

These lessons are the result of the dedicated efforts of CTWS Elders, both past and present. Before beginning these lessons, please refer to the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Resource Book (attached to these lessons). This will answer many questions, however, if you have more questions, please contact Culture and Heritage at 541-553-3290 and cultureandheritage@wstribes.org.

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### **Essential Understandings**

History

Treaties with the United States Genocide, Federal Policy, and Laws Sovereignty

#### **Standards Met**

### **English Language Arts**

#### **Craft and Structure**

11-12.RL.9 / 11-12.RI.9

Analyze documents of historical and literary significance from the Americas for themes, purposes, and rhetorical features.

#### **Social Sciences**

#### HS.US.CH.1

Analyze social, political, and economic continuity and change following the Civil War and Reconstruction (1865–1896), with attention to how post-war policies and actions affected traditionally underrepresented groups and individuals.

#### HS.US.CP.13

Using the Tribal History/Shared History resources and other primary and secondary documents, analyze and explain the histories of the American Indian/Alaska Natives and the history of Native Hawaiians in Oregon to examine the effect of state and federal actions and policies on tribal populations, rights, and culture.

#### HS.US.CP.14

Examine the perspectives of survivors of Indigenous genocide, Black communities destroyed by violence, and other human rights violations utilizing primary sources from multiple perspectives including written and recorded survivor testimonies.

#### HS.G.HI.8

Identify examples of conflict and cooperation involving the use of land and natural resources.

#### HS.US.CE.10

Evaluate the actions and methods groups facing discrimination used to achieve expansion of rights and liberties from 1865-present.

#### HS.C.CE.17

Explain how active citizens and political or social movements can affect the lawmaking process locally, nationally, and internationally.

#### HS.G.MM.2

Analyze recent voluntary and forced migration patterns to identify and understand the push and pull factors and their effect on people and places.

#### HS.G.MM.3

Investigate and analyze how political and economic decisions determine the settlement patterns of human populations, including the removal and segregation of communities in the United States.

#### HS.G.GR.1

Use geographic tools, various kinds of maps, and geospatial technologies to examine geographic components of past and current world events or to solve geographic problems.

#### HS.C.PI.4

Using the Tribal History/Shared History resources and other primary and secondary source documents, identify and explain the development and mechanisms for the government-to-government relationship between Oregon and the nine federally recognized tribal governments.

#### HS.C.IR.8

Using primary sources from multiple perspectives, discuss and debate the central ideas of the government of the United States and Oregon.

# **Overview**

These three lessons guide students through analyzing key U.S. treaties with Tribes to understand how these agreements affected Tribal sovereignty and rights. Students examine primary source treaty documents and explore the differences between treaty and non-treaty Tribes. They participate in a mapping activity to visually locate Tribal lands and treaty boundaries, enhancing their spatial understanding of these agreements. Through discussions and writing activities, students evaluate the impact of treaties on Tribal governance and relationships with the federal government.

### **Learning Outcomes**

The student will be able to:

Understand what treaties are and their importance to Tribal Nations, particularly the Treaty of 1855.

Recognize the legal and cultural commitments the U.S. government made through treaties, including land rights, cultural protection, and federal responsibilities.

Identify the impacts of relocation and broken promises on Native American communities, especially in terms of culture, education, and survival.

Examine the negotiation process of the Treaty of 1855 from both U.S. and Tribal perspectives, including areas of resistance and compromise.

Analyze the perspectives and responses of Tribal leaders through primary sources from the Treaty Council.

Track historical events affecting Native American peoples using key dates to show the timeline of displacement, conflict, and federal action.

Interpret geographic changes by mapping traditional territories and reservation lands.

Reflect critically on questions of fairness, power, and loss through personal and historical lenses.

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Explore the experience of non-treaty Tribes like the Northern Paiutes, including their exclusion, forced relocation, and InterTribal tensions.

Evaluate government language and actions in historical documents to uncover bias, sovereignty issues, and conflicts over land and consent.

#### **Materials Needed/Preparation**

Distribute student materials attached to these lessons.

#### **Time Frame**

Three 50-minute lessons.

#### **Teacher Background**

No one today is sure of the date when the Treaty Council of 1855 began at the narrows of the Columbia River, the great river that the Wascos (Wasq'u) called Wimał and that the Wayampams called N'chi Wana. Most people agree that it was mid June---after the root feast and the run of the spring salmon. In June, 1855, the weather was warm along the narrows, and the creeks and rivers pouring into the Columbia were full, green, and cold from melting winter snow in the high mountains.

People today also are not sure of the exact location of the council place. Many say that it was near the village of Wasq'o, where a large stone bowl constantly filled with spring water. Most people agree that the council was held around a great flat rock called Table Rock. But today, both the table rock and the stone bowl are gone, blasted apart to make way for roads and buildings. Today, below the Treaty Council area, where the swift waters of the narrows once flowed into a great eddy, there is a great lake made by the waters backed up from the Dalles Dam. The lake also covers the narrows and Celilo Falls farther up the river. The people at the Treaty Council would not know the place today.

At the time of the council, 13 winters had passed since the white people had begun to come to the land of the Indian people in ever greater numbers. At the narrows, a fort called Fort Dalles had been built. The Indian people knew by this post and its soldiers that the white people meant to stay. Already, four years before, in 1851, the superintendent for Indian affairs in Oregon, General Palmer, had tried to make a treaty with the Wasq'u and Wayampam bands of the middle Columbia and the Wallumpt bands in today's Oregon City area. That treaty would have moved the Indian people from their good fishing grounds to dry, rocky land in central and eastern Oregon. Both the Indians and the United States Senate refused to sign the treaty.

But more whites were coming in. Some wanted to live in peace with the Indians, but many more wanted Indian lands, and they wanted the Indians moved somewhere else. Some wanted to change the Indians from the Indian religion to the white man's religion. Some wanted to sell whisky to anyone who would buy it, whites or Indians. Whisky often made people do foolish, violent things. It didn't help white people or Indian people. Often it made them fight among themselves and with each other.

