, the native women were guarded and tied up at night when the men were away...the men regularly had parties, during which they left home and went out in the desert...One day, the man whose job it was to guard the horses told the woman that there was to be a party that night. While the others were gone, the man said, he would give her a horse and help her escape. That night after the others left, the man went and cut the woman’s bindings and gave her a saddled horse, which he said was a fast runner. She took the horse and rode away in haste, continuing for several days and nights without stopping to sleep. Finally she stopped, exhausted, and as she rested her horse wandered off. She soon found that her captors were hot on her trail. Continuing on foot, she came to a place where the sagebrush grew over holes in the ground. She crawled into one of these holes camouflaged by the brush. The men apparently knew she was hiding, for they set fire to the brush to drive her out. The woman dug further back into the ground to protect herself, staying there in her hole for a couple of days until the men gave up and left. She then made her way back home, where she later gave birth to a little girl, part Mexican. The girl was Roy’s great, great grandmother. (Roy Atene as told to Lee Kreutzer, 1993)

An Hataalii from Navajo Mountain told of his ancestors seeking refuge near Escalante, Utah from slave raids and from the Kit Carson Roundup (Navajo in Suvec, field notes, October 1999). He referred to this locale as the “escaping place.”

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo and the “Escaping Place”

The United States assumed control of New Mexico in 1848. Raiding for slaves and livestock, however, did not cease. Some Navajos perceived Spain, Mexico, and the United States as intruders and enemies. Wealth, particularly in livestock, could be obtained at their expense. Private wars between some Navajos and New Mexicans continued sporadically (Brugge 1983:496). While some Navajos entered into treaties, their agreements did not bind all Navajos and some continued to raid.

Representatives of the United States government entered the territory assuming Navajos were responsible for the warfare without comprehending the long and dynamic history of these conflicts (Benally et al. 1982; Brugge 1983). In 1853, the federal government opened lands to settlement. Utes pressed some Navajos to join them in fighting New Mexicans and the United States. When they refused, Navajos became the target of Ute raids. The cycle of attacks and counterattacks continued, precipitated by raids for livestock, violations of agreements and treaties, warfare and death, unfair treatment, and struggles to retain grazing, farming, and homelands. As a result, Navajo Mountain and the San Juan triangle continued to be a refuge, now from U.S. military campaigns and Ute attacks (Benally et al. 1982:101-123). The northwestern regions of Navajoland had by the mid-nineteenth century gained the name Náhoniizóó, the “escaping place” (Benally et al. 1982:120).

Navajo Settlements in Utah during the Long Walk Period

After the Civil War ended, the United States planned a war against the Navajos to end hostilities and to open the Four Corners region to mining, grazing, and the railroad (Roessel 1973:510-511). Fort Sumner, also known as Bosque Redondo, was established on the Pecos River to hold captive Navajos. In 1863, an order was issued that Navajos must move to Bosque Redondo. Kit Carson was placed in charge of the field campaign. By 1864 only half (almost 9000) of the Navajos were interred at Fort Sumner, the rest went into hiding. After five years of internment, the Navajos were released upon signing the treaty of 1868.

40 Navajos lacked political unity. Bands or clans formed temporary alliances to raid for livestock, slaves, and other commodities, make war, or agree to peace. Loyalty extended to the social unit (for example, the clan or band), not to everyone who shared cultural attributes. The governments of Mexico and the United States appointed a leader to represent all Navajos, but did not realize that allegiances were to one’s own group. A Navajo historian (Benally et al. 1982:107) argues that it was usually wealthy headmen who signed treaties to protect their own possessions.
Again, places like Navajo Mountain, the San Juan triangle, and lands west of the Colorado River were sought out as protection (Jamie Holgate in Ruppert and Sucec, field notes, 1993; Howard Gorman, Robert Longsalt, Ernest Nelson in Roessel 1973:41, 169, 173; Roessel 1983:514). Individual Navajos associated with Manuelito, K’uayelii, and Hashkéniini, escaped into Utah (Benally et al. 1982:136).43 Hashkéniini in 1863 settled at Navajo Mountain from the Oljato-Monument Valley area (Correll 1971:150). Other clans moved north of the San Juan and to Navajo Mountain to avoid the Roundup (Benally et al. 1982:136).

**Continued Navajo Presence in the Henry Mountains**

During the mid-nineteenth century, Navajos continued to live in the vicinity of the Henry Mountains. The Henries were used for grazing livestock, “gather[ing] wild foods...[and] farm[ing] in the canyons and higher elevations north of the river...” (from testimony before the Indian Claims Commission in Correll 1971:147-149).44 K’uayelii, who was born at Elk Ridge in 1801 and died in 1894, lived to be a powerful headman in the region. He “spent his entire life ranging with his followers” on lands west to the Henry Mountains (testimony before the Indian Claims Commission in Correll 1971:147). Another headman, Kee Dimini, born in White Canyon in 1821, moved with his band to the same territory.

**Hashkéniini and the Waterpocket Fold**

Headman and singer Hashkéniini stayed in the vicinity of Navajo Mountain at least until the signing of the 1868 treaty (Kelly 1953; McPherson 1988:9; Wolverton 1928). While there, apparently he made trading trips to Ute bands in the Uintah Basin. Among the commodities obtained was buffalo hide used in healing ceremonies. While Navajo sojourns into Ute territory were not always safe, trading trips appeared to be the exception. The son of Hashkéniini (Figure 4-5) recounts:

There were no buffalo in this country,45 but we used to go to the Uintah Basin to trade with the Utes for hides. The trip took thirty-five days and the Utes knew how to dress the hides for medical purposes. As you know, although we were always at war with the Utes, a trading expedition was safe to go anywhere. We made the trip every year. Usually my father went, but once he sent me when I was about fourteen years old. When I got back I was nearly dead.

Another time we made a trip to a place where there were many big hogans (houses). The white people gave us a feast and treated us fine. Near there (Salt Lake City) we went to a lake to gather salt. It was a long journey and we never went back. (Interview conducted in 1939 with Hoskanini-begay, son of Hashkéniini, as told to Charles Kelly 1953:225)

The trails to Salt Lake would have taken Hashkéniini and his son across the Waterpocket Fold. The most expedient route was to cross at Halls, follow the creek, cut across the Fold at Pleasant Creek and follow the Fremont River to the Plateau valleys (refer to Chapter 3). At that point, the Spanish Trail continued north to Utah Lake, the site of present-day Provo.

The trail to the Uintah Basin would have been located east of the Henry Mountains. The crossing might have been made at Halls Creek or Hite, followed the North Wash which parallels the Henries, and continued north into the Uintah Basin.

Since he routinely traveled north to trade, Hashkéniini must have been familiar with the Capitol Reef region, including routes across the Fold. A descendant of Hashkéniini tells he collected medicinal herbs along the Burr Trail (Roy Atene in Sucec, field notes, 1993; Map 4-1). Whether he collected within the park boundary is not known.

If the Spanish had conducted mineral extraction in the Henry Mountains, Hashkéniini probably would have been aware of it, at least through oral tradition. The account as told to Cass Hite suggests he did have knowledge of this event. Hashkéniini’s familiarity with the region extended back to the 1830s, as a young boy, and again during the 1860s. Oral accounts from elders, relayed earlier, tell that Navajos may have been living in the Henry Mountain region as far back as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Kit C. Atene and Roy Atene in Sucec, field notes, October 1999; Buck Navajo in Sucec, field notes, October 1999). One account relays that Navajos were living amidst the Henries in the 1820s (Roy Atene and Buck Navajo Sucec, field notes, October 1999).

Though Hashkéniini returned to Monument Valley, he continued to make frequent sojourns to the Capitol Reef region. For example, between 1902 and 1903 he bartered at the Camp Stone Trading Post 45 miles below Hite and just south of the Henry Mountains. Blankets by the pound were traded for silver coins (Chaffin 1966:7,11; Map 4-1).46

**Chimney Rock Raid in Capitol Reef National Park**

Two oral accounts among the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah convey information about a Navajo raiding party that crossed the Colorado River into what is now Capitol Reef National Park sometime in the mid-to late-nineteenth century (Jimmy Timican as told to Martineau 1992:48-49; Jimmy Timican as told to Will 1968:41-42). They attacked an encampment
of old men, women and children in Chimney Rock Canyon, while the men were hunting on Thousand Lake Mountain. Chimney Rock Canyon drops off the plateau (Thousand Lake Mountain) and winds its way through Capitol Reef National Park. Its intermittent stream is a tributary to the Fremont River (Map 1-6). The Navajos killed most of the campers. In one version of the story, the party captured four girls and was headed for the River when they were intercepted. The hunters pursued the Navajos down the canyon, killed all but one, and then chased the remaining Navajo to the Colorado River.

This version suggests Navajos were raiding for slaves, an activity that continued until the signing of the treaty in 1868. Another, shorter version, edited by a journalist for a popular magazine, omits reference to captured females. While the raiding party may have been interested in captives for sale in the slave trade, it is also possible that the Navajo raiding party was among those who escaped forced relocation at Fort Sumner. Members of the party may have been shoring up resources by expeditiously raiding members of other indigenous groups.

Navajos, the Black Hawk War, and Capitol Reef National Park

Some Navajos who escaped Carson’s roundup, as well as those who fled the inadequate conditions at Bosque Redondo, joined forces with Black Hawk (Crampton 1983:92; Culmsee 1973:72,80; Journal History entry for January 8, 1870; Peterson 1998:87–88). Black Hawk, a Timpanogots Ute, aggressively resisted LDS settlement in Utah from 1865 through 1870, with some of his followers continuing to fight after his death (refer to Chapter 3). Almost 100 of Black Hawk’s two-to-three hundred strong-band were Navajos (Peterson 1998:212; Steward 1974:154). Headman Manuelito joined forces with him. Barboncito, who escaped Bosque Redondo, also allied with the Timpanogots leader (Peterson 1998:88). Though Black Hawk ultimately surrendered, for several years he

41 Utah historian Robert McPherson (personal communication 2003) claims that Manuelito was further south at the time of the Long Walk and so did not flee into Utah then.

42 Though some Navajo fled Ute pressure in southwest Colorado and San Juan country, others continued to reside in that part of Utah. Likely some Navajo clans and Ute bands shared relatives or formed other alliances. Navajo in conflict with Ute thought those who maintained a friendly relationship were “renegades” (Benally et al. 1982:121).

43 According to oral tradition among the Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, buffalo were hunted out of Rabbit Valley, a plateau valley to the west of Capitol Reef National Park, in the 1840s (Timian to Fowler 1966:26; also refer to Chapter 3).

44 The Stanton dredge was constructed at Camp Stone. The dredge mined the river for gold, but the operation went broke in 1900. Arthur Chaffin and Frank Bennett were the proprietors of the Camp Stone trading post. Supplies came by way of the Henry Mountains from Denver (Chaffin 1966).

45 Chaffin (1996:7,11) paid from fifty cents to a dollar per pound, a price he claimed exceeded what Navajos could obtain at Tuba City. The blankets were shipped to Denver.
was able to halt settlement at places like Sevier Valley, as well as the plateau country and canyon lands to the east (the Capitol Reef region). In 1865, Black Hawk and his followers fought a battle at Red Lake, near Bicknell (Map I-2), with the LDS militia (refer to Chapter 3). Navajos may have been among them. The Fremont River corridor in Capitol Reef National Park was used as an escape route for stolen livestock taken from Sevier Valley. The livestock and commodities Black Hawk amassed from the raids were shared among resisters. This gesture likely contributed to his success, especially among Navajos displaced during the Long Walk Period and in need of resources to survive.

**Other Navajo Alliances with the Ute Groups in Utah**

Ute alliances with the Navajos existed well before the Black Hawk War. Groups of Navajos were rendezvousing with Ute and other Indians in northern Utah. Annually they journeyed to Fort Davy Crockett at Brown’s Hole in northeastern Utah to trade with fur trappers. In the early nineteenth century, entrepreneurs who operated Fort Davy Crockett intentionally cultivated Navajo visitation to Brown’s Park along the Green River. The fort became one of the most important fur trading posts in the intermountain region and served as a point of contact between indigenous peoples and Euroamerican trappers during the height of the Rocky Mountain fur trade. Navajos journeyed to Brown’s Hole as early as 1842 (Hamilton 1951). One trapper, Bill Hamilton, observed

“A few Ute and Navajos [who] came up on their annual visit with the Shoshones, to trade and race horses. These Indians collect considerable fur and are keen traders.”

On another occasion he wrote,

“...At the rendezvous many Indians — Shoshones, Utes, and a few lodges of Navajos —...came to exchange their pelts for whatever they stood in need of” (Hamilton 1951:118).

Traditional Navajo histories tell that before the Long Walk groups of men journeyed to the region of the Great Salt Lake to trade with the Ute (Nóóda’i) (Friday Kinlicheenee in Roessel 1973:237; Tso in Roessel 1973:92–102). Those who came from the Kaibeto area and crossed the Colorado River went through Richfield (Wi’ishbiil) to the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, and then beyond.

_They were on horseback, traveling west and north toward Salt Lake. My grandfather used to make the trip annually because he was a silversmith and made horse bridles, which were traded for things like deer hides, buffalo hides, etc. The things that had been made and were to be traded were packed on a horse....It took them nine days to arrive in Salt Lake, from where they went into Nóóda’i territory where the trading was done. This time the trading took two days, and, among other things, a rifle was purchased._ (Curly Tso in Roessel 1973:92)

One elder tells of a battle on the return close to Richfield (Wi’ishbiil), where both Euroamericans and Navajos were killed (Tso in Roessel 1973:92–102).

Navajos also formed alliances with the Utes to take advantage of the trade along the Spanish Trail. In 1852, bands of Ute would winter with Navajos after driving stolen livestock along the Spanish Trail into New Mexico (Beckwith in Larson 1952:24). These Ute were raiding livestock at colonial settlements in California to exchange for Spanish commodities in New Mexico. In 1861, some Pahvant Ute associated with the Sevier Lake region, including headman Kanosh, reportedly left for a routine trading expedition with the Navajos (Wood 1861:137).
Adapting to Permanent Euroamerican Settlement in the Capitol Reef Vicinity: 1870s through the 21st Century

In the 1870s, members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and others began to settle in the plateau valleys, west of Capitol Reef National Park, at places such as Hanksville and Caineville (Map 1-2), and south of the Aquarius Plateau at Escalante and Boulder, Utah. The end of the Black Hawk War in 1872 was the catalyst for settlement. Brigham Young sent a peace-making and exploratory party into Grass, Rabbit, and Escalante valleys in 1873. His objective was reconciliation with Black Hawk's followers to clear the way for homesteading and farming (Bean 1945:164, 167; also refer to Chapter 3).

While raiding and warfare ceased, wage labor opportunities called for crossing the Colorado River. Other customary activities persisted, such as trading, ceremonial hunting, and plant gathering.

**Effects on Ceremonial Hunting**

Traditional hunts continued after the arrival of the Latter-day Saints in the 1870s. Navajo hunters incorporated the newcomers into their fall sojourn by engaging them in trade.

*After settlement, we had to work with them. We respected their living. Rugs would be woven in the summer and on their way to the hunt in the areas of Boulder Town and Escalante, would trade blankets for horses, saddles, bridles, ropes, and food. Our ancestors would bring processed flour and coffee back* (Navajo 1997).

Recollections of early settlers in the Capitol Reef region corroborate that Navajos routinely visited the area in the fall to trade. However, settlers were unaware Navajos also hunted while there. Compelling reasons caused traditionalists to keep silent about their customary practices. They were engaged in traditional practices not meant to be publicized. Too, Navajos had already been dispossessed of land and placed on reservations. Revealing this sort of information might have jeopardized their use of customary hunting and gathering grounds. Still, from accounts of settlers described below, amicable relationships were the hallmark of the encounters.

**Trading with Settlers and Their Descendants**

Pioneers and their descendants provide accounts of Navajos coming to trade in the Capitol Reef region every fall. Navajos traveled by horseback to Hanksville, Caineville, and Fruita; to towns in Rabbit and Grass valleys; to Escalante; to Boulder, Utah, and to the Henry Mountains (Blackburn 1946; Durfev et al. 1997; Hatch 1996; Hunt 1996; Journal History entry for January 9, 1874; Mulford 1996; Robinson 1996; Map 4-1). Dorothy
Figure 4-6

View looking east to Bunkerville in Grass Valley, Utah.
Photograph taken by Rosemary Surer.
Mulford, then five or six years old, remembered how distinctive Navajo traders appeared.

The Navajos...were tall, and different, and had long hair, braided their hair even, then Navajos did, 'cause I looked at their hair and thought, oh, how pretty a hair they had...just the men [would come], and they brought blankets to trade. I seen 'em on the street right down town [Escalante]...and showin' the blankets to different ones...'cause they had them on horses' back, traded blankets for horses. (Mulford 1996)

Most Garfield and Wayne County residents who engaged in trade made references to the gender and behavior of the group. They said that each group consisted of men, with some young boys twelve to fourteen years of age. Customarily they exchanged blankets, of saddle size or larger, for horses. Usually only one in the party spoke English to the residents. At least one elder would be among them, and he generally remained silent. This composite, from all accounts, corresponds with the customary Navajo hunting party.

For example, one family reminisced, from the 1920s, about their experiences with Navajos, which included stories about their horsemanship.

We had the [horses] there that we'd let 'em choose...They were excellent ropers, excellent riders, and as far as I knew, they was excellent people....We'd tell 'em what we needed for the blankets for the horse, and they would come up with that...All men, and they had anf ... old man, and the rest were young men. I think he was training them young men...The old men didn't — they talked to them, but they didn't talk to us...The old men wouldn't utter a word....They picked one of their better ropers out and told him to go rope. And then he just picked the rope up with a little loop about the size of a bushel basket...And then just threw it like you would a rock. It went right around the horse's head...See, a horse with a big loop, or anything, if you throw a rock or a stick or something like that, they'll try to dodge, with their head, especially....You know, [with a little loop] it goes faster and it goes out there and it catches the horse. There aren't many people who can do that....They had a lot more horses when they went back...Usually drove 'em [as opposed to leading them] with ropes....They done everything with ropes on horses.... (Golden Durfee in Durfee et al. 1997)

In 1928, when a trading party arrived in Fruita (now in Capitol Reef National Park), a local rancher, Dewey Gifford, recalled the Navajos as a

...bunch of five or six that came up...they had a small boy or two with them, school age. The old Indians all had long braids of hair and the boys all had hair cuts. Somebody asked them how come the boys had their hair cut. The Indians said, "Ah, school boy." Cass Mulford gave them a turkey and they didn't even dress it. They just tied the feet of it up to the saddle, and rode off with that turkey swinging around hitting that old sweaty horse. (Gifford 1980:13) 46

Mr. Gifford as well as other county residents differentiated between the Navajos, who would make fall visitations, and the Paiute and Ute Indians who also regularly visited at Caineville and Hanksville, Fruita, and the Rabbit Valley towns. 47

Navajos usually continued their journey west through what is now Capitol Reef National Park to communities in Rabbit Valley and Grass Valley. A Wayne County resident recalls that Navajos continued to make fall trading trips to Rabbit Valley through the 1940s (Robinson 1996; Map 4-1).

I remember a lot of the Navajos would come up and trade with us. My dad would always buy blankets...Well, they trade with those people for horses...And my dad, he traded my mare for one bunch of blankets. I had a gray mare named Nuggets, and a mule colt. I wasn't home at the time he traded Nuggets...I remember most of them were young men, I don't remember very many old ones. (Robinson 1996)

They also horse-traded with Euroamerican ranchers in the vicinity of the Henry Mountains (Map 4-1). During their trips across the Colorado River, they also conducted traditional hunts (Holgate in Sucec, field notes, 1993).

Passage Through Capitol Reef National Park

Trips to the plateau valleys west of the park required travel through the Waterpocket Fold. The Fremont River corridor afforded a route to places such as Torrey, Loa, and Lyman in Rabbit Valley (Map 1-2), and to Burrville, Greenwich, and Koosharem in Grass Valley (Map 1-4 and Figure 4-6). The Burr Trail provided a passage to the vicinity of Boulder, Utah, where horse trading, as well as hunting, was conducted (Jamie Holgate of Navajo Mountain Chapter House in Sucec, field notes, 1993; Pikyavit 1997). 48

46 Cass married Dorothy, a young woman who was living in Escalante. Once married, both moved to Fruita. Dorothy or Dottie Mullford graciously agreed to be interviewed for this study on Christmas eve in 1996.

47 Though by the twentieth century local Paiute and Ute Indians were situated on reservations, they continued to make forays back to their homelands. Families, including women, usually traveled on a wagon or buckboard with a team of horses. While a primary purpose of the visitation was to ask for food, they continued to engage in the customary practices of berry collection and gathering willows along the Fremont River. More detail is provided in Chapter 3.

48 Navajos have a name for Boulder Mountain. They call it "quick-sand mountain" after its soggy ground (Holgate in Sucec, field notes, 1993).
Trading with Local Indians

Navajos routinely traded with indigenous inhabitants. Descendants of the Red Fish and Water Clover Peoples (refer to Chapter 3) tell stories about Navajos exchanging blankets for tanned hides, as well as horses. One to three buckskins were traded for a blanket (Kelly 1964:165; Timican 1997).

Navajo men were called Paganwicin or "cane-knife people," because "they stood straight and tall" (Kelly 1964:335). At the end of the nineteenth century, a Wayne County resident observed Navajos trading among Lyman Indians (Figure 3-19):

The big occasion came along in the fall of the year when the Navajos crossed the Colorado River and came up in the Ute country to trade. For several successive years these encampments or tribal get-togethers occurred about a mile north of the town Lyman. On these occasions the Navajos would come up the river (Dirty Devil) after crossing the Colorado, laden with blankets of all sizes and designs in brilliant colors. These hand woven blankets are a valuable commodity as every one knows among the whites as well as the Indians, and find many uses as bed blankets, rugs, saddle blankets, tapestries, etc. They are made from the rather coarse wool of the Navajo sheep. Chief commodities sought in exchange for blankets were horses, cash, food, clothing, etc.

Business was usually carried on through a Ute interpreter as some of the Navajos spoke little or no English... Another reason for an interpreter was that he was cut in on the profits if a sale was made. This trading and traffic would carry on a couple of weeks or until the Navajos had disposed of their wares and were in possession of the exchange goods, then the fun would begin.

There would be horse racing and contests among the young men, pow wows and dancing accompanied by singing until the wee hours and gambling galore. Indians are gamblers — they love to take a chance. They had many devices for winning and loosing money, but chief among them was the white man's playing cards adopted to the Indians' habits and understanding. Any and everything served as stakes even to squaws and poposes so I was told, but never saw it in practice as the Indians were leary [sic] of the white man's laws against it... (Callahan 1895:1926:305)

Navajo traders also took time to hunt. One elder from the Koosharem enclave of Indians witnessed a medicine man field-dressing a deer at the narrows just below Greenwich in Grass Valley (Timican 1997; Map 4-1).

Grass Valley Incident

Several Navajo were killed by one of Butch Cassidy's gang during a trading expedition among the Water Clover People. Only one was able to return home (Bean 1897; Bean 1945:179; copy of Deseret News article in Koosharem Ward of the Sevier Stake historical records; Sevier Stake Manuscript History, 1874 entry). The Navajos apparently sought refuge from a snowstorm in Billy McCarty's cabin. They slaughtered some of livestock for food. McCarty claimed to be LDS, though he was not. News of the deaths threatened the peace John Wesley Powell and Jacob Hamblin had negotiated with Navajos in 1870. The Navajos blamed the Latter-day Saints and were ready to retaliate until Hamblin convinced them that the Saints had not been involved in this incident (copy of Desert News article in Koosharem Ward of the Sevier Stake Historical Records, Sevier Stake Manuscript History, 1874 entry; Little 1971:111).

Navajos continued to make expeditions to Grass Valley through the early 1900s, until most of the Koosharem residents voluntarily relocated to communities like Richfield to support them (Charles 1996; Journal History, January 9, 1874 entry; Timican 1997).

Winter Livestock Grazing on Lands West of the Colorado River

Before Lake Powell was officially created in 1963, Navajos routinely used horses, donkeys, and mules to travel across the Colorado River to hunt, gather, and trade. When winter settled in, these animals were set out to pasture in the canyons associated with the Colorado and San Juan rivers. Favorite canyons to graze horses were the Escalante drainage, the base of the Kaiparowits Plateau, Fiftymile Bench, and due north of Navajo Mountain (Map 4-1). Horses had been wintered in these locations as early as the Kit Carson roundup days (Jamie Holgate in Sucec, field notes, 1993; Leo Manheimer in Sucec, field notes, 1998). None of the consultants spoke of wintering livestock in the Waterpocket Fold.

