NORTH RIM HOMELANDS:

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT RELATING TO TRIBES ASSOCIATED WITH GRAND CANYON-PARASHANT NATIONAL MONUMENT

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Introduction

Located in a remote section of the Arizona Strip in northwestern Arizona, Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument (PARA) encompasses vast areas of desert, mountain, and canyon rim adjacent to the Grand Canyon. Though often seen as "remote" today, the Monument sits at a crossroads of varied cultures and environments. Here, the sprawling Great Basin to the north meets the rugged Colorado River canyonlands along the Monument's southern margin. The Monument's namesake, Parashant, likely originates from a local Southern Paiute family name, spelled in early translations as "Parashonts." According to a descendent from the Parashonts family, Travis Parashonts, the name means elk or large deer standing in water, and it belongs to his family from the Shivwits Band of Paiutes, which traditionally occupied the majority of the current monument, though it was important to a number of other tribes and bands, as well (NPS 2014a). The name Parashant also lends itself to one of the Monument's large canyons, which drains into the Colorado River. According to the National Park Service, "the new monument was named Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument to incorporate both the historical reference to the Southern Paiutes and a geographical reference to the Grand Canyon watershed included in the designation" (NPS 2012: 2).

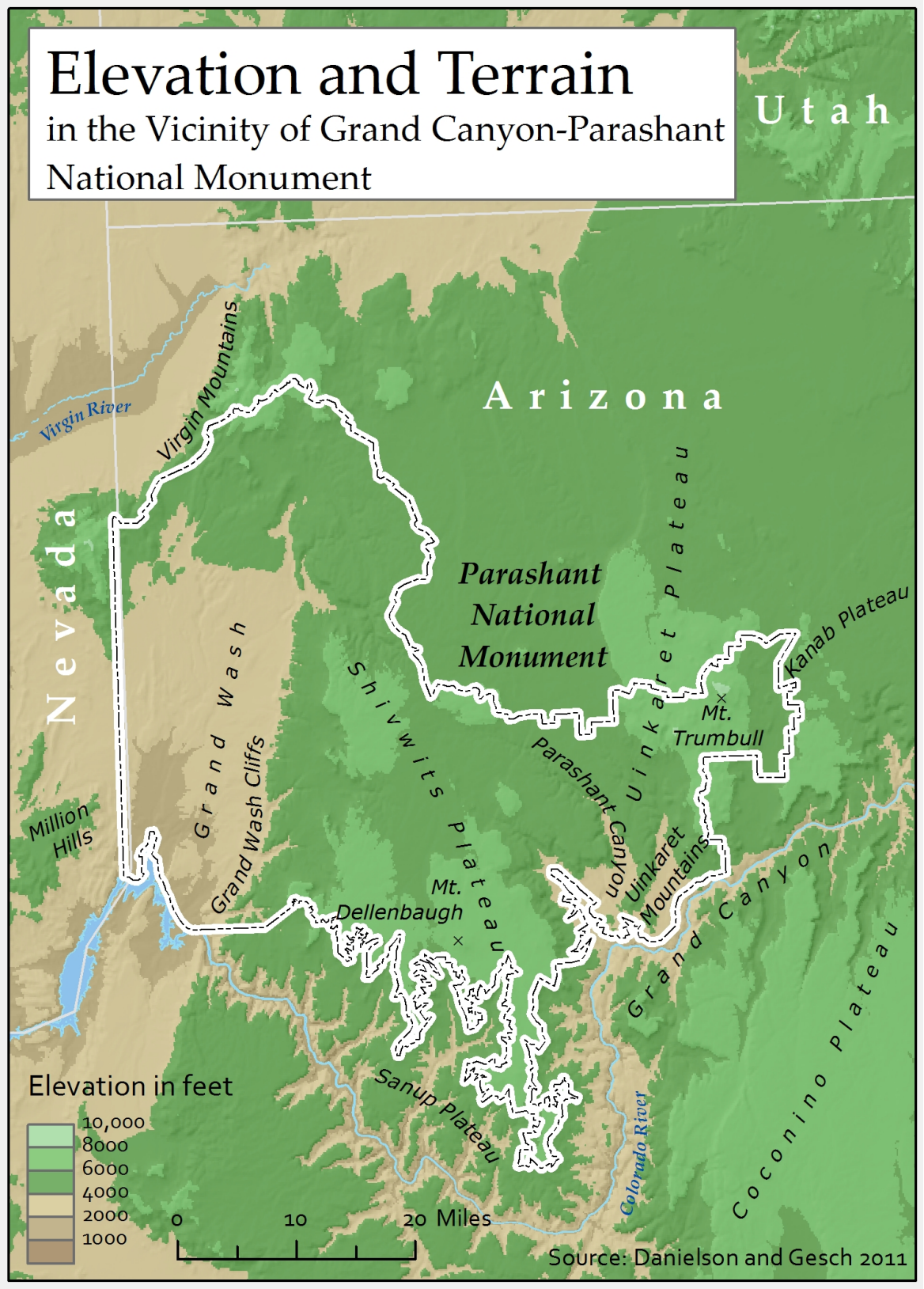
Many tribes have viewed landmarks in the region as sacred, including the Colorado River's Grand Canyon, though they did not frequently venture into what is now the Monument. Others tribes resided almost entirely in the area that now constitutes the Monument, or made frequent use of this area for countless generations. Various bands of the Southern Paiute (Nuwuvi) called this place home at the time of European contact, and they continue to maintain strong and unique ties today. Other tribes, such as the Hualapai, lived near the margins of the Monument and retain ties to the area, as well. Still other tribes have deep and ancient connections to these lands. Archaeological evidence suggests no less than 10,000 years of human occupation within the present day Monument. Puebloan peoples long occupied the land, and the modern descendants of those peoples – notably Hopi and Zuni - also maintain a strong sense of attachment to the area. Others, such as the Navajo, Mojave, and Shoshone, traveled through the area and have histories linked to this place. Modern tribes' associations with particular lands within the Monument add some complexity to Parashant tribal consultation and compliance. Mormon settlers arrived in and around what is today the Monument in the mid-1800s, often displacing resident Native American groups. Upon arrival to the region, these Mormon settlers founded communities and initiated a ranching economy that is still reflected in the landscape of the Monument to this day. Today, certain tribes are requesting to use Monument lands for the traditional gathering of natural resources and to seek to reacquaint themselves with ceremonial and sacred sites within the relatively new national monument.

Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument (PARA) encompasses 1,048,321 acres of rugged wilderness landscapes that range from the craggy peaks of Mt. Trumbull, Mt. Logan and Mt. Dellenbaugh, to the fragrant ponderosa pine forests surrounding these mountains, to the vast Mojave Desert sprawling through the Grand Wash and Pakoon areas. The monument, located in Arizona's Mohave County, is bordered to the south by Grand Canyon National Park and the mighty Colorado River and sits at the convergence of three distinct physiographic provinces: the Colorado Plateau, Mojave Desert and Great Basin. Ranging in elevation from roughly 2,000 to 8,000 feet, the lands within the Monument are home to a variety of ecosystems, including but not limited to pinyon-juniper habitat, plateau grasslands, the Mohave Desert, aspen groves and red rock desert (Map 1**).** Although there is this wide range of habitats, there is an overall lack of water within the Monument, rendering the riparian areas, including the Colorado River corridor to the south, vital to the flora and fauna that make the Monument their home (NPS 2012: iii; NPS 2014b).

The monument is jointly owned by both federal and non-federal entities, with the acreage divided as follows: 208,449 acres administered by the National Park Service; 812,581 acres administered by the Bureau of Land Management; 23,206 acres administered by the Arizona State Trust; and 4,085 acres of private land. While roughly 791,017 acres are allotted or leased for livestock grazing, 300,000 acres within the Monument are either designated or eligible for designation as wilderness areas, and only unpaved roadways provide access to and within the Monument, making Parashant "one of the most remote areas within the 48 contiguous states" (NPS 2012: iii; NPS 2014b).

Both the National Park Service (NPS) and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) manage portions of the federally owned lands within the Monument, which encompass the traditional territories of Moapa, Shivwits and Uinkaret tribes (Map 2). These two agencies are charged with managing the cultural resources on these lands and regularly consulting with those tribes who are historically associated with the lands and resources in their care. A diverse range of federal laws, policies, and regulations prescribe certain levels of consultation. Compliance is essential to agency operations and to the upholding of federal obligations to American Indian tribes. This is not always an easy task. In order to determine their responsibilities, the staffs of the NPS and BLM must sort through the complex history and territorial ties of numerous modern tribes – some living in the Arizona Strip and some living some distance away. This requires a review of the historical and ethnographic record and direct communication with the tribes regarding places and resources that are of interest to them. The current document represents one component of this larger effort.

This document has been undertaken to assist both the NPS and BLM in meeting their obligations for federally mandated compliance and consultation with Indian tribes that have historical associations with Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. The document has been designed, in part, to provide an overview of the territorial

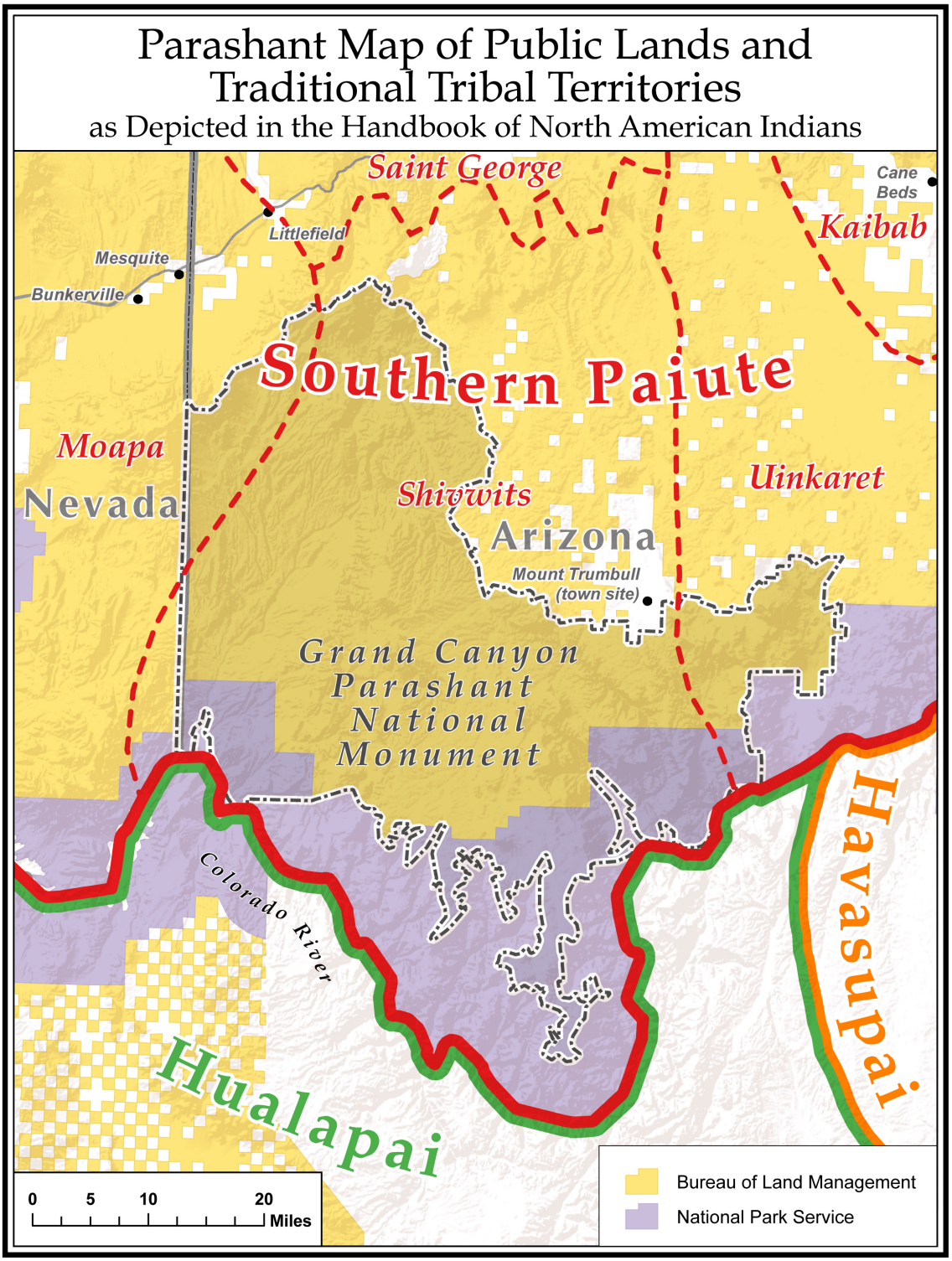

Elevation and Terrain
in the Vicinity of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument
Utah
Arizona
Nevada
Virgin River
Virgin Mountains
Parashant National Monument
Grand Wash
Grand Wash Cliffs
Shivwits Plateau
Parashant Canyon
Uinkaret Plateau
Kanab Plateau
Mt. Trumbull
Million Hills
Mt. Dellenbaugh
Uinkaret Mountains
Grand Canyon
Coconino Plateau
Sanup Plateau
Colorado River
Elevation in feet
10,000
8000
6000
4000
2000
1000
0
10
20 Miles
Source: Danielson and Gesch 2011

Map 1

associations of various tribes with ties to this area. This is accomplished using ethnohistorical documentation, as well key legal documents such as treaty language and Indian Claims Commission findings, which provide some geographical, historical, and ethnographic guideposts to agency efforts. Cumulatively, this research suggests ties between particular tribes and lands in the Monument that may serve as a background reference for tribal and agency staff, alike, as they seek to understand the Monument's tribal history and to protect cultural resources of mutual concern.

As the subjects of this study are multidisciplinary, the research involved a multidisciplinary team. Led by the PSU Principal Investigator, Dr. Douglas Deur, and National Park Service Pacific-West Regional Anthropologist (now retired), Dr. Fred York, this team worked to develop the ethnographic overview and compendium that follows, identifying historical ties between particular modern tribes and lands now managed as part of the Monument. At the onset of this research, the research team communicated with Monument staff to ascertain their needs and interests. They also met with representatives of many of the tribes with historical ties to Grand Canyon-Parashant, to discuss the project and seek their input. The document that follows was developed in response to those conversations. Researchers were asked to identify the key traditionally associated tribes and provide some historical context for the understanding of their traditional uses of federal lands and resources at the Monument. While centering on Southern Paiute tribes who have profound and enduring ties to this area, the team also sought to identify other tribes who have enduring ties to those lands and resources as well. The researchers were asked to provide basic information regarding the organization of area tribes today, so as to facilitate agencies' participation in the consultation process. The researchers were also encouraged to note data gaps, which might be addressed through future research. All of these elements are reflected in the document that follows.

The resulting document is, at once, an ethnohistory of tribes with ties to THE MONUMENT, as well as a compendium of information relevant to the consultation process – including detailed maps and appendices meant to illuminate the foundations of modern tribes' connections to lands and resources now managed as part of the Monument. The report identifies traditionally associated American Indian tribes who may be invited to participate in future studies and on-going formal consultations for the purposes of both compliance with various laws (e.g. the National Historic Preservation Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)) and the fulfillment of federal obligation to consult with these tribes on a government-to-government basis. The report also represents a necessary step for making determinations of cultural affiliation under the terms of NAGPRA in the event of future inadvertent discoveries at Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. Likewise, this document helps set the stage for future studies on the traditional uses of land and resources in the Monument. The researchers sincerely wish that their efforts will aid the NPS and BLM as they seek to protect the cultural heritage of the Monument with this information at their disposal. We also wish


Parashant Map of Public Lands and
Traditional Tribal Territories
as Depicted in the Handbook of North American Indians
Saint George
Cane
Beds
Kaibab
Littlefield
Mesquite
Bunkerville
Southern Paiute
Moapa
Nevada
Shivwits
Uinkaret
Arizona
Mount Trumbull
(town site)
Grand Canyon
Parashant
National
Monument
Colorado River
Havasupai
Hualapai
0
5
10
20
Miles
Bureau of Land Management
National Park Service

Map 2

the tribes every success in documenting and protecting their cultural legacy in the region and hope the materials in this report will be of some value to their efforts. These goals are at the very heart of the current study and reflected in the content of the document that follows.

By design, this document is an "ethnographic overview and assessment." An ethnographic overview and assessment is a basic research report commonly used by the NPS to identify those groups associated with agency lands and resources, and who might view such lands and resources as culturally and historically significant. A brief description of this report type is provided in Chapter 2 of the NPS Cultural Resource Management Guidelines (NPS-28), and this chapter can be accessed online.[1] As described in NPS-28, an ethnographic overview and assessment is a basic report that,

> emphasizes the review and analysis of accessible archival and documentary data on park ethnographic resources and the groups who traditionally define such cultural and natural features as significant to their ethnic heritage and cultural viability.
> (NPS 1998)

As such, this type of document provides a compendium of information assembled to assist agency and tribal staff in the consultation process. An ethnographic overview and assessment consists principally of literature review and archival research, focusing on materials that have already been recorded for a particular study area, as well as drawing from the knowledge of agency and tribal resource staff. While tribal representatives' comments have informed the current report in many ways, the report sticks principally to the written record available in published and unpublished ethnographic, historical, and legal sources. Studies that accentuate contemporary tribal members' perspectives and involve their systematic documentation through ethnographic methods are anticipated in the future and are proposed in the conclusion to this report.

This project has involved the systematic review and integration of existing documentation that the Monument staff made available to the PI and the ATR, which were used to identify data gaps. The PI, the ATR, and the project's research assistants then filled these gaps through original literature and archival research. Topics that were particularly sought out in the course of this research included, but were not limited to:

- Traditional tribal occupation of particular lands
- Changes in land and resource use patterns emanating from historical developments
- Information on historical associations between tribes and territories that might facilitate the protection and treatment of inadvertently discovered American

Indian human remains and associated objects in accordance with the requirements of NAGPRA

- The modern organization of tribal government and cultural offices that may be of value to agencies seeking to develop and sustain positive consultation relationships with tribes

In addition to developing a thematic overview of these themes in the pages that follow, we include a number of elements so that this document might serve as a compendium or "handbook" that may be used as a background reference for consultation – including thematic maps and appendices relating to tribal associations with the Monument.

This document is not assumed to be the "final word" on Native American relationships with these lands and resources in any way, but to be a useful tool in understanding the larger context of these relationships. Many of the document's findings may be familiar to agency readers – hopefully the report will provide information gathered together in a useful format, as a sort of reference work, and will serve to confirm and expand existing knowledge of the topic. For less seasoned cultural resource managers, or resource managers from other fields attempting to comprehend tribal ties to lands and resources, it is hoped that this document might provide a useful orientation to the many tribes and issues facing the Monument.

Methods

The current study represents an effort to illuminate past patterns of use and occupation of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument (PARA) by American Indians, relying especially on the methods of ethnohistory. As such, this research involved a broad review of historical and ethnographic information on these themes, drawn from local, regional, and national sources, as well as considerable information provided by tribal and agency representatives.

This research was not the work of a single individual, but of a multidisciplinary research team with a diverse range of talents. Dr. Douglas Deur, who also served as lead author for the report that follows, directed the research. Dr. Frederick York, Pacific-West Regional Anthropologist of the National Park Service, helped to design the research project; he participated in a variety of research tasks and oversaw some portion of the tribal consultation regarding the project. Deborah Confer, formerly of the Pacific Northwest Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit, a research assistant with expertise in NAGPRA research and repatriation, participated in many early phases of the research and contributed to the authorship of the document. Rachel Lahoff, of the Portland State University Department of Anthropology, a research assistant with experience in Southern Paiute cultural efforts, also contributed significantly to project research and writing, expanding especially upon Southern Paiute themes. In the review of archaeological literatures and their relationship to the study topic, Jim Collette of the Museum of Northern Arizona assisted the team by developing an archaeological context chapter for this report. Patrick Hammons (Pennsylvania State University Department of Geography) provided Mapping and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) support with the significant assistance of Luke Rogers and Andrew Cooke (University of Washington School of Environmental and Forest Sciences), as well as Rachel Lahoff. Agency staff also played a critical role – especially Grand Canyon-Parashant Superintendent, Rosie Pepito. A number of these individuals provided detailed editorial suggestions in response to an original, draft copy of this document. A number of tribal cultural resources specialists also provided critical assistance and information early in the research, which shaped the ultimate content of the document, including but not limited to Deanna Domingo (Moapa), Dorena Martineau (PITU), and Charles Bulletts (Kaibab Paiute). The resulting report is truly a group effort, and the individuals listed here deserve recognition for their contributions.

At the onset of research, Drs. Deur and York met with Grand Canyon-Parashant Superintendent Rosie Pepito and held conference calls with other Monument staff to discuss project objectives and agency needs. The needs expressed by agency representatives were key to the development of the project work plan. Much of this early communication took place roughly concurrently with consultation regarding a parallel study addressing Clark County, Nevada; relevant portions of that study have

been incorporated into the current document's findings (Deur and Confer 2012). Deur and York also invited agency staff to contribute any agency reports that they viewed as pertinent. Deur and York reviewed this literature, as well as additional grey literature reports available from such sources as national and regional agency offices, and non-federal sources such as the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona. On the basis of this analysis, Deur and York identified data gaps that were to be addressed in the current study. Deur and York also met with the elected leaders and cultural resource staffs of a number of federally recognized tribes with ties to the study area, seeking their input on project needs and their guidance on project themes. Together, all of these exchanges suggested a particular course for this research and led to the development of a work plan to guide the work that followed.

Agency staff, in particular, wanted assistance in acquiring background documentation that would help clarify traditional associations between tribes and the lands and resources under their management at THE MONUMENT, while also providing some historical context for understanding these connections. Agency staff was also eager to receive a compilation of basic information regarding the organization of associated tribes today, to facilitate their participation in the consultation process. Each of these research objectives was embodied in the project work plan.

The research that followed involved a review of existing, published documentation, including a synthesis of the historical literature relating to the Arizona Strip, as well as ethnographic writings relating to those tribes who appear to have the most direct ties to this area. This work was conducted principally in the library collections of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, the University of Washington, Portland State University, and various on-line research collections. In addition, and perhaps more important, this research involved a detailed review of archival materials relating to the study's themes in local, regional, and national collections. The information gathered in these collections was used to fill gaps in the existing published record. The research team directly reviewed pertinent materials with collections housed in a number of repositories, including but not limited to the following:

- Southern Utah University, Sherratt Library Special Collections, Cedar City, UT
- Arizona State University Special Collections, Tempe AZ
- University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, Salt Lake City UT
- National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Alaska Region – Seattle, WA
- Lost City Museum collections – Overton, NV
- University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Lied Library Special Collections – Las Vegas, NV
- Latter-day Saints Family History Center - Mountlake Terrace, WA
- University of Washington Suzallo and Allen Libraries, Special Collections, Seattle
- University of Washington Gallagher Law Library, Seattle
- Portland State University Library, Portland

Additionally, the research team regularly accessed a number of remotely accessible and/or digital repositories, including but not limited to the following:

- National Archives and Records Administration – Washington, D.C.
- National Park Service National NAGPRA Program – Washington, D.C.
- National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers Program – Washington, D.C.
- National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History Collections – Washington, D.C.
- University of Wisconsin Digital Collections, History Collection –Madison, WI
- Oklahoma State University Library Digital Collections, American Indian Law – Norman, OK
- Utah American Indian Digital Archive, University of Utah – Salt Lake City, UT

A wide range of other sources was consulted beyond this list, but not as regularly or consequentially. Official tribal websites were especially useful in the crafting of later sections of this document, which provide contact information and other materials on the contemporary status of area tribes.

Certain sources were especially important in assessing matters of tribal land claims, in addition to the conventional ethnographic and historical sources. Using the federal National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) collections, we reviewed all Indian Claims Commission (ICC) documents, including published and unpublished materials available for all adjudicated lands encompassing the Monument and its vicinity. These included those of Southern Paiute (Dockets 88, 330), but also the Hualapai (Docket 90), Havasupai (Docket 91), and Shoshone (Dockets 326, 327). For each of these dockets, we reviewed relevant expert testimony reports, oral testimony transcripts, and printed notices of ICC findings. Also of particular value in this archival effort were the Records of Superintendencies of Indian Affairs (NARA Record Group 75.15), especially Arizona (1863-1873), but also Utah (1849-1872), and Nevada (1861-1875). At the NARA archives, we also reviewed relevant sections of available records, including those in Record Group 48 (Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, including War Department correspondence), Record Group 94 (Returns from U.S. Military Posts, Correspondence from Indian wars, Reports of Post Officers, and others), and certain other federal records. These items provide a valuable glimpse into the mechanisms of tribal relocation, as well as the movements of different tribal communities during their transition from uncontested sovereigns on their traditional lands to the tribal reservation communities and sovereign tribal governments of today.

Compiling the information we gathered from these sources, we analyzed these items for recurring themes. We also identified inconsistencies and data gaps, and sought to remedy these through follow-up literature reviews. In this effort, we sought to understand the identity and experiences of Native American people who were

connected to the Arizona Strip, so as to place the question of tribal affiliation in a larger historical and cultural context. We also attempted to trace the histories of these various tribal populations into the twentieth century, so that we might better illuminate the connections between peoples mentioned in association with the Monument's past and identifiable American Indian tribes and other Native American groups today. This information is presented thematically in the pages that follow.

One of the goals of this effort has been to provide tribal and agency resource managers with ample original source material that can be used in the management and interpretation of the region's Native American history. Toward this end, original sources have been quoted in many portions of this document, while such items as treaties, executive orders, and other legal instruments relating to Indian title in the study are included as appendices. It is hoped that these quotations from original sources will be of use to readers who wish to follow up on specific themes, and that these original quotations and materials can be used by tribes and agency staff alike in assessing particular details of the Monument's Native American history.

In light of the tremendous breadth and diversity of materials consulted over the course of this project, with the intent of addressing the interests of numerous tribes over large areas, this document has, by necessity, summarized the outcomes of this research and only presents fine-grained details on certain topics where such detail seems warranted. An exhaustive treatment of the many tribal cultures, Indian and settler histories, and Native ties to lands and resources that all converge at the Monument would represent a monumental work, indeed; portions of this history are currently being developed in parallel NPS studies (Brown 2011). The complexity of the region's history ensures that perhaps no one account might tell the whole story to the satisfaction of all parties with a stake in that history. Certain gaps in the current document are inevitable and should be acknowledged in advance. However, many outstanding works have already been produced that address the Arizona Strip by academic anthropologists, agency resource management specialists, tribal cultural staff, and others. The sources listed in the bibliography and cited throughout should be consulted by anyone wishing to develop a more detailed understanding of this history.

The Archaeological Context of Grand Canyon-Parashant

A Section by Jim Collette

On a hot day in May 1920, archaeologist Neil Judd found himself dangling from a rope above a small, underground chamber near Mt. Trumbull. He was looking for evidence of prehistoric man—perhaps the "potsherds," sandals, wooden implements or "flint chips" that would mark the passing of "primitive Pueblo stock." Wriggling though a 4-foot diameter hole in the surface of the limestone, Judd strained to see the chamber floor. "Inspected," he said, "from an uncertain point of vantage, the cavity contained nothing except three live rattlesnakes" (Judd 1926:124-128).

He had better luck in a larger cave about 300 yards to the east. Here, at the edge of a lava flow, was an inconspicuous opening that led to "tortuous inner passages." On hands and feet, choking on fine dust, Judd and his companions "scratched over the ancient debris with sticks and bare fingers" looking for relics. He had high hopes, but was probably too late. The cave was located near the ranch of Franklin A. Heaton, and Heaton's sheepherders had uncovered a trove of specimens the previous winter: a clay pot, two clubs, a bow, and a pair of sandals; these Judd had seen. Eleven other sandals, and "certain unnamed objects," had already been spirited away—"lost to science."

Judd found enough items to claim that "Cliff-dwellers and Basket Makers had sojourned here." Some had never left. While rifling through the drifts of sand, fragments of human bone fell through their fingers. The cave was a burial ground.

That same day, the party moved to lower Toroweap Valley, ferried by the only available automobile that Judd could locate in Kanab, Utah. The trail was rough—"never intended for automobile travel"—but along the way they found more evidence of "pre-Pueblo peoples," including a habitation that Judd sketched as having over 15 rooms (1926: Figure 34). He calculated that "future explorations…should discover similar remains, widely distributed and not too numerous."

It had been a long day, but by the time the party returned to their camp in the shadow of Mt. Trumbull, Neil Judd had achieved a something of a presumptive first: sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology, he was the first professional archaeologist to conduct research in what would become, 80 years later, the Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

DEPRESSION ERA AND WAR YEARS

As was the case throughout the Southwest, the economic depression of the 1930s ushered in a new phase of archaeological research on or near the Arizona Strip. Benjamin Wade Wetherill was hired by Ansel Hall and the Civil Works Administration to lead a series of surveys and excavations at Zion National Park in 1933 and 1934, and may have been the first archaeologist to put a shovel into Parashant dirt.

Ben was the first son of John and Louisa Wetherill, born in 1896 into the famous Wetherill family of Indian traders and explorers. His formative years were spent growing up on remote trading posts at Ojo Alamo, Pueblo Bonito, and Kayenta, and his command of the Navajo language was such that English was almost a second language (Van Alfen n.d.a). He had a minor handicap—he had lost an eye after a horse kicked him in the head at age eight. The injury—Wetherill had an artificial eye the rest of his life—kept him out of World War I (Gillmor and Wetherill 1934), but Hall and the Civilian Conservation Corp were happy to put him to work. Operating out of CCC Company 962, Wetherill and his crew recorded almost 100 sites within and outside of Zion National Park, and excavated or tested 10 sites.

On his days off, Wetherill ranged further afield, recording sites as far away as what was then called Boulder Dam and the North Rim of the Grand Canyon.[2] One or more of these side trips took him to two locations within Parashant: the Mt. Trumbull/Tuweep area, and a ranch at Pakoon Springs. At the former location Wetherill recorded four sites, consisting of a vandalized cave with sherds (Site 39), two "mounds" with as many as 11 or 12 rooms each (Sites 40 and 41), and another mound with an "interior court" but no visible room outlines (Site 42).[3] A half mile south of Pakoon Springs, west of the Grand Wash Cliffs, Wetherill recorded Site 45 with sherds and "stones that appear to outline circular rooms" (Schroeder 1955:98).

Wetherill collected artifacts on his site visits, and it was at Pakoon that he may have conducted a kind of shovel test. Of the 276 sherds collected at the site, 7 or 8 plain ware sherds appear to originate from contexts below the surface (Van Alfen n.d.b).[4]

Unfortunately, the provenance for many of the Judd and Wetherill sites is uncertain, one reason that Altschul and Fairly (1989:54) called Judd's explorations of "limited value to modern researchers"—a criticism that could be applied to Wetherill's work as well. Site 39 has not been relocated, to anyone's knowledge. Heaton's cave has been relocated and re-recorded, but—it turns out—is not on Monument land. David Van Alfen, Park Archaeologist for the Parashant, has shared a "sneaking suspicion" that Judd's Tuweep site is the same as Wetherill's Site 40 (personal communication, 2013). Sites 40 and 41 were apparently re-recorded by Richard Thompson of Southern Utah State College (SUSC) in the late 1960s, but there is some question as to whether one or both are within the Parashant (see Schroeder 1955:Figure 15 for the general location of

Wetherill's sites).[5] Van Alfen also suspects that Wetherill's Site 42 *was* re-recorded, but has not yet been correlated with any site in the Monument's database.

Attention then shifted to the Shivwits Plateau, Whitmore Wash, and Grand Wash Cliffs in the early 1940s when archaeologist Gordon C. Baldwin conducted reconnaissance survey in these areas, as well as a brief foray to Poverty Mountain. Baldwin was Assistant Archaeologist at what was then Boulder Dam National Recreation Area—now Lake Mead National Recreation Area.

The purpose of Baldwin's survey was straightforward: to test the validity of his belief that the region had "little in the way of archeological material…due to its separation from the main southwestern archeological area by the Grand Canyon" (Baldwin 1978:14). Baldwin visited 51 sites, although the report lists only the "more important" of these. He concluded that the area was best suited for hunting and seed gathering, even though he found several Ancestral Puebloan sites with multiple rooms and abundant artifacts. Two such sites were located in Whitmore Wash: AZ A:11:1 with 20 rooms, and AZ A:11:2 with as many as 30 rooms. On the Shivwits Plateau he found another U-shaped pueblo "with a courtyard" (AZ G:3:15) but did not venture a guess as to the number of rooms.

Although Baldwin defined the survey as short and limited in scope, he notched several "firsts" within what are now Monument lands. In Whitmore Baldwin tallied the first documented rock art site, AZ A:16:6, and an aceramic site (AZ A:16:1) with flaked stone tools that he believed might be evidence for "pre-pottery making people" (1978:16). In the Grand Wash Cliffs area, he recorded "the first definite evidence of historic or late prehistoric Paiute occupation" at Hidden Springs within Hidden Canyon (AZ A:10:2), noting that the canyon "extends from the desert country in Grand Wash up to the foot of Poverty Mountain, forming an excellent thoroughfare even today" (1978:21). Baldwin also made detailed observations of ceramic types, which informed later papers on Virgin Anasazi and Southern Paiute ceramics (Baldwin 1945, 1950). Finally, his summary statement that the Parashant material "has numerous affinities to that previously found in the Muddy Valley to the west [in Southern Nevada], but also has distinct differences that warrant further…investigation" encapsulates much of the research emphasis of archaeological projects in the Parashant even to this day.

One of the challenges in researching early archaeological work in the Parashant area, is that results were either not adequately reported, or are tangential to the discussion of larger projects—usually outside the bounds of the Monument.

The work of Ben Wetherill and Gordon Baldwin was relegated, for the most part, to agency files at Zion and Lake Mead. Wetherill published a brief summary of the Zion investigations (Wetherill and Smith 1934), but apparently never completed a final report, and many of his notes were later burned in a fire. Albert H. Schroeder recounted the history of Wetherill's efforts in his *Archeology of Zion Park* (1955), and

included capsule descriptions of the sites at Mt. Trumbull and Pakoon Springs. Most recently, Van Alfen (n.d.c) has begun a search for Wetherill's existing site notes, maps, photos, and artifacts, which are dispersed between multiple land agencies, museums, libraries and private holdings, with a fair degree of success.

Baldwin, to his credit, compiled a short report on the Shivwits and Grand Wash surveys, dated 1942, and Schroeder references the Shivwits results in his treatise on the excavations at Willow Beach (Schroeder 1961). Baldwin's report did not see wider distribution until it was reprinted in the inaugural issue of *Western Anasazi Reports* (Baldwin 1978).

POST-WAR AND THE 1950S

Schroeder himself, and other NPS personnel, "made several trips to the Shivwits Plateau and Whitmore Wash areas" in the 1950s according to Richard Shutler, Jr. (Shutler 1961:8), but the results of the visits are never explicitly reported in either Schroeder's Zion or Willow Beach report, although Schroeder is clearly familiar with the area and incorporates data from Shivwits into his analyses.

In 1955 and 1956 Shutler, James S. Griffith, and members of the NPS visited the Shivwits Plateau and a landform they called the "Grand Canyon Terrace" below and on the east side of the plateau, and recorded 21 new sites (Shutler 1961:8-10). Their work appears to have been restricted to land within what was then Lake Mead National Recreation Area. Sites located on the plateau are now part of Monument land managed by the NPS. Shutler's team recorded sites without ceramics, campsites with Ancestral Puebloan pottery, Southern Paiute camps, a multi-roomed pueblo on the east side of the plateau, and four rockshelters on the terrace, some with rooms and petroglyphs. The results of the Shivwits Plateau survey were incorporated into Shutler's report on his Lost City excavations (1961), but did include ceramic and lithic type counts and photographs of some sites and artifacts.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s archaeological interest in the Arizona Strip and Southern Utah grew rapidly as a result of the Glen Canyon Project, a multi-year investigation of sites both within the maximum pool level of the proposed Lake Powell reservoir, and adjacent lands (see Jennings 1998 for a summary). Of particular relevance to the study of Arizona Strip prehistory was C. Melvin Aikens' investigation of the relationship between the so-called Virgin and Kayenta "branches" of the Anasazi, using data from sites he excavated in Southwestern Utah (Aikens 1966).

1970S AND THE RISE OF CRM

Altschul and Fairley (1989:60) list other reports of related interest to the Arizona Strip, but the fact is that archaeological work on the plateau country of Grand Canyon-Parashant during this period was limited to non-existent until Richard Thompson initiated a series of surveys, and then limited excavations, in Grand Canyon National Monument beginning in 1967 (1970, 1971a, 1971b; Thompson and Thompson 1974, 1978).

For the most part, the SUSC work was restricted to what was then Grand Canyon National Monument, which is now part of Grand Canyon National Park and shares a boundary with the southeast corner of Grand Canyon-Parashant. The exception to this were three "major sites of permanent habitation" in what he called the "Tuweep Rangeland" in Toroweap Valley, which were not located within Grand Canyon National Monument. Thompson claimed that two of the habitations were the same as Ben Wetherill's Site 40 and 41 (as listed in Schroeder 1955:98; see Thompson 1970:29-32) and he provides some limited, additional information on site layout and setting. Only one of the three sites was on what is now Parashant land, but Thompson does not specify the site number of that site.[6]

The era of modern archaeology in the Parashant might be said to have begun in the mid-1970s with a substantial survey by the Museum of Northern Arizona in the Mt. Trumbull area (Moffitt and Chang 1978). The senior author, Kathleen Moffitt, also co-authored the report of MNA's survey of a 500 kv transmission line across the Arizona Strip from Page, Arizona to the Arizona-Nevada state line southwest of St. George, Utah (Moffitt et al. 1978).

The Mt. Trumbull survey was the first large-scale sample survey conducted on Grand Canyon-Parashant land, although the authors believed it fell short of being "truly random" (1978:188). A little over 2,000 acres were surveyed, or roughly 23% of the sample frame. Seventy-two prehistoric sites and eight historic sites were recorded. One of the most surprising results was the number of permanent habitations, including 10 C-shaped (also called "crescent"-shaped) pueblos of up to 20 rooms. For the first time on the Parashant, sites locations were correlated with vegetation and soil types, elevation, landform, and accurate site densities were calculated.

While certainly more detailed than previous accounts, the report constituted a short article with appendices in *Western Anasazi Reports*, and restrictions on length apparently left no room to include site descriptions and artifact tabulations, a shortcoming noted by Altschul and Fairley (1989:69).[7]

Considering its isolated location, the Shivwits Plateau has seen an amazing number of archaeological investigations over the years, continuing almost to this day. In 1977 the plateau was again visited by crews from the Western Archeological Center, Tucson (Teague and McClellan 1978).[8] The project has come to be known as the "Adjacent Lands Survey," and was a response to an intended enlargement of Grand Canyon

National Park. The survey centered on the Kanab and Shivwits plateaus, with forays into Andrus, Parashant, and Whitmore canyons. Less than 0.5% of the sample frame was surveyed—probably not sufficient to be considered representative of the cultural resources within the frame, and the sampling methods used in the Shivwits area cannot be considered probabilistic. Nearly all of the survey on or around the Shivwits Plateau was within the NPS-managed land of Lake Mead, but a portion of upper Parashant Canyon was surveyed that extends into BLM-managed sections of the current Monument.

A total of 171 sites were recorded. Curiously, when compared with what was found near Mt. Trumbull, masonry habitations were rare, with most prehistoric sites consisting of variations on lithic scatters and campsites. WACC concluded that "agriculture was of very little importance in the study area" with prehistoric activities directed toward "hunting, plant gathering, stone quarrying, and tool manufacture" (1978:179); Altschul and Fairley later judged this interpretation as "erroneous" (1989:70).

Not all archaeological endeavors in the Grand Canyon-Parashant were focused on survey and reconnaissance during this time. In the late 1970s, Thompson co-authored, with William D. Lipe, a cultural resource assessment of the "Grand Wash Planning Unit" for the BLM (Lipe and Thompson 1979). The unit encompassed much of the current Parashant west of Whitmore Canyon, but also included an arc of real estate west of the Hurricane Cliffs to the Virgin Mountains that are not within the Monument (1979:41). The authors projected the site potential of seven "districts" within the unit based on topography, effective moisture, vegetation associations, soils, and geological formations. The results were broadly scaled from low to high potential, but the study is more nuanced than a simple estimation of site density, and attempts to predict site forms and locations as well. The document is a more localized precursor to Altschul and Fairley's (1989) extensive overview of the Arizona Strip a decade later (see also Lipe and Thompson 1978).

THE 1990S: PRELUDE TO A MONUMENT

The 1980s were relatively quiet on this part of the Arizona Strip, but in 1990 members of WACC returned again to the Shivwits Plateau "to identify archaeological resources…that are likely to see impacts from National Park Service and visitor activities" (Wells 1991:1). The instigation for the survey was reported looting at sites within Lake Mead National Recreation Area, which included the Shivwits Plateau. A reconnaissance and block survey was completed for a total of 1,469 acres.

The effort was focused on areas with heavy visitation, such as access roads and well-known landmarks, and areas with high potential for prehistoric sites, and is not a statistically valid sample. In this sense, the survey was very similar to a nearly

concurrent project conducted on the Kanab Plateau by Northern Arizona University (NAU) in the late 1980s (Huffman et al. 1990). Like the Pinenut Site project, the NAU survey was in response to uranium exploration on adjacent BLM lands, specifically newly-graded haul roads that provided easier access to NPS lands west of Kanab Creek.

While the results of the 1990 WACC survey did not directly contradict the interpretations from the 1977 endeavor, it did add to the range of site types on the plateau and provided a fuller picture of settlement and subsistence. Survey crews found multi-room pueblos of equal size to those near Mt. Trumbull, many smaller masonry habitations, fieldhouses, roasting pits, and even agricultural sites. Additional sites with Southern Paiute components were also recorded.

AFTER 2000: A DECADE OF FIELD SCHOOLS

On January 11, 2000, Grand Canyon-Parashant was established as a National Monument by presidential proclamation. The designation ushered in a new era of cultural resource investigation and protection, with an emphasis on partnering with institutions of higher education, such as the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV), Nevada State College (NSC), and the Desert Research Institute (DRI). For the first time, the Monument benefited from research-directed, multi-year field schools engaged in survey and data recovery. At the same time, the BLM and NPS renewed their long-term association with the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, with additional survey on the Shivwits Plateau.

The WACC survey began in June 2001 and was the first, large-scale inventory on Grand Canyon-Parashant land since the establishment of the Monument. The objective of the project was somewhat general, simply to "provide information on the abundant, albeit understudied, archaeological resources present…on the Shivwits Plateau" (MacWilliams et al. 2006:1). The coverage goals, however were quite specific: survey west of the Mt. Dellenbaugh Fire Camp, the "middle" area of Twin Point, and the Paws Pocket area of Whitmore Wash. The crew was also tasked with updating the site record for AZ A:14:52 (ASM), and recording the Grand Gulch Mine (AZ A:9:134).[9]

In the 1,895 acres surveyed, a total of 53 prehistoric and two historic sites were recorded. Fifteen multi-room and 10 single room habitations were found, and nine agricultural sites, possibly laying to rest the original assertion by Teague and McClellan (1978) that the Shivwits was primarily used for logistical activities. The report benefited from the most thorough historic context for this portion of the Arizona Strip since Altschul and Fairley (1989), and an excellent discussion of artifacts.

Almost simultaneously, DRI took to the field that same month with the "Mt. Trumbull Prehistory Project." Research was focused on "the adaptive diversity of sites in the

Uinkaret Plateau" by focusing on "higher elevation areas presumed to have been suitable for rainfall agriculture adaptations" (Buck 2006:5).

In its inaugural year the team, under the direction of Paul Buck, worked exclusively at Uinkaret Pueblo (AZ A:1:14 [MNA]) on the southwest flank of Mt. Trumbull (Buck 2004). In 2003 Buck and DRI, in association with Nevada State College, conducted a field season at the Zip Code Site (AZ A:12:131 [BLM]), a pueblo west/northwest of Uinkaret Pueblo that straddles both federal and Arizona state land (Buck et al. 2004). The scope of the 2004, 2005, and 2006 field schools was enlarged to include work at other prehistoric sites in the Mt. Trumbull area (AZ A:12:30 [BLM], 71 [ASM], 136 [ASM], and 204 [BLM]), as well as additional work at Uinkaret Pueblo and the Zip Code Site.

All of the sites were mapped, surface artifacts were collected, and a limited program of subsurface testing was instituted. During two seasons, the crew also completed survey and recording of sites found in and around an area called the "Bird Plot." The results of each field season can be found in a series of annual, preliminary reports (Buck 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007; Buck et al. 2004). The data were also used in a recent study of optimal field locations in relation to the distribution of archaeological sites (Buck and Sabol 2013).

UNLV had its first field school, under the direction of Karen Harry, in 2006 (Rees 2006). Since then, field schools have been conducted within the Monument in 2007, 2010, and 2013, and at least one more is scheduled for 2014. UNLV has conducted ancillary archaeological projects on the Parashant almost every year since 2006, as well as numerous investigation in the adjacent Lake Mead National Recreation Area. Currently, preliminary information on Grand Canyon-Parashant research is available through 2011.

In 2006 field school activities focused on Lava Ridge Ruin (AZ A:14:50 [ASM]), an 18-room pueblo dating to the latter half of the twelfth century, with limited work at nearby Granary House (AZ A:14:46). In 2007 UNLV returned for more excavation at AZ A:14:50, and surveyed 350 acres on Lava Ridge, documenting 14 prehistoric sites (Public Lands Institute 2007). In 2010 the field school moved its investigations to AZ A:14:283, a small pueblo dubbed the Coyote Site, and also conducted additional work at Granary House.

Although there was no official field school in 2011, Harry and several student volunteers conducted further excavations that summer at the Coyote Site, and limited testing at the "farming hamlet" of AZ A:14:232. All four sites that were investigated between 2006 and 2011 are Virgin Anasazi habitations located east of Mt. Dellenbaugh, south of Horse Valley (Harry 2013).

OTHER INVESTIGATIONS

Maxon and Gale (1969), on a brief trip to the Shivwits Plateau, recorded nine sites dominated by lithics; seven of the sites had been previously recorded. Although Wells (1991:17) states that only site records remain of the project, there is a short letter report on file at WACC (see above).

In 1977 Richard N. Holmer led a small crew to survey four mineral lease areas in Parashant and Whitmore canyons, recording 14 sites (Holmer 1979). The sites were primarily open lithic scatters and rockshelters. Holmer is probably best known for his incisive papers on Archaic projectile points (e.g., Holmer 1978, 1986). Teague visited two historic sites on the Parashant in 1982—the "Dunn inscription" on Mt. Dellenbaugh and the Dinner Pockets Cabin (Teague 1982).

UNLV has participated in other archaeological studies at the Monument during that time, some mobilized through the Public Lands Institute (PLI), Las Vegas. Examples include landscape studies—such as Tassi Ranch for the NPS (Rees 2006); condition reassessments of previously recorded sites; a series of archaeological inventories in advance of fuel reduction treatments (see Public Lands Institute 2009:16-17); and the development of predictive site location models for the Shivwits Plateau (Osborne 2008).

Although outside of Grand Canyon-Parashant lands, mention should be made of what Altschul and Fairley called "the first major excavation project on the Arizona Strip…to be fully reported in a formal publication" (1989:74). They are referring to the Pinenut Site on the Kanab Plateau, jointly excavated by Abajo Archaeology and the BLM Arizona Strip District (Westfall 1987). The project is noteworthy because it reflects the rise in this part of the southwest of for-profit cultural resource management (CRM) firms during the 1970s and 1980s, concurrent with an increase in resource development on public lands and federal mandates to mitigate the effects of such development. In this case, the site was adjacent to a planned uranium mine. Westfall noted that the effort marked "an important step forward in the reconciliation of economic development with the need to protect cultural heritage values" (1987:3).

Of course, not all archaeological inventory results in the finding of cultural resources. Two small, mining-related surveys by Abajo Archaeology in the Whitmore Point area had negative results (Bond 1982a, b), and a 10-acre survey by Westfall in Andrus Canyon also came up empty (Westfall 1987).

WACC, continuing its long history of investigations on the Shivwits, conducted surveys for numerous fuel reduction units on the plateau. In 1998 WACC surveyed 3,090 acres near Mt. Dellenbaugh and the Twin Point area, with the finding of 20 archaeological sites (Svinarich 2006). In 1999 an additional 700 acres were surveyed, including a portion of the "Mt. Dellenbaugh jeep trail;" six previously recorded sites were found,

plus nine new sites (Robertson and MacWilliams 2006). In 2001 WACC inventoried another 1,895 acres (MacWilliams et al. 2006).

In the same region, Douglas McFadden completed two surveys in 2010 by Little Spring (McFadden 2010a) and around nearby Potato Valley (McFadden 2010b). In the 640-acre Little Spring survey, 52 prehistoric sites were identified. Of these, an incredible 94% (n=49) were architectural, consisting of both single rooms and multi-room pueblos. A total of 83 sites was found or relocated in the Potato Valley tracts. More artifacts scatters were identified than at Little Springs, but architectural sites still dominated (n=49; 59%). Most of the architectural sites were Virgin Anasazi that dated to Pueblo II.

CULTURAL RESOURCES ON THE GRAND CANYON-PARASHANT TODAY

As of the fall of 2013, 2,216 archaeological sites have been recorded on the Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument (David Val Alfen, personal communication, 2013). There are 1,563 sites on lands managed by the BLM, and 653 sites on lands managed by the NPS.

Land managed by the National Park Service has seen considerably more inventory—as a percentage of total acreage—than that of the BLM. On the NPS "side" of the Monument, 21.4% of 208,447 total acres has been surveyed. On BLM-managed land, 8.1% of 808,744 acres has been inventoried in some fashion.

The NPS has benefited from repeated inventories of the Shivwits Plateau, as well as canyons such as Parashant, Andrus, and Whitmore. Much of the BLM inventory has been focused on the Mt. Trumbull area, with other surveys scattered about the Grand Wash region to the west.

Not all inventories were undertaken at the same level of intensity, and not all of the sites have received the same level of recording. Using BLM-managed lands as an example, a little less than half of the surveys are considered to be "complete" in that 100% of the terrain received intensive pedestrian survey:

Table 1. Acreage surveyed by class of BLM-managed lands in Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

Survey Class*	Acres Surveyed	Percent
Class 2	13,048	1.6
Class 3	33,469	4.1
Class 4	2,691	0.3
Unknown	16,270	2.0

* Class 2 = sample; Class 3 = complete; Class 4 = reconnaissance.

The remaining acreage was either sampled or conducted at a reconnaissance level of effort, or the inventory class is not known.

Overall, 10.4% of all Grand Canyon-Parashant lands have been inventoried, or 110,045 acres of a total of 1,048,316 acres. While some of this cannot be considered a statistically valid sample, it is a substantial amount of coverage given the young age of the Monument.

SUMMARY OF CULTURE HISTORY IN THE MONUMENT

In 1989 Jeffrey H. Altschul and Helen C. Fairley authored *Man, Models and Management: An Overview of the Archaeology of the Arizona Strip and the Management of its Resources*, still considered to be the "bible" of cultural resource overviews for the region, although in need of updating. A few documents on archaeology specific to the Grand Canyon-Parashant or adjacent lands go above and beyond the usual reiterations of culture history, including Thompson's early discussions on settlement patterns (Thompson 1970) and Virgin ceramics (Thompson 1971a), and Lipe and Thompson's assessment of the Grand Wash Planning Unit (Lipe and Thompson 1979; see also Lipe and Thompson 1978 and Thompson and Dalley 1978).

In this brief culture history, we focus on the southwest corner of the Arizona Strip, including Grand Canyon-Parashant as well as adjacent public lands administered primarily by the BLM, with an emphasis on interpretations of recent research. For readers wishing to place the Monument history in a broader context, we recommend both Altschul and Fairley (1989) and an excellent "History Context" available in MacWilliams et al. (2006:15-46) and online at http://core.tdar.org/document/4359.

Paleoindian

The first Native American occupation of the Grand Canyon-Parashant probably occurred during the Paleoindian period at the late glacial Pleistocene-Holocene boundary (ca. 11,500 BP to 9,000 BP). As a lifeway, Paleoindians have traditionally been defined as big-game hunters with distinctive projectile points and large mammal associations. By at least 9,000 BP the lifeway transitioned to an Archaic pattern of broad spectrum foraging (Geib 1996; Schroedl 1991).

No sites with unequivocal evidence of Paleoindian artifacts have been found in the project area; certainly no artifacts in association with extinct fauna. Typically, the most common evidence for a Paleoindian presence consists of fluted projectile points recovered as isolated surface finds. Copeland and Fike (1988) summarize Clovis and Folsom points found in southwest Utah, and the same point types have been recovered from the greater Grand Canyon region (Hollenshead 2007). North of the Parashant, a Clovis projectile point fragment was found at Sullivan Canyon (Miller 1978:35), and Schroeder calls out a "Plainview-like" point from a curated collection from the Shivwits Plateau (1961:74). Altschul and Fairley (1989:89) cite "an unsubstantiated report of Paleoindian points occurring along the North Rim in the vicinity of Tuckup Canyon," a canyon that cuts into the southern Kanab Plateau east of the Monument.

Archaic

The Archaic is generally viewed as a hunting-gathering lifeway that developed after the extinction of the Pleistocene megafauna and the evolution of post-glacial environments. During this time, plant gathering and hunting of smaller fauna took on increased importance. Projectile point types and other aspects of material culture differ markedly from the preceding Paleoindian period. Based on dated occupations from surrounding regions, the Archaic period in the region probably extended from about 9,000 to 2,000 BP, at which time corn and squash may have been introduced to the region. The time range can be usefully partitioned into three intervals: early (9,000-6,000 BP), middle (6,000-4,000) BP, and late (4,000 to 2,200 BP).

On the northern Colorado Plateau, the Archaic is best represented in sheltered settings (see Geib 1996 for a summary). In the Monument, we are currently dependent on survey-level data from open sites to infer patterns of Archaic use. Although relatively few sites in the area have been conclusively demonstrated to be Archaic, it is likely that some of the aceramic sites on record do date from this era.

Within this part of the Arizona Strip, there is artifactual evidence for use during the transition between the Paleoindian and the early Archaic. This interval is exemplified by the appearance of shouldered and stemmed projectile points, such as Bajada/Jay. Points that belong to the "Stemmed Point Tradition" have been found on the Kanab

Plateau and within Tuckup Canyon (Huffman et al. 1990). MacWilliams et al. (2006:98) reported three stemmed points, although they were not identified to specific type.

It is possible that the most applicable of the early Archaic point traditions to the Parashant is the Pinto Basin Culture, first defined by Campbell and Campbell (1935), and typified by the namesake Pinto projectile point. Pinto points are the most common early Archaic point style in the Grand Canyon area (Moffitt and Moffitt 2004:13). Several large-scale surveys on or near the Grand Canyon-Parashant have reported Pinto points (e.g., Teague and McClellan 1978; Wells 1991; Svinarich 2006; Robertson and MacWilliams 2006). Humboldt points, another possible early Archaic marker, are found nearly as often, as are what MacWilliams et al. call "large side-notched" points (2006:89)—such as Northern Side-notched, although some of these styles may be later in the Archaic sequence.[10]

Other diagnostics of the early Archaic tend to be perishables, such as sandals, and are much more likely to be found in sheltered settings. Unfortunately, even nearby shelters such as Antelope Cave (AZ A:3:20 BLM), on the Uinkaret Plateau to the north, do not have deposits that date to this interval of the Archaic (Janetski and Wilde 1989).

Identifying flaked stone artifacts that date to the middle Archaic period is difficult, as most projectile point styles that might belong to this interval also overlap into the early or late Archaic (Altschul and Fairley 1989:Figure 31). In general, there is a fall-off in sites, artifacts, and radiocarbon-dated material on the Colorado Plateau during the middle phase of the Archaic. The "lull" may be attributable to a true population decline (see Berry and Berry 1986), but other scenarios have been offered (Geib 1996). Janetski and Wilde (1989) report a Rocker Side-notched point at Rock Canyon Shelter to the north of the THE MONUMENT, a type that can date to the middle Archaic. Currently, there is little evidence for use or occupation of the project area during this time period.

As is the case elsewhere on the Plateau, there is much greater evidence for use during the late Archaic in the region. In the Grand Canyon, for example, 50% of all paleo-Archaic sites and isolated finds date to this period (Schroeder 1997). The most frequently encountered projectile point from the late Archaic is Gypsum (Holmer 1978). Like Pinto, Gypsum contracting stem points have often been reported from surveys in the Grand Canyon-Parashant (e.g., Teague and McClellan 1978; MacWilliams et al. 2006; Svinarich 2006; Robertson and MacWilliams 2006). The earliest deposits at Antelope Cave appear to date to the late Archaic.

Regionally, the most iconic material item from the late Archaic are animal figurines made of split twigs (Euler 1984). The so-called "split-twig figurines" are usually found in sheltered settings, such as the limestone solution caverns of the Grand Canyon (see Emslie et al. 1995 and Coulam and Schroedl 2004 for recent overviews). No split-twig figurines have been reported from the project area.

Another promising avenue of study concerns Archaic rock art in the area, including a western variant of the Barrier Canyon rock art style (Schaafsma 1990). Called Grand Canyon Polychrome (Allen 1986, 1992; Christenson and Dickey 2006), it is best represented at the Shaman's Gallery in Tuckup Canyon to the east of the Monument.

Early Agricultural/Basketmaker II

To provide a conceptual break between the Archaic and Formative periods, we use either Basketmaker II (BMII) or "Early Agricultural" for the interval (ca. 400 B.C. to A.D. 500) during which agriculture was first practiced but ceramics were not yet in use. The first use of maize on the southern Colorado Plateau is now believed to be at least 1,000 B.C. (Smiley 1994, 2002), but sites on the northern part of the Plateau may lag in the introduction of corn. Recently, Davis et al. (2000) claimed that there was evidence for corn agriculture in the Grand Canyon before 1,000 B.C., but Fairley (2003:84-85) goes to some length to cast doubt on the results.

In Lipe and Thompson (1979:55), they cite Schroeder "that it is possible to identify a series of Basket Maker II sites extending roughly from east to west across the Shivwits Plateau to Grand Wash"—essentially, most of the Grand Canyon-Parashant. However, the strongest evidence for Early Agricultural use still derives from sheltered sites located off of the Grand Canyon-Parashant, such as Cave DuPont near Kanab, Utah (Nusbaum 1922), Sand Dune Cave at the foot of Navajo Mountain (Lindsay et al. 1968), and Broken Arrow Cave (Talbot et al. 1999) on East Clark Bench.

At the aforementioned Heaton Cave, Basketmaker II-style sandals are shown in Judd (1926:Plates 51 and 57a). The sandals were recovered by Franklin Heaton before Judd's visit to the shelter, and context is unknown.

Thompson himself excavated portions of the Little Jug Site in the Tuweep Valley (Thompson and Thompson 1978), and procured six samples that radiocarbon-dated from A.D. 10 to 410 (degree of error included). The Thompsons associated the site with BMII use, but, as Altschul and Fairley (1989:109) point out, the association of plain gray ceramics "by definition, places the structures within the Basketmaker III period." In this case, the samples may be of "old wood" that dates the cessation of metabolic activity but not the occupation of the site—a potential issue with many wood charcoal samples.

The best nearby candidates with decent provenience are Rock Canyon Shelter (AZ A:3:20 BLM) and Antelope Cave (NA 5507)—sheltered settings on the Uinkaret Plateau just to the north of the Monument. At Rock Canyon Shelter, Janetski and Wilde had corn remains in "good" association with radiocarbon-dated wood charcoal, the earliest of which was calibrated between 204 B.C. and A.D. 119 (1989:94). The date places the corn well within the Early Agricultural period. Altschul and Fairley (1989:109) report that an atlatl from Antelope Cave was radiocarbon-dated to Cal A.D. 40 ± 160, although

this date was not reported in Janetski and Wilde (1989). Corn and Basketmaker-style sandals were also recovered from nearby Antelope Cave.

The question is not whether there was Early Agricultural use of the project area; there undoubtedly was, as BMII remains from sheltered sites in the region such as Cave DuPont near Kanab, Utah (Nusbaum 1922), Sand Dune Cave at the foot of Navajo Mountain (Lindsay et al. 1968), and Broken Arrow Cave (Talbot et al. 1999) on East Clark Bench to the east, attest. Demonstrating Early Agricultural use on the Grand Canyon-Parashant will require controlled excavations and dating of stratified material with good context, else the interval will continue to be lumped into what Bruce Huckell facetiously called the "long, static prelude to the ceramic…cultures of the Christian era" (1996:306).

Basketmaker III-Pueblo I

On the Colorado Plateau The Basketmaker III-Pueblo I (BMII-PI) period (A.D. 500-900/1,000) is characterized by a growing reliance on agriculture, the introduction of the bow and arrow, permanent or semi-permanent habitations, and pottery production. On survey, designating an open site as Basketmaker III partly depends on identifying single component sites with early plain or black-on-gray pottery—easier said than done. Shutler (1961:8-9), for example, lists at least 13 sites located on the Shivwits Plateau with some combination of Basketmaker III, "Pueblo," and Southern Paiute pottery. The fact that, in each case, plain gray or brown pottery is found *with* decorated or post-Formative (i.e., Paiute) ceramics should make one pause, and additional research is needed to properly place the sites in temporal context.

Thompson and Thompson (1974) mention possible BMIII sites in an area they call "Pine Mountain," which roughly corresponds to the Mt. Trumbull and Mt. Logan area, but in an earlier report on survey in The Cove and points east, Thompson does not have sites that pre-date A.D. 750 (see Thompson 1971a:Figure 2).

Teague and McClellan (1978) found three "Basketmaker/Pueblo I" sites, all on the Shivwits Plateau. Basketmaker III sites were not located during MNA's Mt. Trumbull survey (Moffitt and Chang 1978:191-192), and Pueblo I sites, if any, were lumped into their discussion of "Pueblo I and II."