So, the Indian people knew the white people had come to stay, and they knew there would be more treaty talk. The Indians feared treaty talk because they knew the whites would make a treaty to take them away from the land they had always lived on. This had happened a few years earlier when the Umatilla and Cayuse Indians signed a treaty that put them on the Umatilla Reservation.

#### The Northern Paiute as a Non-Treaty Signing Tribe

Since Time Immemorial, the Northern Paiute have inhabited the Great Basin area of the Western United States from Southern California, Northern Arizona and New Mexico to Oregon and Idaho, including nearly the whole of Nevada and Utah. There are currently 29 Paiute bands living on 9 separate reservations located in Nevada, California, Oregon, and Utah, all sharing the Numu language. The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs include the Northern Paiute band.

The Paiute people had seasonal cycles for hunting and gathering food and generally lived in small family groups who followed the food. Their homes were made from materials available all around them including tule, grasses, and animal furs. The many lakes of the area drew a large number of waterfowl and game which also provided food and materials to create weapons, implements, and clothing. There were fish in the streams, lakes and rivers of the basin and wild game and an abundance of plant life that provided roots, tubers, berries, and seeds. The Paiute people roamed widely in order to gather and store sufficient provisions to make it through the winters. They also collected or made items to trade with other Native groups during their seasonal rounds. The Paiutes used dog travois to carry their belongings along with them and also cached stores for access later.

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About 1847, the first white settlers, who were Mormons, arrived in the Great Basin Area. As they began traveling through, they destroyed habitat that the Paiute people had relied on Since Time Immemorial. When the Paiute people confronted the Mormons, the Mormons often retaliated with violence or they complained to the Army and military action forced the Paiute bands to defend their food source and lifeways.

A treaty promising a reservation in Oregon was signed at Fort Harney with three Paiute bands, but it was never ratified by Congress. The Paiutes were forced to relocate to other reservations located elsewhere in the region. To the south, the United States and Southern Paiutes signed the 1865 Treaty of Spanish Forks. Also never ratified by Congress, the treaty was designed to place six Southern Paiute bands on the Uintah Reservation in northern Utah. The first reservation for Southern Paiutes, the Moapa Reservation, was finally created in 1872. That same year, the almost two million acre Malheur Reservation was established in central Oregon by presidential executive order for the "free-roaming" Northern Paiutes of southeastern Oregon. However, the Malheur Reservation was returned to public ownership in its entirety following renewed, but brief, hostilities called the Bannock War in 1878. The Northern Paiute population scattered to other reservations or small communities. Many Paiute bands refused to move to the reservations already occupied by other bands. Instead, they established settlements on the outskirts of towns, where they worked as wage laborers. Two Paiute communities grew on military posts abandoned in the 1890s, Fort Bidwell and Fort McDermitt, in Oregon.

In 1878 when the Paiute people were released from being Prisoners of War from the Bannock War, they were given a choice as to where they would like to go, some went to Burns or McDermitt or Duck Valley. The Tudydika, or Deer Eaters, came to the southern end of the current Warm Springs Reservation. The 1855 Treaty of Warm Springs had already been signed but the Wasq'u and Warm Springs people, recognizing that the Paiute wanted to return, welcomed them into their community. In around the year 1938, with the Indian Reorganization Act, the Paiute People became part of the CTWS Tribal Government with three representatives (including the chief) serving on Tribal Council since that time. Thus, they have the same voting power and "voice" as the other two Tribes.

Aboriginal Rights or Aboriginal Title are rights that exist before treaties and colonization. This means that the Native peoples who have inhabited the land Since Time Immemorial have rights that predate any treaties signed with colonizers. This recognizes that sovereignty also predates treaties and colonizers. Under this assumption you can then make the argument that the Northern Paiute, whether they signed a piece of paper or not, still have original, Since Time Immemorial, Aboriginal Rights that predate everything.

## **Key Vocabulary**

**Aboriginal lands** – Lands inhabited by Indigenous people from ancient times, long before colonists arrived.

**Annuities** – Payments made yearly by the U.S. Government to Tribes, usually as part of a treaty agreement.

**Cede/Ceded Lands** – To give up land or territory, usually by treaty or force, to another government or nation.

**Confederated Tribes** – A group of different Tribes joined together for political or social reasons.

**Cultural Rights** – The rights of a group to practice and preserve their language, beliefs, ceremonies, and traditions.

**Exclusive Use** – A legal term meaning only certain people or groups (like a Tribe) have the right to use an area of land.

**Federal Policies** – Laws and rules made by the U.S. Government that impact people across the country, including Tribes.

**Reservation** – A specific area of land set aside by the U.S. Government for a Tribe's exclusive use and residence.

**Since Time Immemorial** – A phrase meaning from the earliest time possible; used to describe traditions, territories, or rights that existed predating European contact.

**Sovereignty** – A Tribe's right to govern itself, create and uphold its own laws, and maintain self-governance over its lands and resources without external interference.

**Supreme Law of the Land** – A phrase from the U.S. Constitution meaning treaties and federal laws are above state laws.

**Traditional Territory** – Lands historically used and occupied by a Tribe before U.S. expansion and settlement.

**Treaty** – A legally binding agreement between two or more nations; in this context, between Tribal Nations and the U.S. government.

**Treaty Rights** – Specific rights that Tribes keep under a treaty, such as the right to hunt, fish, and gather on traditional lands.

**Trust Responsibility** – The legal obligation of the U.S. Government to protect Tribal lands, resources, and welfare.

**Usual and Accustomed Places** – Locations that Tribes regularly used for activities like fishing before and after treaty agreements.

#### **Consideration for Teachers**

#### **Summative Assessments**

Students create a timeline of important dates and events related to the Treaty of 1855.

Students write sentences explaining the significance of each event on the timeline.

Completed timelines and written explanations serve as evidence of students' overall understanding of treaty history and its consequences.

#### **Formative Assessments**

Students respond briefly to a warm-up prompt about treaties and their importance to Native American peoples to activate prior knowledge.

Informal comprehension checks occur during the mini-lecture through vocabulary definitions and clarifications.

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Students analyze key articles of the treaty and background readings to deepen understanding.