Wild Horse Roundup

In the early part of the twentieth century, a Navajo Hataalti recalls a custom in which he and his father participated and which was incorporated into the hunting sojourn.49

During my younger days, when my father was the leader, we would know of places where there were wild horses; they would be hard to get. We would roundup

49 His father, named "Breech Clout," also was a headman for traditional hunts (Buck Navajo in Sucec, field notes, August, 1999).
Figure 4-7
Sumac grows along this slope near Notom Road. Navajo have harvested the shrub near here in the fall. Photograph taken by Rosemary Sucec.
those horses, 40 to 50 at a time. We would actually go for
that purpose. When [we] entered [that area] for deer,
[we] would go for horses, too. Would go two weeks at a
time. (Navajo 1997)

Possibly the wild horses were captured in the canyon
land environment where Navajos decades earlier rou-
tinely grazed them. Or, they may have been descendents
of horses left behind during the movement of stolen
livestock away from LDS settlements in the mid-
to late-nineteenth century (see Chapter 3).

Plant Gathering at the Waterpocket Fold
and Vicinity

Just as with hunting and trading, harvesting plants
continued throughout the twentieth century at diverse
locations in the Capitol Reef region. Buck Navajo
(1997), who is in his eighties, recalls gathering “herbs”
— medicinal plants used in ceremonies — at the
Waterpocket Fold (Map 4-1).

During the Burr Trail consultation in 1993, representa-
tives from the Navajo Mountain and Oljato chapter
houses spotted evidence that other Navajo tradition-
lists had recently collected rabbitbrush (Chrysothamnus
nauseosus) (Figure 2-16) along the Trail at the top of the
switchbacks. The switchbacks are within Capitol Reef
National Park. The shrub is scarce on the Navajo Reserva-
tion. Tradition requires that stirring sticks from the
plant must be used to mix cornmeal or mush (Roy Atene
in David Ruppert, field notes, 1993; Pauline Wilson,
American Indian Tribal Liaison, Glen Canyon National
Recreation Area, personal communication, 1993).

On lands outside Capitol Reef National Park, in the
1970s and 1980s, a Navajo family was seen picking pine
nuts (Pinus edulis) in the Henry Mountains (Map 4-1). Local ranchers observed that a traditional brush arbor,
with the door facing east, was erected for the duration
(Golden Durfee in Durfee et al. 1996).

A family of Navajos was regularly observed harvest-
ing sumac (Rhus trilobata) at Notom in the fall for sev-
eral years, along the county road on the perimeter of
Capitol Reef National Park (Durfee et al. 1996; Map 4-
1). The Durfee family was encouraged by the Navajos
to burn the sumac bushes, which causes the shrub to
come back “real willowy from the root... And they split
every willow” (Keith Durfee in Durfee et al. 1996).

Wage Labor

Throughout the 1900s, Navajos came to the region for
seasonal employment. In the 1920s, local ranchers like
the Durfeys started herding sheep along the Burr Trail in
Capitol Reef and around the Henry Mountains. Accord-
ing to the Durfeys, Navajos and Basque were among
those employed to herd the sheep (Davis et al. 1997:35).

In the early 1900s, Navajos and Paiute were hired to
harvest and top carrots in Richfield (Charles 1996).
Some farmers in Rabbit Valley grew potatoes and
employed Navajos, as well as Paiute, to harvest them.
According to some local residents, federal laws required
that housing be provided to employees, which con-
tributed to the demise of the industry in the 1960s.
Farmers said they could not afford to provide this
housing (Sorensen 1997).

A 1950s uranium boom in the Henry Mountains re-
quired a large labor force. According to the contractor,

...we hired Navajos out of Kayenta, and that part of the
country, and brought them in here. Then you could
work them about three months and then you had to take
them home... The summer of 1951 was when I had the
big crew at North Wash.” (Ekker 1984:8)

According to Lurt Knee, operator of a tourist ranch
along Pleasant Creek inside Capitol Reef National Park
from the 1920s to the 1950s, a Navajo named Capitol
Reef and the surrounding canyon lands, “Sleeping
Rainbow.” A Navajo laborer employed by Knee was
with his boss at an overlook. Knee recalls:

I never looked at this country like that where we’re
standing on top of Long Canyon looking off into the
Circle Cliffs. There’s where a good example of the
Sleeping Rainbow exists, and that’s the Chinle, the most
colorful formation in the earth crust... That’s where
we get our name [the name of the ranch], the Navajo is
the one that named it, but that’s where we get it from.
(Knee 1992)

According to Knee, a hogan was once constructed on
his property. It was built by a “long-haired Navajo”
named “Whitehorse” who lived there with his family

Waterpocket Fold Named

Traditional Navajos from Navajo Mountain, Oljato, and
Shonto did not recognize the name given by Knee’s
employee. While they say it could be applied to the
canyon lands, the Waterpocket Fold already possesses a
name. The name has been relayed through the genera-
tions, well beyond living memory. It is Tó bit yildiz
(Navajo 1997) or “The Depression with Water.”

50 K’iltsoi nitsaagii is the Navajo name for rabbitbrush. It means “big yel-
low on top” (Mayes and Lacy 1989:87-88).
51 Neeshchii is the Navajo name for “pinyon seeds” (Mayes and Lacy
52 The Navajo name for sumac is K’ii (Mayes and Lacy 1989:122-123).
53 Keith Durfee (personal communication 2004) says that he has not seen
the family for the past three years, but that they may have come without
being seen. He let them know that even if he was not there, they
were welcome to cut the sumac branches. Keith said the Navajos split
the willow branches in half lengthwise.

54 The video produced for the park and played for visitors at the visitor
center refers to the name of the park and the surrounding land as
"Sleeping Rainbow."
Summary and Conclusions

Navajo accounts of their history west of the Colorado River say their ancestors occupied land in this region as early as the 1300-1400s. In the 1700s, oral accounts tell of hogan settlements in the Waterpocket Fold area. Interestingly, an archeological site (WN2054), radiocarbon-dated to the 1800s, has the potential to be the remains of a hogan within Capitol Reef National Park.

Throughout this occupation, traditional Navajos relay that they and their ancestors have been using the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef, as well as the surrounding landscape, for hunting and plant gathering. While it is not known whether the Fold continues to be hunted by traditional Navajos, recent evidence indicates that some plants continue to be gathered there.

The Waterpocket Fold also has been used as a travel corridor by generations of ancestral and contemporary Navajos. The Burr Trail and Fremont River have been used to reach hunting, gathering, and trading destinations nearby (within the Waterpocket Fold, on Boulder Mountain, Fishlake Hightop Plateau, and Richfield, Utah) and far away (the Great Salt Lake and Brown's Hole, Wyoming). At times, the Fremont River corridor has served as an escape route to flee other indigenous inhabitants as well as Euroamerican newcomers. The Burr Trail in the early twentieth century also became a place for Navajos to herd sheep and earn wages.

Within the context of relaying their history with the Waterpocket Fold environment, Navajo consultants identified park resources used by ancestral and contemporary Navajos (Table 4-2).

Navajos continue to journey across the Colorado River and through what is now present-day Capitol Reef National Park. Though raiding, warfare, and possibly hunting within the Fold have ceased other activities like trading and plant gathering seem to persist. Those who subscribe to traditional practices make the appropriate observances when crossing the Colorado River and on route to their destinations. Consistent among traditionalists is the respect they maintain for land away from Kýyah. This respect is reflected in the observances made at river crossings, echo places, at places of stone images, where hunts are conducted, and plants are gathered. Some of these locations are contained within Capitol Reef National Park. To the Navajos, this land is filled with the presence of Holy Beings. Through prayers, offerings, songs, and other ceremonies, protection, safety, abundance, healing, and well being can be sought there.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESOURCE</th>
<th>MEANING/USE</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burr Trail within the Waterpocket Fold</td>
<td>Used as a corridor from which to conduct hunting, gathering, and trading. Destinations included Boulder Mountain, Escalante, the Fold, and valleys west of Capitol Reef. Navajos also herded sheep along the Trail</td>
<td>Roy Atene in David Ruppert, field notes, 1993; Atene in Sucec, field notes, 1993; Davis et al. 1997:15; Durfey et al. 1997; Halls Crossing Consultation 1997; Hatch 1996; Jamie Holgate in Sucec, field notes, 1993; Leo Manheimer in Sucec, field notes, 1997, 1998</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairns within the Waterpocket Fold</td>
<td>Used as offering places and navigational markers</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain and Oljato chapter houses, August 1999</td>
<td>The Office of Public Archaeology conducted a multi-year inventory of park and cairns have been documented. Cairns also were built by non-Navajo sheepherders, miners, and hikers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cribbed historic structure reminiscent of a hogan (WN2054)</td>
<td>Navajo consultants identified this as a site of a hogan or field house for care-taking crops. They also told of a hogan settlement in the vicinity as early as the 1700s</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain and Oljato chapter houses, August 1999</td>
<td>Navajo consultants were unaware of the radiocarbon and relative dates associated with this site, which place occupation from the mid-1800s until 1920s. Navajos could have used this location in the mid-to-late 1800s when the area was the customary range of headmen such as Hashkenii, and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echo place</td>
<td>Navajo traditionalists prefer that the location and meaning be kept confidential</td>
<td>Roy Atene in David Ruppert, field notes, 1993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petroglyph Panel (WN0149)</td>
<td>Consultants thought it possible the horses were etched by Navajos. They also thought the man with the shield might be Navajo. They called the figure a “warrior”</td>
<td>Navajos from Navajo Mountain and Oljato Representatives from Navajo chapter houses, August, 1999</td>
<td>Archeologists (Hauck 1991 and Noxon and Marcus 1978) believe the images may portray Navajos on trading expeditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbitbrush</td>
<td>Stems of rabbitbrush are used as stirring sticks to mix cornmeal or mush. Called <em>K'iiitsaai nitsaalii</em> which means “big yellow on top” (Mayes and Lacy 1989:87-88)</td>
<td>Roy Atene in Sucec, field notes, 1993; Pauline Wilson, American Indian Liaison, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, personal communication, 1993</td>
<td>Navajo consultants thought they saw evidence of collection in 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandpainting mineral sources</td>
<td>Includes white clay and colored sandstone used in sandpaintings</td>
<td>Roy Atene in Sucec, field notes, October 1999</td>
<td>Mineral sources brought Navajo to the Capitol Reef area as early as the 1700s, if not earlier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone images</td>
<td>Their meaning and locations are considered esoteric knowledge, not meant to be publicized</td>
<td>Roy Atene in Sucec, field notes, 1993</td>
<td>At least two were observed within park boundaries by consultants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumac</td>
<td>Collected near or on the park boundary at Notom as recently as 1996. Used in basketmaking, among other uses. Referred to as <em>K’ii’</em> (Mayes and Lacy 1989:122-123)</td>
<td>Durfey et al. 1996</td>
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<tr>
<td>RESOURCE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waterpocket Fold</td>
<td>A sacred place in the cultural lifeways of traditional Navajos in that it</td>
<td>Navajo 1997; Leo Manheimer in Succ,</td>
<td>Suggests that plant gathering persists.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Navajo families. Once a place for hunting. Circumstantial evidence</td>
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<td>suggests that plant gathering persists.</td>
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<td>Fruita was a place to trade. Travel route for Black Hawk and his followers,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>some of whom were Navajos.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Also used as a corridor to reach other destinations for trading, hunting,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and gathering. The Navajo have named it Tó bit yíldzis</td>
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Chapter 5

Conclusion
The National Park Service should help conserve the irreplaceable connections that ancestral and indigenous people have with the parks. These connections should be nurtured for future generations.

"Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century,"
National Park System Advisory Board, 2001
This study sketched the cultural histories of certain tribes within the Waterpocket Fold of Capitol Reef National Park, and, by necessity, with lands surrounding it. The goal was to comprehend the park resources used to support the lifeways of these tribes. This final chapter synthesizes information about the range of resources used, discusses where resource uses have the potential to be in conflict with NPS management policies, and identifies resources that might be eligible to the National Register based on consultation. Some final words about the value of this effort conclude the chapter.
Summary of Resource Types
Identified by Associated Tribes at Capitol Reef National Park

While specific resources and sites were identified in a table at the end of each chapter, the following list summarizes the range of resource types associated with American Indians in the Capitol Reef region.

- Plants;
- Animals;
- Minerals (crystals, pigments, sandstone, clay, and stone for tools);
- Archeological sites (Paleoindian, Archaic, Anasazi, and Fremont period sites, petroglyphs and pictographs, cairns, and a cribbed log structure);
- Trails;
- Artifacts (Capitol Reef Shields);
- Rock formation (a healing rock) in the Waterpocket Fold; and
- Waterpocket Fold (as a formation that was considered a temple, a destination, a home, part of a larger homeland, a source for food, water, and other resources, and a travel corridor); and
- The landscape surrounding and including the Waterpocket Fold, north of the Colorado River.

Plants

Plants were, and continue to be, important resources for all associated tribes. Certain plants in the Fold area were used ceremonially, medicinally, as food, for decoration, and became practical implements such as arrow shafts, stirring sticks, cradle boards, and baskets. Even in service to the needs of daily life, ceremony was a component of their use. The Pueblo of Zuni recognized many plants that continue to be incorporated into their cultural practices, but their consultation time in the park was limited and so focused upon specific sites, not the identification of customarily used plants. According to the Hopi Tribe, their ancestors used the plants identified in Table 2-2 of this report. Additional plants identified by Hopi consultants, as well as their traditional uses, can be found in Table 6-1 of the Ethnographic Resource Inventory and Assessment for the Burr Trail, Capitol Reef National Park, Utah and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Utah. In Cooperation with the Hopi Tribe. (Succe 1996b:36-44). The Paiute and Ute

1 The archeology described in this report argues that homes as campsites were present in the Fold, though obviously not the year-round occupation to which Euroamericans are accustomed. And, it also describes the human groups who continued to occupy the area encompassed by the Waterpocket Fold, on a transhumant basis, for significant periods of time. It is also true, then, that the Waterpocket Fold represents part of a homeland, at one time or another, for all of the native peoples described in this report.
tribes provided little information about plants for this study. Rather, their aim was to help us sketch out their histories in the study area in order to begin to understand their resource use. However, Southern Paiute plant use in the Burr Trail vicinity, which transects Capitol Reef National Park, was addressed for an environmental compliance report (Sucec 1996a:45–57). Interestingly, in that study Southern Paiute consultants noted the absence of a certain family of grasses from the area. The Poaceae family provides as many as 39 species used by Southern Paiute. A Glen Canyon National Recreation Area botanist, John Spence, evaluated a short-list of these food plants and they would have been susceptible to population declines as a result of over-grazing and climate change (refer to Appendix C in that report). While Navajo consultants identified a smattering of plants important in their cultural traditions, they prefer that the information not be publicized because of the potential misuse of the data. It is important to note that none of the plants identified by associated tribes for this study or other studies are threatened or endangered species.

**Animals**

Animals, too, were hunted by all of the tribes discussed in this study. Wildlife hunted in the area is represented on rock panels such as WNoo06 and the Highway 24 pullout. Like plants, animals were used as food, in ceremonies, and parts were incorporated into the objects of everyday living. While the ancestors of the Pueblo of Zuni and the Hopi Tribe likely hunted game in the area of the Waterpocket Fold, consultants from those tribes did not mention specific animals. However, faunal analysis from Formative Period sites at Capitol Reef (Joel Janetski, personal communication, 2003) reveals that the following animals, among others, were used by at least the farming ancestors of the Hopi:

- Mountain sheep (*Ovis Canadensis*)
- Cottontail rabbit (*Sylvilagus* sp.)
- Rock squirrel (*S. variegates*)
- Antelope (*Antilocapra americana*)
- Woodrat (*Neotoma cinerea*)
- Vole (*Microtus* sp.)
- Coyote (*Canis latrans*)
- Deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*)
- Hare (*Lepus* sp.); and
- Flicker (*C. auratus*)

Southern Paiute and Ute consultants revealed that small game such as lizards and rabbits were hunted in the Waterpocket Fold. Other animals used by the Southern Paiute and Ute living in or near the Fold included native fish, prairie dogs, woodchuck or Yellowbelly Marmot, sage hen, bighorn sheep, bison, deer, elk, and bear. The Utah prairie dog is a threatened species that once inhabited the North District of Capitol Reef (Sandy Borthwick, personal communication, 1994). More information about animals that Southern Paiute hunted, and their cultural significance, can be found in the *Ethnographic Resource Inventory and Assessment for the Burr Trail, Capitol Reef National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Utah. In Cooperation with the Kaibab Paiute, the Kanosh and Koosharem Bands of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah and the San Juan Southern Paiute* (Sucec 1996a:55–57). Traditional Navajo came to the Waterpocket Fold specifically for big game that was used not only as food, but also in ceremonies for healing and community well being. Traditional members of the Navajo Mountain Chapter House once hunted deer, especially mature bucks, in the Fold. While members of the Navajo Mountain Chapter House no longer hunt in the Waterpocket Fold, we do not know whether representatives from other chapter houses continue to hunt there because they were not asked as part of this study.

**Minerals**

Minerals, too, were used by some of the associated tribes. For example, members of the Pueblo of Zuni identified a particular crystal deposit as one with potential significance to their culture. Crystals play a significant role in Zuni religious practices; all Zuni medicine societies continue to use crystals. Crystals from that particular deposit are thought to have been collected for ceremonial use by the *Leewewewe* Medicine Society, whose oral tradition speaks of migrations through the Fold area. While the Hopi Tribe did not mention that its ancestors collected specific mineral resources while in the Waterpocket Fold, it does not preclude the possibility that their ancestors made use of these. At least one descendent of contemporary Southern Paiute and Ute provided an account of her father collecting a blue pigment near the Waterpocket Fold, which was then processed to use for ceremonial body paint. On the south side of Thousand Lake Mountain, which abuts the park, local Indians obtained white pigment. An historic collection site for red ochre is located on the Dixie National Forest to the west of the park. According to a Ute Mountain Ute spiritual leader, red ochre is still used by Ute peoples in Sun Dance ceremonies. Navajo consultants related that their ancestors collected white clay and sandstone in the Fold as early as the 1700s. They
used these materials in sand paintings. The Navajos also inquired as to whether they could collect sand at the base of the Burr Trail within the park for sand paintings.

**Archeological Sites**

Both the Pueblo of Zuni and the Hopi Tribe passed resolutions declaring their relationships with the people who lived during the Paleoindian and Archaic periods, before farming became the hallmark of subsistence. Further, the Pueblo of Zuni said their ancestors were in the Capitol Reef region prior to the advent of farming. Consequently, it is conceivable that some of the Paleoindian and Archaic period sites within park boundaries, as well as those surrounding, may have been made by ancestral Puebloans before they became farmers. The Zuni and Hopi also recognize the importance of all Anasazi and Fremont archeological sites within the park. According to the Hopi, the Puebloan-style (Fremont and Anasazi) archeological sites within Capitol Reef are not only evidence that their ancestors lived in the Waterpocket Fold, but that they fulfilled their pact with *Ma’saw*. According to the Hopi, *Ma’saw* is the deity who made it possible for the Hopi to live as farmers in this world and directed the first ancestors to go on rounds of migration until they found their rightful permanent place of residence. On these journeys, clan ancestors lived at places such as the Fold. Seeing archeological farming sites and deciphering associated petroglyphs and pictographs (*Figure 5-1*) confirmed for the Hopi the knowledge that had been conveyed to them about clan histories prior to coming to Capitol Reef. That knowledge had been relayed by their ancestral messengers through numerous generations.

Archeological sites sometimes have in association with them rock faces etched with images. Archeologists date some of these images to the hunting and gathering Archaic Period (for example, those at GA1443). The Pueblo of Zuni told us that during this timeframe, and earlier, their ancestors might have been in the Capitol Reef region as hunters and gatherers. On the rock faces of GA1443, the Zuni recognized what may be the depictions of the trails their ancestors took shortly after emergence from the Colorado River. In fact, the trails may have been associated with the Colorado River. Accounts tell that the ancestors subsequently traveled northward into what may have been the Capitol Reef region, or at least southern Utah.

Writings on rock from the farming period are represented at numerous panels throughout Capitol Reef National Park. Though Zuni do not have oral accounts of their ancestors farming in the park, images created during that time by Hopi ancestors represent to the Zuni an acquired belief system once they became farmers.
Figure 5-1
From left to right: Harlan Williams, Byron Tyma and Leland Dennis, consultants for the Hopi Tribe, read the petroglyphs on the panels along Highway 24 at Capitol Reef National Park. 1997. Rosemary Succi photo
Some of the images also represent to the Zuni what would have been the typical activities of daily life. For example, symbols of clans (which came later in Zuni history), calendars, and some images associated with ceremonies were recognized. Animals they hunted are represented on the rock wall. Deer kacinas and other deities are represented there, too.

The Hopi, who say their ancestral clans were the farmers in the area, saw evidence of their ancestors’ etchings on many of the rock walls at Capitol Reef. For example, they saw the deity Ma’saw, with whom they struck a pact to be farmers in this world. Numerous glyphs represent clans who migrated through the area. Images associated with shrines of medicine societies also were observed. Some symbols provided information about the best time to grow crops. The Hopi read the rock etchings as if they were textbooks and maps that deciphered their ancestors’ way of life there. Their translation of the images on stone revealed detailed information about regional geography, demography, economy, and religion at a distant time in the human history of the Waterpocket Fold.

The Southern Paiute and Ute representatives who came to Capitol Reef viewed the petroglyph panel (WN0149) with images of horses (some with riders), a buffalo, a shield-bearing figure, and a skirted figure (Figure 4-2). A consultant for the Ute Mountain Ute said that while the horses might be Ute, the shield and the skirted figure were not Ute. Navajo consultants viewed the same petroglyph panel. They thought that the shield-bearing anthropomorph could be a Navajo warrior. They said their ancestors might have made the glyphs of horses. Little other information was provided.

In a previous study (Succ 1996a:57–60) that sought to identify American Indian resources on the Burr Trail in the park, span Paiute representatives did view a site with at least three panels of petroglyphs (GA1443). They commented that the panels document the travels and encampments of many people through time. They thought some of the images symbolize the geography and trails passing through the area. The Zuni and Hopi confirmed these perceptions.

Cairns in the study area possess a multitude of purposes and meanings. While the Pueblo of Zuni did not have time to identify any, they did tell the park that some cairns are likely to be shrines placed by ancestors during their historical migrations. Offerings occurred there. As a consequence, they are regarded as sacred sites. Such places continue to be remembered in prayers at Zuni. The Zuni say only specialists in medicine societies possess the knowledge to identify shrines. Consequently, they ask that park archeologists hire Zuni consultants to assist with archeological inventories. For the Hopi, cairns placed by ancestors during migrations also are regarded as shrines (Succ 1996b:45). Some of these can serve the function of navigational markers, as well. During this project, the Southern Paiute and Ute did not speak to the use of cairns. To traditional Navajo, cairns can be navigational markers along trails, as well as associated with important resources known only to the Navajo. In all cases, they are places of offerings or petitions to deities for successful journeys (Figure 4-4).

Navajo consultants identified the remnants of a cribbed historic structure in the park (WN2054A) as a place where a possible hogan or field house was built for care-taking crops (Figure 4-1). They also told of a hogan settlement in the vicinity as early as the 1700s. Radiocarbon dating of the site, in tandem with the relative dating of artifacts, suggests that the site could have been occupied as early as the mid-1800s. If this site is indeed associated with the Navajo, it represents the earliest known Navajo occupation site in Capitol Reef and on federal land north of the Colorado River.

**Trails**

Ancient trails that became modern thoroughfares traversed the Waterpocket Fold and the surrounding landscape. These trails are part of the tribal histories associated with the Fold. For example, consultants from the Pueblo of Zuni recognized what they thought could be a system of trails (Figure 1-7) represented on the rock face, one of which may be representative of the Colorado River (GA1443). This map on rock suggested to the Zuni that these trails may have been those of their earliest ancestors, members of the Le:we:kewe Medicine Society who were among the first to emerge and travel north. Trails are sacred to the Zuni because their ancestral people may have established as well as traveled upon them. Trails led to shrines, hunting areas, and residences. Such places were blessed with prayers in perpetuity. Members of the Hopi Tribe, during the Burr Trail consultation, also identified images at GA1443 as a map. They deciphered information about the local geography, including a network of trails (Succ 1996b:46). For the Hopi, evidence of sites, including trails, fulfills their pact with Ma’saw. When Euroamerican explorers and settlers arrived in the area during the late nineteenth century, they affirmed the antiquity of the trail system in the region and associated with the Waterpocket Fold. Written records and interviews with descendents of tribes and pioneers document a trail system that overlaid the Fold. While trails led to resources within the Fold, even to a healing rock for the Paiute, they also led to destinations — including resources and other indigenous communities — outside of the Waterpocket Fold and in all directions surrounding it. As many as 10 trails were referenced in this report,

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Figure 5-2
some likely overlapping, and include the following:

- Almon Thompson’s 1872 route from Kanab, Utah across the Waterpocket Fold and to the Henry Mountains and the Colorado River (Map I-7). Thompson may have used the Kaiparowits system of trails referenced in Chapter 3;
- Possibly Bear’s Ear Variant of the Spanish Trail (Map I-6);
- Black Hawk Trail along the Fremont River corridor through the Waterpocket Fold (I-6);
- Escalante Valley system of “old Indian trails” observed by James Andrus in 1866 that extended over Boulder Mountain (Aquarius Plateau) as well as south along the Escalante River (Map I-6);
- Burr Trail (Map I-7);
- Chimney Rock Canyon trail Map I-6);
- G.K. Gilbert’s 1875 route through the Fold to the Henry Mountains (Map I-7);
- Kaiparowits trail that extended from Kanab through indigenous enclaves associated with the Paria River, Kaiparowits Plateau, Bryce Canyon area, Escalante, across the Waterpocket Fold, and to the Henry Mountains (Map I-6);
- Spanish Trail (Map I-6);
- Un-named trail through Rabbit Valley that linked with the Fishlake Hightop Plateau and the Spanish Trail (Map I-6).