No BMIII or Pueblo I sites were found during WACC's 1990 inventory on the Shivwits (Wells 1991:25). During WACC's 2001 survey, no Basketmaker III sites were recorded, although 12 sites had "Pueblo I artifacts" (MacWilliams et al. 2006:Table 6.3). Ten of the sites, however, also had ceramics that dated to Pueblo II or later. Of the remaining two sites, the possible PI association was based on the presence of just two sherds of Moapa Brown at each site. The authors concluded that none of the sites "were a good prospect for investigating the Pueblo I period" (2006:111). Of the two Shivwits Plateau fuel

reduction projects, WACC recorded three BMII-PI artifacts scatters with small amounts of plain or early black-on-gray ceramics during the 1998 survey (Svinarich 2006).

In the Little Springs tract, McFadden reported two sites that may be early Puebloan. AZ A:12:362 had several circular rooms, approx. 20 plain "plain gray Moapa" sherds, and a jar sherd with a "BMIII/PI" rim (2010:35). AZ A:12:404 (ASM) has two loci with "architectural similarities," including a rubble mound and rock alignments associated with Boulder Gray sherds.[11] McFadden describes the site as "very much like a BMIII cluster of cists and a possible dwelling or two" (2010a:42).

During his Potato Valley survey, McFadden noted five sites (AZ A:12:226 [BLM], and 406, 420, 424, and 466 [ASM]) that might be Basketmaker III or Pueblo I, but he combined them into BMIII-PI because "no distinctive architecture for the period could be defined" and ceramic assemblages could not be distinguished for either interval.[12] Site candidates for BMIII often had "cist alignments with minimal grayware" (2010b:56), and PI sherds were found in all of the survey tracts.

While the above surveys have been suggestive of early Puebloan use, it was only in the last decade that Paul Buck and his crews (usually from Nevada State College) tested sites with plain ware ceramics suspected to be Basketmaker III.

At site AZ A:12:71 (ASM), the crew excavated 12 soil probes in 2004, and recovered charcoal, but Buck does not report any dates from the charcoal samples (Buck 2005). In 2005 they returned to the site and excavated four test units, although the exact location and context of the units is unclear. A ^{14}C sample from one of the units returned a date of Cal A.D. 880-1010, or Pueblo I to Pueblo II (Buck 2005:11). Site AZ A:12:204 (ASM) had plain gray sherds and was thought by previous researchers to be BMIII-Pueblo I. Charcoal from a probe supposedly above the floor of a pithouse dated to Cal A.D. 810-890 (2005:23), or Pueblo I.[13]

The dates from the NSC/DRI excavations are intriguing. If the charcoal from AZ A:12:204 is from fill that caps a floor, for example, it would suggest that the room dates to the ninth century or earlier. But an assessment of the context and quality of the samples awaits the completion of a final report.

Pueblo II-III

All major archaeological projects on the Grand Canyon-Parashant report Pueblo II (A.D. 900/1000-1150) sites—often in abundance at favored locations. Migration, rapid population expansion, or changes in subsistence strategies in response to climatic change are typically invoked to explain high site densities after A.D. 1050 (Euler et al. 1979; Effland et al. 1981; Westfall 1987:15), often at higher elevation settings such as the flanks of Mt. Trumbull and the North Rim of the Grand Canyon. Most would agree

with Lipe and Thompson that "the time of the greatest Virgin Branch population was apparently between about A.D. 1000 and 1150" (1979:53).

Altschul and Fairley emphasize that the Virgin Anasazi "expanded into every potentially arable location" (1989:130), occasionally constructing large C- or crescent-shaped pueblos with a dozen or more rooms. In fact, proximity to building material (Thompson 1970), arable land, and forested uplands appears to have a greater influence on site location than reliable water sources (Moffitt and Chang 1975). Teague and McClellan (1978:178) attributed this to a lack of dependence on agriculture, but the inhabitants may have benefited from a wetter climate regime that allowed widespread dry farming and re-charging of springs that are no longer apparent.

Tabulations of sites by time period are sorely lacking in most survey reports from the Grand Canyon-Parashant area. They are not presented in Baldwin (1978), but it is clear that he saw several habitations on the Shivwits Plateau with pottery indicative of the PII period. Thompson (1971a:27) lists sites by 50-year time intervals, and while these are not graphed, site frequency appears to peak between A.D. 1050 and 1150 in The Cove, Tuckup Point, and SB Point areas. Summary information on temporal association is missing from the first WACC report for lands adjacent to the Grand Canyon, but the authors do state that "the bulk of culturally identifiable sites dates from the…Pueblo II period" (Teague and McClellan 1978:179). This is also the case for WACC's survey of the Shivwits Plateau in 1990, although they include project-wide maps of site locations by general time period (see Wells 1991:Figure 5.2). Fifty-four of the 73 sites recorded (74.0%) had PII components. The recent WACC report by MacWilliams et al. is missing similar tabular data, but "Pueblo II remains dominate the collection, a fact that corresponds with the generally held tenet that this was the fluorescence of the Virgin Anasazi" (2006:111).

It is only since the region gained Monument status that we have seen a sustained program of testing and data recovery on Pueblo II sites—primarily through field schools run by UNLV (Harry 2013), Brigham Young University (Allison 2010), and DRI-NSC. Final reports for the projects are still in progress, but preliminary information is available.

Sites investigated by UNLV include:

> ***Lava Ridge Ruin*** *(AZ A:14:50 ASM)*. This 16-room, C-shaped pueblo was extensively tested by UNLV (Harry 2010). Harry interpreted the site as a year-round residence, with inhabitants practicing a mixed subsistence pattern that included *Zea Mays*. There was evidence for ritual abandonment of the site about A.D. 1150.
>
> ***Coyote Site*** *(AZ A:14:82 ASM).* A C- or U-shaped pueblo with 8-10 rooms tested by UNLV. Botanical results suggested that the residents

"emphasized the gathering and processing of agave more than they did farming activities" (Harry 2013:24). Although the Coyote Site was dated to Pueblo III—primarily on the basis of a high percentage of corrugated sherds—a radiocarbon date from the site falls mostly within the PII period.

Granary House *(AZ A:14:46 ASM).* This was a partially burned, four-room "hamlet" dated with ceramics to middle PII on the basis of 60 sherds. Fragments of burned beams dated to Cal A.D. 980-1170 and 950-1040. The residents may have occupied the site most if not all of the year, focused on agricultural activities.

Site 232 *(AZ A:14:232).* Another hamlet with at least three structures that may date to both late PI or PII, as well as late PII. Botanical analysis indicated an "agricultural subsistence base" (Harry 2013:40), with maize and squash remains found in floor or floor fill contexts.

Perhaps the most interesting result of UNLV's work was the finding of maize at all sites, and the inference that cultivated domesticates played an important role in the subsistence mix.

Testing and data recovery conducted by DRI and Nevada State College include:

Uinkaret Pueblo *(AZ A:12:14 MNA).* A C-shaped pueblo with 8 to 20 rooms. Over two seasons the crew excavated numerous test units in rooms, the plaza, and the midden, and recovered charcoal samples from room fill for radiocarbon dating. The dates ranged between Cal. A.D. 880-1010 to A.D. 1160-1280. Ceramic seriation suggested use "of considerable time depth" (Buck 2004:16) spanning late Pueblo I to early Pueblo III.

Zip Code Site *(AZ A:12:131 BLM).* Described as a "large pueblo complex" (Buck et al. 2004:1). Wood charcoal from auger probes was radiocarbon dated, returning fairly early ranges, previously discussed in the "BMIII-PI" section. The two sigma range of one date, however, extends into PII (Cal A.D. 900-1030). Studies of ceramic types and rim eversion generally supported an early Puebloan occupation.

In addition to the above, DRI-NSC crews have also conducted soil probes, excavated test units, and collected artifacts at a variety of architectural sites (Buck 2005, 2006, 2007). Charcoal from some of the probes and units have calibrated date ranges that extend into Pueblo II-III (e.g., Buck 2006:34).

Important work was also conducted on Pueblo II and III sites by Brigham Young University in the Hidden Hills area of Grand Canyon-Parashant (Allison 2010). In addition to the PI sites already mentioned, eight sites had ceramics suggestive of early- to mid-Pueblo II (A.D. 900-1050); two sites had late PII assemblages (A.D. 1050-1150); and two sites had ceramics indicating post-A.D. 1150 occupations.

In support of UNLV's findings, BYU researchers found that maize was "abundant" at the sites, suggesting a "substantial reliance on farming" (2010).

The BYU project also benefited from 16 radiocarbon assays that dated through all Puebloan time periods (2010:Table 1). Of particular interest are five radiocarbon dates from three sites (AZ A:10:10, 20, and 27 ASM) that fall within the Pueblo III period (A.D. 1150-1300) or shortly thereafter. One of the sites, AZ A:10:200, is a C-shaped pueblo with a suite of three dates that indicate an occupation during the A.D. 1200s—perhaps late 1200s.

Recognition of a continued Pueblo III (A.D. 1150-1300) occupation of the project area—and the Arizona Strip at large—has been increasing during the last 25 years. Still, as recently as the late 1970s, Moffitt and Chang stated that "the archaeological record of the Virgin sub-culture can no longer be traced after 1150" (1978:192).

Perhaps the first hint of a PIII occupation from an excavated habitation near the Parashant was site "GC-671," reported in Thompson (1971a:24). Four radiocarbon dates from two pithouses had midpoints that ranged between A.D. 1140 and 1320. The A.D. 1320 date Thompson deemed "out of line," but he concluded that "at this and at other sites with 'late Pueblo II' manifestations, occupation lasted well beyond 1150…perhaps as late as 1225" (1971a:25). More recently, Westfall interpreted a series of ^{14}C dates from the Pinenut Site as evidence that "final abandonment" of the site was as late as A.D. 1275 (1987:181).

On survey, it can be difficult to assign a site or component as PIII based on limited numbers of diagnostics surface ceramics—especially when the site may be multi-component. Wells (1991), for example, did not assign any sites on the Shivwits Plateau survey to the Pueblo III phase. Likewise, no PIII sites are listed on McFadden's Little Spring or Potato Valley inventories (McFadden 2010a: Table 2; 2010b), and he states that "occupation on the [Potato Valley] tracts could have terminated by as early as A.D. 1150" (McFadden 2010b:56). On the other hand, MacWilliams et al. (2006:Table 6.5) reported "definite" or "possible" Pueblo III artifacts on 26 sites or isolated occurrences on the same plateau.

This could be due to several factors, including: different views by Arizona Strip archaeologists as to what constitutes the beginning of Pueblo III; the weight certain plain and corrugated types are given in the absence of decorated sherds or, conversely,

the weight attributed to small numbers of late diagnostics; the challenge of recognizing late occupations on multi-component sites; the possibility that certain late, diagnostic ceramic types (e.g., Tsegi Orange Ware and either series of Tusayan White Ware) are not present on sites that are, in fact, of Pueblo III age; and simple variation in the distribution of post-A.D. 1150 sites and components.

Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric

The end of the Pueblo III occupation of the project area may be earlier than in the so-called Kayenta heartland to the east and across the Colorado River, where it persisted well past A.D. 1250 until nearly A.D. 1300—an interval called the Tsegi Phase (Adler 1996). The lack of dendrochonological dates, and the uncertain terminal date ranges of local and intrusive ceramics, leaves the final abandonment of this part of the Arizona Strip open to question. Few would argue that there was a reduction in population or use in the thirteenth century, but sites such as Pinenut (Westfall 1987) may have lingered as late as the A.D. 1270s.

After A.D. 1300, Native American remains fall within three broad temporal subdivisions. The late Prehistoric interval extends from A.D. 1300 to about A.D. 1500+, when indirect influences from early Spanish settlers first reached the Southwest. The Protohistoric interval extends from A.D. 1500 to 1850, ending roughly coincidental with the Mormon colonization of Utah, and the initiation of U.S. Government exploratory expeditions across the southern Colorado Plateau. The Historic period begins in the mid-1800s and continues through the first half of the twentieth century.

The pioneering exploration of the Southwest by the Spanish friars Dominguez and Escalante during 1776 (Bolton 1950), provides a convenient dividing point between early and late phases of the Protohistoric. In fact, the friars came within 10 miles of the current Monument boundary before veering east to find a suitable crossing of the Colorado River. As they approached what is now the Monument, they met and traded with Paiutes from the Shivwits and Uinkaret plateaus (Warner 1976).

The post-Puebloan inhabitants of the Grand Canyon-Parashant are referred to as Southern Paiute because this was their recognized territory during the historic period (Kelly 1964). Southern Utes (Schroeder 1965; Steward 1941) may have visited the area, and the separation of Utes and Paiutes before the historic era is debatable (Pierson 1981:65). For that matter, other historically defined ethnic groups, such as the Navajo, Hopi, Hualapai, Havasupai, and Mohave made periodic use of the Arizona Strip.

The chief temporal and cultural diagnostics of this period are Southern Paiute Brown Ware and Desert Side-notched projectile points. Occasional sherds of Jeddito and Awatovi Yellow Ware—Pueblo IV Hopi ceramics—are also found in the region. The occurrence of yellow ware is sometimes attributed to Hopi visitors on pilgrimages of trading expeditions (e.g., Adams et al. 1961; Sharrock et al. 1963), but the vessels might

also have been carried into the area by Numic "middlemen," as documented historically (Bolton 1950).

There is an unknown interval of time between the abandonment of the Arizona Strip by the Puebloans and the arrival of the southern Numic from the west and southwest. It may have been as little as a moment—if the cultures intermingled and overlapped in time and space (Gunnerson 1962; Simonis 2001), or the "newcomers" physically drove the Virgin out of their land (Ambler and Sutton 1986).[14] Or, it may have been decades or centuries, if they arrived between A.D. 1150 and 1300 (Euler 1974)—or later—and the Puebloan peoples had already withdrawn.

Regionally, there is a growing body of dates that may mark the beginnings of the Numic expansion. The so-called Sitterud bundle from Castle Valley, Utah is dated to A.D. 1350 (Benson 1982). And a brush structure in Glen Canyon had a radiocarbon age of roughly A.D. 1300 to 1400 (Geib and Fairley 1992).

Along the Colorado River, but closer to Grand Canyon-Parashant at the mouth of Whitmore Wash, a team of Grand Canyon National Park archaeologists dated a possible Paiute "midden" to about A.D. 1285 (Jones 1986). Another Paiute midden at Tuna Creek 90 miles upstream dated to about A.D. 1372. Closer to the project area, the testing of roasting pits in Tuckup Canyon to the east of Grand Canyon-Parashant returned radiocarbon dates as early as the A.D. 1300s and 1400s (Huffman 1993), but were derived from aggregate samples of wood charcoal and subject to mixing of possible old wood.

In Schroeder's excavations at Willow Beach south of Hoover Dam along the Colorado River, he had Paiute Brown Ware "associated with (?) or lying above" the terminal Puebloan stratum. Schroeder believed that the end of the Puebloan era coincided with "Shoshonian [i.e., Paiute] expansion to the west" around A.D. 1150 (Schroeder 1961:107).

Frederick Dellenbaugh made close observations of the Shivwits Paiute—whom he called the "Shinumos"—in the 1870s (Dellenbaugh n.d.). For the most part the Shinumo kept to the north of the Colorado River, inhabiting the lower elevation canyons in the winter and the plateau uplands in the summer.

Kelley (1964) provided the most comprehensive summary of traditional Southern Paiute culture (see also Euler 1966). Unfortunately, her research was conducted in the 1930s, many decades after the abandonment of traditional Paiute lifeways. From Kelley we know that the Southern Paiute practiced a subsistence strategy based on seasonal transhumance, supplemented by small patches of corn and squash that were casually cultivated by some band members.[15] Bye (1972) goes into some detail on the range of plants and foodstuffs that the Paiute consumed, partially based on collections gathered by Powell and Palmer.

Distinguishing open Numic sites and components from those of the western Archaic, or even aceramic Puebloan camps, can be a challenge. Lyneis (1994:142-144) cautions that Paiute "diagnostics" do not "necessarily mark the initial spread of Southern Paiutes into the area," and that such artifacts cannot "always be expected to be present among the remains of…Paiute occupations." Even when present, such items may not be useful as "fully satisfactory cultural marker[s]." Nevertheless, she considers Paiute Brown Ware to be the "best marker for Southern Paiute occupation."[16]

In the Grand Canyon-Parashant area, most major projects have reported sites or components that were suspected to post-date A.D. 1300. In terms of ceramics, one of the more productive efforts was Shutler's work on the Shivwits and the adjoining "Grand Canyon terrace." Speaking of the project as a whole, which included the Virgin and Muddy river area, he said, "Southern Paiute Brown Ware sherds were noted at almost all of the pueblo sites of the area" (1961:69). On the Shivwits and Grand Canyon terrace, Paiute sherds were sometimes recorded in such abundance that they out-numbered Puebloan sherds on the same site (1961:Tables 3-5).

The results of the Shutler surveys highlight an intriguing phenomenon: the propensity for Paiute components to co-occur with previous Ancestral Puebloan occupations (see Huffman 1993 for examples in the Tuckup Canyon area). The pattern was investigated by Moffitt et al. (1978) during excavations of Virgin and Paiute sites along the Navajo-McCullough Transmission Line on the northwest edge of the Arizona Strip. The project remains the most extensive testing of Numic components in the region

Thompson (1971a:67) stated only that "hints of Archaic cultural patterns which…followed the pueblo occupation have been found," but goes into no further detail. Moffitt and Chang (1978:192-194) based their contention that "Mt. Trumbull was most definitely occupied by the Southern Paiute" primarily on ethnohistoric documentation, such as early work by John Wesley Powell (Powell and Ingalls 1874) and Dellenbaugh (n.d.). They added that, "while ceramic evidence was recovered, archaeological evidence of Paiute occupation is minimal." WACC reported four sites on the Shivwits Plateau with Paiute pottery (1978:79-80). In the Yellowstone Mesa area, northeast of the Monument, Allison (1988:40) recorded a late Prehistoric site consisting of a stone circle and brown ware ceramics.

Echoing the findings of earlier projects, three more recent WACC surveys on the Shivwits Plateau recorded Paiute components and, in each case, the Numic remains were found in association with Puebloan artifacts and/or features.

On the Wells' survey, "All six sites with Paiute components also have Pueblo II components" (Wells 1991:26). This was also the case with the single Paiute components observed in both WACC's 1998 prescribed burn survey (Svinarich 2006), and their 2001 inventory (MacWilliams et al. 2006).

During his survey of Potato Valley, McFadden identified three sites with possible Paiute artifacts. One site was associated with an earlier pueblo, but McFadden maintained that there was "no evidence of actual reuse of Anasazi sites by the Southern Paiute" (2010:61). He also stated that given the documented presence of Southern Paiutes in the area, "the relative scarcity of sites is notable."

SUMMARY

This overview only touches upon the rich culture history of a small part of the Arizona Strip that is sometimes viewed as marginal to the great "centers" of Southwestern prehistory. We have emphasized archaeological research within or adjacent to the Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, but regional context is critical to an understanding of local lifeways. The interested reader is directed to a small library of scholarship that has addressed the prehistoric and early historical record of the Arizona Strip. For archaeological projects pre-dating the 1990s, Altschul and Fairley (1989) provide, by far, the most comprehensive review. The substantial survey report by MacWilliams et al. (2006) is a good update on investigations that have been conducted in and around the Monument through the start of the Millennium.

For this overview, we acknowledge a bias toward published monographs, and reports that synthesize large surveys and data recovery efforts in the Grand Canyon-Parashant. Untapped are site records and databases in BLM and NPS files, constituting records of nearly 2,200 sites, and numerous reports on small inventories.

Graduate-level research is also increasing, such as Sachiko Sakai's work on ceramic sourcing and compositional analysis of olivine-tempered wares (e.g., Sakai 2009), site predictive models for the Shivwits Plateau (Osborne 2008), flaked stone studies of Virgin sites near Mt. Trumbull (Martin 2009), and the archaeology of the Lava Springs lava flow (Hintzman 2012). And while final field school reports are still underway, Buck and Sabol (2013) have very recently synthesized some of the DRI-NSC results regarding prehistoric settlement patterns and agriculture around Mt. Trumbull.

Finally, one of the more fascinating studies in the last decade is a multidisciplinary effort to understand the nature of the Little Springs Volcano eruption in the Grand Canyon-Parashant, and its influence on local tribes (Elson and Ort 2006; Ort et al. 2008a and b). The eruption was dated to between A.D. 200 and 1200—a time when the land was clearly occupied by ancestral peoples. Virgin Series Black-on-white sherds were found encased in lava, of a type common from A.D. 1025 to 1200. The authors suggest that the sherds (or whole pots) were purposely placed near spatter cones or lava vents, where lava covered the "offerings." The authors compare the find to offerings of maize cobs found embedded in lava near Sunset Crater, Arizona (Elson and Ort 2006, Elson et al. 2002). They conclude that "the eruption of two volcanoes at about the same time and

situated only 200 km apart may have had great significance to the inhabitants of the northern Southwest" (Elson and Ort 2006:10).

The significance of the event is abundantly clear in an ethnographic investigation of the Little Springs lava flow titled *Unav-Nuquaint* (Van Vlack et al. 2013). According to the study, interaction between Ancestral Southern Paiute and the eruption and subsequent lava flow is part of the cultural memory of the Paiute. The new flow became a "ceremonial shrine," eventually becoming "a major destination for people seeking healing and spiritual enrichment" (2013:4-5). At least 8 km of trails were created on the cooled flow, connecting "hundreds" of circular structures.

The results of the investigation, which included sites visits by tribal members, can be contrasted with interpretations by archaeologists and other members of the European scientific tradition. For example, in the original study by Elson and Ort (2006), the authors interpreted the trails and structures as defensive responses to outside aggression after the lava flows cooled. The informants in Van Vlack et al. (2013:18) offered the following explanation:

> The eruption was a symbolic gift validating the power and cultural importance of the Uinkaret Volcanic field. The only possible response for the people experiencing this gift was to lay the foundation for directly interacting with the volcano and its lava flow. An enormous amount of effort, under the guidance of religious leaders, thus was expended to provide access to special areas on the flow…

In fact, both accounts may be correct. While the flow was an important spiritual center, it may have also served as a retreat in advance of Mormon settlement in the 1850s. This juxtaposition of hypotheses can serve as a model for future anthropological research—one that integrates data from archaeological, geological, ethnohistorical, and other fields to inform analyses of culture history and historic memory on the spectacular Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

The Tribes of Grand Canyon-Parashant at Contact

As the archaeological and ethnographic records make quite clear, the native peoples of the region have occupied and utilized the lands and resources within what is today Grant Canyon-Parashant Nationa Monument for centuries. Moreover, the area has long been an important piece in the network of trade that connected the Arizona Strip to the Pacific Ocean's coastline. And while classic ethnographic treatments of tribes and their relationships with the land suggest a somewhat static picture, the tribes and tribal members living within the study area consistently interacted with those outside the boundaries of what, today, constitutes Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument and its immediate vicinity. The question of traditional tribal associations with lands and resources - so critical to agencies seeking to engage in tribal consultation and compliance – is not always easy to discern in this context.

Simultaneously, the matter of tribal associations with lands and resources is made additionally complex by the many connections between these tribal populations before, during, and after European contact. While the region was diverse, the tribes of the region sometimes lacked distinct boundaries, socially or geographically. Between bands and tribes there was, as Isabel Kelly put it, "considerable interplay and intervisiting" (in Park et al. 1938: 634). The tribes of what is today Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument intermarried and freely exchanged ideas with one another as well as bands and tribes living outside the study area. These exchanges both reflected and sustained a type of cultural and economic flexibility that confounded early attempts to neatly classify Southern Paiute cultural traditions in particular, due to what Kroeber lamented as a "meagerness of defined patterns" (Kroeber 1939: 42). The trails through the Great Basin too were like highways, linking peoples who shared ideas, values, and material culture to the north. The Colorado River, meanwhile, was a highway of its own kind, allowing a lively trade of ideas and economic products, from agricultural produce to minerals, and metal tools to ceremonial items (e.g. Drucker 1941).[17]

There is some foundation for the assertion of shared origins between many of the tribes of the region. Groups that appear to be separate today may have been single populations in past times. While groups that are unified today are often made up of what were once multiple, variegated populations. Thus, there may be some truth to the claim by Stoffle and Zedeño (2001a: 229) that, for example, "the Paiutes are Hopi, and the Hualapai are Paiute" due to historical associations between all of these groups. The Southern Paiute in particular, whose traditional territories occupied the entirety of what is today the Monument, sat at the interface between large and influential neighbors to the east (Hualapai), southeast (Mohave) and northwest (Western Shoshone).[18] The

ethnographic and historical record make it clear that intermarriage and cultural borrowing occurred in each of these directions, so that it would be erroneous to suggest sharp boundaries existed – socially or territorially – between these groups. These tribes' shared experiences with American reoccupation and their social integration over the last two centuries has arguably given them even more commonality (Hanes 1982). In many cases, the experiences of the contact period, with its epidemic diseases and displacement, only compounded this picture, as refugees and survivors regrouped in tribal communities that were often of heterogeneous origin.

When European peoples came to the Americas, they brought with them certain assumptions about the concept of the nation-state, which were applied to these dynamic and interdependent tribal communities. EuroAmerican efforts to designate discrete nations from the myriad tribal communities they encountered were often ill founded. As will be discussed in later sections of this document, early Indian agents struggled to define the tribes in their jurisdictions, often forgoing national labels (e.g., "Southern Paiute"), and building their original administrative structure instead around named bands, as this level of social organization was in many ways more salient to their efforts (Steward 1938). Yet, efforts to define discrete nations lies at the heart of United States legal traditions regarding American Indians, and shapes the context of modern Indian law, as well as federal consultation and compliance responsibilities.

So too, the tidy definition of geographically delimited tribal territories is problematic at best, in light of these facts as well as the turbulent nature of contact-period tribal life. The cartographic convention of large, contiguous, and exclusive national territories surrounded by neat boundaries is, in many ways, a European invention, imposed on the American landscape. It is important to remember that tribal territories more commonly existed as constellations of culturally significant lands and resources that intersected and sometimes overlapped with the interests of various neighboring communities. Still, in the interest of supporting both tribal and agency interests, it is necessary to make some generalizations about tribal territories, as they meaningfully intersect with the territorial assumptions manifested in federal laws, policies, and regulations pertaining to American Indian resources (Wilkinson 2005; Wallace 2002; Buckley 1989).

With this in mind, the section that follows provides summaries – necessarily brief – of the major ethnolinguistic groups with the most direct ties to the study area, with a particular emphasis on their associations with lands and resources at the time of European contact. In these summaries, the emphasis is on those facets of cultural tradition that might have a bearing on future consultation and compliance related to the National Historic Preservation Act, NAGPRA, and a range of other cultural laws and policies (see Appendices). Again, these summaries are not written to be the final word on any one tribe, but to set the stage for a discussion presented later in this document regarding the transformation of these contact-era tribal communities into the formally and legally defined American Indian tribes of the modern day. We present this

information in the hope that it will bring some welcome clarity concerning the foundation for tribal claims of traditional territorial affiliation with particular lands and resources in Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

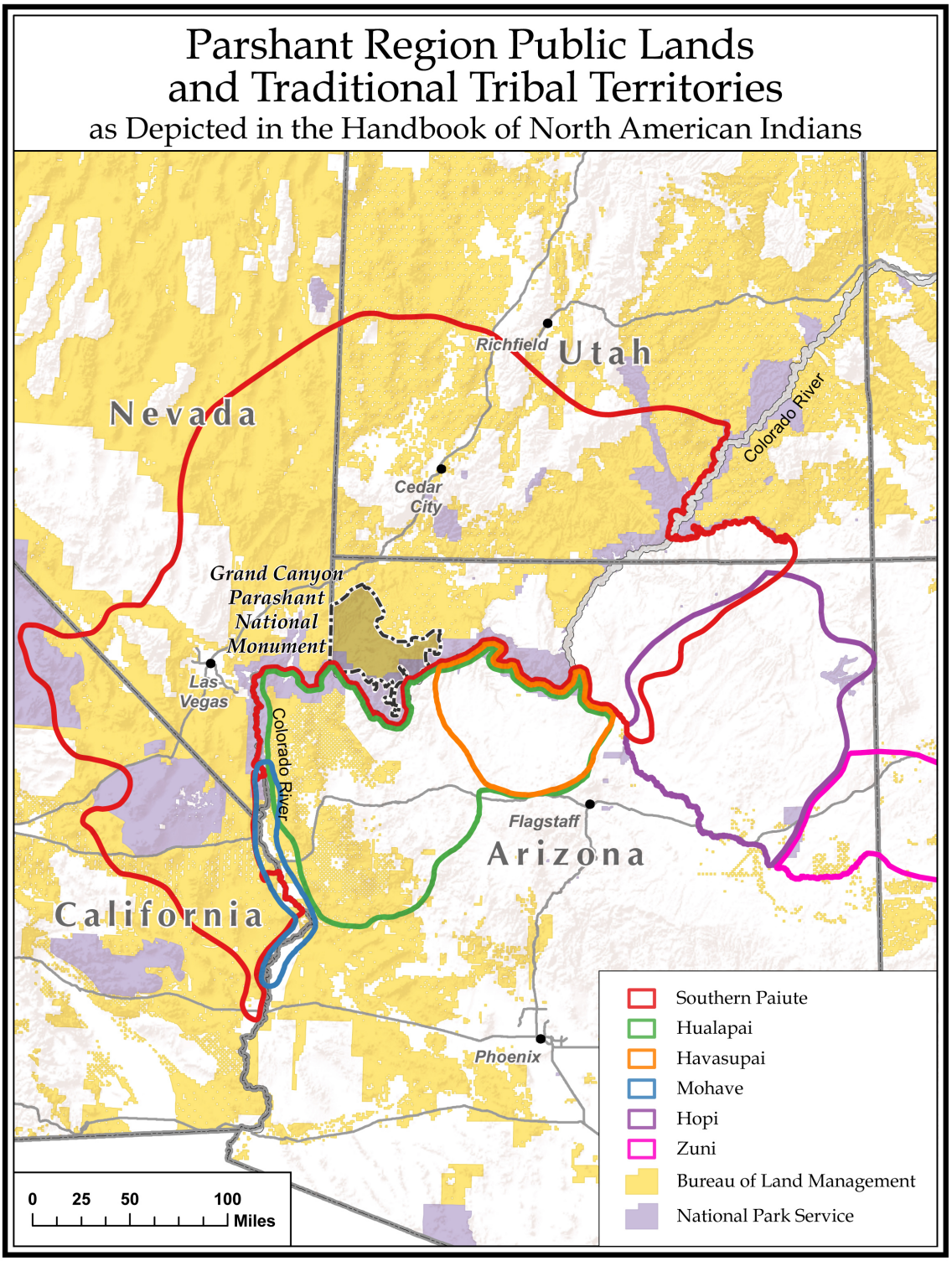
The narrative begins with one particularly problematic map (Map 3). This map juxtaposes the traditional contact-period territories of all area tribes, as depicted in the Smithsonian Institution's authoritative *Handbook of North American Indians*, with the distribution of modern public lands in the Monument. In the most general terms, the Handbook suggests that the Monument was within Southern Paiute territory, with the majority of lands in Shivwits band territory, the northwestern corner in Moapa territory and the easternmost portion in Uinkaret territory. Though the Smithsonian Handbook series is authoritative and arguably reflects the most widely accepted distillation of ethnographic information available, these boundaries are still contested by tribal cultural specialists, as well as anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, and others. The details of these boundaries and how they have been established will be given additional attention in the pages that follow.

SOUTHERN PAIUTE

The Southern Paiute commonly use the term *Nuwuvi* in reference to themselves, though traditional terms include *Ninwin, Niwiwi, Nuwuví, Nuwu,* and *Niwi,* reflecting the dialectical diversity of the language (Stoffle and Zedeno 2001; Kelly 1934). Historical maps and ethnographic sources are consistent in depicting the whole of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument as sitting within the Southern Paiute territory, or *Puaxant Tuvip* (Euler 1966, 1972; Kelly 1934; Stoffle, Halmo and Austin 1997: 240). The overall 19th century distribution of Southern Paiutes was summarized with fair consistency by a number of observers, such as in this 1869 account of Indian agent Reuben Fenton,

> According to the best information, this tribe, the Pi-Utes, number from two thousand five hundred to three thousand. Their range extends north to the Beaver, south to Fort Mojave, east to the Little Colorado and San Francisco Mountains, and on the west through the southern part of Nevada as far as the California line; lying in portions of Utah, Arizona, and Nevada, the larger portion living in Nevada.
> (Fenton 1869: 203)

Yet, as historians, anthropologists, Indian agents and tribal cultural specialists alike, attest, "some frontiers of the Paiute cannot be delineated with any certainty" (Euler 1966: 311). Similarly, Manners concluded that "Southern Paiute 'boundaries' were, at best, fluid," adapting to the practicalities of resource availability and intertribal relations (Manners 1974a: 228). Moreover, there is considerable variation on the


Parshant Region Public Lands
and Traditional Tribal Territories
as Depicted in the Handbook of North American Indians
Nevada
Utah
Arizona
California
Richfield
Cedar City
Colorado River
Grand Canyon Parashant National Monument
Las Vegas
Colorado River
Flagstaff
Phoenix
0 25 50 100 Miles
Southern Paiute
Hualapai
Havasupai
Mohave
Hopi
Zuni
Bureau of Land Management
National Park Service

Map 3

location of band claims within the study area, as shall be addressed in the pages that follow.

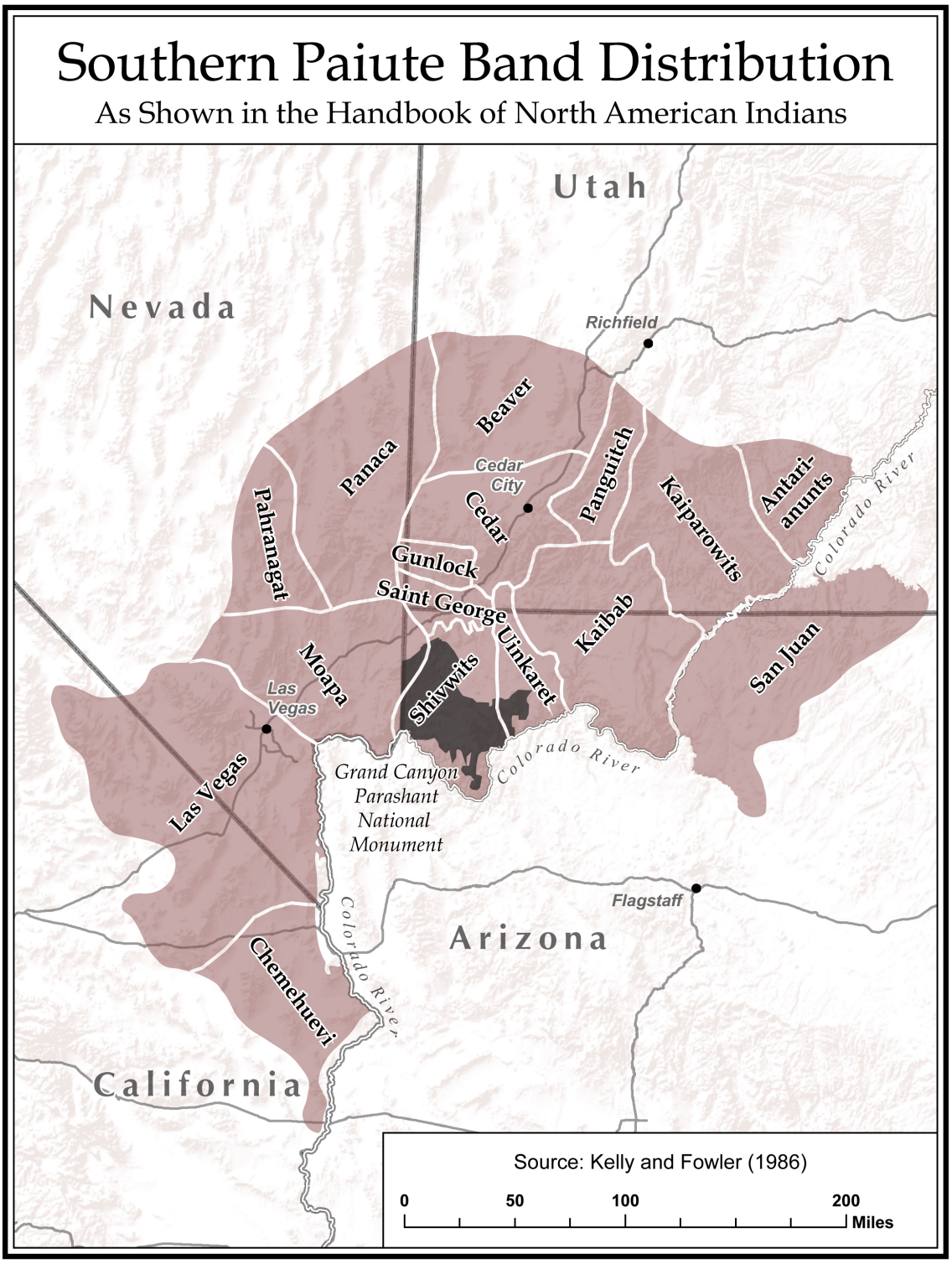
If there was one portion of the Southern Paiute boundary that is consistently identified, it is the Colorado River, an imposing landmark, which presented as concrete a territorial boundary as could be found in the Paiute world. According to William Palmer, the Southern Paiutes of southern Utah identified as the Colorado River as "Pa-ha-weep which means 'water down deep in the earth' or 'water a long way down' (Palmer Collection n.d. Box 20 (F 16): 8).[19] As Dobyns noted in Indian Claims Commission testimony, "[Southern] Paiute have rather uniformly testified that the Colorado River formed their mutual conceptual and land use frontier with the Hualapais." Use of the Colorado River was quite challenging along much of its length, with long sections being all but inaccessible by land. As Dobyns (1974: 50) noted, "there simply were not many places where Hualapais and especially Southern Paiutes could descend from the high plateaus to the river, and fewer where the stream could be readily forded." One site where scholars from the University of Arizona speculate crossing the Colorado River was possible is Twin Point, located in the southern portion of the Monument. Twin Point rests on the northern side of the river, with Hualapai territory located on the southern bank. It is quite likely that both Southern Paiutes and Hualapai utilized this site as a crossing location for trading and ceremonial purposes, making this an area of pronounced traffic along a canyon rim with few other avenues for north-south travel (Austin et al. 2005a: 85). Occasional Paiute use of the opposite bank of the Colorado is suggested by a number of sources, just as occasional Hualapai use of the northern side of the river is mentioned in some accounts (e.g. Euler 1966: 75-76, 105; Dobyns 1974). The Southern Paiutes and Hualapais traversed the Colorado and "traded and visited, sometimes staying long enough to do a little hunting or gathering"(Dobyns 1974: 52). According to Hualapai elder, Jannie Rogers' expert testimony during an ICC hearing in 1953, Paiutes were known to cross the Colorado to hunt on the south rim of the Grand Canyon in Hualapai territory (ICC 1953).[20] This Paiute use of the opposite bank of the Colorado intensified during the chaos and interethnic violence of the 19th century, as some Paiute families escaped to the opposite bank and into the traditional territories of the Hualapai and other nearby groups when military threats loomed on the north side of the River.[21]

Though not without its detractors, the geographical work of Isabel Kelly on Southern Paiute band distribution still serves as the standard against which all other maps must be compared (Kelly 1934; Kelly and Fowler 1986).[22] Her work is the foundation of the *Handbook of North American Indians* map of Southern Paiute distribution, and Maps 4 and 5 – showing the Monument largely in Shivwits territory, including the Shivwits plateau or *Sivintevipe* region in Southern Paiute, with Uinkaret in the east and Moapa in the west – reflects her highly influential contribution (Kelly and Fowler 1986; Austin et al. 2005: 41). Indeed, there is a great wealth of material on the broader theme of traditional Southern Paiute uses and occupation of the study area that remains

unpublished in the notes of Isabel Kelly – perhaps representing the most important single source on the topic. This work is currently being distilled in a report by Katherine Fowler, supported by the Southern Nevada Area Partnership, of which the BLM and NPS are members. As the two reports are meant to be complementary, the current document provides only a very basic summary of traditional land and resource use patterns, recognizing that the Fowler document will provide an authoritative statement.

Prior to the arrival of Mormon settlers in the late 1840s, Southern Paiutes occupied almost all the fertile valleys and oases in significant portions of southwestern Utah, southern Nevada, northwestern Arizona, and portions of southwestern California, except along the Colorado River where lands and resources were often shared with adjacent tribes. The Southern Paiutes had established stable communities, each occupied by extended families – "bands" for our purposes here – and surrounded by small farms. These bands utilized a predictable constellation of resource sites, but maintained recurrent residence in at least one fixed settlement, centered on predictable waterways such as springs, rivers and streams.

The Southern Paiute possessed strong cultural ties to Utes and Shoshones to their northeast and northwest respectively, while also sharing strong ties to Mohaves and Huapalais to their south and east. Sharing kinship, social, and economic ties, certain aspects of Southern Paiute culture were almost indistinguishable from proximate members of these other tribes, to the extent that even expert chroniclers have disagreed as to the affiliation of bands living at the boundaries. Moreover, these tribes shared access rights to many places and resources where their boundaries met (Kelly 1964, 1934; O.C. Stewart 1966, 1965, 1942; Steward 1941, 1939, 1938, 1937b). As with neighboring tribes, long distance trading expeditions were common with expeditions traveling to the Pacific Ocean, the Puebloan tribes, and lands as far south as Mexico. Southern Paiute subsistence was based in no small part on the seasonal availability of plant and animal resources, and necessitated a high degree of mobility. Movements between resource areas were patterned and largely predictable, following the seasonal availability of resources within defined territories. Seasonal rounds varied by habitat, linking high and low elevation areas where specialized resource procurement was possible. There is considerable evidence of Southern Paiute band ownership of hunting territory, waterways with fishing sites, and productive piñon nut gathering areas, while families or individuals made claims within these band territories. Springs were also sometimes treated as property, with cold springs and hot springs having slightly different conventions reflecting their distinct uses (Stewart 1942). Territorial claims were not inflexible, and groups tolerated the use of resources by neighboring groups who came "visiting," especially at productive resource sites close to territorial boundaries (Kelly and Fowler 1986: 380).


Southern Paiute Band Distribution
As Shown in the Handbook of North American Indians
Utah
Nevada
Arizona
California
Richfield
Cedar City
Las Vegas
Flagstaff
Grand Canyon Parashant National Monument
Colorado River
Colorado River
Colorado River
Beaver
Panaca
Pahranagat
Cedar
Gunlock
Saint George
Panguitch
Kaiparowits
Antari-anunts
Kaibab
San Juan
Moapa
Shivwits
Uinkaret
Las Vegas
Chemehuevi
Source: Kelly and Fowler (1986)
0
50
100
200
Miles

Map 4

Habitat variegation and abundance in upland and well-watered locations created particularly important centers of specialized resource procurement and social activity (Bergin 1982). For most of the Southern Paiutes of the study area, the single-leaf piñon pine nut was a primary plant food and has been traditionally gathered mountainous regions, where bands and families have maintained territorial claims to particular groves.[23] The single-leaf piñon pine is still common throughout the study area, especially in regions such as the Shivwits Plateau or "*Sivintevipe*" area (Austin et al. 2005: 41). Paiute pine nut gathering involved both the transportation of pine nuts to lowland settlements as well as the caching of pine nuts in montane areas for later use. When Lowie attempted to conduct research among both the Moapa and the Shivwits in the early 20th century, he had to work around the pine nut harvests,

> Pine-nuts were and are used to a considerable extent. Practically all the Moapa left for a pine-nutting expedition in the middle of September, 1915, and did not expect to return before some time in October. When I arrived among the Shivwits in the second half of September, they, too, had departed to gather piñon nuts and though some returned after a short time they were preparing to go out again for the same purpose. (Lowie 1924a: 201)

Specialized montane plant food harvests continued through late summer, before returning to lowlands to gather mesquite and prepare for winter.[24]

Agave (*Agave utahensis*) was a staple second only to pine nuts – available year round and at intermediate to lower elevations, and closer to winter village sites. The roasted base of this plant was consumed widely, and agave roasting pits continue to be widespread. Agave is found throughout the Shivwits Plateau, and Twin Points, at the southern tip of the plateau, is one location in the study area where numerous agave roasting pits can be found (Stoffle et al. 2005: 85). Indeed, there has been some suggestion that agave abundance is a predictor of archaeological resources associated with food procurement, such as mescal pits, and may be a good predictor of human occupation generally due to their high level of cultural significance among the Southern Paiute and neighboring tribes (e.g. Shutler and Shutler 1962; Rafferty 1984).

The Southern Paiutes practiced a tradition of mescal (*Agave neomexicana*) gathering and roasting in mountainous areas during the spring (Holt 2006: 6). Meanwhile screwbean and mesquite bean groves were harvested in lowland areas and were traditionally owned by families (Shutler 1961: 69). A diverse assortment of other plant foods have been utilized in this region - roots, berries, and seeds of various flowering plants and grasses which were gathered in abundance. Medicinal plants were also the focus of specialized harvests, with many of the most prized being found in atypical environments, including but not limited to montane and riparian areas, that were

visited specifically for the purpose of plant gathering or coincident with the larger seasonal round (see Stoffle et al. 1999; Fowler 1972).

The Southern Paiute employed diverse and ingenious methods for small game hunting, mainly rabbits, gophers and an assortment of other rodents, as well as birds, chuckwallas, tortoises, snakes, lizards, and insects. Rabbits were commonly hunted in drives, and this was likely an important communal activity common to all Southern Paiute groups. Of the Shivwits band, Lowie (1924: 196) writes, "This communal hunt with its concomitant social organization was characteristic of the wintertime when all the Shivwits came together." The gathering and consumption of bird eggs and embryos, as well as nestlings, was also reported in riparian areas and other nesting sites.

Southern Paiute bands, especially those associated with the study area, also hunted large game animals, primarily deer and desert bighorn sheep. Uinkaret families residing around Mt. Trumbull commonly hunted deer, elk and antelope from locations such as Nixon Spring, while a family member made a pilgrimage to Mt. Trumbull (Stoffle et al. 2005: 186). Bighorn sheep and deer were found throughout the study area, especially on the Kaibab Plateau and the Shivwits Plateau. The Moapa reported that deer were less abundant in their territory, but it is also clear that deer distributions were in flux prior to Anglo-American settlement (Kelly 1934). Among the Southern Paiute bands, deer and sheep were consumed for food, their hides were used for clothing, and bones served as important tools used for a variety of purposes. For example, Lowie describes how bones were used in the preparation of hides, "The Moapa Paiute remove the hair with the bone or rib of a mountain sheep; The Shivwits use the sharpened shinbone of a deer to take off the hair" (Lowie 1924: 227).

Eagles, hawks, and other species were gathered for ceremonial purposes. Rights to hunting areas may have been effectively inherited down the paternal line in the study area (and in some families, may still be inherited in this manner) with claims to particular areas being encoded in songs. Certain ritual protocols have traditionally guided hunting practices with, for example, boys sharing their game with their community. As is common among Paiute communities, shamanic intervention has traditionally been part of the hunt of the Southern Paiute, apparently including lands in what is today the Monument, involving dreaming of game locations, efforts to influence game movement, the placement of offerings to spiritual beings, and the like, as well as group ritual activities toward these ends (Laird 1976: 11 ff.; O. Stewart 1942; Kelly 1964; 1939, 1936, 1934).

The Southern Paiutes were somewhat unique among Great Basin tribes in their reliance on agriculture, including the cultivation of maize, squash, melons, gourds, beans, cowpeas, winter wheat, and certain cultivated grasses, similar to Puebloan peoples, Mohaves, and other agriculturalists of the Southwest (Fowler and Fowler 1981; Steward 1938). Other plants were cultivated for purposes other than subsistence, such as Devil's

claw, which was used widely in basketry. Old World crops also were part of the agricultural repertoire of Southern Paiutes at the time of direct European contact, such as winter wheat, watermelon and mush melon, apparently diffusing through Mexico.

Agricultural practices were well established in the Colorado Plateau Southern Paiute bands, but some suggest that agriculture appears to have been still in the process of diffusing to other Paiute bands at the time of contact (Lowie 1924: 200). [25] The Shivwits band was reported to have used irrigation techniques in planting both corn and squash prior to contact. They used implements called a *passad'u* (sharp rock) to form the irrigation ditches (Lowie 1924: 200). These agricultural practices persisted with few scheduling conflicts alongside wild food harvests, as elderly members of the community often stayed behind to tend gardens. The resulting Southern Paiute farm settlements, though often small, were impressive and were often termed rancherías by chroniclers who encountered them in the 19th century.[26]

Spiritual power is said to be available from the landscape, and spread unevenly between different landmarks, such as mountain peaks, caves, or springs (Stoffle and Zedeño 2001a, 2001b; Laird 1976; Kelly 1939; Harrington 1933). The significance of these places was established and continues to be encoded through rich oral traditions and songs that link spiritual powers and cultural knowledge to particular landmarks. This corpus of oral tradition is so vast, and of such importance in understanding Paiute connections to the landscape, that an entire report could be written on that topic alone, and it is only addressed superficially here. Certain landmarks, especially in mountainous areas such as Poverty Mountain (*Parasante*) or the Mt. Trumbull Wilderness on the Uinkaret Plateau, are traditionally understood to be wellsprings of certain types of spiritual powers, or *puha,* often guarded by spirit beings that might punish irreverence but grant access to those who are spiritually prepared (Austin et al. 2005: 68; Spoon et al. 2011; Stoffle et al. 2004; Stoffle et al. 2005; Stoffle and Zedeño 2001b, 2002). These uniquely powerful features are linked, so that the alignments between them are also powerful and aligned with "puha trails" – pathways of power with their own geographies – linking prominent and powerful ceremonial landmarks.

One example of a landscape within the Monument traditionally believed to contain particular concentrations of puha is an area sometimes called the "Toroweap Local Landscape," in the vicinity of Toroweap Canyon (*Mukunta'uipi*), which includes six spiritually linked features: trails into the Mt. Trumbull area, Nixon Springs, Little Springs, Nampaweap, the trail to the North Rim of the Grand Canyon, and the edge of the North Rim above Lava Falls (Austin et al. 2005: 63; Stoffle et al. 2005: 183). Little Springs, which is located between Mt. Trumbull (identified in Paiute as *Yevingkarere* or *Y~~u~~vinkar~~u~~*) and Mt. Logan (identified in Paiute as *Yevimpur Wekavika* or *Yu-we-wu-guv*), is the site of a lava flow (Austin et al. 2005: 2, 44; Hedquist 2010: 35, 36).[27] Many Paiute people traditionally view lava flows as evidence that mountains are sentient and possess large concentrations of puha that energize and mobilize the volcanic landscape (Stoffle et al. 2005: 111-116). Also connected to this landscape is Vulcan's Anvil, which

is a large volcanic rock, situated in the Colorado River just outside the boundaries of the Monument. Vulcan's Anvil is a site considered to be sacred by many Southern Paiute people, and it is another example of a place considered to contain significant power (Stoffle, Halmo and Austin 1997: 244). Toroweap Lake, identified by the Nuwuvi place name *Turup Pikavo*, is a water pocket just above Vulcan's Anvil on the north rim of the canyon. This is also an important site traditionally visited by Southern Paiutes, such as the local Uinkarets. Located on the foothills of Mt. Trumbull, the site called *Tempi'avitsi*, is also widely described as a sacred place; the name translates as "rocks lying" (Austin et al. 2005: 74, 78). Ritual use of landmarks such as these was reported well into the 20th century in published sources (e.g., Kelly 1939: 161), and tribal members attest that these practices still persist to some degree among Southern Paiutes today.[28]

Traditionally shamans who visited these places were said to gain the power to heal, to control natural phenomena, or influence the movements of game, for example. A Southern Paiute shaman sought power through dreams, sometimes spending a night alone in one of several caves. A number of other spirit caves have been reported in the region, most with ambiguous provenience (e.g. Laird 1984: 20, 1976: 132-33). Many of these caves are linked with petroglyph and pictograph sites associated with the spirit quests and powers said to be found at these sites. These places continue to be of profound significance to many tribal members (Martineau 1992).[29] Rock shelters, like spirit caves, are associated with petroglyphs and pictographs and are viewed as "power-seeking places." Springs are also traditionally considered sources of power among the Southern Paiute. Nampaweap, also known as Billy Goat Canyon, is a site within the Monument that is characterized by all of the essential elements associated with this practice: rock writing panels, a spring, and a rock shelter. Accordingly, Nampaweap has been identified as an important traditional power-seeking location (Stoffle et al. 2005: 122).

Southern Paiute people also share the Cry Ceremony, which is linked to a ritual geography through which the souls of the departed could be ushered safely to the afterlife – a practice that has been continued in contemporary funeral events (Stoffle et al. 2000; Sapir 1912, 1910). As will be addressed in later pages, song cycles including the Salt Song tradition have played an important role in codifying the spiritual attributes of the landscape and in ushering the dead to the afterlife (Klasky 1999, 1998; Laird 1976; Kelly 1939, 1936). Cremation appears to have been commonplace in places a short distance from settlements or encampments, but burials, including crevice burials are also commonly reported. Ritualized crevice burial in mountain and desert environments similar to those found in the Monument is suggested by various sources (e.g. Lowie 1924a). Personal belongings were often immolated as part of the mourning ceremony, and families or entire camps might temporarily relocate after a death.

Southern Paiute Bands

Most sources agree that the Southern Paiute people were divided into units called bands, and each band has been described as constituting a geographic unit associated with a specific territory. Yet, as mentioned previously, the scale and identity of these bands has been a point of considerable debate. Isabel Kelly (1934) suggested that there were 16 identifiable bands at the time of contact, including the Shivwits, Uinkaret, and Moapa within the Monument's current boundary, while Omer Stewart (1942) postulated that there were in fact 17 bands. Yet earlier accounts (e.g., Powell and Ingalls 1873) suggested as many as 31 bands, and these estimates were reaffirmed after careful reevaluation by such authors as Julian Steward (1938, 1937b). The reasons for this disagreement are potentially revealing in terms of tribal affiliations with the study area.

By Kelly's influential interpretation, all Southern Paiute bands spoke the same dialect language and were tied together loosely by kinship, social, and trade relationships. At the time of contact, each of these bands was composed of smaller units that have been called "economic clusters" or "local units." Each cluster, in turn, was comprised of a small number of camps – extended families commonly – that collaborated on economic pursuits and provided mutual aid to one another. Many miles of desert sometimes separated the economic clusters, some of which might have a headman who functioned in an advisory capacity. A number of the clusters might occasionally gather together for certain subsistence activities described previously, such as piñon harvesting at shared sites or at hunting. During these occasions, gatherings of clusters could reach sufficiently large numbers, so that one might say the larger band was represented. It is perhaps only in these settings that the band term might apply to a singular population dwelling together in a single place. Groups of economic clusters often maintained shared and enduring relationships within particular geographical areas, such as the camps and springs on the Kaibab Plateau, which provided them with a certain "unity" tied to that place. In turn, economic clusters shared generally friendly relations with one another within particular geographical areas, and could arrange for the utilization of one another's territories, both within and between conventionally designated band territories.[30] Most sources, however, agree that bands did not possess overarching tribal organization or centralized political control, such as a headman or council, that would consistently unify each band in shared political, economic or defensive ventures.

Southern Paiute social organization therefore involved both the dispersing and coalescing of groups at certain settlements and resource sites as social, ceremonial and economic activities dictated. Band structure was sufficiently flexible that, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, as families moved between traditional band territories in search of work, they were often considered to have become members of the larger band with which they were becoming geographically affiliated (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 120; Steward 1938). Thus, band terminology is in many respects geographic, while in reality the many bands of southern Nevada, southern California, and

southwestern Utah are composed of peoples who are on many levels interrelated, and who share kinship ties of considerable time depth.[31]

Yet, some have questioned whether the term "band" as used in the way presented above was an accurate representation of Southern Paiute populations at contact. Julian Steward (1938, 1937b), in particular, argued that the term as used by Kelly (1934) and others implied a degree of political and social cohesion that was not found between the local "economic clusters." Following a detailed analysis of kinship and band affiliation among these groups, Julian Steward suggested that,

> It is probable that the aboriginal number of politically independent groups was nearer to Powell and Ingalls' list of 31…than to Kelly's 15. Indeed, if the whole area were organized on a village basis, 31 is probably short of the actual number.
> (Steward 1938: 181)

Steward instead argued persuasively that the individual "economic clusters" defined by Kelly were the functional and autonomous units of Paiute social structure – in other words, that perhaps these economic clusters were in fact the functional equivalent of bands for the Southern Paiute at the time of contact.[32] Over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, then, as diverse populations from certain sub-regions of the Paiute world were situated together on reservations, band identity became a stronger basis than the economic clusters of an earlier age.

In response, Kelly retorted the Paiute bands she identified were differentiated "on the dual basis of dialect and territory" (in Park, et al. 1938: 634). Here, she suggested that the band was the land-holding unit of Paiute society, even if there was little political organization that might coordinate or administer these claims on lands and resources,

> For the Southern Paiute generally—the band, as I have used the term, was the communal land-holding unit and its territory was well defined. Within its bounds, however, springs and water holes were individually owned and inherited within the family. Ordinarily a man owned several adjacent springs at which he, his household, and friends camped in rotation. People of nearby springs shared the same economic cycle, constituting thereby informal local units, whose members journeyed together to [diffuse locations for resource procurement]. Steward's criteria of village organization—habitual cooperation and association—are here applicable, although to inhabitants of a cluster of springs rather than to a single village… Whether such groups are designated as bands, tribes, or nations is immaterial.[33]
> (in Park et al. 1938: 633-34)

These debates were no doubt compounded by the tremendous difficulty in establishing the identity of Paiute populations in written records of the 19th century due to their mobility and dynamism, but also due to non-Indian chroniclers' use of varying categorization and wildly inconsistent terminology for "tribes" and "bands" in the region (Steward 1938: 281).

Simultaneously, it is important to remember that the Southern Paiute communities being assessed by Kelly, Steward, and others had already undergone dramatic social and economic transformation since the time of first European contact. Even in the 1870s, when John Wesley Powell attempted to understand Paiute social organization, his Paiute advisors described "traditional" patterns as being very different from those of the 1870s. By their explanations, Paiute social organization involves organized and geographically defined bands with standing headmen and occasional multi-band confederacies. Quoting Powell,

> The original political organization of the tribes under consideration had a territorial basis; that is, the country was divided into districts, and each district was inhabited by a small tribe, which took the name of the land, and had one principal chief. These tribes, or land-nameds, as they are called in the Indian idiom, were the only permanent organizations, but sometimes two or more of them would unite in a confederacy under some great chief.
> (Powell 1873: 49)

While disagreement persists among researchers on the point of what constituted a band or band territory, Kelly's perspective has been more influential in some circles and certainly coheres more directly with modern Paiute band structure than Steward's vision. This is presented as a cautionary note, however, as the bands represented in this document and elsewhere were not simple and singular populations and political structures at the time of contact, but were composed of a diversity of communities and territorial claims that can only be inferred partially today.

All this aside, it is important to note that many Southern Paiute people today possess a strong sense of being "one people" – a point frequently mentioned by tribal representatives consulted in the course of this research. Certainly, there are strong cultural, historical and linguistic foundations for such a claim regarding the common identity of the contact period Southern Paiute.[34] As will be discussed in later sections of this document, the cohesion between the various subpopulations of the Paiute was largely enhanced by the experiences of the 19th and 20th centuries, as local groups coalesced in larger reservation communities, lending strength to the band structure as described by Kelly and others. The historical dynamism and flexibility of Southern Paiute traditional social organization should in no way be seen as undermining the sophistication of their social institutions or the veracity and importance of their ties to

the land.[35] Instead, Southern Paiute social organization was an adept response to the unique challenges and opportunities of their desert homeland, and provided Southern Paiute communities with enduring ties to places and resources that remain powerful and enduring in spite of a century and a half of displacement and dispossession.