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Students engage with primary source materials (speeches from the Treaty Council of 1855) to develop interpretative skills.

Ongoing teacher-guided discussions and reflective questioning help assess students' developing grasp of concepts throughout the lessons.

#### **Teacher Practices**

Teachers engage students by activating prior knowledge, provide historical context through mini-lectures, and guide analysis of treaty texts and primary sources. They encourage critical thinking with discussions and questioning, support students in organizing information, monitor understanding continuously, and adjust instruction to clarify complex ideas. Their goal is to help students connect historical events to their impacts on Native American communities for deeper learning.

#### **Learning Targets, I can:**

Explain what a treaty is and why it matters to Tribal Nations.

Describe the key promises made in the Treaty of 1855 and what they meant for the Tribes.

Analyze how treaty negotiations reflected both cooperation and conflict between the U.S. Government and Tribal leaders.

Interpret primary sources to understand Tribal leaders' views and responses during Treaty Councils.

Use timelines and maps to trace the impact of the Treaty of 1855 on Native American communities.

Evaluate the fairness and long-term consequences of federal treaty policies.

Explain what it means to be a non-treaty Tribe and why the Northern Paiutes were excluded from the 1855 Treaty.

Describe how the Northern Paiutes were affected by U.S. government policies.

Analyze historical documents to identify bias, especially in how Native American people were described and treated by the U.S. government.

Explain how conflicts and alliances developed between treaty and non-treaty Tribes.

#### **Final Research Activity**

Teachers might assign an essay task that thoughtfully integrates the learning outcomes and objectives addressed throughout these lessons.

#### **Extensions**

Possible Museum at Warm Springs field trip where students could go on a 'scavenger hunt' to find and locate the objects of discussion in Lesson Two.

Students could also create a classroom treaty.

#### **Reflections/Closure**

Time permitting, students may engage in a class discussion to share and reflect on their group's responses to each activity.

#### **Supplemental Materials**

Baughman, M., & Hadella, C. (2010). *Warm Springs millennium: Voices from the reservation*. University of Texas Press.

Deloria, V., Jr. (1985). Behind the trail of broken treaties: An Indian declaration of independence. University of Texas Press.

Harjo, S. S. (Ed.). (2014). *Nation to nation: Treaties between the United States and American Indian nations*. Smithsonian Books.

Hazlett, J. M. II. (2020). *American Indian sovereignty: The struggle for religious, cultural and tribal independence*. McFarland Press.

KWSO 91.9 (2023). From the KWSO Archives – Treaty of 1855. Retrieved from https://kwso.org/2023/06/from-the-kwso-archives-treaty-of-1855/.

Stowell, C. D. (1987). Faces of a reservation: A portrait of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. Oregon Historical Society.

Wewa, W., & Gardner, J. (2017). *Legends of the Northern Paiute: As told by Wilson Wewa*. Oregon State University Press.

Wilson, D. H., Jr. (2022). *Northern Paiutes of the Malheur: High desert reckoning in Oregon country*. Bison Books.

#### Resources

The resources used in these lessons came from a combination of CTWS Culture and Heritage's approved literature including The Donner Foundation Curriculum Project, CTWS' collection of 'Source Documents: Preliminary' and the Culture and Heritage's SB 13 Committee lessons.

Geary, E. (1859, February 6). Letter to General William Harney. Office of Superintendency of Indian Affairs. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records of the Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1848–1873 [Microfilm]. University of Oregon Library, Eugene, Oregon.

Hwang, S. (2014). Addressing the elephant in the room called genocide: A discussion on American prejudice towards the Northern Paiutes in mid-nineteenth century Oregon. *Northern Paiute History Project Paper*, 6–30. Oregon Honors College Course, HC444, "Decolonizing Research: The Northern Paiute History Project."

The People of Warm Springs. (1984). *Profile: The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon*. Quill Point, Inc.; Rockey/Marsh Public Relations.



## **Lesson One**

#### STEP 1:

#### Introduction & Warm-Up

Prompt (on board or project):

"What is a treaty? Why do you think treaties are important for Native American peoples?" Have students write quick 2–3 sentence responses in journals or on paper. Then call on 1–2 students to share.

#### STEP 2:

Mini-Lecture: Introduction to Treaties. Read the text below and define any unknown terms from the Vocabulary List.

Treaties are legally binding agreements that hold the status of the supreme law of the land under the U.S. Constitution. In the 1850s, the U.S. government engaged in treaty negotiations with Tribes across the nation—Signing a treaty means recognizing that a group cannot be defeated and must be respected as a separate nation. Each treaty served as a commitment to uphold certain promises, including the protection of Tribal lands, resources, and cultural rights. Thus, the U.S. Government holds a legal duty, often referred to as the Trust Responsibility, which requires it to safeguard the interests of Tribal Nations. This responsibility extends to all federal agencies, which must collaborate to ensure that Tribal rights are respected and upheld, particularly when decisions are made regarding land use and natural resources.

In 1855, several Tribes, including those of the region that is now Oregon, agreed to cede approximately 10 million acres of land. These negotiations ended in the creation of the Treaty of 1855. However, the treaty also guaranteed that these Tribes would retain critical rights, such as the ability to hunt, fish, gather, and access sacred or spiritual sites on the land. These rights were integral to maintaining their cultural practices and way of life. In accordance with the treaty, the U.S. government established the Warm Springs Reservation for the Wasq'u and the Warm Springs Tribes. About 20 years after the Reservation was established, the Northern Paiute Tribe was settled on the Reservation. Today, all three Tribes form the CTWS and retain their reserved rights to fish at their traditional fishing sites—also known as "usual and accustomed places"—both on and off the reservation.

From the CTWS' People of Warm Springs resource: Traditional ways of life changed greatly after the relocation onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Federal Policies to destroy our cultures were taking their toll on us. It was becoming more difficult for us to live as earlier generations and we had few resources available to control our future. The children were educated in non-Tribal schools where the speaking of Tribal languages was discouraged. There were few opportunities to apply our culture and traditional teaching both on and off the reservation.