**The Artifacts Known as the Capitol Reef Shields**

There were three claims from six tribes for the Capitol Reef Shields under NAGPRA. Evaluation of the claims and tribal notification of the determination favoring the Navajo claim was completed in July 2002. The shields were repatriated to the Navajo Nation on August 6, 2003. Other tribes expressing interest in the shields included the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians, the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, the Southern Ute Tribe, the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, and the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe.

**The Waterpocket Fold and Natural Features within It, including a Healing Rock**

Specifically the Fold is singled out as an important place marker in the histories of most of the associated tribes. It is far more than a corridor or “crossroads,” as suggested by the administrative history for the park. Reducing or relegating its function to a singular dimension risks loosing the diverse purposes and meanings
attributed to the Fold by Native Nations and evinced by this study. For example, the Hopi, reading the glyphs on the rock walls, saw tangible and prolific manifestations of their farming ancestors' presence there. But more than that, these images inscribed on rock, which had never been seen before by consultants but were recognized by them, confirmed what they had been told about their origin in this world and the deity Ma'saw who enabled them to be in it. Collectively, according to the Hopi, these etchings represent a phase of the destiny that had been prescribed for them, and to which they willingly consented. In living upon the land of Capitol Reef and leaving traces we know as archaeological sites, they acted as caretakers, as Ma'saw had prescribed. Stewardship did not end when they eventually settled at Hopi Mesas, but continues through remembrances and prayers in ceremonial kivas there.

The Waterpocket Fold also sustained the ancestors of contemporary Paiute and Ute tribes. Based on the oral testimony of some, it was a place to obtain small game, seed grasses, and other plants when food supplies were diminished during or near the end of winter. The Numic name for the Fold, "water rock," reflects its purpose as a place, at "waterpockets" or tanajas, where a life-sustaining resource was obtained in the desert. It also provided corridors of travel for many purposes. Friends and relatives, as well as a diversity of food sources lay in all directions. The Fold also contained a rock that served as a place of healing for those who knew its location. Finally, according to one Paiute individual, the entire formation of the Waterpocket Fold was a place of worship before it was turned into the sandstone we know it as today.

Traditional Navajo, too, view the Waterpocket Fold as life-sustaining. For example, they obtained in the past, and continue to do so, plants used for medicinal and other ceremonial purposes, for culinary needs, and as part of the material culture of everyday life. As recently as the early twentieth century, mature bucks were hunted in the Fold. These animals not only fed communities back home, south of the Colorado River, but parts of them are integral to ceremonies for healing and for the well being of animals and humans. Navajo, in the past as well as the present, continue to gather fruit at Fruita, inside the park. Plants such as sumac and pine nuts are gathered on land near the eastern perimeter of the park, while rabbitbrush appears to have been recently collected within it. The Waterpocket Fold has not only been a destination to obtain resources for traditional Navajo, but also is a corridor to travel to other destinations to trade, gather plants, and hunt, all resources that act on behalf of Navajo back home.

To traditional Navajo, certain natural features or landforms also possess important cultural meaning. For example, where echoes occur and images can be seen spiritual beings reside. A few of these special places were identified within the Capitol Reef National Park boundary, others outside within the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and on the BLM land. Offerings by traditional Navajo are customarily made at these places before traveling further on one's journey. The offering is placed out of respect for the deity and as a petition for a safe and successful journey, whatever the purpose.

The Landscape Surrounding and Including the Waterpocket Fold

A broader landscape, encompassing the Waterpocket Fold, is a resource identified by all tribes. For example, to the Pueblo of Zuni, this larger area represents the general direction that a group of ancestral Zuni migrated after emergence. Members of the Le:we:kewe Medicine Society, as well as others who were among the first to emerge into this world, were the progenitors to contemporary Zuni. By their trailblazing and endurance, they made it possible for the future to come to pass. Though the exact route is unknown, land crossed in this direction — including the possibility of what is now Capitol Reef National Park — becomes sacred.

Ancestral farming sites of the Hopi Tribe are found not only in the Waterpocket Fold, but extend as far north as the Great Salt Lake and the Wasatch Front. They exist to the west of Capitol Reef at the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument and at Anasazi Indian Village State Park. To the south, these sites are observed in Glen Canyon National Recreation area, as they are to the east at Canyonlands National Park. The Hopi say that regional manifestations we know as "Anasazi" and "Fremont," on this broader landscape of the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin, is tangible proof of fulfilling their obligation to establish themselves throughout the land by cultivating and caring for it. In their histories is their destiny, symbolized by archeological sites.

A synthesis of fragments from many sources reveals that the homeland of ancestors to contemporary Paiute and Ute peoples encompassed a landscape well beyond the Waterpocket Fold. It also included the mountainous plateaus to the west and north, as well as the desert canyon lands to the east and south. They exploited, through seasonal movements, the rich biological diversity contained within this region. Chapter 3 also provides us a glimpse of the fullness of their lives beyond the foods they used to sustain themselves, a one-dimensional aspect archeologists and cultural anthropologists customarily portray.

Traditional Navajo, too, while making use of the plant and animal resources within the Fold, also took advantage of the broader landscape to hunt, gather plants, collect minerals, conduct ceremonies, and trade.
In a far earlier time, oral tradition relays that their ancestors lived near the Henry Mountains, at the base of Thousand Lake Mountain, as well as Boulder Mountain. The land that is now Capitol Reef National Park, and at adjacent locations, was homeland for some Navajo ancestors. Later, however, the land north of the Colorado River became an extended territory within which they could avail themselves of resources that had become incorporated into aspects of their lives back home. All of it is considered sacred because it furnishes these resources that sustain them at home.
Potential Problems and Possible Resolutions in Managing Some Ethnographic Resources of Associated Tribes

The foregoing description of resource use within the context of Indian histories, practices, and beliefs brings into relief a few concerns when juxtaposed with park management practices and policies. Potential conflicts are examined here and, in some cases, ideas offered for mitigating them.

Circumstantial Evidence of Plant Collecting in the Park

Navajo consultants remarked that a few stems of the rabbitbrush (Figure 2-16) alongside the road at a particular site looked as if it had been recently harvested in a manner suggestive of traditional use. Stems from the rabbitbrush continue to be used by some Navajo as cornmeal stirring sticks and ceremonies are associated with this practice. Too, Navajo continue to harvest plants such as sumac near the boundary of the park. Sumac is used in basket making, among other uses. However, Navajo have not formally requested to collect plant material such as rabbitbrush, sumac, or others inside the park.

Authorities Pertaining to Plant Collection

Still, the potential exists that the Navajo, as well as other associated tribes, may make such a request. Therefore, it is worth examining some of the authorities that prohibit, as well as those that allow or seek to accommodate, plant harvesting in parks, particularly at Capitol Reef National Park.

Federal regulations (36CFR2.1) governing the management of park lands do permit limited collection of fruits, berries, nuts, or unoccupied seashells for personal consumption or use, as long as the collection does not adversely affect resources. However, the regulations prohibit the taking, use, or possession of wildlife, plants, and minerals for ceremonial or religious purposes unless authorized by federal law or treaty rights (2.1(d)).

A review of the enabling legislation for Capitol Reef National Park is silent about the activity of plant collection. However, proclamations related to the establishment of the monument (No. 2246), enlarging it (Nos. 3249 and 3888) and legislation establishing it as a park (Public Law 92-207), do state that “all unauthorized persons [shall] not...appropriate, injure, destroy or remove any feature” (Proclamation No. 3888). Without a review of the Congressional Record, it cannot be known with certainty whether minerals, as well as plants and animals, constitute “features” of the park.

Prior to settlement of the Capitol Reef region, treaties had been negotiated in 1868 with the Navajo and the Ute2 (Appendix 5-A), Indian nations whose ances-

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2 No treaties were negotiated with the Paiute.
tors used the Waterpocket Fold. Article 9 of the ratified treaty with the Navajo addresses hunting outside reservation boundaries (see below), but it does not speak to plant harvesting. Article 3 of the ratified treaty with the Ute bands declares that the Ute agreed to relinquish “all claims and rights to...any portion of the United States.”3

Compendiums for parks augment the federal regulations pertaining to management of park lands in that they give a superintendent the discretion to interpret law and regulations as they relate to the unique situation of each park. For example, the Superintendent’s Compendium for Capitol Reef National Park (Release No. 2, May 2001) identifies the plant species that can be gathered for personal consumption. These include edible berries, asparagus, and pinyon nuts.4 Quantities are limited to 1 gallon per person per trip (Compendium 2.11(c)(1)).  No charge exists for fruit consumed within the Fruita orchards, but a fee is charged for fruit removed from there (Compendium 1.5(a)(2)).5 In concert with federal regulations, the park Compendium reiterates that plant materials may be collected for the purpose of research, baseline inventories, impact analysis, monitoring, and other purposes (Compendium 2.5(a)). In these instances, a permit for specimen collection is issued.

The 2001 Management Policies for the NPS acknowledges that the federal regulations with regard to consumptive use for traditional purposes is under review and that NPS policy is evolving in this area. Management Policies also state that the Service generally “supports the limited and controlled consumption of natural resources for traditional and ceremonial purposes, and is moving toward a goal of greater access and accommodation” (Management Policies 2001:8.9:96). It states that the NPS supports studies that attempt to

understand the ceremonial and traditional resource management practices of Native American tribes...
and traditional uses by groups with demonstrated ties to particular natural resources of parks. (Management Policies 2001:4.2.1)

In summary, federal regulations do support limited collection of plant material for personal consumption, but not for traditional purposes unless authorized by treaties or federal laws. Of the two germane treaties, the Navajo treaty seems to be silent, while the Ute treaty seems to suggest that such rights might have been extinguished by agreement. But: what about the doctrine of reserved rights?6 If the treaties do not explicitly mention resources, are rights to their use reserved? Enabling legislation pertaining to the park does not specifically prohibit plant collection, but does declare that unauthorized removal of park property is illegal. Management Policies for the NPS, on the other hand, recognize that policy is evolving in this area and that Indian tribes, as
first stewards of the land, have religious and cultural ties to the resources the NPS manages, and that these resources once supported cultural practices and continue to do so.

Mediating this seeming paradox are provisions in both federal regulations (36CFR2.1.d) and in Management Policies that allow for the collection of plant materials if the actions help us to understand traditional use by tribes without adversely impacting those resources.

The Service will encourage appropriately reviewed natural resource studies when such studies...support the NPS mission by providing the Service....with an understanding of park resources, processes, values, and uses that will be cumulative and constantly refined. This approach will provide a scientific and scholarly basis for park planning, development, operations, management, education, and interpretive activities. (Management Policies 2001:4.2:30)

In fact, guidelines for the management of cultural resources in parks (Cultural Resource Management Guideline 1997:166) identify the "traditional use study" as the vehicle by which traditional resource use and management regimes are described and analyzed. Such a study enables a park to assess effects and reach culturally informed decisions about appropriate use and protection. Two other vehicles exist. One is the research permitting process and the other is an agreement document. In all cases, impacts to resources are evaluated.

Interest in Minerals at Capitol Reef National Park

A Navajo consultant provided information that his ancestors collected minerals in the vicinity for sand painting. Another Navajo representative inquired about the ability to collect some colored sandstone from the park.

Authorities Pertaining to Mineral Collection

Federal regulations (36CFR2.1) prohibit the taking, use, or possession of minerals (in addition to wildlife and plants). Where the purpose is for ceremonial or religious reasons, authorization is required from federal law or through treaty rights (36CFR2.1.d)). As discussed above, the analysis of treaty rights is a complicated matter best left to experts in Indian law. But, as with plant collecting, an initial reading reveals that an explicit authority for mineral collection does not exist.

The enabling legislation for the park is silent about mineral collection. Subsequent legislation (Public Law 92-207) and proclamations (Nos. 2246; 3249; and 3888), however, prohibit unauthorized removal of any park features. Minerals, as well as plants and animals, may constitute park features. A review of the Congressional Record would determine whether they do.

The Superintendent's Compendium for Capitol Reef (Release No. 2, May 2001) allows limited collection of certain items, but rocks containing minerals used for traditional purposes are not among them (Section 2.1 (c)(t)). However, mirroring federal regulations, the Compendium does state that materials such as minerals may be collected for the purpose of scientific research, baseline inventories, impact analysis, monitoring, and other purposes (Compendium 2.5(a)). In these instances, a permit for specimen collection is issued.

As with plant collecting, provisions in both federal regulations (36CFR2.2) and in Management Policies (2001:4.2:30) allow for mineral collection if the action helps us to understand traditional use by tribes without adversely affecting resources. The National Park Service prescribes the traditional use study as the means for making such a determination. Research permitting and agreement documents are other avenues for doing so.

3 It is important to note that many factors are considered when interpreting Indian treaties. For example, the "canons of construction" call for treaties to be interpreted to the benefit of tribes. Also considered is the special "trust responsibility" relationship of the United States with Indian tribes. This relationship implies moral and legal duties, "as well as a partnership agreement to insure that Indian tribes have available to them the tools and resources to survive as distinct political and cultural groups" (Puyallup Tribe v. Washington Department of Game in Pever 1992:31). Other considerations include "reserved rights," as well as the definition of what constitutes "unoccupied lands." It is not the intent to legally interpret provisions of treaties mentioned here or elsewhere in this chapter, nor is it appropriate to do so. A legal analysis of tribal use and access rights should always be conducted by an attorney with expertise in Indian law. The intent, rather, is to simply lay out what the 1868 treaty with the Ute and Navajo does say with respect to their use of lands outside the designated reservations.

4 All of the associated tribes harvested pinyon nuts in the past and continue to do so. However, none relayed that their ancestors collected nuts inside the current park boundary. Paiute and Ute peoples collected them all around the park, to the east in the Henry Mountains, to the west on Boulter Mountain and the Awapa Plateau or Parker Mountain, and to the north and west on Fishlake Hightop Plateau. During visits to the park, representatives from the Hopi Tribe, Navajo Nation, and the Pueblo of Zuni talked about historical and contemporary uses of the pine nuts. The Zuni did in fact gather some at Lampstand Ruin on the BLM-administered Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. Given that the park is comprised of 55% pinyon-Juniper forest, a strong possibility exists that the ancestors of these contemporary tribes, who once inhabited what is now the park, likely collected pinyon nuts there.

5 Paiute and Ute people gleaned, as well as traded for, fruit from the park's orchards. Some Navajo, too, made a practice of obtaining fruit there and continue to do so. Refer to chapters 3 and 4.

6 Early Supreme Court cases clarified treaties and, in the process, defined how they should be interpreted, often referred to as the "canons of construction." The reserved rights doctrine refers to tribal rights, including rights to land and to self-governance, as those "not granted to the tribe by the United States. Rather, under the reserved rights doctrine, tribes retained ("reserved") such rights as part of their status as prior and continuing sovereigns" (American Indian Resources Institute 1988:6). At various times, tribes have asserted that hunting and water, among others, constitute reserved rights.
**Historical Hunting in Capitol Reef National Park**

Traditional Navajo from Navajo Mountain Chapter House indicate they have, in the past, hunted mature buck in the Waterpocket Fold, but do not continue to hunt there. However, it is not known whether representatives from other chapter houses hunt in the Fold. Notably traditional Navajo have not asked to hunt within park boundaries.

**Authorities Pertaining to Hunting**

Still, the possibility exists for such a request to be made by any of the park's associated tribes. It seems worthwhile, therefore, to refer to some of the principle authorities that address the issue of hunting by American Indians on park lands, particularly Capitol Reef National Park.

Federal regulations (36CFR2.2) prohibit the hunting of wildlife in park areas. The regulations (36CFR 2.1) also state that "the taking, use or possession of fish, [and] wildlife" for ceremonial or religious purposes is prohibited unless authorized by federal law or treaty rights.

Legislation establishing and enlarging what is now Capitol Reef National Park did not specifically address hunting within park boundaries. But the legislative actions do state that appropriating, injuring, or removing "any feature" is prohibited by unauthorized persons. Again, the *Congressional Record* should be consulted regarding the legislative intent.

The treaty with the Ute seems to indicate that "all rights," including, by implication, hunting, are relinquished. But: are reserved rights a consideration or were they, too, extinguished? In the 1868 treaty with the Navajo (Appendix 5-A), Article 9, it specifically states

> In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy any territory outside their reservation, as herein defined, but retain the right to hunt on any unoccupied lands contiguous to their reservation, so long as the large game may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase...

Obviously Capitol Reef National Park does not lay contiguous with the Navajo reservation. It does, however, lay adjacent to Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and to land managed by the Bureau of Land Management. Also, what is meant by "unoccupied"?

The Superintendent's Compendium for Capitol Reef National Park assumes hunting is not allowed in the park (for example, refer to section 1.5(a)(2) on "Use Limits, Conditions, Restrictions" and section 2.2 on "Wildlife Protection"). This assumption points to the higher authority of the federal regulations (36CFR1.1 and 2.1) which identifies the purpose of the NPS as protection of natural as well as cultural resources and prohibits the taking of wildlife unless otherwise specified. Exceptions are not itemized in the Compendium.

Further, the collecting of antlers, feathers, or other animal parts is prohibited (1.5(a)(2)).

Generally, all authorities — legislation, treaties, federal regulations, as well as the superintendent's compendium — point to the prohibition of hunting within the boundaries of Capitol Reef National Park. Authorities are, however, subject to interpretation based on historical, legal, cultural, as well as political considerations.

**Fishing Within Capitol Reef National Park Boundaries**

To date, no archeological or faunal evidence of fishing within the park has been documented, although archeological sites from various time periods are located on water corridors within the park. However, bone fish hooks of unknown provenience from the Pectol Collection suggest that some person of Native American ancestry was fishing in the vicinity, if not in the park. Evidence from documentary sources and from interviews with descendents of pioneers reveals that ancestors to the Paiute and Ute peoples were fishing at drainages on the perimeter of and that enter present-day Capitol Reef (refer to Chapter 3). If native trout were harvested outside the contemporary boundary of the park, Indians were likely to have harvested them on creeks and rivers inside the Waterpocket Fold. To date, no tribe has requested to fish within the park.

**Authorities Pertaining to Fishing**

Still, it is worth examining the various authorities that speak to or are silent on the issue of fishing in Capitol Reef National Park. Federal regulations (36CFR2.1) prohibit disturbing, possessing or removing living or dead wildlife or fish. However, regulations (2.3) do allow for fishing in designated areas and it must be in accord with state laws and regulations. Under federal regulations, Capitol Reef National Park is not listed as one of the identified park areas where fishing is permitted. As with plants and other wildlife, taking them for ceremonial or religious purposes is allowable only if authorized by statute or treaty.

The Navajo and Ute treaties of 1868 are silent on the matter of fishing. However, as mentioned earlier, a host of factors are considered when interpreting treaties for traditional use and access. An analysis of these is not possible or appropriate here.
Federal proclamations and statutes related to the legal history of Capitol Reef refer to the inappropriate removal of features unless authorized. Specific reference to fishing is not included. However, the Congressional Record may have more detailed information.

The Superintendent’s Compendium for Capitol Reef National Park also is silent about fishing. While provisions exist (15(a)(2) that prohibit attracting or disturbing wildlife, fishing is not specifically mentioned. It must be remembered, however, that the Compendium is supplementary to the federal regulations and the regulations are explicit that fishing is prohibited except in designated areas or otherwise provided for. No exceptional provisions in 36CFR exist to allow fishing inside Capitol Reef National Park.

**Potential Adverse Impact to Cairns as Shrines**

As discussed earlier, cairns can represent shrines, or revered places of offering, to the Zuni, the Hopi, and the Navajo. The ancestors to contemporary Zuni established cairn-like shrines as they migrated north of the Colorado River. The location of stone features near encampments varies, as does their configuration. The Hopi tell us their ancestors established rock shrines at the Waterpocket Fold, as would have been their custom. These were used for ceremonial purposes. While none were positively identified, at least one was suspected. Both the Zuni and Hopi consultants said they would need more time at sites to make positive identifications. Certain of their existence, both groups continue to remember these features in ceremonies back home. They do not need to know exact locations in order to acknowledge them in prayers. For the Hopi and the Navajo, they also can be navigational markers, but that does not lessen the reverence they show toward them. Even as navigational markers, they are places of offering.

Knowledge about these constructed stone features, for example the form they take and their location in proximity to habitation sites as well as information about their use and treatment, is esoteric knowledge and inappropriate for the public to know. This becomes problematic for park resource managers for at least two reasons. Archeologists who are tasked with finding and documenting cultural sites on park land in order to protect them can fail to locate these significant sites. If construction is planned where shrines or navigational markers exist, they have the potential to be destroyed.

In order to mitigate this potential adverse effect, the Pueblo of Zuni suggests that representatives of the Pueblo accompany archeologists during survey so that they can identify such sites. Or, at the very least, be consulted prior to conducting the survey.

Another problem may occur. Well-intentioned rangers, other staff, and even visitors at Capitol Reef National Park routinely disassemble cairns. Experience has taught park staff that visitors also create cairns as markers to indicate off-trail hiking routes or the presence of something — often archeological sites — to which they wish to call attention, or relocate on another visit. Unknowingly all of these individuals may dismantle a cairn that has some religious significance to the Zuni, Hopi, and the Navajo. To avoid this situation, tribal representatives suggest that park staff contact the archeologist before disrupting a cairn that has a potential to be a shrine. If necessary, the archeologist can contact representatives from these tribes for further information or advice. Unfortunately, this is not the singular problem of Capitol Reef, but of all parks and national monuments in the Colorado Plateau and Desert Southwest, if not the Rocky Mountains.

7 Some exceptions exist. For example, the enabling legislation of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area permits hunting within its jurisdiction. However, it is conducted in accordance with the game laws of the state of Utah.

8 For example, the general opposition to hunting in national parks seems to work against accommodation for Indian tribes.
With the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), the federal government declared a national policy to preserve tangible symbols of this country’s diverse heritage. The Act reaffirmed heritage resources and places as potent symbols of national identity, which are “being lost or substantially altered, often inadvertently, with increasing frequency” (NHPA (b)(3)). For example, the last case study discussed above pointed to the potential inadvertent loss of shrines important to associated tribes. The National Historic Preservation Act also recognizes that historical resources and places are not only the “foundation of the Nation,” but are “living parts of community life” (NHPA (b)(2)). For example, the foregoing section referenced resources and places of on-going significance to Capitol Reef’s associated tribes.

The NPS gives the label “ethnographic resources” to natural and cultural resources, objects, and landscapes assigned significance in the cultural system of a group traditionally associated with them. That is, groups are considered “traditional” if the relationship with park land spans two or more generations, and their interest in the park’s resources began prior to the park’s establishment (2001 Management Policies: 5.3.5.3). When this is the case, park real estate becomes closely linked with the community’s identity, sense of purpose, and existence. It supported and may continue to support ceremonial activity. The landscape may contain historical migration routes or places where significant historical events took place, even places having to do with the origin or ethnogenesis of the group. The park land may have been the location of historical collecting and hunting. Collection may still continue while remaining unknown to park staff.

Some ethnographic resources are significant enough that they may be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places as “traditional cultural properties” (TCP). Significance emanates from their link with the cultural practices or beliefs of a living community. These special ethnographic resources must be tangible, rooted in that community’s history, and important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community. So, the cultural significance of such places lies simultaneously in the past and the present. The NHPA was the first piece of legislation that recognized tangible resources for their importance to Indian tribes. Identifying them occurs in concert with tribal people. It also provides the option, if tribes’ wish and if the properties meet the NHPA criteria, to list the property on the National Register.

One of the primary purposes of this ethnographic overview and assessment is to identify ethnographic resources (refer to the tables at the end of the chapters) and to describe those of special significance, whether or
not they are evaluated as eligible and nominated to the National Register. A documentary overview and consultation with associated tribes were the means by which this information was obtained. In all cases, it was from initial interviews with representatives of the Zuni, Hopi, Navajo, Paiute, and Ute that the special significance of some of the park features, natural and cultural, came into relief. In all but one case, this knowledge was not revealed in a review of literature or archaeology pertaining to the park. These special resources and places are briefly discussed below.