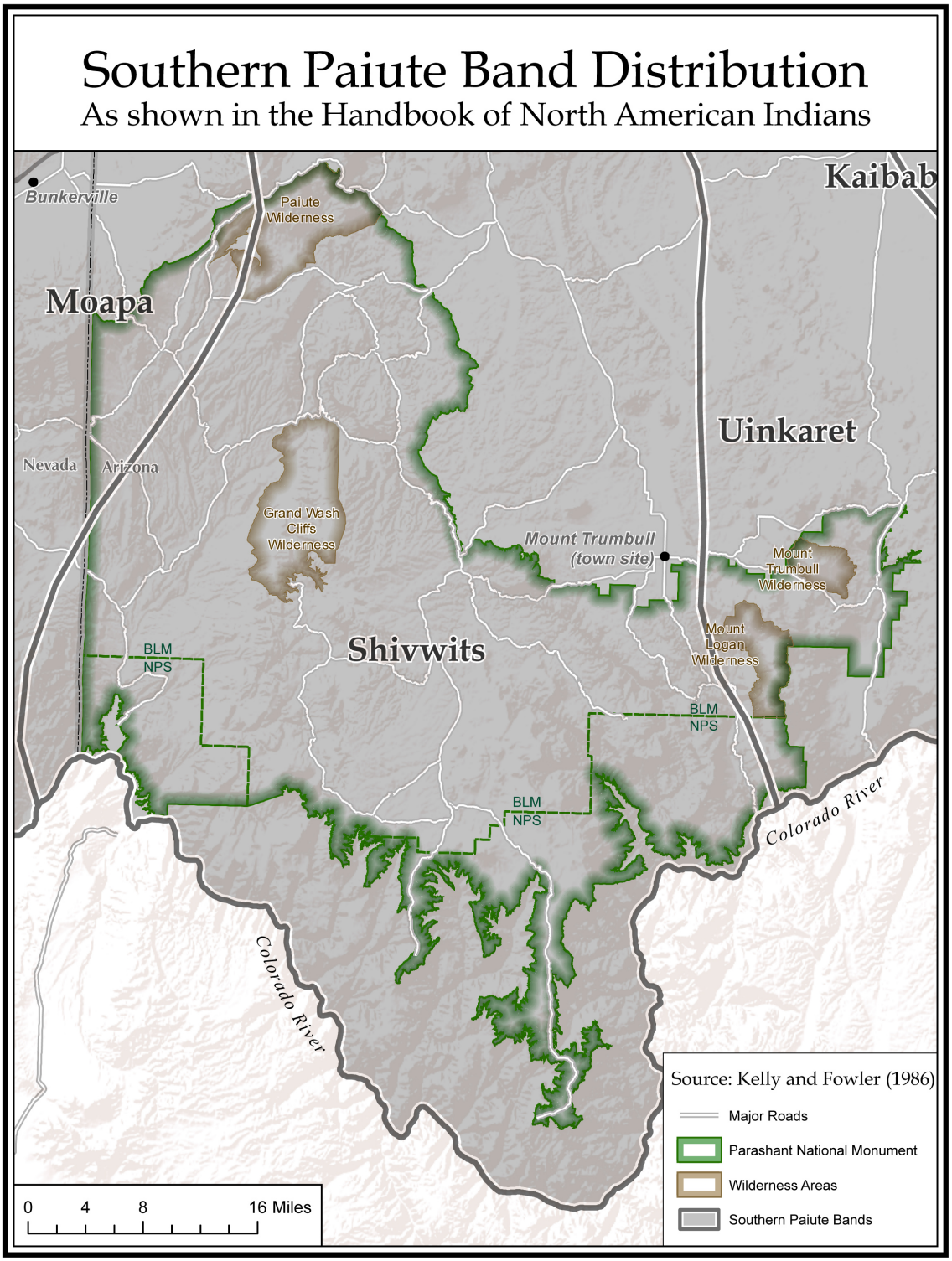
Shivwits

The traditional territory of the Shivwits stretched north to south between the Virgin and Colorado Rivers and was bounded on the east by the Hurricane Cliffs, which are identified by the Nuwuvi place name *Tsingkawihav* (Austin et al. 2005: 77-78). To the west, Shivwits territory incorporated the Grand Wash district and the eastern slopes of the Virgin Mountains (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 9; Kelly 1934: 552).[36] As such, Shivwits Paiutes traditionally occupied the majority of the study area. Per Isabel Kelly's estimation, approximately half of the Shivwits band's traditional territory lays within the modern-day Monument, including the majority of lands from the Nevada state line to Mt. Trumbull (Brown 2011: 30).

The central portion of the Monument, consisting of the Shivwits Plateau, was an important gathering place for Shivwits Paiutes and was the location of their central campsites (see Map 5). The Willow Gathering Site, for example, is a site on the southern point of the Shivwits Plateau at the southern end of the Monument. This site has been reported to be an important plant-gathering locale for Shivwits people (Stoffle et al. 2005: 88). Researchers from the University of Arizona believe that the Willow Gathering Site is potentially connected to Twin Point, a site just outside the study area, which was likely an agave gathering and preparing site (Stoffle et al. 2005: 85). Additionally, the Grand Wash Cliffs area and the slopes of the Virgin Mountains were important to the Shivwits band, as these areas were hunted and used for specialized plant harvests. According to William Palmer, the Southern Paiutes referred to the Grand Wash Cliffs as *Ma-ag-ara Kaib*, which he translates as "mountains with many kinds of trees on them," reflecting the botanical diversity of the area, including many plants of ethnobotanical significance (Palmer 1928:24).

Unlike some other conventionally designated "bands" discussed in this section, Shivwits is depicted as a singular band rather than a regional amalgam of bands in the works of Powell and Ingalls (1873). They identify the "*Shi'-vwits*" as a single band of 182 individuals, centered on the Shivwits Plateau, under the leadership of the headman named *Kwi-toos'*. Subsequent authors largely adhere to this convention of designating a singular Shivwits band, including Kelly (1934) and Steward (1938). These early sources also are remarkably consistent in the delineation of Shivwits territory along the lines described above.

On separate investigations, working principally with Paiute consultants in the early 20th century, William Palmer reported a different configuration of Southern Paiute bands in

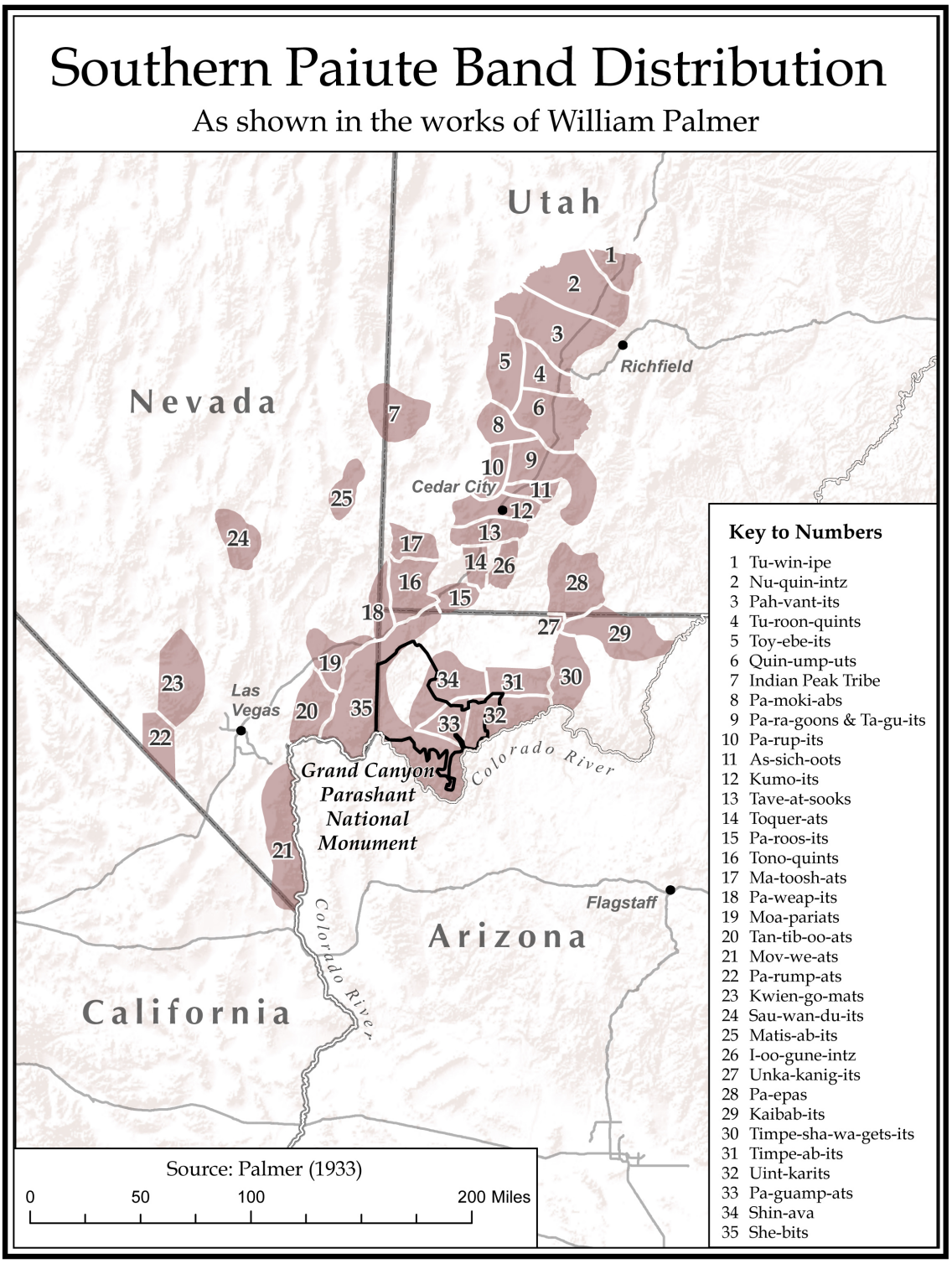

Southern Paiute Band Distribution
As shown in the Handbook of North American Indians
Bunkerville
Paiute Wilderness
Kaibab
Moapa
Uinkaret
Nevada
Arizona
Grand Wash Cliffs Wilderness
Mount Trumbull (town site)
Mount Trumbull Wilderness
Mount Logan Wilderness
Shivwits
BLM
NPS
BLM
NPS
BLM
NPS
Colorado River
Colorado River
0 4 8 16 Miles
Source: Kelly and Fowler (1986)
Major Roads
Parashant National Monument
Wilderness Areas
Southern Paiute Bands

Map 5

and around the Monument. Instead of Shivwits, Moapa, and Uinkarets, as shown by Kelly, Palmer shows the Monument being part of the homelands of no fewer than five bands, including especially the She-bits, but also the Shin-ava, Pa-guamp-ars, Uint-karits, and Timpe-ab-its. Three of those bands, She-bits, Shin-ava, and Pa-guamp-ats, occupy territory identified by Kelly, Steward and others as Shivwits territory. The remaining two, Uint-karits and Timpe-ab-its, occupy territory scholars typically identify as solely Uinkaret. The bands that Palmer identified in what is today the Monument are as follows:

> ***She-bits*** occupied a territory situated mainly in eastern Nevada and western Arizona, with a small portion reaching into southern Utah. This band occupied the western and southernmost portions of what is today Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.
>
> ***Shin-ava*** territory was located entirely in present-day Arizona, and it encompassed a northeastern portion of what is today the Monument, mainly centered on the Shivwits Plateau.
>
> ***Pa-guamp-ats*** was located just south of Shin-ava almost entirely within the present-day monument boundaries. Their northernmost boundary sits just north of the Monument within Upper Hurricane Valley. As with the Shin-ava, the Pa-guamp-ats territory was also centered on the Shivwits Plateau.
>
> ***Uint-karits*** territory encompassed the easternmost portion of what is today the Monument, centered on the Uinkaret Plateau and incorporating Mt. Trumbull. The northern boundary essentially reached the northern border of the Monument north of Mt. Trumbull and extended east through the Kanab Plateau to Kanab Canyon, where it traveled south to the Colorado River, which it followed west back to Parashant Canyon.
>
> ***Timpe-ab-its*** territory was north of the Shin-ava and east of the Uint-karits. This band occupied the northeastern tip of what is today the Monument.

The map from Palmer's work has gained a certain currency among some modern tribal members, and is of interest as a counterpoint to Kelly's mapping of Southern Paiute territories. Palmer's map is shown here as Map 6. Instead of mapping the entire landscape as being within band territories, Palmer seems to map principal use areas for each of the bands he identifies, resulting in some erroneously "unoccupied" portions of the map. There is somewhat more consistency between Palmer's map with the accounts of Powell and Ingalls than with Kelly but, here too, there are many levels of disagreement.


Southern Paiute Band Distribution
As shown in the works of William Palmer
Utah
Nevada
Arizona
California
Richfield
Cedar City
Las Vegas
Flagstaff
Grand Canyon Parashant National Monument
Colorado River
Colorado River
Source: Palmer (1933)
0
50
100
200 Miles
Key to Numbers
1 Tu-win-ipe
2 Nu-quin-intz
3 Pah-vant-its
4 Tu-roon-quints
5 Toy-ebe-its
6 Quin-ump-uts
7 Indian Peak Tribe
8 Pa-moki-abs
9 Pa-ra-goons & Ta-gu-its
10 Pa-rup-its
11 As-sich-oots
12 Kumo-its
13 Tave-at-sooks
14 Toquer-ats
15 Pa-roos-its
16 Tono-quints
17 Ma-toosh-ats
18 Pa-weap-its
19 Moa-pariats
20 Tan-tib-oo-ats
21 Mov-we-ats
22 Pa-rump-ats
23 Kwien-go-mats
24 Sau-wan-du-its
25 Matis-ab-its
26 I-oo-gune-intz
27 Unka-kanig-its
28 Pa-epas
29 Kaibab-its
30 Timpe-sha-wa-gets-its
31 Timpe-ab-its
32 Uint-karits
33 Pa-guamp-ats
34 Shin-ava
35 She-bits

Map 6

In recent times, the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona has depicted Shivwits as being part of a "Gunlock/Shivwits/Saint George band." To some extent, this reflects a post-contact period amalgamation between Shivwits and other bands in the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah confederacy rather than the pre-contact political unity between these bands. Still, being centrally located in the Southern Paiute world, Shivwits did maintain an intermediate position among Paiute groups before and during the time of contact. In addition to having ties to Moapa, the Shivwits band seems to have possessed especially strong ties to Kaibab and Uinkaret bands of the Arizona Strip to their east, as well as the bands to the north (including the Gunlock and Saint George communities) that later became the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (PITU). Underscoring this point, Powell and Ingalls (1870) suggest that the Shivwits were in an "alliance" with the Uinkaret and Kwai-an'-ti-kwok-ets (apparently San Juan Paiute "east of the Colorado River") that had a shared leader between all three bands by the name of Tai-gu, who also represented the bands of Kanab, Cedar City, Saint George, and elsewhere.

While not all Southern Paiute bands practiced horticultural techniques within their territories, Shivwits were among those bands that relied on "a limited type of garden horticulture based on the cultivation of corn, squash, sunflowers, beans, and other native plants" (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 101). In fact, some of the Paiute place names in the region reflected the Paiutes peoples' gardening tradition. Of Saint George, William Palmer writes,

> Before the coming of the whites the Saint George basin was a favorite fall, winter and spring home. They did some planting and harvesting there of corn, squash, and they also tell of raising there some plant with a black seed from which they made bread. The basin or valley was called *U-un-o* or *U-oo-no*. It means a good gardening place.
> (Palmer Collection n.d. Box 20 (F 16): 12-13)

Fowler and Fowler (1971) went on to postulate that Shivwits peoples likely learned horticulture from other groups, including the Yuman-speaking bands that resided on the banks of the Lower Colorado River, including the Hualapai, with whom they had regular contact through passageways such as the possible trail at Twin Point. Lowie (1924: 200) reports on the use of irrigation by Shivwits people in their horticultural practices,

> The Indians planted both corn (hawiiz) and squashes (parafidro) before white contact. Irrigation was employed. Ditches were dug with an implement called passad'u, which was shaped with a sharp rock. Along the Colorado River driftwood furnished the material, elsewhere a species of willow or the mesquite. The ground was watered from the spring before planting the seeds. When the water had not quite dried up, the

> men dug-holes with a sharp-pointed stick (ady'Ot-), while the women inserted the seeds. The earth was removed and later heaped up with the hands. When the plants came up, a second irrigation was customary. One corncob was used to shell another, and the seeds were ground on a metate (maR).
> (Lowie 1924:200)

Within the Monument, the Shivwits people relied on a number of plants that occupied the diverse ecosystems within the Grand Canyon-Parashant region. According to Brown (2011: 32), for example, "Shivwits ate yucca blossoms and fruit, and used yucca root as soap. They roasted and ate Joshua tree buds. They roasted and ate cactus blossom or fruits. They also ate various tubers, berries, and thistles, and drank mescal."

Shivwits people, like other Southern Paiute bands, also hunted large and small game, as well as gathered a number of native plants throughout their territory. Springs, such as Pakoona Springs, or *Paakuna* in Paiute, were important places for wildlife to gather (Austin et al. 2005: 65). Rabbit was a popular small game item that was hunted in communal drives during the winter (Lowie 1924: 196). Rabbit has continued to play an important role into relative recent times. During his time observing the Southern Paiutes in 1871 and 1872, Dellenbaugh described the means by which Shivwits people prepared rabbit for consumption,

> The Pai Utes had killed some rabbits, which they now skinned and cooked. I say cooked, but perhaps I should say warmed. Dexterously stripping off the skins they slit open the abdomen, removed the entrails, and, after squeezing out the contents by drawing between thumb and fingers, they replaced the interminable string in the cavity, closing the aperture with the ears, and stowed the carcass in the hot ashes for a few minutes. Then they ate the whole thing with complete satisfaction.
> (1984: 252)

Bighorn sheep are an example of larger game that was also hunted by the Shivwits people during the summertime (Holt 2006: 6). Bighorn sheep, mule deer and other game was readily available within the study area in regions such as the Shivwits Plateau. Important native plants, such as agave, single-leaf piñon pine, and Indian tea (*Ephedra* spp.) were also available on the Plateau and are still there today.

During the contact period, the Shivwits Plateau – including places within the Monument - continued to play an important role in Paiute settlement and subsistence. For example, Southern Paiutes along the Santa Clara River (*Tunakwint*) in Utah experienced great difficulties maintaining their livelihood when Mormon settlers moved into the area. Due to the impacts of Mormon communities' logging, livestock

feeding on native plants, increased hunting pressures and the spread of disease, among other challenges, Southern Paiute in the region needed a safe place to escape (Stoffle et al. 2005: 97; Stoffle, Halmo and Austin 1997: 241). Horse Valley, located roughly 1.5 miles northeast of Mt. Dellenbaugh, was one area that became an important home and refuge to some Southern Paiutes during the Mormon expansion. Located in a secure and defensible position within the Shivwits traditional boundary, this valley contains many plants and animals that were important to the diets of the Southern Paiutes. For example, mountain sheep, deer and rabbits, as well as the vastly important single-leaf piñon pine nut can all still be found in the area. Due to its relative isolation, Horse Valley also was safe from Mormon encroachment for some time (Stoffle et al. 2005: 98). Eventually, Shivwits people throughout what is today the Monument were relocated to the Santa Clara River watershed in Utah in 1891, when the reservation was established – a point to be explored in later sections of this document (Austin et al. 2005: 4).

Uinkaret

Traditionally occupying the eastern most portion of the study area was the Uinkaret band of Paiutes. Situated between Shivwits to the east and Kaibab to the west, the Uinkaret band inhabited a territory stretching from southern Utah into northern Arizona, centered around Mt. Trumbull and the Uinkaret Plateau (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 9). The Uinkarets were still in existence when the Spanish Escalante-Dominguez party arrived in the region in 1776, as well as during Powell and Dellenbaugh's time on the Uinkaret Plateau roughly a century later:

> We packed our animals again and laid our course across the open country towards a range of blue mountains seen in the southwest. One of these had been named after Senator Trumbull by the Major in the autumn of 1870. They were the home of the Uinkarets and we called the whole group by that name.
> (Dellenbaugh 1984: 186)

Kelly described the Uinkaret, as having disappeared as a distinct band by the time of her research in the area in the early 20th century, with its descendants integrated into other band communities. Still, Kelly outlined her understanding of the geographical location of this population as defined by other area bands:

> Today they are extinct, so far as I could determine, and boundaries have been assigned on evidence from adjacent bands. Their territory appears to have been pear-shaped, with its base along the Colorado, its apex just south of the west-flowing Virgin. The western bound is definitive: Whitmore wash and the prominent scarp of Hurricane cliffs. The eastern

> bound is less marked but skirted the Shinarump cliffs to project into Antelope valley, whence it continued south to the Colorado.
> (Kelly 1934: 551)

As this excerpt demonstrates, Kelly interprets the Uinkaret boundary as being south of the Virgin River, which is identified in Southern Paiute as *Pa-russ* (Palmer 1928: 21), *Parosa*, or *Parús*, translated as "white-colored river" (Austin et al. 2005: 42). Though Kelly uses the river as the boundary marker, more recently the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology (BARA) at the University of Arizona has proposed a hypothesis that the Uinkaret Paiutes were actually linked to another group of Paiute peoples residing on the Virgin River. This hypothesis is based on an analysis of the ecosystem in which Kelly and others have historically placed the Uinkaret band. Specifically, BARA researchers state:

> The main social and ecological logic behind connecting the Uinkaret district with lands somewhere else is that, as currently defined by Kelly/Fowler, it lacks an oasis core. The Uinkaret district had access to Colorado River waters but at a section of the river where agriculture would have been difficult at best. There are some small springs in Uinkaret land but they are few and high in elevation. The natural argument is that the Uinkaret oasis core lies along the upper Virgin River.[37]
> (Stoffle et al. 2004: 40-41)

BARA researchers further speculate that together with an unidentified Paiute group on the Virgin River, the Uinkaret band may have constituted a "missing" Paiute district referred to in the literature alternately as Ua'ayukunants, I-oo-goonits, or Ua'ay~~u~~kunants (Stoffle et al. 2004: 35). While this hypothesis has not yet been confirmed, what is clear is that by the late 1800s Uinkaret Paiutes had dispersed from their original territory as a result of encroachment and other factors, and had relocated to live with relatives in Shivwits/Santa Clara areas or with the Kaibab Paiutes (Stoffle et al. 2004: 42; Austin 2005: 4).

Unlike the Shivwits band, the Uinkaret are not reported to have practiced horticulture centered on maize within the study area. Instead, according to Escalante's journals, the Uinkaret band relied heavily on hunting game such as mountain sheep and hares, as well as gathering plants such as seeds, piñon nuts, and tunas (prickly pear fruit) (Euler 1972: 15). Dellenbaugh (1984) and Powell (1961) described the Uinkarets as having a close relationship with other Southern Paiute bands, especially Shivwits to their west and Kaibab to their east. It is likely that some of the last remaining Uinkaret band members joined up with both Shivwits and/or Kaibab relatives when loggers and cattlemen moved extensively into their region in the 1880s and 1890s (Stoffle 2004: 42).

Kaibab

The Kaibab Paiutes, whose traditional territory lies just east of the study area, have retained continuous occupation of the Arizona Strip into the present day, in part, to the establishment of a reservation in 1906 (Austin 2005: 4). The name Kaibab is reported to be an Anglicized form of the native *qa'iva-vdci* "mountain-lying, plateau" (Sapir 1930-31 (I): 5).[38] The Kaibab Plateau makes up the southern portion of the Kaibab traditional territory. Kelly provides a detailed explanation of Kaibab's traditional boundaries,

> South of the Panguitch and southwest of the Kaiparowits are the Kaibab, relatively well known, in name at least, through Powell's reports. Their territory extended from the southern terminals of the high plateaus to the Grand Canyon, and from Paria River and Marble gorge on the east to Uinkaret plateau on the west. Actually the western boundary reached the Colorado at a point just below the mouth of Kanab creek, therefore somewhat east of Uinkaret plateau.[39]
> (Kelly 1934: 551)

Kelly (1934: 551) goes on to explain how her delineation of Kaibab's boundaries diverges slightly from Sapir, writing "The boundaries here given agree with his [Sapir's] except to the northwest, where his informant terminated Kaibab territory just north of the Virgin River, thereby excluding Zion creek and sections of Colob and Markagunt plateaus." While Kelly and Sapir largely agree on the boundaries of the Kaibab Paiutes, Stewart identified additional bands that formerly occupied what Kelly defined as Kaibab territory, some of which were apparently constituent to the Kaibab:

> Within the area assigned to the Kaibab band by Kelly, there formerly existed, according to my informants, four bands: Unkawaisairitnunts or Ipatsu, near Johnson, Utah; Kanarinunts, near Kanab, Utah; Paitsikinnunts, near Pipe Springs, Arizona; Kaibabitcisin- nunts, near House Rock, Arizona. Partly in Kelly's Kaibab area and extending into her Kaiparowits area were the katutsinnunts or Parianunts, near the villages of Paria and Adairville, Utah. The latter group would correspond to Escalante's Pagampachis.
> (Stewart 1942: 237)

Kelly also described trading patterns both between the Kaibab band and other Southern Paiute bands, as well as with non-Southern Paiute neighboring tribes. For example, Kelly (1964) described trading practices between Kaibab Paiutes and members of the Panguitch and Cedar Paiutes (Austin et al. 2005: 1). She also discussed trade between Kaibab and Hopis up the Colorado River as well as Havasupais on the River's opposite bank (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 102). Kaibab band members also sometimes

intermarried with the Panguitch, Kaiparowits and San Juan Paiute neighbors (Kelly 1964: 23, 99; Austin et al. 2005: 1).

Regarding the political organization of the Kaibab Paiutes, Park et al. (1938: 633-634) described their band as "the communal land-holding unit and its territory was well defined." Underneath the umbrella of the band, however, informal, interdependent local groups were established centered on the location of springs and water holes. The ownership of these water sources, typically including several neighboring springs, was passed down within a family, and the family as well as friends of the family rotated among camps at the springs. Park et al. (1938: 633) went on to describe how,

> People of nearby springs shared the same economic cycle, constituting thereby informal local units; The Kaibab were divided into ten such local units, of which the seven more populous ones had each its own headman who directed seasonal movements and activities, while the others made shift without such supervision. These local territories were not strictly defined. They were by no means economically independent, and mescal, deer, and so on were drawn from communal grounds within Kaibab habitat. Although springs on the Kaibab Plateau are said to have been privately owned, in the fall virtually all the Kaibab foregathered there to hunt. Within Kaibab territory there seems to have been no idea of trespass, even at privately owned springs.

John Wesley Powell and his research team, including Frederick Samuel Dellenbaugh, wrote extensively about the Kaibab band, documenting village life as they witnessed it in the second half of the nineteenth century. Dellenbaugh described the appearance of the Kaibab shelters that he saw in his travels in the years 1871 and 1872,

> Their wickiups, about seven feet high, were merely a lot of cedar boughs, set around a three-quarter circle, forming a conical shelter, the opening towards the south. In front they had their fire, with a mealing-stone or two, and round about were their conical and other baskets, used for collecting grass seeds, pinion nuts, and similar vegetable food, which in addition to rabbits formed their principal subsistence.
> (Dellenbaugh 1984: 177-178)

While the Kaibab band wore mostly non-traditional clothes by the time Powell arrived, he reported that deerskin clothing was still worn to a degree in the winter. Additionally, Kaibab Paiutes also made warm winter robes out of rabbit skin (Lowie 1924: 216).

In terms of subsistence, Kaibab Paiutes practiced a variety of techniques throughout their territory. For example, Park et al. (1938: 633) discuss how the informal local units described above "journeyed together to the Kaibab Plateau for deer." Kaibab Paiutes employed the use of dogs to hunt game such as deer (Lowie 1924:195). Powell also reported that Kaibab members relied heavily on gathering native plants within their territory,

> They gather the seeds of many plants, as sunflowers, golden rods, and grasses. For this purpose they have large conical baskets, which hold two or more bushels. The women carry them on their backs, suspended from their foreheads by broad straps, and with a smaller one in the left hand, and a willow-woven fan in the right, they walk among the grasses, and sweep the seed into the smaller basket, which is emptied now and then into the larger, until it is full of seeds and chaff; then they winnow out the chaff and roast the seeds.
> (in Lowie 1924: 201)

Kaibab were also one of the Southern Paiute bands to practice some degree of garden horticulture. According to Fowler and Fowler (1971: 101), Kaibab peoples gardens centered on items such as corn, squash, sunflowers, beans and other native plants, which they attribute to diffusion from the Saint George (Shivwits) Paiutes around 1850.

Peoples with more direct ties to the study area – Shivwits and Uinkaret among them – joined Kaibab during the contact period to avoid their exposure to non-Indian influences. Thus, as will be discussed more in later sections of this report, the modern Kaibab – as at PITU - include descendants of Shivwits and other tribes that were residents in what is today the Monument at contact, even if many of the principal bands that constitute these modern tribes lived principally outside of what is today the Monument.

Moapa

The Moapa band, who resided especially "on the banks of the Muddy River" as well as the lower Virgin River are sometimes reported as the "Moapats" or the "Moapits" in ethnographic and historical sources (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 11; Sapir 1930-1931: 572, 574-575; Lowie 1924a: 193).[40] Southern Paiutes were densely settled in Moapa Valley, and extensively cultivated the lands there at the time of European contact. John C. Frémont described the Muddy River Basin as being a major center of Paiute settlement in 1844,

> Indians crowded numerously around us in the morning…Some…on the bottoms, and others haranguing us from the bluffs; and they were scattered in every direction over the hills.
> (Frémont 1846: 266-270)

Others, such as Kit Carson (1847) made similar reports. In 1848, Orville C. Pratt noted along the route from Moapa to Las Vegas that there were "Pah Eutahs here in great numbers but they run from us like wild deer" – probably a response to their recent history of being raided for slaves (Pratt in Euler 1966: 51). Only during the height of the pine nut season was Moapa Valley depicted by passersby as "empty" or "abandoned" (Bean 1972).

The major settlements of the "Moapa band" too have been depicted as being centered on the Muddy and lower Virgin River valleys. Summarizing their territorial claims, Kelly suggested that,

> The Moapa people owned a broad strip of desert country between the southern limits of the Paranigat and Panaca bands on the Colorado river. On the east they extended to the Virgin mountains, on the west to Sheep range and Las Vegas valley.
> (Kelly 1934: 555)

There is also some evidence of occasional use of the opposite bank of the Colorado River during historical times for defense and resource procurement, sometimes as guests of the Hualapai.[41]

While Kelly treated the Moapa as a single band, Powell and Ingalls (1873) identify seven separate Paiute "tribes" within what Kelly identifies as a singular Moapa band territory. They include:

> ***Sau-won'-ti-ats*** in the Moapa Valley under the headman Tau-um'-pu-gaip, totaling 92 individuals
>
> ***Mo-a-pa-ri'-ats*** [or Moapa band] on Muddy River under Man-wi'-ta, totaling 64 individuals
>
> ***Nau-wan'-a-tats*** in the Moapa Valley under Ai'-at-tau'-a, totaling 60 individuals
>
> ***Pin'ti-ats*** in the Moapa Valley under Kwi'-vu-a, totaling 47 individuals

Pa-room'-api-ats near Moapa Springs near the head of Moapa River under Mo-wi'-un-kits, totaling 35 individuals

I'-chu-ar'-rum-pats in the vicinity of Saint Thomas, Nevada under To'-shoap, totaling 35 individuals

U-tum'-pai-ats near Glendale, Nevada under Tan'-ko-its, totaling 46 individuals

These were probably distinct village aggregations, though it is unclear whether they warrant designation as "bands" or "village clusters" by the nomenclature of anthropologists who have investigated Southern Paiute social organization (Steward 1938; Hodge 1907-1910). Kelly (1934) seemed to accept them as being smaller "economic clusters" within the larger Moapa band. These tribes' names largely consist of placenames, and it is unclear to what extent these were discrete groups with seven separate named places as their geographical core, or a smaller number of separate populations utilizing seven different named places.

Various lines of evidence suggest that the situation was in flux at the time of Powell and Ingalls' investigations. As will be addressed in later sections of this report, these tribal communities had already been subject to epidemic diseases, warfare, slave raiding, partial Mormon occupation of Moapa Valley and associated displacement, followed within less than a generation by a Mormon retreat and opportunities for territorial reoccupation. By 1873 the distance of Moapa from the new Mormon settlements to the north, and Spanish settlements, and raiding tribes to the east had made this area a refuge of sorts for Paiutes wishing to avoid outside interference – a process that arguably enhanced the relative density of population in the well-watered Moapa area relative to other Southern Paiute territories. Some Arizona Strip Paiutes appear to have been among those who moved to Moapa during this period. The ethnic map was certainly jumbled by these events, but to what degree cannot be easily ascertained on the basis of available oral history, ethnographic or historical documentation alone.

With its unusually high population density and a convergence of multiple bands in a single well-watered location, Moapa was somewhat unique, and seems to have served as a multi-band homeland at the time of contact and presumably well beforehand. As Euler has suggested,

> Given the numbers of Paiute concentrated along the Muddy and Virgin in the 1840s, it is quite probable that they were amassed in a form of socio-political structure greater than that of an extended family as had been suggested by earlier explorers.
> (Euler 1972: 48)

Powell and Ingalls (1873) identify "chiefs of alliances" for all of the Southern Paiute tribes they encountered. They noted that the headman *To-Shoap* – the Saint Thomas band chief – was the alliance chief for all of the Moapa Valley bands listed above.

The valley was cultivated as intensively as any portion of Southern Paiute territory, reflecting its predictable water supply and some degree of cultural exchange with Colorado River tribes upstream and down.[42] Indeed, the term "Moapa" has been said to represent an etymological reference to the growing of beans by these people at some time in the past (Sapir 1992), though other definitions have been proposed and are reviewed by Fowler and Fowler (1971: 133-35). While the population densities in the lower basins of the Muddy and Virgin rivers appear to have been relatively high, the "low but rugged mountain country" surrounding these valleys was largely used for subsistence hunting and gathering (Kelly 1934: 555). It is this subsistence use, as well as ceremonial activities, trade, and other purposes that brought the Moapa most regularly to the easternmost portion of their traditional territory, in lands now encompassed by Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

PITU Bands from Beyond the Grand Canyon-Parashant Region

Cedar Band

The Cedar band of Paiutes, who traditionally identified themselves as Kumoits, a term referring to rabbits, traditionally occupied a territory adjacent to the northern border of the Gunlock band (Holt 2006: 7; Kelly 1934). The Cedar Paiutes territory was centered in the Cedar Valley of Utah. Kelly (1934: 553) described the traditional territory of the Cedar Band, which,

> Straddled the dividing line between the Colorado Plateaus and the Great Basin, but its greatest extent was in Basin country; in locating the northern boundary there are two definite guides: on the eastern extremity Cedar territory extended to the head of Paragonah valley, while on the western extremity Hamlin valley is claimed by the neighboring Panaca. The southern end of Cedar valley is closed by a ridge which forms a more or less natural bound; but curiously enough, the Cedar claimed a pocket like extension to the south, along the Virgin river, from above North creek to the mouth of Harrisburg wash.

Due to encroachment from settlers, the Cedar band eventually lost all of its territory and was designated a "scattered band." The band was eventually federally recognized in 1980, and is located in present-day Cedar City.

Indian Peaks

The Indian Peaks band traditionally occupied an area in Utah near the Nevada border. Prior to encroachment from settlers, this band lived at the foot of Indian Peak, which is within the Needle Mountain Range (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 9). According to William Palmer (1946), the band is an amalgamation remaining members from a number of other bands, including the Paragoon, Pahquit, and Tavatsock (in Holt 2006: 42). Also according to Palmer, the Indian Peaks band practiced horticulture and gathering pine nuts during his visits to the region.

Kanosh

The Kanosh band, which later occupied the last reservation to be founded in Utah, consisted of people descended from the Pahvant Indians. The Pahvant band occupied the Corn Creek region during the early historic period, and Palmer observed them in his time in the region, including their horticultural practices. According to Palmer (1936), this population cultivated corn, beans, pumpkins and squashes, among other items (in Holt 2006: 43). Though Palmer observed this practice in the 20th century, he reports that this practice dates to pre-contact times. Though Holt (2006) reports that members of the Kanosh band primarily self-identified as Ute as late as 1990, the band is considered Paiute and a constituent band of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah.

Koosharem

The Koosharem band's traditional territory is located in central Utah, proximate to Fish Lake and the Koosharem Reservation as it appears today. Though they show long ties to Nuwuvi and are today considered a Nuwuvi band, there is evidence that the Koosharem may have been linked to the Utes and were likely the same population that early settlers identified as Fish Lake Utes (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 9). As with other Southern Paiute bands, the Koosharem peoples practiced a seasonal round, moving from Fish Lake in the summer to present-day Escalante during the winter months (Holt 2006: 43).

Las Vegas, Pahrump and Chemehuevi

Las Vegas

The precise identity of the "Las Vegas band" at the time of contact is complex and has been the subject of more scholarly debate than perhaps any other band and band territory in the Southern Paiute realm. Isabel Kelly defined the band's territory as beginning at the Moapa band boundary at the Colorado River's Big Bend and extending northwest to trace the border of Las Vegas Valley up to incorporate the northern end of

the Spring Mountains. The boundary then followed the western slope of the Black Range south to the borders of Death Valley. The western boundary line continued south, following the base of the Avawatz Mountains to the Old Dad Mountains before continuing northeast to the Mohave boundary at the Dead Mountains (Kelly 1934:555-56).

Contrasting Kelly's characterization of the Las Vegas band, Steward (1937b, 1938) identifies three large-scale band territories within Kelly's "Las Vegas Paiute" territory, differentiating between a southern and northern Las Vegas band, in addition to distinguishing a separate division west of Spring Mountains that he identifies as the Pahrump band. Further complicating the matter, Powell and Ingalls (1873) identify nine separate Paiute "tribes" within what Kelly calls the single Las Vegas band territory.[43] Meanwhile, the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada has depicted the Las Vegas area as being used as a multi-band stopover site, rather than as the exclusive territory of any one band (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a). Historical changes during the tumultuous period between the time of Powell and Ingalls' work (1870s) and Steward and Kelly's work (1930s) – a time when bands were consolidating and relocating in the wake of EuroAmerican resettlement – may explain many of these contradictions. Many of the smaller bands identified by Powell and Ingalls appear to have had strong social, economic, and kinship ties to one-another prior to contact, and consolidated during the contractions caused by disease and displacement in the 18th and 19th centuries.

In terms of contact period tribal distribution, the "Las Vegas band" might best be considered a geographical term that encompassed several smaller, distinct groups that were "centered around Las Vegas, Red Rock, and Mt. Charleston [and] lived as far east as present-day Hoover Dam" (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 11). Over time, these populations merged into larger groups or were displaced to become part of other tribal populations.

To the extent that a singular identity is suggested for the pre-contact Las Vegas band, that identity is described as centering on Spring Mountains and Charleston Peak – origin places in the traditions of all Southern Paiute bands, of pronounced spiritual importance into present times. Sapir reported that the Southern Paiute name for the Las Vegas group is *Nipakanticimi*, meaning "people of Charleston Peak" (Sapir 1930-1931:586). The same band name seems to have been applied to the Pahrump too. Accordingly, the Pahrump Valley Paiutes applied the name *Nipakanticimi* to themselves (Kelly and Fowler 1986: 395). While separate, it is also clear that the Chemehuevi living south of the Las Vegas area are historically linked to the Las Vegas band.[44]

Pahrump

The identity of the Pahrump Band is somewhat obscured by the competing visions of band structure and territory outlined above. The Pahrump population does appear to have had strong kinship ties to the Las Vegas people living on the opposite side of

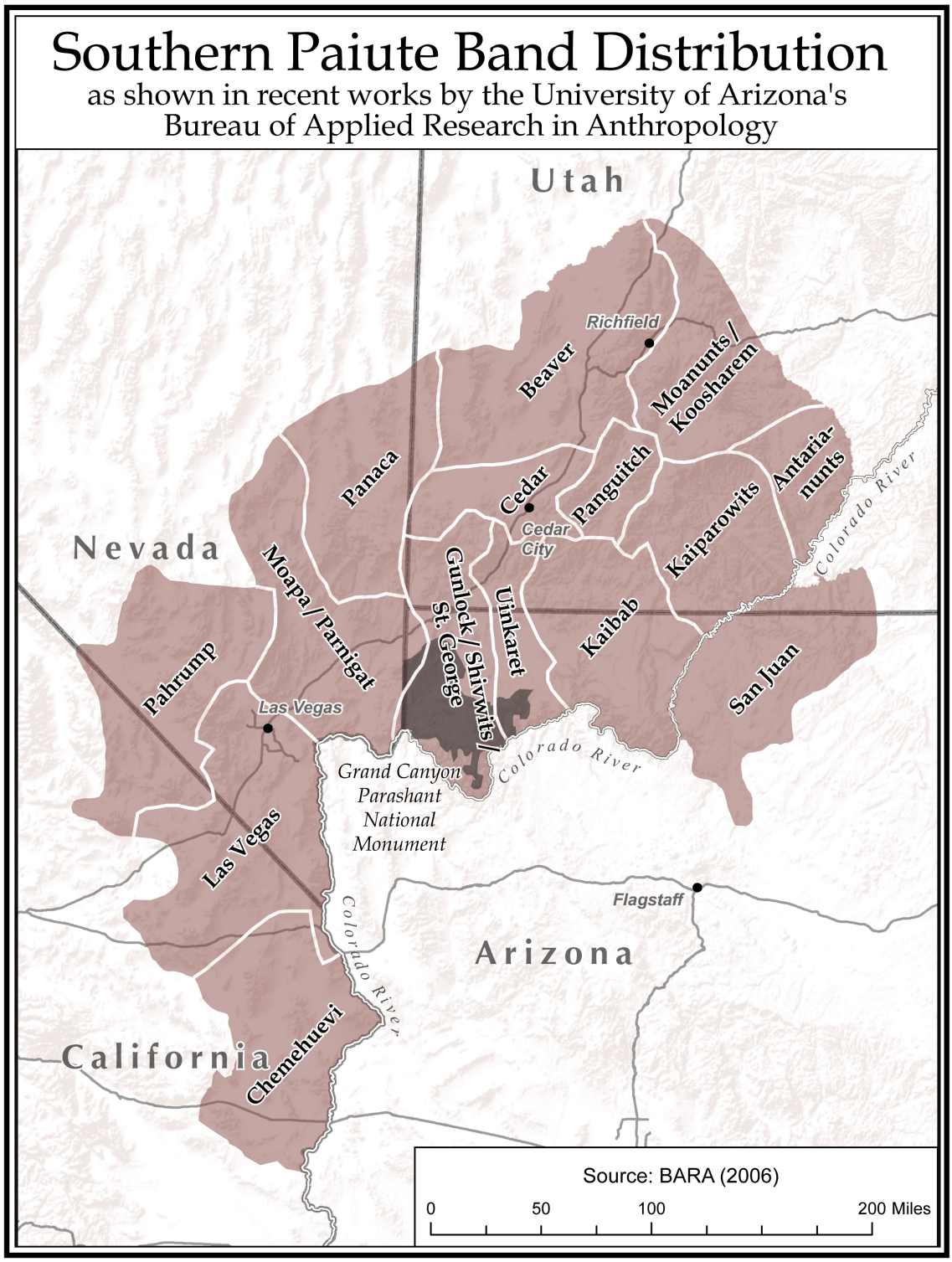
Spring Mountain range (Las Vegas Paiute n.d.). By almost all accounts consulted on the topic of band identity, with the exception of Kelly's work, the Pahrump are recognized as a separate band. Terms such as "Pa-room'-pats," "Parumpats" and "Pahrumpits" have been reported in reference to the Pahrump – "On the western edge of Nevada were the Pahrumpits. They lived in Pahrump Valley and on the western slopes of the Spring Mountains" (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 11).

Today, some revisions of Kelly's map now commonly subdivide her Las Vegas band territory into two halves centered on the Spring Mountains – the eastern portion being designated "Las Vegas" and the western portion being "Pahrump." This delineation now appears to be standard in the recent works on Southern Paiute topics by the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona. For many Southern Paiutes, this map is accepted as being more faithful to both contact-period realities and modern sentiments than those of Kelly, though there is still some disagreement among Southern Paiutes as to its specific boundaries (Map 7).

HUALAPAI

The Colorado River was, and in some respects continues to be, a major corridor for the movement of people, goods, and ideas. For millennia, peoples of the Southwest and Great Basin made their homes along this river, gathered resources there, or simply passed through. There is a consistent pattern within the oral traditions of Southwestern tribes discussing the travel of spirit beings up and down the Colorado River, as well as humans traveling for trade, social gatherings, or spiritual purposes (e.g. Laird 1984: 174 ff.). The Hopi and Zuni possess rich oral traditions regarding their ancestral ties with different parts of the Southwest, and the Colorado River corridor is among those places referenced in these oral traditions. They identify a number of places of cultural importance along this river, including the "Virgin Anasazi" settlements of the Virgin and Muddy river basins, just west of the Monument. Likewise, modern Navajo can recall oral traditions describing spirit beings and human beings traveling to the sea through the Colorado River corridor, with each of the riparian locations mentioned in these stories possessing varying degrees of cultural and spiritual significance today. Similarly, the apparent Yuman diaspora from the Colorado River corridor long before European contact has contributed to strong and widespread tribal interests in sites connected to the River.[45] For this reason, the agencies managing the lands along the Colorado River riparian corridor must communicate and consult with a long list of modern tribes, not only those tribes that recently occupied the land, but those whose ancestors had connections to the land and who continue to value it in various ways today.

Among these tribes with ties to the Colorado River corridor, the most proximate to the study area are the Hualapai (or Walapai in some sources), whom traditionally occupied


Southern Paiute Band Distribution
as shown in recent works by the University of Arizona's
Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology
Utah
Nevada
Arizona
California
Richfield
Cedar City
Las Vegas
Flagstaff
Beaver
Panaca
Moapa / Parnigat
Pahrump
Las Vegas
Chemehuevi
Cedar
Gunlock / Shivwits / St. George
Uinkaret
Panguitch
Moanunts / Koosharem
Kaiparowits
Antaria-nunts
Kaibab
San Juan
Grand Canyon Parashant National Monument
Colorado River
Colorado River
Colorado River
Source: BARA (2006)
0
50
100
200 Miles

Map 7

the entire area south of the Colorado River, on the opposite bank from the Monument. The imposing Grand Canyon and the Colorado River at its base marked the boundary between their territory and that of the Southern Paiute living in what became the Monument. According to Dobyns' expert witness testimony at an ICC hearing in 1957,

> Hualapai oral tradition is quite definite in characterizing the Colorado River as both the conceptual frontier with the Southern Paiutes and the limit of territory used solely by Hualapais to the south and Southern Paiutes to the north.[46]
> (in Dobyns 1974: 288)

Because they live nearby, and sometimes interacted with the tribes living in what became the Monument, they are considered in more detail here (though any of the tribes mentioned above might also warrant some level of attention due to their ties with the Colorado River corridor).

The Hualapai are a Yuman-speaking people who have traditionally occupied an extensive territory in northwestern Arizona bounded on the north and east by the Colorado River. Instead of large-scale "bands," the Hualapai are often said to have "subtribes," or "divisions" that were, in turn, divided into small local groups sometimes termed "bands" (e.g. Kroeber 1939). The Hualapai people have been widely described as having three large divisions or subtribes: the Plateau People of the north and northeast (closest to the study area), the Middle Mountain People in the far northwest part of the territory, and the Yavapai Fighter in the south; and each division consisted of several smaller bands (Dobyns and Euler 1976: 20-21). Each band was composed of neighboring camps, and each camp included several families who cooperated economically and resided together for most of the year within a restricted geographical area. Boundaries among the three Hualapai divisions were not rigidly demarcated, and bands were welcome to collect food in the customary range of another band or division, especially when resources were abundant. Members could marry outside their bands, as well as outside their division (Dobyns and Euler 1970; McGuire 1983; Martin 1985). Though various sources provide contradictory details, it is clear that the Havasupai are closely tied to the Hualapai, and may have been a band of the Hualapai until a relatively recent division of the larger population into two separate tribes.[47] Despite these divisions, Hualapai have continued to maintain strong social, cultural, and economic ties with other Pai tribes, such as the Havasupai and Yavapai.[48]

The Hualapai are commonly depicted as possessing a kind of semi-sedentary and agricultural lifestyle similar to neighboring tribes such as Mohave, while still possessing a mixed economy that relied heavily upon desert hunting and gathering more comparable to Southern Paiute, utilizing the seasonally available wild resources of the chaparral and desert-grassland environments in their homeland.[49] At the time of contact, large winter village populations dispersed annually to a constellation of

resource harvesting sites and encampments during the harvest times from spring through fall.[50] In the spring, wild harvests have focused especially on such species as mescal or agave (*Agave* spp.) and stick-leaf seeds (*Mentzelia albicaulis*). The fruits of several cacti, piñon nuts, juniper berries, and sumac all are traditionally harvested through summer and early fall. Concurrently, and through the winter, men have traditionally hunted rabbits and other rodents, various birds, mule deer, bighorn sheep, and pronghorn antelope. Natural resource procurement sites utilized by the Hualapai are usually considered "owned" by the lineage or family who has historically used and maintained resources at the site.[51]

The Hualapai traditionally practiced agriculture alongside gathering and hunting activities, maintaining gardens of maize, squash, beans, sunflower and cotton, irrigated by diversion dams and springs. Irrigation systems are typically channeled from cliff faces or rivers and streams, often on floodplain environments including the Colorado River and its various tributaries, both annual and intermittent (Kroeber et al. 1935:48-76; McGuire 1983, Martin 1985). For example, at *Tanyaka* in Peach Springs Canyon, on the southern side of the Colorado south of the Monument, the Hualapai utilized irrigation to grow foods (Dobyns and Euler 1976: 10).

In addition to being skilled cultivators, the Hualapai have traditionally occupied an intermediate geographical position between a number of large and powerful tribes and have served as important middlemen in intertribal trade. The Hualapai participated in a trade network spanning from the tribes of the Pacific Coast to those of the New Mexico Pueblos. Major trail networks passed through the vicinity of the Monument, linking the Pacific coast to the Puebloan peoples of the interior, and the Great Basin tribes with peoples of the Mexican tropics. Pearce Ferry and Prospect Canyon/ Toroweap Valley were the sites of major Colorado River fords used by tribes traveling these trails, especially linking the tribes on either bank of the Colorado. Pearce Ferry, in particular, linked the Hualapai to the Southern Paiutes living in the western part of what is today the Monument, and beyond. The Indian Claims Commission expert testimony by Henry Dobyns alludes to this ford,

> Another major north-south trail, which was clearly marked in the country, was that from the ford of the Colorado River at the place known in recent times as Pierce [Pearce] Ferry, just below the Grand Wash Cliff escarpment…into Truxton Canyon.
> (in ICC 1953: 288)

Specifically, the Pearce Ferry location linked the Southern Paiute peoples living in the vicinity of what is today the Monument to the Peach Springs-Diamond Creek Canyon complex within Hualapai territory. This complex represents the largest topographical break within the larger Grand Canyon complex and thus facilitated travel in and out of the Hualapai territory just south of today's Monument (Stoffle et al. 1994: 76).

The Southern Paiutes and Hualapais also had an opportunity to travel into one other's territories in the eastern portion of what is today the Monument, via Prospect Canyon on the Hualapai side and Toroweap Valley on the Southern Paiute side. Toroweap Valley, located south of the Mt. Trumbull Wilderness, afforded Southern Paiutes a location to ford the River, which provided access to the Pai Inter-Canyon Trail, facilitating trade between the two groups,

> The Prospect Canyon end of this feeder trail gave the Hualapais access to one of the few natural breaks on the opposite rim of the Canyon by which Paiutes were able to descend to the Colorado River to trade with them – the Toroweap Valley trail north of the River.
> (Dobyns 1954: 18; Indian Claims Commission 1953: 130 [Tony Tillahash] in Stoffle et al. 1994: 77)

Use of these trails by neighboring tribes is suggested by oral traditions recorded by anthropologists and linguists of earlier generations. One such story, for example, involves the spirit being Cottontail, who travels from the Arizona Strip toward the Pacific Ocean, following a trail that passes through Moapa Valley (Lowie 1924b: 143). In addition to serving as middlemen, the Hualapai traditionally specialized in the production and distribution of certain locally abundant products, as well, including dried mescal, basketry, and red hematite mined in the territory of the Pine Springs Band. Diamond Creek Canyon, situated in Hualapai territory, south of the Monument, possessed rich deposits of hematite, which was highly valued in inter-tribal trade networks (Dobyns and Euler 1976: 23-24). Local trade with Southern Paiute tribes of the Monument was also common. For example, Hualapais traded with Southern Paiutes that arrived from north of the Colorado River into the Peach Springs area (Stoffle et al. 1994: 76).

As with the other tribes discussed in this document, the boundaries between Hualapai bands, and between the Hualapai and their neighbors, are often difficult to ascertain with precision. As Dobyns and Euler (1976: 22) note, "Boundaries between the various Northeastern Pai bands were social rather than geographic," with the total resource outposts and encampments of a band establishing their *de facto* territory, sometimes overlapping in places with adjacent bands or tribes in "areas of joint occupation" (Manners 1974a: 143).[52] As with the Southern Paiute on the opposite bank of the Colorado River, this river represented the one clear boundary of the Hualapai world, "The steep-walled forbidding gorge of the Colorado formed the boundary to north and west, toward the Paiute" (Kroeber et al. 1935: 38). Various sources suggest that the Hualapai viewed the Colorado River as the "conceptual frontier" and "natural boundary" between their territory and that of the Southern Paiutes (e.g. Dobyns 1956: 288). Dobyns reported that this boundary was embedded within traditional Hualapai cosmology,

> The Hualapais conceived…their boundary as the mid-stream of the Colorado River, for which they had a specific name. The stream, itself, the Colorado River, the Hualapais called *Ha'Kataya*, but the mid-stream they conceived in their mind as *Haitat*, which they translate as the backbone of the lizard, conceiving the river as a giant lizard, running along the edge of their territory, and they said that their country extended to *Haitat*, the backbone of the river, with that analogy, so that when we have indicated boundary lines here these will be understood as *Haitat*, the backbone of the river.
> (Dobyns 1974: 396)

Their traditional use areas along the riverfront were apparently continuous as far downstream as *Avikwame*, where the Mojave dominated the riparian zone; there, the Hualapai boundary with the Mohave veered inland to lands east of Boundary Cone, thence southward to Topock and the eastern flank of the Needles. On its upstream end, their core territory ran as far eastward as the approximate eastern boundary of the modern-day Hualapai Reservation, which abutted resource procurement areas shared with the closely-related Havasupai (Dobyns 1956: 288). There were perhaps no principal Hualapai settlements on the Colorado River (Kroeber et al. 1935), but small settlements and encampments were commonplace. In discussing subtribe and band positions along the Colorado River, Dobyns and Euler (1976: 21-22) describe the ranges of the Plateau People,

> the Plateau People followed a seasonal pattern of summer gardening in deep canyons and winter hunting on the plateau. The small Grass Springs, Clay Springs and Hackberry Springs Bands ranged along the Grand Wash Cliff escarpment. Then came the Milkwood Springs Band with about 350 sq. mi., the Peach Springs Band with 465 sq. mi., the Pine Springs Band ranging over 1,200 sq. mi. and sharing 700 more with the Cataract Canyon Band which extended east beyond the Little Colorado River.

According to this description, the Plateau People was the subtribe that occupied the territory south of the Colorado River, directly below what is today the Monument. Dobyns and Euler's map further demarcates the band territories' of the Plateau People, showing that the Grass Springs Band is the northernmost band along the Grand Wash Cliffs, positioning it closest to the westernmost portion of the Monument. The Milkwood Springs Band occupies the territory immediately east of the Grass Springs Band along the Colorado River, in the vicinity of the Lower Granite Gorge. The Peach Springs Band abuts the Colorado River just south of the Monument, and the Pine Springs Band occupies the southern banks of the Colorado to the south of the

Monument's westernmost portion, including that area south of Mt. Trumbull (Dobyns and Euler 1976: 23).[53]

Hualapai occupation was well established, and has been well documented along the length of the south and eastern banks of the Colorado for a considerable time depth.[54] On the basis of such evidence, it is clear that the Hualapai have strong ties to the Colorado River and possess unambiguous ties to the southern shore of the river directly south of the study area. Despite its position south and east of the river, however, the Hualapai have a long-standing connection to the tribes living in the vicinity of what is today the Monument as they share the river in this region and could access one another's territories via fording the river at sites with access points.

ZUNI

The core traditional homeland of the Zunis is located just west of the continental divide in western New Mexico and into eastern Arizona. Zuni country is centered in the town of Zuni on the banks of the Zuni River, a tributary of the Little Colorado, and extends 35 miles east and northeast to the Zuni Mountains, and about 50 miles west and south (Woodbury 1979: 467). While well east of the study area, Zuni territory was connected to the lands of the Monument and beyond through trade networks and other linkages. Some sources suggest a long period of Zuni use and occupation of the study area, though evidence of Zuni occupation is thin for no less than two or three centuries prior to Spanish conquest in the late 17th century.[55] Nevertheless, as discussed in this document's archaeological overview, there is evidence of a relatively unbroken period of puebloan development in the Monument from Basketmaker time onward until relatively recent phases of human occupation (Woodbury 1979: 468). Zuni was located on the periphery of major cultural cores, including both the Chacoan region and the Upper Gila region, and was successively influenced by both (Woodbury 1979: 468). Yet, the Zuni language, unlike the languages of other Pueblo peoples in the Southwest region, is an isolate with no closely related languages (Woodbury 1979: 468).

In reference to Zuni land use practices, Stevenson (1904: 290) described how Zuni agricultural practices related to ownership values,

> The Zunis are an agricultural and pastoral people. The fields are not owned by clans, and the Zunis claim that they never were so owned. A man may cultivate any strip of land, provided it has not already been appropriated, and once in his possession, he has the right to transfer it to whomsoever he pleases within the tribe. Land is obtained from the owner by trade, and houses are disposed of in the same manner.

Agricultural practices included dry farming and irrigation from nearby springs (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 478). Common crops were native species of corn and beans, as well as introduced crops such as peaches, melons, chilies and wheat (Stevenson 1904: 350-354). Traditional subsistence farming was supplemented by hunting and gathering. After the construction of the railroad opened new markets in the late 1800s, traders residing at Zuni gradually shifted the emphasis of the primarily agrarian economy toward sheep and cattle ranching (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 476).

In addition to its internal self-sufficiency, the Zuni people were also connected to the larger region, as Zuni was on several important trade routes (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 474). Three major foci for westward trails were the Hopi Pueblos; the mining country, probably around Jerome, Arizona; and the Lower Colorado River, including the portion of the river corridor used by the tribes of the Grand Canyon-Parashant region. From the Lower Colorado, a trade route ran to the Pacific (Riley 1975: 153). By the 16th century, the Zuni area, and specifically the important center of Hawikuh, was the focal point of both east-west and north-south trade routes and had a major role in linking the American Southwest with Mesoamerica.[56]

Zuni continued as an important demographic, economic, and ceremonial center after European contact, which first occurred in 1536 (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 474). Spanish efforts to missionize the Zuni villages were met with resistance and conflict. In the late 1600s, residents of the six Zuni villages sought refuge in settlements on defensible mesa tops, returning to a single Zuni town in 1692. Woodbury suggests that,

> some of the complexity of modern Zuni social and ritual organization may be due to this amalgamation in 1692 of previously independent towns as well as to the possibility of accretions in prehistoric times from the Mogollon area to the south.
> (Woodbury 1979: 472)

After the amalgamation into a single Zuni village just before the 18th century, the pattern of Zuni settlement began to undergo expansion in the 19th century. Zuni became a constellation of settlements, but also a nucleated cultural core - with an enduring strong sense of attachment to the larger hinterland of historical and pre-contact Zuni settlement sites, peripheral lands used for subsistence hunting and gathering, as well as places described and recognized as sacred within their rich and ancient oral tradition. Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument is among those peripheral places holding these multiple layers of significance, in spite of its distance from the core of modern Zuni settlement.

HOPI

The constituent bands of the Hopi tribe once occupied a vast territory in the Colorado River Basin. The Hope, as it exists today, is a conglomeration of these distinct clans that began to consolidate on the Hopi mesas of northeastern Arizona from the middle of the 13th century to the middle of the 14th century.[57] According to Dongoske et al. (1997: 603) this period of amalgamation, known as "the gathering of the clans," was a pivotal period in the ethnogenesis of the Hopi tribe,

> In many respects, the very concept of "Hopi" as a distinct cultural and ethnic unit does not really have a reality until the "gathering of the clans" on the Hopi Mesas. Before that, the ancestors of the Hopi were organized not as a single tribe but as many distinct clans. Some Hopi clans have direct ancestral ties to the *Motisinom* or "first people" (which some archaeologists might identify as the Archaic or perhaps Paleoindian cultures of the Southwest). These ancestors were joined by other clans who fled from the ancestral village of Palatkwapi located far to the south. The combination of these groups is now collectively referred to by the Hopi as the *Hisatsinom*, or "people of long ago." The Hopi believe these clans ranged far and wide in their migrations and were components of many different archaeological cultures, including the Anasazi, Mogollon, Hohokam, Salado, Cohonina, Fremont, and Mimbres. None of these archaeological cultures by themselves are thus adequate to incorporate all of the Hopi and their ancestors.

Following the gathering of the clans, the Hopi area became one of three major centers of Pueblo life during the 14th-16th centuries, along with Zuni-Acoma and the Rio Grande Pueblos (Brew 1979: 514). Though consolidated in these new settlements, each of these puebloan peoples maintained a strong sense of connection to their broader traditional territory, continuing to revisit, revere, and utilize those lands for various reasons.