Adjustment to the new land resource, federal policies, lack of non-Indian understanding of off-reservation Treaty rights, boundary dispute (McQuinn Strip), and the introduction of the third Tribe

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(Northern Paiutes) were major events that shaped reservation life. The continued influx of immigrants to the Columbia River area greatly affected us as well.

#### STEP 3:

Scan the contents of the Treaty of 1855

https://warmsprings-nsn.gov/treaty-documents/treaty-of-1855/ but explain that students will not be studying the entire Treaty of 1855 in this lesson.

The Treaty of 1855 (Also known as the Treaty of the Middle Oregon, Kiksht & Ichishkin) Articles of Agreement:

- 1. Ceded Lands Exclusive Right, reservation/usual & accustom sites
- 2. Payment Several sums of money promote, advance civilization, wellbeing, moral improvement, education
- 3. Money Buildings on reservation, farms, tools, subsidize Indians
- 4. Saw mill, hospital, school
- 5. Allotments
- 6. Protection of annuities Not used to pay debt
- 7. Pledge of dependence Peace
- 8. Prohibition
- 9. Right of way

#### STEP 4:

Read through this source: Treaty Background

THE TREATY OF 1855

(Source: Donner Foundation Curriculum)

When Indian Agent R. Thompson called the treaty council that June, (119 years ago), the people of the river traveled to the village of the Wasq'o. Only 300 people lived in Wasq'o, but the incoming chiefs and head-men and their families soon swelled the population of the tiny village to more than 1,300. Before the council began with the white men, the Indian leaders and people counseled among themselves many days. They were not sure what the white men would offer in the treaty, but the Indian people agreed that they must try to keep their fishing, root digging, berry picking, and hunting grounds.

The mood of the Indian people at the treaty council was sad and serious. Fearing what the treaty would bring, they held worship singing and they counseled in the evening to give them strength and wisdom.

Only four days of the treaty council meeting are recorded, but it is plain that the first few days of the council the white men did most of the talking. Speaking in Chinook Jargon or through interpreters, General Palmer read what the government wanted. Palmer was a tall man with blond hair and a full blond beard. He spoke like a man used to commanding other men. He was a very strong speaker for the government side.

Chiefs speaking for the Wascos of the narrows were Mark, William Chinook, and Cashkella. Speaking for the Wyam people were Stocketly and Iso. Speaking for the Dock Spus people were Simtustus,

Locksquipa, Shickame, and Kuckup. Speaking for the Teninos were Alexie and Talekish. Walachin spoke for the Dog River Wascos, and Tahsymphs spoke for the Gigwaladamt of Cascade Falls. William Chinook and Tahsymphs served as interpreters for the Indians while John Flett and Matthew Doff interpreted for the government.

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During the council, everyone gathered around the table rock under the open sky. The Indian leaders and people listened carefully as the government side was read. Even though most of the main speakers on both sides understood Chinook Jargon, the different languages of the people---Wasco, Wayampam, and English---made the talks go slow. The white people offered the Indians a reservation in the treaty but the reservation land was not well known to many of the Indian and white people there. So many maps were drawn in the sand. This took time.

The land that was offered to the Indian people is the same land that makes up the reservation today. But the Indian leaders did not want to live there. Some wanted land from the (Hood) River to the Tygh Valley. Some wanted land stretching from the Cascade Mountains to the Tygh Valley to the John Day River. Few cared for the present-day reservation land because it was so far south of their fishing places and because it was rocky and dry. Many had learned to farm and knew that farming required better soil.

They finally accepted the present reservation land area because General Palmer told them it was the best deal they could get. He told them that if they didn't accept the treaty, he could not promise them protection from all the white settlers who would be coming to the country. The chiefs and headmen didn't like the reservation land but they knew it was important to have a place the white people could not settle on or take from them.

In exchange for the reservation, they gave the government rights to all lands they had roamed. Paiutes did not come to the Warm Springs Reservation until later, in 1879 and 1884.

The Columbia River Indians also signed the Treaty of 1855 because they were promised these things:

- 1. \$100,000 in cash paid during the first 20 years of the reservation.
- 2. \$50,000 to buy lumber and tools and to hire men to build houses and buildings for the people on the new reservation.
- 3. A sawmill, flour mill, hospital buildings, school, and blacksmith shop with a tinsmith and gunsmith shop attached.
- 4. Skilled people to run these places for 20 years.
- 5. A house, 10 acres of fenced land, and \$500 a year for 20 years to each chief or headman.
- 6. The right to fish and hunt on their old fishing and hunting grounds.

Although these things were promised, some of them were not delivered. After the reservation was set up, a few Indian leaders and agents went to Washington, D.C. to pick up the cash promised in the treaty. But the money didn't reach the reservation people. Whatever happened to it is a mystery to this day. The flour mill promised in the treaty wasn't built.

The Indian leaders signed the treaty on June 25, 1855. The U.S. Government officially approved it four years later.

In 1857, the government began moving the Indians from the Columbia River to the reservation. Many moved to Tygh Valley and stayed there several winters before going on to the reservation. Some moved to Ne Ne Canyon at first. The first few years on the new land was hard on the Indian people.

Not all the shelters were built in time and food rations promised by the government didn't come. Many people spent hard winters and quite a few died. During the move south, many of the people wept to be leaving their homeland along the Columbia. There are still crying songs sung today about the people weeping as they traveled south to a new land and a different life.

The Snake Wars (1864–1868) were a series of violent conflicts between the United States and Native American Tribes, mainly the Northern Paiute, Bannock, and Shoshone, who were collectively labeled as "Snakes" by settlers and the military. The wars took place across Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, and California, as white settlers, miners, and ranchers moved into Native American lands. Native American resistance grew in response to broken treaties, loss of land, and violent treatment. The U.S. military launched multiple campaigns to suppress the Tribes, often using brutal tactics. By the end of the conflict, many Native communities were devastated, forced onto reservations, or killed, and their land was opened to further white settlement.