Cairns as Shrines Associated with the Waterpocket Fold

For the Zuni, as well as the Hopi, religious shrines that were constructed and blessed long ago retain cultural and spiritual significance. While pilgrimages can be made to some shrines and for others that is not possible, all are remembered in contemporary religious activities (Ferguson and Anyon 2001). The same can be said for trails, encampments or villages, burials, and other features left by ancestors. Though visitation is not made to places in Capitol Reef, they are still used as teaching devices, and in ceremonies of remembrance, and blessing (Ferguson and Anyon 2001). Essentially, then, the Hopi Tribe and the Pueblo of Zuni consider all archeological sites significant enough to be placed on the National Register.

Cairns, Echoes, Stone Images, and the Waterpocket Fold Landscape

Traditional Navajo, too, identified certain features of the Waterpocket Fold as having special significance. These places include cairns, which are shrines, places of echoes, and places where images can be seen in the rock. They are places that life forces inhabit. But, it must be remembered that such spirits exist everywhere in the landscape. So, for the Navajo, too, the area north of the Colorado River becomes a sacred landscape for the life-giving properties of the animals and plants.

Feature in the Fold and the Entire Fold

Among the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, two individuals, independent of one another, hinted at something so significant associated with the Waterpocket Fold that it is referred to as “sacred” by both of them. The literature review did not reveal this information and indicates why consultation is critical in identifying ethnographic resources. An elder from the Cedar Band, who was raised in part by a knowledgeable Koosharem elder, relayed that it is a healing rock contained within the Waterpocket Fold. The other, from the Kanosh Band, referred to it only as a “sacred connection with the Capitol Reef.” Though asked, he would not provide additional information to the National Park Service.

The Cultural Landscapes of the Waterpocket Fold

For the Zuni and Hopi, the entire landscape, including — but not limited to — shrines becomes culturally and spiritually significant. Any place where their ancestors lived, died, and were buried — where they left tangible evidence of their migratory journey — is a cultural landscape to the Zuni and Hopi. This landscape contains all of the markers that pay homage to a “domain of stewardship” (Ferguson and Anyon 2001:109). Such a landscape verifies the past as they have come to know it through the oral tradition. Tribal members form an emotional and spiritual connection to the collective resources and places that form this heritage landscape (Ferguson and Anyon 2001).

Some Discussion about a Potential Traditional Cultural Property

None of those interviewed among associated tribes requested that the properties described above be evaluated as traditional cultural properties or as potential National Register properties. However, some discussion in the presence of park staff has occurred among the Hopi about whether GA1443 (Figure 5-3) ought to be considered a TCP. This site consists of three large panels of petroglyphs, with a wealth of information about the lifeways of their Puebloan ancestors. At this point in time, however, the Hopi Tribe has not made a specific request of Capitol Reef National Park to treat this property differently. However, the park could initiate this action on its own.

9 The National Register of Historic Places is a comprehensive list of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects of national, regional, state, and local significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture kept by the NPS under the authority of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.
Figure 5.3
Overview of GA1443, a series of petroglyph panels along the Burr Trail within Capitol Reef National Park. Chris Smith photo.
Some Final Words

So what has this report accomplished on behalf of the agency's mandate to identify ethnographic resources in Capitol Reef National Park in order to preserve them; enable their continuing role in the preservation of cultural traditions; and to educate the visiting public about tribal heritage? Remember that these objectives make it possible to achieve the legal mandate of the National Historic Preservation Act to preserve the nation's "irreplaceable heritage," for indigenous people as well. Tribes share the preservation mission of the NPS; they, too, want to ensure the existence of ethnographic resources so that the beliefs and practices can continue that make them culturally distinct and that are associated with the ethnographic resources.

To understand the significance of what has been achieved by this study, consider what was known about associated tribes before tribal consultation and ethnographic work was initiated in 1993. At that time, the NPS knew only that Puebloan-style (Fremont and Anasazi) archeological sites at Capitol Reef held significance for some tribes. Park managers knew that the Hopi claimed affiliation with such sites, but did not understand why or suspect the meaning those sites possess for the Hopi. From environmental compliance work on the Burr Trail, which transects Capitol Reef, the NPS gradually ascertained that other tribes (generally the Navajo, Paiute, and Ute) claimed an historical relationship with the Fold, but continued to lack the details of their associations. Compare the paucity of knowledge to the body of new information that is summarized below.

**Ethnographic Resources Identified**

This study resulted in the identification of, at minimum, 229 ethnographic resources. Of this total, 169 are Formative Period archeological sites and one is a Late Prehistoric, possibly Navajo, archeological site. The Hopi categorically claim as ancestral those Formative Period sites documented during archeological survey. While the NPS is already mandated to identify archeological resources, consultation can result in classification of sites as ethnographic resources. Any management activities pertaining to these sites, as well as other Late Prehistoric sites that have the potential to be associated with the Ute and Southern Paiute as well as the Navajo, should be done in consultation with the appropriate tribes.

Other archeologically-related ethnographic resources include the three artifacts referred to as the

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10 Ethnographic resources are the cultural and natural features of a park that are of traditional significance to American Indian tribes (National Park Service 2001:57).

11 The number of culturally affiliated archeological sites was obtained from Brigham Young University's Office of Public Archaeology, which recently completed an archeological inventory of Capitol Reef National Park.
“Beliefs, as much as the need for survival, create archeological sites. Consultation, which encompasses individual and cultural understandings...complements and humanizes archeological and ecological studies. Used together, a fuller-bodied, less one-dimensional knowledge of the human past results.”
Capitol Reef Shields, and as many as three Native American trails across the Waterpocket Fold. These include the:

- Black Hawk Trail;
- Chimney Rock Canyon Trail; and
- Kaiparowits trails.

The remaining 53 ethnographic resources fall into the category of natural resources. These include plants, animals, minerals, echo places, stone images, and landscapes.

- At least 30 traditionally used plant types were identified including a variety of seed grasses, cacti, berries, and fruit;
- Some 14 animal genera were identified as ethnographic resources. These include various species of native fish, rabbits and hares, and ducks;
- Tribal groups identified at least four mineral types that could have been used by their ancestors in the Fold environment. These include pigment used in body painting, sandstone and white clay used in ceremonial sandpainting, and crystals used by medicine societies. Stone used for the making of tools was not specifically mentioned by tribal consultants;
- A large rock in the Waterpocket Fold with the ability to heal those ancestors of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah who came to it;
- The Navajo identified one place where echoes could be heard;
- They identified two places where images could be seen in the sandstone; and
- All tribes identified the landscape of the Waterpocket Fold and the landscapes encompassing the Fold as a place of significance to their cultural heritage. Two native names, in Numic and Navajo, exist for the Waterpocket Fold.

**Potential Ethnographic Resources**

Another 110 plants, animals, minerals, archeological sites, and trails are considered to have potential ethnographic value to consulting tribes. For example, the Pueblo of Zuni conveyed that their very earliest hunting and gathering ancestors might have traveled into the Capitol Reef environment during the Paleoindian and Archaic periods. Consequently the Zuni might claim affiliation with any discovered Paleoindian sites and the 96 documented Archaic Period sites in the park.

Likewise, data summarized in the chapter on Paiute and Ute associations with Capitol Reef suggest that their ancestors might have procured certain plants, animals, and minerals inside current park boundaries. These potential ethnographic resources include:

- Berries;
- Fish;
- Pinyon or pine nuts;
- Rabbitbrush;
- Sagebrush;
- Willow
- Buffalo;
- Juniper;
- Pigment for body painting;
- Rhubarb (wild);
- Sego-lily;
- Stone to make tools found in quarries; and

Finally, the potential exists that the Bear’s Ear Variant of the Spanish Trail and the Burr Trail may have been blazed if not used by native peoples.

**The Value of New and Inclusive Histories**

Primarily through consultation, staff at Capitol Reef National Park received a rare opportunity to learn the previously unrecorded, multi-faceted, sometimes ancient histories and symbolism attached to park plants and animals, artifacts and archeological sites. While a study of archeology at the park can relay ecological understandings of how native peoples survived in and adapted to the environment, consultation with associated tribes opens up worlds of meaning that humans through time invest in a landscape. As much as adaptation influences actions, so, too, do humans' understanding of their destinies or compacts with their deities. Beliefs, as much as the need for survival, create archeological sites. Consultation, which encompasses individual and cultural understandings of spiritual, social, and ethical responsibilities and behaviors complements and humanizes archeological and ecological studies. Used together, a fuller-bodied, less one-dimensional knowledge of the human past results. Simultaneously, it helps us conceptualize the contemporary and on-going significance of park places to American Indians. Too often, Native Americans have been portrayed as merely part of archeology and history — if not otherwise omitted from a presence — and rarely as active players whose heritage preservation is a major responsibility of national park operations.

For example, through consultation with the Pueblo of Zuni, we learned about an epic saga of emergence and millennia-long migrations. The migrations began when their ancestors were hunters and gatherers as early as the Paleoindian and into the Archaic periods. One of the Zuni medicine societies headed north,
potentially into Utah and the Capitol Reef environment. In so doing, ancestors blazed trails and created camping sites that became today's archeological sites. Members of this society used plants, animals, and minerals to aid them in survival. They scried images on rocks as maps and for other purposes. When the Zuni consultants came to Capitol Reef National Park they had never seen it before. Yet, when consultants saw deposits of crystals (though outside the park boundaries) of ceremonial significance to this medicine society, as well as ancient symbols of trails etched on rock, these tangibles assumed a world of meaning. They acted to confirm the historical narratives stored in memories, transmitted orally through hundreds of generations, which suddenly became reinvigorated once they arrived at Capitol Reef. Simultaneously, the National Park Service (as well as the state of Utah) became aware of a potential chapter in its well-aged history, which includes 96 archeological sites of Archaic Period heritage. Any sites dated to this timeframe within the park or on adjacent lands could have been those of their ancestors.

The Hopi Tribe shares a common history with the Pueblo of Zuni. They too, emerged and began thousands of years of migrations. However, their history with Capitol Reef starts with their ancestors who were farmers, thousands of years later than when Zuni ancestors might have inhabited the landscape. Like the Zuni, contemporary members of Hopi came to Capitol Reef with pre-existing knowledge of the symbol system their ancestors left on rock faces. Though they had never been to Capitol Reef, they immediately recognized these ancient symbols, began reading the rocks, and conveyed to the Park Service yet another saga. The image of the deity who directed them to farm, to conduct rounds of migrations, and to leave (archeological) evidence of their stay was etched at numerous sites within the park. Where this deity is portrayed, farming took place at the site. They saw icons of their clans on rocks that affirmed their pact, their chosen vocation, as well as conveyed the histories of those clans. Other symbols told about local agriculture, provided maps of the region, and formed portions of altars for various ceremonies.

Ancestral Hopi beliefs essentially represented a religious revolution spread by migrant farmers. These beliefs as much constructed Formative sites at Capitol Reef, as did the needs of daily living. They explain why elsewhere, at places such as Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, we see a conscious process of re-occupation and remodeling residences (McFadden 1997:94'-95). Clans were directed to stay temporarily then continue migrating. The Park Service, in turn, came to have a fuller appreciation of why these farmers came to and stayed in the region. That knowledge, encoded in writing on rocks, was deciphered through consultation with the elders of the Hopi Tribe. The Hopi Tribe relayed to us that it was their ancestors who created the farming sites within the Fold, that is, they had a role in making and using all Anasazi- and Fremont-style sites. Formative Period sites were identified in archeological survey.

The background knowledge gained through interviews with contemporary Paiute and Ute about the Capitol Reef environment, combined with fragments from historical records, reveals not an epic involving spiritual mandates, but humans' relationships with one another, as much as with the environment where they made their living. Collectively the evidence helped us move beyond a one-dimensional view of Numic-speaking ancestors as food seekers. What came into relief was a sense of the camaraderie of families locally and regionally. We get glimpses of spring celebrations, trading rendezvous, as well as the traffic across the Fold to other enclaves to join in social gatherings or grieve deaths. We learned that while early pioneers' view of the Fold as a barrier was true for them, for Numic-speaking ancestors the Fold contained corridors for travel replete with water. Blending sources of evidence also helped us to see how resilient ancestral Paiute and Ute were in coping with oppressive colonizing forces. A glimmer of the spiritual beliefs was revealed in the reference to the Waterpocket Fold as containing a special rock that was bequeathed by a patron spirit and was a place of renewal for those who knew its location.

For traditional Navajo traveling to the land across the Colorado River that includes Capitol Reef, all of the plants, animals, rocks, and other places are imbued with life forces that protect, yield food, heal, and provide for the well-being of the travelers, their families, and livestock back home. These beliefs about the land to the north affect the actions of individual Navajo when they cross the Colorado River and as they continue to travel through the landscape until they return home. Certain etiquette is required, which means the creation of certain types of archeological sites. Navajo elders also relayed over 300 years of history with the study area when all we had heard was anecdotal stories of horsemen traveling through the park when the settlers lived there in the late nineteenth century. Oral accounts pertaining to the Capitol Reef shields in tandem with radiocarbon dating of the shields suggest Navajo ancestors were here as early as circa 1500 or the sixteenth century. Oral tradition alone hints at an even earlier occupation, perhaps as early as the fifteenth century. This traditional knowledge, new to Capitol Reef (if not the state of Utah), represents opportunities for archeological investigation. Historical events such as the Pueblo Revolt in the 16th, the Spanish Entrada into Utah shortly after, and the Kit Carson roundup at mid-nineteenth century may have resulted in the Capitol Reef region
becoming a place of refuge. Indeed, the triangulation of archeological evidence associated with a cribbed log structure and Navajo oral tradition about that structure may be evidence that the Navajo occupied Capitol Reef at mid-nineteenth century. Although not certain when, the area became a customary place to gather plants and minerals, and to hunt. Interviews with early LDS pioneers confirm the presence of the Navajo in the late nineteenth century. Their experience of the Navajo was as traders who came across the Colorado River for horses and commodities. What was missing from pioneer understanding, however, was that Navajo also came to the Capitol Reef area to conduct their traditional hunt. Nor did the settlers have an appreciation for how Navajo viewed the entirety of the landscape across the Colorado River. This is knowledge that could only be obtained through consultation.

The tribes discussed in this report all have histories with the Waterpocket Fold before it became land administered by the National Park Service. The NPS is really a new-kid-on-the-block in terms of residency. Tribal histories with this environment literally span at least 10,000 years and are continuous into the early twentieth century. Park Service administration, by contrast, encompasses approximately 70 years. And while Indians do not interact with the land the way they did in the past, what remains are the tangible resources, places, and landscapes that are linked with their cultures, including their histories, and that have been documented in and paid homage to with this report. What also remains, but can be inadvertently overlooked, are the multiple tribal "cultural processes of memory and history to renew the links with [these tangible] places [that have been] forgotten, irregularly visited, or occupied by other groups" (Ferguson and Anyon 2001:104). In the schema of human association with the Fold, the National Park Service has become the most recent occupant in a long and distinguished lineage of homesteaders. When juxtaposed with the historical, legal, and environmental construction of the Waterpocket Fold as a vacant wilderness and as a barrier, this represents a daunting perspective — as well as a significant, yet challenging, management responsibility. Institutionalizing Native American heritage and perspectives is not to be ignored or taken lightly. While painstaking and sometimes tedious as all changes to the status quo are, it is nevertheless a national mandate with a plethora of rewards to be realized by those tenacious enough to engage the process.
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1938
1941
1974
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W.H.S.M.

Widdison, Jerold, editor

Will, Ed

Wolf, Eric
Wolerton, E.T.

Wood, Dyman S.

Wooley, F.B.

Young, M. Jane

Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team
1997  Transcript of meeting, September 17, Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico.
<table>
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<th>INDIVIDUALS OR ENTITY</th>
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<th>DATE</th>
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<td>Vera Charles (Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah)</td>
<td>Cedar City, Utah</td>
<td>December 18, 1996</td>
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<tr>
<td>Golden, Keith, and Esther Durfey</td>
<td>Notom, Utah</td>
<td>October 20, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dee and Berneal Hatch</td>
<td>Loa, Utah</td>
<td>December 22, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rulon Hunt</td>
<td>Torrey, Utah</td>
<td>December 24, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry and Shirley Jackson</td>
<td>Fremont, Utah</td>
<td>December 22, 1996</td>
</tr>
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<td>Clifford Jake (Indian Peaks Band of the Paiute Indian Tribes of Utah) and Yetta Jake (Shiwits Band of the Paiute Indian Tribes of Utah)</td>
<td>Cedar City, Utah</td>
<td>September 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo Manheimer (Navajo Mountain Chapter House, Navajo Nation)</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain, Utah</td>
<td>October 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorothy (Dottie) Mulford</td>
<td>Torrey, Utah</td>
<td>December 22, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck Navajo (Navajo Mountain Chapter House Navajo Nation)</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain, Utah</td>
<td>October 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph &quot;Red Cloud&quot; Pikyatit (Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah)</td>
<td>Joseph, Utah</td>
<td>September 24, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max Robinson</td>
<td>Richfield, Utah</td>
<td>December 21, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fremon Sorenson</td>
<td>Lyman, Utah</td>
<td>September 25, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eunice Surveyor (Shiwits Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah)</td>
<td>Ivins, Utah</td>
<td>September 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Timcan (Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah)</td>
<td>Richfield, Utah</td>
<td>October 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team</td>
<td>Zuni, New Mexico</td>
<td>September 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1-A-1
From left to right, Keith, Golden, (now deceased) and Esther Durfee at their home in Notom, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.

Figure 1-A-2
Dee and Berneal Hatch at their home in Loa, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.

Figure 1-A-3
Rulon Hunt, now deceased, at his home in Torrey, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.

Figure 1-A-4
Perry and Shirley Jackson at their home in Fremont, Utah. Rosemary Sucec photo.
Figure 1-A-5

Yetta and Clifford Jake at their home in Cedar City, Utah.
Figure 1-A-6
Dorothy (Dottie) Mulford, now deceased, at her home in Torrey, Utah.

Figure 1-A-7
Max Robinson with his wife and their furry companion at their home in Richfield, Utah.

Figure 1-A-8
Fremon Sorenson (now deceased) in front of the carousel he made at his home in Lyman, Utah.

Figure 1-A-9
Eunice Surveyor at her home in Ivins, Utah.
### Appendix I-B

**Hopi Tribe**

Representatives that Consulted with

*Capitol Reef National Park*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSULTANT</th>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>DATE/PROJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bradley Balenquah</td>
<td>Rattlesnake Clan</td>
<td>November 17–18, 1997 (Ethnographic Overview and Assessment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leslie David</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>November 17–18, 1997 (Ethnographic Overview and Assessment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leland Dennis</td>
<td>Sun Forehead</td>
<td>May 27–28, 1996 (Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program — South District)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Hamana</td>
<td>Greasewood</td>
<td>November 1997 (Ethnographic Overview and Assessment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay Hamilton</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>May 20–21, 1996 (SAIP — Paradise Flats); November 17–18, 1997 (Ethnographic Overview and Assessment); December 2, 1997 (Glen Canyon Hall's Crossing Project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronald Humeyestewa</td>
<td>Bear</td>
<td>May 24, 1994 (Garkane Power Project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valjean Joshevama</td>
<td>Sun/Eagle</td>
<td>April 27, 1993 (Burr Trail Consultation Project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merwin Kooyahoema</td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>April 27, 1993 (Burr Trail Consultation Project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton Kooyahoema</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>November 17–18, 1997 (Ethnographic Overview and Assessment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrose Namoki Sr.</td>
<td>Sun Forehead</td>
<td>May 24, 1994 (Garkane Power Project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen Numkena Jr.</td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>May 24, 1994 (Garkane Power Project); May 27–28, 1996 (SAIP — South District)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric Polingyouma</td>
<td>Bluebird</td>
<td>April 27, 1993 (Burr Trail Consultation Project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold Polingyumptewa</td>
<td>Sand</td>
<td>May 24, 1994 (Garkane Power Project)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalton Taylor</td>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>May 20–21, 1997 (SAIP — Paradise Flats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byron Tyma</td>
<td>Bearstrap</td>
<td>May 27–28, 1996 (SAIP — South District)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlan Williams</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>May 27–28, 1996 (SAIP — South District)</td>
</tr>
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The Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) provides for the survey of national park lands. The Office of Public Archaeology at Brigham Young University conducted a four-year, parkwide survey at Capitol Reef National Park. About 10 percent of the park was surveyed with over 600 sites documented (Lee Kreutzer, park archeologist, personal communication, 2000).
Figure 1-B-2

Figure 1-B-3
Walter Hamana, Hopi Tribe.

Figure 1-B-4
Wilton Kooyahoema, Hopi Tribe.
### Appendix I-B

#### Navajo Nation

*Representatives that Consulted with Capitol Reef National Park*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSULTANT</th>
<th>CHAPTER HOUSE</th>
<th>CLAN</th>
<th>PROJECT/DATE</th>
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<tr>
<td>Don Atene</td>
<td>Ojato</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Burr Trail, May 6, 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kit C. Atene</td>
<td>Ojato</td>
<td>Red House</td>
<td>Visitation to sites within Capitol Reef National Park as part of documentation for the ethnographic overview and assessment, October 20, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy Atene Sr.</td>
<td>Ojato</td>
<td>Red House</td>
<td>Burr Trail, May 6, 1993; Capitol Reef National Park visitation to sites, viewing of exhibits, and photographs of the Pectol Shields as part of documentation for the ethnographic overview and assessment, August 20, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Eltsosie</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Burr Trail, May 6, 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie Holgate</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Burr Trail, May 6, 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo Manheimer</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Interviewed to determine Navajo affiliation with Capitol Reef National Park, October 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buck Navajo</td>
<td>Navajo Mountain</td>
<td>Salt Mountain</td>
<td>Interviewed to determine Navajo affiliation with Capitol Reef National Park, October 17, 1997; Capitol Reef National Park visitation to sites, viewing of exhibits, and photographs of the Pectol Shields as part of documentation for the ethnographic overview and assessment, August 20, 1999</td>
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Figure 1-B-5
From left to right, back row: Jack Eltsosie (Navajo Mountain Chapter House); Dave Ruppert, cultural anthropologist, Intermountain Region of the National Park Service; Lee Kreutzer, former archeologist, Capitol Reef National Park; and Pauline Wilson, tribal liaison, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. From left to right, front row: Kit C. Atene (Ojato Chapter House); Jamie Holgate (Navajo Mountain Chapter House); Roy Atene Sr. (Ojato Chapter House); and Don Atene (Ojato Chapter House).

Figure 1-B-6
Buck Navajo in Cathedral Valley at Capitol Reef National Park.
# Appendix I-B

## Paiute and Ute

<table>
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<th>Consultant</th>
<th>Tribe/Band</th>
<th>Date/Project</th>
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<tr>
<td>Frances Ankerpont</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe Consultation Trip to Capitol Reef National Park, September 19-21, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vera Charles</td>
<td>Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah</td>
<td>Burr Trail 1993; Paiute/Ute Consultation at Capitol Reef National Park, October 15, 1997; Interviewed September 23, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betsy Chappoose</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe</td>
<td>Paiute/Ute Consultation at Capitol Reef National Park, October 15, 1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Colorow</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe</td>
<td>Public Relations Representative for the Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe Consultation Trip to Capitol Reef National Park, September 19-21, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene Cuch</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe</td>
<td>Director, Senior Citizen’s Center, Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe Consultation Trip to Capitol Reef National Park, September 19-21, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford Duncan</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe</td>
<td>Paiute/Ute Consultation at Capitol Reef National Park, October 15, 1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clifford Jake</td>
<td>Indian Peaks Band of the Paiute Tribe of Utah</td>
<td>Interviewed September 15, 1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lucille Jake</td>
<td>Kaibab Paiute Tribe</td>
<td>Burr Trail 1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vivienne Jake</td>
<td>Kaibab Paiute Tribe</td>
<td>Burr Trail 1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yetta Jake</td>
<td>Shivwits Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah</td>
<td>Interviewed September 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry Knight</td>
<td>Ute Mountain Ute</td>
<td>Paiute/Ute Consultation at Capitol Reef National Park, October 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Johnson</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe Consultation Trip to Capitol Reef National Park, September 19-21, 1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elaine Lee</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe Consultation Trip to Capitol Reef National Park, September 19-21, 1997</td>
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<td>CONSULTANT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grace Lehi</td>
<td>San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe</td>
<td>Burr Trail 1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johnny Lehi</td>
<td>San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe</td>
<td>Burr Trail 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loujeanne Little</td>
<td>Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah</td>
<td>Burr Trail 1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>McKay Pikyavit</td>
<td>Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah</td>
<td>Burr Trail 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph &quot;Red Cloud&quot; Pikyavit</td>
<td>Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah</td>
<td>Paiute/Ute Consultation at Capitol Reef National Park, October 15, 1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loretta Posey</td>
<td>White Mesa Ute</td>
<td>Burr Trail 1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Reed</td>
<td>Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe</td>
<td>Driver for the Uintah &amp; Ouray Tribe Consultation Trip to Capitol Reef National Park, September 19-21, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eunice Surveyor</td>
<td>Shivwits Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah</td>
<td>Interviewed September 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas Timican</td>
<td>Koosharem Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah</td>
<td>Interviewed October 15, 1997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From left to right, back row: Robert Colorow and Andrew Reed of the Ute Indian Tribe, and Lee Kreutzer, former archeologist, Capitol Reef National Park. From left to right, front row: Arlene Appah (a descendant of Black Hawk), Rose Johnson, Elaine Lee, Irene Cuch, and Frances Ankerpont.
Clifford Duncan (Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation); Lee Kreutzer, former archeologist, Capitol Reef National Park, Ralph “Red Cloud” Pikyavit (Kanosh Band of the Paiute Indian Tribe); Julie (last name unknown); Betsy Chappoose (Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation); and Terry Knight of the Ute Mountain Ute (holding Lee Kreutzer’s daughter).