And, though occupying a territory significantly east of the Monument, the language, oral traditions, and archaeological heritage of the Hopi implies ancient ties to lands closer to the study area.[58]

The traditional economy of the Hopis included subsistence hunting and gathering, but its primary foundation was agriculture. Similar to the Hualapai populations living south of the Monument along the Colorado River Corridor, archaeological research has documented Hopi agricultural methods of flood-water farming and irrigation of pre-contact crops such as plants especially adapted to the harsh, dry environment provided high yields. This practice enabled Hopi villages to survive periods of serious drought (Brew 1979; Kennard 1979). The Hopis made extensive use of the wild plants in their habitat, as well, as revealed in a study by Hough that recorded use of 134 of the 150

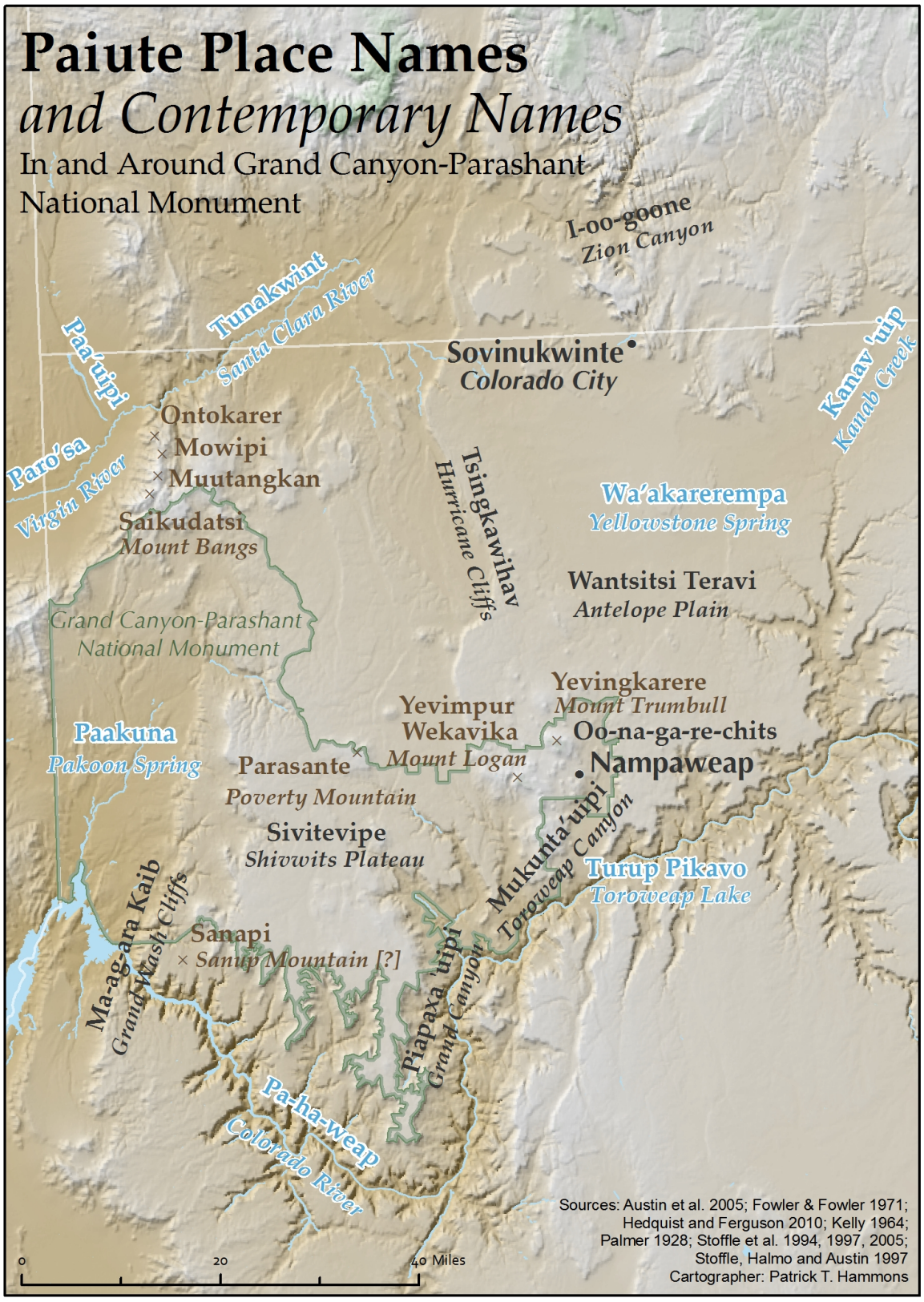
plant species identified in their habitat (Hough 1897: 43-44). Such combined practices appear to have characterized the Puebloan peoples' use of lands and resources within the Arizona Strip.

In addition to maintaining a self-sufficient subsistence practice, the Hopi were connected to a vast network of other Native American tribes, including those surrounding Grand Canyon-Parashant, through trade. Florence Ellis (1961) identified three major trading areas in contact with the Hopis and reached by well-defined routes. In addition to providing material goods, Ellis notes that these trade networks also brought, "perhaps occasional additions of larger or smaller groups." The three trade routes connected Hopi country to (1) Southern California, from which trade goods moved via the Mojave, Hualapai, and Havasupai tribes; (2) the lower California-Mexico area, from which articles moved via the Pima and Papago tribes; and (3) the edge of the Gulf of Mexico and northern Chihuahua, with objects eventually finding their way to Hopi through Zuni, Acoma, Laguna, and the Rio Grande Pueblos (Ellis 1961: 98). These important trade networks stayed in place into the historic period, bringing the Hopi back through the Arizona Strip and helping to maintain Hopi attachments, oral traditions, and other relationships with lands in and around what is today Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

ENDURING TRADITIONS: CREATION AND SALT SONG CYCLES

For centuries, it was imperative for various tribes and bands to possess extensive knowledge of the lands now sitting within Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. As a relatively isolated region with little water running through the rugged lands, it was crucial for Nuwuvi peoples to be able to identify various landmarks and geological features that dotted the landscape. These landmarks were known, within Nuwuvi communities, by place names that have been shared by these communities and complied, in part, by various ethnographers, anthropologists and others. Map 8 reflects a number of place names within Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument and its vicinity, as identified by various sources (Austin et al. 2005; Fowler and Fowler 1971; Hedquist and Ferguson 2010; Kelly 1964; Palmer 1928; Stoffle, Halmo and Austin 1997; Stoffle et al. 1994; Stoffle et al. 2005; Stoffle et al. 1997). The cosmological significance of certain lands within the Monument and its vicinity is encoded in songs that are said to describe events from the distant past. Typically these songs describe the experiences of ancestors and spirit beings in reference to particular places on the landscape. Many of these songs are still of tremendous cultural importance, are sung in ceremonial settings and manifest enduring tribal ties to the land. This is especially true of the Salt Songs, some of which are still sung by some contemporary Southern Paiute communities.[59]

The Southern Paiutes, including Shivwits, Moapa and Kaibab, as well as other tribes of this region such as Mojave, possess creation songs and Salt Songs that describe the movements of spirit beings that travel across the desert,


Paiute Place Names
and Contemporary Names
In and Around Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument
I-oo-goone
Zion Canyon
Tunakwint
Santa Clara River
Paa'uipi
Sovinukwinte
Colorado City
Kanav 'uip
Kanab Creek
Ontokarer
Mowipi
Muutangkan
Paro'sa
Virgin River
Tsingkawihav
Hurricane Cliffs
Wa'akareremp a
Yellowstone Spring
Saikudatsi
Mount Bangs
Wantsitsi Teravi
Antelope Plain
Grand Canyon-Parashant
National Monument
Yevingkarere
Mount Trumbull
Yevimpur
Wekavika
Mount Logan
Oo-na-ga-re-chits
Nampaweap
Paakuna
Pakoon Spring
Parasante
Poverty Mountain
Sivitevipe
Shivwits Plateau
Mukunta'uipi
Toroweap Canyon
Turup Pikavo
Toroweap Lake
Ma-ag-ara Kaib
Grand Wash Cliffs
Sanapi
Sanup Mountain [?]
Piapaxa uipi
Grand Canyon
Pa-ha-weap
Colorado River
0
20
40 Miles
Sources: Austin et al. 2005; Fowler & Fowler 1971;
Hedquist and Ferguson 2010; Kelly 1964;
Palmer 1928; Stoffle et al. 1994, 1997, 2005;
Stoffle, Halmo and Austin 1997
Cartographer: Patrick T. Hammons

Map 8

marking places and providing the features, such as water, natural resources, or rock features, that make these places distinctive (Klasky 2009). These stories tell travelers what they will see as they travel across the landscape, including springs and food gathering sites, as well as medicinal and sacred places. Salt songs refer to places along the routes traveled by Paiute communities during the salt trade. Like creation songs, these songs describe the activities of spirit beings, in addition to historical ancestors that are linked to certain places on the landscape.[60]

Salt Songs are sung in rounds by Southern Paiute singers from Chemehuevi and other communities. The first round consists of requests to the Creator to "sing these sacred songs." Subsequent rounds turn to descriptions of travels through the landscape and places of navigational and religious importance along these routes. In modern accounts, the salt song cycles bear a strong resemblance to the bird song traditions shared by Cahuilla, Serrano and some Chemehuevi communities. As discussed in the works of Klasky (2009: 8), the Salt Songs consist of a cycle of 142 sacred songs that recount an entire night's travel by a flock of birds composed of one bird for each species of land bird inhabiting the Colorado River Valley. Throughout the night's journey, each bird recognizes the place that will be its home and drops out of the flock to stay in its respective place and multiply (Laird 1976: 16-17). In many respects, Salt Songs resemble the "Bird Songs" sung by some area tribes, and the two song cycles are linked in fundamental and dynamic ways.

The Salt Songs described the places one would encounter along a network of trails connecting the oases that served as central nodes along this network. "Each landmark and watering place was mentioned in order, by recognizable allusion or description if not by name, so that a man's song constituted an oral map of his territory" (Laird 1976: 10). As explained by Chemehuevi cultural specialists Larry Eddy, Matthew Leivas, and Betty Cornelius, the Salt Song rounds describe a circular pathway through the desert. This is perhaps the most important structural element of the Salt Songs, outlining a circular path between sacred peaks and describing the resources and cultural traditions tied to each peak. The songs aided travelers passing through the desert by describing the appearance of landmarks, their genesis in tribal oral tradition and the resources, spiritual powers, and other attributes associated with these features that might be significant to (and sometimes accessed by) travelers. The songs, when sung ritually, are said to have helped the souls of the recently deceased make their way safely to the afterlife. Landmarks along these routes are said to possess their own spiritual power and significance. The Salt Song cycles are connected to mortuary customs, and it is suggested that Salt Song singers helped usher recently deceased into the afterlife by singing of landmarks that could navigate souls to their point of departure from this world and into the next (Stoffle, Halmo and Austin 1997). Some modern tribal members suggest that, by Chemehuevi tradition, the dead cannot find their way into the spirit world without the aid of these songs, which help them navigate one last time into an unfamiliar landscape (Deur 2006).

In geographical terms, the song cycle describes travel from landmark to landmark through the desert, starting at the Colorado River, moving northeastward into the deserts of Arizona, circling into south-central Nevada, to the eastern face of the southern Sierra, to the San Bernardino Mountains, then to the Old Woman Range and back to the Colorado River country. According to Klasky (2009), the Salt Song trail weaves through the landscape, visiting fourteen of the Southern Paiute bands, including those associated with the Monument – Shivwits, Moapa and Kaibab. Descriptions of the exact path of the Salt Songs have varied somewhat in different accounts. According to Laird, who wrote extensively on the Chemehuevi people based on interviews with her Chemehuevi husband, the songs' journey starts at sunset at a sacred cave on the north side of the Sandy River near its confluence with the Santa Maria River, which forms the Bill Williams River. The trail goes down the Bill Williams to the Colorado River, upstream to a point north of Fort Mojave, east across the mountains to the Mineral Park area, on to Walapai Valley, then north again, crossing the Colorado River and heading southwest on the Nevada side.[61] Other descriptions of the Salt Song trails – more recent, but relying on a larger pool of tribal consultants – suggest that the northward trek does not stay on the east side of the Colorado River, but crosses the river for a loop that passes through the Eldorado Mountains, a short distance south of Hoover Dam, and through the Las Vegas Basin, before crossing back over the river near the Virgin River confluence (see Klasky 2009).

In recent years, the Cultural Conservancy and faculty of San Francisco State University have collaborated with Southern Paiute tribal members to map the landmarks of the Salt Song cycle in what has been called the Salt Song Map Project. The Salt Song cycle, as depicted on their maps, begins at a sacred cave called Rock House/*Avi Nava*, which is located at the confluence of the Bill Williams and Colorado rivers. The songs then travel north along the Colorado River to the Colorado and Kaibab plateaus, passing by the lower border of today's Monument. The songs' route proceeds into southern Utah, and then move west to the Charleston Peak/*Nuva Kai*, the place of origin of the *Nuwuvi* people. The trail continues west into the desert region east of the Tehachapi Mountains, and then arcs back east through the Mojave Desert to the starting point at Rock House/*Avi Nava* (Klaskey 2009:8). In an earlier article, Klasky and Nelson noted that the trail extended all the way "to the spectacular California coast" (2005:10). Places in Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument and the immediate vicinity specifically identified in the Salt Song Map Project include Arrowhead Canyon, Gold Butte, Saint Thomas, and Bunkerville Mountain/*Magarit* (located in the Virgin Mountains) (Klasky 2009). Some accounts suggest that the Salt Songs also reference the salt caves downstream from the Virgin River confluence with the Muddy River. The principal salt cave sites are now submerged much of the time under Lake Mead, just west of the Monument, but some portion of the significant area still lies above water.[62]

Certain Salt Songs are still sung today among tribal communities during special and ceremonial events. The landscape imagery of these songs is said to be almost poetic, abstract, yet vivid. While detailed literal translations are elusive, travelers are said to be

able to navigate using Salt Songs, even when the landscape has not been seen before, "When you are going there, you know you are on the right path…your mind can see where you are going before you see it…you already know you have arrived before you get there" (Felton Bricker, in Deur 2006). For this reason, these songs provided travelers with information that they needed to both navigate the landscape and navigate moral and spiritual challenges that they might face in their lives. Sung in the presence of young people, these songs taught them to navigate unknown terrain, preparing them for travels they might take through the desert in years to come. Salt Songs are also viewed as important in healing rituals, as well as funerals and other times of crisis requiring ritual intervention. The final rounds of the songs, consisting of mourning songs, are especially common as part of contemporary funeral events.

A small number of individuals, including Chemehuevi tribal members Matthew Leivas, Vivienne Jake, and Larry Eddy are continuing and reviving the tradition of ritually singing Salt Songs. Tribal members from some Southern Paiute communities have also been making an effort to identify and return to places that are mentioned in the Salt Songs. These sites are being revisited by a growing number of individuals as part of a reemerging ceremonial tradition. In addition, area tribes, as well as the Native American Land Conservancy and the Cultural Conservancy, are making an effort to document and protect sites mentioned in these songs.

Nineteenth Century Transitions

While the tribes of northern Arizona were versatile and resilient at the time of European contact, they would experience riveting change in the course of the 19th century that would transform their lives, their cultures, and their relationships with particular lands and resources. From this tumult, modern tribes emerged, at once rooted in precontact communities, but often reorganized and relocated in ways that could not have been easily anticipated on the eve of European contact. The section of this document that follows seeks to summarize some of the major developments in this transformation, in an effort to better illuminate the linkages between most of the precontact tribes described in the preceding pages and the modern tribal communities and governments of today.

The late 18th century brought some of the earliest contacts between Southern Paiute tribes and European explorers, specifically Spanish expeditions through the Colorado River region. Though Spanish knowledge of present-day Arizona dates as far back as 1540, Spanish explorers did not begin regular treks into the area until the late 1700s. Spanish explorers arrived on the Shivwits Plateau over a century after Santa Fe was founded. Their purpose behind exploring the plateau was to establish a route connecting Santa Fe to the newly established settlement of San Diego, California (Brown 2011: 22). Some of the first documented contact between the Spanish and the tribes of the Arizona Strip occurred during an expedition led by Spanish priests Francisco A. Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. The priests' party left from Santa Fe on July 29th, 1776 to venture into the Grand Canyon region. In October of that same year, the Escalante party came into contact with some Southern Paiutes bands associated with the study area, including what appear to have been members of the Shivwits, Uinkarets and Kaibab bands. According to Escalante's diary, the Spanish explorers traded with both Shivwits and Uinkaret Paiutes for food and interacted with Kaibab peoples when they entered their territory on October 22, 1776 (Stoffle et al. 1994: 86).

The Escalante party's route through northern Arizona and Utah was publicized through their writings, pointing the way for the development of trails that were eventually extended from Salt Lake City to southern California, skirting the boundaries of what became Grand Canyon-Parashant. The principal route, called the Old Spanish Trail, was used by fur trappers such as Jedediah Smith, who traveled down it twice between 1826 and 1830, through Utah and Nevada, along the Colorado, and westward across California. Like the Spanish explorers who preceded him, Smith also recorded encounters with Southern Paiute inhabitants along the way, including reports on the farming techniques of bands located along the Virgin, Santa Clara, and Muddy Rivers (Austin et al. 2005: 6). Other explorers and other trails would soon follow. By the years 1843-1844, an exploring party led by John C. Frémont had set out, mapping a route from California across the Great Basin to points in the American interior. These

explorations and the subsequent publications (especially Frémont's reports and maps, and Joseph Ware's *Emigrants' Guide to California*, drawn from Frémont's report) opened the Great Basin to miners and emigrant wagon trains from the United States to the western territories, bringing dramatic changes to the tribes who lived in the region (Malouf and Findlay 1986).

These direct influences, however, had been preceded by the indirect influences of Spanish and American settlement in the Southwest. Diseases, horses, and certain trade goods all arrived in the study area well in advance of regular and direct European contact, resulting in what appear to have been significant demographic changes and the upset of preexisting "balances of power" between different tribal communities. The trade in Indian slaves as part of Spanish colonial settlements in the Southwest also had dramatic effects upon the Southern Paiute bands of the study area, as they were raided by larger tribes to the east who maintained trade ties with Spanish colonial outposts. As Brown has noted,

> While forms of slavery had long existed among Native peoples, the Spanish created a new slave market. Santa Fe and the other Spanish missions stood isolated far north of the seat of Spanish power in the Mexico. In this isolated position, the Spanish realized they could not afford to alienate their Pueblo allies by enslaving them, and so they encouraged New Mexicans to acquire slaves from neighboring peoples, creating a market in slaves that would have repercussions into Southern Paiute country.
> (Brown 2011: 29)

Raids by Spanish expeditions, Utes, Navajos and the occasional European or American trapper, preyed primarily upon Southern Paiute from the region, transporting them to the slave markets of New Mexico (Malouf and Malouf 1945). By 1810, a number of Southern Paiute individuals were residing in Santa Fe, most having arrived through the slave raiding by Ute and Navajo raiders. These raiders possessed horses, which most Southern Paiute communities did not, allowing them significant advantages (Brown 2011: 29). During this period, the Shivwits Plateau may have played an important role in acting as a refuge for those Southern Paiutes attempting to evade slavery. According to Brown (2011: 29),

> As a remote, harsh zone relatively far from corridors of travel such as the Old Spanish Trail through southern Utah, the region around the Shivwits Plateau may have attracted people trying to avoid slavers. Scholars have suggested that the slave trade may have discouraged Southern Paiutes from occupying ecologically favorable zones.

Mexico outlawed slavery by 1829, but the practice was slow to disappear. Early American explorers report the continued presence of slavery into the mid-19th century, as well as Southern Paiute wariness of their brigades, which they attributed to a generation or more of slave raiding.[63] In 1849 Jim Beckwourth noted of the tribes of the region that the "Pi-u-ches [Paiutes] were hostile because of continual abduction of their squaws and children, whom the Mexicans employ as domestic slaves, and treat with utmost cruelty" (Beckwourth 1931: 348-49). The enslavement of Paiutes and other area tribes was in rapid decline by the late 1840s, with the new California legislature banning the practice in 1850 as one of its earliest items of business (Smith and Walker 1965). Still, Utes sometimes offered Paiute children in particular for trade or sale to Mormon settlers in the Utah Territory, some Mormon families buying these slaves in the early years of settlement for reasons depicted to be humanitarian.

Far away, on the eastern edge of the continent, plans for Western expansion proceeded apace, presaging increased American occupation of the Arizona Strip and its vicinity. Congress passed the Pre-emption Act in 1841, which recognized rights of settlers on surveyed portions of public-domain land that did not hold title ("squatters"). The Act encouraged settlers to move onto the public lands west of the Mississippi River. Six years later, in 1847, Mormons began settling the fertile Salt Lake Valley – part of the region that was claimed by Mexico – the largest and most proximate EuroAmerican population to the tribes of the study area during this period. Almost immediately, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) established a policy toward local tribes that promoted peaceful coexistence, in an aim to reconcile Indian interests with the expansion of Mormon settlement; in practice, the effects of this policy were somewhat more complex (Prucha 1988). In 1848 the United States and Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the Mexican-American War (1846 – 1848). Under the terms of the treaty, Mexico ceded to the U.S. all of upper California and New Mexico. Known as the Mexican Cession, the region included all of present-day California, Nevada and Utah as well as most of Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado. All Arizona Territory lands north of the Gila River, including the entirety of the study area, became part of the United States. This addition of land to the U.S. was significant, as it acted as a catalyst for movement to the region. In fact, in just two decades after the U.S. obtained these lands, the government sent missions out to survey this new property (Brown 2011: 39).

Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, California and New Mexico moved quickly to apply for statehood in 1849, moves that risked destabilizing the balance of free states and slave states in the period before the Civil War. Under the leadership of LDS Church president Brigham Young, Mormon settlers formed the State of Deseret, and petitioned for statehood the same year. The Compromise of 1850 defused the confrontation between the slave states and the free states, in part, by creating the State of California as a free state, rejecting the statehood petitions of Deseret and New Mexico, but creating Utah Territory and New Mexico Territory.

Tension between Church leadership and the federal government over the autonomy of Utah Territory continued through the 1850s, culminating in the "Utah War" of 1857-1858 (Poll and Hansen 1961). In 1853, Lieutenant J.W. Gunnison and his crew were ambushed and killed near Fillmore, Utah while surveying a route for a transcontinental railroad. Paiutes were accused of the attack, though American military leadership generally believed that Mormons had prompted the attack in an attempt to repel United States expansion in the region. The following August, 200 troops arrived in Salt Lake City, ostensibly en route to California, but stayed for eight months while their commander sought those responsible for the attack (Bailey 1965: 330). In 1857, responding to complaints by federal officials in Utah, President James Buchanan dispatched 2,500 U.S. troops from Ft. Leavenworth to put down Mormon defiance and impose federal law in Utah. Brigham Young ordered the Utah militia to attack the federal troops' supply lines – burning Fort Bridger, destroying supply trains, and setting fire to the plains to deprive the advancing army of forage for its horses (Poll and Hansen 1961). That September, Southern Paiutes were reported to have attacked a wagon train from Arkansas that was camped at the site of Mountain Meadows, Utah. One hundred and twenty men, women and children from the wagon train were killed. Once again, the Paiutes were blamed for this attack. However, in his report on the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Major J.H. Carleton concluded, "there is not the shadow of a doubt that the emigrants were butchered by the Mormons themselves, assisted doubtless by the Indians" (Carleton 1859: 12). Though Southern Paiute participation in the Mountain Meadows attack remained at best ambiguous, the accusations were broadcast widely in the context of U.S.-LDS struggles over territorial hegemony. Anti-Paiute violence, by American forces in particular, was often rationalized as justified in light of this event in the decades that followed.

The Indian history of the region for the next two decades would be inextricably linked to the political and territorial struggles between the LDS Church, which claimed sovereign control of Utah Territory, and the United States federal government. Not long after the first Latter-day Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, church leaders began establishing colonies throughout Utah Territory, dedicated to both missionary work among the Indians and to the production of various resources needed by the fledgling Mormon communities. Mormon efforts to foster positive relationships with area tribes were shaped at once by vital strategic considerations as well as religious imperatives. In this light, Brigham Young provided guidance to the Mormons at the onset of their missionary efforts in the region, which became the foundation for the LDS missionary efforts throughout the region:

> You are sent not to farm, build nice houses and fence fine fields, not to help white men, but to save the red ones, learn their language, and you can do this more effectively by living among them…go with them where they go, live with them and when they rest let them live with you, feed them, clothe them, and teach them as you can…not many generations

> shall pass away till they become a white and delightsome people.
> (in Brown 1858)

While Mormons busied themselves colonizing Utah, they simultaneously led a number of significant explorations into northern Arizona, including the lands within the modern-day Monument. In 1855, EuroAmericans entered the Grand Wash portion of Grand Canyon-Parashant for the first time as part of one of these expeditions. Then, in 1863, Hamblin led another party through the Grand Wash region. The following year also witnessed another exploration of Grand Wash, with the purpose of scouting out appropriate settlement sites. Another Mormon exploration of Grand Wash followed in the year 1867 (Brown 2011). Mormons were not, however, the only people to explore the Grand Canyon-Parashant area during this time. In 1868, John Wesley Powell led a party through the Grand Wash and, a year later, another party traveled into the Mt. Dellenbaugh portion of what became the Monument, marking the first EuroAmerican entry into that section of Grand Canyon-Parashant. The following year, Powell led another party into the Mt. Trumbull region, marking the first EuroAmerican entry into that part of the Monument. Powell's explorations of the area continued into 1871, with a trek through the western portion of what became the Monument, including Shivwits Plateau and Mt. Trumbull, and the Uinkaret region (Brown 2011).

Throughout this period of exploration, pressures for American occupation in this region continued to mount. Federal land grants to individuals were expanded under the Homestead Act of 1862 and the Desert Land Act of 1877. The Desert Land Act guaranteed 640 acres to a settler that irrigated the land within three years of purchase. Cattle companies benefited the most from this act, and in claiming lands throughout the West, were responsible for a great deal of overgrazing and damage to native plants that Southern Paiutes associated with the study are relied upon (Austin et al. 2005: 17). The American rediscovery of precious metals in the region only added to this momentum. Within the study area, itself, an ore deposit was discovered in 1853 just south of the present-day Grand Wash Cliffs Wilderness. This deposit, which was to become Grand Gulch Mine, brought miners into this area from Utah. According to Hill (1913: 42-43),

> The prospect was bought from the Indians for a horse and some flour by a Mr. Adams, employed by Bishop Snow, of Saint George, Utah. Adams patented one claim and located eight adjoining claims. The original claim, the Adams, is patent No. 37. For a number of years the ore was hauled to Saint George.

Though miners were discovering mineral deposits, such as those at Grand Gulch, in the Arizona Strip and beyond as early as the middle of the 19th century, it was not until the mid-1870s that the number of miners in the region began to steadily increase (Austin et al. 2005). In the 1870s, at least four mines were established in what is today the

Monument: Grand Gulch mine (1870), Copper Mountain (1875), and the Savanic and Cunningham mines (1878) (Brown 2011: 105). The influx of miners caused friction with nearby Mormon and Indian settlements in the region and presented tribes with both significant new hazards, as well as opportunities (UNLV 2009).

Though EuroAmerican in composition, these mining communities responded to American Indian peoples and interests in radically different ways than the Mormon communities they had partially supplanted. Treatment of local tribes varied widely, but was often hostile and lacked the long-term interests and moral vision that had guided Mormon-Indian relations. So too, the growing number of travelers along the emigrant trails through the region possessed a somewhat different range of responses to local tribes, complicating this picture even further. Anti-Indian violence and pressures on Indian lands and resources brought waves of tribal retaliation, which in turn brought calls for military intervention and the forced relocation of Indian communities to reservations. These developments set the stage for a new phase of Indian-white relations, one that arguably shapes the Indian experience into the present day, and helps to explain the modern locations and identities of modern tribes. The specific experiences of area tribes will be discussed in much greater detail in the pages that follow.

THE EMERGENCE OF STATES AND INDIAN SUPERINTENDENCIES

As the history of Indian administration in the region can be bewilderingly complex, the focused discussion of particular tribes' experiences in the 19th century is preceded here by a brief discussion of the evolution of U.S. territories, states, and Indian agencies in the vicinity of Grand Canyon-Parashant during the period from the late 1840s through the 1870s. For all intents and purposes, the U.S. history of the lands within the Monument and the greater Arizona Strip began in 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. At this time, the Arizona Strip, as well as the majority of modern-day Arizona, traded hands from the Mexican government to U.S. jurisdiction. After the land was ceded to the United States, it was part of New Mexico Territory until 1863, when the Arizona Territory was formed, and the lands within the Monument became a part of this newly formed territory. As the Civil War began in 1861 and Southern representatives departed Washington, Congress moved to secure western lands and resources for the Union's interests. New territories were created quickly, including Arizona Territory, as well as the Nevada Territory, formed from the western portion of Utah Territory. Nevada Territory became a state in 1864, and Arizona Territory followed suite in 1912.

Corresponding to the shifts in territorial and state boundaries, the historical development of the Indian Affairs agency system in and around Grand Canyon-Parashant is complex. A full retelling of the area's 19th century Indian policy requires the use of archival records from multiple Indian agencies. During this early period, the

area that became the Monument was peripheral to the settlement and administrative hubs of the Anglo-American West. While the surrounding region was catching the attention of EuroAmerican explorers, the Shivwits Plateau and the adjacent lands now within the Monument remained largely unexplored in the early and middle portion of the nineteenth century. The lands within Grand Canyon-Parashant seemed, to explorers, desolate and "on the way to nowhere" (Brown 2011: 7, 28).

The study area's relatively remote and rugged location also contributed to oversight by Indian agencies that was arguably intermittent and often inattentive. After the Mexican Cession in 1848, the Grand Canyon-Parashant region was part of the remote western fringes of New Mexico Territory, and this territorial affiliation afforded little formal Indian agency presence. However, by the late 1840s, the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs was established in Salt Lake City by 1849, and claimed responsibility for all Indians of the Great Basin, including Utes, Paiutes, Shoshones, Bannocks, and Pahvants. Congress established the Utah Territory one year later, in 1850, including most of present-day Idaho and Nevada. Although Grand Canyon-Parashant was still a part of New Mexico Territory at this time, its proximity to southern Utah made Utah Territory's newly appointed governor, Brigham Young, an important figure in northern Arizona's Paiute population.

As the *ex oficio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the territory, Young mediated the relationship between tribes and the federal government for nearly a decade. During this time, Mormon settlements were encroaching rapidly on Paiute settlements, and Paiute bands were being excluded from traditional resource areas by force, even as Young and his representatives sought to win favor with the tribes. Major Jacob Holeman, Indian agent to the territory, recommended the negotiation of a treaty with the Paiutes before the encroachment had permanent and damaging effects, but this call for a Paiute treaty was not heeded and Indian affairs administration under Young's influence tended to default to Mormon strategic, economic, and religious agendas (Holeman 1851). Through the 1850s, this Utah Superintendency was spread thinly over the Utah Territory and eventually established four agencies outside of Salt Lake City in Provo, Uintah Valley, Fort Bridger and Carson Valley. Established in 1858, the Carson Valley Agency was given principal responsibility for the Paiute and Washo bands of western Utah Territory. These agencies had little contact with northern Arizona's tribes. The areas closest to the study area were generally assigned to the Utah Superintendency's Southern District.

Then 1863, the U.S. government established the Arizona Territory, and the Arizona Superintendency was formed. This new superintendency took responsibility for most of the tribes previously managed by the Colorado District of the California Southern District. The Colorado District was one of the California Superintendency's three districts, and it encompassed the tribes between the Mojave and Colorado rivers, and included the Mohave and Chemehuevi tribes. After its formation, the Arizona Superintendency established a few small Indian agencies in the region, including the

Colorado Indian Agency, which expanded beyond the agency's origins in the California Southern District. Under the management of agent Herman Erhenberg, agency headquarters were constructed in 1863 on the present site of the Colorado River Indian Reservation.

In 1861 Nevada Territory was created, and the following year, its border with Utah Territory was moved east one degree of longitude. When the State of Nevada was established in 1864, Congress again moved the Nevada-Utah border east by one degree. The final state borders of Nevada were derived in 1867 when Congress shifted two land parcels in southern Nevada from Arizona Territory. As the boundaries of Nevada expanded, the tribes formerly administered by the Utah and Arizona superintendencies became the responsibility of the Nevada Superintendency, which had virtually no presence is southern Nevada.

As will be apparent in the pages that follow, early Indian agency budgets and staff were stretched thin, and the tribes of the Grand Canyon-Parashant region received very little to no support in the early years of the agencies. Only in 1856 had representatives of the U.S. government made their first visits to the people of "Santa Clara, Rio Virgin [and] Muddy River" (Armstrong 1856a). As of the mid-1860s, there was still no regular Indian agency presence in the Arizona Strip, and little organized protection of Indian interests. Mining and cattle operations encroached haphazardly into the region, occupying watering and other resource sites that were being used by Paiutes and other Indian communities. A growing number of conflicts brought raids against settlers by some Paiute bands, in defense of their access rights and in retaliation for various forms of mistreatment. Indian agents sought to pacify local tribes with gifts of food and supplies, but mounting pressure from new settlers quickly erased what goodwill was proffered by these gestures. Indian agencies of the region increasingly pushed for a permanent agency to address the Nevada-Arizona-Utah borderland region, which was among the most potentially explosive (Doty 1864a, 1864b; 1865; Irish 1865a; Sale 1865a, 1865b).

In response to these pressures, the years that followed saw the addition of smaller agencies close to tribal populations, as well as the discontinuation of state superintendencies. By 1869 the South East Nevada or "Pi-Ute" Agency was established as a branch of the Nevada Superintedency, with responsibility for Paiutes living in southern Nevada and adjacent parts of Arizona and Utah. The agency was located briefly at Saint Thomas and Hiko, and finally at Pioche. In 1870 portions of Utah adjacent to the Arizona Strip were placed in the newly created Saint George Agency, which took occasional interest in the affairs of tribes living in what is today the Monument. The larger state superintendencies were discontinued in that same year, with administrative functions being reassigned to regional and reservation agencies. The Southwest Nevada Indian Agency was created in 1871, headquartered in Saint Thomas with G.W. Ingalls as agent. This new agency had a constituency of 31 tribes from northern Arizona, southern Utah, southern Nevada and California. By 1875

through the end of the century, the geographical boundaries of Indian Affairs responsibilities were essentially unchanged (Hill 1974).

SOUTHERN PAIUTES OF GRAND CANYON-PARASHANT

From the foundations discussed here, the principal modern Southern Paiute populations of the study area took shape through the 19th century, including the Shivwits Band, the Kaibab Band of Paiutes, and the Moapa Band of Paiute Indians. What follows is a short summary of the formation of these modern tribal communities from the many Grand Canyon-Parashant region Southern Paiute populations of the contact period.

Like other tribes of the Great Basin and the Colorado Plateau, the Southern Paiute experienced a variety of direct and indirect effects from European settlement well in advance of American resettlement of the region. Eurasian diseases appear to have reached Southern Paiute communities through tribal contacts prior to direct European contact, partially depopulating the landscape. For example, Southern Paiutes were likely exposed to the smallpox and measles pandemics of the sixteenth century via the neighboring Hopi, who had themselves been exposed to the disease through trade networks with Spanish colonial settlements (Stoffle and Evans 1978). These types of depopulation events caused certain Paiute populations to relocate, and survivors to aggregate in new, mixed communities. Ute and Navajo raids of Southern Paiute communities, providing slaves for Spanish settlements in the Rio Grande Basin also had effects that appear to have been profound, even if they are difficult to reconstruct with precision. Certain bands were effectively depopulated or had increasingly skewed demographics, as slave raiders took women and children, leaving behind a smaller, disproportionately older and male tribal membership. Some evidence suggests that Southern Paiutes moved away from certain rich resources and trails as a defensive strategy, to avoid raiders. The geography of the seasonal round likely adapted to this new threat in myriad ways. Relationships between Southern Paiute bands sometimes were complicated as slave raiding affected communities disproportionately, and some Paiutes (principally from eastern bands) were conscripted into support of slave raiding by neighboring tribes (Fowler and Fowler 1981; Euler 1966; Escalante in Bolton 1950; Coues 1900).

By the 1840s, a rising tide of American emigration brought wagon trains and other travelers through the region along the Old Spanish Trail. Initially Southern Paiute communities were little affected by the growing American presence. Indeed, for a brief time this relationship may have even been mutually beneficial, with emigrants receiving food from Southern Paiute communities in the study area in exchange for clothing, tools, and other items.[64] Yet, as traffic through their territories grew, Southern Paiutes began to experience its adverse effects, such as exposure to diseases, sporadic anti-Indian violence, and the depletion or reoccupation of springs, plant gathering sites,

and hunting grounds. In the region of the study area, for example, most springs and river oases north of the Colorado River had been encroached upon by EuroAmerican settlers, themselves, or their livestock by the 1860s (Stoffle et al. 2000: 15). Within a few years, the emigrant trails became contested pathways through the heart of Paiute territory, where certain tribal members might gather to trade, but subsistence uses were compromised and Paiute families were not especially secure. Raiding and retaliatory strikes against travelers drew almost instant national attention to the Paiutes and brought calls for their suppression and removal. National policies favoring Indian removal and reservation development abruptly transformed the Arizona Strip, permanently rearranging the geographies and configurations of the Southern Paiute tribes traditionally occupying Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. This transformation is the subject of the section that follows.

Mormon Missions

The Latter-day Saints entered Utah Territory in 1847, arriving in the Great Salt Lake Valley with the goal of establishing a holy land encompassing the entirety of the Great Basin region and utilizing the Grand Canyon as a natural buffer from the Mexican government (Austin et al. 2005: 8). The arrival of Mormons to the Utah Territory was a pivotal moment for Southern Paiutes in the region, because it "meant that white explorers and cattlemen arrived in Parashant much earlier than they would have otherwise" (Brown 2011: 38). Very shortly after their arrival in the region, Mormon settlers began exploring opportunities for the missionization of the local Indian groups, motivated by reasons both strategic and spiritual. In Mormon theology, Indians were identified as Lamanites, descendants of Jewish tribes that fell from grace due to "unbelief and idolatry" (Mormon 5: 15). Mormon settlers believed it was their responsibility to bring salvation to the Indians through preaching the gospel and converting local tribes to Mormonism (Holt 2006: 23). This belief, coupled with the awareness that Indian groups inhabited areas with resources necessary for Mormon communities' survival, established a pattern of domination and dependency of regional tribes at the hands of the Mormon settlers that would continue into the twentieth century. According to Holt (1992: xvii),

> The great irony of Paiute history is that, although the avowed purpose of both federal and Mormon policy was to make the Paiutes independent, the actual results of these policies have been to create and maintain a situation of insidious dependence on outside help.

In less than two decades from their arrival into Utah in 1847, Mormon settlers conducted no less than twelve expeditions in the vicinity of the study area to explore the region and its people. During that time, a number of Mormon missions were established in the territory of the Southern Paiutes (Austin et al. 2005: 8). According to

Holt (2006: 10), twelve Paiute groups were in existence at the time of Mormon contact. They include:

1. Parowan area
2. Cedar City area: two to seven groups
3. Santa Clara: three to seven groups
4. Harmony
5. Virgin River: multiple groups
6. Panquitch Lake
7. Ash Creek: possibly two groups
8. Uinkarets
9. Beaver Dam area
10. Kaiparowits
11. San Juan: two groups
12. Antarianuts

By the mid-1850s, EuroAmerican influence on Southern Paiute society arguably was greatest near the Utah mission settlements of Parowan and Cedar City. The Indians who lived in Parowan Valley had been gradually abandoning the area as the non-Indian population grew, while small Paiute communities persisted on the margins of fledgling Mormon communities such as Cedar City and Saint George. The Southern Indian Mission was formed in 1854 to minister to the Southern Paiutes in the southwestern section of the territory. The agricultural colony at Harmony, located at the juncture of Santa Clara Creek and the Virgin River just south of Saint George, UT, became the mission headquarters.

In 1856 and again in 1857, the U.S. government made its first official contacts with the Southern Paiutes of this part of Utah by sending Indian agent G.W. Armstrong to investigate their condition. He reported that these bands were already largely dependent on the Mormon settlements by this period, having been displaced from their principal traditional settlement and resource procurement sites, and instead serving as labor to the Mormon communities that had displaced them. The largest communities were reported to be living on Shirt's Creek and Coal Creek near Cedar City, and Wood Creek near Fort Harmony, where they were working as laborers while also maintaining small farms. In Cedar City the Mormons had not yet appointed an Indian agent but, instead, attempted to make inroads with the Paiute community by appointing "farmers-in-charge" who oversaw tribal farming and reported on their condition to the Utah Superintedency. Those Paiutes wishing to avoid direct EuroAmerican influence often moved away from these settlements to the far edges of the Mormon sphere, in places such as the Arizona Strip as well as mountainous areas such as Indian Peaks in Utah (Holt 1992; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a).

Meanwhile, Mormon missions sprouting up in Utah began to seriously impact Southern Paiutes living in the study area, as well as throughout the Arizona Strip, as Mormon settlers became interested in expanding the empire south towards the Colorado River. Mormon settlers entering the Arizona Strip were hampered in their movements by the difficulties surrounding navigating across the Colorado River. As the terrain and elevation changes alongside the river made fording difficult, Mormon settlers began to rely upon established Paiute river crossings for traversing the Colorado. The Crossing of the Fathers, a site now submerged within the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Utah, was an important location for fording the Colorado River, but it was not sufficient for the needs of Mormon settlers expanding into the Arizona Strip. As a result, by 1863, Mormon ferries were established at the Paiute crossing at Grand Wash, adjacent to what is today the Monument, as well as at the mouth of the Virgin River, just west of the study area (Stoffle et al. 1994: 88). These new ferry crossing sites allowed Mormon settlers to move into the study area and beyond with increased ease, opening up more of the Arizona Strip to the impacts of Mormon missions.

Overgrazing and deforestation were two major impacts that the Southern Paiutes, particularly in the study area, began to experience with the increase of Mormon settlement. In the early 1870s, Brigham Young announced that a Mormon temple would be built at Saint George. This was to be the first Mormon temple west of the Mississippi River. Though the location for the temple was Utah, the decision to build the temple had grave consequences on the lands and people of the Arizona Strip. Mormon builders needed timber in order to construct the new temple, and it was decided that the lumber for the temple should be gathered from Mt. Trumbull in the western portion of what is today the Monument. As a result, in 1872, the Nixon Sawmill – the first such operation in the study area – was built on Mt. Trumbull, within the Uinkarets' traditional territory. The primary purpose of the sawmill was to provide the necessary lumber to build the Mormon Temple at Saint George (Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument et al. 2012: 20). The Saint George United Order, founded in 1874, provided a source of labor for the mill at Mt. Trumbull, and the mill, itself, was operated by the United Order (Brown 2011: 74, 78).[65]

Just a few months after the sawmill was established, the size of the community working there grew to the point that the Mormon Church established a branch at that location, appointing Ebenezer Bryce as its President. The sawmill on Mt. Trumbull brought continued contact between Mormons working the mill and local Native American populations, especially from the Uinkaret band. Mormons and Uinkaret peoples traded materials for services (Brown 2011: 84-86). As the decade progressed, lumber processing only increased on Mt. Trumbull. By 1880, a second sawmill was in operation on Mt. Trumbull, this one owned by Frederick Blake (Brown 2011: 90). In the spring of 1874, the two sawmills had the capacity to cut roughly 20,000 feet of lumber per day were working on the mountain, and 80 miles worth of roads were constructed into the area. The Mormon Church continued to utilize the sawmill at Mt. Trumbull until 1887, at which time the area opened up for cattle (Austin et al. 2005: 17, 22). A couple more

mills were opened up in the vicinity of Mt. Trumbull in the years that followed, but were ultimately closed, in part due to an absence of clear title to the lands being used (Brown 2011: 90).

As noted elsewhere in this report, Moapa Valley, just west of the Monument, had been reported as a singular center of Southern Paiute population in the accounts of the 1840s, with authors as diverse as John Frémont, Kit Carson and Orville Pratt noting Paiutes "in great numbers" within the valley (Frémont 1846; Euler 1966: 51). Diaries from this time consistently describe thriving small oases of agricultural activity among the Southern Paiutes of the study area, and the Moapa's use of the Virgin and Muddy Rivers, slightly north and west (respectively) of the Monument, is one such example (Euler 1966: 53ff). The 1854-1855 diary of Thomas Brown (1858) describes a number of thriving Indian rancherías in the Moapa area, some clearing new agricultural land – noting that "the Indians here farm more than any others we have been among"- while still maintaining a subsistence economy involving berries and agave from riparian and tableland areas and pine nuts gathered from mountains nearby. The Mormons by this time were quite aware that Moapa Valley was at once a rich and well-watered land, coveted for its agricultural potential, while also being occupied by one of the largest and most formidable Paiute populations in their fledgling territory.

In response, Brigham Young called missionaries to settle the valley of a 30-mile long tributary of the lower Virgin River then known as Muddy Creek or Muddy River in November of 1864, giving the church a foothold in this critical part of their frontier. The resulting Muddy mission was part of the larger Cotton Mission of southern Utah, started in 1861 and created in part to raise cotton and other semitropical products for the Utah market. With the Muddy mission as their base, the Mormon church quickly developed other, smaller missions elsewhere, many of them within outlying communities in the densely settled lower Virgin River Basin, including Saint Thomas (1865), Joseph/Logandale (1865), Mill Point/Simonsville (1866), West Point/Moapa (1868), and Overton (1869). The southernmost Mormon outpost along the Virgin River was Call's Landing, or Callville, sitting on the west bank of the Colorado River in present-day Nevada, on a site west of the study site that has since been inundated by Lake Mead. In addition to preempting non-Mormon settlement in the area, these villages along the Colorado and its tributaries were meant to facilitate transportation within the Colorado River region in support of Mormon economic efforts to the north (Godfrey 1996; Grattan 1982; Arrington 1966: 243-45; Larson 1961: 141-42).

Mission relationships with the Moapa Paiutes were complex. The settlers at the Moapa mission hired local Paiutes as farm hands and domestic help. Mormon families housed, and even exchanged food and goods for, Indian children who were raised in their homes as domestic servants. The apparent diversity of the Paiute population in the valley was clearly a complicating factor for missionary operations, which contributed both to the development of outpost missions as well as tentative efforts to promote potentially sympathetic headmen to positions of authority at the mission. In this

densely settled landscape, Mormon reoccupation of lands and planting of commercial crops created friction with resident Paiutes. Paiute residents sometimes helped themselves to livestock and crops, or destroyed crops when they were planted on places with preexisting Paiute claims. Within a year of the founding of Saint Thomas, the Mormon settlers became so enraged by these "Indian thefts" that they established rules to mete out five lashes with a whip for the first stealing offense, and doubling the punishment with each succeeding infraction. Enforcement was problematic, however, in light of the mission's precarious position. Within a year of its founding, Paiute unrest in the Muddy mission settlements was complicated by similar dissatisfaction among the Utes who were being moved to the Uintah Reservation. Fearful of similar displacement, Paiutes pulled up Muddy mission settlers' crops and ran off horses, mules and cattle, hoping to drive out the fledgling Mormon settlements (Lyman 2004: 212; Godfrey 1996: 137). Unsuccessful, a number of Paiutes departed, leaving for outlying communities where they had kinship ties, including but not limited to the settlements in the Arizona Strip, at Las Vegas and Spring Mountains, and a few isolated locations in the southwestern corner of Nevada.

Even as the missionaries struggled to respond to rising Paiute conflicts, the land status of the region was in flux. A year after Nevada Territory was created in 1861, Congress shifted the border between Nevada and Utah eastward from the 116th parallel west longitude to the 115th parallel. The Nevada-Utah border was shifted another degree eastward to the 114th parallel when Nevada became a state in Oct. 1864. Congress then changed Nevada's southern border in 1867, adding land from Arizona Territory through two land cessions. The first cession included 18,000 square miles of Pah-Ute County in Arizona Territory west of the Colorado River. Later the same year, Congress removed from Arizona Territory the piece of land that is today Nevada's southern tip, adding it to Nevada (Stein 2008: 176-77). A federal survey in 1870 confirmed that the Muddy mission's location was in Nevada rather than Utah, and the Nevada state government demanded back taxes in gold (Godfrey 1996: 138). Nevada's tax demands, continued Paiute unrest, problems with irrigation, and other challenges together caused the missionaries to question the long-term future of the mission. That year Brigham Young toured the Muddy and Virgin River settlements, and found them unsuccessful and poorly suited to agricultural development. In December 1870, Young released the Muddy mission settlers from their duties and, a few weeks later, all but two settlers abandoned the Muddy mission (Grattan 1982).[66] Some portion of these settlers dispersed to the Arizona Strip, occupying the Shivwits Plateau and nearby lands, starting small settlements and placing some of the first severe pressure on Kaibab and Shivwits Paiute territorial autonomy in unprecedented ways (Stoffle and Evans 1978: 11).

Into the vacuum left by the abrupt departure of the Mormon settlers from the Muddy River region came people of diverse backgrounds, including both white squatters and Paiutes that had been displaced by Mormon settlement both locally and in places such as the Arizona Strip. Paiutes were able to reclaim portions of the well-watered

landscape that they had wholly or partially given up to the Mormons only a decade before. Very soon, this abrupt departure and the continued presence of large tribal communities would also facilitate proposals to develop a reservation at Moapa.

Unlike Moapa and other Southern Paiute bands that inhabited the western portion of the traditional territory, the Kaibab Paiutes residing to east of Grand Canyon-Parashant in the Arizona Strip and southern Utah, did not experience the encroachment of Mormon settlers until the early 1860s. As summarized by Euler (1972: 54), "especially in the regions occupied by the Kaibab Paiute, the Indians had little if any contact with whites" during the early years of missionization and reservation development. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that Paiutes displaced from places such as Moapa and southern Utah joined Kaibab kin in this area in the preceding years to escape Mormon settlers' influences (Stoffle et al. 2005; Holt 1992; Stoffle and Evans 1978, 1976; Euler 1972, 1966; Kelly 1964). This period of relative isolation for the Kaibab Paiutes ended, however, as Mormon stock ranches were established at Short Creek, Pipe Springs, and Moccasin by 1863 (Stoffle and Evans 1978: 8). The ranches were centered around important water sources, including Pipe Spring and Moccasin, Utah, which were known to local Paiutes as *pats-pats-piana* ("water at the point of the mountain") and *mihtingwava* ("sand spring"), respectively. These ranches were meant to provide beef and dairy products for the Mormon empire, and in particular, the laborers involved in constructing the temple at Saint George (Turner 1985: 37-38).

The following year, Mormon ranches were established in the Utah Mountains to the north and at present-day Kanab. In the same way that the building of the Saint George Mormon Temple precipitated the construction of a sawmill on Mt. Trumbull, it also precipitated the growing presence of cattle on the Strip in the Kaibab territory, as the temple builders needed a nearby food supply. According to McKown (1960), in 1872, the Mormon settlement at Pipe Spring, Arizona had a herd numbering around 1,000 to 2,000 (in Austin et al. 2005: 17). This number grew to 2,269 head of cattle in 1879, and 162 horses were also reported at Pipe Spring at this time. Also in 1879, Farnsworth (1993) reports that the surrounding land was supporting roughly 50,000 head of cattle, as well as sizeable herds of sheep (in Austin et al. 2005: 17). These domestic herds put tremendous pressure on the arid lands of the Arizona Strip, and led to overgrazing of native plants that Southern Paiute inhabitants relied upon for subsistence and other purposes. The vastly important piñon pine nut harvest was also greatly affected by the harvesting of piñon trees by Mormon settlers for fencing and fuel needs. Additionally, native fauna traditionally hunted by Kaibab peoples were threatened by hunting by arriving settlers, as well as being outcompeted by the domestic herds in the area for browse and water. Springs, too, suffered, as they were trampled by unprecedented numbers of animals (Stoffle and Evans 1978: 8).

This immense loss of both native flora and fauna greatly impacted the Parsashant area peoples' traditional lifeways, and over a short period, contributed to a significant population loss. Within a decade of white settlement in this part of traditional Paiute

territory, the native population is estimated to have declined 80 percent. While rapid depopulation of Southern Paiute groups was not uncommon in the wake of Mormon expansion, the Kaibab peoples' situation was unique in that their population loss was primarily due to starvation, which resulted from the widespread loss of subsistence resources in the decade following Mormon encroachment into the Arizona Strip (Kelly and Fowler 1986: 369; Stoffle and Evans 1976, 1978). It has been estimated that roughly 82 percent of the population loss of Kaibab peoples resulted directly from this ten-year episode of starvation (Stoffle and Evans 1978: 9).

In the decades that followed the Mormon intrusion into the Arizona Strip, with the population collapse and loss of access to springs and declines in subsistence food resources, Paiute peoples in the Grand Canyon-Parashant area became increasingly dependent on Mormon communities for survival (Stoffle and Evans 1978: 9). As with the Southern Paiutes of Utah, Paiutes of the Arizona Strip found themselves needing to seek out employment or handouts from Mormon settlers to sustain themselves. Employment opportunities, though few because of a Mormon efforts to maintain full self-sufficiency, might include menial tasks such as laundering clothing or preparing food. Additionally, the mid-1860s saw an increase in aggression from Navajo and Ute in the form of raids on Mormon settlements in the Arizona Strip. In return for warning Mormons of oncoming attacks and helping to defend Mormon communities, Kaibab Paiutes, for example, were allowed a degree of access to land and springs for farming purpose in the vicinity of Kanab and Kanab Creek, identified as *Kanare'uipi* or *Kanav 'uip* in Paiute (meaning "willow canyon") (Austin et al. 2005: 43; Stoffle and Evans 1978: 10; Stoffle et al. 1997: 84).

While some Paiute groups drew closer to Mormon settlements for survival during the later 1800s, other groups retreated to the opposite bank of the Colorado River, living in Hualapai territory to avoid contact with the growing tide of Mormon settlement and mining, or moved into remote mountainous locations in southwestern Utah (Dobyns and Euler 1970; Stoffle and Evans 1978). Regardless of which path to survival the Southern Paiutes of the study area and beyond chose in the late part of the nineteenth century, the influx of Mormon missions in conjunction with the rapid population loss within Paiute communities, caused major changes to the political structure of the Southern Paiute peoples. This, in turn, contributed to an underestimation of Paiute political and social structure on the part of arriving settlers, who did not recognize that what they beheld represented the remnants of the old social order after decades of convulsive change. As William Palmer wrote of this phenomenon among the Paiutes of the area,

> It is not generally understood that the Mormon invasion of the Inter-mountain West in the forties and fifties plowed ruthlessly through and upturned a rather stable and well established order of primitive government that had endured with much constancy for at least a century. The same is true of every invasion of the Red Man's territory. We are

likely to suppose that the human inhabitants ran as wild and free as the country's animal life.
(Palmer Collection 1929 Box 20 (F 27): 1)

Still, with the incursion of Mormons into Paiute lands, spokesmen from the tribes, or "chiefs," began to materialize as decision-makers in talks with Mormon settlers regarding labor. These spokesmen may or may not have had legitimate rights to make powerful decisions regarding the fate of their fellow tribal members. What is clear is that these individuals emerged as politically and economically powerful in ways new to the traditions of the Southern Paiute peoples (Turner 1985: 41-42).

Conflicts, Militarization, and the Call for Reservations

Beyond the Mormon missions, relationships between Southern Paiutes and the non-Native world grew additionally complex during the mid-nineteenth century. Increasingly Paiutes gathered near towns and non-Indian transportation corridors, making inroads into trade and providing services for people traveling through their territories.[67] Meanwhile, the influx of miners during this period brought a surge of men, transient and often unruly, to the Arizona Strip, including the Grand Gulch Mine, sites along the Colorado River, Kanab Creek and other mining districts. While Paiutes sometimes were hired to assist in tasks related to the mining operations, miners often reoccupied or scuttled critical resource areas, and some were openly hostile to Paiutes encountered in the region. Together Mormon settlers and miners often brought starvation in their wake, reoccupying springs and cultivated grounds, pasturing cattle on grasslands, and clearing piñon pine groves (e.g. Stoffle and Evans 1976; Cook 1941). This, as much as any effect of EuroAmerican expansion, resulted in the displacement, relocation, and amalgamation of Southern Paiute bands. Some Paiute groups, as well as their Mohave allies, carried out sporadic retaliatory raids against miners, Mormons settlers, and ranchers. While seldom carried out as part of an organized campaign, frequent reports of small skirmishes created outside impressions of a growing Indian insurgency (Roth 1976: 101-11).

The reports of the period suggest that traditional settlement patters and agriculture were being adversely affected by these events. Indian agents were making glancing efforts to support agriculture, reduce large-scale displacements, and reduce what was seen as the degrading influences of non-Indians (Forney 1859). Still, without a permanent Indian agency presence, these efforts had little material effect. United States Indian agencies – especially those based in Utah, in close proximity to Mormon settlements – sought to make initial inroads among the "Pah-Utes," interpreting the rising tide of conflict as a result of insufficient moral instruction rather than the effects of white encroachment. [68] Reporting in 1856, the Utah Territorial Superintendent of Indian Affairs noted of the Southern Paiute,

> I learn that the natives in the neighborhood of Harmony, in Washington county, and near the Los Vegos, and upon the Santa Clara, are many of them very industrious and anxious to learn to till the soil; and every facility consistent with their habits, necessities, and a rigid economy, are being extended to them, so far as individual means and government appropriations will warrant, and it is certainly just, politic, and highly desirable that government should afford them means for encouraging these untutored and hitherto wild and idle people, in their desires and efforts for improvements and not through parsimony or a grudging benevolence, scantily meted out, cause them to revert to their former loathsome habits, with an increased stubbornness in viciousness, though having made an abortive step towards commendable advancement. (Utah Territorial Superintendency 1856: 225)

Non-Indians continued to flood into the area, drawn both to the mines and to the prospect of new agricultural frontiers. Southern Paiute communities close to the mining districts, such as those in the Arizona Strip and Grand Canyon region, were greatly limited in their access to these areas scattered throughout their traditional territory, due to an increased non-native presence. This limited access only increased after the passage of the Mining Law of 1872, which allowed U.S. citizens to stake claims for metallic and nonmetallic minerals. As citizenship was not extended to American Indians until 1924, this new law disallowed Southern Paiutes and other tribes' access to mining districts, and non-Native miners were often openly hostile to any sort of Indian presence (Citizenship Act of 1924, 43 Stat. 253, 1923-25 in Stoffle et al. 1994: 90).

Mormon and non-Mormon settlers, alike, further disrupted the Southern Paiutes of the Arizona Strip and the ecology of the area by bringing cattle into the region beginning in the 1850s (Stoffle et al. 1994: 88). Initially, Paiute peoples retaliated against the loss of land to cattle by raiding cattle operations within the Strip. Paiute raids, in conjunction with Navajo raids, made early cattle operations difficult for settlers in the region. However, the federal government intervened in the late 1860s, allowing cattle operations to expand. The Canaan Cooperative Stock Company (CCSC), founded in 1870 and based in Saint George, was the first major company to graze cattle on the lands within what is now the Monument. These cattle were an important source of food for workers at the Mt. Trumbull sawmill. By July of 1876, the CCSC was utilizing grass and water sources on the Shivwits Plateau. That same month, Parashant Ranch was established at Oak Grove, and in August, the Saint George Sheep Herd Association (SGSHA) took over the ranch. An 1881 inspection of Parashant Ranch reported thirty-seven milking cows in the dairy, a one-room ranch house and a number of Native American individuals working in exchange for livestock (Brown 2011: 92-100).

Cattle operations only increased, and in 1879, the Canaan Company opened a dairy ranch in the location of Oak Grove, which was then sold to Benjamin F. Saunders in

1883. Saunders was a wealthy non-Mormon settler residing in Salt Lake City at the time. In the years following, Saunders expanded his Shivwits plateau-based cattle operations further east into the Strip beyond what is today the Monument (BLM 2012). According to Brown (2011: 102-103),

> The arrival of Benjamin F. Saunders marked a transition on the Arizona Strip. While Mormons had dominated the cattle industry up to that point, it was more and more non-Mormon cattle barons that came to control range and water resources from that time forward.

By 1887, Saunders owned a number of properties in the Arizona Strip, and by the 1890s, the amount of cattle ranchers in the region was beginning to outweigh the amount of Mormon settlers in and around the Monument (Brown 2011: 6).[69] Cattle ranches continued to thrive in the Arizona Strip throughout the end of the 19th century, leading to extensive overgrazing, which brought starvation and the threat of starvation to the Southern Paiutes of the study area. Overgrazing of the lands within what became the Monument and its vicinity lead some Southern Paiute to launch mounted retaliations against Mormon encroachment; however, Shivwits members did not appear to take this sort of action against the Mormon settlers (Brown 2011: 97).

The forests of the Colorado River Corridor also brought non-Mormon settlers to the region. Lumbermen interested in capitalizing on the old growth forests in the Arizona Strip moved into the area, again pushing Southern Paiutes out of their traditional territory (Stoffle et al. 1994: 90). Sawmills, such as the one at Parashant, provided lumber that was not only important to the Mormon empire, but to the miners that needed timber for the construction of their mines, as well (Austin et al. 2005: 23). Throughout the region, Paiute communities were in some cases being displaced not once, but repeatedly, moving to second-tier resource procurement sites only to be displaced from those places by additional white settlement.[70] In fact, in the 1860s, non-native encroachment in the Arizona Strip was so extreme that settlers or their livestock occupied most spring and river resources, forcing Southern Paiutes to move into the Pai territory, south of the Colorado River (Stoffle et al. 2000: 15).

Resource poverty was having profound effects upon Paiute communities that remained within their traditional territory, and raiding in these areas was increasingly undertaken out of economic necessity rather than as a form of retaliation. As Southeastern Nevada Indian Agent Andrew Barnes discovered when assuming his post a few years after these events,

> Their lands have been taken from them by the whites save a few small patches and there being no game, and unable to raise enough food by farming, they have frequently been compelled to beg and steal and when

> detected in the latter they are often cruelly punished which has in some cases been in turn retaliated.[71]
> (Barnes 1875b)

The Paiute of the Arizona Strip, as well as southern Utah and Nevada, were increasingly depicted as being hostile and of "very bad character," intensifying the calls for missionization, reservation development, and the expansion of a permanent military presence in the region (Poston 1863: 387). The California Superintendency of Indian Affairs was especially vocal in promoting this agenda, expressing fears that this "untamed" border area might prove a menace to new settlements and the new social order.[72]

As landscape destruction and hostile relationships escalated throughout the Southern Paiute territory, some Southern Paiute groups permanently relocated at around this time, especially evacuating the Colorado River corridor and Mojave Trail and joining neighboring band. Others retreated to mountainous areas, such as those within and west of the Monument, including parts of the Shivwits and Kaibab Plateaus; from these protected areas, they were able to make occasional raids on the stock and crops of the settlers with relative anonymity. Horse Valley, for example, became an important location within the Grand Canyon-Parashant region in the late 1860s for Paiutes pushed out of the Santa Clara River region by Mormon settlers (Stoffle et al. 2005: 98).

In the year of 1869, the U.S. government finally made a commitment to provide aid and protection to area tribes by appointing the first local agent for the Southern Paiutes (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a; Euler 1966). In the fall of that year, the first southern Nevada Indian agent, R.H. Fenton, reported for duty,

> I reported at Saint Thomas, Nevada, October, 1869; there I found no one in charge of the agency, and, from the best information that can be obtained, there never has been an agent in this tribe of Indians (the Pah-Utes) previous to my being assigned to this duty. The range of this tribe extends over portions of Utah and Arizona Territories, also the States of Nevada and California.
> (Fenton 1870: 113)

By the following year, the agency was turned over to Charles Powell, who complained that his predecessor had taken a salary but carried out almost none of his duties. Powell reported to his superiors the precarious condition of the Southern Paiutes he encountered at the new post, "who have been neglected at this agency, and most shamefully neglected by their former agent" (Powell 1871: 561).