Between 1866 and 1878, the Northern Paiutes experienced significant hardship and displacement due to U.S. military actions and broken promises. In 1866, U.S. Commander George Cook threatened Paiute leader Wewawewa with "Peace or Death," leading to the forced march of over 700 Paiutes to the Yakama Reservation—an event known as the Paiute Trail of Tears, with fewer than 150 survivors. Although a peace treaty was made at Fort Harney in 1868, it was never ratified. In 1872, President Grant established the Malheur Indian Reservation, but the land remained contested. The situation escalated in 1878 during the Bannock War, when some Northern Paiutes, including leader Oytes, joined the uprising. The war ended with the Paiutes' forced removal, the loss of their lands, and the termination of the Malheur Reservation.

Many Paiutes eventually found themselves as prisoners-of-war. One group, who had originally made its home between Prineville and Bend, were relocated to the Warm Springs Reservation in 1879 from Fort Vancouver. During the next five years, these Paiutes were joined by other Paiutes who had been forced by the army to move to the Yakima Reservation in Washington.

#### STEP 5:

Students are to create a timeline by extracting the dates from the above text and writing a sentence offering its significance:

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June 1855

June 21–24, 1855 (approx.)

June 25, 1855

1855

1857

1857–1859

1869

1864-1868

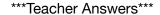
1866

1868

1872

1878

1879 & 1884
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## **Timeline Chart Template**

Date	Event	Significance
June 1855	Indian Agent R. Thompson calls a treaty council at Wasq'o	Tribal leaders (except Northern Paiute) gather to discuss land and treaty terms
June 21–24, 1855	Tribal leaders council among themselves	Shows fear, unity, and seriousness in approaching treaty negotiations
June 25, 1855	Treaty signed by Tribal leaders (not Northern Paiute)	Marks official agreement to cede ancestral land and accept reservation boundaries
1855	Treaty includes promises: cash, mills, schools, homes, hunting rights	These promises aimed to ensure survival and preserve cultural practices
1857	U.S. begins relocating Native peoples from Columbia River to reservation	Start of forced displacement; many moved to Tygh Valley or Ne Ne Canyon
1857–1859	Hard winters, lack of food, housing, and aid	Many deaths; period marked by suffering and hardship
1859	U.S. government ratifies 1855 treaty	Treaty becomes legally binding 4 years after signing
1864–1868	Snake Wars	U.S. government fought Northern Paiute, Bannock, and Shoshone; Native American resistance to broken treaties and invasion
1866	Commander Cook threatens Wewawewa with "Peace or Death"	Led to forced march of 700+ Paiutes to Yakama Reservation
1866	Paiute Trail of Tears begins	Over 700 Northern Paiutes marched as prisoners; fewer than 150 survived
1868	Fort Harney peace treaty made (never ratified)	U.S. failed to formalize peace with Paiutes; continued mistrust
1872	President Grant creates Malheur Reservation (1.8 million acres)	Reservation established for Paiutes but later lost

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1878	Bannock War	Northern Paiutes join Bannock uprising; ended in forced removal and reservation termination
1878	Malheur Reservation terminated	Paiutes lost their land
1878	Paiutes involved in war sent to Yakama Reservation as POWs	Continued punishment and displacement of Paiute people
1879 & 1884	Paiute people arrive at Warm Springs Reservation	Shows later migration and changes to reservation population



# **Lesson Two**

#### STEP 1:

Explain that students will be reading a primary source recorded at the Treaty Council of 1855.

#### **FINAL WORDS: TREATY COUNCIL OF 1855**

(As recorded by William C. McKay, recording secretary for the treaty council, on the 25th day of June, the last day of the council)

#### First to speak.

Chief Simtustus: "I wish to talk now. The chief talks right. I take his words. My heart is glad to hear you speak and all my people. He speaks right and straight and I am glad. Our heart is soft, not so hard as it was. They have asked for our land some time ago. Now, I have given my word and I will stick to it. It is true I think about what he said: the reason that you have told him to think of the words. It is true the whites have taken pity on us. I am afraid of their words. Matthew Doffa knows my country, and I am going to talk of it. What we talk of. I know what I am talking about, for myself and my people. The DesChutes have sustained us in fish. The falls where we catch the fish, we would like to reserve it. You have seen our country where we get our roots; this is the country that I spoke about. I wish to keep the country beyond the Tygh about the Mutton Mountains and between the Mutton Mountain and Jefferson Mountains. There we gather our berries. About the big branch of the DesChutes. We wish to also reserve the country that lies South on Tamalawe River to the wagon road, called the middle road to Oregon. Then following the stream down to DesChutes then down to the DesChutes Falls."

Locks Quipa, Kuckup, and Alexie each spoke briefly. Now Stocketly is going to speak. Stocketly: "I like a piece of land as my heart. I have already given a piece of my land, the others have already given a piece of theirs. I also think it is good for me to do the same. My heart is I will not speak of the reservation you speak of. I wish to have a piece of land on the East side of the DesChutes River---that is all I have to say. I wish to have a piece of land on the spot I spoke of, the rest you can have. My heart is to choose this piece of ground that I spoke of from the Columbia to the Blue Mountains, also my fishing place on Columbia DesChutes Falls. This is all I have to say."

General Palmer told them how the President had refused to sign the treaties made by Gov. Gaines and Dr. Dart wherein individual Tribes or bands had been given separate smaller reservations and directed that several bands be placed on one larger reservation to segregate them from the whites rather than place them in small communities surrounded by whites.

General Palmer: "We cannot agree to let part of them live on the east side of the DesChutes but we have placed in the treaty the right to fish on their old fishing grounds. When the fishing season is over they can go home and say this is my home. I would have selected a better place for the reservation but I know of no better place. Our chief cannot build mills and houses all over the country but he will build these in one place to accommodate all the people."