Figure 1-B-8
### Appendix I-B

**Pueblo of Zuni**

*A:SHIWI*

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**Representatives That Consulted with Capitol Reef National Park**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSULTANT</th>
<th>PROJECT/DATE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Q. Bowannie (Zuni Cultural Resource)</td>
<td>ZCRAT visit to Capitol Reef National Park, October 6, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisory Team (ZCRAT) member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith Cachini Sr. (ZCRAT member)</td>
<td>ZCRAT visit to Capitol Reef National Park, October 6, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derrick Halter</td>
<td>ZCRAT visit to Capitol Reef National Park, October 6, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton Niiha (ZCRAT member)</td>
<td>ZCRAT visit to Capitol Reef National Park, October 6, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvert Ondelacy (ZCRAT member)</td>
<td>Visit to Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office (ZHHPO) to discuss affiliation with Capitol Reef National Park, September 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loren Panteah (Director, Zuni Cultural Preservation Office)</td>
<td>Visit to ZHHPO to discuss affiliation with Capitol Reef National Park, September 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eldrick Seoutewa (ZCRAT member)</td>
<td>ZCRAT visit to Capitol Reef National Park, October 6, 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octavius Seoutewa (ZCRAT member)</td>
<td>Visit to ZHHPO to discuss affiliation with Capitol Reef National Park, September 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan Simplicio (former cultural resource specialist, Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office now tribal council member)</td>
<td>Visit to ZHHPO to discuss affiliation with Capitol Reef National Park, September and 17, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry Tsadiasi (ZCRAT member)</td>
<td>ZCRAT visit to Capitol Reef National Park, October 6, 1998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1-8-9
From left to right, back row: Eldrick Seoutewa; Bill Davis, former superintendent of Anasazi Indian Village State Park; and Wilton Niiha. From left to right, front row: Derrick Halter; Octavius Seoutewa; Perry Tsadiasi; and John Q. Bowannie.

Figure 1-8-10
Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team consulting with Marietta Hartley at Calf Creek of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. From left to right: Marietta Hartley; Perry Tsadiasi; John Q. Bowannie; Derrick Halter; Wilton Niiha; Octavius Seoutewa; Eldrick Seoutewa; Doug McFadden, archeologist, Kanab Resource Area of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument; and Pauline Wilson, tribal liaison, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.
Appendix 3-A

Paiute and Ute Individuals Referenced
in Documentary Sources and Interviews

As I conducted my research for the ethnographic overview and assessment, I
placed into the table below names of any individuals who appeared to be of
Paiute or Ute ancestry associated with the Capitol Reef Region, along with
information imparted about them. Conventions of research and writing
among anthropologists of the early twentieth century masked the identities of
Indians who acted as “informants” (now we refer to them as “consultants”) and
rarely, if at all, named those who were members of the community. As the
focus was on documenting cultural practices, native people remained name-
less. An adverse consequence of this practice was the near loss of a sense
of the very people whose lives were being studied, whether by archeologists or
cultural anthropologists. With the creation of this table, my desire was to
rectify this historical omission by retrieving and bringing into relief the names,
as well as the lives, of the Native Americans I came across during research
and that made their home in the region of the Waterpocket Fold from approx-
imately the early 1800s through the 21st century. A total of 274 named
American Indian individuals (all deceased) along with information about them,
are included in the table.

Where you see a question mark beside a name or other pieces of information,
it reflects my uncertainty in the spelling of words taken from the script of his-
torical documents. You will see that there are similarities in the spelling and
pronunciation of names. Where I could be certain they were the same individual, I
merged the information. Where I was uncertain, they are left as separate entries.
Even still, I suspect there are inadvertent errors in this document.

When the chapters were reviewed by the Paiute and Ute tribes and bands,
this table had not been completed. If a fuller understanding is desired of the
relationships among the indigenous individuals who resided in the Waterpocket
Fold region, it is worth consulting with contemporary descendents and also
thoroughly comparing in order to amplify what is in this table with the genealog-
ical data in LeVan Martineau (1992), among other sources. To his credit, he,
too, recognized the important of capturing information about the “old ones”
while there was still information that could be remembered. Were it not for his
data, this table would have far fewer details about the lives of those individuals
included here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDIVIDUAL</th>
<th>CITATION</th>
<th>OTHER NAMES</th>
<th>INFORMATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aitersert (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>In the census she is identified as a 46 year old who is married to Angutsib and is “keeping [the] wigwam”. Their children are Iper ee (?) and Lov Wet Sega (?). Aitersert (?) is listed as living in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anau piton (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a nine year old who lives with his parents Po ats (?) and Sonwats (?) in Greenwich. His brother is identified as Sorelles (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angenpits (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the 8 year old daughter of Unshi chub (?) and Senar (?) with whom she lives in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angewetimpi</td>
<td>Gottfredson (1919); Snow (1985); and Steward (1938)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bean and Thurber in Gottfredson (1919:329) describe Angewetimpi as the chief of Indians near Pine Creek (close to what is now the town of Bicknell), not Fish Lake, and notice a difference between these Indians and those at Fish Lake. Snow (1985:8) gives a variation of Bean and Thurber’s encounter with this chief. The conclusion of Thurber and Bean’s account in Gottfredson seems to indicate that the three groups with whom they met (Pogoneab at Fish Lake; Angewetimpi at Pine Creek; and the band at Potatoe or Escalante Valley) were “Fish Lake Indians.” Steward (1938:225, 228) incorrectly locates Angewetimpi and his band by placing them at Marysvale which also has a tributary called “Pine Creek.” This error is picked up by the Great Basin volume of the Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians in the Ute chapter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ang gat pi oup</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ang got shepp</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ang I</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anguistuk (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 16 year old “thief” living in Greenwich in the household of Peab, Pawneeats (?) and Se guts o (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An-gut-sib</td>
<td>G.W. Bean (1945); G.W. Bean (1897); and U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td>Angutsib (Bean 1945:71); Angutseib (U.S. Census 1880)</td>
<td>George Washington Bean (1945:71) calls Angutsib one of two chiefs of the Piute, Wayne and Garfield County Indians, the other being “Chief Joe.” He describes the two chiefs as having 150 followers in his 1897 autobiography. In 1873, Bean (1897:86) refers to Angutsib and Joe as the two chiefs of “the straggling bands of natives” in the plateau Country east of Sevier Valley to be “gather[ed] up and colonize[d]”. Appears to have been baptized as an LDS member in 1875 (see entry below for Ank got shipe). In the census, he is identified as a 50 year old farmer with a wife and two children who live in Greenwich. Their children are Iper ee (?) and Lov Wet Sega (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankankwinin</td>
<td>Isabel Kelly (1964)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Means “red stream.” He was said to have “owned” the springs and streams of Avua, the enclave of Paria Valley in the Kaiparowits territory (Kelly 1964:150). Ankankwinin was the brother of Lucy’s second husband. Lucy was a consultant to Isabel Kelly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ank got shipe</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875. May be An-gut-sib in an earlier entry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ank got tich</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna dop (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 60 year old father and widower who is a hunter living in Greenwich in the household of Pee geets (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annie John</td>
<td>Charles (1996a); Charles (1997a); and Jake (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Annie John was married to Jimmy Timicam, father of Vera Charles (Charles 1996a:1.13; 1997a:15–16). Annie's father was &quot;Indian John&quot; of Eagle Valley, Nevada. Vera says her mother, Annie, was &quot;part Shoshone and part Paiute,&quot; but doesn't know the name of their band. Vera's mother spoke Shoshone and Paiute and tried to teach Vera the Shoshone language. She lived with Jimmy Timicam at the old village in Greenwich, just outside of Koosharem. Clifford Jake (1997:18) says that Annie was his aunt, i.e., his mother's sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anningui (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as living in Greenwich where she is a married to a 58 year old head of the household and a &quot;tanner.&quot; Those mentioned as living in her household are L Dimant (?), Pavants (?), In jup (?), Chanco (?), and Cho eup (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ap Pots</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrah (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a married 15 year old &quot;servant&quot; and &quot;laborer&quot; living in the household of Foganeab in the Fremont Precinct (Rabbit Valley).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrohtz (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a single 30 year old farmer and brother living in the household of Wilson in Fremont Precinct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrowgarp</td>
<td>Charles (1997); Martineau (1992)</td>
<td>Charlie Arrowgarp</td>
<td>Martineau (1992: plate 3, 273, 296) says Arrowgarp was born at Lyman in Rabbit Valley in 1886 or 1897. He was identified in R.D. Adam's photo of 1905 as one of the Greenwich Indians who once resided in Wayne County (Rabbit Valley). Martineau says he married Emma Timicam, a child of Timicam and Rosie Quakanab. According to Martineau, he was also married to Millie Arrowpane with whom he had a child, Dela Arrowcup, in 1912, born at Greenwich. The child died in 1917 and is buried at Richfield. Dell Arrowgarp, a male, was born to Charlie and Emma in 1917. Charles (1997a:66) recalls that Dell accompanied them up to Fish Lake when she was a child. Charlie Arrowgarp died in 1961 at Richfield (Martineau 1992:273).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrowpeen</td>
<td>Peacock (1822–1878); Palmer (1933); Steward (1938); Pace (1832–1907); Carter (1965); and Gottfredson (1919)</td>
<td>Arapine, Aropine, Aropaan, and Jake. Also &quot;Yenwood&quot; (Gottfredson 1919:121,129)</td>
<td>Carter (1965:80) says Arrowpeen transferred what is San Pete County to the LDS Church. I recall reading somewhere that Arrowpeen eventually resisted the settlement. Gottfredson (1919: 319) says that Arrowpeen would winter in the area of Dixie, Utah (now St. George). Palmer (1933:91) says that Arrowpeen was a brother to Kanosh, chief of the Paiuvars. Alter in Steward (1938:229) calls Arrowpeen a brother to Walkara, among others, but does not identify Kanosh as such. Ammon Walker, listed in this table, is identified as a brother to Walkara. Steward (1938:229) questions whether all seven are blood-related. Pace (1832–1907:14) tells of Arrowpeen delivering mail to the Elk Mission Mormons in 1855 and encouraging the Elk Mountain Ute to be friendly. Peacock (1822–1878:48) records in his journal that Arrowpeen died at Fish Lake December 4th, 1860 and says his &quot;death is greatly lamented by the Utahs and the Whites. Sonpitch succeeds him as Chieftain.&quot; This passage seems to indicate that Arrowpeen of the Sanpits band was familiar with Fish Lake. In an earlier passage, Peacock confuses Fish Lake with Red Lake, located in Rabbit Valley. It is possible that Arrowpeen could have died in Rabbit Valley among Wayne County Indians. Carter (1965: 80) contradicts Peacock and says that Arrowpeen died in 1866, but doesn't say where.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Bawbee</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 22 year old &quot;servant&quot; living in the household of <em>Pogoneab</em> in the Fremont Precinct (Rabbit Valley)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Kanosh</td>
<td>Martineau (1992); Charles (1997a); and Clifford Jake interview (1997)</td>
<td>Lilly Bell; Belle</td>
<td>Martineau (1992:291,296) identifies Bell as one of ten children born in Greenwich to <em>Timican</em> and Rosie Quakanab. He says she married Jimmy Pete. Clifford Jake (1997:16) says that Helen Pete was their daughter whom he married while living there. Vera Charles (1997a:43) says that Bell lived in the Greenwich enclave during the time that her mother, Rosie Quakanab Timican, lived there and then moved into her mother's house after Rosie's death and Jesse Jim's return to Uintah Basin. Martineau (1992:296) records that Bell died in 1943.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biccai (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a three year old daughter living in the household of <em>Sapussowitz (?)</em> in Fremont Precinct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a single 17 year old &quot;laborer&quot; living in a household with Jim and Tom in the Fremont Precinct (Rabbit Valley).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Hawk</td>
<td>Culmsee (1973); Charles (1996b); Durfey (1997); Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (ARClA) (1873); Journal History; Gottfredson (1919); Conetah (1982); Steward (1974); and Dorcheous Memoirs (1864-1869)</td>
<td><em>Nu' ints</em> (ARCIA 1873:56); <em>Autenquer</em> (Conetah 1982:80)</td>
<td>Black Hawk allegedly retreated to the mountain plateau country west and north of Capitol Reef with stolen livestock. There were reports of him taking livestock along the Spanish Trail, both on the route through Salina Canyon and on the eastern route through Grass Valley. He was also known to take livestock along the Fremont River through Capitol Reef (Dorcheous Memoirs). White Horse was one of his leaders in the Black Hawk War, which lasted from 1865 to 1872. Culmsee (1973) says he enlisted members of Sanpitch's band, other Ute bands, Paiute, and Navajo. Steward (1974:44) reports Black Hawk as being a Sanpits, of which <em>Arrowpeen</em> was a member ARCIA (1873:56) reports Black Hawk as a member of the Seuv-a-rits, responsible for the Black Hawk War, and says he was joined by &quot;Utes from beyond the Colorado River, but oftener by the Navajos.&quot; Keith and Golden Durfey (1997) relay that one of their relatives, Alma Durfey, grew up with Black Hawk near Spanish Fork. Alma says that as a teenager, Black Hawk stole some horses from her family. During the robbery a scuffle broke out, and Durfey grabbed a bucket and hit Black Hawk with it. Vera Charles (1996b:15) does not recall any stories from her father, Jimmy Timican, or her aunt, Florence Kanosh, about Black Hawk or his followers being in Grass or Rabbit valleys. Gottfredson (1919: 226) says that Black Hawk died in 1870, which was a factor in the settlement of the plateaus and canyonlands (including Capitol Reef country) to the east of Sevier Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as being the eight month old son of <em>Pogoneab</em> and <em>Wideniputz (?)</em> in the 1880 Fremont Precinct (Rabbit Valley) census.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bob</td>
<td>Callahan (1892–1926); Freemont Irrigation Co. Agreement (March 1, 1889); Jackson (1996); Martineau (1992); Mulford (1996); Bob Walker; “Old Bob”</td>
<td>Bob Walker; “Old Bob”</td>
<td>Martineau (1992:275) says that Bob was born and died in Wayne County, but does not identify him as the son of Chief Ammon Walker or “Chief Walker.” Other accounts do identify him as the offspring of Ammon Walker. He was married to Sally for a time. According to Martineau, they had three children (Little Bob, Joe Bob, and Lemuel). He was identified as living in both Rabbit Valley (Jackson 1996; Callahan 1892–1926) and in and Snow (1985) Greenwich. Bob was one of those Wayne County Indians who signed the Freemont Irrigation Co. agreement to sell Fish Lake water rights to the Rabbit Valley settlers. Mulford (1996) cites a “Bob” as being in Escalante in 1910 and partnered with “Janey.” Snow (1985:14–17) tells a story of how Bob Walker became the “chief” of the Wayne County Indians after contending with Tewauk for it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buswich (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as an 18 year old “tanner” and sister living in the household of Mon gook (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Prank</td>
<td></td>
<td>See “Franx” below</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavaravitts (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a four year old living in Greenwich in the male household (?) of Erndesdor (?) and Cavaravitts (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanco (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a married 30 year old “servant” and hunter who lives in the household of Anninguk (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlie Nick</td>
<td>Snow (1985)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charlie Nick is the son of Nick, and described by Snow (1985:12) as a Wayne County (Rabbit Valley) Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chink I rent</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho eup (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a widowed 39 year old “trapper” who is living in Greenwich in the household of Anninguk (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford Jake</td>
<td>Jake (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clifford was the son of Bell Timican, originally of Wayne County, and Jimmy Pete of Cedar. His sister, Eudrine Jake married Deere Kanosh, son of Florence Timican and Crockett Kanosh. Clifford says that he lived in Greenwich for nineteen years. He married Helen Pete, the daughter of Bell Timican and Jimmy Pete. Apparently during some of this time, they lived with Bell’s mother and Helen’s grandmother, Rosie Quakanab Timican.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co reub</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coshaiets (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 75 year old who is “keeping [the] wigwam” and married to Poor (?). They live in the Fremont Precinct (Rabbit Valley).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