Though Powell was the first administrator to work directly with these Paiute communities, these were not the same Paiute communities that had existed at contact. The influence of missionaries, miners, military and other agents of the American frontier had effectively disrupted traditional social and economic organization, as people were displaced and territories and resources slipped from tribal control. As reported by John Wesley Powell and George Ingalls, the Paiutes "invariably… expressed the sentiments" that their entire social and economic structure had been rearranged by EuroAmerican encroachment,

> Their hunting-grounds have been spoiled, their favorite valleys are occupied by white men, and they are compelled to scatter in small bands in order to obtain subsistence. Formerly they were organized into nations, or confederacies, under the influence of great chiefs, but such men have lost their power in the presence of white men, and it is no longer possible to treat with these people as nations, but each little tribe must be dealt with separately. The broad territory over which they are scattered has been parceled out among the tribes by common consent, usually determined at general councils, so that each tribe holds a certain district of country as its own.
> (Powell and Ingalls 1873: 43)

This disruption complicated early federal attempts at negotiation, territorial administration or reservation development. As John Wesley Powell noted when trying to coordinate the negotiation of Paiute relocations in 1873, "The [Paiute] are more or less disorganized, and in some places their tribal relations are entirely broken up, and they are scattered over a large district of country" (Powell 1873: 49). Novel confederacies often formed between these groups, and principal headmen from one of these groups often represented the larger confederations, especially when he possessed kin ties to their constituent groups (Steward 1938; Powell 1873). These new Southern Paiute headmen/spokesmen served as intermediaries with the non-Indian world, among other tasks, and sometimes gained political and economic influence in both worlds as a result (Kelly and Fowler 1986: 387; Euler 1966: 66).[73] Prominent leaders of the 19th century, including Takopa, "the chief of all the Southern Paiute," were leaders of this type.[74] These leaders would play a critical role in the development of new reservation communities in the decades ahead.

Reservations and Resistance: Shivwits, Kaibab, and Moapa

As early as the mid-1860s, U.S. negotiators made haphazard efforts to include Southern Paiutes in the reservation communities that were taking shape across the American West. In 1865 Utah Superintendent of Indian Affairs O.H. Irish negotiated a treaty at Pinto, Utah with tribal representatives, including a small number of Southern Paiutes.

The treaty included provisions for the removal of all Southern Paiutes to the Uintah Reservation in northeastern Utah. This treaty, an expansion of the "Treaty of Spanish Fork" signed by the Utes, was signed by a total of six Paiute men, with unclear authority to speak on behalf of the larger Southern Paiute community. On the basis of this treaty, the headmen of various Paiute communities from northeastern Arizona, southwestern Utah, and southern Nevada were asked to proceed to Uintah. Many refused after consulting with their people. John Wesley Powell, who was party to the deliberations that followed, recorded their explanation of events,

> [The Paiute chiefs] informed the commission that, induced by considerations presented to them in former conversations, they had held a general council for the purpose of consulting about the propriety of going to Uintah, and the suggestion had been repelled by all the people, and there was no voice raised in favor of their going. They averred that the Utes of Uintah had been their enemies from time immemorial…and that under no consideration would the Pai-Utes live with them.[75]
> (Powell 1873: 47)

Unlike many other Southern Paiute populations, some Utah Paiute communities actually possessed kinship ties to the Utes, giving Indian agents a stronger foundation for their Uintah relocation policy than was the case with Southern Paiutes of northern Arizona and southern Nevada.[76] Despite the connections between these Utah Paiute groups and the Utes, the United States government largely abandoned the effort to relocate the Paiutes to Uintah, fearing that the move would cause more unrest than it prevented. The idea occasionally resurfaced, especially among the Utah Superintendency, when Paiute conflicts received national attention through the rest of the decade, but it was clear to most observers that Uintah did not present a viable or lasting solution to the challenges of Southern Paiute communities.

Despite the general abandonment of the plan to relocate Southern Paiutes to Uintah, the concept of a single reservation for all Southern Paiute groups persisted and gained credibility in federal circles. The U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, with the support of other government and military officials, embarked upon an ambitious effort to concentrate all of these Paiute peoples together into newly constructed "tribes" that could be more easily monitored, serviced, and introduced to religious, economic and social practices. Reasons for this single reservation concept were at once strategic and fiscal. Indian Agent George W. Ingalls expressed the sentiment common in the early 1870s when he asserted of the Paiutes that,

> no organized effort agreeable with the present policy of the Government for improving their condition could be put forth without concentrating all the Indians at some place to be mutually agreed upon, as at present they

> are scattered over the southern half of Utah, Northern Arizona, Southern Nevada, and Southeastern California.[77]
> (Ingalls 1873)

If the reservation system could not be fashioned to accommodate the geographies of Southern Paiute settlement, Southern Paiute society would, therefore, be refashioned to accommodate the needs of the reservation system.

Administrative costs aside, the United States was eager to remove the Southern Paiutes to reservations, to clear the land of potential military threats and of competing claims to the lands and resources that were necessary for American reoccupation. This was true in areas outside of what is today the Monument, where the continued presence of Paiutes in close proximity to burgeoning mining districts in their former lands accentuated the urgency of the situation in the view of federal officials. The Paiutes within what is today the Monument, especially Shivwits, were a little more isolated and thus posed less of an immediate obstacle to non-native settlers. However, when gold and silver were discovered in 1871 in Arizona, increased hostilities between Southern Paiute populations and miners increased, gaining the attention of the federal government. As a result of increased hostilities and competition over resources, numerous reservation concepts were proposed, even before Indian agents had the opportunity to conduct a basic survey to determine the identity of tribes within the region. By the late 1860s, commissioners were dispatched to negotiate a range of alternative reservation proposals.

As reservation proposals were vetted by federal and tribal representatives alike, growing attention focused on Moapa Valley, where large numbers of Paiutes were already settled. At this time, Indian agents reported a large number of resident "bands" (Walker 1872). The largest concentration of these by far was in the Muddy and Virgin River valleys.[78] Describing the area in 1871, Charles Powell wrote,

> On the Meadow Valley Wash along a single stream called the "Muddy" they have some ten to fifteen small farms, and considering that they have no farming implements but in most cases plant with a simple stick, their ambition is most praiseworthy. They raise good corn, beans, melons, squashes, pumpkins, etc.…I cannot too earnestly recommend the establishment of a reservation for these Indians on the Muddy at Saint Thomas [now in Lake Mead NRA]. It is most important and to the best interest of the Indian Service…I have no hesitation in saying [this] would save the government in future millions.
> (C.F. Powell 1871c)

Mormon settlement may have briefly displaced a number of the Paiute peoples originally hailing from the Moapa Valley, but many had returned upon the departure of the Mormon settlements in 1870-1871. There also is some evidence to suggest that a portion of the Paiute population displaced from nearby mining districts joined the large population at Moapa.[79] Some Paiutes from the study area and elsewhere within the Arizona Strip also seem to have traveled to Moapa Valley in the 1870s, though most of them returned to the Strip in the years that followed. Together, these various movements of Paiute peoples to Moapa allowed for a diversity of small "bands" or "tribes" all living together in the lower Virgin and Muddy river basins, as described in earlier sections of this document (Powell and Ingalls 1873; Palmer 1936). The Moapa area may well have possessed this kind of diversity long before contact, but the events of the contact jumbled contact-period population distributions considerably, so that some portion of the peoples dwelling at Moapa by the 1870s were almost certainly from elsewhere in the Southern Paiute world. And some smaller portion of the original Moapa residents may have been living outside of the Moapa area.

At this time Moapa was not entirely outside of federal "jurisdiction" on paper, if not in practice. The Office of Indian Affairs had allocated funds to area Indian agencies through the late 1860s and early 1870s to support the tribes of the Moapa region. In practice, though, little of this funding made its way to the Indians of the Muddy and Virgin basins. The misappropriation of these funds was so egregious, and its effects so potentially destabilizing, that local governments of the region threatened legal action.[80] Still, as a result of this neglect, the Paiute communities in the Moapa region were largely autonomous from federal administration, and seemed to be thriving to the extent possible. This sense of independence among such a large and well-supplied tribal population raised new concerns. Surveying the area at this time, A.A. Humphreys reported to federal authorities that Moapa was a center of growing anti-American sentiment, "not feeling the restraint formerly put upon them by the presence of the Mormons, they are now extremely impudent and bold" (Humphreys 1872: 75). In the view of military and Indian Department staff alike, the Moapa region was in dire need of attention.

By late 1871, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had determined that it would be most efficient to build a reservation around the cluster of settlements at Moapa rather than to seek Paiute removal to distant territories. The following year, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, F.A. Walker, requested for appropriations for a "Paiute reservation" at Moapa, justifying the request by describing the potential to "civilize" all Southern Paiutes bands by bringing them together in one locale,

> These Indians, divided into various bands, and numbering some three or four thousand souls, are scattered through Eastern Nevada, Southern Utah, and on the Colorado River in Arizona and Eastern California. They are represented, with a few exceptions, as a quiet, peaceable people, well disposed toward the whites; and there are good reasons for the belied that

> they may, if encouraged by the Government, be led to adopt the habits and pursuits of civilized life. In their present scattered localities it would, however, be impracticable without a very heavy expense, to make any systematic efforts with this object in view, and the agent suggests, in order to remove this obstacle to their civilization, that they be gathered upon a reservation selected for them in Lincoln County, Southern Nevada, in what is called "Muddy Valley," extending from Saint Thomas, on the South [today in Lake Mead NRA], to West Point, on the North [near the modern town of Moapa], and the full width of the valley east and west.[81]
> (Walker 1872: 2)

A council called at Saint George, Utah by Special Commissioners to the Office of Indian Affairs, George Ingalls and John Wesley Powell, sought a compromise agreement with Southern Paiute headmen, in which these leaders would proceed to Moapa to assess the country and determine if relocation to this location would be acceptable as an alternative to Uintah. John Wesley Powell reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on these deliberations,

> In obedience to the first part of the second clause of their [the Commissioner's] instructions, viz: That some of the chiefs and principal men of Pai-Utes be induced to visit Uintah reservation, and encouraged to make their homes at that place, the commission sent for Tau-gu, the principal chief of the Pai-Utes, of Utah and Northern Arizona, and a number of subordinate chiefs. The only ones who could be induced to meet it were Tau-gu and Mo-ak-Shin-au-av, chief of the U-ai-Nu-ints, who live in the vicinity of Saint George.
> (Powell 1873)

The commissioners then traveled widely, visiting most of the major Southern Paiute bands to implore them to relocate to Moapa, including "all the Pai-Ute tribes of Utah and Northern Arizona, *viz*, *Kwi-nm-pns, Pa-ru-guiis, Un-ka-pa, Nu-kwints, I'a-sjii-kai-vats, Un-ka-ka-ui-guts, Pa-gu-its, Kai-vwav-uai Nu-iiifs, U-iu-ka-rets,* and *Shi-vwits*" (Powell 1873: 47-48).[82]

By early 1872, Ingalls reported that he had successfully gathered six unspecified bands of Southern Paiutes, containing about 400 members, at the abandoned Mormon town of West Point, Nevada. Delegations from a number of other parts of the Southern Paiute territories gathered in the months that followed. In September of 1872, visiting headmen from throughout Southern Paiute country were given tours of the prospective reservation at Moapa and held councils with the resident Moapa. After many days of councils and exploration by the headmen gathered at Moapa, a number of these leaders reached a consensus that they would relocate,

> The conclusion of all was, that the Indians on the reservation were willing that the other tribes should unite with them, and the delegations representing the tribes away were favorably impressed with the country, and promised that the Indians would all come to the reservation another year, on condition that the Government would provide temporarily for their maintenance, and give them such aid as might be necessary to establish them as agriculturists.[83]
> (Powell 1873: 48)

A number of these headmen, gathered from throughout the general region, ultimately relocated permanently to Moapa, bringing their extended families and their larger communities with them from nearby portions of Arizona and Utah, as well as the Las Vegas region, and elsewhere. Not all of the Paiute removals to Moapa were done so willingly, however. Almost immediately after Powell and Ingalls' councils, U.S. military and Indian Affairs staff began relocating Paiutes to this proposed reservation to remove real and potential Paiute combatants from Indian wars in nearby Arizona and California.[84] For example, a number of Shivwits warriors had earlier joined in the Hualapai War between 1866 and 1869, fighting with the Pai against Mormon encroachment (Dobyns and Euler 1970: 38; Dobyns and Euler 1971: 18, Stoffle et al. 2004: 38).

On March 12, 1873, President Ulysses S. Grant issued an executive order formally establishing the Moapa reservation in this southeastern part of Nevada. Often called simply the "Paiute Reservation," this reservation included approximately 3,900 square miles, including portions of the Virgin River drainage as well as the Muddy River Basin. John Wesley Powell and George W. Ingalls, appointed as Special Commissioners to the Office of Indian Affairs, reporting in the summer of that year, described the reservation's lands and resources in quite positive terms,

> The reservation on the Muddy is well known to both of the commissioners. There is some good land and plenty of water; there are no valuable hunting grounds on the reservation, or in the vicinity, but there are streams from which a greater or less supply of fish can be taken; and the natural products of the soil, which are somewhat abundant, would be of value as a source of partial subsistence until they could learn to farm for themselves. The timber is distant from the district where the farms must necessarily be made, but the climate is good for southern Indians, and the reservation will always be isolated from other settlements. Altogether the situation is good and sufficient.
> (Powell and Ingalls 1873:44)

Ingalls oversaw the first formal efforts to establish farms on the reservation in July of that year, distributing tools and seed, and hiring non-Indians still residing on inholdings within the reservation to aid in digging irrigation ditches and planting crops.[85]

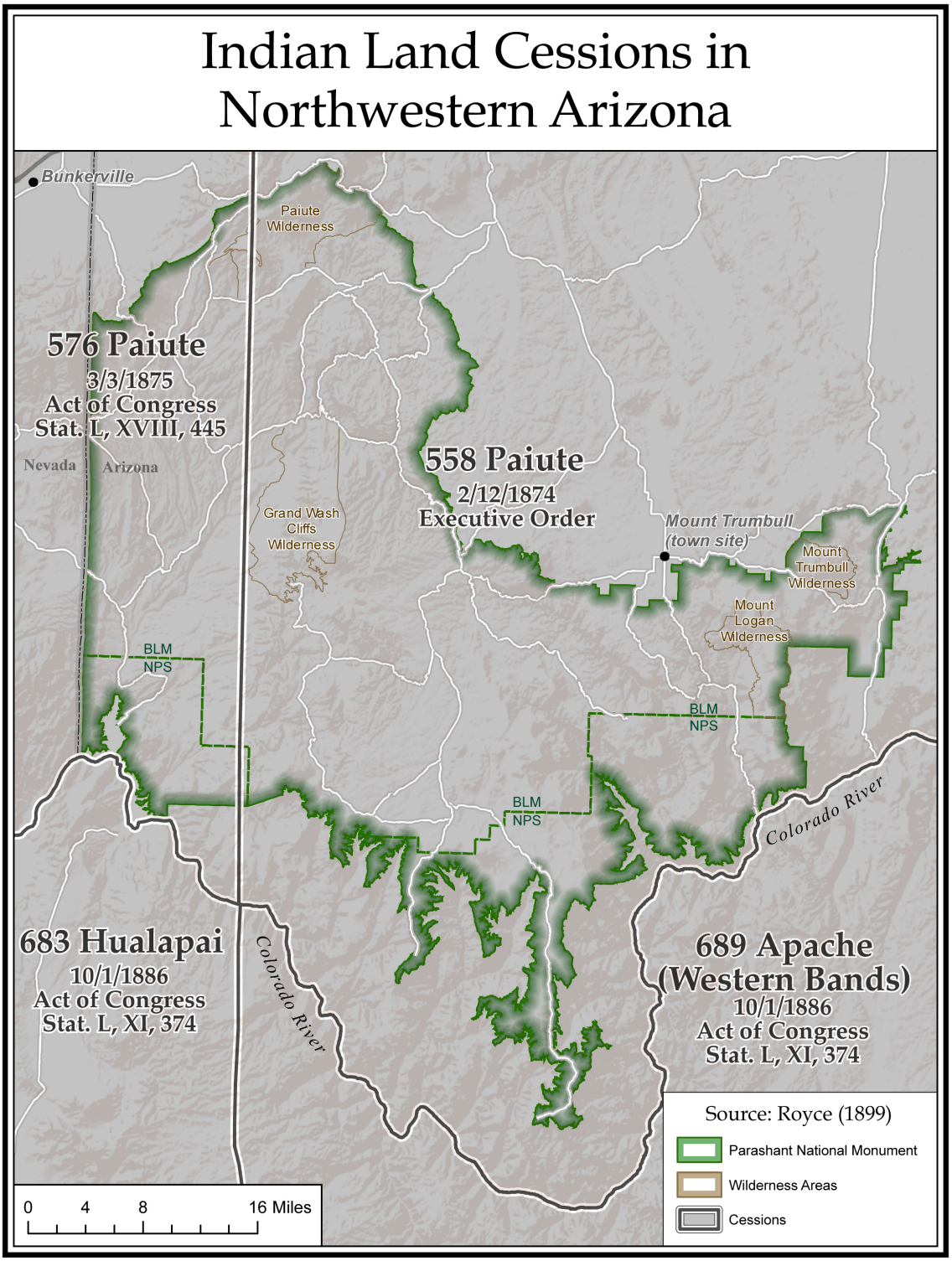
Still, Special Commissioners Powell and Ingalls suggested in their 1873 report that the reservation, in truth, might be inadequate – being arid, largely treeless, and too small to accommodate the anticipated relocation of the entire population of Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi.[86] Despite some Paiute migration to Moapa, Southern Paiutes were distributed as diffusely as ever across the West in a large number of "scattered bands," and relocation would place formidable pressures on the resources of the reservation (Powell and Ingalls 1873: 43).[87] In order to accommodate the complete relocation of the Southern Paiutes, Powell, Ingalls, and other Indian agents of their day recommended that the boundaries should be extended to the east and to the west, providing access to more farmland, timber, and water within the Virgin River Basin and along the Colorado River (Powell and Ingalls 1874; Bonelli 1874a; Powell 1873). Anticipating the complete relocation of the Southern Paiute people to this single reservation, George Ingalls and John Wesley Powell separately advanced ambitious proposals, involving a reservation that would have been bounded by the Colorado River on the south, the Nevada state line on the east, the 115th parallel on the west, and the north boundary being aligned east-west one mile north of Muddy Springs (Ingalls 1873b). [88] With an eastern boundary on the Arizona line, and a western boundary at the same longitude as central Henderson, this would have been a monumental reservation.

The federal government's response was surprisingly swift. On February 12, 1874, President Grant issued a new executive order that cancelled the first order and pushed the reservation's boundary no less than eight miles farther to the east and twenty miles farther to the west – falling short of Powell and Ingalls' suggestion in detail, but nearly approximating it in scale (Appendix A). The resulting reservation was substantial, situated mostly in modern day Nevada, but also encompassing the westernmost portion of what became the Monument, essentially up to the Grand Wash Cliffs (marked as area "576" on Map 9). Though this February 12, 1874 executive order had little to say about the extinguishment of Indian title to remaining portions of their territory, federal authorities subsequently interpreted the creation of this reservation for all Southern Paiutes as a *de facto* settlement of remaining Southern Paiute land title. Subsequent legal reviews have cited the February 12th executive order as the specific basis for Southern Paiute cessions of their remaining lands, including the remainder of the study area (Royce 1899; see Map 9 and Map 10).

Even as the "Paiute Reservation" at Moapa took shape, Indian agents worked assiduously to coerce Southern Paiutes and certain other tribal groups to move there. It is clear that Office of Indian Affairs and military staff were directing Indians to this reservation with sometimes only vague understandings of their identities and affiliations.[89] While the residents were especially drawn from local Paiute populations


Indian Land Cessions in
Northwestern Arizona
Nevada
Utah
558 Paiute
2/12/1874 - Executive Order
432 Uintah Uta
10/3/1861 Executive Order
Cedar City
St. George
576 Paiute
3/3/1875 - Act of Congress
Stat. L, XVIII, 445
Grand Canyon
Parashant
National
Monument
Colorado River
519 Navajo
6/1/1869
Act of Congress
Stat. L, XV, 667
Pahrump
Las Vegas
Colorado River
689 Apache
(Western Bands)
10/1/1886 - Act of Congress
Stat. L, XI, 374
683 Hualapai
10/1/1886
Act of Congress
Stat. L, XI, 374
Flagstaff
Colorado River
684 Mohave
10/1/1886
Act of Congress
Stat. L, XI, 374
California
Arizona
Source: Royce (1899)
0
25
50
100 Miles
Phoenix

Map 9


Indian Land Cessions in Northwestern Arizona
Bunkerville
Paiute Wilderness
576 Paiute
3/3/1875
Act of Congress
Stat. L, XVIII, 445
Nevada
Arizona
558 Paiute
2/12/1874
Executive Order
Grand Wash Cliffs Wilderness
Mount Trumbull (town site)
Mount Trumbull Wilderness
Mount Logan Wilderness
BLM
NPS
BLM
NPS
BLM
NPS
Colorado River
683 Hualapai
10/1/1886
Act of Congress
Stat. L, XI, 374
Colorado River
689 Apache (Western Bands)
10/1/1886
Act of Congress
Stat. L, XI, 374
0 4 8 16 Miles
Source: Royce (1899)
Parashant National Monument
Wilderness Areas
Cessions

Map 10

in Moapa and adjacent band territories, early reports make it clear that the early agency directed numerous Paiute populations to Moapa from northern Arizona, southwestern Utah, southern Nevada, and southeastern California. An 1874 report of the Nevada Superintendency, for example, noted that the reservation consisted of 284 "Utes" (probably including many Paiutes) from northern Arizona, 1,031 Paiutes from southern Nevada, 184 Paiutes from southeastern California, and 528 "Utes" from southeastern Utah (Nevada Superintendency 1874). The Paiute Reservation had so many people arriving from these adjacent states initially that the Office of Indian Affairs had to make adjustments to the state Indian agency budgets, allocating some portion of the funds originally slated for Arizona, California, and Utah Indian agencies to support Indians arriving in Moapa from those jurisdictions.[90]

Efforts to recruit relocation to Moapa were advanced by the increasing territorial and economic marginalization of the Southern Paiute population throughout much of their historical range. As reported by the Arizona Superintendency of the Office of Indian Affairs in reference to the Moapa Reservation,

> several years ago were extensively engaged in cultivating the soil, but by the gradual approach of settlements have been pushed off from their best farming-land, and forced to a vagabond life and a precarious subsistence mainly on roots and berries and seeds, supplemented by tilling the soil to a limited extent, and by working occasionally for settlers. They are becoming quite familiar with the English language, but in other respects are growing more demoralized each year by contact with the worst features of civilization.
> (Arizona Superintendency 1875)

Accordingly, the Moapa Reservation was under orders to maintain food "caches" – not only to offset potential food scarcity on the reservation, but to serve as a store and inducement for relocation to those bands still living off the reservation. Efforts to promote relocation to the reservation were aided by unusually heavy snows that stayed on the mountains long after the winter of 1873-1874, curtailing subsistence tasks in mountainous regions and causing hardship that drove some families to kin and food caches at Moapa (Ingalls 1874d).

The idea of moving at least the Utah's Southern Paiutes to the Uintah Reservation in northern Utah was still being seriously considered as an administrative convenience. In an effort to effectively depopulate the remaining Paiute hinterland of the region, Paiute headmen from Utah and elsewhere were told that they had only two choices: relocate to Uintah or relocate to Moapa. Almost uniformly, those who relocated chose to relocate to Moapa at this time.[91] While some Shoshone and mixed Shoshone communities found their way to Moapa, Indian agencies made efforts to remove Western Shoshones living in the region to distant Uintah or Fort Hall instead (Ingalls 1874e).

Non-resident Indians also commonly gathered at Moapa in these early years. Correspondence from this period makes frequent mention of non-resident Paiute bands coming and going at Moapa, many with kinship ties to residents, and some eventually being enticed to settle there. Within a year of its founding, Moapa agents realized that they were providing services to a much larger population than just Moapa residents, including all of those tribal communities that claimed some kinship ties to Moapa – ostensibly much of the Southern Paiute world. By January of 1875, the Paiute Agency at Moapa reported to be providing supplies to "over nineteen hundred [Southern Paiutes] scattered throughout S.E. California, S. Nevada, Utah and Arizona." As he explained,

> Many of these Indians come frequently to the reservation and a good part of the wheat raised by the Indians on the Reservation has been and will continue to be shared with these visitors, and the amount now "cached" will probably be exhausted before the close of winter.
> (Barnes 1875a; emphasis in original)

As the reservation took shape, federal authorities attempted to accomplish the effective depopulation of Southern Paiute populations in the study area and elsewhere, seeking to leverage tribal relocation to Moapa, except in those places where the Paiute community continued to serve essential economic roles in the non-Indian community. Councils were held with numerous Southern Paiute and Western Shoshone bands through the mid-1870s, attempting to win favor and encourage relocation to reservations in the region, principally Moapa. Writing in 1875, George Ingalls noted,

> at these several councils, the Commissioners distributed blankets, hats, shirts, shoes, cloth for pants and coats for Indians, and dresses for women and children, also kettles for cooking; to enable those to farm where little patches of land could be secured – we gave hoes, shovels and axes.
> (Ingalls 1875b)

Paiute communities tied to various mining and agricultural centers were given special dispensation and were often allowed to stay in place, ostensibly under the authority of the Indian agents at Moapa. Though in practice, agents' responsibilities were negligible, and consisted largely of providing reports on these outlying populations to the Office of Indian Affairs. Outposts persisted outside of the study area, such as the Saint George and Cedar City Paiutes of Utah. Despite occasional military pressures to remove these communities to Moapa, they were already of such importance to local non-Indian economies that their persistence was generally unchallenged by civil authorities.

In the more isolated region of the Shivwits Plateau, some Shivwits appear to have gone to Moapa in the mid-1870s, though most Shivwits resisted relocation and others soon

returned from Moapa. Those remaining on the Arizona Strip increasingly relied on Mormon support in the form of odd jobs and begging. This relationship between the two entities continued in this fashion until the establishment of the Shivwits Reservation in 189I (Holt 2006: 35). There is also evidence to suggest that Paiute "refugees" displaced from core EuroAmerican settlement areas retreated to the Shivwits Plateau and joined kin in the Shivwits Band. The population of the relatively isolated Shivwits and Uinkarets groups decreased in the next two decades due to relocations, disease, and displacement from resource lands, but at least one significant Shivwits village group had managed to survive in the southern end of their territory.

Moapa's centrality in federal plans for Southern Paiute removal did not ensure its success. Despite the great ambitions for the new reservation, in truth it sat in the backwaters of the Indian Affairs bureaucracy and was severely underfunded. The Moapa agency reported that it was unable to pay its bills in 1874-1875, creating tension with the few farms and suppliers who could be relied upon in this remote area (Geib 1874). A school was established for Paiute children by 1874, but soon had to close for lack of funds - "a good intention starved out" by chronic underfunding (Geib 1874). The school was reopened in 1875, but lingered for decades with very modest financial support (Barnes 1875e). Indian agents complained bitterly of their funding situation, who sought "more liberal provision" lest the Indians in their charge be "nearly wrecked and on the point of starvation" and might opt to abandon the reservation altogether (Barnes 1875e).

Simultaneously, resident non-Indians created additional challenges to agency operations. While the scattered white settlers who had occupied the Moapa Valley had mixed responses to the creation of the reservation, some agreed to surrender their tentative land and water rights immediately upon its establishment; others held on tenaciously. Soon it became clear to the Moapa agents that the influence of these settlers was compromising the integrity of the reservation community. Indians and non-Indians alike reported abuses of arriving Indians, undermining Indian Affairs efforts to promote Paiute relocation to the new reservation. Settlers were reported to be introducing new vices to arriving Indians, such as alcohol, while also seeking to draw food from Agency stores. George Ingalls took the issue directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.,

> It is very important to have the present settlers now on the reservation compensated for their claims and removed; some of them are in a pitiable condition, having neither money or provisions and but one of them any crop for future use. The settlers seriously embarrass the management of the reservation in many ways, and if removed, there would be but little trouble in making the reservation a great success and with but comparative small cost to the government.[92]
> (Ingalls 1874e; emphasis in original)

Mining also threatened to encroach on the new reservation. The development of commercial salt mines in and around the traditional Indian salt mining district near the Virgin-Colorado River confluence threatened the stability of the fledgling reservation. At first opposing their development, the Indian agency soon began to promote tribal labor in these mines due to a lack of other employment alternatives (though the mines were short-lived due to a variety of factors including distance to markets).[93]

Yet there were other challenges to the Paiute Reservation that would prove even more imposing than these administrative matters. Nevada political interests had balked at the development of this extensive Paiute Reservation, noting that it included a smattering of preexisting non-Indian mining and land claims, as well as potential resource extraction areas such as the salt mines on the lower Virgin River. Despite warnings of crowding, potential tribal insurrection, and the likely failure of federal policies supporting Paiute relocation, Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada led a legislative effort to dramatically reduce the size of the reservation. Initiating his legislative effort almost immediately after the issuance of Grant's 1874 executive order, Stewart pushed his proposal through Congress without a hearing. By March of 1875, he had succeeded in passing a resolution reducing the entire reservation to 1000 acres, "in such manner as not to include the claim of any settler or miner" (18 Stat., 445; Appendix A). Secretary of Interior C. Delano confirmed the selection and reissued federal land for the reservation on July 3, 1875. The federal government considered the lands then removed from within the larger 1874 reservation as effectively "ceded" by the Southern Paiutes at this time, though, once again, the legislation said nothing explicit on this point.

With the reduction of the reservation, the concept of gathering all the Southern Paiutes at Moapa began to unravel. Relocations to the reservation continued, often to consolidate families and bands that had been spread between the reservation and outlying communities, but efforts to recruit additional Paiute populations to the reservation had largely ceased by the end of the decade. Instead, Indian agents set to the urgent task of supporting the resident population at Moapa, and promoting the cultivation of this much-reduced reservation. With a small and arid land base, Moapa agents sought to develop a very lean but efficient agricultural enterprise. Irrigation infrastructure and farmlands formerly in Mormon use were quickly targeted for redevelopment, to the extent that limited budgets would allow. [94] Despite limited resources, Indian agents also sought to retool the elaborate subsistence traditions of Moapa's residents, seeking to impart introduced agricultural traditions and sedentary lifestyles fundamentally different from what the Paiute had known previously.[95]

External fiscal oversight of Moapa's Indian agents was negligible and the reservation's administrators became plagued by corruption that lasted into the early 1900s (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976: 98). Services were limited and infrastructure projects languished. Conditions deteriorated so badly on the reservation that many families began to migrate back to unoccupied portions of their former territories. Conflicts

between Paiutes, miners, and the military off-reservation continued intermittently, complicated by the discontinuation of relocations to Moapa. Military authorities briefly attempted to assume the administration of Moapa, but the Office of Indian Affairs was able to repel these efforts.[96]

Indian agents made appeals for a re-expansion of the Moapa Reservation to counteract this reverse migration, but with little success. One of these requests came from Nevada Indian Agent James Spencer. In 1880 Spencer toured the reservations of the region and reported that conditions at Moapa were far worse than other reservations in his district,

> I visited that locality last February and laid off, by metes and bounds, a tract of land above and one below, and including the present reserve, and recommended this enlarged reservation to be set aside by Executive order… No action, of which I am apprised, has yet been taken on my recommendation, and as a consequence the Indians are scattered over the surrounding country for 200 miles around, eking out a precarious existence by working, begging, root-digging, and insect-eating—a life not of their choice, but forced upon them for lack of a protected reservation equipped with a very few of the necessary appliances for commencing the work of tilling the soil.[97]
> (Spencer 1880)

The population of Moapa was in rapid decline, as changes in diet, reduced mobility, enforced social changes, and poverty all took their toll. Due to widespread mismanagement at Moapa, the Southern Paiutes had to seek a livelihood off the reservation. A lack of development and employment opportunities at Moapa created little incentive to stay, and Indian agents did not effectively prohibit relocation to off-reservation communities. Consequently growing Indian communities, rooted in pre-contact Paiute settlements, attached themselves to non-Indian settlements outside the reservation. Paiute families settled at the margins of white settlements, places that used to be independent Paiute settlements only a generation or two before. The Utah and northern Arizona Southern Paiutes, for instance, became more dependent on the Mormon settlements in those states.

These Paiute communities living outside of Moapa were increasingly neglected by federal agents. Kaibab Paiutes, for example, had by and large stayed in their traditional territory within the Arizona Strip during the late 1800s, but were left destitute by Mormon encroachment and a lack of attention from the federal government. In an 1880 letter to John Wesley Powell, Jacob Hamblin described the plight of the Kaibab Paiutes, including those found near the Mt. Trumbull area of the Monument,

> The Kanab or Kaibab Indians are in very destitute circumstances; fertile places are now being occupied by the white population, thus cutting off

> all their means of subsistence except game, which you are aware is quite limited…As cold winter is now approaching and seeing them gathering around their campfires, and hearing them talk over their sufferings, I felt that it is no more than humanity requires, of me to communicate this to you. There are about 40 families including those we visited near Mt. Trumble [sic]. It being improbable that any appropriation could be made in their behalf at this time, I should esteem it a great favor if you could secure some surplus merchandise for the immediate relief of their utter destitution.
> (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 22)

Powell replied to Hamblin that Paiutes outside of the reservations, including Kaibab, needed to relocate in order to receive attention from the federal government,

> it will be impossible to do anything for the Indians in that region, except through one of the Agencies—that is they must either go to the Uinta or to the Muddy Valley [reservations] so as to be included in the estimates annually sent from those places. Under the present Administration Indians who do not report at Agencies are not assisted, the object being to get them together at such places in order that they may be taught carefully, and given homes in severalty as soon as they are competent to take care of themselves.
> (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 22)

So, while the federal government largely ignored Paiutes in the Arizona Strip, periodic efforts to remove Paiutes in the vicinity of Moapa back to the reservation targeted those Indians who were not somehow engaged in the non-Indian economy. In part as a result of that, all these independent Southern Paiute outposts eventually had to rely on white settlements as a source of income, usually by providing labor for ranches and farms (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a; Euler 1966).

In 1885 Nevada Superintendent of Indian Affairs W.D.C. Gibson visited Moapa, and reported that the Southern Paiute population of the reservation was shrinking rapidly. An estimate the year before had placed the Nevada population at 600. In one year the farmer-in-charge had reduced his estimate to 157, only 24 of whom resided full-time on the reservation. The others were reported to be located as follows: "At Bunkerville, 30; Saint Thomas, 35; Las Vegas, 23; Pioche and Panaca, 25; Hico, 20." Gibson recommended closing the reservation altogether,

> On account of the small number residing on the reserve…I have recommended that said reserve be abandoned, or segregated from this

> agency and that all the property be sold, or allotted to the Indians who reside there permanently.
> (Gibson 1885: 369)

Action was not taken on this request, and the Moapa population persisted in much reduced form, holding on to their traditional lands and cultivating crops on irrigated farms.

Meanwhile, developments in the Arizona Strip and southern Utah were underway in the late 1880s and early 1890s as Mormon and other non-native settlement continued to increase in the region. Notably, in the late 1880s, Anthony W. Ivins, an Arizona Strip cattleman, Mormon Church leader and public official from Saint George, purchased property on the Shivwits Plateau in an area known as Mojave Ranch. The Shivwits had inadvertently lost this land when they "sold" the water rights of the land to the Mojave Land and Cattle Company. Because of this, Anthony Ivins was under the impression that Shivwits had sold their lands to Mormon settlers and thus should be removed from the area (Brown 2011: 97). Upon purchasing the land from the cattle company, Ivins established a successful cattle operation that partially displaced Shivwits from springs, hunting grounds, and plant gathering areas in their traditional territory within what is today the Monument. In response, some Shivwits that lived near his ranch in northern Arizona occasionally raided his cattle (Holt 2006: 40; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 113). According to an undated account from Ivins, himself,

> It at once became evident that ranching could not be successfully carried on while the Shevwits remained on the land, the right to which they had sold to others (Mohave Land and Cattle Company). They became insolent, frequently killed cattle for food, and when remonstrated with replied that the country was theirs, and that the white man, with his flocks and herds, should move away, and leave them in peaceful possession.
> (in Holt 2006: 40-41)

As the cattle raiding continued through the late 1880s, Ivins began to pressure the federal government to remove the Shivwits from what is today Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. Ivins brought the Shivwits' lack of federal oversight to the attention of Indian Affairs authorities, lobbying for their removal to land on the Santa Clara River and away from his land. His lobbying was effective, and Congress appropriated $40,000 in 1891 for the purpose (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 113). This was the first official act, on the part of the United States government, in the interest of Utah's Southern Paiute populations (Austin et al. 2005: 25). Ivins was appointed to be the "special disbursing agent" to the Shivwits, a post he retained for two years, overseeing the use of these assets and their relocation to Santa Clara. With these federal funds, Ivins bought land on the Santa Clara River, as well as teams,

wagons, and farming tools so that the Shivwits and other Paiutes moved there might begin farming. Ivins arranged for the fencing of the land and the establishment of a small school. He then arranged for the relocation of the Shivwits of the Shivwits Plateau – now within the Monument – to these lands, along with a small number of Paiutes from the Gunlock and Saint George areas. As the lands within their newly established reservation were largely non-arable, a number Shivwits remained in or returned to Parashant to work wage-labor jobs (Brown 2011: 97). Others, however, migrated to the new reservation. Uinkarets, which were also being systematically pushed out of their territory, also began to migrate to the Santa Clara area, occasionally returning to their territory on the Arizona Strip. By this time, Tonoquints and Paroosits, the original occupants of the Santa Clara Valley, had already left the area or succumbed to disease (Holt 2006: 41; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 112-113; Austin et al. 2005: 25).

During the decade of the 1890s, while Ivins mobilized his efforts to relocate Arizona and Utah Paiutes living within the Grand Canyon-Parashant region, the federal government continued, in large part, to neglect these populations of Southern Paiutes. One area where the BIA did take an interest in the Indian populations, in general, was education. This focus on education spurred the establishment of the first day school for regional Paiutes in 1898 at present day Shivwits, where Ivins was working to relocate Paiutes. The Shebits Day School, as it was called, operated in this location for about five years until it closed in 1903, when the Shivwits Reservation was officially established. The school opened up the following year as a boarding school at its new location in Panguitch (Holt 2006: 37; Austin et al. 2005: 25).

Following years of neglect, the start of the twentieth century saw the federal government begin to formally intervene in the activities of the Southern Paiutes of Utah and consequently those that had been forced out of what is today the Monument and nearby portions of Arizona. On November 1, 1903, the secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior established an official Shivwits Reservation on 100 acres of land that Ivins had initially purchased for the Southern Paiute of the region and the location of the Shebits Day School at that time. Even after the establishment of the reservation, however, Shivwits was plagued by problems, especially surrounding water rights to the Santa Clara River. During this time, the U.S. government did little to aid the disadvantaged Nuwuvi population at Shivwits, and the local Mormon community remained largely uninvolved with the struggles of their Paiute neighbors (Holt 2006: 50).

Nearly a decade and a half after it was first established the Shivwits Reservation was officially expanded by executive order on April 21, 1916 by President Woodrow Wilson. While the 1916 executive order had provided for the expansion of lands for the reservation, little attention had been given to water needs. As of the early 20th century, the reservation had rights to only 1.38 cubic feet per second of water - scarcely enough to irrigate crops, let alone supply a significant settlement with livestock. The

reservation was expanded on May 28, 1937, to 28,160 acres in response to concerns about the viability of the small reservation, but very little of the added land was suitable for farming or home sites. Low agricultural potential, repeated conflicts over water rights, and frequent problems with cattle trespass on the reservation induced many residents to leave the reservation, seeking wage work in Enterprise, Saint George, Cedar City, Moapa and other towns. Nuwuvi residents of the reservation were also highly susceptible to disease, such as the Spanish Influenza and eye infections (Kelly and Fowler 1986: 389; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 113-115; LaVatta 1936; Austin et al. 2005: 26).

Meanwhile, the late 1800s and early 1900s saw many changes to the western side of the Arizona Strip in Kaibab territory. When the Mormon missions in Moapa Valley were abandoned in 1871, Mormon settlers commenced a second wave of encroachment into Kaibab territory, and Kaibab Paiutes were pushed further west into the Kanab region. Increased resource competition and disease outbreaks that resulted from non-native settlement contributed greatly to the decline of the Kaibab population (Stoffle and Evans 1976: 181-84). The resurgence of issues relating to Mormon and other EuroAmerican settlement in the region drove Kaibab Paiutes, whom had largely maintained a presence in their traditional lands, to begin choosing to leave their traditional lands in search of subsistence. This departure was often temporarily, but many remained near Kanab, and several families settled at Moccasin Spring to the southwest. Kaibab Paiutes in the area of Moccasin Spring established a small farm in the early 1900s, with assistance from the Mormon Church.

In 1907, the Department of the Interior made a recommendation through a departmental order to create a reservation around this settlement. The land was temporarily withdrawn from the public domain for this purpose by an act of Congress in 1910, and approved by executive order in 1913. In turn, the land withdrawal was made permanent, with provisions for an expanded land base of some 120,413 acres, by an executive order dated July 17, 1917. By 1936 a population of some 93 Paiutes lived on the reservation, most being families associated with the original Moccasin Spring settlement. This population became the nucleus of the modern Kaibab Band of Paiutes (LaVatta 1936; Kelly and Fowler 1986: 389).

Even with the establishment of both the Shivwits and Kaibab Reservations, in the early 20th century, the Arizona Strip and Utah Paiutes still consisted of a number of largely independent communities, generally poor but persistent, with very limited connections to the federal government. Writing in 1936, Utah researcher William Palmer kept notes on what he and others were being told by the Paiutes associated with the Cedar City community,

> Government no help to most of them, a few young men given work on roads, a few old Indians get 3-4 dollars a month. It will buy coffee, a little tobacco and about half enough flour to eat, not enough to buy clothing or shoes…They had only a small piece of bread each and water to drink at

> both meals – nothing more…They said bread was all they had to eat…They said they had to buy a license in the fall to kill deer. The agent watched them too closely and they were afraid to steal deer. They have no guns anyway to shoot deer with. They do not always have money to borrow guns to hunt deer and some can't get a gun or buy cartridges. (Palmer 1936)

The constituent communities that are now part of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah had no federal recognition at this time, and were only occasionally visited by Indian agents, whose jurisdiction included many Indian communities scattered across southern Utah. Accordingly, Palmer reported that government assistance had not arrived to develop housing. Well into the early 20th century, the population remained semi-migratory and still dwelled within brush shelters on the margins of white settlements as well as at the few remaining resource outposts. He concluded after talking with area tribes that there was considerable poverty and distrust of government among these populations, as "they make promises and then go away and are never heard from again" (Palmer 1936).

In this context, the remaining Paiute communities of Utah and far northwestern Arizona persisted as largely autonomous populations, linked to one another by kinship and various social, economic, and ceremonial obligations. Southern Paiutes on each of the reservation communities in northwestern Arizona and Utah were still gathering with one another, as well as their Paiute relatives in southern Nevada, for group social, economic, and ceremonial activities, and intermarriage and movement between reservation communities was common (Kelly 1964: 95 ff.; Sapir 1912). Each village of the early 20th century was centered within a traditional band territory, with each community consisting primarily, but seldom exclusively, of descendants from the band originally occupying that territory. By this time, the foundation of the modern Shivwits, Kaibab and Moapa tribes were largely in place.

SOUTHERN PAIUTES BEYOND GRAND CANYON-PARASHANT

Though the preceding section intersects in many ways with the history of Southern Paiute communities living outside of what is today the Monument, this section briefly turns attention to the Paiute communities living in nearby portions of southwestern Utah and southern Nevada. As preceding sections make clear, these communities possess strong ties to the study area, some possessing subsistence and ceremonial ties to the study area, as well as kinship ties to tribes that formerly lived in what is now the Monument. The sections that follow provide brief synopses of those communities that persisted through the 19th century to become the remaining four constituent bands of the modern Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (excepting Shivwits), as well as the Las Vegas Paiute Tribe, the Pahrump Band of Paiutes, and the Chemehuevi Band of Paiutes.

The Bands of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah

The Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (PITU) is a composite tribe that consists of five Southern Paiute populations, including: the Shivwits Band, the Indian Peaks Band, Cedar City Band, Koosharem Band and the Kanosh Band. While PITU was created by an act of congress in 1980 (25 U.S.C. § 761), the five bands that make up PITU have distinct histories and associated cultures. Each band is discussed, in brief, below.

Indian Peaks Band

The Indian Peaks band is a composite of descendants from what are often called the *Paragoon, Pahquit, Tavatsock* and other bands, who gathered together in this region, rugged mountains close to the Nevada-Utah border, by the late 19th century. The reservation was established by executive order on August 2, 1915, and enlarged in 1921, 1923, and 1924 to a total of 10,240 acres.

In its early years, residents of the Indian Peaks settlement practiced small-scale subsistence farming and gathered pine nuts, which were abundant in the adjacent mountains in good years. While rugged and remote, Indian Peaks offered its residents rare opportunities for independence from the white world, and the Indian Peaks Paiutes remained independent of Mormon social and economic influences longer than other Southern Paiute bands in Utah (Holt 1992: 41-43).

This protected and remote setting came with its own unique challenges, however. The entire reservation was widely reported by Indian agency staff to be rocky and lacking in water, with very little agricultural potential. The reservation reported frequent water shortages and crop failures; infant mortality and disease plagued the reservation at certain times, and it was especially affected by the "Spanish influenza" epidemic of the late 1910s and early 1920s. The very limited Indian Affairs services offered to Utah Indians on small reservations, coupled with the low productivity of reservation lands, fostered a gradual relocation of most Indian Peaks Paiutes to Cedar City, living in the "Indian village" with members of the Cedar Paiute band. In 1936 LaVatta reported only 19 Paiute individuals remaining at Indian Peaks, as this outmigration continued (LaVatta 1936; Holt 1992).

Cedar City Band

The Cedar Paiutes (sometimes referred to as the *Kumoits* or *Wahn-kwits*) historically occupied a homeland that included Cedar Canyon and the valleys associated with Coal Creek. Over time, a number of displaced "refugees" from other Southern Paiute bands, including those in Clark County, joined their kin in Cedar City. Marrying into the Cedar City community, they became inextricably tied to the Cedar City Band. As the EuroAmerican community of Cedar City expanded, the land base of the Cedar Paiutes was reduced to an 11-acre tract of land on Coal Creek near the mouth of Cedar Canyon,

which was set aside by the Mormon Church rather than by federal action. The Cedar Paiutes were officially placed under the Moapa Agency jurisdiction when it was established in 1873, but no aid was given to them. Once Moapa was reduced in size and importance in 1875, the agent there no longer held responsibility for administering the Utah Southern Paiutes. Though technically under Utah Superintendency jurisdiction in these early years, the Cedar City Band was often administered by the Mormon Church, which in many ways played the role usually assumed by the Indian agency system. In 1916, both the Cedar City and Shivwits bands were officially placed under the supervision of the Goshute Indian School's superintendent. This had few immediate consequences, however, as the federal government did not have the funds to allow for sustained contact between the superintendent and the widely dispersed bands (Holt 2006: 35-36).

Congress authorized an appropriation of $1,275 on March 2, 1925 for the purchase of nine lots in Cedar City for occupation and use by the Cedar Paiutes, and the funding was appropriated the following year. Simultaneously, in 1925, the Mormon Church induced the Cedar Paiutes to move down the river a short distance to a location near the Cedar City temple, where the Church had purchased land for them. The Mormon Church had organized the purchase of a small farm and a workshop, and facilitated the construction of new houses at this new site. The superintendent of the Kaibab Agency, upon learning of the Mormon purchase, recommended the government take no further action in the matter. The $1,275 was placed in surplus, and no land was purchased by the government. Though the Cedar Paiutes had homes, this action left them without a land base, as the Church retained ownership of the land (Holt 1992; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 128-31).

For a short time in the late 1920s and 1930s, Utah's Paiute Agency was located at Cedar City, and this represented the only time the Cedar Paiutes had direct federal supervision. At this time, the absence of federal trust lands became a barrier to their federal status. The agency superintendent at the time classified the Cedar City Paiutes as members of "scattered bands…Indians allied with no tribe and having no trust property," and were, therefore, "non-wards" unable to "partake of the benefits of appropriations made for support and civilization of Indians"(in Holt 1992: 52). As a result, certain benefits were withheld from the tribe. To further confuse the situation, the Indian Peaks band of Paiutes, considered wards by Indian Affairs, gradually moved to Cedar City, most living in the Indian village with the Cedar City Paiutes (Holt 1992: 53). Still, ironically, when the other Utah Paiute bands were terminated in 1954, the Cedar band was not, allowing for the persistence of the Cedar City Band as an administrative hub of these other bands through the termination period (Holt 1992: 52-72; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 128-31).

Koosharem Band

At contact members of the Koosharem band were probably culturally "transitional" between the Southern Paiutes and Utes, and ranged from Fish Lake in the summer to the area of present-day Escalante in the winter (Holt 1992: 43).[98] The Band lost many of its formal natural resource rights through various mechanisms in the late 19th century, but maintained a small community in Koosharem, Utah that sometimes worked as labor for nearby Mormon settlements. The Koosharem Reservation was established by executive order in 1928 and enlarged in 1937 (Appendix A). Though many residents were of mixed Paiute and Ute ancestry, administration of the reservation was grouped with southwestern Utah Paiutes, and was briefly under the administration of the Cedar City Indian agent as a "Paiute" community. As with some other Utah reservations, federal oversight was in practice negligible, and the reservation and its resources were managed in part by the Mormon Church (Sevier Stake). The Church was trustee of Koosharem water rights until the band sued the Church for those rights in 1958. The vicinity of the reservation offered limited opportunities for wage labor, and band members eventually began to rely on wage labor in nearby Richfield, Utah, including a variety of agricultural jobs. Migration to Richfield, Cedar City, and other nearby communities reduced the proportion of enrollees living on reservation lands through the early 20th century (Holt 1992; Clemmer and Stewart 1986).

Kanosh Band

The Kanosh Band originated from people descended from the Pahvant Indians of the Corn Creek region, who shared both Southern Paiute and Western Ute cultural ties. In 1855 the Kanosh people settled at the mouth of Spanish Fork River. In time this community split into two groups – one group, under considerable pressure from Indian agents, relocated to the Uintah Basin with other Western Ute groups, and the other group remained in the south and aligned themselves with the Southern Paiute people living in the vicinity of Meadow, Kanosh, and Richfield, Utah. A reservation was created for the Kanosh band by executive order in February of 1929 and expanded in 1935 and 1937. Many residents continued to identify as Ute rather than Paiute, but intermarriage between the two groups was extensive. Like the Koosharem Reservation, the Kanosh Reservation was administered alongside Southern Paiute bands of southwestern Utah, and was briefly part of the Cedar City Agency, giving it even stronger Southern Paiute connections (Holt 1992: 43-44; Clemmer and Stewart 1986: 531).

Las Vegas, Pahrump and Chemehuevi

As discussed in previous sections, the identity of the "Las Vegas band" at the time of contact has been a much debated topic by a number of sources, including Kelly (1934), Steward (1937b; 1938) and Powell and Ingalls (1873). The records of the early Las Vegas Mission suggest that Las Vegas was not only a tribal settlement in its own right, but was

a stopover and gathering point for a number of smaller "economic clusters" or bands traveling through the region; however, even as early as the 1850s, the area was sometimes avoided during periods of heavy emigrant traffic.[99] Available accounts from this very early period attest to a lot of "passing through" by other Paiute, Shoshone, and Mohave groups in particular – groups that were not always from the area, but from ethnolinguistically associated populations living some distance away. Cumulatively, the diversity of the peoples identified in the vicinity of Las Vegas suggests strong connections, not only with Chemehuevi and Mohave to the south, but also Great Basin tribes from the north, such as Shoshones and perhaps Utes (Jenson 1926).

In June of 1855, in response to Brigham Young's call, appointed Mormon Mission leader, William Bringhurst, established a mission on the Vegas Creek, several miles east of the main springs, which was the core of tribal settlement in the immediate area. This mission was to be a base for work among regional Paiute populations. Small ranches were developed in association with the impromptu settlement in support of the mission, so that the geographical footprint of Mormon occupation was substantially larger than the small mission settlement might suggest, and operations required the recruitment of labor from nearby tribal communities. This early mission provided the first point of regular and sustained interaction between EuroAmerican and Indian communities within the vicinity of Las Vegas, providing white settlers with their first foothold in the region and introducing area tribes to new ideas and technologies (Lyman 2004; Bailey 1965:339).

Though historically significant, the Las Vegas mission was not especially successful. The mission post struggled for two years in its agricultural efforts but low crop productivity, poor morale, and tensions with area tribes resulted in Mormon abandonment of the mission in 1857 (Lyman 2004). [100] This mission, however, served as the foundation for Mormon claims to the area, and would contribute to the establishment of a mission at Moapa a few years later. While the mission departed in 1857, a small number of settlers remained, and their ranches, formerly tied to the mission, persisted as independent operations in the area. These ranches relied significantly on Paiute labor. As the white population slowly grew, more Southern Paiutes settled in the area in search of work. Over time, there is evidence that these ranches drew families from not only the Las Vegas band but also a number of Paiutes from Moapa and other settlements, who gathered at traditional Las Vegas band encampments adjacent to these ranches.[101] Also prominent among those who worked at these ranches were Chemehuevi families and individuals, who possessed longstanding ties to the Las Vegas region and returned in part for paid employment at these ranches.[102] The multi-band community that emerged, with a Las Vegas Paiute core but considerable admixture from other tribes, would serve as the foundation for the modern Las Vegas Band (Alley 1977; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a).

By the early 1870s, Las Vegas and Pahrump are depicted as enduring Paiute settlement cores, lying alongside fledgling non-Indian communities. Surveyor A.A. Humphreys

described the residents of Las Vegas and Pahrump communities in positive terms, as "very friendly and quite intelligent" and living peacefully alongside small white settlements.[103] These would become the nuclei of the modern Las Vegas and Pahrump Paiute communities of today. Meanwhile, a Chemehuevi community was re-establishing itself in Chemehuevi Valley, after having been pushed out of this traditional homeland in the 1850s when the U.S. government declared their lands public domain. By 1885, many Chemehuevi had returned to the Valley; however their numbers were greatly diminished in comparison to pre-contact times. It was not until 1907 that the U.S. government established the Chemehuevi Valley Reservation, which encompassed 36,000 acres of land, though the tribe's status was revoked and they were relocated to Parker soon thereafter (Chemehuevi Indian Tribe 2014).[104] The Spring Mountains of Nevada are commonly described as a holdout of seasonal Paiute settlement, where Las Vegas, Pahrump, and other Paiute and Shoshone communities continued to gather, remaining out of EuroAmerican control much later than adjacent valleys.[105]

Through the late nineteenth century, the Las Vegas Paiute community continued to develop with negligible federal oversight, though remaining under the *de facto* jurisdiction of the Moapa Indian agent. The principal settlement of Paiutes on the edge of Las Vegas by this time was located on a ranch belonging to the Stewart family. In 1911 Helen Stewart deeded a ten-acre lot of the old Las Vegas ranch, sitting roughly one mile north of the growing downtown area, to the federal government as official Indian colony land. The sale was to provide land for an Indian day school and to furnish homes for the Indian laborers working in and around the town of Las Vegas. A few months later, the government paid Stewart $500 and formally accepted the land, holding the title for the land on behalf of this Indian "outpost" but not placing it in trust due to their ambiguous relationship with Moapa (Alley 1977: 9; Las Vegas Paiute Tribe n.d.; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 120). The Las Vegas Colony remained under the loose jurisdiction of the Moapa Indian agent, and a day school opened at the Las Vegas Colony in 1912 but closed the following year (Alley 1977: 11; Las Vegas Paiute Tribe n.d.; LaVatta 1936: 8).

While still maintaining a number of traditional practices, the Las Vegas Paiute were somewhat more directly involved in the cash economy by the early 20th century than their Moapa kin. As one 1911 Indian agent report noted, "The Indians at Las Vegas work for ranchers, the railroad and others, at good wages, and all able bodied Indians are self-supporting" (Las Vegas Indian Tribe n.d.). In 1918 Laurel B. Sandall, Superintendent of the Moapa River School, commented that there were large numbers of Paiute Indians moving to join the Las Vegas Colony from other Paiute outposts, as Las Vegas' growth outstripped other frontier-era settlements (Sandall 1918). The Las Vegas Colony became a stopping-over point for a growing number of Paiutes, linked to preexisting Las Vegas Paiute residents by cultural and kinship ties, who gathered there for employment. Similar reports emerged from Pahrump, where the Pahrump tribal community continued to exist alongside the growing non-Native community, working

as wage-laborers for ranches and other commercial enterprises, drawing Paiutes from the surrounding hinterland as they sought employment and continued to lose access to lands and resources in the desert hinterland (McCracken 1990a, 1990b).

During the 1920s and 1930s, supervision of the Las Vegas Paiutes by the government was almost nonexistent. In 1926 there were approximately 50 Indians who made the small reserve their "headquarters." As urban Las Vegas began to surround their settlement, these families supported themselves through labor in and around Las Vegas, with men working on nearby ranches and women involved in domestic work. By the late 1920s, younger Paiute children began to attend public schools in Las Vegas, and most of the older children attended Stewart Indian School, a boarding school outside Carson City. While the Las Vegas Colony, like their Moapa and Pahrump relatives, were centered on developed communities, the utilization of traditional resource and ceremonial sites persisted in the hinterlands (Rockwell 1968).

HUALAPAI TRANSITIONS

The Hualapai remained relatively isolated from European and American contact until encounter with exploring expeditions in the 1850s, when they encountered U.S. Army forces searching for railroad routes, and later building a road, through northern Arizona. The expeditions of Sitgreaves (1851), Whipple (1853-1854), Aubrey (1854), Beale (1857-1858) and Ives (1858) reported varying contacts with Hualapai bands they met, both peaceful and otherwise. Hualapai contact with whites began to increase with the opening of the Beale wagon road through northern Arizona in 1858. California Volunteers, who re-garrisoned Fort Mojave in 1863, discovered gold near Prescott, which brought large numbers of miners rushing into northwestern Arizona. Hostilities quickly developed between Hualapais and the settlers and miners rushing into the area. When a white freight operator killed the revered leader Wauba Yuma in 1866, Hualapai retaliation by the western and southern bands was swift and fierce (U.S. Senate 1936: 91-92).

The "Walapai War" fought between the tribe and the U.S. Army from 1866 to 1869 was a resistance movement that the Hualapai fought, in part, to squelch non-native encroachment into some of the remote areas in their traditional territory south of the Colorado River, including Havasu Canyon, Peach Springs Canyon, Grapevine Wash, and Granite Park (Stoffle et al. 2000: 15). U.S. military concern about the war reached a fever pitch when, for a time, it seemed that the Southern Paiute were taking up arms with the Hualapai, threatening a much larger conflict. In fact, during the 1860s, as encroachment into riverine areas in the Grand Canyon-Parashant area and the larger Arizona Strip increased, Shivwits and other Southern Paiutes began to retreat south of the Colorado to join Hualapai kin. When settlers moved farther south into Hualapai territory Southern Paiute fought alongside the Hualapai resistance fighters (Stoffle et al. 2000: 15). As noted in the 1867 Annual Report of the Secretary of War,

> [The Hualapai] have also affected with a spirit of hostility the Piutes, heretofore friendly, and there is danger of this hostility extending up the Colorado and to the Salt Lake and Los Angeles road…The country is… very much broken, and the Indians very active, and have become well armed…the mining operations seemed to have been, at least for the present, suspended or abandoned at El Dorado, and the trade to Salt Lake, by way of the Colorado, seemed to be broken off.
> (McDowell 1867: 127)

With a large number of men, detailed knowledge of vast landscapes, and access to firearms from a broad trade network, this multi-tribal force briefly threatened the U.S. military with defeat on multiple fronts. Hualapai efforts were supported by their elaborate trade networks, which crisscrossed the Colorado River area including the study area. Dobyns and Euler (1976: 35) describe how Hualapai leaders of the 1860s, responding to the American threat, "energetically assembled buckskins to swap to their Cataract Canyon band trading partners for Navajo blankets. These they traded to Moapa Band Paiutes for guns and ammunition obtained from Mormons in Nevada and Utah. [They] also traded blankets to Chemehuevis near Cottonwood Island for horses. (Dobyns and Euler 1976: 35)

At the height of the war, some Hualapai bands were induced to relocate to the Colorado River Indian Reservation in 1868, joining friendly Mohave and other tribes, while staying out of the fray. Experiencing poor crop yields and food shortages, they soon departed back to Hualapai country. The continued movements of tribal members of uncertain sympathies in and out of the reservation resulted in calls for a standing military presence there (Feudge 1868: 138).