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Chief Mark is starting to speak:

#### Chief Mark:

"That is good what he has said. What the general had said, it is good. We are as wild animals. We are afraid of what we have heard, like when we are near some wild animal that we are afraid of. What the others have said, they take your word, they are good. That is my heart. The place that you have mentioned I have not seen. There is no Indians or white men there yet, and that is the reason I say I know nothing about that country. If there were Indians and whites there then I would think it was a good country. That is all my heart. I heard from you at the other council good words from you. When there is good land everything produces well. Where you have given the land it is a large country. When first we commence with a small garden then it will enlarge. Now and after this we can say, "Look, the whites have taken pity on us." That is my heart. I am speaking now those things that are to come after me. When I heard that our children are to be taught to read and write, I am afraid of that country. I wish the line to start from Tygh. My country lies from Dog River to Tygh. It is not for nothing that I am speaking, you will see my heart. I am speaking the same as if I had only one good and fast horse. The country that you have already named to us there is one piece that is good. We claim the country from two miles below the Dog River to the Mutton Mountain. We want the line to commence from the Tygh and up. If you take pity on me, then I will speak to Stocketly."

#### General Palmer again.

General Palmer: "The wagon road passes through that country, and I cannot give it up. The line is at Mutton Mountain. I have told you already (Note: He continued to argue that there is not much good land on the Tygh and it would be too far to send the children to the schools that would be built on the reservation, too far to go to the mill, etc.). When we come to put you all on the reservation and find that there is not land enough for all of you, then we extend and make the reservation a little larger. If we do not make a treaty before two years the country will be settled and also this country that we talk about."

After General Palmer, William Chinook spoke briefly, wishing only to make certain that all the old folks understood what was being done.

#### Chief Mark is ready to speak again.

Mark: "I do not wish to speak more, I know that the country you speak of, it is not good country. And that is the reason that I want the Tygh. The Cayuses have given you good country and they have also kept a good piece of land. I do not say that I do not give you this land, I have already given it. There is good timber and good range for horses. The winter comes and the snow falls deep. There is not a country to raise any produce, the frost kills it all. If it is good country I would have said yes long ago. This country is not filled up, it is still open. I do not wish to tire our chief General Palmer. We will trade."

#### Chief Mark has finished, now Cashkella is going to speak.

Cashkella: "The others talked and I have listened. I do not wish to hurt your feelings. I am glad that you have spoken good to us. I want the little piece of ground at Tygh. We wish to live on it. Very true that you have given us good talk for our country. But I still think much of my country. But I think we will make a trade for the country. If you had spoken loud as to try and frighten them, I would not have talked as I am doing. My heart is glad, the same as if I were wounded. If I do not get the piece of land I want---at the same time if you take pity on me and give me that piece of land---if you would say yes, I am ready to give you all the rest and I am done."

General Palmer is going to answer Kas Kolla.

General Palmer: "I would like to accommodate him but the great chief knows this country. He has maps. He knows where the wagon road is. His instruction to me is to put the reservation off from the white settlements. The Cayuses had a road through their reservation. But I made arrangements to put another road farther South. Where is there a chance to put another road South of Tygh? I believe there is more good land than they speak of in the reservation. They drive cattle there to winter. Deer also come down from the mountains into that valley. There is plenty of game there."

#### Stocketly is going to comment.

Stocketly: "I hold to my words, my heart is still as it was. When will be the time that I shall run to this place. I can see this country. There is few places that I can make a garden in it. My heart is to have the country that I spoke of, from the DesChutes to the John Day River, from the Columbia River to the Blue Mountains."

#### General Palmer to comment again.

General Palmer: "He is chief, he talks for his people. There is no use talking about it - I have given him the reasons that I did not allow any land to be given across the DesChutes---I do not expect always to be their chief. The next that comes may not do as well by them. If they think it is best to throw my talk behind them, they can do so. If Stocketly and his people fail to enter into a treaty with us now, it will be too late when he wants to; the whites will come in and we cannot prevent them."

#### Iso wishes to speak.

Iso: "I wish to go to the reservation. I give up all the country. I wished to have a piece of land on the other side of the DesChutes at the Xaus country. I wish to go there every spring to dig Xaus if you give me the privilege. My heart will be glad. I am done."

#### Chief Mark speaking now.

Mark: "He sees the wagon road. It is very true that I would like to have that piece of country. I do not call the Tygh a good country. We can see the wagon road plenty. I am doubtful about getting a good piece of land to raise a garden. If it is possible to show you my heart I would do it. I think Stocketly speaks right about getting a good piece of land on the other side. Very true you have chosen a place where there is plenty of wood and they have chosen where there is no wood.

If there was any good land near the Hot Springs I would not talk so long. That is the reason, my friend, I am talking long. It is not for anything good about Tygh that I wish to have it. Ever since three years since we have been mixed up with the whites, we have learned to do several things. There is not much good land about the Tygh, only a piece on the upper end. The rest is all rocks. The children would learn to read and write. It would be like throwing it away. There will be no good country for them to work at. My friend, my heart is very hungry for the rocks on the lower end of the Tygh. I am very much in trouble to find a good piece of land to live on."

#### General Palmer:

"I said that in the event that they did not like this reservation that they could send three men with an agent to look and see if they could find a better country, a country where they would be willing to go. I selected this place. I supposed it was better than any other place. I have told them already that if the reservation is not large enough, we will extend the reservation."

Mark: "I had one of the best running horses that ever was in this country and now we all take this land. Now we know every little piece of good land that we have in our country and now we give it all up. This day the same as if I had given my fortune. What amount of things will you give to cover us with? What amount of money? How much to each man?"

#### General Palmer:

"I do not know how much it will amount to each person. We do not know how many there are of you people. We give you in all, \$150,000. Besides we build you a flouring mill, a saw mill, blacksmith, tin and gun shops, hospital, plough and wagon shops, and school house. Also give you men to do all these things. Then we build a house for each of the head people of Wasco, Tenino, Upper and Lower DesChutes, and plow and fence ten acres of land. Then all these people will choose a head chief. We will give him \$500 per year. He will be the head man and will have to attend to his people. And when this head chief dies or is superseded by another, this new one is to get and occupy it as the other. I do not know how much it will amount to a single person. I know this much: we give more than the country is worth."

Mark: "He does not give enough money. In Willamette they sell half mile claims for \$1,000. We expected that \$150,000 to each nation. We want so much money each. Commence to pay today."