314 Appendix 3-A Paiute & Ute Individuals
INDIVIDUAL | CITATION | OTHER NAMES | INFORMATION
--- | --- | --- | ---
David | U.S. Census (1880) | | He is listed as a nine month (?) son living in the household of *Sapussowitz (?)* in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley.
Deere Kanosh | Martineau (1992); Hatch (1996); Charles (1997a); and Jake and Jake (1997) | Deer Kanosh | Martineau (1992:284) says Deere was born in 1911 at Greenwich and was the son of Florence Timican and Crockett Kanosh. Vera Charles (1997a:52) said that Deere had a house in the Indian Village at Greenwich. Clifford Jake (1997:12) says that Deere married his sister, Edrine Jake, about 1938.
Dena woods | Behunin (1875) | | Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.
Dick | Isabel Kelly (1964); Stewart (1942); and Tillohash (1967) | Dick Indian (Stewart 1942) | A *Kaiparowits* informant of Kelly (1964:3) said Dick had "changed residence so often that it was difficult to identify his statements with locality." Dick was one of Stewart's (1942:239) informants who was age 75 in the late 1930s. Apparently Dick was a member of the *Avu nanunts* band near Tropic, Utah, just north of the *Parianunts*. Dick was living in Moccasin at the time of the interview, but had lived in Cedar City, Koosharem, Kanosh, and Shivwits. Tony Til ohash (1967:5) identifies Dick as a resident of the Tropic area. Dick is not to be confused with Johnny Dick, his nephew who also lived in the Tropic area.
Dicke | U.S. Census (1880) | | He is listed as the 13 year old son living in the household of *Wooden Whiskers (?)* or *Wooden Whiskans (?)* and Sarah in the Fremont Precinct (Rabbit Valley). It is possible that this "Dicke" could be the "Dick" of the previous entry.
Dora Walker | Hatch (1996); Martineau (1992); Timican (1997); Timican (1995); and Kanosh (1983) | | Martineau (1992:273) says Dora was born in 1860, location unknown. Douglas Timican (1997:25) says Dora Walker was originally from Indianola, Utah and that she migrated from Indianola to the Greenwich Indian enclave. She was the wife of Walker Ammon. Hatch (1996) said his parents, John Henry and Irma Johnson, briefly parented Dora and that she later returned to Greenwich. A photograph in Martineau (1992; plate 3) identifies her as a Wayne County or Rabbit Valley Indian. Douglas (1995:3–4, 14) remembers Dora as being very knowledgeable about Fish Lake, the surrounding topography, and would tell stories when camping with her, including a story about a battle that occurred at Cedar Grove. Florence Kanosh (1983:4) says that Dora and her husband went up to the Uintah Basin to bring back her grandfather to bury him at Koosharem.
Douglas Timican | Timican (1997) | | Douglas Timican (1997:6, 25) was born in 1925 near Kanosh, while his mother and father were pine nut picking. His father was George Timican and his mother was Minnie Kanosh. He (1997:33) relayed that his younger sister Julia married Willis Mayo, a Paiute singer. As a child of six or seven, Douglas attended the only Sun Dance at Fish Lake. He says his uncle (Kanosh) used to travel up to Fish Lake. Douglas died a few years ago. He will be missed.
Duanteipi (?) | U.S. Census (1880) | | She is the 26 year old wife of *Sapussowitz (?)* who is "keeping [the] wigwam" in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley.
Dutch | U.S. Census (1880) | | He is listed as a married 21 year old hunter and "servant" living in the household of *Pogoneab* in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>INDIVIDUAL</th>
<th>CITATION</th>
<th>OTHER NAMES</th>
<th>INFORMATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as a 15 year old daughter living in the household of Poor (?) in the Fremont Precinct or Rabbit Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma Timican</td>
<td>Martineau (1997a); Charles (1996b); and Charles (1997a)</td>
<td>Amy; Cha-no which means “basket carrier” (Charles 1997a:17)</td>
<td>Emma Timican was one of ten offspring of Timican and Rosie Quakanab (Martineau 1992:273, 296-7). She was born December 1886 or 1897 in Rabbit Valley (Lyman). She married Charlie Arrowgarp and had four offspring, one of whom, Dell Arrowgarp, survived into adulthood. Apparently Emma was also married to Tom Parashont (Charles 1997a:94; Martineau 1992:289). Martineau (1992:273, 290) says that Jesse Jim was also married to Emma Timican. Vera Charles (1996b:25-26) remembers staying in the early 1940s with Emma in Cedar, then married to Tom Parashont, when Vera was recovering from an illness and pregnant with Ardene. Apparently they would call Tom “Uncle John” (1997a:94). Emma died in 1961 (Martineau 1992:296).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernedesor (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>In the census he is referred to as a single 20 year old “beggar” who lives in Greenwich with Servitts (?) and Cavaravitts (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene Frank or Prank</td>
<td>Timican (1995)</td>
<td>See also “Frank” below.</td>
<td>Eugene Frank or Prank came from out of the area (Uintah Basin?) to attend the Sun Dance at Fish Lake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence Kanosh</td>
<td>Martineau (1992); Jackson (1996); Robinson (1996:45); Timican (1995); Charles (1995); and Charles (1997a)</td>
<td>Moo-ah means &quot;moving&quot; (Charles 1997a:17)</td>
<td>Florence was one of ten offspring of Timican and Rosie Quakanab. According to Martineau (1992:296-297), she was born about June 1889 at Fish Lake. Douglas Timican says Florence was born near the Koosharem Reservoir. Vera says (1995: 1, 5) it was the south end of Fish Lake. Douglas Timican says Florence's parents &quot;lived&quot; in Rabbit Valley and then moved to Grass Valley. Florence was one of two wives of Crockett Kanosh; Nancy, her sister, was the other (Jackson 1996; Martineau 1992:296). Max Robinson says (1996:45) Cue Hansen's father, a non-Indian, married Florence and Crockett Kanosh. Florence lived in Rabbit Valley, to the east of Capitol Reef, Grass Valley, and Richfield. According to Vera Charles (1997a:17, 86), Florence started living with her aunt Sally when she was nine or ten (1898 or 1899). Perry Jackson (1996) employed Florence to make gauntlets for him. Perry (1996:11) said that Florence moved to the Richfield Indian camp after leaving Koosharem when termination was threatened. Max Robinson (1996:45) remembers seeing her walk between Richfield and the Indian camp on the periphery of town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank</td>
<td>Stewart (1942)</td>
<td>Captain Prank</td>
<td>Stewart (1942:238) says that Frank was living in the Uintah Basin when he interviewed him in the 1930s, age 80, as a member of the Moarunts, those “Ute” — as Stewart calls them — who lived in the mountain passes around Salina Canyon. Apparently Frank was related to or is Eugene Prank who led the Sun Dance at Fish Lake.</td>
</tr>
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<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Woody</td>
<td>Martineau (1992); Hatch (1996); Timican (1995); Kanosh (1983); Charles (1996a); Charles (1997a); Timican (1997); and Jake (1997)</td>
<td>Frank Woodie</td>
<td>Frank was born in 1902, location unknown, to a “Willy” of Wayne County and a “Minnie” whose father was from Indianola (Martineau 1992:298). Frank Woody is a half-brother to Young Timican (Charles 1997a:42; Hatch 1996) and, according to Hatch, the two were the last residents of the Greenwich enclave and the last to farm there. Vera Charles (1997a:41) verified that Frank farmed there. From the Douglas Timican interview (1995:4), it sounds as if Frank originally relocated to the Uintah and Ouray Reservation (White Rocks), but then returned to Greenwich. Florence Kanosh (1983:4) says that Frank’s grandmother was “Mary,” who was a sibling to either her mother (Rosie Timican) or father (Timican). That Mary was Frank’s mother is verified by Martineau (1992:298). Vera Charles (1996a:37) and Martineau (1992:298) say that Frank was married to an Ida Levi from Kanosh. Both lived at the Greenwich enclave. Douglas Timican (1997:30) says that Frank Woody told him that the Wayne County Indians were called “Seed Grass People.” Timican (1997:41) told of Frank frequently riding through the region on horseback, encountering outlaws around the Waterpocket Fold who gave him money, visiting with non-Indians in Emery, roasting corn, loosing a pistol on a horseback ride, and so on. Clifford Jake (1997:21) recalls Frank as a “real good guy” and one of the last Indian farmers at Greenwich. Frank died in 1973 (Martineau 1992:298).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Timican</td>
<td>Charles (1997a); Martineau (1992); Timican (1997); and Jake (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Martineau (1992:295-296) says that George was the offspring of Timican and Liza Quakanab. Vera Charles (1997a:77) verifies this. He was born in 1868 and died in Richfield in 1953. Ruth (last name unknown) and Minnie Kanosh were his wives. His child by Ruth was Young Timican born in 1910. His children by Minnie were Douglas Timican (Timican 1997:2), Julia (Timican 1997:33), Rhoda (Jake 1997:18), Genevieve (Jake 1997:18), Roy, and Henry (Jake 1997:19). Douglas (Timican 1997:9) recalls riding with his father George when he would visit Jerry Jackson, Perry Jackson’s father. He thinks his dad might have been helping Jerry put up hay. Vera Charles (1997a:45, 46) identifies George as having a farm at the Indian Village in Greenwich. George taught a magpie at the Village to call his name (1997a:48-49). George may be pictured in the R.D. Adams photo of Wayne County Indians living in Greenwich (Martineau 1992: plate 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grayhead</td>
<td>Callahan (1892–1926); Gray Head (Fremont Irrigation Co. agreement)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grayhead, a resident of Wayne County from 1892–1926, allegedly participated in battles against settlers and consequently got the reputation as a “bad” Indian. Snow (1985:10, 18) describes Grayhead as very old when settlers first saw him. He was also one of the Wayne County Indians to sign the Fremont Irrigation Company agreement in 1889 to sell Fish Lake water rights to the Rabbit Valley settlers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griatotout (?)</td>
<td>Fremont Irrigation Company agreement, (March 1, 1889)</td>
<td></td>
<td>One of the Wayne County Indians who signed the Fremont Irrigation Company agreement to sell Fish Lake water rights to Rabbit Valley settlers.</td>
</tr>
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<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grun-Ton</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Beates</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hun-cop</td>
<td>Gottfredson (1919)</td>
<td>Andrew Hun-cop (1919:288 insert); “Chief Andrew Hong-kub” (1919:343)</td>
<td>In a 1914 photo of Hun-Cop in Gottfredson (1919:288 insert and 343), he is identified as the “chief” who succeeded Kanosh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Barich</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Tom</td>
<td>Hatch (1996); and Snow (1985)</td>
<td>Not sure if this person is the same as “Tom” and/or “Tom Mix” below.</td>
<td>Hatch mentions his name, but doesn’t provide additional information about him. Indian Tom is also referenced in Snow (1985), which contains his picture, among others, in Grass Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In jup (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as an 11 year old living in the household of Anninguik (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iok ko</td>
<td>Behunin (1875); and U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td>I acco(?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iper ee (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>According to the census, he is the 12 year old son of Angutsib and Aiersert (?) who live in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iris chu pee (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 13 year old hunter living in the household of Simmint (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isi (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as an 18 year old “tanner” who lives with Tommaee (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ising it (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 17 year old single cook and “beggar” who lives in Greenwich in the household of Simmint (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I soo kee wa (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as the 17 year old wife of Pau nuk (?) who lives with him in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janey</td>
<td>Mulford (1996)</td>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>Janey was identified as being with Bob in Escalante in the summer of 1910.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jem</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse</td>
<td>G.T. Bean (1940)</td>
<td>No last name or any other name is given by Bean.</td>
<td>G.T. Bean, son of G.W. Bean, recalls Indians with whom he became acquainted during the 1870s settlement of Grass Valley. No other information is provided about this individual. It could be one of the Jesse’s that follow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse Growler</td>
<td>Timican (1995)</td>
<td>[Spelling of last name not confirmed with Douglas Timican.]</td>
<td>Jesse was the wife of Tom Growler of Cedar City. He visited Fish Lake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse Jim</td>
<td>Charles (1996a); Charles (1997a); and Martineau (1992)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vera Charles (1997a:27–28) says that Jesse Jim was a Ute man from the Uintah Basin. Jesse Jim was known as a healer, medicine man, or “Indian doctor,” who married or lived with Rosie Timican at the Greenwich Indian village after Timican died (1996a:34). Vera regarded him as her grandfather. According to Vera (1996a:43), when Rosie Timican died, Jesse returned to the Uintah Basin. She (1997a:27–28) also said that Jesse Jim died in Kooshare. Martineau (1992: 273, 290) says that Jesse Jim was also married to Emma Timican and that he died in 1942.</td>
</tr>
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<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse Pete</td>
<td>Timican (1995)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jesse was the sister of Woodrow Pete. As a child, he attended the Sun Dance at Fish Lake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ji (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 25 year old hunter married to Wunsoudif (?) and living as son-in-law in the household of Poor (?) in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 21 year old single farmer living in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley with Bill and Tom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Timican</td>
<td>Robinson (1996); Fowler (personal communication, 1997); Martineau (1992); Charles (1995); Charles (1996a); Charles (1997a); and Will (1968:42–43)</td>
<td>Moo-ran which Vera Charles, his daughter, thinks might have meant “more, to want more” (Charles 1997a:17); Jimmy Timican (Will 1968:42–44); Jimmie Timican (Martineau 1992:296); and Jimmy Timican (Martineau 1992:297).</td>
<td>Jimmy Timican relayed that he was born near Loa by a spring (Will 1968:42). According to Martineau (1992:296), Jimmy Timican was born at Loa (Rabbit Valley) by the “shearing corral” about 1895. His parents were Timicant and Rosie Quakanab (Martineau 1992:296). His daughter, Vera Charles, (1996a:1–2) says her father’s “side of the family was born in Loa.” According to Fowler (1997), Jimmy was born in Bicknell in Rabbit Valley. Vera (1996a:1–2) says his family would winter there along with six other families. She says that Jimmy’s grandfather was Pogoneab; Martineau (1992:296) indicates that Pogoneab was Jimmy’s uncle. Jimmy is a child in the 1905 R.D. Adams photograph of the Wayne County Indians taken at Greenwich (Martineau 1992:Plate 3). Vera (1996a:10) says that he left the area at about age 14 (1909) to live in the Uintah Basin and stayed a number of years there. Those who remained behind in Rabbit Valley included his sisters, his paternal aunt Sally, and his mother Rosie. Vera Charles said that Jimmy married Annie Johns of Eagle Valley, Nevada. They met picking pine nuts near Indian Peaks (Charles 1996a:12). After relocation to the Greenwich enclave, she tells of her father being employed “everywhere.” Some of his migrant labor included putting in the water lines in Sevier and Rabbit valleys. Jimmy was one of two consultants for Kay Fowler in 1963 during the Glen Canyon Salvage Project. Jimmy had frequent conversations with Max Robinson (1996), who was working for the BLM in Richfield, and told Max he sold his farm in Koosharem. According to Max, Jimmy Timican had apparently been to D.C. to testify against termination. He said, “we don’t want to loose our identity [with the land].” Max understood that Jimmy was the Koosharem “chief.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Bean, G.W. (1945); Fremont Precinct Irrigation Company agreement (March 1,1889); G.W. Bean (1897); G.T. Bean (1940); and Peacock (1822–1878)</td>
<td>Chief Joe and Indian-Joe (G.T. Bean 1940)</td>
<td>Peacock (1822–1878:29) refers to an April 9th, 1865 quarrel between an “Indian Joe” and his band with Black Hawk and his band in Manti. I am not certain whether this is the same individual. G.W. Bean (1945:166) identifies Joe as formerly of Payson, Timpanogots territory. In 1873, G.W. Bean (1897:88;1945:170) identified Joe as one of two chiefs of the 150 “straggling bands of natives” in Piute, Wayne, and Garfield counties, the other being An-gut-sib. Joseph Young directs Bean to “gather up and colonize” them (1897:86). G.W. Bean’s son (Bean 1940:4) recalls that “Indian Joe” spoke good English. Joe, who claimed to be an LDS member, appeared before the June 1873 LDS Church conference in Provo and objected to going to the Uintah reservation. In October 1873 when the Indians were gone, Joe came into Grass Valley after a two month absence to speak with G.W. Bean (1945:178) at the settlement he established there. Bean (1945:179) makes a passing reference to Joe’s cattle. Joe was one of the Wayne County Indians who signed the 1889 Fremont Irrigation Company agreement to sell Fish Lake water to the Rabbit Valley settlers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Joe Bishop</td>
<td>Martineau (1992)</td>
<td></td>
<td>In the R.D. Adams photograph of 1905 (Martineau 1992: plate 3), Joe Bishop is listed as a former Rabbit Valley Indian relocated to Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Bob</td>
<td>Jackson (1996);</td>
<td>Hatch (1996); Charles (1996b:20);</td>
<td>Joe Bob was one of the three sons of Sally and Bob Walker (Martineau 1992:275). He is pictured in the R.D. Adams 1905 photograph (Martineau 1992: plate 3) as a Wayne County Indian at the Greenwich Indian enclave in Grass Valley, near Koosharem. Jackson (1996) tells a story of Joe having an automobile accident with Crockett and visiting his father's shop in Rabbit Valley for some help. Vera Charles (1996b:20) recalls that her father, Jimmy Timicani, would ride with Joe Bob to Escalante. Dee Hatch (1996) says that Joe Bob liked to tell stories. He also remembers that Joe Bob &quot;flirted&quot; with one of Crockett Kanosh's wives and was physically punished for it. According to Hatch, he died from his injuries. The September 30, 1933 entry of the Koosharem Ward records state that Joe Bob died September 20 &quot;in a drunken row&quot; because he was &quot;beaten so badly by some of his tribesmen...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Kanosh</td>
<td>G.T. Bean (1940)</td>
<td></td>
<td>G.T. Bean, son of G.W. Bean, recalls Indians with whom he became acquainted during his 1870s settlement of Grass Valley. Since Bean mentions &quot;Indian-Joe&quot; in his memoranda, and also mentions Joe Kanosh in his handwritten notes for the memoranda, it is conceivable that they are the same individual — or one of the other &quot;Joe's listed in this table.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Pikyavit</td>
<td>Isabel Kelly (1964);</td>
<td>Pe-an-mn (William Palmer Collection,</td>
<td>Beckwith (1939) says Joe Pikyavit was born in 1892 in the Kaibab Forest and calls him a &quot;Ute.&quot; His father was &quot;Jake.&quot; He lived at Kaibab for awhile and eventually settled at Kanosh. He was deaf at the time he consulted with Kelly (1964:3), which made her question whether he understood what she was saying. He provided her with information about the Kaiparowits territory. Douglas Timicani (1995:11) says Joe was a dancer at the Fish Lake Sun Dance. Ralph &quot;Red Cloud&quot; Pikyavit, Joe's son, tells of his father encouraging him to do a vision quest on Fish Lake Hightop Plateau. Louise Bushhead (1995:1) identifies herself as one of eleven offspring of Joe Pikyavit and Emily Sobiquint. She says they also adopted a daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Timicani (1995); Pikyavit (1995);</td>
<td>folder 18, box 35, Southern Utah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bushhead (1995); and Beckwith</td>
<td>University); Pah-tsi-pi-kaina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1939)</td>
<td>(Beckwith 1939:prologue)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Timican</td>
<td>See Timicani below.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnny Dick</td>
<td>Martineau (1992);</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tony Tiloshah says Johnny was a nephew to Dick. They were both residents of the Tropic area. Both names, says Tiloshah (1967:5), are Christian names. Johnny Dick was married to Maggie (Martineau 1992:293). See her entry below. Johnny Dick's nephew could be the Dick listed earlier as an informant of Kelly's (1964) and identified as a Tropic resident by Stewart (1942).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tiloshah (1967);</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua</td>
<td>Durfey (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Joshua was mentioned in passing by Mr. Durfey as one of the Wayne County Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka denuspits</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the four year old daughter of her parents Unshi chub (?) and Senar (?) living in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katie</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the single 19 year old daughter living in the household of Wooden Whiskers (?) or Wooden Whiskans (?) and Sarah in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke roeps (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as 21 and married to Ku sopi (?). They live together in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko se</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kos roose</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the 14 year old daughter of Unshi chub (?) and Senar (?) with whom she lives in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku sopi (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is a 24 year old hunter who is married to Ke roeps (?) and lives in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapodskee (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is the four year old son of parents Poombs (?) and Stoo ree (?) living in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemuel</td>
<td>Martineau (1992);</td>
<td>&quot;Lame Horse&quot;;</td>
<td>Lemuel was the son of Old Bob Walker (who was the son of Ammon Walker) and Sally Timican (Callahan 1892–1926; Martineau 1992:275). When the date of his birth is unknown, he apparently died at about age 16 in Rabbit Valley (at Lyman). Perry Jackson (Charles 1997:109) tells the story of how &quot;Lemuel&quot; got his name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Callahan (1892–1926);</td>
<td>&quot;Lame Mule&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Charles (1997)</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in Charles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1997a:109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Bob</td>
<td>Callahan (1892–1926);</td>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Little Bob was one of three boys beget by Sally Timican and Old Bob or Bob Walker (Martineau 1992:275). The other two were Lemuel and Joe Bob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liza</td>
<td>Jackson (1996);</td>
<td>Eliza</td>
<td>Martineau (1992:295) says that Liza was the offspring of the marriage between Liza Quakanab (Rosie’s sister) and Timican, who was also married to Rosie. Apparently when Liza Quakanab died, Tom Quakanab, maternal grandfather to Liza, gave Liza to the Jacksons. Perry Jackson (Charles 1997a:110–111) tells of his grandmother and grandfather (John and Eleanor Jackson) adopting and raising an Indian child whom they named Liza. Callahan (1892–1926) says that Liza was the granddaughter of “Old Tom”, which confirms the Martineau genealogy. In a phone conversation Perry Jackson (1997) said that Liza eventually moved up to Salt Lake City and died there. Martineau (1992:295) says she married a Paul Chese or Chese in Salt Lake City. Charles (1997a:110) says it was “Paul Chase”, that they had three children, and then divorced. Perry and Shirley Jackson (Charles 1997a:110–111, 113–114) remember four children whose names were Beth, Manona, June, and Newell and recall that Liza and Paul lived in Lyman around 1936 for awhile before moving to Salina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mulford (1996);</td>
<td>Timican</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Callahan (1892–1926);</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1992:295; Liza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martineau (1992);</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles (1997a);</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Timican (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liza</td>
<td>Timmican (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Douglas Timican (1997:24) remebers a Liza who was given to settlers to raise, however he remebers her as the daughter of her sister Liza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lon atpe ken (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 13 year old sister-in-law and “beggar” who lives in Greenwich in the household of Pee geets (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lov wet sega (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the nine year old daughter of Angutsib and Aitersert (?) who lives in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>Isabel Kelly (1964)</td>
<td>Also called</td>
<td>Lucy was a Kaiparowits consultant to Kelly, born in 1870 in the Escalante area (1964:3). Her father was associated with the Sanwawitimpaya (Escalante valley enclave) and her mother with the Kwaguluau (near Circle Cliffs). She married a man from Koosharem. In a second marriage, she lived at Avua in the Paria Valley area. Later, she moved among the Kaibab Paiute (Kelly 1964:143).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Rosie&quot;</td>
<td>by Kelly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lyman Kanosh</td>
<td>Hatch (1996)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatch (1996) says that Lyman is the son of Crockett Kanosh and Florence. He recalls that Lyman was drafted into the armed services for World War II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 16 year old living in the household of Anninguik (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maggie</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the 22 year old wife of Mustache &quot;keeping [the] wig-wam&quot; in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maggie Johnny</td>
<td>Isabel Kelly (1964); Martineau (1992:293); Tawk (Martineau 1992:293); Antelope (as told to Martineau 1992:293)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maggie Johnny (Kelly 1964:157) was known to be from Kaibab and said to have introduced from Sevier Valley the prairie dog as a source of food (with the implication that she was living there at the time). Settlers attributed the Paiute's use of prairie-dog as a sign of food shortage. She was married to Johnny Dick and they had no children (Martineau 1992:293). According to some Kaibab (in Martineau 1992:293), Maggie &quot;was a great runner when she was young. She could outrun the men in a footrace. She was sometimes called &quot;Antelope&quot; in Paiute because of her speed.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam Buchh</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma me vo</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mampuc</td>
<td>Isabel Kelly (1964); Sapir (1930)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kelly (1964:107–108) says Mampuc's affiliation is unknown, though he came from Escalante to Kaibab to make arrangements for the Bear Dance. Sapir (1930:473, 477, 534) refers to Mampuc as a shaman and the &quot;chief of the Cedar City Paiutes&quot; who showed Tom and the Kaibab the Bear Dance songs and dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantaw (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as living in Greenwich in the household of Mo no gots (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Callahan (1892–1926); Kanosh (1983); and Martineau (1992)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Martineau (1992:298) calls &quot;Mary&quot; a resident of Wayne County and Frank Woody's maternal grandmother. Florence Kanosh (1983:4) says that Mary was Frank Woody's aunt, who was sister to one of her parents (either her father's (Timican) mother (we don't know who that is) or her mother's (Rosie Quakanab) mother). Florence (1983) says Mary married Mustache after her husband died. Callahan (1892–1926) refers to a &quot;Mary&quot; in his account of the Wayne County Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Ann</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as a four (?) year old daughter living in the household of Sapussowitz (?) in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnie</td>
<td>Martineau (1992)</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Minnie&quot; and a Willy of Wayne County had a son named Frank Woody (Martineau 1992:298).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnie Kanosh</td>
<td>Martineau (1992); Timican (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Martineau (1992:283, 295) says that Minnie Kanosh was born in 1884 at Angle near Antimony and was one of several children of John Kanosh (adopted son of Chief Kanosh) and Pee-weech. Minnie was one of two wives of George Timican, who was the son of Timican and Liza Quakanab. The offspring of Minnie and George include Douglas and his sisters Julia (Timican 1997:33), Rhoda and Genevieve. Douglas (1997:4, 5) remembers his mother singing a special song and being told by her that she would dance at the powwow held at old Red Lake, by the fish hatchery. It is Minnie who told Douglas (1997:12) that the &quot;Indians&quot; would gather at Red Lake for celebrations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moganogots (?)</td>
<td>Bean (1940); Behunin (1875);</td>
<td>(I may have incorrectly transcribed</td>
<td>G.T. Bean (1940) mentions him as he recalls Indians with whom he became</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moge Nogets, or</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td>the first name from the handwritten</td>
<td>acquainted when he settled in Grass Valley during the winter of 1873-1874,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo no gots (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>notes of Bean.)</td>
<td>where he stayed in subsequent years. In June of 1875, Mosiah Behunin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>baptized a Moge Nogets in Grass Valley. This may be the same individual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In the 1880 census, Mo no gots (?) is listed as a 40 year old hunter married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to Wa a pedu (?) and living in Greenwich with their son Taniduts (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon a uits (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as the 28 year old wife of Mon gook (?) who is “keeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[the] wigwam” in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon gook (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is a 38 year old farmer who is married to Mon a uits (?). He is head of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a household in Greenwich that includes Mon a uits (?), Buswich (?), and Qun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pads (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon Sooch</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moonquets</td>
<td>Kanosh (1983); Jackson (1996)</td>
<td>Perry Jackson called him “Moon.”</td>
<td>Florence Kanosh (1983:4) says that Moonquets was the chief of the Koosharem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indians. Perry Jackson (1996) tells of “Moon” dying in the presence of Dan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bullets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo patss</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moustache</td>
<td>Kelly (1964); Durfe (1997);</td>
<td>Mustache; Moustach; Frank Moustache</td>
<td>Kelly (1964:107) says Moustache settled in Greenwich with Tom Quakanab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hatch (1996); Kanosh (1983);</td>
<td></td>
<td>when Tom returned from Kaibab. His first name was “Frank.” He was said to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sorenson (1997); Timican (1997); U.S. Census (1880); Snow (1985); A History of Garfield County</td>
<td></td>
<td>be from St. George. Moustache lived in Escalante when the first settlers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arrived there in 1875 (Garfield County history citation here). He is listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in the U.S. Census (1880) for Rabbit Valley as being a 25 year old “loafer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and beggar” married to Maggie. Florence Kanosh (1983:5) said Frank Woody's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aunt “Mary” married Moustache. Snow (1985:10, 14) identified him as living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in Rabbit Valley and also in Greenwich. Moustache is in the 1905 photograph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1997:22) says that Timican hid Moustache in his teepee to prevent him from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>being prosecuted for accidentally killing a man. Freman Sorenson (1997:19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tells a story of Moustache eating dinner with his family in Lyman when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sorenson was a child. Hatch (1966) said he went blind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo Weabe</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muavigaipi or</td>
<td>Kelly (1964:151)</td>
<td>Means “mosquito man.”</td>
<td>Muavigaipi was the leader of one of three camps in the Sanwawitimpaya area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muavinapus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(of the Kaiparowits territory) with a wife, two daughters, another couple,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu wekumbo (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>and their sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>She is a 22 year old widowed sister living in Greenwich in the household of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pee geets (?). She is listed as being a “housemaid.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagagtukus</td>
<td>Kelly (1964:150)</td>
<td>Means “mountain-sheep ass.”</td>
<td>Nagagtukus was a resident of Avua (in the Kaiparowits territory) and the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>youngest of three brothers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakavaiptinkaiapi</td>
<td>Kelly (1964:151)</td>
<td>Means “no ears.”</td>
<td>Nakavaiptinkaiapi was the leader of one of three camps in the Sanwawitimpaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>area (Kaiparowits territory) who resided with his wife and two daughters,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>one who married into the Kaibab and another into the San Juan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy Timican Kanosh</td>
<td>Charles (1997a); Jackson (1996); and Martineau (1992);</td>
<td>Intsey, means “like a little girl.” Because it sounded like “Nancy,” non-Indians called her that (Charles 1997a:17).</td>
<td>Martineau (1992:296-297) says Nancy was born to Timicant and Rosie Quakanaab “when pine nuts opened” in October of 1883 at Frisco, Utah. Perry Jackson (1996) says Nancy was one of two wives of Crockett Kanosh, Florence being the other. He says she was living at Greenwich when he knew her. She died in 1953 (Martineau 1992:296).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na-Panpee</td>
<td>Caroline Hill Behunin diary (approximately 1875, MS D 4670, LDS Historical Department)</td>
<td>Wapanee</td>
<td>Na-Panpee is identified by Caroline Hill Behunin, wife of Mosiah Behunin, as a Koosharem war chief who, upon becoming drunk, threatened her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nate Shipe</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neap Pang getch</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nee A Retts</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne-om Betch</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nick</td>
<td>Callahan (1892-1926); “Little Nick” Charles (1995:5); G.T. Bean (1940); Jackson (1996); Martineau (1992); Robinson (1996); Snow (1985); and Sorenson (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td>G.T. Bean (1940), son of G.W. Bean, recalls that Nick was given his name by A.K. Thurber who named him after Thurber’s puppy when it was killed by a wagon. Thurber and G.W. Bean were directed to assist the Indians with farming in Grass Valley in 1874. Vera Charles (1995:5) said her aunt Florence Kanosh told her that Nick, who lived among the Wayne County Indians, was of “Moqui” or Fremont/Hopi ancestry. Nick was once a resident of Wayne County (Rabbit Valley) (Callahan 1892-1926; Snow 1985:11-12) and had a son, Charlie Nick (Snow 1985:12). Nick can be seen in the R.D. Adams 1905 photograph of Indians living at the Greenwich enclave near Koosharem (Martineau 1992, plate 3; Snow 1985:11). Perry Jackson (1996) tells stories of Nick in Rabbit Valley. Max Robinson (1996) tells a story about Nick in Loa. Freman Sorenson (1997:17-18) tells a story of Nick visiting his home for a meal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oe oup</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oo wods</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa hous (?</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as the 13 year old son of Mu wekumbo (?), who is living in Greenwich with his mother and is identified as a “loafer”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa nan do (?</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a recently married 28 year-old. His wife is Pu chu its (?). They live in the household of Pee geets (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa nuk (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 21 year old married to I soo kee wa (?) who is identified as a “beggar” in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parashont</td>
<td>Blackburn (1946)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blackburn (1946) says that while there were many bands of Indians in Rabbit Valley, each with a chief, Parashont was the chief of the whole area. Charles Kelly who did the interview with Blackburn says that Parashont was a Pahvant at Corn Creek in Millard County and sometimes said to have been the brother of Chief Kanosh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parger Neap</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parrup (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the 30 year old wife of Towagekuit (?). She is “keeping house” and they live with their daughter Posengump (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavants (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as an 11 year old living in the household of Anninguik (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
</tr>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavnneets (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a married 34 year old farmer living in Greenwich in the household of Peab (?), Wah pah nah (?), Anguistuk (?), and Se guts o (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peab</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a married 60 year old “tanner of furs” who lives in Greenwich and is the head of a household that includes Pavnneets (?). Wah pah nah (?), Anguistuk (?), and Se guts o (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaninop (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is the 19 year old single son of Mu Wekumbo (?). He lives with her in Greenwich and is listed as a “loafer.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peats (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the 30 year old wife of Wilson who is “keeping [the] wigwam” in their household in the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pee A Van</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pee geets (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a single 29 year old hunter who lives in Greenwich and is the head of a household comprised of two families (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pee weets (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as a married 32 year old “tanner” who is the head of a household that includes Perun geets (?) and Pe ki (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pee Which</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875. Could be the Pee weets (?) identified above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe gee de gen</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pegin</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe ki (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a six year old sister who lives in the household of Pee weets (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembuto (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified in the census of the Fremont Precinct of Rabbit Valley as the 55 year old wife of Tewauk who is “keeping [the] house.” They live with their 19 year old daughter Susan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pen Na Chich</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pen ti Quom</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perun geets (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as a nine year old sister that lives in the household of Pee weets (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pesemboots (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the 12 year old daughter of Unshi chub (?) and Senar (?) with whom she lives in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pete</td>
<td>Mulford (1996); Gottfredson (1919); and Tillohash (1967)</td>
<td>“Indian Pete.” Tony Tillohash (1967:9) says that Pete's Indian name was Tvatanaink, which means “tend baby.” Pete was identified as being with Sally in Escalante in the summer of 1910. Gottfredson (1919:342–343) identifies him as residing in Greenwich in 1914 and fearful of having to be displaced to the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. Tillohash (1967:10) says that Pete and Tom once visited Kanab. Tillohash says that Pete was Tom Mix's father who resided in the Escalante area.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi Se Tish</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po ats (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 63 year old hunter who is married to Sonwats (?). They live in Greenwich with their sons Sorelles (?) and Anau pitons (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pockk Kom nom</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po E Att</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
</tr>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pogoneab</td>
<td>Callahan (1895–1926);</td>
<td>Poggy; Poggy Neab; Poganeap; Poge Neab; Pogneab</td>
<td>Pogoneab was called fish &quot;captain&quot; of Fish Lake. Together with Angewetimpi, he signed the treaty of June 20, 1873 pledging peace in the region, although Snow (1985:7) indicates that Pogoneab first resisted overtures for peace. Pogoneab accompanied G.W. Bean and Thurbur on their entire journey through Grass, Rabbit, and Potatoo (Escalante) valleys in 1873 (G.W. Bean 1945:168–171; Gottfredson 1919:327–330). At that time, Bean called him old and said that when they first met Pogoneab, he was riding a horse but later walked with them for the remainder of the trip. G.T. Bean (1940), son of G.W. Bean, recalls Pogoneab being one of the Indians with whom he became acquainted during the 1870s settlement of Grass Valley. Bean provides no other information about him. The 1880 U.S. Census of Rabbit Valley identified Pogoneab as a 42 year old married to Wideniputz (?), and living with their eight month (?) old son Bob. Pogoneab's name appears as a signatory to the Fremont Irrigation Company agreement of 1889 which sold water rights to Fish Lake. Callahan (1895–1926) recalls seeing Pogoneab in Rabbit Valley around 1892. According to some local accounts, Pogoneab's condition of &quot;chattering&quot; in old age was attributed to years of standing in the cold water of Fish Lake. Callahan, who was a physician, said that Pogoneab suffered from a neuromuscular disorder. Snow (1985:15) says he suffered a stroke. Snow tells that he was previously married to Sally's sister (Wideniputz ?) and then married to Sally by Allred, one of the first settlers. He then consented to let Sally be with Bob Walker, son of Walker Ammon. The aging Pogoneab is mentioned again at Fish Lake in an 1888 Deseret News account (Chappell 1975:56). G.W. Bean (1945:252) recalls that Pogoneab would visit him each year when he lived in Richfield.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poombits (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is identified as a 42 year old fisherman married to Store (?) with a four year old son named Lapodskie, all living in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poo Quate</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 60 year old farmer married to Coshaiets (?). They live in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct). The sons (unclear to whom) in the household are George, Tillman, and Willie, the daughter is Wunsoudif (?), and the grandson is Torrie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posengump (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the seven year old daughter of Towogekuit (?) and Parrup (?) with whom she lives in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po Weep Pon te Quen</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pu chu its (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a recently married 19 year old living in Greenwich in the household of Pee geets (?) with her husband Pan do (?). According to the census, her occupation is &quot;keeping [the] wigwam&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quepps (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 16 year old &quot;servant&quot; living in the household of Pee geets (?) in Greenwich with her brother Squa ronde (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quch Te Om Tam</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qun pads (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 16 year old sister-in-law who is a &quot;servant&quot; living in the household of Man gook (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Que ang oung gets</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Que gear a pan</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**INDIVIDUAL** | **CITATION** | **OTHER NAMES** | **INFORMATION**
---|---|---|---
Que getch ee | Behunin (1875) |  | Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.
Que getch en | Behunin (1875) |  | Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.
Quet sem | Behunin (1875) |  | Baptized at Green Valley in July of 1875.
Qye mo en Wemmen | Behunin (1875) |  | Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.
Rancho | Hatch (1996) |  | Hatch describes Rancho as a "good, tough young man," a Koosharem resident who once walked across the mountain in the winter to Richfield. He also remembers him as an excellent skater.
Rosie Quakanab Timicant | Catherine Fowler (personal communication 1997); Charles (1996a); Charles (1997a); Kanosh (1983); Martineau (1992); Stewart (1942); and Timican (1997) | Wawn'uuhts was her Numic name according to Martineau (1992:293). She was also known as Rosie Tom, Rosie Arrowgarp, and Mrs. Jessie Jim. | Catherine Fowler (1997) says that Rosie Timican was Jimmy Timican's mother and was born in the Henry Mountains. Because Jimmy was born in Rabbit Valley, Rosie either relocated there or temporarily migrated there. Martineau (1992:293, 295) says that Rosie married Timicant or John Timican, and was his second wife (Liza Quakanab was his first). Their ten offspring included Nancy, Florence, Jimmy, Amy or Emma, Lilly Bell, and Martha, and three other males who did not survive (Martineau 1992:296). Rosie was pictured (Martineau 1992: plate 3) in the 1905 R.D. Adams photograph of Wayne County (Rabbit Valley) Indians who relocated to the Greenwich enclave. In the photo, Rosie's husband is identified as John Timican. Vera Charles (1997a:89) says that Rosie made gauntlet gloves. Florence Kanosh (1983:4-6) says that she once lived in Rabbit Valley with her aunt Sally and her mother, Rosie, after the settlers arrived there and, it appears, long after the others moved to the Uintah Basin and Greenwich. Rosie finally moved to Greenwich in 1905 when Florence was 18 years old. Vera (1997a:17-19) said she married another man, Jesse Jim, a Ute healer from the Uintah Basin. A man at Uintah Basin, Lester Quip, claimed to be the offspring of Rosie Timican. Clifford Jake (1997:12) recalls living with Rosie for a while and remembers her as a "nice old lady," while Douglas Timican (1997:23) remembers Rosie as not being very friendly. Rosie was an "informant" of anthropologist Stewart (1942: 237) in the late 1930s who says that she "claimed to be a Paiute, but linguistically she was closer to the Ute. This, however, might result from long association with the Ute at Koosharem, Utah." Stewart says she was 80 at the time of their work together. He (1942:239) also indicated that she was born and reared near the Henry Mountains and as of 1885 lived near Koosharem. Vera Charles (1997a:42) said that Rosie died at 72 years.
Ruth | Martineau (1992) | Martin (1992:295) is uncertain as to Ruth's last name. He speculates that it is "Timican." | Ruth was one of the two wives of George Timican, who was a son of Timicant and Liza Quakanab (Martineau 1992:295). Ruth and George had one child by the name of Young Timican (1992:295-6).
Sallie | U.S. Census (1880) |  | She is listed as a 16 year old daughter living in the household of Sapussowitz (?) in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct).
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<tr>
<td>Sally</td>
<td>Callahan (1895–1926); Charles (1997); Hatch (1996); Jackson (1996); Kanosh (1983); Martineau (1992); Mulford (1996); Snow (1985); and Timican (1997);</td>
<td>Sally Timicanc Sally Bob (she likely got this last name because of her association with Bob Walker); Sally Ann</td>
<td>Snow (1985:15) says that Pagoneab was married to Sally's older sister. Wideniputz (see below) was married to Pagoneab so she may be Sally's sister. Timicant was Sally's brother (Martineau 1992:295). Snow (1985:16) tells that she was the daughter or sister of White Horse. Martineau (1992:275) says she was born in Wayne County and was married to both Pagoneab and Bob Walker. Sally and Bob had three children — Little Bob, Joe Bob, and Lemuel (Martineau 1992:275). From various accounts, Sally resided in Escalante, Rabbit Valley, and Greenwich. Hatch (1996) recalls her residing in the Greenwich enclave. In the Mulford interview (1996), Sally is identified as being with &quot;Pete&quot; in Escalante in the summer of 1910. Sally was Florence Kanosh's (1983:2) aunt with whom she resided most of the time, whether at Fish Lake, in Rabbit Valley, or east of the Waterpocket Fold (Charles 1997a:83). Douglas Timicant (1997:23) tells of Sally Ann who, as an old lady, used to travel on her horse to the Koosharem area for a month or perhaps a year, and then return to Escalante. She lived to &quot;be very old and became gray and blind,&quot; with her death in Greenwich (Martineau 1992:275).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sang Gin</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Snow (1985:15) says that Pagoneab was married to Sally's older sister. Wideniputz (see below) was married to Pagoneab so she may be Sally's sister. Timicant was Sally's brother (Martineau 1992:295). Snow (1985:16) tells that she was the daughter or sister of White Horse. Martineau (1992:275) says she was born in Wayne County and was married to both Pagoneab and Bob Walker. Sally and Bob had three children — Little Bob, Joe Bob, and Lemuel (Martineau 1992:275). From various accounts, Sally resided in Escalante, Rabbit Valley, and Greenwich. Hatch (1996) recalls her residing in the Greenwich enclave. In the Mulford interview (1996), Sally is identified as being with &quot;Pete&quot; in Escalante in the summer of 1910. Sally was Florence Kanosh's (1983:2) aunt with whom she resided most of the time, whether at Fish Lake, in Rabbit Valley, or east of the Waterpocket Fold (Charles 1997a:83). Douglas Timicant (1997:23) tells of Sally Ann who, as an old lady, used to travel on her horse to the Koosharem area for a month or perhaps a year, and then return to Escalante. She lived to &quot;be very old and became gray and blind,&quot; with her death in Greenwich (Martineau 1992:275).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San-goont</td>
<td>Timican (1997)</td>
<td>San-goont means &quot;cripple guy&quot;</td>
<td>Douglas Timicant (1997:21) tells of an Indian who was a member of the group that would spend the summer at Fish Lake, in the &quot;day of bow and arrow.&quot; Apparently when the group was leaving the lake in the fall for Grass Valley, it began to snow heavily. The man exclaimed that he didn't want a blanket. He eventually froze to death and died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapussowitz (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is a 30 year old &quot;laborer&quot; married to Duantepl (?) and living with her in Rabbit Valley. The daughters living in their household are Sallie, Mary Ann, and Biccai (?). The son is David.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as the 45 year old wife of Wooden Whiskers (?) or Wooden Whiskans (?) &quot;keeping [the] wigwam&quot; in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct) with daughter Katie and son Dicie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saro Eea (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The census identifies her as a 22 year old who lives in Greenwich where she is married to Sebows (?), and is &quot;keeping house.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seaveots (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The census identifies her as a single 20 year old &quot;servant&quot; living in the household of Sebows (?) and Saro Eea (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebows (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The census identifies him as a 29 year old hunter who is married to Saro Eea (?) and lives in Greenwich .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seen Narr or Senar (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seen Narr was baptized in Grass Valley in June of 1875 (Behunin 1875). In the 1880 census, Senar is listed as &quot;keeping house&quot; in Greenwich as the 38-year-old wife of Unshi chub (?). They have five children: Tense gau (?), Kos roose (?), Pesemboots (?), Angenpits (?), and Kadenupits (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se guts o (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 15 year old &quot;beggar&quot; who lives in Greenwich in the household of Peab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servitts (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is referred to as a single 18 year-old that lives in Greenwich with Erndesdor (?) and Cavaraitts (?). His occupation is listed as begging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shar Ba Puts</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shee Mote</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
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<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
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<td>Shee wont te toots</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shem mene</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shem Mob</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shen A Vackker</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shoufe</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sig ge vog</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinmint (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as an 18 year old hunter and single head of a household in Greenwich that includes Ising it (?), Too zoo (?), Iris chu pee (?), and Som wats (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinor</td>
<td>G.T. Bean (1940)</td>
<td></td>
<td>G.T. Bean (1940), son of G.W. Bean, recalls Indians with whom he became acquainted during the 1870s settlement of Grass Valley. No other information is given about this individual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Som wats (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a single 18 year old “beggar” who lives in Greenwich in the household of Sinmint (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son wats (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is a 47 year old “tanner of furs” who is married to Po ats (?), and lives with him and their two sons Sorel/es (?) and Anau pitons (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorel/es (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is 11 years old and lives with his father, Po ats (?), his mother, Son wats (?), and his brother, Anau pitons, in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sou ra gutch</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squa ronde (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as an 18 year old “beggar” living in Greenwich in the household of Pee geets (?). His sister Quepps (?) lives in the same household.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sto ree (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as living in Greenwich. She is the 38(?) year old wife of Paombits (?) and mother of Lapodskee (?). She is recorded as “keeping wigwam.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as a 19 year old living in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct) with her father Tewiok and mother Pembuto (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangue (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a five year old living in Greenwich in the household of Pee geets (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taninduts (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a hunter and the single 20 year old son of Mo no gots (?) and Wa a pedu (?) who lives with them in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta Watch at</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ten I ki dge</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense gau (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as the 18 year old son of Unshi chub (?) and Senar (?) with whom he lives in Greenwich as a hunter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teseuke (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 24 year old widowed sister-in-law living in the household of Wilson in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct). Her occupation is identified as “tanner of furs.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tewiok</td>
<td>See Tewauk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tewauk</td>
<td>Behunin (1875); Blackburn (1946); Callahan (1892–1926); Fremont Irrigation Company agreement (March 1, 1889); and Snow (1885:10, 14)</td>
<td>Tewalk; Tewak; Tuwack (Behunin 1875); Toauak; (Fremont Precinct irrigation Co. agreement); Tewalk (Blackburn 1946); Tewiok (U.S. Census 1880)</td>
<td>Called &quot;chief&quot; of the &quot;one band of Paiute&quot; Indians in Rabbit Valley. Tewauk and Bob Walker contended for this position (Callahan 1892–1926; Snow 1985:10). Tuwack was baptized into the LDS Church in Grass Valley July 1, 1875 (Behunin 1875). Tewauk is identified camping in or near Boulder, Utah and aiding a lost Euroamerican in one of Snow’s (1985:14) accounts. The time of year is not indicated. Howard Blackburn (1946:3) reminiscences that Tewauk and a band of Indians &quot;preferred Pleasant Creek in the vicinity of Notom.&quot; This would have been in the late 1800s. In the U.S. Census (1880) of Rabbit Valley he was listed as a 50-year-old farmer married to Pembuto (7). He and his wife lived with their 19-year-old daughter Susan. In 1889, he signed the Fremont Precinct Irrigation Company agreement to sell Fish Lake water rights to the Rabbit Valley settlers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tillman</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a single 21 year son living in the household of Poor (?) in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct). He is referred to as a &quot;loafer&quot; in the census report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timicant</td>
<td>Callahan (1892–1926); Charles (1997a); Fremont Irrigation Company agreement (March 1, 1889); Kanosh (1983); Martineau (1992); Snow (1985); Timicant (1997); Will (1968); and U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td>Timicant; John Timicant; Martineau (1992:297) says that the name &quot;Timicant&quot; comes from the Numic name Toomur’kunt which means &quot;roasted.&quot; Vera Charles verified this (1997:20).</td>
<td>Martineau (1992:295–297, plate 3) says Timicant was born in Wayne County at an unknown date. According to Snow (1985:10), Timicant was baptized an LDS Church member in Lyman. In the U.S. Census (1880) for Rabbit Valley, Timicant is listed as a 26 year old, married brother-in-law and farmer living in the household of Pogoneab. The U.S. Census of 1880 also identifies Wideniputz (see below) as the wife of Pogoneab, which means she is likely sister to Timicant. Sally was also his sister and married to Pogoneab (Martineau 1992:295). Timicant was one of the Wayne County Indians who signed the Fremont Irrigation Company agreement in 1889 to sell Fish Lake water rights to the LDS settlers. Jimmy Timicant (in Will 1968:42) says his father fought in what is likely the Red Lake battle of 1865. He also remembers that his father fought the Navajo who had attacked an encampment of women and children on Thousand Lake Mountain. The Wayne County Indians chased the Navajo down Chimney Rock Canyon to the Colorado River and killed them. His first wife, Liza Quakanab, was killed along with a male child of theirs (Will 1968:42–43). Timicant was married to both Liza and Rosie Quakanab (Callahan 1892–1926). By Liza, he had George Timicant and Eliza Timicant Jackson (Martineau 1992:295). By Rosie, he had Nancy, Florence, Jimmy, Amy or Emma, Lilly Bell (Bill), Martha, and three males who died (Martineau 1992:296–297). Florence Kanosh (1983:4-5) says that Sally, Timicant’s sister, and other women set fire to his cabin upon his death. Timicant died about 1906 in Bicknell, and was buried in the Lyman cemetery (Martineau 1992:295–297; Timicant 1997:8). Jimmy Timicant (in Will 1968:42), however, says he is buried up a canyon near Bicknell.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tom</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a single 17 year old &quot;laborer&quot; living in a household with Jim and Bill in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct).</td>
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Tom Quakanab was born in the Henry Mountains about 1814 (Martineau 1992:293). Callahan recalls "Old Tom" in Rabbit Valley some time between 1892 and 1926. He may have been one of the Wayne County Indians who signed the Fremont Irrigation Co. agreement to sell Fish Lake water rights to Rabbit Valley settlers. It appears as if "One Tom" was a Kaiparowits informant for Isabel Kelly (1964:3, 104, 107–108) in the 1930s, though she does not provide his last name as "Quakanab." Aspects of his life provided by Kelly seem to indicate that it could have been Tom Quakanab. For example, she says that he was a Koosharem resident living for two years among the Kaibab. He lived with another Koosharem resident by the name of "Moustache" while in Kaibab (Kelly 1964:107). Apparently "One Tom" was "prominent" in the introduction of the Bear Dance to the Kaibab (Kelly 1964:107). She (1964:107) also says that he came originally from Yantarii (which Tom refers to as the "Ute"), but moved to Kaivi yi gaci (near Circle Cliffs and Kaiparowits territory) where his mother once resided. When Tom returned to Koosharem he was blind and was residing there in 1932 (Kelly 1964:107). Interestingly, Kelly (1964:107) speculates that "Tom" of the Bear Dance "is the Tom 'Pickavits' of the 'Cry,' but laments that she did not "undertake to disentangle these details in the field; at the time it would have been comparatively simple to have identified individuals and perhaps to have established dates more definitively." Gottfredson (1919:288 photo insert) identifies "Old Tom" as a Greenwich resident in 1914 and, at that time, the oldest Indian at over 100 years old. Martineau (1992:293) said that Tom had three children by an unknown wife and identified their offspring as Liza Quakanab, Rosie Quakanab, and Pooteetch'.