The principal campaigns lasted until 1869 when the two Hualapai leaders, Cherum and Leve Leve surrendered. The war resulted in the internment of surrendered Hualapais first at Camp Beale Springs (Fort Mojave), from 1871 to 1874, and then at La Paz on the Colorado River Indian Reservation (McGuire 1983; Dobyns and Euler 1970; U.S. Senate 1936: 93; Arizona Superintendency 1872: 58; Tonner 1873: 284). These prisoners left the reservation and returned to Hualapai territory; despite objections from military and civilian authorities, they were not pursued. The episode was described by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his annual report to Congress,

> Eighteen months ago the Hualapais were removed from Beale's Springs, in Arizona, to the southern part of the Colorado River reserve, in the vicinity of a military post established to prevent their return to their old haunts. On the approach of the planting season, the agent removed them without difficulty thirty miles nearer the agency, with the intention of compelling them to labor in return for rations; but soon after, owing largely to bad influences from without, they suddenly left the reservation

> in a body. The commander of the post refused to pursue, and the Indians having been supplied with arms by that officer, the agent was powerless to prevent their escape. It has been decided, in accordance with the recommendation of the general in command, to allow them to remain in their old range during good behavior. They number 620.
> (1875: 63)

During the short absence from when Hualapais were first relocated out of their traditional territory to Fort Mojave then to La Paz before returning to their territory, white ranchers and miners had taken over the springs and started herding cattle in the Hualapai's homeland, making their traditional subsistence activities impractical. Cattle grazing had degraded the vegetation, destroying traditional Hualapai subsistence, and the land was unsuited to agriculture (McGuire 1983: 27). Despite the conditions of the lands in their homeland, Hualapai retained strong connections to their territory, and began pressing the U.S. government for rights to the land in the form of a reservation (Shepherd 2008: 23). In response, a 518-acre reservation (60 square miles) was created for the Havasupai by executive order in 1880. Then, on July 8, 1881, Gen. Wilcox issued an order setting apart a tract of land of nearly one million acres "as a military reservation for the subsistence and better control of the Hualapai Indians" (U.S. Senate 1936: 144). The executive order was signed by the president in early 1883 establishing this tract of 1142 square miles for the use and occupancy of the Hualapai Indians.

Despite the establishment of the reservation, the Hualapai continued to struggle as the twentieth century approached. Non-native settlers steadily moved into the territory and claim lands and springs as their own, further stressing the livelihood of those Hualapais on the reservation. As a result, most tribal members left the reservation to pursue wage labor in nearby mines, ranches, and railroad towns between Kingman and Seligman (McGuire 1983:). Educational pressures were also a source of stress on Hualapais living on the reservation at this time. As with Southern Paiute and other Native American populations in the late 1800s, Hualapai children living on the reservation were frequently sent away from their parents and their homes to border schools throughout the region. Hualapai parents petitioned the BIA for a regional school for their children, as young Hualapais sent away to boarding school were contracting diseases and bringing them back to the reservation or dying away from home. In 1902, the BIA complied with the request and opened an Indian school fifteen miles from the reservation (Shepherd 2008: 27).

During this period of strife in the Hualapai homeland, Hualapai, along with other groups including Southern Paiute, turned to spirituality to address the difficulties of everyday life in the nineteenth century. The Ghost Dance movement of the late 1800s was an important venue in which Hualapai joined with Southern Paiute to seek solutions to their pressing issues. According to Hualapai oral tradition, Hualapai peoples learned the Ghost Dance from Southern Paiute residing near Saint George,

Utah, specifically Shivwits and Santa Clara bands. In 1881, the Hualapai joined the Southern Paiute in Chemehuevi Valley to participate in the Ghost Dane there. Then, in August of 1889, the Hualapais held the first of three Ghost Dance ceremonies at Grass Springs, Arizona, located south of the Colorado River and somewhat west of the Monument. Both Hualapais and Southern Paiutes, facilitated these ceremonies and worked together to prepare and provide necessary food resources for the large gathering (Stoffle et al. 2000: 16).

Entering into the twentieth century did not bring improvements to reservation life for the Hualapai population. According to McMillen (2004), in 1923, the million-acre reservation was only home to twenty percent of the tribe. This is because non-native settlers were in possession of most of the natural resources needed to sustain an acceptable level of subsistence (in Shepherd 2008: 26). However, during the Depression, many of these settlers living on reservation land and occupying water sources and other natural resources were induced to leave the reservation to search for work. With the decrease in the non-native population, many Hualapais returned to the reservation to work for the Civilian Conservation Corps and stayed there after the program was terminated.

Today, the Hualapai of the historical period are represented by the Hualapai Indian Tribe of the Hualapai Indian Reservation, Arizona. This group is an amalgamation of the Northeastern Pais that occupied a vast territory comprising six million acres in northwestern Arizona. It was not until non-native encroachment that a singular identity was forced upon these populations, as EuroAmerican administrators categorized them under the Anglicized name of one Pai band, the *Hual: Amat Pa*.[106] As the century progressed, Northeastern Pais eventually accepted the term Hualapai, as it had political and functional value in dealings with the U.S. government (Shepherd 2008: 21). U.S. intervention in the categorization of the Pais did not end there, however; as Dobyns and Euler maintain that the political process of disaggregating the Havasupai from the other Hualapai bands occurred during the period of military control (1970: 69).[107]

ZUNI TRANSITIONS

As with many other Native American nations, the nineteenth century brought many changes to the Zuni way of life. Since their arrival in the region, the Franciscan missionaries from Spain persisted in their efforts to maintain a missionary presence among the Zuni until 1820, when they withdrew from the area. The missionaries left for reasons related to both continual Zuni opposition to missionization, as well as risks associated with Apache and Navajo raiding parties, which increased due to the withdrawal of Spanish troops after the 1821 Mexican revolt against Spain (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 474; Woodbury 1979: 472). With the Mexican government now in control of the region, the Zuni remained self-sufficient and highly relevant to the region's trade

network. During the period of Mexican control, from 1821 to 1846, Zuni had no permanent, non-native residents. As the century progressed, however, the amount of foreign travelers in the region increased as gold was discovered in California, and Zuni lay in the path to the west (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 474).

Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, when New Mexico was acquired by the United States, Zuni life began to change exponentially. During the 1850s, several survey parties journeyed to Zuni, and the following decade saw the arrival of the first EuroAmerican resident, A.F. Banta, in 1865. Also during this period, several Catholic missionaries unsuccessfully attempted to establish new missions at Zuni (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 474). The 1870s were a time of increased interest in the Zuni territory on the part of a variety of non-native groups. For example, EuroAmerican traders became an ever-increasing presence in the region, quickly replacing migrant workers hailing from Mexico. Mormon missionaries also showed interest in the region, arriving in 1876 to visit Zuni and its people. Then, in 1877, a Presbyterian mission was established at Zuni, including a school. This mission continued into the following two decades until the U.S. government disbanded it, when it purchased the school (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 475).

While the outside world began to gain a foothold in the region, the Zuni community changed its settlement patterns. In the 1880s, the Zuni people began using their "summer villages" at Ojo Caliente, Nutria and Pescado as year-round settlements. Traditionally, these villages were used for farming during the summertime, and the people returned to Zuni for the winter. By occupying these three villages, and a fourth at Tekapo in the early twentieth century, the Zuni expanded their territory beyond what it incorporated in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (Woodbury 1979: 472).

As Zuni settlements expanded, EuroAmerican influence in the region also increased in the 1880s. Specifically, in 1881, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad arrived in Gallup, a mere forty miles north of Zuni. This led to a major increase in the American presence in Zuni territory. By the 1890s, the amount of EuroAmerican missionaries, traders and officials from the U.S. government was higher than ever before. This had a deep impact on the Zuni community, as the government began to intervene in Zuni economics and politics, particularly in encouraging an increased dependence of Zuni society on non-native traders. Then, in 1898 to 1899, the same smallpox epidemic that was ravaging the Hopi devastated the Zuni population, reportedly killing 282 people in the community (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 474-476). As a result of all of these changes brought to the Zuni people in the nineteenth century, the community was in a vastly different place at the start of the twentieth century.

HOPI TRANSITIONS

Hopi communities first came in contact with Europeans in the mid sixteenth century when the Coronado expedition from Spain crossed through Hopi territory after departing Zuni. Despite this early contact, the Hopi were by-and-large undisturbed by the Spaniards until 1628, when two Spanish priests came to Hopi territory and established missions.[108] From this point into the nineteenth century, the Hopi had a tenuous relationship with Spanish missionaries, settlers and government officials marked by epidemics, Spanish attacks on Hopi villages, and Hopi revolts against Spanish control. During this period, Hopi communities were also plagued by Navajo raids on their villages and lands. These raiding parties only increased with the nineteenth century approaching, as other Native American groups, including the Apache among others, began raiding the Hopi homeland as Spanish control in the region diminished (Thompson 1965: 27-28).

With the arrival of the nineteenth century, Hopi society continued to undergo major transitions largely due to sustained contact with non-native groups that were, themselves, greatly in flux. In 1823, Mexico gained control of the region after its successful revolt against Spain. With its new weak government, Mexico was unable to staunch the ongoing Navajo and other raiding parties that afflicted the region for the next several decades. Then from 1853 to 1854 the Hopi suffered from both a smallpox epidemic and a severe drought, greatly weakening the population, which then was subject to Mormon missionary attempts to relocate the Hopi to Utah. In 1866, Arizona's Indian Agent endeavored to induce the Hopi to relocate to the Tonto Basin, located south of Flagstaff. The following year, some Hopi temporarily left their territory to join Zuni and other pueblos due to increasing hardships related to smallpox epidemics and drought-related famine. Those who had left, however, soon returned to Hopi, bringing with them some elements of Zuni culture, including some pottery styles and ceremonial practices (Thompson 1965: 28).

1868 brought a new series of obstacles for the Hopi peoples, involving the United States government. That year, the U.S. government officially claimed jurisdiction of lands within the Hopi territory (Clemmer 1994: 133). With the end of the Civil War, the U.S. army returned to the west to curb Navajo raids, thereby reopening the region to non-native settlers (Thompson 1965: 28). At this time, the Hopi population had been reduced to a population of roughly 2,400 people as a result of a series of smallpox epidemics and periods of famine. This population was spread out in six villages on one of the three mesas, with the exception of Moenkopi, a "daughter village," which was located thirty-five miles from its "mother village" of Orayvi. Each of the six villages, including Moenkopi and a second daughter village called Shipaulovi, had its village chief (*kikmongwi*), council, war chief and warrior sodality (Clemmer 1994: 133).

At this point, the government back east began showing a growing interest in the Hopi region, and in 1870 the tribe was appointed a Special Agent. By the middle of the 1870s,

Protestant missionaries had established a mission school at Keams Canyon, the site of an important Hopi settlement in the nineteenth century. Then, in 1882, the "Moqui" Reservation was established, encompassing 3,920 square miles. Just five years later, the first government school was established at Keams Canyon.[109] More day schools opened the following decade, and a number of missions of differing denominations were also established in Hopiland at the turn of the century. All through this period, certain Hopi villages remained hostile to foreign control, and violence sporadically erupted in response. Then from 1898 to 1899 the Hopi were subjected to yet another smallpox epidemic bringing them into the twentieth century. The twentieth century brought new challenges to the Hopi, as droughts continued and internal feuding plagued some Hopi populations, especially at Oraibi (Thompson 1965: 29).

Twentieth Century Influences

By the early 20th century, some of the tribes in the vicinity of the study area were settling into the tribal distribution patterns we recognize today, while others were still scattered and largely neglected by the federal government. Shivwits Reservation was established north of what became the Monument's boundaries in southern Utah in November 1903. The Moapa Reservation was still the only reservation in southern Nevada, having been established in 1873. Kaibab Paiutes, with the Mormon Church's assistance, established a small farm settlement in the early 1900s around Moccasin Spring, which was transformed into a federally recognized reservation, approved by executive order in 1913. This settlement became the foundation of the contemporary Kaibab Band of Paiutes (LaVatta 1936; Kelly and Fowler 1986: 389). Aside from Shivwits Band, however, the remaining PITU bands remained without federally recognition and continued to reside scattered throughout southern Utah, with little attention from the federal government.

While the tribal landscape was, to some extent, settling into its modern form in the early twentieth century, the human and physical landscape of the study area and its surroundings was in a state of constant and dramatic flux. Commercial mining continued to play a significant catalytic role in the region, as mines remained an active economic force. For example, the Grand Gulch copper mine, well within the Monument's boundaries, employed both U.S citizens as well as Southern Paiutes from the region into the twentieth century. Southern Paiute women, in addition to men, worked at the mines as cooks and waitresses (Austin et al. 2005: 23). Meanwhile, the agencies that manage these lands were also taking shape and consolidating their holdings. The National Reclamation Act of 1902 funded irrigation projects in sixteen western states and territories, including Arizona, Utah and Nevada (NPS n.d.). The act also created the U.S. Reclamation Service, housed within the U.S. Geological Service, to administer the program. The National Reclamation Act was later expanded to include projects in twenty western states, and the Reclamation Service became a separate bureau within the Department of the Interior. The program set the stage for the eventual damming of nearly every major river in the West, the Colorado among them.

Other federal projects undertaken in the first part of the twentieth century, which also greatly impacted the landscape throughout the region, included the creation of national forests and national parks out of public domain land. In 1893, President Theodore Roosevelt created the Grand Cañon Forest Reserve in Arizona, part of which became the Kaibab National Forest in 1908, while the other portion was designated Grand Canyon National Monument (Bohl Gerke and Hirt 2008). Congress created national forests in Nevada in 1906, and Theodore Roosevelt established eleven national forest units in the state between that date and 1909. Utah gained its first national park in 1918,

when Mukuntuweap National Monument – established by President Taft in 1909 – was renamed Zion National Park.

Throughout this period, the tribes were integral to the larger history of the region. Although Paiute bands were no longer able to move as freely between encampments and resource procurement areas as they did throughout the first half of the 19th century, strong linkages persisted between different Paiute communities. There is evidence of lively sharing of ritual traditions, and joint participation in ritual activities by area Paiute bands through the early 20th century, keeping each of these communities linked to the next. Lowie, for example, witnessed Bear Dance ceremonies in 1915, recently adopted at Moapa Reservation, involving both Moapa and Shivwits participants (1924: 299). Kelly, who depicted travel between band territories as minor at the time of contact, noted that, by the mid-20th century, "Paiute from Moapa to Moccasin gather for 'big times'; there is a good deal of informal visiting and intermarriage and some patronage of extra-band shamans" (1964: 33). Despite the sometimes limited economic opportunities in the late 20th century, many Southern Paiute families were able to persist through reciprocal exchanges of goods and labor within and between families, and through such traditional mechanisms as food sharing. As such, persisting traditional social ties have helped to partially overcome displacement from lands and resources and "function as adaptive mechanisms to counteract economic instability" (Knack 1980: 91).

Despite the tribes' best efforts to adapt, however, the landscape of their traditional territories was to continue changing in major ways as the century progressed. In 1922, Herbert Hoover – then serving as U.S. Commerce Secretary – initiated the Colorado River Compact, an agreement that forms the cornerstone of the "Law of the River." The Law of the River is the collective name for numerous compacts, federal laws, contracts, regulatory guidelines, court decisions and decrees that manage the Colorado River among the seven Colorado River Basin states and Mexico. The Colorado River Compact of 1922 defines the relationship between the four upper basin states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico, from which most of the river's water supply originates, and the three lower basin states of Nevada, Arizona, and California, where most of the water demands were developing at the time. The compact facilitated state and federal water works projects, such as the Hoover, Parker and Davis dams, which were administered by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation.

Controlling the Colorado River was expected to enable unprecedented development of the American Southwest through flood control, generation of electrical power, water distribution, and irrigation. With this goal in mind, Congress appropriated $165 million for the Boulder Canyon Project, located roughly 40 miles west of the Monument, in 1928. The federal government built Boulder City to accommodate the people who would build the first and largest dam at Boulder Canyon.[110] The first concrete for the dam (renamed Hoover Dam by Congress in 1947) was poured in 1933, and the last in 1935. Generation of electricity began in 1936 (Bowers 2006). West of the Monument, the

dam's reservoir, Lake Mead, consumed the Colorado River canyonlands and riparian areas upstream, including considerable portions of traditional Moapa Paiute homeland, in addition to lands claimed by other Southern Paiute and Hualapai tribal members. The reservoir took six years to fill and almost immediately began drawing recreational visitors in large numbers. From the onset, the National Park Service administered Lake Mead and its recreational uses; these recreational lands and waters became the focal point for the nation's first National Recreation Area in 1964, also administered by the NPS.

The Parker Dam Power Project, 155 miles downstream from Hoover Dam, began construction in 1934 but was not authorized by the Rivers and Harbors Bill until the following year. The dam was completed three years later, and the reservoir began filling, creating Lake Havasu. The Lake extended above the dam for 45 miles and submerged areas once used by Paiutes, Hualapais and other native groups along the river corridor. The Davis Dam Project, situated between Hoover Dam and Parker Dam, was authorized in 1941. Construction began in 1942, was halted in 1943 for the remainder of World War II, and resumed in 1946. Davis Dam was finally completed in 1951, forming the Lake Mohave Reservoir. At high water stage, Lake Mohave extends 67 miles upstream to the tailrace of Hoover Dam power plant, effectively submerging almost the entire contact period Colorado River riparian corridor south and west of the Monument.[111] Thus, in less than twenty years, innumerable archaeological sites, historical village sites, and ceremonial sites were submerged or washed away by these dams and the lakes they formed. Local access to riparian resources also largely disappeared, creating unique cultural resource management challenges for agencies and tribes that persist into the present day.

Meanwhile, other federal projects in the area were having more subtle and even compensatory effects upon the landscape. The concept of government protection of wildlife through habitat preservation has been part of the national dialogue since the latter half of the 19th century, at least. The national wildlife refuge system finally took shape when Theodore Roosevelt designated the first national wildlife refuge unit in 1903. Legislation passed between 1929 and 1934 created a refuge system to protect migratory birds and authorized most federal water resource agencies to acquire lands associated with water use projects for purposes of mitigation and the enhancement of fish and wildlife. These lands were to be managed by the newly formed U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service or state wildlife agencies. In Arizona, the Havasu National Wildlife Refuge was established in 1941, through Executive Order by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, principally for the protection of the migratory bird habitat (USFWS 2012).

Around this same period, the federal government introduced new policies that directly pertained to Native American populations. Specifically, the "Indian New Deal," initiated by the Roosevelt administration and overseen by Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, was meant to benefit these populations using an ambitious new approach. A major thrust of the BIA policy reform under the Indian New Deal (1933-

1945) was to increase the Indian land base as well as to generate opportunities for employment and economic advancement (Crum 1991, 1983; Rusco 1982). After the Second World War, however, major federal proponents of the Indian New Deal left office, and opponents of that Indian policy moved to definitively settle Indian land claims and grievances and to terminate federal responsibility for Indian affairs (Prucha 1986: 340-341). In 1946, Congress created the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) to decide land claims. The outcomes of the Indian Claims Commission will be addressed in more detail in section below.

Also, in an effort to end trusteeship for American Indians nationwide, a federally sponsored program referred to as "termination" eliminated a number of heretofore federally recognized tribal governments and facilitated the transfer of lands belonging to these tribes to non-Indian owners. In 1953 the U.S. Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108, calling for the immediate termination of federal responsibilities to a number of specific tribes, as well as a significant number of tribes based in the states of California, New York, Texas, and Florida – with provisions for the termination of additional tribes through legislative action. From 1953-1957 about 1.8 million acres of Indian land passed from Indian tenure. Utah's congressional delegation was especially supportive of the policy of termination, particularly U.S. Senator Arthur Watkins. While Cedar City Paiutes were not terminated under this policy, the Shivwits, Indian Peaks, Koosharem and Kanosh reservations were "terminated" from federal administration in 1954, cutting these communities loose from federal programs with a variety of adverse consequences.

Termination slowed during the 1960s, and effectively ended in 1970, when the policy was determined to be a failure and was reversed by the Nixon administration. Subsequently, some portion of the tribes that were terminated have been restored to federal status, with or without the benefit of tribal lands, through a combination of congressional action, executive orders, and decisions by the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Office of Acknowledgement (formerly the "Branch of Acknowledgement and Research") (Miller 2004; Gibson 1988). Indeed, the federal government began adding additional tribes – those who had not been terminated – to the list of those receiving federal recognition, in an effort to redress longstanding tribal claims. Reversing some 26 years of federal policy on the matter, the Shivwits, Indian Peaks, Koosharem and Kanosh reservations were restored to federal status in 1980, under the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah Restoration Act, becoming constituent portions of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. A small number of tribal communities declared their intention to seek federal recognition during this period too, most notably the Pahrump Band of Paiutes, who filed a letter of intent to petition the Bureau of Indian Affairs for federal recognition in November 1987.

While all tribes have continued to question and contest the manner in which lands and resources were appropriated by the United States in the 19th century, perhaps none has done so as persistently and passionately as the Western Shoshone (Luebben and Nelson

2002; Crum 1994; Hanes 1982). Long before there was an Indian Claims Commission, Western Shoshone leaders had contested the United States' interpretation of the Ruby Valley Treaty and any suggestion that the land claims of the Western Shoshone peoples have been settled.[112] In 1932, at hearings before the Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, a group of Western Shoshone leaders presented grievances about unfulfilled treaty promises based on articles in the Ruby Valley Treaty, such as the provision for reservation development, as well as the United States' contention that Indian title had been extinguished within Western Shoshone lands (Clemmer 2004; Crum 1994; Clemmer and Stewart 1986). Judicial battles between the Western Shoshone nation and the U.S. government persisted throughout the twentieth century, and today, the Western Shoshone continue to assert that they have never received a fair hearing on the issue of land title. [113] With assistance from the Indigenous Peoples Law & Policy Program at the University of Arizona's James E. Rogers College of Law, the WSNC and the individual Western Shoshone tribes are attempting to further initiatives before international institutions, as well as secure land rights through appeals to all branches of the U.S. government. These efforts continue to involve lands and resources in close proximity to Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, bringing a complexity and intensity to Shoshone claims that cannot be understood outside of the context of the broader Western Shoshone land claims effort (Ritter 2007).

Beyond individual tribes' land claims, a broader group from within the American Indian population that merits discussion is the urban Indian group. A growing percentage of the American Indian population in the United States consists of urban dwellers, living both in cities that have emerged within their traditional territories and in cities far from their homelands. For many of these people, the urban migration is an important part of their personal histories, undertaken for work, school, and other opportunities. Though American Indian individuals have long been drawn to cities, the process of urbanization for many was accelerated by federal Indian policy, such as the termination acts in effect from 1953 to 1970. These termination effects resulted in the disappearance of some 110 tribal governments and, in some cases, government-subsidized relocation to urban areas for the members of terminated tribes (Walch 1983: 1185-87). Developments such as these, in addition to an overall U.S. trend toward increasing urbanization, continue to bring unprecedented numbers of Indians to cities. In Nevada, 41 percent of the state's total non-reservation American Indian population – over 13,000 people – lived in the Las Vegas metro area in 2010 (U.S. Census 2010). By most standards, they are largely integrated into the multi-ethnic fabric of the community, in sharp contrast to the Indian communities of a century ago. As America's urban Indian population has grown, institutions, such as the Las Vegas Indian Center, have developed to provide economic opportunities and cultural activities to the often diverse Indian communities that take shape in cities.[114] These formal institutions represent just a fragment of the cultural, artistic, economic, and social organizations in which the urban Indians of Las Vegas now take an active part. While American Indians are an important part of the social fabric of Las Vegas, these Indians must also contend

with a city that has been growing very rapidly and in which they are a small (if persistent) part.[115] American Indians must now navigate a much larger and more urban community, in which they are only a very small part. In order to best understand the status of these contemporary communities, one must delve deeper into the history of these groups in terms of how the federal government approached their land claims in the twentieth century. What follows is a discussion of the Indian Claims Commission and its role shaping modern Native American nations and their lands.

THE INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION

Many of the tribes and Southern Paiute bands associated with Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument had unsettled claims against the United States government for the loss of lands and resources without compensation, claims that remained unsettled into the 20th century. The settling of such claims was no simple matter. Until 1855 the doctrine of sovereign immunity prevented individuals and tribes from suing the federal government without its consent. The only avenue to assert claims against the government was to do so before Congress. U.S. Congress created the Court of Claims in 1855 to hear monetary suits brought against the federal government, but in 1863 amended the bill to exclude any Indian claim dependent on a treaty between the tribe and the United States. This provision forced treaty tribes to petition Congress for a special jurisdictional act that would allow a tribe to assert its complaint through the courts. Generally tribes of the 19th and early 20th centuries did not have the financial resources to hire lawyers to do the necessary research, to draft a bill, and to recruit one or more legislators willing to introduce and advocate such a legislative effort. Those tribes that did obtain legal representation encountered a cumbersome congressional approval process so that, in practice, very few were permitted to go before the Court of Claims, even when they had compiled the defensible rudiments of claim legislation. Tribes who sought to bring suits against the government based not on treaties but on laws, contracts or agreements could do so directly through the Court of Claims but, more often than not, tribes received unfavorable judgments from the Court (Lieder and Page 1997: 52-56).

Throughout the early twentieth century, the U.S. government had received repeated recommendations to establish a separate body to deal solely with Indian claims. Just after the 1933 presidential election, John Collier, the newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, began lobbying Congress to enact legislation that would benefit Indian groups. Specifically, the new legislation would allow Indian groups to seek compensation for past federal government infractions on tribal interests. Collier's efforts did not directly result in the creation of a formal mechanism for hearing Indian claims; however, the events surrounding World War II gave political conservatives and progressives some shared ground on issues relating to Indian land and resource claims. This resulted in a sympathetic reconsideration of Collier's proposals. In particular, the high number of Indians serving in the war effort was seen as a measure of Indian

readiness for assimilation. An adjudication of land claims was perceived as a major step toward accomplishing this goal - "clearing the books" of Indian claims as a prelude to their seamless integration into the larger fabric of American society (Wallace 2002; Weist 1993; Lieder and Page 1997).

On August 13, 1946, the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) Act established a legal mechanism by which "tribes, bands and other identifiable groups of American Indians" could bring suits for monetary damages arising from any legal violation committed by the United States. This consisted principally, though not exclusively, of violations relating to the uncompensated taking of lands and resources. The Act also authorized the Commission to decide claims based on tribal arguments that a given treaty, contract, or agreement would not have been entered if not for the government's fraud, duress, or unconscionable actions. The Act provided that the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court would have appellate review over the Commission's decisions. Claims could be brought through governing councils or, if lacking a formal organization, by any member acting in behalf of the tribe, band, or group. In an attempt to include those groups that might not be recognized as a tribe or band, the Commission extended filing privileges to "other identifiable groups." The term "identifiable group" facilitated the goal of bringing to finality all Indian claims, with the express purpose of freeing the federal government from further monetary obligations to any Indian population.[116] The Bureau of Indian Affairs was charged with informing tribes of their right to bring suit, yet efficient communication regarding the matter broke down, as it contacted only federally recognized tribes (Wallace 2002; Lieder and Page 1997: 66-88; Rosenthal 1990; Lurie 1978).

The 1946 Act permitted tribes five years to register claims with the Commission, which was expected to hear and adjudicate all cases by 1957. By the 1951 registration deadline, 370 tribal petitions had been filed, with 26 dismissals and only two awards made during the first five-year period. The complexity of the claims far exceeded Congress' expectations. Of the 370 petitions filed, many included more than one case or claim that needed to be separated into separate dockets. Bands and other identifiable groups filed an additional 852 claims. Congress had originally instituted the Commission for a ten-year period but extended the time frame five times, in 1957, 1962, 1967, 1972, and 1977. By September 1976, the Commission had gradually separated the original 370 petitions into 615 approved dockets, and these dockets were sometimes further subdivided into several issues (Wallace 2002; Lieder and Page 1997; Lurie 1978).

Initially the composition of the Commission was problematic. Prior to taking office, none of the three original commissioners had any significant prior experience with Indian legal affairs. This lack of prior experience was considered by Congress to be an asset – bringing a degree of "open mindedness" – even though one member, Commissioner Arthur Watkins, had been the foremost proponent of the termination policy while representing Utah in the U.S. Senate. The commissioners' early decisions

set a precedent for later cases, so that the influence of the initial commission was substantial (Lurie 1978).

Participating tribes were eager to establish their historical title to traditional lands through the ICC process. Many tribes asserted that their land titles, as delineated in their treaties, were never extinguished by cession or conquest and sought recognition of this, in addition to various types of legal settlements. From the standpoint of the U.S. legal system, all but a few tracts in the Southwest had been purchased or acquired legally by treaty or other legal mechanism, even though the payment was often abysmally low and the mechanisms were sometimes tenuous. The Commission was originally established only to adjust inadequate compensation where such inadequacies could be demonstrated. The United States, through the Commission, sought to compensate the tribes for inadequate treaty payments and to secure uncontested "Indian title" through this process (Rosenthal 1990).

From the onset, the Commission encountered imposing evidentiary issues when adjudicating Indian land claims, particularly with respect to establishing the identity of tribal groups and territories. The tribes before the Commission did not possess written records from before contact, which might have helped the federal government identify Indian tribes and lands. Conversely, tribes' abundant oral traditions regarding these topics were considered inadmissible "hearsay" under judicial rules (Wallace 2002; Lieder and Page 1997: 269-270). As a result, tribal attorneys relied on the testimony of expert witnesses (primarily anthropologists and historians) to an unprecedented degree – despite the fact that, in most instances, this testimony was based in no small part on oral tradition and, to a great degree, on information collected after the disruption caused by European and American contact. Tribal attorneys also interviewed tribal elders as expert witnesses in many cases.

The Commission developed a routine, three-stage format for trying land claims, involving 1) identifying issues of liability, 2) establishing the value of lands at the time of cession or taking, and 3) establishing the value of "offsets" to which the government was entitled, such as the value of lands put in trust status subsequent to treaty ratification. In the first stage, petitioners had to prove their identity as the rightful descendants of those tribes that had used and occupied the land addressed in a claim. The concepts of use and occupancy were originally vexing for the ICC, in light of many complicating factors, such as overlapping territorial claims of particular aboriginal or contemporary tribal communities. In time, the Commission determined that they would honor claims in which the petitioners could demonstrate aboriginal title to *exclusive* use and occupancy of the land claimed from time immemorial, even if use was only ritualistic or seasonal. However, an important point for understanding Southern Paiute dockets is the fact that the Commission did not allow compensation for lands shared by tribes, even when an important portion of a tribe's subsistence came from such areas. Thus, in the many areas where overlapping use was apparent – such as along the Colorado River corridor and at the Paiute-Hualapai interface – claims were

summarily denied by the Commission. Generally the ICC recognized shared tribal interests in lands only in those cases wherein government actions had resulted in more than one tribe living in an area, such as in the case of forced tribal relocations like Shivwits and other Southern Paiute groups to Moapa. In addition to the claim boundaries, the Commission determined the date the land was taken by or ceded to the United States. If such a date was ambiguous, based on the existing legal record, the Commission made a formal determination of that date to guide subsequent calculations of land value.

The second round of hearings considered the petitioners' and government's evaluations of the fair market price of ceded lands at the time they were relinquished. This stage of the ICC process was often contentious, as the ICC generally maintained that the lands had little monetary value prior to EuroAmerican settlement of an area. If a territory had been ceded in 1863, for example, it was appraised at 1863 prices – typically pennies per acre. In the third stage, the question of offsets was reviewed. The matter of offsets was frequently contentious, as the ICC often sought to deduct from tribal disbursements the cost of items, such as farm implements, that some tribes neither wanted nor would have purchased if given a choice. Also, tribes often raised the issue that their dependence on government gratuities, now deducted from their claim, typically would not have been required if they had not been forced to relinquish their lands and resources by federal actions. Nonetheless, these objections had a relatively small effect on ICC calculations, so that offsets commonly reduced the size of tribes' monetary awards, occasionally to the point of nullifying them. Tribes of the area used the monetary awards in various ways, often including *per capita* disbursements to tribal enrollees, investments in tribal programs such as housing, or some combination. Because claims were settled through the ICC, the United States government has generally treated Indian land and resource claims as being settled in perpetuity, barring exceptional circumstances (Lieder and Page 1997; Lurie 1978: 99-103).

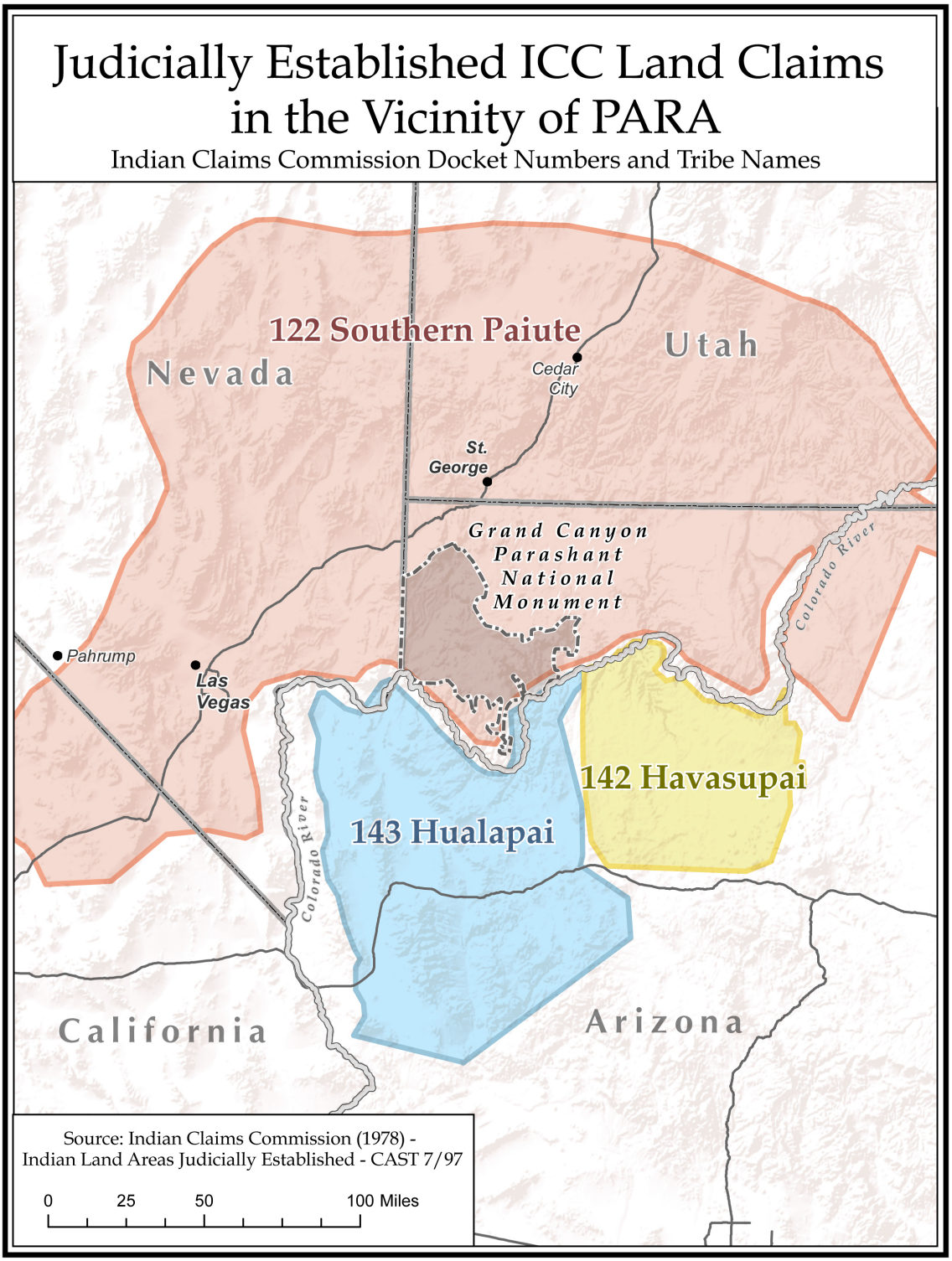
The Commission, tribal lawyers, and government's defense created hundreds of thousands of document pages. These include expert testimony, briefs (petitions and appeals), reports from the General Accounting Office, legislative history, docket books, and the Commission's journal. By 1976 the Commission's records comprised 39 volumes, each averaging well over 500 pages (Wallace 2002; Lurie 1978). The testimony from these proceedings produced among the richest written records regarding past tribal occupation of the landscape and has contributed significantly to the current report. The Commission decisions based on this testimony established a federally sanctioned map of tribal territories that – while wildly inaccurate in some cases – serves as a point of departure for discussions of tribal affiliation under NAGPRA and a variety of other federal laws and policies. The maps of the lands were "judicially established," meaning the lands were determined to be within the territories of particular tribes through the ICC process. Though they are flawed in various ways, the maps are widely used today to demonstrate areas of interest for tribes within various legal venues (Map

11). For these reasons, the outcomes of the Indian Claims Commission relating to the study area are reviewed here.

Tribes associated with the Monument were active participants in the Indian Claims Commission process almost from its onset. On January 10, 1951, petitioners in Docket 88, the Moapa Band, later joined by the Shivwits Band, filed a petition alleging various claims against the United States for the uncompensated taking of lands and resources (USICC 1978(15): 436). These claims were rooted in the circumstances of Indian removal described in earlier sections of this document, wherein the Southern Paiute were removed to reservations – the Moapa Reservation in particular – without the benefit of a treaty or the settlement of Indian claims on those portions of Southern Paiute lands outside of the reservation. As noted previously, the federal government understood the executive orders creating the reservation to be a *de facto* cession of Southern Paiute lands, yet the orders contained no explicit language on the topic (Appendix A). On August 10, 1951, petitioners in Docket 330, four PITU bands (Indian Peaks, Kanosh, Koosharem, and Cedar City) and the Kaibab Band of Arizona, filed a petition alleging various claims, including the Kaibab Band's suit for general accounting.[117] By 1956, attorneys for both groups (dockets 88 and 330) concluded that the seven separate clients, plus the Las Vegas Colony who had not yet sought representation, were in fact a single identifiable group – the "Southern Paiutes." The eight bands agreed to pursue their claims under a cooperative agreement as The Southern Paiute Nation (USICC 1978(15): 439-440). The area claimed in the petition essentially included the entirety of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, and was described as,

> bounded on the south by the Colorado River and extended northward. Its westernmost boundary touched upon Death Valley in California. It reached northward into Beaver County of Utah and eastward to the region of the Escalante River in Utah; beyond the northern and western boundaries were the Shoshone Indians and beyond the eastern boundaries were the Ute Indians. To the south and southwest were the Navajo and the Havasupai, Walapai and Chemehuevi, the latter on the southwest. (USICC 1978a (14): 618)

On August 11, 1951, the Chemehuevi Tribe filed a separate petition that included claims for their traditional lands, including some of the same lands that were included in The Southern Paiute Nation petition, where Chemehuevi interests overlapped with other bands.[118] The court consolidated the claims for the Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi, with a combined total of over 29,935,000 acres being included in the claim. During settlement negotiations, the plaintiffs agreed that the Southern Paiute Nation, including the Chemehuevi Tribe, should be treated as a single unit for settlement but with separate judgments and a division of the award between the Chemehuevi Tribe and the


Judicially Established ICC Land Claims
in the Vicinity of PARA
Indian Claims Commission Docket Numbers and Tribe Names
122 Southern Paiute
Nevada
Utah
Cedar City
St. George
Grand Canyon Parashant National Monument
Colorado River
Pahrump
Las Vegas
142 Havasupai
143 Hualapai
Colorado River
California
Arizona
Source: Indian Claims Commission (1978) -
Indian Land Areas Judicially Established - CAST 7/97
0
25
50
100 Miles

Map 11

Southern Paiute Nation. The claims were decided January 18, 1965 by an award of $7,253,165 for the Southern Paiute Nation and an award of $996,835 for the Chemehuevi Tribe. Significant portions of the traditional land base of the Southern Paiutes were excluded from this award. In the vicinity of the Monument, this included much of the Colorado River riparian corridor to the southwest of the study area, where the Commission demonstrated overlapping Hualapai claims. Non-adjudicated lands also included the southernmost tip of what is now the Monument, in the vicinity of Kelly Point Overlook, as well as a portion along the southeastern border, including the area around Whitmore Canyon Overlook (Map 11) (USICC 1978(14): 443, 648). Ironically, as a result of the ICC's emphasis on "exclusive use," some of the areas with heaviest Indian use and occupation at contact remained "unclaimed" through the ICC process.

The Hualapai Tribe was one of the first tribes to file a petition under the ICC, doing so on the day the Act went into effect (USICC 1978a (11): 447). The territory for which they tribe sought claims was,

> estimated, generally speaking, to contain in excess of 6,000,000 acres of land but since the reservation area of about 700,000 acres is included therein and is not involved in this action, the total acreage for which recovery is sought approximates 5,500,000 [later found to be 4,459,500] acres. The claimed area is located in northwestern Arizona. It is bounded roughly to the north and west by the Colorado River, on the east by an irregular line running from the Colorado River at the mouth of National Canyon southeast to about Ash Fork, Arizona, then southwest to the north fork of the Santa Maria River and on the south by Bill Williams Fork…Parallel mountain ranges running in something of a south-northwest direction intersperse the claimed tract such as the Black Mountains, White Hills, Cerbat Mountains, Hualapai Mountains and the Aubry Cliffs.
> (USICC 1978a (11): 459)

The Hualapai claim was given Docket number 90. After an initial settlement ruling in 1962, the Hualapai Tribe contested the valuation of mineral resources within the tract and received a higher settlement in 1966 (USICC 1978a (17): 456). In 1967 the Tribe contested the boundaries determined by the ICC, specifically the areas bordering the Havasupai on the northeast and the Mohave to the west, and the Tribe sought to have the northern boundary shifted from the southern shoreline of the Colorado River to the middle of the river (USICC 1978a (18): 395). The Hualapai maintained that, even though some border areas were used jointly with other tribes, joint use did not preclude "Indian title" as determined by recent cases. The commission ruled,

> [T]o the northeast of the Hualapai tract, the lands were variously used and occupied by Hualapai and by Havasupai. Such lands were not

> exclusively used and occupied by the Hualapai. The lands were not part of the ancestral homelands of the Hualapai. The Hualapai clearly did not have Indian title to those lands.
> (USICC 1978a (18): 387-388)

Hualapai claims to the Colorado River riparian zone to the southwest of the Monument were also largely rebuffed due to overlapping areas of interest with the Southern Paiutes. ICC adjudicated Hualapai land claims did include a portion of the bank of the Colorado River to the southeast of the study area, roughly from Travertine Canyon northeast to Cove Canyon.

In addition to the land claim (Docket 90), the Hualapai Tribe filed a claim of trespass (Docket 122) that, by 1968, had not moved forward before the commission. The commission and the Tribe negotiated a consolidated compromise settlement of the claims set forth in the two dockets. A final judgment was entered on May 21, 1968 for the mutually agreed upon award of $2,950,000 for a total of 4,459,500 acres (USICC 1978a (19): 178a).

By September of 1978, when it was disbanded, the Commission had decided 616 claims brought by 170 Indian tribes, awarding more than $818,172,600 for 274 claims on well over 50 million acres of the United States - declaring Indian title to those 50 million acres to be extinguished by this process. The Commission also dismissed an additional 342 claims. In 1978, 65 cases remained, which were transferred to the Court of Claims (Wallace 2002; Lieder and Page 1997; Luebben 1992: 195).

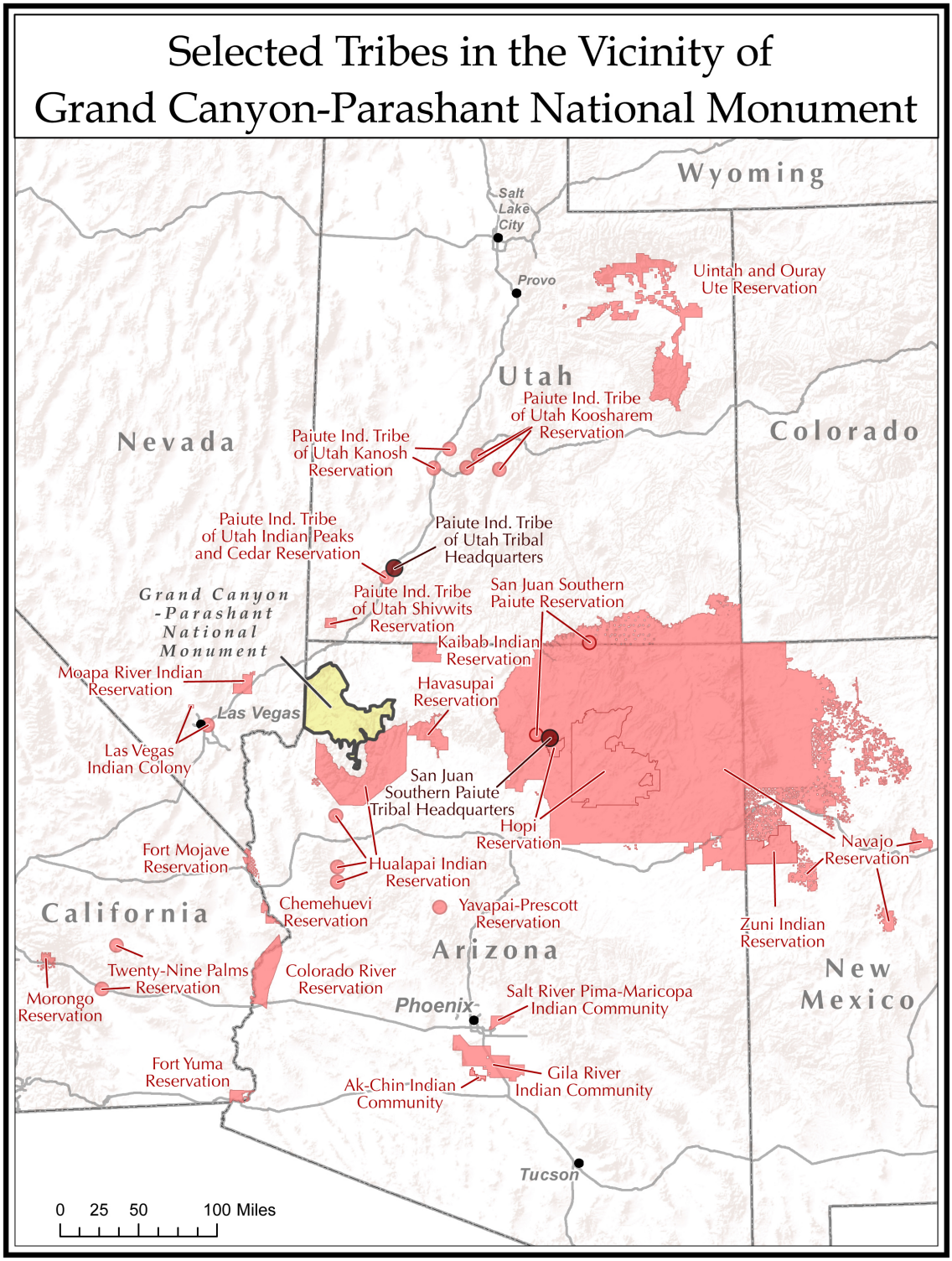
Contemporary Tribes: An Overview

The pages that follow provide short synopses of the contemporary status and governmental organization of most of the modern tribes historically associated with Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument. The information that follows is meant to serve as a starting point for agency staff who might wish to communicate with, and better understand the organization of tribes with interests in the lands and resources under agency management. It is not meant to be the final word on any tribe's modern governance nor is it meant to act as the definitive reference regarding places and issues of interest to the tribes. Indeed, recognizing that the particulars of modern tribal governance change frequently, agency staff who use the information that follows are strongly advised to follow up on their reading with direct communications with the tribes of interest, so as to ensure that they are updated on recent developments and current issues involving those tribes (Map 12).

There has been an expanding appreciation among many of the agencies operating in the vicinity of Grand Canyon-Parashant that tribal interests are broader than originally anticipated. To cite one example, Lake Mead's 1986 General Management Plan was distributed for comment to only six federally recognized tribes, including the Chemehuevi Tribe, the Colorado River Indian Tribes, the Fort Mojave Indian Tribe, the Hualapai General Council, the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians, and the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, while also including the federally unrecognized Pahrump Valley Paiute (NPS 1986). Following more than 25 years of consultation with area tribes, involving a number of NAGPRA and TCP investigations, Lake Mead now consults with no fewer than 23 different tribes.

In this light, it is very important to note that the absence of a tribe from the section that follows does not necessarily imply that the tribe does not possess any interests in the study area. For example, Hualapai are included here due to proximity or their stated interest in the Monument; however, the Havasupai are not discussed in detail below. Still, it is clear that certain Havasupai families and individuals are from the vicinity of the study area and, though not discussed in detail here, may from time to time express interest in consultation projects regarding the Monument due to their connections. There are certainly other tribes who are in similar circumstances.

Matters of contemporary tribal affiliations with archaeological sites in the study area are similarly complex. Hopi, in particular, but also Zuni, generally claim affiliation with Virgin Anasazi sites, but still coordinate with (and sometimes defer to) more proximate Paiute tribes when addressing matters of NAGPRA repatriation associated with those


Selected Tribes in the Vicinity of
Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument
Wyoming
Salt Lake City
Provo
Uintah and Ouray Ute Reservation
Utah
Paiute Ind. Tribe of Utah Koosharem Reservation
Nevada
Colorado
Paiute Ind. Tribe of Utah Kanosh Reservation
Paiute Ind. Tribe of Utah Indian Peaks and Cedar Reservation
Paiute Ind. Tribe of Utah Tribal Headquarters
Grand Canyon -Parashant National Monument
Paiute Ind. Tribe of Utah Shivwits Reservation
San Juan Southern Paiute Reservation
Kaibab Indian Reservation
Moapa River Indian Reservation
Havasupai Reservation
Las Vegas
Las Vegas Indian Colony
San Juan Southern Paiute Tribal Headquarters
Hopi Reservation
Navajo Reservation
Fort Mojave Reservation
Hualapai Indian Reservation
California
Chemehuevi Reservation
Yavapai-Prescott Reservation
Zuni Indian Reservation
Arizona
New Mexico
Twenty-Nine Palms Reservation
Colorado River Reservation
Morongo Reservation
Phoenix
Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community
Fort Yuma Reservation
Gila River Indian Community
Ak-Chin Indian Community
Tucson
0 25 50 100 Miles

Map 12

sites.[119] Despite occasional differences in their interpretation of the archaeological record and matters of affiliation, tribes are generally in agreement that NAGPRA repatriation and reburial are high priorities that should not be undermined by such differences. With this in mind, certain coalitions have developed between tribes of overlapping interests in the vicinity of the study area, such as the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition. The list of tribes claiming association with Mohave County – the county in which Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument is located – within the National NAGPRA database reveals that some tribes with clear ties to the county are included, but a number are excluded as well. The list includes, but is not limited to, the Hualapai Indian Tribe of the Hualapai Indian Reservation, Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians of the Kaibab Indian Reservation, the Las Vegas Tribe of Paiute Indians of the Las Vegas Indian Colony, the Moapa Band of Paiute Indians of the Moapa River Indian Reservation and the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. The participation of these diverse tribes with NAGPRA compliance efforts has varied over time, reflecting their varying connections to the study area. Though local Southern Paiute tribes are especially well represented, many other tribes share interests in NAGPRA compliance in the region, as the contents of this report might suggest (Appendix D).

Simultaneously, Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPOs) are an important vehicle for cultural resource protection involving Indian tribes in and around the study area. Through the national THPO program, administered by the National Park Service, tribes may qualify to establish their own THPO programs that oversee some of the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) functions on tribal lands. In some cases, THPOs may assume responsibilities for compliance and consultation on non-tribal lands that are within a tribe's traditional area of interest. This program is outlined in the National Historic Preservation Act, and its authorities are specified in Section 101(d)2 of that Act. Currently, only two of the tribes discussed in this document as having definitive ties to the Monument, the Hualapai Tribe and the Zuni Pueblo, have THPOs operating in the vicinity of the study area. The contact information for these THPOs is provided in an appendix to this report (Appendix F). Updated lists of THPOs can be accessed via the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers at www.nathpo.org, by telephone at 202-628-8476, or by mail at P.O. Box 19189, Washington, DC 20036-9189.

In addition to THPOs, there are other tribal programs that may play a role in cultural resource protection efforts. For example, the Las Vegas Paiute Tribe is a self-governance tribe. Self-governance tribes have qualified to assume responsibility internally for the management of certain programs, activities, and services once managed by the federal government (especially the Bureau of Indian Affairs), including functions related to trust resource management. They are approved to receive federal contracts to support these efforts, significantly streamlining their participation in collaborative endeavors with federal agencies. Federal agencies and tribes generally have conceptualized federal trust resource responsibilities more broadly now than was the case historically, to include culturally significant natural resources and other categories of resources (Wilkinson 2005; Clow and Sutton 2001). In addition, some of

the tribes associated with the study area are members of Inter-Tribal Councils, including the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona (ITCA) and the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada (ITCN). These Councils are 501(c)3 non-profits that oversee grant development and administration for member tribes related to the health, research, and environmental quality needs of its member tribes. In using programs such as those mentioned above, consultation, as well as less formal communications with tribes of the area, may reveal resource management issues of mutual concern or point toward specific opportunities for collaboration.

TRIBES OF THE GRAND CANYON-PARASHANT REGION

Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah: Shivwits Band

The Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (PITU) consists of five constituent bands: Shivwits, Cedar, Indian Peaks, Kanosh and Koosharem. The federal government recognizes the tribe and each of its five constituent bands as Indian tribal entities. The bands, formerly independent and possessing distinct territories, are all Southern Paiute people who historically spoke the same language and occupied a broad land base in southwestern Utah, northwestern Arizona, and southern Nevada. From 1891 through 1929, federal funds were appropriated to establish reservations for each of the five PITU bands, and reservations were, in fact, created for all but the Cedar Band. In 1954 all four reservations were terminated from federal control under an Indian termination act (68 Stat. 1099 Public Law 83–762), which severed the government's trust responsibility to the tribes. In 1980 the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah Restoration Act (U.S. Code 94 Stat. 317-322) was signed into law, restoring the Shivwits, Indian Peaks, Koosharem, and Kanosh bands to federal trust relationships, and confirming the status of the Cedar Band as being under trust. The Act has assisted land acquisitions to restore reservations to the five bands, who reorganized into a single administrative entity called the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. Today the PITU reservation consists of ten separate land parcels, nine of which are owned by the constituent bands and one by the PITU tribe (Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah 2011a). The PITU land parcel consists of 45 acres at Cedar City, Utah. Total tribal enrollment was 880 members at the end of 2009, and the 2000 census recorded a population of 270 on reservations lands (Tiller 2005; Holt 1992).

In 1991, the tribe ratified a tribal constitution that was approved the same year by the Secretary of Interior under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The tribe's governing body is the six-person tribal council, composed of a council chair and five council members. The tribal council chair is elected by the entire tribe's eligible membership. Each of the constituent bands elects a band council headed by a band council chair. The band council chairs, in turn, serve as the five voting members of the PITU tribal council. All council terms last for four years. The tribal council is vested with all executive and legislative power, and the band councils have local governing authority for land use

management, community development programs and business development (Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah 2011b; Tiller 2005: 952).

The Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah has a wide range of cultural resource interests in Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument and its vicinity. The Shivwits Band's territory, in particular, traditionally occupied the majority of what today constitutes the Monument, but many of PITU's members are descended, in part, from families that once dwelled or used resources in and around the study area. As a result, the tribe has an interest in most consultation and compliance matters affecting Southern Paiute communities, generally, within the Monument. The tribe's Cultural Resource Department is housed in the PITU tribal headquarters and is overseen by a Cultural Resources Director, who is responsible for a wide range of compliance and consultation duties, as well as coordination with the individual bands on matters of direct relevance to them. According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal chair is the principal contact regarding compliance activities under NAGPRA (National NAGPRA 2011). The tribal headquarters is located at 440 N. Paiute Dr., Cedar City, UT 84720 (phone 435-586-1112).

What follows is a brief summary of the contemporary Shivwits Band, specifically, while the remaining constituent bands are covered in the section pertaining to contemporary Utah tribes.

Shivwits Band

The reservation of the Shivwits Band, located on the Santa Clara River just west of Saint George, was the first Southern Paiute reservation. The reservation was created in 1891 by federal appropriation, the same year the Shivwits originally received federal recognition. The 100-acre reservation was expanded in 1916 and again in 1937 to a total of just over 28,000 acres, the largest of the PITU reservations. After termination in 1954, nearly 27,000 acres were eventually leased to non-Indians. Today the reservation contains 28,300 acres on a land parcel located west of Saint George, and there are 297 enrolled members (Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah 2011d, 2011c; Tiller 2005; Holt 1992; Kelly and Fowler 1986).

The Shivwits Band is governed by a council consisting of the chair, tribal chair and three council members. The band has a Cultural Resources Committee, headed by the PITU Cultural Resources Manager based in Cedar City (Shivwits Band of Paiutes 2009). The Shivwits Band's primary contact is the band council chair, and administrative offices are located at 6060 West 3650 North, Ivins, UT 84738 (phone 435-656-9002).

Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians of Arizona

The Kaibab reservation consists of 120,413 acres located in northwestern Arizona, with its northern border along the Arizona-Utah state line. The reservation is home to

members of the Kaibab Band; however, it is also home to descendants of bands from the Shivwits Plateau and elsewhere in the Southern Paiute homeland that were displaced to the relatively remote Kaibab region in the 19th century in the wake of EuroAmerican settlement. The reservation was first organized in the early 1900s and formally established by executive orders in both 1913 and 1917. Five tribal villages are contained within the reservation: Kaibab, Juniper, Redhills, Steamboat, and Six-Mile (Stoffle and Evans 1978).

The Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians was formally organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and the current constitution was adopted by the tribe and approved by the Secretary of the Interior in 1987. A tribal council composed of the chair, vice chair, secretary, treasurer, and three council members governs the tribe. Those holding council positions each serve a three-year term. Tribal enrollment of the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians was 270 in 2004, and the population of the reservation was 196 in 2000, according to the census (Tiller 2005: 324-25).

The Kaibab Band has especially strong associations with the Arizona Strip and the Colorado River region east of Big Bend, but it also has ties to the larger Southern Paiute region. The tribe maintains an active role in consultation and compliance in Southern Paiute territories in Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument and its vicinity.

A Kaibab Cultural Resources Department oversees most consultation and compliance matters relating to cultural resources in the tribe's areas of traditional interest. This department also provides support to a variety of initiatives, including a volunteer language program and two ancillary programs, the Southern Paiute Consortium, and the Visitor Center and Cultural Museum at Pipe Spring National Monument. The Southern Paiute Consortium (SPC) was created in 1993 by and for its member tribes, the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians and the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, with Kaibab often taking a lead coordinating role. The consortium's mission is to improve the participation of member tribes in the Glen Canyon Dam Adaptive Management Program, and to disseminate information on the relationship of Southern Paiutes to the Colorado River and the region surrounding it (Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians 2008). The Visitor Center and Cultural Museum at Pipe Spring National Monument represents a collaboration between the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians and the National Park Service. The center was funded and built by the tribe and NPS and is operated cooperatively. Pipe Spring National Monument is located entirely within the boundaries of the reservation (NPS 2008; Tiller 2005: 325). According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal chair is the contact regarding NAGPRA compliance activities (National NAGPRA 2011). The tribal headquarters is located at Fredonia, and the tribal affairs offices are at HC 65, Box 2, Fredonia, AZ 86022 (phone 928-643-7245).

Moapa Band of Paiute Indians of Nevada

The Moapa Band of Paiute Indians of Nevada continues to occupy the Moapa River Reservation, established in Moapa band territory for all Southern Paiutes in 1873. As noted elsewhere in this document, the Moapa Reservation originally contained 200,000 acres, but two years later, was reduced to 1000 acres by unilateral federal action (Tiller 2005:698-99). In 1980, under pressure from the Moapa Band and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Congress restored 70,656 acres to the reservation (94 Stat. 2561 Public Law 96-491). Thus, the modern reservation consists of just under 72,000 acres, straddling State Route 168 northeast of Las Vegas.

In 1941 and 1942, Moapa developed a constitution and bylaws in accordance with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In response to both federal and tribal interests in promoting economic development on the reservation, this constitution and bylaws declared the Tribal Business Council to be a key governing body of the tribe. At this time, the tribe also opted to place individual Indian allotments back into tribal control, so as to facilitate large-scale agriculture and other economic activities that might require large contiguous tracts of land. Prior to this time, some of the Indian allotments had been notoriously difficult to manage, being of such small scale as to preclude most agricultural activities or the development of suitable infrastructure to support such activities. With mixed success, the tribe leased significant portions of these re-aggregated lands to a non-Indian dairy operation and other agricultural producers until the late 1960s. Along with their kin in other tribes, the Moapa Band participated in Southern Paiute claims before the Indian Claims Commission during this period. The 1965 ICC judgment funds were received by the tribe, which put 60 percent into a permanent capital fund to facilitate economic development and reservation improvements. With these funds, the tribe was able to assume growing responsibility for managing their own agricultural enterprises.

Today the population of the Moapa Band of Paiute Indians reservation is 295, according to the 2000 census. The tribe is governed by the Business Council, which performs the function of a tribal council and is often referred to as the Moapa "tribal council," as well. The Moapa Business Council includes six members: chair, vice chair, secretary, and three general council members. Council members serve staggered three-year terms, with two members elected every year (Tiller 2005: 699).

Cultural resource compliance is overseen in part by a Cultural Committee, whose chair serves as the officially designated cultural resource director to the tribe. The tribe's Department of Environmental Protection is also involved in some compliance and consultation matters, especially when they involve natural resources of concern to the tribe. Especially in response to Yucca Mountain proposals, the Department of Environmental Protection has devoted considerable attention to threats to the integrity of natural and cultural resources associated with proposals to ship high-level nuclear waste across tribal or tribally associated lands. Tribal representatives assert that tribal

preparedness for a nuclear-waste disaster will have an impact on the tribe's economy, community, social wellbeing and spiritual values (Tiller 2005: 699). Employment opportunities – and the lack of them on and immediately adjacent to the reservation – remain a concern for Moapa leadership, which continues to seek opportunities for job creation that are consistent with the tribe's cultural, environmental and economic traditions.

Originally conceived as the single "Paiute Reservation" that would house Southern Paiutes from throughout the region, Moapa's enrollees are descended from a number of Paiute populations in addition to the contact-period "Moapa band." As such, tribal interests extend into the study area, sometimes beyond where their traditional territory boundary line is depicted in the far western portion of the Monument. The town of Moapa on the reservation is home to the tribal headquarters, and the business office is located at One Lincoln Street, P.O. Box 340, Moapa, NV 89025 (phone 702-865-2787). The tribe requests that communication regarding cultural affairs be directed to the chair of the Business Council and the chair of the Cultural Resources Committee (Nevada Department of Cultural Affairs 2010).

OTHER ARIZONA TRIBES

Hualapai Indian Tribe of Arizona

The Hualapai Indian Reservation covers nearly one million acres, fronting some 108 miles of the southern side of the Colorado River and Grand Canyon, directly south and southwest of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, in three Arizona counties. The Hualapai Indian Reservation was established by executive order in 1883 with 500,000 acres, encompassing a portion of the traditional Hualapai territory and a number of the largest 19th century villages. Acreage was added to the reservation by executive order or acquired from Santa Fe Railroad lands in 1911, 1943, and 1947. The tribe purchased additional land parcels in the late 1990s and early 2000s, bringing the total to 992,000 acres (Tiller 2005: 322).

The Hualapai Indian Tribe is organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and adopted a constitution and bylaws in 1938. A new constitution was ratified in 1970 and amended in 1991. As stipulated in this constitution, the tribe is governed by an elected tribal council consisting of a tribal chair, tribal chair and seven council members, who serve staggered four-year terms. The population of the Hualapai Indian Reservation was 1353 in 2000, according to the census, and tribal enrollment in 2004 was 1947 (Tiller 2005: 322; U.S. Census 2000).

The Tribal Department of Cultural Resources houses the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) and is the lead agency for the identification, protection, preservation, and management of the cultural resources within Hualapai tribal lands and within the

larger Hualapai traditional territory. In support of its mission, the Department of Cultural Resources is responsible for:

- Cultural compliance for Section 106 Work Clearance Projects on and off the reservation
- Federal/tribal consultation program for Section 106
- Cultural exchange programs and outreach
- Arts and language revitalization programs
- Historic preservation programs
- State/local government program consultation

The department Director also serves as the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (Hualapai Tribal Nation 2011). The tribe has developed a "unique school program created by community member Lucille Watahomigie [that] integrates the school curriculum culturally and linguistically" (Hualapai Tribal Nation 2011).

Hualapai territory sits largely east and south of the Colorado River, including the entire region due south of the Monument, beyond the thin section of the Grand Canyon National Park. Despite its position south and east of the river, however, the Hualapai have deep connections to the tribes that traditionally lived in and immediately around what is today the Monument, especially in areas where fording the river was feasible, such as at Pearce Ferry in the Grass Springs Band territory and Prospect Canyon in the Pine Springs Band territory.

The Hualapai tribal administration office is in Peach Springs, and the tribe can be contacted at P.O. Box 179/941 Hualapai Way, Peach Springs, AZ 86434 (phone 928-769-2216). According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal chair is the contact regarding NAGPRA compliance activities (National NAGPRA 2011). The Department of Cultural Resources can be reached at 928-769-2223.

Hopi Tribe of Arizona

The Hopi reservation is located in Navajo and Coconino counties in northeastern Arizona, approximately 65 miles north of Interstate 40, and is surrounded on all sides by the reservation of the Navajo Nation. The Hopi reservation was established by Executive Order in 1882 and contained acreage for use of "Hopis and other Indians" (Dockstader 1979:526). Soon after the original allocation of approximately 2.6 million acres, land claims of the Hopi Tribe came into conflict with those of the Navajo Nation (Tiller 2005:316). As part of a stock-reduction plan to address overgrazing, the Hopi and Navajo reservations were divided into 18 grazing districts administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Hopis were left with exclusive rights to district six only. The Navajo-Hopi Land Act Settlement of 1974 (88 Stat. 1712 Public Law 93-531) led to partitioning of the other districts, a process that has continued with subsequent

rulings. At present, the Hopi reservation contains 1.6 million acres (Tiller 2005:316), and had a population of just under 7,200 in 2010 (Arizona Rural Policy Institute n.d.: 6).

The Hopi Tribal Council was formed under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the first tribal constitution was adopted in 1936, although both the council and constitution were essentially nonfunctional for 15 years due to lack of tribal support (Dockstader 1979:531). The tribal council was revived in 1950, and is headed by the council chair and vice chair, which serve four-year terms (Clemmer 1979:534). Council members serve two-year terms and come from four different districts of the reservation: First Mesa, Second Mesa, Third Mesa, and Moenkopi. Within the four districts there are twelve villages, and each village is autonomously led by a village chief (Tiller 2005:318). The Hopi villages are quasi-independent and each determines its own form of governance, which varies from village to village but falls somewhere on the spectrum between traditional Hopi practice and western governing policies (Tiller 2005:318).

Hopi Tribal Council Resolution H-70-94, signed on 23 May 1994, authorizes the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO), part of the tribe's Department of Natural Resources, to exercise administrative responsibilities for tribal NAGPRA activities. Through Resolution H-70-94, the tribe also declared its "formal cultural affinity and affiliation with the *Hisatsinom* (Anasazi), Fremont, Mogollon, Sinaguan, Salado, Mimbres, Hohokam and Cohonino cultural groups," as well as the "Basketmaker, Archaic and Paleo-Indian phases of human habitation" (Hopi Tribe 1994). The HCPO continues to demonstrate strong interest in Virgin Anasazi settlement and use areas, which many tribal members accept to be ancestral to modern Hopi. For this reason, the HCPO plays an active role in NAGPRA, ARPA, and other compliance and consultation efforts related to Virgin Anasazi sites and issues, often in collaboration with other tribes, including Paiute tribes. HCPO program responsibilities also include the tribal archives, Hopi language programs, and tribal archaeology and ethnohistory (Hopi Cultural Preservation Office 2009).

The tribal government is headquartered in the village of Kykotsmovi on Third Mesa, and the tribe can be reached at P.O. Box 123, Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039 (phone 928-734-3000). According 5 to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal chair and the tribe's officially designated NAGPRA representative in the Cultural Preservation Office are the contacts regarding NAGPRA compliance activities (National NAGPRA 2011). The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office can be reached at 928-734-3612.

Havasupai Tribe of Arizona

The Havasupai Reservation is located on the northwestern edge of the Coconino Plateau in Havasu Canyon, east of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument and northeast of Kaibab National Forest. It can be reached only by an eight-mile trail or helicopter. The Havasupais lost over 90 percent of their traditional territory in 1880, when a 518-acre reservation was established for them at the bottom of Cataract Creek

Canyon within Grand Canyon and west of the Monument. The tribe continued to advocate for a larger reservation that might encompass a greater portion of their traditional territory. In order to seek resolution of the Havasupai claim, Congress reallocated 160,000 acres of traditional Havasupai hunting grounds in 1975, and designated an additional 95,300 acres within Grand Canyon National Park as a traditional-use area for the Havasupai people. The reservation's total acreage, today, is just over 188,000 acres (Tiller 2005: 314).

The Havasupai Tribe is governed by the Havasupai Tribal Council, which is composed of the tribal chair, vice chair and five council members. The Cultural Preservation Office manages most cultural resource compliance and consultation duties. In addition, the tribe maintains the Havasupai Tribal Museum and Cultural Center. The population of the Havasupai Reservation was 503 in 2000, according to the census, and tribal enrollment in 2001 was 674 (Havasupai Tribe 2010). The contemporary tribe's reservation is roughly just 25 miles east of the Monument's eastern border, and Havasupai have strong and ancient ties to the Hualapai. Together, these factors provide a basis for some of the tribe's interests in the study area. The tribal administration is headquartered at Supai Village, and the tribe can be contacted at P.O. Box 10, Supai, AZ 86435 (phone 928-448-2731). According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal Chair is the contact regarding NAGPRA compliance activities (National NAGPRA 2011). The Department of Cultural Resources can be reached at 928-448-2271.

San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe of Arizona

The San Juan Southern Paiute tribe has long occupied lands on the far eastern edge of the Southern Paiute world and is the only large and enduring Southern Paiute population whose traditional lands lie south of the Colorado River. The tribe long lived among their Hopi and Navajo neighbors, but was able to retain their distinct language and cultural traditions. In the 20th century, most tribal members have resided in several distinct communities within the Navajo Reservation, primarily in northern Arizona and southeastern Utah. The San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe gained federal recognition in 1989. At the time of federal recognition, the tribe did not have an independent land base. After years of negotiation with the Navajo Nation, the San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe signed a settlement treaty in March 2000, in which they received 5,400 acres in two parcels of Navajo Reservation lands. A 5,100-acre parcel is located at Hidden Springs, just north of Tuba City, Arizona, and a 300-acre parcel is in Utah, just south of Lake Powell in the Paiute Farms area (Donovan 2000). At the time of this writing, the settlement has not yet been approved by Congress.

The tribe has a membership of approximately 254 individuals (2001). Today the two largest communities are located at Willow Springs, Arizona, and Paiute Canyon/ Navajo Mountain on the Arizona-Utah state line. Members also live on nine other

reservations throughout Arizona, Utah and Nevada (Northern Arizona University 2008; Tiller 2005: 351).

The San Juan Southern Paiutes adopted a tribal constitution in 1996, and the tribe is governed by a seven-person tribal council. The council members include a president, vice president and five council members. While the tribe has only limited ties to the study area, it is a part of the larger Nuwuvi community and has strong ties to the Hopi tribe, whose connection to the Monument has been discussed in this document. The tribe participates in cultural resource studies with other Southern Paiute tribes and has been developing its independent cultural resource protection capacities as well. According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal council Vice President is the contact regarding NAGPRA compliance activities (National NAGPRA 2011; Tiller 2005: 352). The tribal administrative office is in Tuba City, Arizona, at P.O. Box 1989, Tuba City, AZ 86045 (phone 928-283-4589).

OTHER UTAH TRIBES

Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah

As described above, the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah consists of five constituent bands. Shivwits, due to its relevance to the study area, was discussed above. The remaining four contemporary PITU bands are included below.

Indian Peaks Band

The reservation of the Indian Peaks Band was established in 1915 when the band originally received federal recognition. The reservation contained 10,240 acres and was located northwest of Cedar City, Utah. As a result of termination in 1954, the Indian Peaks Band sold its reservation and used the proceeds to establish its members in Cedar City and elsewhere. Today the reservation consists of 425 acres on a land parcel located outside Cedar City, and the band has 48 enrolled members (Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah 2011d, 2011c; Holt 1992; Clemmer and Stewart 1986: 532). The Indian Peaks Band's primary contact is the band council chair, 940 West 526 South, Cedar City, UT 84721.

Koosharem Band

The reservation of the Koosharem Band was established in 1928 when the band originally received federal recognition. The reservation contained 440 acres and was located east of Richfield, Utah. After termination in 1954, 400 acres were lost in lieu of taxes. Today the reservation consists of three land parcels totaling 1274 acres in Sevier County, and there are 133 enrolled members (Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah 2011d, 2011c; Holt 1992; Clemmer and Stewart 1986). The Koosharem Band's primary contact is the band council chair, P.O. Box 205, Richfield, UT 84701 (phone 435-893-8432).

Kanosh Band

The reservation of the Kanosh Band was established in 1929 when the band originally received federal recognition (Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah 2011c). Located near Kanosh, Utah, the reservation originally contained about 5300 acres and was later expanded to just over 13,300 acres. After termination in 1954, more than half the original acreage was no longer in Indian ownership and much of the remaining land was leased to non-Indians. Today the reservation consists of three land parcels totaling 1,342 acres in Millard County, and the band has 132 enrolled members (Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah 2011d, 2011c; Holt 1992; Clemmer and Stewart 1986). The Kanosh Band's primary contact is the band council chair, 476 South 700 West, Cedar City, UT 84720.

Cedar Band

In 1899 and 1925, federal funds were appropriated for reservation land for Southern Paiutes at Cedar City, Utah. However, the Mormon Church had already purchased ten acres outside town for that purpose. In addition, a rancher had granted permission for Southern Paiutes to reside on a small tract of his land near Richfield, Utah. Therefore, a federal reservation was not established for the Cedar Band, who continued to live in these two "villages" (Kelly and Fowler 1986: 389). Today the reservation consists of 2047 acres on a single land parcel outside Cedar City with enrollment at 270 members (Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah 2011d). (The Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah Restoration Act (94 Stat. 317 Public Law 96-227) changed the name Cedar City Band to Cedar Band.) The Cedar Band's primary contact is the band council chair, 600 North 100 East, Cedar City, UT 84721 (phone 435-586-5915).

NEW MEXICO TRIBES

Zuni Tribe of the Zuni Reservation of New Mexico

The Spanish Crown had granted 17,635 acres of land to the Zunis in 1689. This land grant was recognized in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and later confirmed by the U.S. government (Eggan and Pandey 1979: 475). The reservation was established by executive order in 1877, and expanded in 1917, 1935, 1949, and 1978. An act of Congress placed the tribe's land into trust status in 1978 (Tiller 2005: 769). The Zuni Reservation contains 588,093 acres in several land tracts located in three counties of west central New Mexico, and across the state line in Apache County, Arizona (Tiller 2005: 769).

The Zuni Tribe organized in 1934 under the Indian Reorganization Act, and ratified its constitution in 1970. As specified in that constitution, the eight-person tribal council consists of a governor, lieutenant governor, and six council members, all of whom serve four-year terms. Enrollment of the Zuni Pueblo Tribe was 9554 in 2001, and the

population of the reservation was 7758 in 2000, according to the U.S. census (Tiller 2005: 769; U.S. Census 2000).

The Zuni Tribe is especially interested in cultural resource consultation and compliance in the study area that relates to ancestral Puebloan archaeological sites and human remains. In Zuni Tribal Resolution M70-92-L164, passed November 17, 1992, the Pueblo provided a policy statement regarding the protection and treatment of human remains and associated funerary objects. In section three, the policy states that the tribe claims,

> cultural affiliation with all pre-Puebloan, and Puebloan, and historic Zuni burials beyond the area of Zuni aboriginal title, within the entirety of the maximum geographic extent of the prehistoric Anasazi [Ancestral Puebloan] and Mogollon culture areas, and part of the Hohokam culture area. Throughout the prehistoric period the Zuni Tribe was on its migrations from the place of emergence to find the middle place, present day Zuni, and prehistoric sites of these ancient cultures are regarded by the Tribe as ancestral Zuni.
> (Zuni Tribe 1992)

Zuni has a Tribal Historic Preservation Office that oversees most compliance and consultation functions associated with cultural resources. According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal governor is the contact regarding NAGPRA compliance activities (National NAGPRA 2011). The Pueblo's cultural programs also include the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center Zuni. Simultaneously, a separate but informally linked organization, the Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, provides externally-funded cultural resource management services such as archaeological research, survey, site assessment, ethnographic assessment, site stabilization, and historic architectural documentary assessment. The Zuni Pueblo is headquartered in the village of Halona, and the tribe can be reached at P.O. Box 339, Zuni, NM 87327 (phone 505-782-7022).

NEVADA TRIBES

Las Vegas Tribe of Paiute Indians of Nevada

The contemporary population of the Las Vegas Tribe of Paiute Indians reservation is 108, according to the 2000 census, while tribal enrollment in 2004 was 56 individuals (Tiller 2005: 696). The tribe's reservation today consists of the two land parcels – the downtown Las Vegas Colony and Snow Mountain.[120] The downtown parcel, containing 16 acres, is located on the site of the original colony, which was formally established in 1911, when local landowner Helen J. Stewart sold 10 acres within Section 27 to the United States "for the use of the Paiute Indians" (97 Stat. 1384 Public Law 98-

203). Today, this parcel serves as the location of the tribal offices, housing, and other operations (Alley 1977: 9). The tribal council consists of the chair, co-chair, and five council members, all of whom serve two-year terms. A formally designated cultural representative of the tribal council, who serves as cultural resource director to the tribe, oversees most cultural resources matters. The Las Vegas Tribe has been involved in a growing number of visible efforts to protect natural and cultural resources in the Las Vegas area. Meanwhile, the tribe directs increasing attention to regional environmental concerns, including efforts to protect and restore desert environments, maintain tribal and in-stream water rights, and increase stakeholder participation in air quality regulation (Tiller 2005: 697).

With a membership that includes descendants of the contact-period "Las Vegas band," as well as a number of other Southern Paiute populations, the Las Vegas Paiutes' area of interest arguably extends somewhat into the boundaries of the Monument. Tribal administrative offices are in the downtown location, which serves as the tribal headquarters, at One Paiute Drive, Las Vegas, NV 89106 (phone 702-386-3926). The tribe requests that communication regarding cultural affairs be directed to the tribal chair and the Cultural Resources Coordinator (Nevada Department of Cultural Affairs 2010).

CALIFORNIA TRIBES

Colorado River Indian Tribes of Arizona and California

The Colorado River Indian Reservation, established on the east bank of the Colorado River in 1865, was originally meant for Mohave peoples under the leadership of Chief Irrateba. In its organic legislation, however, the reservation also was designated as a central reservation for other tribes from "the Colorado River and its tributaries," with the aim of producing a large, centralized reservation for other tribes whom had been removed from their lands. In 1874, the reservation was expanded to include lands on the west bank of the Colorado River that were occupied by the Chemehuevis. In 1945, the BIA began to encourage certain members of the Hopi and Navajo tribes to relocate to the Colorado River Indian Reservation – citing the ambiguous "tributaries" reference in its originating legislation as the legal basis for this effort. Though the Mohaves remain in the majority, today the reservation is home to all four distinct tribes, who together constitute the Colorado River Indian Tribes (CRIT). Today CRIT reports its tribal enrollment at around 3500, while the reservation's population was reported as 7466 in the 2000 census (Colorado River Indian Tribes 2009; Tiller 2005: 295; U.S. Census 2000).

The reservation of the Colorado River Indian Tribes contains just under 270,000 acres along both sides of the Colorado River between Parker, Arizona and Blythe, California.[121] Some portion of these lands are leased or independently developed for

agriculture, light industry and recreational developments in the Colorado River corridor. CRIT initiated a process of allotting land to tribal members soon after the passage of the Allotment Act of 1904, a process that continued until 1940. Today, 5,900 acres are in allotments, and tribal members commonly lease their lands for agricultural and other purposes. CRIT has senior water rights to 717,000 acre-feet of the Colorado River, which is almost one-third of the allotment for the state of Arizona (Tiller 2005: 294; Inter Tribal Council of Arizona 2003).

CRIT tribal members adopted a constitution and bylaws in 1937, under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. As specified in that constitution and bylaws, the tribe is governed by a tribal council of nine members, including the tribal chair, vice chair, secretary, treasurer and five council members, all of whom serve four-year terms (Tiller 2005: 295). The tribal government includes more than 36 different departments and a committee system to assist the tribal council (Colorado River Indian Tribes 2009; Tiller 2005: 295). The tribal administration complex is located at 26600 Mohave Road, Parker, AZ 85344 (928-669-9211). The tribe requests that communication regarding cultural affairs be directed to the tribal chair, though it is customary to include senior museum staff in most consultation venues (Nevada Department of Cultural Affairs 2010). The Colorado River Indian Tribes Museum commonly takes the lead on cultural resource compliance and consultation, usually in direct coordination with the tribal chairman.[122] According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal chair is the contact regarding NAGPRA compliance activities (National NAGPRA 2011).

Chemehuevi Tribe of California

A portion of the Chemehuevi who were being coaxed to move to the Colorado River Indian Reservation in the late 19th century hesitated to do so, but maintained a separate community in what was known as Chemehuevi Valley, near the banks of the Colorado River in southeastern California. The Chemehuevi Valley Reservation was created in 1907 to encompass this separate Chemehuevi community and included some 38,600 acres of land (Clemmer and Stewart 1986: 532). The land in Chemehuevi Valley was set aside for a reservation by order of the Secretary of the Interior under authorization from Congress, but no executive order or act of Congress to establish the reservation followed. This situation created an ambiguous status for Chemehuevi Reservation lands that lasted for most of the 20th century (Beckham 2008: 4-5).[123] Due to limited economic opportunities in Chemehuevi Valley and the offer of allotments on the Colorado River Indian Reservation to the south, many Chemehuevis in this community dispersed to other communities – especially the Colorado River Indian Reservation – by the mid-20th century (Roth 1976: 164-166). Still, despite continuing economic challenges, the community persisted and maintained a distinct identity. In 1970, the Chemehuevi Tribe officially gained federal recognition, and the present day Chemehuevi Indian Reservation, containing 30,600 acres, was established by executive order (Tiller 2005: 392; USDI BOR and Chemehuevi Indian Tribe 2001: 1).

At the time of restoration, tribal members formed an official tribal government with a constitution and bylaws that was approved in 1970 by the secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The tribe is governed by a tribal council that consists of the chair, vice chair, secretary/treasurer, and six council members, all of whom serve three-year terms. Various standing committees report to the tribal council. The tribe has gradually developed employment opportunities, and about half of the enrolled population still resides on the reservation. In 2001, there were 708 enrolled members of the Chemehuevi Indian Tribe, while the population of the reservation was 325 (Tiller 2005: 392-93; U.S. Census 2000).

The Chemehuevi Tribe continues to maintain a strong sense of attachment to places and resources within the larger Chemehuevi homeland. Tribal cultural staff often coordinates with other members of the Chemehuevi community – including CRIT, Twenty-Nine Palms, and Morongo – while also playing a role in consultation and compliance efforts regarding the larger Southern Paiute realm. The mandate to protect cultural resources is integrated broadly throughout the Chemehuevi Indian Tribe government, so that several tribal departments have some role in cultural resource preservation. Most directly involved with cultural resource compliance and consultation is the Chemehuevi Cultural Center, with a director who is involved in most consultation with federal agencies - often alongside the tribe's chairman and members of council (Chemehuevi Indian Tribe 2009).

Tribal administrative offices are located at 1990 Palo Verde Drive, P.O. Box 1976, Havasu Lake, CA 92363 (phone 760-858-4219). According to the National NAGPRA consultation database, the tribal chair and the tribe's officially designated NAGPRA representative are the contacts regarding NAGPRA compliance activities (National NAGPRA 2011).

FEDERALLY UNRECOGNIZED TRIBES AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATIONS

Pahrump Band of Paiutes, Nevada

The Pahrump Band of Paiutes, also called the Pahrump Paiute Tribe, is a non-federally recognized tribe of Southern Paiute people. The band identifies a traditional territory that straddles the Nevada-California state border in the vicinity of Pahrump, Nevada and includes western portions of Spring Mountains (Stoffle et al. 2004: 74). The tribe has strong historical associations with other Southern Paiute communities, and while the core of the community is the historical Pahrump Band, some tribal members can trace portions of their ancestry to other Southern Paiute communities in the vicinity of the study area. Originating from a distinct band centered in the Pahrump area, the modern community developed on the margins of the town of Pahrump, where tribal members worked for ranches and other enterprises while retaining many elements of

their traditional leadership and subsistence practices. The Pahrump Band of Paiutes began exploring options for federal recognition in the 20th century and filed a letter of intent to petition, dated 11/9/1987 (BIA 2008). The tribe is governed by a five-member tribal council headed by the tribal chair. In 1992, there were 70 enrolled members, 50 of who lived on their traditional land (Pritzker 2000:233). At present the tribe does not have reservation land.

Even though they are not federally recognized, the tribe is often included in the government-to-government consultation process regarding cultural and natural resources in the region. The tribal chairman is listed among Nevada tribal contacts by the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office and serves as the point of contact for a variety of tribal compliance and consultation activities (Nevada Department of Cultural Affairs 2010). Local and state agencies sometimes consult with Pahrump, as well (Ricondo & Assocs. 2003). The tribe requests that communication regarding cultural affairs be directed to the Chair of the tribal council, P.O. Box 3411, Pahrump, NV 89041 (Nevada Department of Cultural Affairs 2010).

Southern Paiute Consortium

The Southern Paiute Consortium (SPC) was created in 1993 by and for its member tribes: the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians and the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. Over time, other Southern Paiute tribes have become involved with the SPC, including but not limited to the Las Vegas and Moapa bands. The consortium's mission is to improve the participation of those federally recognized tribes in the Glen Canyon Dam Adaptive Management Program and to disseminate information on the relationship of Southern Paiutes to the Colorado River and the region surrounding it (Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians 2008).

Over time, the SPC's responsibilities have expanded somewhat, providing a kind of integrated Southern Paiute organization for certain compliance and consultation functions in the absence of similar "umbrella organizations." The SPC's expanded responsibilities have included participation in NAGPRA consultations as a representative of its constituent tribes. A 1998 notice of inventory completion (Federal Register document 98-12648) lists consultation with "Southern Paiute Consortium (on behalf of the Kaibab Paiute Band, Cedar City Paiute Band, Indian Peak Paiute Band, Kanosh Paiute Band, Koosharem Paiute Band, Las Vegas Paiute Band, Moapa Paiute Band, and Shivwits Paiute Band)." Three notices of inventory completion published in 2000 and 2001 include the SPC, noting consultation was done "in coordination with Southern Paiute Consortium" (Federal Register documents 98-12648, 00-29807 and 01-8990). A notice published in 2010 includes consultation with "the Southern Paiute Consortium, a non-federally recognized Indian group" (Federal Register document 2010-17874). The presence of the SPC provides a convenient organizational structure for some agencies wishing to work directly with the organization's member tribes – especially in the Colorado River region, which has been the principal geographical

focus of SPC efforts. This is particularly true in such cases as the NAGPRA examples listed above indicate, when sites, resources or human remains are clearly "Southern Paiute" but are not readily assigned to any single Southern Paiute tribe, due to overlapping interests between the various SPC member tribes.

Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition

In fiscal year 2000, the National Park Service announced grant awards made to assist with implementation of NAGPRA; one of the 38 funded projects was to "support the formation of a Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition to address mutual repatriation issues among federally recognized Tribes throughout the Great Basin Region" (NPS n.d.). This coalition is a non-federally recognized Native American group that includes the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada. The number of tribes who participate in the coalition varies on a case-by-case basis, depending on the NAGPRA case under review. The total number participating since the coalition's founding has been described in NAGPRA documents as between 20 and 30 federally recognized tribes (FR Doc. E8-6557 2008 and NPS 2005:31).

Since 2008 the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition has been listed in four notices of inventory completion as a consultation entity, representing 16, 19 or 20 tribes, depending on the notice (FR Doc. E8-6557, E8-30895, E9-29297, 2010-21195). Pending repatriations in three of the four notices were to be made to the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition or the Paiute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Colony, Nevada, on behalf of the coalition (FR Doc. E8-6557, E8-30895, E9-29297). The fourth notice indicated pending repatriation to the 19 tribes and bands in the coalition plus another 20 tribes and bands not listed in the notice as coalition members (FR Doc. 2010-21195).

As with the Southern Paiute Consortium, the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition has provided a valuable vehicle for multi-tribal compliance efforts when sites, resources or human remains are clearly associated with Great Basin tribes but are not readily affiliated with any single federally recognized tribe. Complications about identifying tribes are due to reasons such as overlapping interests between the various member tribes, ambiguous provenience, or the absence of distinctive culturally identifiable materials.[124] With similar reasoning, the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA coalition has also played a growing role in censuring and prompting renewed repatriation efforts by museums and other collection-holding entities that have not repatriated materials on the basis of their not being "culturally identifiable." Provenience within the traditional territories of the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition may be sufficient grounds, by their assertion, to warrant the repatriation of those remains and funerary objects through the coalition.

In published notices of inventory completion, the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition has consulted and repatriated human remains on behalf of 25 tribes (including nine constituent bands). They include the following:

Alturas Indian Ranchería, California;
Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute Shoshone Indians of the Big Pine Reservation, California;
Bridgeport Paiute Indian Colony of California;
Burns Paiute Tribe, California;
Chemehuevi Indian Tribe of the Chemehuevi Reservation, California;
Duckwater Shoshone Tribe of the Duckwater Reservation, Nevada;
Ely Shoshone Tribe of Nevada;
Fort McDermitt Paiute and Shoshone Tribes of the Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation, NV, OR;
Las Vegas Tribe of Paiute Indians of the Las Vegas Indian Colony, Nevada;
Lovelock Paiute Tribe of the Lovelock Indian Colony, Nevada;
Moapa Band of Paiute Indians of the Moapa River Indian Reservation, Nevada;
Northwestern Band of Shoshoni Nation of Utah (Washakie);
Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Bishop Community of the Bishop Colony, California;
Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Lone Pine Community of the Lone Pine Reservation, California;
Paiute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Colony, Nevada;
Reno-Sparks Indian Colony, Nevada;
Shoshone Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming;
Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation of Idaho;
Shoshone-Paiute Tribes of the Duck Valley Reservation, Nevada;
Southern Ute Indian Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation, Colorado;
Susanville Indian Ranchería, California;
Te-Moak Tribe of Western Shoshone Indians of Nevada (Four constituent bands: Battle Mountain Band, Elko Band, South Fork Band, and Wells Band);
Washoe Tribe of Nevada & California (Carson Colony, Dresslerville Colony, Woodfords Community, Steward Community, and Washoe Ranches);
Yerington Paiute Tribe of the Yerington Colony & Campbell Ranch, Nevada;
Yomba Shoshone Tribe of the Yomba Reservation, Nevada

The Hopi are also reported to have worked with this organization on repatriation efforts in their western areas of interest. The current contact for the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition is Ray Stands, cultural coordinator for the Paiute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Colony. Inquiries may be directed to Mr. Stands at the Education Department, 8955 Mission Road, Fallon, NV 89406, (phone) 775-423-8065, (fax) 775-423-8067.

Conclusion

Perched on the relatively quiet northern edge of the Grand Canyon, the Monument – named for a Southern Paiute family – has been home to Native American communities for centuries. This landscape has served as a source of both subsistence and other natural resources for tribes and other communities, and it possesses deep cultural and historical meaning to a number of distinct tribes. In spite of the many changes of the 20th and early 21st century, the significance of this Monument endures, and it serves as a place of personal meaning to many tribal members from a variety of tribes, who see Grand Canyon-Parashant as being important to their past, their present, and their future as a people.

The literature regarding the history and culture of the tribes of the Arizona Strip, while not vast, still allows us insights into the history of this unique place and to the enduring attachments of the tribes to the land. In this document, we have sought to provide a review of the written record regarding these tribal associations with THE MONUMENT that might provide background to Monument consultation and compliance efforts, while also helping to contextualize modern tribes' claims to affiliation with particular lands and resources now managed by the NPS and the BLM. We have sought to locate and organize information regarding the archaeological history of the Monument, the fundamentals of contact period tribal territories and land and resource use, as well as details regarding the historical transformation of contact period ethnolinguistic groups into the federally recognized tribes of today. This is a small, but important, preliminary step in documenting the tribal history of the region – helping to build the foundation for future research, to support the development of programmatic agreements, and facilitating positive and enduring relationships between the Monument and traditionally associated tribes.

Throughout this research, one thing is very clear: Southern Paiute people have had, and continue to possess, very strong ties to the whole of the Monument. Almost every ethnographic, historical, and legal document consulted in the course of the study suggests this connection unambiguously. While the exact configuration of Southern Paiute bands at the time of contact has been a point of ongoing debate, it is clear that the ancestors of the contemporary membership of PITU (especially, but not only, the Shivwits Band and the now-dispersed Uinkaret Band), Kaibab, and Moapa lived in and around the Monument.

The events of the 19th century brought considerable disruption to the lives of Southern Paiute people and to their use of, and access to, the lands in and around the study area. A number of tribal members from bands from southwestern Utah and the western Arizona Strip, including bands whose traditional territory was situated within the current boundaries of the Monument, joined kin in the constituent bands of the

contemporary Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. Many Paiute families from the central Arizona Strip region and beyond consolidated within the Kaibab Paiute community. The reservation at Moapa also served as the destination for Southern Paiutes from throughout their aboriginal range – temporarily for some families and permanently for others – resulting in a reservation population made up primarily of Paiutes from the Moapa area, but including families from throughout the Paiute portion of the Arizona Strip. While groups such as Shivwits, Uinkarets, and Moapa relocated out of Parashant's boundaries during the 19th century, descendants from these Southern Paiute bands maintain a strong sense of attachment to the lands they once occupied in what is today the Monument.

Parashant-area Paiute bands were also part of larger social networks spanning across modern state lines. If the Southern Paiute people were somewhat seamlessly integrated across band boundaries at contact, integration only increased in the 19th and 20th centuries. This increased integration has created a situation in which many contemporary Southern Paiute communities throughout the Arizona Strip, southern Utah, southwestern Nevada and beyond have grounds for claimed historical associations with Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument (Map 12). By extension, and in light of the strong cultural and kinship ties between these tribes and other Southern Paiute peoples, most modern Southern Paiute tribes could be said to have connections to the Monument, including Las Vegas, San Juan, and even more distant Southern Paiute tribes including Chemehuevi,[125] the membership of the Colorado River Indian Tribes, and the federally unrecognized Pahrump Band (Maps 7 & 12). Clearly PITU, Kaibab, and Moapa all have well-established histories relating to the Monument and should be regularly contacted regarding the full spectrum of tribal consultation matters there; however, the ethnohistorical records suggests that these other Southern Paiute tribes also have interests in the Monument and should continue to be invited to consult on most matters.

Tribes other than the Southern Paiute possess especially strong interests in the Monument, as well. The Puebloan peoples, who once occupied the northern rim of the Grand Canyon, left in their wake a number of settlement sites, burial sites, and other sites that are continually encountered archaeologically. Contemporary Puebloan peoples, most notably Hopi and Zuni, continue to maintain a sense of attachment to these ancestral lands and express an eagerness to be involved with consultation and compliance relating to archaeological and burial sites, especially. The archaeological record confirms the strength of those ties and suggests that these Puebloan tribes will have a prominent role in future consultation and compliance activities at the Monument into the foreseeable future.

Meanwhile, other tribes clearly have interests in the Monument, especially along the Colorado River corridor, which served as a key landmark, spiritually significant place, and transportation pathway for many tribes of the region. Most of these connections are poorly represented in the written literature consulted for this study and may

warrant expanded research or consultation with these tribes to clarify their extent. The northern bands of Hualapai have traditionally occupied the southern bank of the river opposite from Grand Canyon-Parashant, but various sources suggest occasional use of areas on the northern side of the river alongside Southern Paiute communities. Oral traditions often breached the vast Canyon, too, suggesting that the Monument was known to, and valued by, Hualapai people over a very long period of time. So too, the closely related Havasupai have very longstanding traditions of riverine resource use, settlement, and other cultural activities that sometimes placed them on the northern banks of the Colorado and on the margins of what is today the Monument.

There are a number of other tribes that also possess ancient ties to the study area, though their primary interests lay outside the boundaries of the Monument, so they were not discussed at length in this document. For example, Navajo areas of interest include the length of the Colorado River and Grand Canyon, and there are oral traditions and spiritual practices relating to those associations. Their linkages specifically to Parashant remain unclear in consulted sources, though, and may warrant expanded discussion with Navajo representatives (Deur and Confer 2012). Mojave – now represented by Fort Mojave and CRIT - also possess oral traditions addressing the Arizona Strip and associated reaches of the Colorado River, which are referenced in their salt and bird songs, and other Mojave oral traditions. Western Shoshone people sometimes report having passed through the area, but even those literatures that define Shoshone territory broadly suggest that the Monument was well beyond the southeastern edge of this territory, though lands within the Monument were no doubt visited occasionally by this highly mobile group.[126] Within the corpus of Hualapai, Havasupai, Mojave and Navajo, the oral traditions describe spiritual beings and human beings traveling the lower Colorado River region in the course of journeys undertaken for trade and other purposes. Landmarks recalled through these oral traditions are still of enduring importance to these peoples today (Deur and Confer 2012).

These facts are simply a foundation for understanding contemporary tribal interests, which require further attention than what can be incorporated into this report. The historical intensity of Native American use of lands and resources within what is now the Monument, coupled with the proximity of modern tribal members and the endurance of traditional use areas and named cultural sites, suggests a cultural geography of lasting importance at Grand Canyon-Parashant. Based on information provided informally by tribal representatives in the course of this project, it is clear that a number of contemporary tribal members still wish to access the Monument for purposes of plant gathering, social gatherings, educational events, and ceremonial purposes. Moreover, the written record provides only a very incomplete picture of tribal use and occupation at the Monument. Much of what might still be recovered exists in the memories and personal accounts of living tribal members. The considerable knowledge of living tribal people is not much reflected in this document, as the focus is place upon the written record. The NPS and BLM are well advised to seek that knowledge, either through consultation or through additional studies that

record tribal members' knowledge and perspectives firsthand, as it relates to particular lands and resources in the Monument. Such efforts would no doubt prove fruitful and reveal an entirely new level of detail related to the many themes of the current document, no doubt including many facts never before put into writing.

In light of these facts, further research would be strongly recommended – involving Traditional Use Studies, or similar studies, that might systematically document the knowledge and perspectives of contemporary tribal members. A Traditional Use Study can be designed to be very broad and inclusive, documenting tribal uses of lands and resources in general terms, or can focus more narrowly on specific questions or themes of particular interest to agencies and tribes. The exact relationship of some Southwest tribes to the Monument remains ambiguous in spite of some reported associations with the study area, and this might be addressed in the course of interview research. A study identifying places of enduring importance to tribal members is especially recommended. The Monument may be reasonably expected to contain Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) or lands that may warrant special consideration under Executive Order 13007 (Sacred sites), AIRFA, and DOI guidance pertaining to sacred sites, such as the December 5, 2012 *Memorandum of Understanding Regarding Interagency Coordination and Collaboration for the Protection of Indian Sacred Sites*. Such places might be identified in the course of a Traditional Use Study. So too, there may be opportunities to collaboratively develop interpretive content on tribal history and cultural knowledge, illuminating themes judged to be appropriate and desirable by tribal and agency staff, alike. This type of interpretive planning can be undertaken through a Traditional Use Study or similar mechanisms. There are a number of collaborative interpretive planning projects, such as those between the Nuwuvi Working Group and various land management agencies including the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Forest Service, which can serve as examples of effective collaborations between Native American entities and federal agencies (see Spoon et al. 2011; 2012). The reports and interpretive exhibits resulting from these types of collaborations may offer a variety of benefits both to tribes and the agencies, including but not limited to enhancing exhibits through introducing multivocality, empowering tribes to share their perspectives in a public forum, and building and maintaining rapport between Native American groups and federal land managers (Spoon and Arnold 2012; Lahoff 2013).

Furthermore, in light of proposed changes to NPS plant gathering regulations being considered at the time of this writing, and the apparent interest of some tribal members in plant gathering opportunities within the Monument, more information may be needed on such topics as contemporary resource harvests. These pending plant gathering regulations may allow tribes to negotiate plant gathering agreements with NPS units, but research on plant use patterns and effects is anticipated as part of these agreements. A Traditional Use Study focusing on past and present plant gathering practices may be of particular use. There are examples of Traditional Use Studies focusing on plant gathering in other parks that might provide some guideposts for such an effort (Deur 2006).

More important than further studies, though, is the continued dialogue between the Monument's staff and traditionally associated tribes. While consultation with tribes is important, it is perhaps even more important that agencies maintain a rapport with tribes that extends well beyond the limits of consultation and compliance. In this respect, Parashant is already well ahead of many public lands. The Monument and associated tribes have made strides in recent years to develop meaningful partnerships: hiring tribal interns at the Monument, organizing cultural education events at the Monument through the Paiute Indian Youth Partnership, and working cooperatively in the development of Southern Paiute cultural curriculum to guide these events (Clark 2010). Only through regular and open communication, and the mutual trust fostered by these kinds of developments, can agencies and tribes identify the full range of concerns and interests shared by all parties.

There are residents in many of these tribes who have been eager to share their knowledge, hopes, and concerns about the Monument with members of our research team over the course of the project. That willingness to share extends to NPS staff who might wish to hear these perspectives and to help build lasting relationships of mutual trust with the tribes of the greater Grand Canyon-Parashant region. Tribal representatives were often eager, not only for government-to-government consultation, but an enduring and often less formalized relationship between their community and the NPS and BLM. Certainly, these tribes and these agencies are here for the long term and will need to find ways of protecting resources of mutual interest and advancing broader issues of shared concern. All parties have much to discuss. More often than some might expect, they have parallel interests, as they seek to maintain the integrity of the Monument "unimpaired for...future generations."

The current document absolutely should not be seen as the final word on any aspect of tribal history or culture, but serves as context and as a point of departure for mutually beneficial conversations about the lands and resources of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument – lands and resources that both agencies and tribes wish to steward and protect, though perhaps in ways that reflect the different histories and mandates of each group. The tribes of the region have occupied and used these lands since time immemorial and will continue to play an important role in their stewardship into the foreseeable future. The two federal agencies mandated with the management of the Monument also have a long-term interest in the stewardship of these lands and share many interests and objectives with these tribes. It is our sincere hope that the current report might assist these parties – even in small ways – in their ongoing efforts to care for these lands and to develop mutually beneficial opportunities for dialogue and collaboration. Moreover, it is our sincere hope that this report will help foster this long-term conversation and sustain enduring, positive relationships between the National Park Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and those Native American tribes that still know and care deeply about Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Treaties with Tribes proximate to Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument

Appendix B: Selected Federal Law, Policy, and Other Legal Instruments related to Cultural Resources and Tribal Consultation

Appendix C: Current Contact Information for Tribal Historic Preservation Offices Associated with Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, 2014

Appendix A:

Treaties with Tribes proximate to Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument

Including

Unratified Treaties

TREATY WITH THE UTAH, YAMPAH UTE, PAH-VANT, SANPETE UTE, TIM-P-NOGS AND CUM-NM-BAH BANDS OF THE UTAH INDIANS
(The "Treaty of Spanish Fork")

TREATY WITH THE PI-EDE AND PAH-UTE TRIBE OR BAND OF INDIANS OCCUPYING LANDS WITHIN UTAH TERRITORY
(The "Treaty of Pinto Creek")

TREATY WITH THE UTAH, YAMPAH UTE, PAH-VANT, SANPETE UTE, TIM-P-NOGS AND CUM-NM-BAH BANDS OF THE UTAH INDIANS, 1865

June 8, 1865. | Unratified.

Articles of Agreement and Convention made and concluded at Spanish Fork Indian Farm, in the Territory of Utah, this Eighth day of June, Eighteen hundred and sixty five, by O. W. Irish, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for said Territory, Commissioner, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men and delegates of the Utah, Yampah Ute, Pah-vant, Sanpete Ute, Tim-p-nogs and Cum-nm-bah Bands of the Utah Indians occupying the lands within Utah Territory, on behalf of Said Indians and duly authorized by them.

ARTICLE 1.

The said bands of Indians hereby surrender and relinquish to the United States all their possessory right of occupancy in and to all of the lands heretofore claimed and occupied by them, as hereinafter mentioned, within the defined boundaries of the Territory of Utah as follows—to wit, Commencing at a point formed by the intersection of the thirty second degree of longitude west from Washington with the forty first degree of north latitude; thence due west on the forty first degree of north latitude to the thirty eighth degree of longitude; thence due south on the thirty eighth degree of longitude to the thirty eighth degree of north latitude; thence due east on the thirty eighth degree of north latitude to the thirty second degree of longitude; thence due north on the thirty second degree of longitude to the forty first degree of north latitude to the place of beginning.

ARTICLE II.

There is however reserved for the exclusive use and occupation of the said tribes the following tract of lands; viz "the entire valley of the Uintah River within Utah Territory extending on both sides of said river to the crest of the first range of contiguous mountains on each side" which said tract shall be, so far as is necessary, surveyed and marked out, set aside and reserved for their exclusive use and occupation nor shall any white person, unless he be in the employ of the Indian authorities, be permitted to reside upon the same, without permission of the said tribe, and of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs or United States Indian Agent. It is however understood that should the President of the United States hereafter see fit to place upon the reservation, any other friendly tribe or bands of Indians of Utah Territory, to occupy the same in common with those above mentioned, he shall be at liberty to do so.

ARTICLE III.

The said tribes and bands agree to remove to and settle upon the said reservation within one year after the ratification of this treaty, provided the means lie furnished them by the United States to enable them to do so—In the meantime it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any land not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any land claimed or occupied if with the permission of the owner.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds, and stations is further reserved to said Indians in common with all white citizens of the Territory and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing them, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands.

ARTICLE V.

In consideration of the foregoing relinquishment of their right of possession the United States agree and stipulate as follows; viz:

First, to protect the Indians in the possession of the aforesaid tract of land reserved for their future homes, and their persons and property thereon, during good behavior on their part,

Second, To pay to them, or expend for their benefit the sum of twenty five thousand ($25,000.00/100) dollars per annum for ten years; commencing with the year in which they shall remove to and settle upon the tract of land hereby reserved for their exclusive use and occupation, twenty thousand ($20,000.00/100) dollars per annum for twenty years, from and after the expiration of the said ten years, and thereafter fifteen thousand ($15,00000.00/100) dollars per annum for thirty years; all of which sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine at his discretion upon what beneficial objects to expend the same. It being understood that these several amounts are fixed as the amounts to be paid to, or expended for the said tribes and bands of Indians upon the basis of their number being five thousand (5,000) persons including men, women and children—If it should, however, hereafter upon a census being taken, be found that there is a material increase or decrease of the said Indians from the number as above stated, then and in that case the said amounts to be paid to them, or expended on their behalf, shall in the same proportion be increased or diminished as the case may be.

Third, For the purpose of making improvements in the Uintah Valley Reservation for the comfort of the Indians who may inhabit the same, to enable them to become self sustaining by means of agriculture, and to procure Cattle for stock raising, the United

States agree to expend in accordance with the terms of the Act of Congress approved May 5th 1864, and entitled "An Act to vacate and sell the present Indian reservations in Utah Territory, and to settle the Indians of said Territory in the Uintah Valley," the sum of thirty thousand ($30,000.00) dollars, that being the sum appropriated for this purpose by the said act of Congress.

The United States further agree in pursuance of the aforesaid Act of Congress to sell for the use and benefit of the Indians, for the best price that can be obtained, the Indian reservations known as the Spanish Fork Reservation, containing fifteen thousand (15,000) acres, the San Pete Reservation containing ninety-two thousand one hundred and sixty (92,160) acres, the Corn Creek Reservation containing ninety-two thousand, one hundred and sixty (92,160) acres, and the Deep Creek Reservation containing ninety-two thousand one hundred and sixty (92,160) acres, the four Indian Reservations aforesaid containing in all two hundred ninety-one thousand, four hundred and eighty (291,480) acres. The amount realized from the said sale shall be applied, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, in the construction of improvements upon the said Uintah Indian Reservation, or to the purchase of stock, agricultural implements, or such other useful articles as to him may seem best adapted to the wants and requirements of the Indians settled thereon in pursuance of this Treaty: Provided, that if the United States should sell the said lands at an average price of less than sixty-two and one-half cents per acre, then and in that case the amount that the said lands would have realized if sold at that price shall be made up to the Indians and be expended for their benefit by the Secretary of the Interior as aforesaid.

Fourth, The United States agree to establish and maintain for ten years, at an expense not to exceed ten thousand ($10,000.00) dollars per annum a manual labor school for the education and training of the Indian youth in letters, agriculture, the mechanic arts, and housewifery; which school shall be managed and conducted in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct; the said bands of Indians hereby stipulate to constantly keep thereat, during at least nine months in every year, all their children between the ages of seven and eighteen years. It is further agreed that such measures may be adopted, to compel the attendance of the children at the school, as the President may think proper and direct; and whenever he shall be satisfied of a failure to fulfil the aforesaid stipulation on the part of the Indians he may, at his discretion, diminish or wholly discontinue the allowance and expenditure of the sum herein set apart for the support and maintenance of said school.

Fifth, The United States agree to provide the Indians with a mill suitable for grinding grain and sawing timber, one or more mechanic shops, with the necessary tools for the same, and dwelling houses for an interpreter, miller, engineer for the mill, if one be necessary, farmer and the mechanics that may be employed for their benefit, the whole not to exceed in cost the sum of fifteen thousand ($15,000.00/100) dollars, and also to expend annually, for ten years, an amount not exceeding seven thousand ($7,000.00/100) dollars, for the purpose of furnishing said Indians with such aid and

assistance in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, including the working of said mill, as the Secretary of the Interior may consider advantageous and necessary for them; the tribe and bands of Indians hereby stipulating to furnish from their tribe the number of young men that may be required as apprentices and assistants in the mill and mechanic shops, and at least three persons to work constantly with each laborer employed for them in agricultural pursuits, it being understood that such laborers are to be employed more for the instruction of the Indians than merely to work for their benefit.

They do further stipulate and bind themselves to prevent any of the members of their tribe from destroying or injuring the said houses, shops, mill, machinery, stock, farming utensils, or any other thing furnished them by the Government, and in case of any such destruction or injury, or of any of the things so furnished being carried off by any member or members of their tribe, the value of the same shall be deducted from the tribal annuities, and whenever the President shall be satisfied that the Indians have become sufficiently confirmed in habits of industry and advanced in acquiring a practical knowledge of agriculture and the mechanic arts, he may at his discretion, cause to be turned over to the tribe all of the said houses and other property furnished them by the United States, and dispense with the services of any or all of the persons hereinbefore stipulated to be employed for their benefit and assistance. And it is hereby provided, That all of the expenditures and expenses, contemplated by this treaty, in the transportation of supplies, machinery &c shall be defrayed by the United States and shall not be deducted from any one of the several sums herein mentioned, which the United States agree to pay to or expend for the benefit of the said Indians, in pursuance hereof.

ARTICLE VI.

The United States shall have the right to establish and maintain such roads or Telegraph lines, as may be deemed necessary, within or running through the tract of country hereby reserved for the use of the Indians, but no greater quantity of land or timber shall be used for said purposes than shall be actually requisite; and if in the establishment or maintenance. of such roads, the property of any Indian shall be taken, injured or destroyed, just and adequate compensation shall be made therefor by the United States, and all roads, highways or telegraph lines authorized by competent authority, other than the United States, the lines of which shall lie through said tract, shall have the right of way through the same; the fair and just value of such right being paid to the said tribe and bends of Indians therefor by the party or parties authorizing the same or interested therein; to be assessed and determined in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct. And it is hereby further stipulated that any substantial improvements heretofore made by any Indian and which he shall be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President and payment made accordingly therefor.

ARTICLE VII.

The President may hereafter when in his opinion, the interests of the Indians will be promoted by so doing, cause the whole or any portion of the lands hereby reserved to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same, under such terms and subject to such conditions as he may deem best for the Indians, to such individuals or families of the tribe or bands as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege and will locate on the same as a permanent home. The United States agree to build for the head chiefs of the Utah, Yampah Ute, Pah-vant, Sanpete Ute, Tim-p-nogs and Cum-um-bah bands, each, one dwelling house, and to plough and fence five acres of land for each, and to pay to each, one hundred ($100.00/100) dollars per annum for the term of twenty years. The first payment to each of the said chiefs to commence upon his removal to the said Reservation. The United States further agree to give to each, within three months of his removal to the Reservation, two yoke of oxen, two yokes and two chains, one wagon, one plow, ten hoes, six axes, two shovels, two spades, four scythes and snaths, one saddle and bridle and one set of harness.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Annuities of the aforesaid tribes and bands shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

ARTICLE IX.

The said tribes and bands acknowledge their dependence on the Government of the United States and promise to be friendly with all Citizens thereof and they pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of such Citizens, should any one or more of them violate this pledge and the fact be satisfactorily proven before the Agent, the property taken shall be returned or in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the Government out of their Annuities! Nor will they make war on any other tribe, except in self defence, but will submit all matters of difference between them and the other Indians to the Government of the United States or its Agent, for decision and abide thereby, and if any of the said Indians commit depredations on other Indians within the Territory, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this Article in cases of depredations against Citizens, and the said tribes agree not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to the authorities for trial.

ARTICLE X.

The above tribes and bands are desirous to exclude from their reservation the use of ardent spirits and to prevent their people from using the same, and therefore it is provided, That any Indian, belonging to said tribe and bands, who is guilty of bringing Liquor onto said reservation, or who drinks Liquor, may have his or her proportion of

the Annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine, also, that no person, not belonging to the tribe or tribes, or band or bands, occupying this Reservation as before stated, shall be permitted to take Liquor or any intoxicating drink on to Said Reservation without special permission from the Secretary of the Interior.

ARTICLE XI.

This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said O. H. Irish, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory, and the undersigned Chiefs, head-men and delegates of the aforesaid tribes and bands of Indians have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

O. H. Irish,
Supt. Ind. Affairs and Commissioner.
Sow-E-Ett (nearly starved) his x mark
Kon-Osh (man of white hair) his x mark
Tabby (the sun) his x mark
To-Quo-Ne (black mountain lion) his x mark
Sow-Ok-Soo-Bet (arrow feather) his x mark
An-Kar-Tew-Ets (red boy) his x mark
San-Pitch (bull rush) his x mark
Kibets (mountain) his x mark
Am-Oosh his x mark
An-Kar-Aw-Keg (red rifle) his x mark
Naup-Peades (foot mother) his x mark
Pan-Sook (otter) his x mark
Pean-Up (big foot) his x mark
Eah-Land (shot to pieces) his x mark
Nar-I-Ent (powerful) his x mark
Que-O-Land (bear) his x mark

Executed in the presence of—
Brigham Young,
Geo. A. Smith, Pres. Legislative Council.
John Taylor, Speaker House of Representatives.
H. C. Doll, Clerk.
D.B. Huntington, Interpreter Utah Superintendency.
Geo. W. Bean, Interpreter Spanish Fork Farm.
C.A. Huntington, Interpreter Uintah Agency.

TREATY WITH THE PI-EDE AND PAH-UTE TRIBE OR BAND OF INDIANS OCCUPYING LANDS WITHIN UTAH TERRITORY, 1865

September 18, 1865. | Unratified.

Articles of Agreement and Convention made and concluded at Pinto Creek, in the Territory of Utah, this Eighteenth day of September, Eighteen hundred and sixty five, by O. W. Irish, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for said Territory, Commissioner, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned Chiefs, head-men and delegates of the Pi-ede and Pah-Ute Tribe or Band of Indians occupying lands within Utah Territory, on behalf of Said Indians and duly authorized by them.

ARTICLE 1.

The said Pi-ede and Pah-Ute bands of Indians hereby surrender and relinquish to the United States all their possessory right of occupancy in and to all of the lands heretofore claimed and occupied by them, as hereinafter mentioned, within the defined boundaries of the Territory of Utah as follows—to wit, Commencing at a point formed by the intersection of the thirty second degree of longitude west from Washington with the thirty eight degree of north latitude; thence due west on the thirty eighth degree of north latitude to the thirty eighth degree of longitude; thence due south on the thirty eighth degree of longitude to the thirty seventh degree of north latitude; thence due east on the thirty seventh degree of north latitude to the thirty second degree of longitude; thence due north on the thirty second degree of longitude to the thirty eighth degree of north latitude to the place of beginning.

ARTICLE II.

In consideration of the forgoing relinquishment of their right of possession, The United States agree and stipulate, to secure to the members of said bands of Indians all the rights and privileges guaranteed by the treaty made and concluded at Spanish Fork Indian Farm on the Eighth day of June A.D. 1865 between the United States and the several bands of Utah Indians, jointly with said bands or tribe of Indians. The said Treaty having been read and fully interpreted and explained to the chiefs, head-men and delegates of the said Pi-ede and Pah-Ute bands of lndians, they hereby agree to faithfully observe and abide by all of the provisions, stipulations and agreements contained in said treaty and to confederate with the several bands of Utah Indians, parties thereto agree to remove to and settle upon the Uintah Indian Reservation within one year after the ratification of this treaty, provided the means are furnished them by the United States to enable them to do so.

Whereupon they shall be entitled to and shall participate jointly with the Utah Indians, parties to the said treaty, in all of the annuities the advantages to be derived from the improvements and schools therein provided for. The United States agrees to build for the head chief of the Pi-ede and Pah-Ute Tribe of Indians, one dwelling house and to

plough and fence for him five acres of land, and to pay him one hundred ($100.00) dollars per annum for the term of twenty years. The first payment to commence upon his removal to the said Reservation.

The United States further agree to give to him within three months of his removal to the Reservation, two yoke of oxen, two yokes and two chains, one wagon, one plow, ten hoes, six axes, two shovels, two spades, four scythes and snaths, one saddle and bridle and one set of harness.

ARTICLE III.

This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said O. H. Irish, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Utah Territory, and the undersigned Chiefs, head-men and delegates of the aforesaid Bands of Indians have set their hands, at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

O. H. Irish,
Supt. Ind. Affairs and Commissioner.
(Hardy)
(Sunrise)
(Wild Goose)
(Powder)
(Trout Hunter)
(Hair Lip)

Appendix B

Selected Federal Law, Policy, and Other Legal Instruments related to Cultural Resources and Tribal Consultation

Legislation related to Cultural Resources and/or Federal Tribal Consultation

The following synopses have been partially excerpted from a document prepared by the White House – Indian Affairs Executive Working Group (WH-IAEWG), Consultation and Coordination Advisory Group (CACAG), January 2009. For the full text of the Acts listed below, see http://www.nps.gov/history/laws.htm.

I. Government-wide

Federal Laws

American Antiquities Act of 1906 as amended (16 USC 431-433)
This act provides for the protection of historic or prehistoric remains and sites of scientific value on federal lands, establishes criminal sanctions for unauthorized destruction or removal of antiquities, authorizes the president to establish national monuments by proclamation, and authorizes the scientific investigation of antiquities on federal lands, subject to permit and regulations. The Archeological Resources Protection Act (1979) supersedes the Antiquities Act as an alternative federal tool for prosecution of antiquities violations in NPS areas.

American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 as amended (AIRFA) (42 USC 1996 and 1996a)
AIRFA establishes the policy of the federal government to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including, but not limited to, access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.

Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 as amended (AHPA) (16 USC 469-469c-2)
AHPA was originally known as the Reservoir Salvage Act when the initial legislation was enacted in 1960. With broadening amendments, the Act became known as the Moss-Bennett Act (after an early amendment) or the Archeological Recovery Act. AHPA requires that federal agencies provide for the preservation of historical and archeological data, including artifacts and specimens that might otherwise be irreparably lost or destroyed as the result of alteration to terrain caused by federal construction of federally licensed activities or programs.

Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 as amended (ARPA) (16 USC 470aa-mm)
ARPA requires federal agencies to consult with tribal authorities before permitting archeological excavations on tribal lands (16 U.S.C. 470cc(c)). It also mandates the

confidentially of information concerning the nature and location of archeological resources, including tribal archaeological resources. (Also refer to the ARPA implementing regulations concerning consultation.)

Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act of 1935 as amended (16 USC 461-467)
This act directs the Secretary of Interior to carry out wide-ranging programs in the field of history and places with the Secretary the responsibility for national leadership in the field of historic preservation. It authorizes the Historic American Buildings Survey, Historic American Engineering Record, and National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.

National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 as amended (NEPA) (42 USC 4321, and 4331-4335)
NEPA requires the preparation of an environmental assessment (EA) or environmental impact statement (EIS) for any proposed major federal action that may significantly affect the quality of the human environment. While the statutory language of NEPA does not mention Indian tribes, the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) regulations and guidance do require agencies to contact Indian tribes and provide them with opportunities to participate at various stages in the preparation of an EA or EIS. CEQ has issued a Memorandum for Tribal Leaders encouraging tribes to participate as cooperating agencies with federal agencies in NEPA reviews. Section 40 CFR 1501.2(d)(2) requires that Federal agencies consult with Indian tribes early in the NEPA process. Other sections also refer to interacting with Indian tribes while implementing the NEPA process.

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended (NHPA) (16 USC 470 et seq.)
NHPA requires a Federal agency, in carrying out its responsibilities under section 106 of this Act, to consult with any Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization that attaches religious and cultural significance to properties described in subparagraph (A).(Section 101(d) (6) (B)) of the Act.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 as amended (NAGPRA) (25 USC 3001 et seq.) (NAGPRA Final Rule, 43 CFR 10)
NAGPRA requires consultations with Indian tribes, traditional religious leaders and lineal descendants of Native Americans regarding the treatment and disposition of specific kinds of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and other items. Under the Act, consultation is required under certain circumstances, including those identified in Sections 3002(c), 3002(d), 3003, 3004, and 3005. (Also refer to the NAGPRA implementing regulations concerning consultation. Detailed information about NAGPRA and its implementing regulations is available at the National Park Service (NPS) National NAGPRA website, which can be found at:
http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/

Executive Orders

EO 11593 – Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment (1971)
EO 12898 – Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations (1994)
EO 13007 – Locating Federal Facilities on Historic Properties in Our Nation's Central Cities ["Indian Sacred Sites," Protection of Religious Practices and Sacred Sites] (1996)
EO 13175 – Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments (2000)

Federal Regulations

43 CFR 3 – Preservation of American Antiquities (1954)
43 CFR 7 – Protection of Archeological Resources (1984)
36 CFR 60 – National Register of Historic Places (1981)
36 CFR 61 – Procedures for Approved State and Local Government Historic Preservation Programs (1983)
36 CFR 63 – Determinations of Eligibility for Inclusion in the National Register
36 CFR 65 – National Historic Landmarks Program
36 CFR 68 – Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties (1995)
36 CFR 79 – Curation of Federally-owned and Administered Archeological Collections (1990?)
36 CFR 800 – Protection of Historic and Cultural Properties (1986)

II. Department, Agency or Bureau Specific Policies and Regulations

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR (DOI)

1. Department-wide

(1) Departmental Responsibilities for Indian Trust Resources (1995) [Series: Intergovernmental Relations; Part 512: American Indian and Alaska Native Programs; Chapter 2: Departmental Responsibilities for Indian Trust Resources; 512 DM 2] - http://elips.doi.gov/elips/release/3049.htm
This DM requires consultation with potentially affected recognized Indian tribal governments in the event an evaluation reveals any impacts on Indian trust resources, trust assets, or tribal health and safety.

(2) Departmental Manual Departmental Responsibilities for Protecting/Accommodating Access to Indian Sacred Sites (1998) [Series: Intergovernmental Relations; Part 512: American Indian and Alaska Native Programs; Chapter 3: Departmental Responsibilities for Protecting/ Accommodating Access to Indian Sacred Sites; 512 DM 3] - http://elips.doi.gov/app_dm/act_getfiles.cfm?relnum=3214

This DM requires consultation with potentially affected federally recognized tribal government(s) when taking actions pursuant to this DM, which pertains to avoiding adverse impacts to and providing access to Indian sacred sites.