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<tr>
<td>Tom Mix</td>
<td>Catherine Fowler (1997: personal communication); Hatch (1996); Jake and Jake (1997); Pikyavit (1997); Robinson (1996); Charles (1997: 18-19, 21-22, 44-45); Surveyor (1997: 7-8, 12); Timicani (1995: 1); Timicani (1997); and Tillohash (1967).</td>
<td>Tom; Tommy Mix; Tommy Aminski (Charles (1997: 21-22); and Tom Pete. Douglas Timicani (1997: 6) tells that Tom Pete changed his name to &quot;Tom Mix&quot; after seeing a movie with the actor Tommy Mix in it. He recalls that Tom Pete was a good bronc rider. Tillohash (1967: 9) says Tom Mix's Indian name was Tohapaipa.</td>
<td>Tom Mix was Catherine Fowler's consultant in 1963 when she worked on the Glen Canyon Salvage Project. She says Tom was born in Escalante. In a 1967 interview with Tillohash (1967: 9-10) Tony said that Tom Mix was a resident of the Escalante area and not a Kaibab. His father's name was Twnatwa'nink or Pete. Douglas Timicani (1995: 1) verifies that Tom Mix's father was &quot;Pete.&quot; Tillohash (1967: 9-10) said that Tom and his family would visit at Kanab. Max Robinson (1996: 14, 46) says Mix, who resided at the Greenwich enclave, was married to a woman who had a tattoo (half moon and star) on her face. Dee Hatch (1996) says the tattoo was on her left cheek and consisted of five stars. Ralph Pikyavit (1997: 4) says that Tom's wife was known as &quot;Reanna,&quot; &quot;Reena,&quot; or &quot;Raina.&quot; Hatch (1996) recalls that Tom Mix had a daughter with whom Hatch went to school in Koosharem. He also recalls that Tom Mix was a broker between the settlers of Grass Valley and the resident Indians, and that he had good negotiating skills. Hatch (1996) remembers seeing him dance in the Sun Dance held at Fish Lake. He thinks he may have been a chief. Douglas Timicani (1997: 31) recalls that Tom was responsible for talking with the White Rocks Ute and encouraging them to come down to Fish Lake to hold a Sun Dance, telling them how beautiful it was. He says that Tom Mix danced representing the Koosharem. Robinson (1996: 14, 46) recalls seeing Mix in Cedar City on one occasion. Vera Charles (1997) remembers her aunt Florence Kanosh telling her that Tom Mix would ride with her father, Jimmy Timicani, through Capitol Reef National Park and down to the Colorado River. They would ride, too, to Escalante to visit his wife's family. She confirms, as does Douglas Timicani, that he used to live in Escalante. Vera tells a story (1997a: 21-22) about Tom being an expert pool player who, during one game, contracted diphtheria and took it back to the Indian enclave though she was not certain which one. Though some died, Tom survived. Douglas Timicani (1997: 5-6) tells a similar story. He recalls that Tom left Escalante after &quot;everybody died down there.&quot; Vera (1997: 44-45) recalls that Tom had a farm at Koosharem. Clifford Jake (1997: 1) says that Tom was his father's (Carl Jake) uncle. Eunice Surveyor (1997: 7-12) remembers that Tom Mix and his wife would spend winters with them on the Shiwits Reservation in the 1950s. She recalls that his dialect was different, difficult to understand and that he told good stories of the early days. She also remembers that he was a pool shark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Monk-kah</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tommaee (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is identified as a 21 year old hunter who lives with isi (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To muck ken</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too-e-woch</td>
<td>Bean (1945)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Bean and Thurbur (Bean 1945: 70) exploration party of June 1873 encountered this &quot;chief&quot; of a group of Indians on the East Fork of the Sevier River near Antimony just due west of the Awapa Plateau (Bean 1945: 70). Apparently he consented to let the members of the Latter-day Saints to settle there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too zoo (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as an eight year old living in the household of Sinmit (?) in Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torrie</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is identified as a five year old grandson living in the household of Poor (?) in Rabbit Valley (the Fremont Precinct).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tou want e gen</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Wap Pou Watch e Ban</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Wate Tan</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as an 88 year old farmer who is married to Parrup (?) and lives in Greenwich with their daughter Posengump (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towegekut (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tow se Ket</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tow Watch</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumunsokont</td>
<td>Kelly (1964)</td>
<td>Means &quot;black moustache.&quot;</td>
<td>He was the third leader of one of the three camps in the Sanwawitimpaya area (Escalante area — Kaiparowits territory) who resided with his wife and was Lucy's paternal grandfather. He owned a spring called Spitapa (cold water) at the north end of the Kaiparowits Plateau, halfway up the slope, and sometimes wintered there (Kelly 1964:151).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunconuk (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a single 21 year old brother and &quot;servant&quot; living in the household of Wilson in Rabbit Valley (of the Fremont Precinct).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unga Shad</td>
<td>Bean (1940)</td>
<td>Unkie-chub (Bean 1940: entry of February 9, 1879)</td>
<td>G.T. Bean recalls the Indians he became acquainted with in the settlement of Grass Valley during the winter of 1873 to 1874. Unga Shad is one he recalls as a &quot;chief,&quot; but no other information is provided about him (see next entry). (I may not have the spelling correctly transcribed from the handwritten notes in the manuscript.) Bean (1940:entry of February 9, 1879) states that about 50 to 80 Indians (8 to 10 lodges) left Grass Valley for Rabbit Valley leaving &quot;about ten lodges [60-80 Indians] at Grass Valley under Unkie-chub and White Horse, Chief.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unshi chub (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 51 year old &quot;ranchman&quot; married to Senar (?) and living in Greenwich. He and Senar (?) have five children. They are Tense gau (?), Kos roose (?), Pesemboots (?), Angenpits (?), and Ka denuspits (?). He may be the Unga Shad or Unkie-chub identified above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vare e Butch</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vera Charles</td>
<td>Charles (1995); Charles (1996a); Charles (1996b); Jackson (1996); and Martineau (1992);</td>
<td>Vera recalls that she had a Paiute name, but did not remember it.</td>
<td>She is the daughter of Jimmy Timican and Rosie Quakanab. She had four uncles and six aunts (Martineau 1992:296-297). Among her aunts is Florence Kanosh. Perry Jackson (1996) tells of Vera making miniature beaded gloves or gauntlets to sell to the Euroamerican residents of Rabbit Valley. In the late 1940s, Vera (1996b:14) married Kenneth Charles from the Shivwits Band and together they had at least seven children. Vera (1996a:54) and her parents left the Greenwich Indian enclave for Richfield just before termination. In the process, they lost their land in Grass Valley. She died in 2000. Vera Charles spoke her native language, and was one of the few remaining Koosharem Band elders who possessed knowledge about her ancestors' traditions and history in the region. Her death is a great loss to all of us and she will be sorely missed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa a pedu (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a 40 year old &quot;keeping house&quot; in Greenwich where she is married to Mo no gots (?) and lives with their son Taniduts (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wah pah nah (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a married 35 year old &quot;trapper&quot; living in Greenwich in the household of Peab, Pavneets (?). Anguistik (?), and Se guts o (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walkara</td>
<td>Isabel Kelly (1964)</td>
<td>Also known as “Walker” or “Chief Walker”</td>
<td>Kelly (1964:34) doubts an account by one of the Kaibab informants that Walkara would come every fall to the Kaibab with 12 or 13 others. The party brought “horses, knives, and guns to trade for buckskin. Brought tips of elk skin. Used the oravi [travois], too”. Kelly’s informant said they were Ute and would return to an area near Provo before winter, which suggests Walkara belonged among the Timpanogots people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker Ammon</td>
<td>Bean, G.T. (1940); Bean, G.W. (1945:95); Charles (1995); Gottfredson (1919); Martineau (1992); Palmer 1929; and Timican (1997)</td>
<td>Ammon Walker; Walker</td>
<td>Martineau (1992:273) says Walker Ammon was born in 1854, location unknown, and died in 1920 at the Greenwich enclave. Martineau identifies his father as the legendary Chief Walker (Walkara, O-aw’kawduh). G.W. Bean (1945:95) calls him a half-brother to Walkara in 1854. Palmer’s (1928:9 or 19) excerpt from the George A. Smith journal seems to clear this up: he refers to Ammon in 1851 as having knowledge of the whereabouts of Walkara. So it seems there are two different “Ammons” here. In 1905, R.D. Adams took a photograph (Martineau 1992:plate 3) that includes Walker Ammon and identifies him as affiliated with Greenwich enclave. His wife, Dora, is also pictured. Gottfredson (1919:288 photo insert and 343) calls him “chief.” Vera Charles (1995:2) says that Walker was originally from Thistle Valley, which would have been Timpanogots territory. Bean (1945:95) says Walker Ammon in 1854 accompanied Chavez to retrieve the J. C. Fremont Precinct cache near Rabbit Valley. The death of Chavez was attributed to Shebarits Indians. Douglas Timican (1997: 26) says that Ammon Walker was from the Wayne County area and that Douglas’s mother, Minnie Kanosh, used to call him brother. G.T. Bean, son of G.W. Bean, recalls him as one of the Indians with whom he became acquainted during the 1870s settlement of Grass Valley. Bean does not provide other information about him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanirrep (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a “trapper” and 71 year old father-in-law living in Greenwich in the household of Unshi chub (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapp</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized as a member of the LDS Church in Grass Valley in June of 1875. May be the same individual as Wappus below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wappus</td>
<td>Gottfredson (1919)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He was affiliated with Koosharem. When Gottfredson (1919:342) meets him in 1914 he was age 79 and blind. He tells Gottfredson he was 12 when Brigham Young came to Utah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter George</td>
<td>Timican (1995)</td>
<td>Paiute name of Curra Weepats means “shaved neck” (William Palmer Collection, folder 18, box 35)</td>
<td>Timican (1995) says Walter and his brother Jordy were dancers at the Fish Lake Sun Dance in 1930.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Horse</td>
<td>Bean, G.T. (1940); Bean, G.W. (1945); Culmsee (1973); Snow (1985); and Sorenson (1997)</td>
<td>Chief White Horse; White Horse Chief; Tamaritz (Bean 1945:251); Shi-Nav-Egin (Culmsee 1973:69).</td>
<td>Snow (1985:16) calls him a chief and the father or brother of Sally (who was an occupant of Rabbit Valley, seen in Escalante, and then resided in Greenwich). It is not clear if White Horse was in Rabbit Valley. Snow says he was “feared.” Bean (1945:251) intimates why he was feared in that he was a very daring warrior in alliance with Black Hawk. Bean relays that in June 1866 White Horse, in collusion with Black Hawk during the Black Hawk War, led stolen cattle from an attack on a settlement into Salina Canyon with Pace in pursuit. Culmsee (1973:69-72) devotes a chapter to White Horse, who he says fought alongside Black Hawk and was regarded as the more daring. He was called White Horse because he rode one. Culmsee (1973:142, 149-152) says White Horse continued to fight after Black Hawk surrendered with acts of resistance occurring until 1872. While Freman Sorenson (1997:16) doesn’t recall any stories his father Erastus Snow, “Indian bishop” of Rabbit Valley, told about White Horse, he does recall his father mentioning his name. G.T. Bean (1940) recalls him as being one of the Indians with whom he became acquainted during the settlement of Grass Valley in the 1870s. Bean provided no other information about White Horse. The Sevier Stake Manuscript History (1879:entry of February 9) states that about 8 to 10 lodges (50 to 80 Indians) left Grass Valley for Rabbit Valley leaving “about ten lodges [60-80 Indians] at Grass Valley under Unkie-chub and White Horse, Chief.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wideniputz (?)</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880); Snow 1985:15)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The U.S. Census of 1880 identifies her as a 24 year old “tanner of furs” married to Pogoneab and living with a son Bob in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct). Snow (1985:15) says that Pogoneab was married to Sally’s older sister. This suggests that Wideniputz was Sally’s sister. It may also mean that Wideniputz was a sister to Timicant, Sally’s brother (Martineau 1992:295).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willie</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a one year old son living in the household of Poor (?) in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct). This individual may be the same as the “Willy” of the next entry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willy</td>
<td>Martineau (1992)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Martineau (1992:298) says that “Willy” was born in Wayne County, was married to Minnie, and they had a son, Frank Woody. No other information is provided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 50 year old farmer married to ——— Peats (?) and living in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct) with two brothers Tunconuk (?), Arrohtz (?), and a widowed sister-in-law, Teseuke (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is listed as a married 17 year old “servant” and “laborer” living in the household of Pogoneab in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Whiskers or Wooden Whiskans</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is listed as a 64 year old farmer married to Sarah and living in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct) with daughter Katie and son Dicke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>CITATION</td>
<td>OTHER NAMES</td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodrow Kanosh</td>
<td>Hatch (1996)</td>
<td>Paiute name may possibly have been Pin-in-uh (William Palmer Collection, folder 18, box 35 at Southern Utah university). I am, however, not sure which &quot;Woodrow&quot; Palmer was referring to. It may be Woodrow Kanosh, Woodrow Pete, or another Woodrow, not among the Wayne County Indians.</td>
<td>Hatch (1996) speaks of Woodrow in Greenwich. He was the son of Crockett Kanosh and Florence or Nancy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wop Anner</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wunsoudif</td>
<td>U.S. Census (1880)</td>
<td></td>
<td>She is identified as the married 24 year old daughter living in the household of Poor (?) in Rabbit Valley (Fremont Precinct).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo am butch</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in June of 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Timican</td>
<td>Charles (1997); Hatch (1996);</td>
<td></td>
<td>Young Timican is a half-brother to Frank Woody. Both were, according to Hatch (1996), the last residents at Greenwich where they farmed. Vera Charles (1997:42) verifies that Young was a half-brother to Frank and did have a farm at Greenwich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You woods</td>
<td>Behunin (1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baptized at Grass Valley in July of 1875.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TREATY WITH THE NAVAHO, 1868.

Articles of a treaty and agreement made and entered into at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, on the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and between the United States, represented by its commissioners, Lieutenant-General W. T. Sherman and Colonel Samuel F. Tappan, of the one part, and the Navajo Nation or tribe of Indians, represented by their chiefs and head-men, duly authorized and empowered to act for the whole people of said nation or tribe, (the names of said chiefs and head-men being hereto subscribed,) of the other part, witness:

ARTICLE 1. From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to keep it.
If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also to reimburse the injured persons for the loss sustained.

If the bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States and at peace therewith, the Navajo tribe agree that they will, on proof made to their agent, and on notice by him, deliver up the wrongdoer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they willfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be reimbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this treaty, or any others that may be made with the United States. And the President may prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under this article as in his judgment may be proper; but no such damage shall be adjusted and paid until examined and passed upon by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and no one sustaining loss whilst violating, or because of his violating, the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States, shall be reimbursed therefore.

**Article 2.** The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit: bounded on the north by the 37th degree of north latitude, south by an east and west line passing through the site of old Fort Defiance, in Cañon Bonito, east by the parallel of longitude which, if prolonged south, would pass through old Fort Lyon, or the Ojo-de-oso, Bear Spring, and west by a parallel of longitude about 109° 30' west of Greenwich, provided it embraces the outlet of the Cañon-de-Chilly, which cañon is to be all included in this reservation, shall be, and the same is hereby, set apart for the use and occupation of the Navajo tribe of Indians, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them; and the United States agrees that no persons except those herein so authorized to do, and except such officers, soldiers, agents, and employes of the Government, or of the Indians, as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties imposed by law, or the orders of the President, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in, the territory described in this article.

**Article 3.** The United States agrees to cause to be built, at some point within said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, the following buildings: a warehouse, to cost not exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars; an agency building for the residence of the agent, not to cost exceeding three thousand dollars; a carpenter-shop and blacksmith-shop, not to cost exceeding one thousand dollars each; and a schoolhouse and chapel, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced to attend school, which shall not cost to exceed five thousand dollars.

**Article 4.** The United States agrees that the agent for the Navajos shall make his home at the agency building; that he shall reside among them, and shall keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by or against the Indians as may be presented for investigation, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his finding, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.
ARTICLE 5. If any individual belonging to said tribe, or legally incorporated with it, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land-book" as herein described, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select, and cause to be certified to him or her for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land, not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate containing a description thereof, and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon, that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Navajo land-book."

The President may at any time order a survey of the reservation, and when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of said settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each.

The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property between the Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper.

ARTICLE 6. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as may be settled on said agricultural parts of this reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that, for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher.

The provisions of this article to continue for not less than ten years.

ARTICLE 7. When the head of a family shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of two years, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements to the value of twenty-five dollars.

ARTICLE 8. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named under any treaty or treaties heretofore made, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency-house on the reservation herein named, on the first day of September of each year for ten years, the following articles, to wit:

Such articles of clothing, goods, or raw materials in lieu thereof, as the agent may make his estimate for, not exceeding in value five dollars per Indian—each Indian being encouraged to manufacture their own clothing, blankets, &c.; to be furnished with no article which they can manufacture themselves. And, in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein.
TREATY WITH THE NAVAHO, 1868.

Census.

It shall be the duty of the agent of the NAVAHO each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate of the year to year can be based.

And in addition to the articles herein named, the sum of ten dollars for each person entitled to the benefits of this treaty shall be annually appropriated for a period of ten years, for each person who engages in farming or mechanical pursuits, to be used by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper; and if within the ten years at any time it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing, under the article, can be appropriated to better uses for the Indians named herein, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may change the appropriation to other purposes, but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named, provided they remain at peace. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the Army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery.

ARTICLE 9. In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy any territory outside their reservation, as herein defined, but retain the right to hunt on any unoccupied lands contiguous to their reservation, so long as the large game may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase; and they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:

1st. That they will make no opposition to the construction of railroads now being built or hereafter to be built across the continent.

2d. That they will not interfere with the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined.

3d. That they will not attack any persons at home or travelling, nor molest or disturb any wagon-trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to persons friendly therewith.

4th. That they will never capture or carry off from the settlements women or children.

5th. They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm.

6th. They will not in future oppose the construction of railroads, wagon-roads, mail stations, or other works of utility or necessity which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States; but should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the Government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners to be a chief or head-man of the tribe.

7th. They will make no opposition to the military posts or roads now established, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes.

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; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him as provided in article [5] of this treaty.

ARTICLE 11. The Navajos also hereby agree that at any time after the signing of these presents they will proceed in such manner as may be required of them by the agent, or by the officer charged with their
TREATY WITH THE UTE, 1868.

ARTICLE 1. All of the provisions of the treaty concluded with the Tabeynache band of Utah Indians, October seventh, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, as amended by the Senate of the United States and proclaimed December fourteenth, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this treaty, as hereinafter provided, are hereby re-affirmed and declared to be applicable and to continue in force as well to the other bands, respectively, parties to this treaty, as to the Tabeynache band of Utah Indians.

ARTICLE 2. The United States agree that the following district of country, to wit, Commencing at that point on the southern boundary line of the Territory of Colorado where the meridian of longitude 106° west from Greenwich crosses the same; running thence north with said meridian to a point fifteen miles due north of where said meridian intersects the fortieth parallel of north latitude; thence due west to the western boundary line of said Territory; thence south with said western boundary line of said Territory to the southern boundary line of said Territory; thence east with said southern boundary line to the place of beginning, shall be, and the same is hereby, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them; and the United States now solemnly agree that no persons, except those herein authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employés of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law shall ever be permitted to pass over or settle upon, or reside in the Territory described in this article, except as herein otherwise provided.

ARTICLE 3. It is further agreed by the Indians, parties hereto, that henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all claims and rights in and to any portion of the United States or Territories, except such as are embraced in the limits defined in the preceding article.

ARTICLE 4. The United States agree to establish two agencies on the reservation provided for in article two, one for the Grand River, Yampa, and Uintah bands, on White River, and the other for the Tabeynache, Muache, Weeminuche, and Capote bands, on the Rio de los Pinos, on the reservation, and at its own proper expense to construct at each of said agencies a warehouse, or store-room, for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not exceeding five hundred dollars; an agency-building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; and four other buildings for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, and miller, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school-house or mission-building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding five thousand dollars.

The United States agree, further, to cause to be erected on said reservation, and near to each agency herein authorized, respectively, a good
water-power saw-mill, with a grist-mill and a shingle-machine attached, the same to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars each: Provided, The same shall not be erected until such time as the Secretary of the Interior may think it necessary to the wants of the Indians.

Article 5. The United States agree that the agents for said Indians, in the future, shall make their homes at the agency-buildings; that they shall reside among the Indians, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians, as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on them by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property they shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with their finding, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision, subject to the revision of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

Article 6. If bad men among the whites or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also re-imburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States, the tribes herein named solemnly agree that they will, on proof made to their agent and notice to him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws, and in case they wilfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be re-imbursted for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States.

Article 7. If any individual belonging to said tribe of Indians or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, by metes and bounds, a tract of land within said reservation not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the land-book, as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in exclusive possession of the person selecting it and his family so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it. Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may, in like manner, select and cause to be certified to him or her for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate containing a description thereof, and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it, by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Ute Land-Book."

The President may at any time order a survey of the reservation; and when so surveyed Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of such Indian settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each.

The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property, and on all subjects connected with the government of the Indians on said reservation and the internal police thereof as may be thought proper.
TREATY WITH THE UTE, 1868.

Article 8. In order to insure the civilization of the bands entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially by such of them as are or may be engaged in either pastoral, agricultural, or other peaceful pursuits of civilized life on said reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to induce their children, male and female, between the ages of seven and eighteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is complied with to the greatest possible extent; and the United States agree that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced to attend school a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as teacher, the provisions of this article to continue for not less than three years.

Article 9. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands, and received his certificate as above described, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends, in good faith, to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid, not exceeding in value fifty dollars; and it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instructions from the farmer herein provided for; and it is further stipulated that an additional blacksmith to the one provided for in the treaty of October seventh, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, referred to in article one of this treaty, shall be provided with such iron, steel, and other material as may be needed for the Uintah, Yampa, and Grand River agency.

Article 10. At any time after ten years from the making of this treaty, the United States shall have the privilege of withdrawing the farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and millers herein, and in the treaty of October seventh, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, referred to in article one of this treaty, provided for, but in case of such withdrawal, an additional sum thereafter of ten thousand dollars per annum shall be devoted to the education of said Indians, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, upon careful inquiry into their condition, make such rules and regulations, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, for the expenditure of said sum as will best promote the educational and moral improvement of said Indians.

Article 11. That a sum, sufficient in the discretion of Congress, for the absolute wants of said Indians, but not to exceed thirty thousand dollars per annum, for thirty years, shall be spent, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior for clothing, blankets, and such other articles of utility as he may think proper and necessary upon full official reports of the condition and wants of said Indians.

Article 12. That an additional sum sufficient, in the discretion of Congress, (but not to exceed thirty thousand dollars per annum,) to supply the wants of said Indians for food, shall be annually expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, in supplying said Indians with beef, mutton, wheat, flour, beans, and potatoes, until such time as said Indians shall be found to be capable of sustaining themselves.

Article 13. That for the purpose of inducing said Indians to adopt habits of civilized life and become self-sustaining, the sum of forty-five thousand dollars, for the first year, shall be expended, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, in providing each lodge or head of a family in said confederated bands with one American cow, as distinguished from the ordinary Mexican or Texas breed, and five head of sheep.
ARTICLE 14. The said confederated bands agree that whenever, in the opinion of the President of the United States, the public interest may require it, that all roads, highways, and railroads, authorized by law, shall have the right of way through the reservations herein designated.

ARTICLE 15. The United States hereby agree to furnish the Indians the teachers, carpenters, millers, farmers, and blacksmiths, as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

ARTICLE 16. No 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 as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his right to any tract of land selected by him, as provided in article seven of this treaty.

ARTICLE 17. All appropriations now made, or to be hereafter made, as well as goods and stock due these Indians under existing treaties, shall apply as if this treaty had not been made, and be divided proportionately among the seven bands named in this treaty, as also shall annuities and allowances hereafter to be made: Provided, That if any chief of either of the confederated bands make war against the people of the United States, or in any manner violate this treaty in any essential part, said chief shall forfeit his position as chief and all rights to any of the benefits of this treaty: But provided further, Any Indian of either of these confederated bands who shall remain at peace, and abide by the terms of this treaty in all its essentials, shall be entitled to its benefits and provisions, notwithstanding his particular chief and band may have forfeited their rights thereto.

In testimony whereof, the commissioners as aforesaid on the part of the United States, and the undersigned representatives of the Tabequache, Muache, Capote, Weeminuche, Yampa, Grand River and Uintah bands of Ute Indians, duly authorized and empowered to act for the body of the people of said bands, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the place and on the day, month and year first hereinbefore written.

N. G. Taylor, [seal.]
A. C. Hunt, governor, &c., [seal.]
Kit Carson, [seal.]
Commissioners on the part of the United States.
U-re, his x mark.
Ka-ni-ache, his x mark.
An-ka-toosh, his x mark.
Jose-Maria, his x mark.
Ni-ca-a-gat, or Greenleaf, his x mark.
Guero, his x mark.
Pa-ant, his x mark.
P1-ab, his x mark.
Su-vi-ap, his x mark.
Pa-bu-sat, his x mark.

Witnesses:
Daniel C. Oakes, United States Indian agent.
Lafayette Head, United States Indian agent.
U. M. Curtis, interpreter.
H. P. Bennet.
Albert G. Boone.
E. H. Kellogg.
Wm. J. Godfrey.

S. Doc. 319, 55-2, vol 2—63
TREATY WITH THE UTE, 1868.

We, the chiefs and headmen of the aforesaid named bands of Ute Indians, duly authorized by our people, do hereby assent and agree to the amendment of the Senate, the same having been interpreted to us, and being fully understood by us.

Witness our hands and seals on the days and dates set opposite our names respectively.

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<th>Date of signing</th>
<th>Signatures</th>
<th>Interpretation of names</th>
<th>Band.</th>
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</thead>
</table>

Signed in the presence of—

A. Sagendorf.
Uriah M. Curtis, special interpreter.
E. H. Kellogg, secretary Colorado Indian superintendency.
Daniel C. Oakes, United States Indian agent.
Louis O. Howell.

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Signed in the presence of—

E. H. Kellogg, secretary Indian superintendency Colorado Territory.
U. M. Curtis, special United States interpreter.
Daniel C. Oakes, United States Indian agent.
H. P. Bennet.
Louis O. Howell.

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TREATY WITH THE UTE, 1868.

Signed in the presence of—

Wm. J. Godfroy.
Daniel C. Oakes, United States Indian agent.
Edward R. Harris, special interpreter.
E. H. Kellogg, secretary Colorado Indian superintendency.
Louis O. Howell.
Uriah M. Curtis, interpreter.

To the other copy of these instruments are signed as witnesses the following names: Juan Martine Martines, (friend of Indians,) Albert H. Pfeiffer, (their old agent,) Manuel Lusero.

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<th>Date of signing</th>
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<th>Band</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 24</td>
<td>So-bo-ta, his x mark</td>
<td>A Big Frock.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I-si-dro, his x mark</td>
<td>A Green Herb.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sow-wa-ch-liche, his x mark</td>
<td>A Crystal Drop Water.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ba-bu-nt, his x mark</td>
<td>Wounded in the Abdomen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sab-ou-chooie, his x mark</td>
<td>Long Tailed Deer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chii-i-whish, his x mark</td>
<td>Water Carrier.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I-tal-i-th, his x mark</td>
<td>Red Eyes.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>En-ri-at-ow-up, his x mark</td>
<td>Red Snake.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aa-ua-wa, his x mark</td>
<td>Named after a Mexican friend.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ac-i-apo-co-ego, his x mark</td>
<td>The Swoop of a Bird.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martine, his x mark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On-a-chee, his x mark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Tap-ap-o-watte, his x mark</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Su-vi-ath, his x mark</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wi-ar-ow, his x mark</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Signed in the presence of—

Lafayette Head.
Alb. H. Pfeiffer.
Manuel Lusero.
E. H. Kellogg, secretary Colorado Indian superintendency.
Uriah M. Curtis, interpreter.
Daniel C. Oakes, United States Indian agent.

<table>
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<th>Date of signing</th>
<th>Signature</th>
<th>Interpretation of names</th>
<th>Band</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 25</td>
<td>Pa-ja-chup-s, his x mark</td>
<td>A Claw.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pa-no-ar, his x mark</td>
<td>Broad Brow.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Su-bi-to-ah, his x mark</td>
<td>Ugly Man.</td>
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<td>Te-sa-ga-ra-pou-it, his x mark</td>
<td>White Eyes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa-po-su-a-wa, his x mark</td>
<td>Big Belly.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qu-a-re-ta, his x mark</td>
<td>A Bear.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Signed in the presence of—

Lafayette Head.
Manuel Lusero.
Alb. H. Pfeiffer.
E. H. Kellogg, secretary Colorado Indian superintendency.
Juan Martine Martines, interpreter and Indian's friend.
Daniel C. Oakes, United States Indian agent.
Uriah M. Curtis, interpreter.

I hereby certify that, pursuant to the order from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated August fourth, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, I visited and held councils with the various bands of
Ute Indians, at the times and places named in this instrument; and to all those familiar with the provisions of the treaty referred to have had the Senate amendment fully interpreted to them, and to all those not familiar with the treaty itself I have had the same fully explained and interpreted; and the forty-seven chiefs whose names are hereunto subscribed, placed their names to this instrument with the full knowledge of its contents and likewise with the provisions of the treaty itself.

Given under my hand at Denver, this fourteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight. A. C. Hunt,
Governor, Ex-officio Superintendent Indian Affairs.
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