(3) ECM 97-2 Departmental Responsibilities for Indian Trust Resources and Indian Sacred Sites on Federal Lands http://oepc.doi.gov/ECM/ECM97%2D2%2Epdf
Requires DOI offices and bureaus to consult with tribes in the course of carrying out environmental compliance when potential impacts to Indian Trust Resources or Indian Sacred Sites are identified.

(4) Memorandum of Understanding Regarding Interagency Coordination and Collaboration for the Protection of Indian Sacred Sites:
http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCYQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.achp.gov%2Fdocs%2FSacredSites-MOU_121205.pdf&ei=l316U56fNcbooAS2mIDgDw&usg=AFQjCNEcqXvDPuQPKOJfcShsV5o7q24gpQ&cad=rja Requires DOI offices and bureaus (and those of other agencies) to consult with tribes and offices and bureaus of other Departments, and work to improve protections and tribal access to American Indian Sacred Sites.

2. Agency-specific

National Park Service
(1) A compilation of NPS management policies pertaining to Native Americans. (2001)
http://www.nps.gov/policy/NativeAmericanPolicies.htm

(2) Native American Consultation Database.
http://www.cast.uark.edu/other/nps/nacd/
A compilation of NPS management policies pertaining to Native Americans. (2001)
http://www.nps.gov/policy/NativeAmericanPolicies.htm
National NAGPRA Online Databases: Native American Consultation Database.
http://www.cast.uark.edu/other/nps/nacd/

Bureau of Land Management
(1) Manual 8120 Tribal Consultation under Cultural Resource Authorities. (2004)
http://www.blm.gov/style/medialib/blm/wo/Information_Resources_Management/policy/blm_manual.Par.80216.File.dat/8120.pdf

(2) Handbook H-8120-1 Guidelines for Conducting Tribal Consultation. (2004)
http://www.blm.gov/style/medialib/blm/wo/Information_Resources_Management/policy/blm_handbook.Par.86923.File.dat/h8120-1.pdf

(3) Federal Land Management and Policy Act of 1976 (FLMPA)

Appendix C:
Current Contact Information for Tribal Historic Preservation Offices associated with Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, 2014

Current Contact Information for Tribal Historic Preservation Offices

Hualapai Tribe
Loretta Jackson-Kelly, THPO
Department of Cultural Resources
PO Box 310
Peach Springs, AZ 86434
Tel: 928.769.2223
Fax: 928.769.2235
Email: lorjac@frontiernet.net

The Navajo Nation
Dr. Alan S. Downer, THPO and
Department Manager, Historic Preservation
PO Box 4950
Window Rock, AZ 86515
Tel: 928.871.7136
Fax: 928.871.7886
Email: alan.downer06@gmail.com
Website: www.hpd.navajo.org

Zuni Pueblo
Kurt Dongoske, RPA
Director/Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Zuni Heritage & Historic Preservation
PO Box 1149
Zuni Pueblo, NM 87327
Tel: 505.782.4814 and 928.289.9259
Fax: 505.782.2393
Cell: 928.587.1901
Email: kdongoske@cableone.net

Updated lists of THPOs can be accessed via the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Offices at http://www.nathpo.org/, by telephone at 202-628-8476, or by mail at P.O. Box 19189, Washington, DC 20036-9189.

Tribal cultural staffs not affiliated with THPOs are identified, with contact information, in the sections of the "Contemporary Tribes" section of this report.

Notes

[1] At the time of this writing, this document can be accessed at: http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/nps28/28chap2.htm

[2] While the dam was often referred to as "Boulder Dam" or "Boulder Canyon Dam" during its construction and for some years thereafter, the formal selection of the name "Hoover Dam" was made by the U. S. Congress in 1947, and signed into law by President Harry S. Truman that same year (Hiltzik 2010:381).

[3] Site numbers as listed in Schroeder (1955:98).

[4] The counts derive from a series of artifact catalogs in the archives of Zion National Park. David Van Alfen, Park Archaeologist for Grand Canyon-Parashant, believes that these were originally compiled by Grant Cannon, Wetherill's lab director.

[5] Southern Utah State College was given university status in 1991 and renamed Southern Utah University (SUU). As Thompson's work was conducted under the auspices of SUSC, we use that acronym in the remainder of this section.

[6] The other two sites were located on a private inholding belonging to Howard Schmutz, whose family name also graces a "Schmutz Spring" in Tuckup Canyon.

[7] *Western Anasazi Reports* was a short-lived but invaluable regional journal edited by Richard Thompson that showcased the results of many archaeological projects on the Arizona Strip that would otherwise have languished in sponsor and contractor files. It was published on and off between 1978 and 1986.

[8] Now known as the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, or WACC.

[9] Most of the site numbers in this section were assigned by the Arizona State Museum (ASM), Bureau of Land Management (BLM), or the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA).

[10] Humboldt shares general morphological characteristics with McKean points, which date to the late Archaic, and the two types can be confused. For example, Fairley states that most the points identified as Humboldt in the Navajo-McCullough transmission line report (Moffitt et al. 1978)—a project that spanned much of the Arizona Strip—are McKean, and much later than a "Humboldt" assignment would suggest.

[11] Boulder Gray is the plain gray type within Moapa Gray Ware, typified by distinctive green or red olivine temper.

[12] This site is actually a large pueblo that might have a BMIII-PI component.

[13] During Buck's first field season at Uinkaret Pueblo (AZ A:12:13 [MNA]), a charcoal sample was recovered from a test unit within a room, reportedly one inch above the floor. The sample dated to Cal A.D. 880-1010. Although the site can be chronologically placed between late PI and early PIII based on ceramics, the ^{14}C date is included here as a comparison to sites AZ A:12:71 and 204.

[14] Dr. Edward Palmer (in Heizer 1954:3) related this story by the "Pah Utes" from the 1860s-1870s: "This tribe have a tradition that they were once slaves of the Moquis [Ancestral Puebloans] who once lived in what is now known as Utah. The Indians from the North waged war upon them and drove them all across the Colorado river, the Moquis agreeing never to recross the river."

[15] Van Vlack et al. (2013) recently presented the argument that Paiute agriculture was much more prevalent prior to displacement by Mormon and other settlers in the mid-1800s. For that matter, the Paiute view terms such as Paleoindian, Archaic, and Pueblo as "innacurate" and "offensive" when applied to Native American sites within Southern Paiute teritory, and they have requested that such sites be referred to as *Enugwuhype* or Ancestral Numic.

[16] See Geib et al. (2001:393-394) for alternative methods of relative dating of late Prehistoric and Protohistoric sites as attempted on the Kaiparowits Plateau of southern Utah.

[17] Speaking of the Colorado River region, early Indian agents such as Herman Ehrneberg of the Colorado River Indian Reservation noted considerable diversity and integration,

> [The Colorado River] is occupied by tribes either kindred in origin, or at least affiliated by intermarriage, frequent intercourse, barter, and similar agricultural pursuits. Of common (supposed Aztec) origin are the Pimos, Papagoes, Moquis, Mojaris and Yumas; affiliated with them are the Maricopas, Hualapais, and Yurapeis; of the Yurapeis but little is known as yet; they seem to be few in numbers, and vegetate in the deep and dismal but sublime chasms and canons of the upper Colorado.
> (Ehrenberg 1866)

[18] Both Mojave and Western Shoshone have strong interests just to west and south of the study area. These groups occasionally visited the lands now within the Monument and may consider it a peripheral part of their broader existence, but both groups'

interests lay mostly outside of the study area and are therefore not included in the primary analysis in this document.

[19] Kelly (1964) alternately identifies the Paiute word for the Colorado River as *paxa'a*, which means "big water," or according to Stoffle, Halmo and Dufort (1994), "most powerful river."

[20] According to Stoffle (1997: 241), the Southern Paiute word for the Grand Canyon is *Piapaxa 'uipi*.

[21] Testimony to the Indian Claims Commission included references to this migration, "The Paiutes come into this area [Havasupai territory south of Grand Canyon] in considerable numbers following the appearance of the Mormons, a little farther north, 1855-1870s" (ICC n.d.: 414).

[22] Steward (1937b) for example, noted strong concurrence with Kelly's findings, "On the east, the Shoshoni adjoined Southern Paiute in southern Nevada, where the boundary according to my informants differed but slightly from that given by Kelly."

[23] As Shulter notes, "The pine nut tracts were owned by individual men and inherited by their sons. A woman gathered on her husband's tract" (Shutler 1961: 69).

[24] Lowie (1924a: 201) notes,

> The Moapa gathered various seeds growing round the mountains and prepared them for the winter. Among these were sunflower seeds. When the mesquite ripened the people would come down from the mountains and dry them for the winter.

[25] Omer Stewart (1942), for example, made this case on the basis of both historical records and ethnographic interviews. He noted that "Indians now at Moccasin, Arizona, told me that agriculture was introduced among the Kaibab Southern Paiute from south of the Colorado just before the Mormons settled near Kanab" (Stewart 1942: 235).

[26] Arriving in what appears to be a temporarily unoccupied Southern Paiute settlement in 1866, Nevada State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Reverend A.F. White, provided a rich account of the food production apparent at one of these settlements near Las Vegas,

> About eighty five miles from Death Valley we found the first indication of cultivation. Surrounding a large spring at the base of a snow capped

> mountain were perhaps a hundred acres of arable land which from appearances had been tilled last year. Wheat stubble, stalks of corn of the broom corn and stems of the sunflower were still standing. Dried squash vines were matted over the ground in places. There were two varieties, one of which we ascertained produced squashes which often weighed twenty five or thirty pounds and were very delicious and nutritive. The smaller variety had a hard gourd like shell and a bitter flavour. The Indians eat the seeds and also the seeds of the sunflower and of the broom corn. Near their huts or sleeping places we found bones of the mountain sheep and of the antelope. Also the shells of the tortoise. The bones which we saw were all of the largest size which belongs to the animals named. We afterwards learned that the smaller and more tender bones were crushed between stones into a kind of coarse powder and eaten. A few wild grape vines and a small space thickly set with cane grass for arrows completed the remnant of Indian husbandry in that neighborhood. We saw no Indians at this place although the tracks were fresh and abundant. Very much the same indications of previous cultivation were apparent at two other points, one south from the springs above names twenty five miles and the other in the same direction fifty miles.
> (A.F. White 1866)

Though White's measurements of distance are slightly inaccurate, this appears to refer to settlements near the base of Spring Mountains, suggesting a rich mixed economy for the people of this region on the eve of EuroAmerican reoccupation. Certainly, there had been many EuroAmerican influences on Southern Paiute life by this time, including abortive efforts at Mormon missionization in the Las Vegas area, as shall be discussed in later sections. Still, this vignette is consistent with many early written accounts and is no doubt suggestive of pre-Mormon settlement and subsistence.

[27] There are a number of basaltic cones at the foot of Mt. Trumbull. Powell used the term *Oo-na-ga-re-chits* in discussing these cones (Austin et al 2005: 79).

[28] Ritual powers and guardians are associated with particular locations, and are often revealed in dreams. Sometimes spiritual practitioners visiting these sites traditionally leave offerings for spiritual beings and powers that are focused at the site (Laird 1976; Harrington 1933:325; Stoffle various).

[29] The mobility of the Southern Paiute and Shoshone established a pattern of relationships with ceremonial sites that is arguably distinctive. The process of recognizing sites as being powerful, even in unfamiliar terrain, by observing patterns in preexisting ritual landscapes and features, is arguably a Paiute tradition. Those who were proximate to a uniquely powerful spiritual site – as evidenced by rock art, rock

structures, and the like – established ritual relationships with these places even if the individuals in question originated elsewhere. To some extent they became stewards of these places as well. Modern Southern Paiutes often look after petroglyph and pictograph sites in their area, for example, even if they are not descended from local bands. By residing there today, these individuals are said to bear that responsibility, recognizing that the landscape's power is intrinsic and the question of pictograph "authorship" is not especially consequential. True, their ancestors certainly may have been the creators of some of these sites, but so were other peoples' – often kin to these local Paiute communities – who now live some distance away. The question of whether these local communities can be associated directly with a site does little to diminish their concern regarding its integrity.

[30] Some tribal representatives note that, generally, the Southern Paiute groups north of the Colorado River, including Shivwits and Kaibab, shared friendly relations, hunting and gathering in each other's territory, visiting, trading, and occasionally intermarrying. Las Vegas/Chemehuevi, Pahrump, and Moapa were sometimes said to share similar arrangements. These correspond roughly with dialectical divisions in the Southern Paiute language. Minor dialect differences distinguished some of the southern Southern Paiute bands (Las Vegas, Moapa) from their kin to the north and east (Shivwits, Kaibab) (Lowie 1924a: 312).

[31] On band terminology of Nevada's Southern Paiutes, Nevada Indian Agent G.W. Ingalls reported in 1873 that,

> The Indians of this agency are divided into thirty-one different tribes or bands, and are known among white men as Pai-Utes, but, among themselves and by other Indians by as many different names as there are tribes, each tribe taking the name from the land which they occupy. (Ingalls 1873)

[32] Julian Steward suggested that,

> Horticulture did not permit large or stable populations which greatly affected sociopolitical groups. Kelly (1934) divided the Southern Paiute, including the Chemehuevi, into 15 subgroups, bands, or tribes, which are "dialectic units with political concomitants." It is questionable whether all of these groups fulfilled the requirements of "bands" according to the present definition. Dialectic distinctiveness is an insufficient criterion of a band. Band members must habitually have cooperated in a sufficient number of economic and social activities under a central control to have acquired a sense of community of interest. It is difficult to understand how people who were scattered over such vast territories and often

> separated by wide, waterless deserts could, when traveling on foot, habitually have joined forces in any important communal undertaking. (Steward 1938: 181)

Elsewhere, Steward suggested that,

> [I]t is not certain that a more complete definition would correspond with [Kelly's definition of fifteen Paiute bands]. So long as the Southern Paiute remained on foot, it is difficult to see how people inhabiting so vast a region as that allotted to some of the bands could possibly have cooperated with one another in a sufficient number of enterprises to produce a truly centralized political control and a sense of solidarity with other occupants of the territory. Data have not been advanced to show that the bands were functional in other respects…These bands were not unlike those of the Shoshoni of the Death Valley region, except that the villages were given somewhat greater fixity by the practice of a small amount of horticulture. It is likely that a greater number of political units existed among pre-horse Southern Paiute than the fifteen bands recorded by Kelly and that Powell's and Ingall's list of thirty-one "tribes" may have been more nearly correct. There are indisputable records that political groups were consolidated into larger units among all other Shoshoneans after the influence of the White man was felt.
> (Steward 1937b: 634)

[33] Kelly then went on to note that,

> Within Kaibab territory [and other Southern Paiute bands] there were local clusters, functionally economic in character, whose people moved freely within the Kaibab area but returned eventually to the series of springs which was regarded as the property of one of its members. If there was any sense of solidarity, it held for the larger unit (band, as I have used the term), not for the smaller component clusters. Such solidarity was not crystallized by the necessity of repelling foreign invasion, for there seems to have been little incursion in pre-horse days. With the surrounding Paiute the Kaibab appear to have lived on good terms, with occasional visiting and occasional intermarriage.
> (in Park et al 1938: 634)

[34] On the basis of linguistic evidence, Sapir viewed the Southern Paiute as essentially a single population,

> a large number of tribes or bands in southwestern Utah, northwestern Arizona, southern Nevada, and southeastern California that have been loosely grouped together as Paiute proper or Southern Paiute. The linguistic differences found in the speech of the various Paiute bands are slight.
> (Sapir 1930-31 (I): 5)

[35] This was an impediment to Southern Paiute claims to the Indian Claims Commission, where certain researchers supported the U.S. Government's effort to diminish Southern Paiute claims by asserting that the Paiute defied the conventional definition of "tribes" due to their flexible political structure and the apparent absence of formal mechanisms for group defense against external enemies (Manners 1974b).

[36] The highest peak within the Virgin Mountains is called Mt. Bangs, or *Saikudatsi* in Paiute. It is alternately identified as *saikudaci*, which translates to "Yellow Mountain" (Fowler and Fowler in Austin et al 2005: 70-71).

[37] Stoffle et al (2004: 41) go on to say, "In fact, Kelly's own map brings the Uinkaret district boundary to just below the Virgin River, and at this point she drew a dashed boundary line indicating uncertainty."

[38] Sapir (1930-31) recorded considerable Kaibab Paiute oral tradition, but regrettably provides very few geographical reference points for the events contained in this collection.

[39] Kanab Creek is known by the Paiute place name as Kanav 'uip (Stoffle et al 1997: 84).

[40] Two Southern Paiute names with similar meaning have been recorded for the Moapa group, and both are references to the Muddy River valley (Sapir 1930-1931: 572, 574-575).

[41] The Moapa (as well as the Shivwits and Saint George Paiutes) sometimes crossed the Colorado River, and were not always greeted warmly. This changed in the historical period, when both populations were at war with the United States, as shall be addressed elsewhere in this document. The Moapa also reported receiving blue corn agriculture from the Hualapai (Kelly and Fowler 1986: 368-377).

[42] Moapa appears to have shared seed available through early agricultural efforts at the reservation with kin and friends in other communities, becoming the point of introduction for new kinds of agriculture throughout the region (Stewart 1942: 338). Ditch irrigation of cultivated plots was reported among the Moapa, Shivwits, and certain other Nuwuvi (Kelly 1932-33).

[43] The tribes listed by Powell and Ingalls include:

1. *Kau-yai'-chits*; located at Ash Meadows under Nu-a'-rung – 31 individuals – probably mixed Southern Paiute and Western Shoshone.
2. *Ya'gats*; located at Amargosa under Ni-a-pa'-ga-rats – 68 individuals – possibly mixed with Western Shoshone.
3. *Kwi-en'-go-mats*; located at Indian Spring under Pats-a'-gu-ruke – 18 individuals.
4. *No-gwats*; near Potosi under To-ko'-pur – totaling 56 individuals in combination with Pa-room'-pats.
5. *Pa-room'-pats*; at Pa-room Spring [apparently Pahrump band at Pahrump Spring] under Ho-wi-a-gunt –totaling 56 individuals in combination with No-gwats.
6. *Nu-a'-guntits*; of Las Vegas under Ku-ni'-kai-vets – 161 individuals.
7. *Pa-ga'-its*; near "Colville" [apparently Callville, near the Colorado River and now under Lake Mead] under Un-kom'-a-to-a-kwi-a-gunt, totaling 34 individuals.
8. *Mo-vwi'-ats*; [probably Chemehuevi] at Cottonwood Island under Ha-va-rum-up – 57 individuals.
9. *Mo-quats*; at Kingston Mountain under Hun-nu'-na-wa – totaling 85 individuals in combination with Ho-kwaits and Tim-pa-shau'-wa-got-sits.
10. *Ho-kwaits*; near Ivanspaw under Ko-tsi'-an; totaling 85 individuals in combination with Mo-quats and Tim-pa-shau'-wa-got-sits.
11. *Tim-pa-shau'-wa-got-sits*; at Providence Mountain under Wa-gu'-up - totaling 85 individuals in combination with Ho-kwaits and Ho-kwaits; name and location suggest likely Shoshone mixed with Paiute.

These tribes' names largely consist of place names, and it is unclear to what extent these were discrete groups with nine separate named places as their geographical core, or a smaller number of separate populations utilizing nine different named places.

[44] Some authors have included Chemehuevi within their discussion of Southern Paiute culture and history, while others list them separately for reasons reflecting the somewhat unique history, geography, and cultural practices of the Chemehuevi. Regardless, there seems to be general agreement in the literature that the Las Vegas Paiute and Chemehuevi were at one time part of a larger whole, and the Chemehuevi moved into lands south of the Las Vegas region and became more directly associated with the Mohave many years before European settlement.[44] Despite the historic split between Las Vegas Paiutes and Chemehuevis, the two groups remained very similar culturally and have interacted with each other extensively into modern times.[44]

The name Chemehuevi as a tribal designation is probably of Yuman origin and entered into the historical record from accounts of the Mohaves. John Wesley Powell reported that originally the Chemehuevi called themselves *ta'n-ta'-wats* meaning 'southern people,' indicating their southernmost location among the groups of Southern Paiute

people (in Hodge 1907-1910, 1: 243). Like other Southern Paiute bands, the Chemehuevi also called themselves *Nuwu*, or the "people." Though the Chemehuevi have always recognized themselves as Paiute, their strong associations with the Mohave are what has set them apart.

The delineation of Chemehuevi territory is somewhat challenging, in light of their movements during the historical period. Kelly (1934) influentially described the Chemehuevi territory as adjoining the southern boundary of the Las Vegas band territory and extending southward to the Palo Verde Mountains, bounded on the east by the Colorado River and on the west by the Maria Mountains, Iron Mountains and the western slope of the Old Woman Mountains (Kelly 1934: 556). Authors such as Roth (1976) suggest a broader geographical distribution of Chemehuevi territory based on the reasoning that the northern Chemehuevi are the same population that was identified as southern Las Vegas Paiute by Kelly and Steward.

[45] Keen interest in the Yuman creation site at Spirit Mountain is shared by most Yuman-speaking tribes today, including but not limited to modern Mohave, Quechan, Pima-Maricopa, Yavapai, Hualapai, Havasupai, and Cocopah – with some members still recognizing Spirit Mountain as the spiritual and geographical center of the world. Other tribal communities, including Hopi, Zuni, and certain Southern Paiute peoples also recognize this site as being of profound religious importance (BLM & NPS 1999).

[46] Though the Colorado River served as a prominent boundary, Hualapais do sustain important spiritual ties to certain sites west of the river, in modern day Nevada. For example, according to Hualapai member Auggie Smith,

> the [Black Mountains] ridge running down towards the river [Colorado River] at the present site of Davis Dam, right at the river; this mountain ends right there at the dam. Across the river is a high mountain—high range of mountains called Wi Kame'. This is the legendary site of the Creation of our people.
> (in ICC 1953: 130)

[47] It is generally agreed that the Hualapai and the Havasupai tribes derive from the same broad ancestral group but there is disagreement over when and why the divergence of the two occurred (Martin 1985:136). Kroeber is vague on the time of the split, attributing it to agricultural resources that were more readily available, and consequently more important, to the Havasupai. Dobyns and Euler place the split in the late 19th century, arguing that the creation of two separate tribes was a political result of historical conflict with whites and the subsequent development of reservations. These sources suggesting a later date propose that the Hualapai were a band of the Plateau People, only becoming separate once they were on their own reservation

(Dobyns and Euler 1970, see analysis in Martin 1985). In contrast, Schwartz originally dated the fission to well before European contact, hypothesizing a division based on archaeological evidence. Schwartz had posited that the Havasupai are descended from the Cohonina branch of the Upland Patayan tradition, but later came to agree with others who theorize that both the Hualapai and the Havasupai are descendants of the Cerbat branch of the Upland Patayan tradition (BLM 2011: H-5). Regardless of when the separation between the Hualapai and the Havasupai occurred, a case can be made that if the Hualapai tribe is consulted on certain matters, then the Havasupai tribe, by the nature of its relationship to the Hualapai tribe, may be considered a potential consultation partner as well. There was some apparent confusion in the designation of Hualapai and Yavasupai in early written accounts, complicating the differentiation of the two groups in historical writings without recourse to contextual evidence (Manners 1974b).

[48] During Indian Claims Commission hearings, elder Viola Jimulla (b. 1878), apparently a Yavapai, noted of the Yavapai and Hualapai that "…from the beginning they were cousins, the Hualapais and the Yavapais were cousins because their language was almost the same" (ICC 1953: 194). Robert Manners also noted that "The linguistic evidence suggests that Walapai, Havasupai and Yavapai were once the same" (Manners 1974c: 8).

[49] In past literatures they have been more commonly associated with nonagricultural peoples in cultural origin. As Kroeber suggested,

> Yavapai, Walapai, Havasupai…These three tribes are closely similar in speech, forming a distinct subgroup of the Yuman family…All three tribes farmed where they could. This, however, they did sporadically and insignificantly, the Havasupai excepted…The culture shows many resemblances to that of Peninsular California (including the Diegueño) as well as to that of the Great Basin Shoshoneans, especially the Southern Paiute across the great chasm of the Colorado…We have in this group, then, a culture related primarily to the nonfarming desert cultures of the region.
> (Kroeber 1939: 41)

[50] Cremation and burial sites are commonly found in association with these settlements. The Hualapai have traditionally cremated their dead, but in the late 1800s, burial practices increasingly involved interment in rock slides and cairns due to pressure from EuroAmericans as well as the adoption of the Ghost Dance movement in the 1880s and 1890s (McGuire1983: 35).

[51] Henry Dobyns noted that,

> The lineages of the Hualapais recognized that labor expended by one lineage, or family, if such were the case, on a particular plot of land, gave that group the right to come back to that particular plot year after year and continue to expend its labor there and cultivate crops, raise crops, produce its own food there, and then decide what to do with that food.
>
> Now, as for ownership of the land itself, in its familial sense, the native concept would not have been, or was not, that the land could be disposed of in the way that the products of labor could be disposed of. This is a general property concept in this culture.
> (Dobyns 1974: 323)

[52]After reviewing Hualapai cultural practices, Manners (1974: 143) concluded, "The territorial lines between any Hualapai and their non-Hualapai neighbors are vague and shifting and in some cases actually represent areas of joint occupation or of non-occupation" (Manners 1974: 143). Similarly, Kroeber (1935) noted of Hualapai territory,

> The centers of population, the largest villages, lay fairly close to the center of Walapai Territory. On all sides there was a considerable strip of territory before the villages of other tribes were reached. The sites favorable to permanent habitation lay fairly bunched, surrounded by country decidedly inferior in resources. For most of the Walapai boundary the line might well represent the areal limit of utilization by the neighboring tribes.
> (Kroeber et al 1935: 38)

[53] In addition to the bands comprising the Plateau People, Red Rock band utilized the southern and eastern banks of the Colorado River just west of the study area. The Cerbat Mountain band (*Ha' em đe: Ba:'*) is sometimes reported to have occupied the eastern bank of the Colorado southwest of what became the Monument, from roughly the Cottonwood Island area to the site of Davis Dam. The Hualapai Mountain band (*Mađ hwa:la Ba:'*) were said to occupy the eastern bank roughly from Davis Dam to Bill Williams Fork in Arizona (McGuire 1983; Dobyns and Euler 1976). Kroeber outlined slightly different territorial boundaries, identifying the Red Rock band as *Mata'va-kopai* (north people). Kroeber went on to describe the Cerbat Mountain band as *Sto'lve-kopai* (west people), and he divided the Hualapai Mountain territory into northern and southern halves, with the northern being *Hakia'tce-pai* or *Talta'l-kuwa* and the southern being *Kwe'va-kopai* (south people) (Kroeber et al. 1935).

[54] In his Indian Claims Commission assessment of Hualapai territory, Henry Dobyns (1956) noted,

> The Hualapais appear to have reached the approximate limits of their territory toward the northeast about 1100 to 1150A.D. and toward the southeast after about 1300 A.D., and to have then established in about the same position for about six centuries. It is this period of stabilized territory after the exterior limits of historic Hualapai territory were reached which is suggested as the operational definition of time immemorial in Hualapai prehistory.
> (Dobyns 1956:197-198)

[55] Hawikuh, a historic village located about 15 miles southwest of Zuni, was occupied from around A.D. 1300 to 1680 by the ancestors of the modern Zunis (Woodbury 1979: 467-468).

[56] Riley notes that southern influences into the Zuni region can be traced for several hundred years before the period of Spanish contact (1975: 137). In describing these southern influences, Riley continues,

> The Zuni area has long been recognized as one of complex makeup with influences from several directions. Cushing (1896: 356-59, 384-86) long ago noted Zuni contacts with the south; the summer people, macaw totem, sun orientation that suggests an original homeland farther south, uses of carved shell gorgets, shields or targets of cotton cord netted around a hoop frame (a modification of the Pima-Papago carrying net), and cremation.
> (Riley 1975: 144)

[57] Population on the Hopi mesas increased as regional populous centers in Marsh Pass, the Flagstaff area, and the Little Colorado valley were abandoned. Although research continues on the dynamics of these population shifts, they were due, to a large extent, to drought and loss of arable land from arroyo cutting, as well as increased friction with neighboring groups of Athabascans (Brew 1979: 514). In expert-witness testimony delivered to the Indian Claims Commission during adjudication of tribal land claims (Docket 196), Ellis stated,

> The major additions of outside groups to the Hopi nucleus took place during one major period of amalgamation, and this presumably would have been that of the last years of the 13th century or the early years of the

14th, when the Great Drought and the following period of erosion caused the drying up of springs.
(Ellis 1961: 89)

[58] Hopi is spoken throughout the villages although in the village of Hano on First Mesa; Hale and Harris (1979: 171) suggest that the traditional language is not Hopi but Tewa. The Hopi language belongs to the Northern branch of the Uto-Aztecan family, formerly called the Shoshonean language family, and has at least four major dialects (Brew 1979: 514). According to Sutton (2000), the Uto-Aztecan language family was centered in northern Mexico around 5000 B.P. At about that time, it split into its northern and southern branches, with the northern group migrating into the Mohave Desert. He hypothesizes that, around 3000 B.P., the northern branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family diverged into a number of branches, including Hopi, in the southern Sierra Nevada-Mohave Desert area. Subsequently Hopi-speaking groups crossed the Mohave Desert, the Virgin River Valley, and the Colorado River in order to arrive where they are today in northeastern Arizona. Although Sutton refers to some aspects of his reconstruction of the origin of the Hopi language as "informed speculation," it is very broadly congruent with Hopi oral tradition (Lyons 2003: 92). Lyons recognizes what he calls "disconformities" between Hopi oral tradition and archaeological data. But he also notes that "there are numerous large-scale and small-scale congruencies among Hopi oral tradition, the results of anthropological analyses of Hopi cosmology and language, and ancestral Hopi archaeology (Lyons 2003: 92).

[59] Salt Songs also play an integral role in Mohave traditions; however, as Mohave are not covered in detail in this document, their Salt Song traditions are not discussed in this section, aside from parenthetical mention in the footnotes.

[60] Collections of Mohave oral traditions indicate that many, if not most, stories are tied to specific landscape features; while rock art sites are usually not mentioned specifically, these collections can provide guidance in the analysis of the cultural significance of rock art sites at these landscape features (Kroeber 1948, 1972).

[61] The song narrates traveling down to Las Vegas, arriving about midnight, and then following the Valley of the Dry Lakes by the New York Mountains, down through the hills into California near Danby. After traveling in the areas of Danby and Blyth, the birds cross the Colorado River again into Parker Valley, Arizona, fly northeast to the Bill Williams and continue up that river to the starting point, returning by sunrise.

[62] Recent accounts of the Salt Song Trail vary, however. As described by one popular guide, "In its entirety, the Salt Song Trail runs across southern Nevada from the Las Vegas Valley. Traveling along the Spring Mountains, it arrives on the northeast side of the mountains near Indian Springs. It then goes through Pahrump to Ash Meadows,

travels down the Amargosa River past Shoshone, and turns at Dumont Dunes…" ultimately doubling back up the Colorado River (Carroll 2005: 195). The Salt Song Map Project seeks to consolidate the various disparate accounts into a more coherent summary, in part to facilitate protection of the landmarks along this route.

[63] For example, when crossing through southern Nevada and southwestern Utah, one of Frémont's guides, Kit Carson, bought a Southern Paiute boy from the Ute, to serve as an "apprentice" (Malouf and Findlay 1986: 507).

[64] As Indian Agent J.A. Forney reported,

> Almost every band yearly cultivates small patches of wheat, corn, beans, &c., along the banks of the streams…An intelligent gentleman, who was guide to the first emigrant company which passed through the southern part of the Territory to California, twelve years ago [1847], informs me that he then saw wheat and cornfields, with at least six acres in each, successfully cultivated by those southern Pah-Utes, and that his company would have fared badly but for the wheat, corn, peas, and beans purchased by them from the Indians.
> (Forney 1859: 366-67)

[65] The Order's life was short-lived. It dissolved gradually between 1877 and early 1878 (Brown 2011: 82).

[66] As reported at the time,

> The people dreading association with the mining population of Nevada, and fearing exorbitant taxation, also anticipating political interference with their peculiar institutions, concluded to abandon these settlements and return to Utah en masse, which they did in 1871, being counseled by Brigham Young to adopt this course.
> (Barnes 1874)

[67] By 1859, this geographical realignment was suggested in the accounts of Indian agents. Jacob Forney of the Utah Territory Superintedency reported that the southern Paiute were increasingly scattered along the California road, generally adjacent to the settlements, from Beaver valley, along the Santa Clara, Virgin, Los Vegas, and Muddy rivers, to the California line and New Mexico. These bands number about two thousand and two hundred (Forney 1859: 364-65).

[68] The names Pah-Ute and Pey-Ute seemed to be used somewhat interchangeably or, at least, unsystematically in Office of Indian Affairs documentation in the 19th century. Utah Superintendency field staff eventually referred to the Southern Paiute bands as Pey-Ute or Pi-Ute to distinguish them from the Northern Paiutes whom they called Pah-Utes, for the most part. The term Pah-Ede refers to some of the Utah bands, apparently of Paiute.

[69] As Brown discusses, the Mormon activities within what is today the Monument were rather small-scale by the middle of the 1880s,

> We can construct a portrait of the relatively small Mormon ranching (as well as mining and lumber) operations in the area that is now Parashant National Monument, by considering the 1885 Mohave County tax rolls. The rolls listed at least nineteen different men controlling springs in or near the monument as well as the following firms: the CCSC, Grand Gulch Mining Company, Mohave Stock Company, and the firm of Wooly, Lund and Judd. All told, the tax rolls recorded about 680 cattle, 12 milk cows, and 137 horses in the area that would be the monument. This assessment likely underestimated the livestock on the land. The largest operations were the CCSC and Mohave Stock Company, each with two hundred cattle.
> (Brown 2011: 103)

Brown goes on to identify the location of the various Mormon activities at this time,

> Although the information from tax rolls is certainly incomplete, it also offers a portrait of the distribution of these operations. The 1885 rolls listed only one claim near the arid Grand Wash basin: Archibald and John Sullivan had an interest in Pockum Pocket Spring north of Pakoon Spring. The rolls note many operations in the rich grasslands of the Shivwits Plateau. Moving from north to south, B. F. Ashby and Joseph McDonald claimed an interest in the Cornmorebats Springs, five miles west of Wolf Hole. Heber Barron, Albert Foremaster, Grand Gulch Mining Company, and Andrew Sorenson claimed an interest in Hidden Springs. The Grand Gulch Mine had an interest in Pigeon Springs. D. L. Hendrix and E. A. Hendrix had interests in Ivanpatch Spring. Willard Larson had a claim near Poverty Point. Activity was particularly concentrated in the area around Parashant on the southern Shivwits Plateau. B. F. Ashby, W. D. Cludester, Albert Foremaster, J. H. Pierce, and Andrew Sorenson claimed interest in the Parashant Ranch. Heber Barron, J. H. Pearce, and J. D. L. Pearce had an interest in the Wild Cat Ranch, two miles north of

> Parashant. J. H. Pearce and J. D. L. Pearce claimed an interest in Grass Spring, about five miles east of Parashant Ranch. Woolly, Lund and Judd had an interest in Pine Spring, three miles east of Parashant Ranch. Others with claims in the vicinity of Parashant were Vergil Kelly and Mohave Stock Company.
>
> Finally, the rolls reveal a few claims near Mt. Trumbull focused more on lumber than on cattle. Frederick and Benjamin Blake owned three-quarters of a timber claim in Mt. Trumbull (along with O. H. Foster), a saw mill on the mountain worth five hundred dollars, a half interest in Big Spring and Little Spring, one cow, two yoke of oxen, and a logging truck.105 O. H. Foster also had an interest in the sawmill, while Charles F. Foster and Solon Foster, Jr., had interests in Big Spring and Little Spring and were running cattle in the area. In the 1870s and 1880s, the grass, lumber, and copper of the area had been exploited primarily by Mormons from George. With the arrival of B. F. Saunders in 1883 and then Preston Nutter in 1893, non-Mormons from Salt Lake City with links to Eastern capital would edge out many of these smaller operations. (Brown 2011: 103-104)

[70] Speaking of the Colorado River region south of the Big Bend, Indian agent John Dunn reported in August of 1864,

> The country is being settled up by the whites to a considerable extent, forcing the Indians into narrower limits necessarily causing destitution among them to some extent. From this cause also, there is liability of ill feelings being engendered.

[71] Somewhat conveniently for military authorities and Indian agencies, the poverty of the tribes was attributed to the barrenness of their landscape, rather than displacement, "for the most part the country occupied by them is a barren desert, unfit for the habitation of man, and the Indians are in many cases in a starving condition" (Maltby 1866: 29). In turn, this led for calls to relocate the Paiutes, which opened up mining districts and other coveted areas for reoccupation.

[72] As reported of the Southern Paiutes by the California Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1866,

> They are more wild and savage than any of the Indians of California. Several depredations on travellers and settlers have been committed recently in their vicinity, in starting and driving off stock, and several persons have been murdered, and it is believed that those Indians are the

aggressors. As soon as measures may be taken and consummated for the permanent establishment of a reservation in the southern part of the State, those Indians should be collected by the military and placed thereon. (Maltby 1866: 94)

[73] As an example of this transformation, one can revisit the descriptions of authors such as John Wesley Powell, who described the state of these coalitions as they existed in 1873,

> Of the Indians known as Pai-Utes there are thirty-one tribes. Ten of these are united in a confederacy, having for their principal chief, Tau-gu'.
>
> The *Kwa-an'-ti-kwok-ets*, who live on the eastern side of the Colorado River, are nearly isolated from the other tribes, and affiliate to a greater or less extent with the Navajos.
>
> Seven other tribes of Pai-Utes are organized into a confederacy under the chieftaincy of To'-Shoap.
>
> The *Pah-ran-i-gats* were formerly three separate tribes, but their lands having been taken from them by white men, they have united in one tribe under *An'-ti-av*.
>
> In the same way the Indians of Meadow Valley were formerly four separate tribes, but now one, under *Pa-gwum'-pai-ats*.
>
> Four other tribes are organized into a confederacy under the chieftaincy of *Ku'-ui-kai'-vets*, and seven under the chieftaincy of *To-ko'-pur*.
> (Powell 1873: 53)

[74] Takopa is mentioned briefly in a number of sources, which suggest these kinds of functions for this important multi-band leader. Pahrump oral tradition suggests that Takopa or "Tecopa" was born in the Las Vegas area and relocated to Pahrump sometime in the 19th century. He is sometimes depicted as the *pakwinavi* or multi-village leader and spokesperson for the communities at Pahrump, Tecopa, Potosi Spring, and Horse Thief Springs, and was a noted character for maintaining peaceful relationships between the people of these communities and non-Indian settlers during a tumultuous time in these communities' histories. The murder of his son, Charlie Tecopa, by a white rancher in 1910 nearly resulted in interethnic warfare – perhaps the last major incident to do so in the Pahrump area (see McCracken 1990a, 1990bb).

Julian Steward mentioned stories of Takopa among Las Vegas Paiutes as well, suggesting his important intermediary role with non-Indians,

> Informants from both Pahrump and Las Vegas regarded Takopa as chief of "all the Southern Paiute" but could name no function of his which did not involve dances or transactions with the white man. Benjamin, a veteran scout of the United States Army, who had lived at Tule Springs near Las Vegas, succeeded Takopa in his position.
> (Steward 1938: 185)

[75] Powell goes on to note that,

> It was found that it was impossible, without using force, to induce the Pai-Utes to join the Utes, and it was determined to adopt the course indicated in the alternative presented in your instruction, viz : And in case it should be found impossible to induce them to look with favor upon a removal to that point, then to make a thorough examination as to the condition of affairs in the Muddy reservation, and report the result to the Department.
> (Powell 1873: 47-48)

As explained by the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, this action was unanimously rejected by the Southern Paiutes because,

> the Utes of Uintah had been their enemies from time immemorial; had stolen their women and children; had killed their grandfathers, their fathers, their brothers and sons, and . . . were profoundly skilled in sorcery.
> (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a:95)

[76] Indeed, the integration of Paiute and Ute populations was so thorough in some of the northernmost Southern Paiute populations that their descendants had to conduct genealogical research to determine whether to participate in the Southern Paiute or Ute Indian Claims Commission proceedings in the mid-20th century. For example, the Indian Claims Commission records note that this was a challenge for the Kanosh Band of Paiute Indians in Utah,

> In the case of the Kanosh Band of Paiute Indians of the Kanosh Indian Community, Utah, he [John S. Boyden, attorney] performed research into the genealogy of the leading families of the band, to determine that the Kanosh were properly classified as Southern Paiute and not Ute. This

> action resulted in protecting the rights of the Kanosh, who on the mistaken advice that they were Utes, had planned to abandon their claim as Southern Paiutes.
> (Indian Claims Commission 1978a (15): 442)

[77] Indian Agent George W. Ingalls expressed the sentiment then common in 1873 when he asserted of the Paiutes that,

> no organized effort agreeable with the present policy of the Government for improving their condition could be put forth without concentrating all the Indians at some place to be mutually agreed upon, as at present they are scattered over the southern half of Utah, Northern Arizona, Southern Nevada, and Southeastern California.
> (Ingalls 1873)

Together, Ingalls and John Wesley Powell made similar assertions in their reports to Washington, D.C.,

> the most important difficulty in the way of collecting these people on reservations, is the fact that each small tribe desires to have a reservation somewhere within the limits of its own territory, which is manifestly impracticable, as the Indians could not thus be protected in their rights, except at a great expense.
> (Powell and Ingalls 1873: 43)

[78] The large number of Paiutes living on the lower Virgin River Valley and Las Vegas Wash, in what is now Lake Mead NRA, was the basis for reservation proposals that included Saint Thomas and vicinity.

[79] Some members of these displaced groups also moved into the study area and larger Arizona Strip region, joining Shivwits kin in more isolated portions of northern Arizona.

[80] District Attorney for Lincoln County, C.W. Wandell, and other residents of the region initiated legal action in response to the apparent misappropriation of funds. Writing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C., Wandell and his contemporaries wrote,

> The undersigned respectfully inquire whether during the last four years any provision has been made by the Government for the Pah-Ute Indians

in South Eastern Nevada? Humanity compels us to ask this question. During that time we are not aware of a single dollar's worth of the Government gratuities having been dispensed to the Indians in Lincoln County, and the Indians say there have been none.
(Wandell 1870)

[81] Walker went on to describe the fiscal reasoning behind his request for the Paiute reservation at Moapa,

> There are a few settlers and improvements on this tract of land; of the latter a system of irrigating ditches, which are said to have cost the Mormons who formerly occupied that part of the country many thousands of dollars, but which are now offered to the Government without any consideration, while the other improvements may be purchased for a moderate sum. I have carefully considered this matter, and fully concur in the views expressed by the agent in his present report, and respectfully ask that the subject-matter may receive the favorable consideration of the Department and of Congress.
>
> An estimate of the probable cost of establishing these Indians upon the reservation, and of paying for the improvements thereon, amounting to $35,000, is herewith inclosed, with request that it be submitted to Congress.
> (Walker 1872: 2)

[82] Apparently the Santa Clara were not included in these original councils. As explained by Powell,

> There is a small tribe of Pai-Utes in Northern Arizona, on the east side of the Colorado River, known as Kwai-an-ti-kwok-ets, which was not visited by the commission. This little band lives in a district so far away from the route of travel that your commission did not think it wise to occupy the time and incur the expense necessary to visit them in their homes.
> (Powell 1873: 47-48)

[83] Powell elaborated further on these meetings,

> Finally, delegations of all these tribes were collected at Saint George for general consultation, concerning the reservation for the Pai-Utes in Southern Nevada. The result of this talk was, in the main, satisfactory,

and a delegation was sent by them to go with the commission to see the country.

> From Saint George the commission proceeded to the reservation on the Mo-a-pa, (Muddy,) arriving there September 10, and here met about 400 Pai-Utes who had previously been collected in the valley. It remained eleven days for the purpose of conferring with the Indians already here, and with such delegations from other tribes as could be induced to meet here. Quite a number of conferences were held with the Indians, both by day and by night, for more than a week.
> (Powell 1873: 48)

George Ingalls also provided separate summaries of these events:

> The Special Commission had collected up to September 20 [18]73, between four and five hundred Pai Ute Indians, representing 6 different tribes or bands, in the Moapa or Muddy Valley on the Reservation. After several days council, these Indians all consented to remain on the reservation, and expressed a willingness for all the other tribes or bands scattered over Utah Arizona Nevada and California to be brought to the reservation the following season.
> (Ingalls 1874d)

[84] In the mid 1860s, Southern Paiutes living northern Arizona began to retaliate against Mormon encroachment into the territory. Kaibab Paiutes, specifically, began to practice a type of "guerilla warfare" on Mormon settlers in the region (Austin et al 2005: 10).

[85] As Ingalls reported on that first year's labors,

> Our instructions authorized a crop put in on the Pai Ute Reservation, and to do this, seed wheat, barley and corn and farming utensils were purchased and the white settlers living on the reservation employed to assist in making ditches and plowing the ground for the Indians.
> (Ingalls 1875b)

[86] As Powell himself admitted, the reservation was a challenging place to dwell, especially for a people who were accustomed to traveling broadly and drawing sustenance from diverse resources across the desert landscape,

> The reservation, though large in territory, is composed chiefly of arid, barren mountains and deserts of drilling sands. The only part of the

valley fit for agricultural purposes is the few acres—not more than 6,000—which can be redeemed by the use of the waters of the Mo'-a-pa, and some grass-lands of no greater extent, for the climate is so arid that agricultural operations cannot be carried on without artificial irrigation…

The census taken shows that there are 2,027 Pai-Utes. Adding to this number the Chem-a-hue-vis of Southern California, about 300, and we have 2,327.

It is the opinion of the commission that there is enough water in the Mo'-a-pa Creek to irrigate lands to an extent sufficient to support that number of people for the present, but it would not be wise to take any greater number of Indians there.

The boundaries of the reservation should be extended to the east to a point where the river emerges from the mountains through a canyon.
(Powell 1873: 54)

[87] At this time, the Arizona Superintendency of Indian Affairs provided the following estimates of Southern Paiute populations, spread between some 31 named "bands,"

> [T]he number of this tribe is placed at 2,027, exclusive of those in Oregon, being distributed as follows: 528 in Utah, 284 in Northern Arizona, 1,031 in Southern Nevada, and 184 in Southeast California. They are divided into 31 bands.
> (Arizona Superintendency 1875)

[88] Specifically, Powell identified the proposed boundary as follows:

> It is recommended…[t]hat the boundaries of the Pai-Ute reservation be established as follows: Beginning at a point on the Colorado River of the West eight miles east of the one hundred and fourteenth meridian, and continuing from thence due north to the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude; and continuing from thence due west along said thirty-seventh parallel of latitude to a point twenty miles west of the one hundred and fifteenth meridian; and continuing from thence due south thirty-five miles; and continuing from thence due east thirty-six miles; and continuing from thence due south to the center of the channel of the Colorado River of the West; and continuing from thence along said center of the channel of the Colorado River of the West to the point of beginning.
> (Powell 1853: 69)

[89] It is perhaps revealing that John Wesley Powell and George Ingalls reported to the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

> With regard to the…question, What division of the roaming tribes do their linguistic and other affinities indicate? much has yet to be learned. The names by which the tribes are known to white men and the Department give no clue to the relationship of the Indians; for example, the Indians in the vicinity of the reservation on the Muddy and the Indians on the Walker River and Pyramid Lake reservations are called Pai or Pah Utes, but the Indians know only those on the Muddy by that name, while those on the other two reservations are known as Pa-vi-o-tsoes, and speak a very different language, but closely allied to, if not identical with, that of the Bannocks. The tribes of Pai-Utes, mentioned in the former part, should be taken to the Muddy.
> (Powell and Ingalls 1873: 45)

Andrew Barnes (1874) provides a good history of the Paiute Reservation and its development through 1874 from the Indian Agency's standpoint.

[90] George Ingalls noted,

> The Indians who have received supplies from the Pai-Ute Reservation come not alone from Nevada but Arizona Utah and California and I would respectfully submit to the Department the claim of these Indians and their reservation to the benefits extended to Indians of Utah, California and Arizona as well as Nevada.
> (Ingalls 1874d)

[91] The U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs instructed field staff on how to address the Indians of "Utah, Nevada, and Southern Idaho, who have not yet been collected on reservations,"

> With a view to the ultimate removal of said Indians to such reservations as have already been established, you recommend as follows…That some of the chiefs and principal men of the Pai-Ute tribe be induced to visit the Uintah reservation and encouraged to make their homes at that place; and in case it should be found impossible to induce them to look with favor upon a removal to that point, then to make a thorough examination as to the condition of affairs on the Muddy reservation and report the result to

the Department, preparations in the mean time being made for raising a crop the coming year to such an extent as circumstances will permit.
(E.P. Smith 1873)

[92] This same point is made by a number of other Indian Affairs employees during the period (e.g., Barnes 1874).

[93] As George Ingalls reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in January of 1874,

> The agricultural lands on the reservation are very limited and these Salt Mines are needed as a source of revenue for the support of the Indians themselves. They have signified their willingness to work the mines and the initial steps have already been taken by which their labor can be made of avail.
> (Ingalls 1874a)

[94] As noted in the annual report of the Arizona Superintendency of Indian Affairs in 1875,

> A reservation of 3,900 square miles was set apart for their use by Executive order in 1873, of which less than 1 percent, was valuable for either tillage, timber, or grazing. This large reserve has recently been reduced to one thousand acres of fine farming-land in the upper part of the Moapa Valley, the abandoned site of an old Mormon settlement, whose irrigating ditches require but little repair to make them of great value in the effort to bring the Pi-Utes to self-support by agriculture. Only 400 have as yet been gathered on the reserve.
> (Arizona Superintendency 1875)

[95] As Nevada Indian Agent, A.J. Barnes reported of the reservations in his district, including Moapa, in 1876,

> Fair crops have been raised upon the Pyramid Lake and Moapa River reservations and Shoshone farms this season, though the floods have destroyed the larger portion of the grain planted this spring…a thing liable to occur any year, and yet not occurring very often. This baffles all attempts to prevent, as no one can foresee the time of its coming; and yet with this adversity the Indians are hopeful for the future, and will, if encouraged, renew their efforts to repair the waste places and make new trials for success…Farming is being adopted for a livelihood by both the

> Pah-Utes and Shoshones pretty generally upon these reserves, and every year shows the gradual abandonment of the old nomadic custom. A large number upon each reserve can plow, drive teams, chop, mow, and, in fact, can do all manner of farm-work, and all have adopted citizens' dress.
> (Barnes 1876)

[96] Military efforts to take authority for Southern Paiutes created great tensions with Indian Affairs staff working at Moapa and elsewhere. On November 19th, 1875, Southeast Nevada Indian Agent Andrew Barnes proclaimed,

> [I]f it is the policy of the Government to blot them out from the face of the earth, and cause their utter extinction, and that this shall be accomplished in one year, we can resort to no better method than to place them under military rule.
> (Barnes 1875i: 2)

[97] Spencer further notes,

> As this reserve possesses some peculiarities of condition different from the other two belonging to this agency, it deserves special mention. It is located in Lincoln County, in Southeastern Nevada—a most sterile, uninviting section of country, whose valleys are almost treeless and often waterless deserts; and consists of 1,000 acres cut out by only imaginary lines from the middle of Moapa or Muddy Valley and is without a fence or fencing material.
> (Spencer 1880)

[98] The Koosharem band may also include Western Utes from the Sanpits group, which was evicted from the San Pete Valley and then integrated with nearby populations, eventually ceasing to identify as a distinct entity (Clemmer and Stewart 1986: 531).

[99] The Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada suggested that no single band of Southern Paiutes had always occupied Las Vegas, although the "*Pegesits* band" - apparently of the Callville area – sometimes lived there longer when emigrant travel through the area was not heavy (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 76).

[100] The Mormons complained of "theft" by Paiutes, who sometimes helped themselves to crops, tools and other items (Lyman 2004).

[101] As reported by the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, at that time,

> [T]he area was largely returned to Nuwuvi control, but a few whites did continue to live at Las Vegas following the Mormon departure. These few ranches provided some employment, and as the white population slowly grew, more and more Nuwuvi settled there in search of work. Those who came from the Moapa Valley were added to the *Pegesits* who already lived in the southwestern section of Nevada surrounding Las Vegas. Other groups of Nuwuvi moved up gradually from the mining settlements near the Colorado River in extreme southern Nevada.
> (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 120)

[102] As summarized by the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada,

> The Chemeuevis were a Nuwuvi-speaking group who had moved south of the Mohave Indians in the early nineteenth century. Before this move they may have occupied areas as far north as Las Vegas. They had extended contacts in the area and with the Nuwuvi who lived there and consequently were not strangers when they joined the other Nuwuvi groups at Las Vegas.
> (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976a: 120)

[103] Surveyor A.A. Humphreys reported thriving Paiute settlements at traditional village sites located near Las Vegas, Pahrump, and Cottonwood Island, the first two sitting alongside fledgling EuroAmerican ranch communities, "The Pah-Utes in Pah-rimp Valley, and around Cottonwoods and Las Vegas, raise…corn, melons, squashes, and gather large quantities of wild grapes, which grow abundantly near the springs" (Humphreys 1872: 89).

Of Pahrump, Humphreys notes,

> I…moved southward and crossed a low range into another sandy and gravelly desert, (Pah-rimp Desert,) which extends south for miles, and skirts the Spring Mountain Range. This desert contains several beautiful little oases, the principal one being at Pah-rimp Springs, at which point are located quite a number of Pau-Ute Indians, very friendly and quite intelligent. These Indians raise corn, melons, and squashes. Great quantities of wild grapes were found around these springs.
> (Humphreys 1872: 84)

[104] It was not until June 5, 1970, that the Chemehuevi Indian Tribe once again became a federally recognized tribe. The reservation is now located on 32, 000 acres of land in the Chemehuevi Valley (Chemehuevi Indian Tribe 2014).

[105] A.A. Humphreys reported that the Spring Mountains population was often recruited for wage labor as guides and messengers, but this area was also not entirely safe for EuroAmerican travel in the early 1870s due to continued Paiute autonomy in this area,

> From among the Pah-Utes, in the Spring Mountain Range, often as many as seven or eight guides and messengers were employed at one time. These Indians have been considered friendly for some years, but frequently prospectors, in parties of two, going out into the mountains, never return.
> (Humphreys 1872: 28)

[106] Hual: Amat Pa, or "The People," were in the Yuman language group, which linguistically connected them to the Yavapais, Mohave and other groups along the Colorado River, and they spoke a derivation of Pai. At the time of contact, they resided on small rancherias, connected to one another by extended kin networks consisting of about thirteen decentralized bands (Shepherd 2008: 21).

[107] The process was completed by the establishment of two separate reservations, creating two separate political and land-use entities (Dobyns and Euler 1970; U.S. Senate 1936)

[108] Though Hopi peoples were largely left alone during this time, 1598 marked the formal submission of Hopi to Spain (Thompson 1965: 27).

[109] This school was regarding differently by the different villages within Hopiland. For example, it was established after a group of leaders from the First and Second mesas formally requested one. The Hopi living at Oraibi, on the other hand, refused to send children to the school (Thompson 1965: 28-29).

[110] As the Great Depression dawned, more than 42,000 unemployed workers came to Las Vegas between the fall of 1930 and the spring of 1931 in hopes of securing one of the 5,000 jobs available for this project.

[111] Congress officially authorized consolidation of the Davis Dam Project with the Parker Dam Power Project in 1954, creating the Parker-Davis Project (Linenberger 1997).

[112] The Ruby Valley Treaty of Peace and Friendship is essentially a pact of nonaggression. Among other things, the treaty language defines the territorial boundaries of the Western Shoshone bands (Ruby Valley Treaty, Article V).

[113] Within the Indian Claims Commission hearings, the Western Shoshone's attorneys argued that, aside from the Duck Valley Reservation, all the Western Shoshone lands had been taken by the "gradual encroachment" of white miners and homesteaders, railroads, and U.S. government actions. The ICC declared that 22,000,000 acres (later increased to 24,400,000 acres) had been inappropriately "taken" from the Western Shoshone by the United States without adequate compensation (Clemmer 2004: 341-42).

In 1962, based on Omer C. Stewart's research, the ICC established boundaries for Western Shoshone lands. The Commission noted that,

> the Western Shoshone land tract extends through the east central portion of Nevada for almost the length of the state and continues through Inyo County, California. The tract includes all or part of the following Nevada counties: White Pine, Nye, Eureka, Lander, Elko, and Esmeralda. (USICC 1978a (29): 61)

The Western Shoshone almost universally rejected the original Indian Claims Commission boundary, prepared by Omer Stewart apparently without recourse to original interviews with Western Shoshone consultants (Crum 1994).

[114] The Las Vegas Indian Center, established in 1972, offers services and support to American Indians living in and around Las Vegas, Nevada. Las Vegas also has been home to the Nevada American Indian Chamber of Commerce, which promotes economic development for Indians of the region, including resident reservation tribes and recent arrivals from other tribes now living in Nevada's urban areas. At the time of this writing, the Nevada American Indian Chamber of Commerce is located at 1785 E Sahara Ave., Suite 360B, Las Vegas, NV 89104, 702-693-6698.

[115] For the first time in decades, recent U.S. Census figures suggest that the American Indian population became a smaller percentage of the total Clark County or metro Las Vegas population, owing to the rapid rate of growth among non-Indian segments of the population (U.S. Census 2011, 2002).

[116] The Commission found this term "identifiable group" problematic and seems to have employed varying interpretations of the definition (Wallace 2002: 747).

[117] The Kaibab Band's accounting suit was severed from the original docket and filed separately as Docket 330-A (USICC 1978(15): 435).

[118] The Chemehuevi Tribe's petition, Docket 351, included a suit centered on concerns regarding general federal accounting, which was separated from the original claim to become Docket 351-A (USICC 1978(14): 618-619). The Chemehuevi petition claimed land described as,

> Beginning at a point in southern Nevada six miles west of a place on the Colorado River where said river encloses a small island in the latitude of Mt. Davis (this starting point being east northeast from Searchlight and slightly east of south from Nelson); thence southerly to the summit of the mountain called Avi-Kwame by the Mohave and Yuman tribes, and Agai by the Chemehuevi Indians; thence southerly along the crest of the Dead Mountain-Manchester Mountain range in California, generally paralleling the Colorado River.
> USICC 1978a (14): 654)

[119] Some tribal members and agency cultural resource staff note that the modern O'odham are widely accepted as descendants of the Hohokam and, therefore, consultation pertaining to sites in the Hohokam area of interest (principally southeast of the study area) should include Tohono O'odham of Sells, Arizona.

[120] Soon after organizing their tribal government, the tribe began to search for additional reservation lands – not to replace, but to augment the existing colony. In 1983, the tribe acquired the 3850-acre Snow Mountain portion of their reservation under Public Law 98-203, sitting about 15 miles north of Las Vegas along the Reno-Tonopah Highway (Tiller 2005: 696).

[121] The largest portion of land, 226,000 acres, is located in La Paz County, Arizona, while the remaining 42,700 acres are in San Bernardino and Riverside counties, California.

[122] The CRIT Museum also offers a variety of cultural programs and maintains a tribal library and archives, housing primary and secondary research resources, such as books, gray literature reports, interview recordings and transcripts (Colorado River Indian Tribes 2009). Somewhat unique among tribes of the area, CRIT's legal codes include specific codes for the conduct of human and cultural research which, in part, establishes the ethics review board and the process for conducting human-subjects and cultural research on the reservation (Colorado River Indian Tribes 2009).

[123] In this ambiguous legal context, tribal lands were more easily appropriated for alternative uses. In 1940 Congress passed an act for acquisition of Indian lands for the Parker Dam and Reservoir project, and the following year 7,776 acres of Chemehuevi Reservation lands were re-designated for the construction of the dam and the creation of Lake Havasu (Tiller 2005: 392; USDI BOR and Chemehuevi Indian Tribe 2001: 1).

[124] In 2004, the U.S. Army Reserve Command asked the Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Coalition to consider for potential repatriation a set of human remains in the possession of the army reserve. The army reserve had found that the remains were Shoshonean and, "as the Great Basin Inter-Tribal Coalition includes all Shoshonean Nations of the Great Basin, this repatriation would be appropriate." By consensus of all member tribes, the coalition agreed to accept repatriation and submitted Great Basin Inter-Tribal NAGPRA Resolution 04-001 to claim the human remains. The U.S. Army Reserve Command requested at a 2005 NAGPRA Review Committee meeting that the review committee recommend disposition to the coalition, which the review committee did unanimously (NPS 2005: 31).

[125] Well before direct European contact, available sources suggest that the Chemehuevi may have been indistinguishably interrelated with their Southern Paiute "Las Vegas band" kin. Details vary between accounts, but it is clear that the Chemehuevi lived within the southern portion of what is conventionally designated as Las Vegas band territory and were socially integrated with the Las Vegas area population. By the late 18th century, however, the Chemehuevi migrated southward, and their connections with neighboring Mojave intensified. By the early 19th century, they were living amidst their more numerous Mojave neighbors in and around the core of Mojave territory. Various factors, including differing responses to American incursions, resulted in a schism between the Mojave and Chemehuevi that escalated to outright war by the 1860s. Retreating into the desert, the Chemehuevi sought refuge in various outposts to the west and south. Some took refuge at Twentynine Palms, California and continue to be represented by that tribe today. Others joined Cahuilla tribal communities as far away as Morongo Indian Reservation, and some portion of these tribes are descended from these Chemehuevi ancestors. At the end of the conflicts, some of the Chemehuevis returned to their home territory along the lower Colorado River, some ultimately became part of the multi-tribal Colorado River Indian Reservation, and others have maintained an independent existence nearby, being recognized eventually as the Chemehuevi Indian Tribe.

[126] It is important to note that the Monument is sometimes depicted as being within the "Shoshonean" language area, reflecting the fact that the Southern Paiute language is sometimes categorized thusly.