Last comment from General Palmer. General Palmer: "We have nothing to pay to them but goods today. We do not give money until the treaty is ratified. I have been talking and you have been talking. Now I am tired. I am going home. And I want you to hear what I have to say. And you know what I have said. I am going home with a heavy heart. When I come again they will see me. I have other people to see besides these people; those that have signed will be provided for. The Wascos, if they see fit let them come up. And I call upon Mark first, head chief of the Wasco Tribes."

Mark went forward and signed the treaty. All other chiefs and subchiefs followed. Then the treaty was signed by all other men present. The council adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

#### STEP 2:

Students to answer these questions individually or in small groups:

Why do you think Tribes were removed from their homelands?

Do you agree or disagree with the negotiation and ratification of treaties between the U.S. government and Tribes? Why/Why not?

Who benefited most from the treaties? Explain why and how.

What are two benefits and liabilities to agreeing to the terms of the treaty from your own perspective? Imagine that you had to sign a treaty yourself. What are you willing to give up in your own life in order to sign this treaty?

If you were told to leave the U.S. and forced to live somewhere else not of your choosing, how much time would have to go by before this land would no longer be considered your "home"? Explain and justify your answer.

#### STEP 3:

Distribute the mapping document. Students can add significant geographical locations onto the map in order to gain a perspective on the size of ceded lands and the reservation boundaries. Allow students to use digital maps or atlases to assist them.



# **Lesson Three**

#### STEP 1:

Explain that students will now learn specifically about the Northern Paiute perspective as a non-treaty signing Tribe.

Read through the text below and answer the accompanying questions:

#### **Treaty Signers and Non-Treaty Signers (Tribal Sovereignty)**

In 1853, the military commander at The Dalles posted a notice that cautioned:

"Emigrants, and other white persons, are hereby warned not to settle in the Indian Country East of the Cascade Mountains in the Territories of Oregon and Washington. The Indian Title has not yet been extinguished by Treaty. The Government alone has the power to treat for the extinguishment of the Indian Title. And it becomes all good citizens, to wait for the action of the Government."

It didn't take long for the U.S. to take action. In 1855, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of the Oregon Territory, received orders to clear the Indians from their lands. He did so by negotiating a series of Indian treaties including the establishment of the Warm Springs Reservation. The treaty was a mechanism to protect an Indian's way of life for personal homelands and reserving off-reservation rights.

Meeting at Wasco, Oregon, near the City of The Dalles in June 1855, Palmer had to convince Tribes to move south of Barlow Road (main emigrant trail which paralleled the Columbia River into the Willamette Valley).

The Northern Paiutes did not sign the 1855 Treaty that created the Warm Springs Reservation — and they were never invited to. Unlike the Wasq'u and Warm Springs Tribes, the Paiutes were excluded from treaty negotiations, even though the land being discussed included their traditional territory. This lack of consultation violated their rights and sparked lasting resentment.

The Paiutes also had a different lifestyle and geography. They were traveling hunters and gatherers who moved across large areas of Oregon, Nevada, and Idaho. Because they lived farther from early settler routes, they had less contact with U.S. officials and were often left out of early treaties and agreements.

According to Indian Agent Edward Geary (1860), the treaty gave away Paiute hunting lands to rival Tribes without their consent or any form of compensation. This led to deep hostility, as the Paiutes saw this as an invasion of their ancestral lands. In a letter written on February 6, 1860 by Edward Geary to General William Harney, he explained:

"I would here beg leave to sustain my impression as to the real source of the inveterate hostility of the Snake Indians towards those placed on the Reservation, secured to the Wascoes and other bands by

treaty, [that] lies within the limits of the Territory not only claimed by the Snakes themselves, but admitted by the Indian parties to the treaty to belong to them. The Snakes claim that the Whites had no right to give to their ancient enemies their favorite hunting grounds, without consulting and compensating them the true and original owners..."

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Source: Geary, E. (1859, February 6) as cited in Hwang, 2014, p. 21.

By 1879, after the Snake and Bannock Wars (refer to the Timeline Chart in Lesson One) had been waged, it was an Act of Congress that released the remaining "Prisoners of War" to return to their respective land bases. In 1879, the Oytes Band of 78 opted to move back to their original land base on the South end of the Warm Springs Reservation. Other bands from the same prisons left for Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, and Northern California.

Indian Agent John Smith described the Paiutes' arrival on the Warm Springs Reservation in a September 1879 letter:

"I received...a request from Ben. O.O. Howard...to come to his headquarters at Vancouver Barracks...regarding a small band of Paiute prisoners held by him. Anticipating what his object might be, (tribal) members here voluntarily told me that if these Indians wanted to come here, to bring them home with me...My Indians will give them all assistance possible, and (will have) the most friendly feeling toward them which is remarkable since but a few years ago they were inveterate enemies."

Source: The People of Warm Springs. (1984). Profile: The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon. Quill Point, Inc.; Rockey/Marsh Public Relations., p. 39.

#### STFP 2:

In groups, students can conduct a Source Analysis activity based on these prompts:

#### 1. Conflict and Land

#### Quote to examine:

"The Snakes claim that the Whites had no right to give to their ancient enemies their favorite hunting grounds, without consulting and compensating them..."

What does Geary's letter suggest about why the Northern Paiutes were hostile? How does the letter describe the relationship between the Paiutes and other Tribes? Why is the phrase "ancient enemies" important? How does it reflect InterTribal history and government interference?

#### 2. Sovereignty and Exclusion

#### Quote to examine:

"The Indian Title has not yet been extinguished by Treaty... The Government alone has the power to treat..."

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How is the idea of consultation and consent addressed or ignored in Geary's letter?

How does the use of legal language like "extinguished" and "true and original owners" shape our understanding of land rights?

#### 3. Tone and Bias

Quote to examine:

"My Indians will give them all assistance possible... which is remarkable since but a few years ago they were inveterate enemies."

What tone does each agent take toward the Paiutes? Does it change from 1860 to 1879? How does Smith frame the arrival of Paiutes at Warm Springs? Is it respectful, surprised, dismissive? What is not said about the Paiutes' agency or consent?

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#### STEP 3:

Students can come together to share their responses.

# Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs (CTWS) Resource Book

Senate Bill 13 Tribal History/Shared History
History and Background of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs
Resource Book for Oregon Teachers -2020

CTWS Committee Members: Lonnie James, Deanie Johnson, Myra Johnson, Sharlayne Rhoan, Gina Ricketts, Joyce Suppah, Lorraine Suppah, and Lori Switzler.

Manifest Destiny, a phrase coined in 1845, is the idea that the United States is destined by the Christian God to expand its dominion and spread democracy and capitalism across the entire North American continent. This 19th-Century doctrine believed that this was both justified and inevitable no matter the cost. White settlers and expansionists, embracing Manifest Destiny, strongly believed that Native American Tribes were merely in the way of progress. Because Native Americans did not practice Christianity, whites also believed that their "heathen ways" were also justification for the forced removal and genocide of millions of Native Americans. This was ordained by the Christian God and rationalized the long-term destruction of thousands of cultures that once inhabited North America. As Westward Expansion continued, so did the death and destruction of families, dislocation and brutal treatment of Native American peoples. At the heart of Manifest Destiny is the pervasive belief in American cultural and racial superiority.

The Reservation System was the base of this movement; a legalized practice of exploitation of land by a dominant culture and removal of peoples who had inhabited the lands of North American for upwards of 14,000 years. This system was created to move and keep Native Americans off land white Europeans wanted to settle. Reservation living was hard, at best. Native Americans were pressured to give up their spiritual and cultural beliefs, their language and their children. Children were kidnapped and forced into boarding schools, (Boarding School Era 1860-1978), oftentimes hundreds of miles away, where various religious groups could continue their forced conversion into Christianity. There is no known number on how many children attended boarding schools and how many students died because of boarding schools. Catholic and Christian records are incomplete and oftentimes Native families never saw their stolen children again. Students died because of diseases, malnutrition, suicide, sexual abuse, and rape. Often students would escape and attempt to return to their homes and families, never to be seen again. Boarding School survivors and Native American advocates believe the Boarding School Era was the second worst event to happen to Native American communities; the first being colonization.

The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs has three distinct Tribes that were placed together by the United States Government. Originally the Wasq'u and the Sahaptin (Warm Springs) lived on the Mighty Columbia River and the Northern Paiute lived in what is now Oregon, Nevada, California and Utah. On June 25, 1855 the Treaty of 1855 was signed; many people felt this was the only way to keep their families alive and retain some of their land. Following is a short, accurate history of each Tribe: the Northern Paiute, the Warm Springs (Sahaptin) People, and the Wasq'u.

#### **Northern Paiute**

The Aboriginal territories of the Northern Paiute People historically included a vast area of land within Oregon, Nevada, Idaho, California, and Utah. The Northern Paiute traveled throughout these areas of the Pacific Northwest for trade, food and other natural resources. Their way of life was very different from the other two Tribes regarding their foods, ceremonies, and spiritual connection.

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The Northern Paiute did not recognize boundaries when the Homestead Act of 1862 was enacted when ranchers and farmers took their lands and put up barbed wire fences <a href="https://80925871.weebly.com/affecting-native-americans.html">https://80925871.weebly.com/affecting-native-americans.html</a>. The Northern Paiute People cut down fences to access their traditional foods and natural materials such as roots, deer, elk, rabbit, fibers, berries, and other resources used in their way of life. The People believed that land is not to be owned and that the resources out there need to be for all.

The Northern Paiute Bands joined forces and fought fierce fights for their land and life-ways. Their uprising only gave colonizers, such as General Howard, a reason to punish the Northern Paiute and forcibly remove them from their homelands.

There were many wars upon the Northern Paiute People by the U.S. Government to eradicate and remove them from the face of the world. When this became impossible to do, the People were rounded up and chained like animals and marched in the middle of winter from Fort Harney, Oregon to Fort Simco and Fort Vancouver, Washington, a 350 mile journey. Many of the People froze or starved to death while others ran away. 700 "Prisoners of War" began the march with only 500 making it to the final destination. This came to be known as the Northern Paiute Trail of Tears. It was an Act of Congress that released the remaining "Prisoners of War" to return to their respective land bases. In 1879, the Oytes Band of 78 opted to move back to their original land base on the South end of the Warm Springs Reservation. Other bands from the same prisons left for Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, and Northern California.

By Executive Order, signed by President Grant, a reservation was established for the People in the Southeastern area of Oregon. The Northern Paiute People did not sign a treaty with the United States for this reservation. This status as a non-treaty Tribe has been a problem as the People are not recognized by the Federal Government, thus denying them the same benefits other Tribes receive. However, the People believe they should have Aboriginal rights to all their former lands.

The background of the Northern Paiute is just a small piece of their history and information that could be expanded upon. The Northern Paiute People are not history but they are an important part of a forgotten history. Today the Paiute People are still here and practice their way of life in the many things they do.

#### **Warm Springs Band**

Since Time Immemorial the Ichishkin/Sahaptin speaking Warm Springs Bands have followed the foods: salmon, deer, roots, and berries and gathered them without restriction. The four Warm Springs Bands were the Tenino who lived along the Columbia River (Big River), the Wyam Band who lived along the Big River at Celilo Falls, the Taix/Taih Band who lived along the Deschutes River/Sherars Falls/Tygh Valley area, and the Takpash (dock-spus) Band who lived along the John Day river.

The Warm Springs Bands had summer villages and winter villages. Tule was the main material they used to build their houses. They migrated in annual rounds, gathering food through the now ceded lands and the usual and accustomed places

(https://fisheries.warmsprings-nsn.gov/2016/05/ceded-lands-2016/). The cold winter months were the time to sew, make baskets, prepare fishing and hunting gear; all preparations that were needed for when it came time to start the food gathering cycle.

The Warm Springs Bands and the Wasq'u people shared and exchanged foods. The Celilo Falls was also a major place of exchange for the Northwest Tribes, done once a year. By the early 1800s most contact between the Tribe and non-Natives involved fur trading. In 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company built Ft. Vancouver on the Columbia River. In 1838, the Methodist established a mission at The Dalles.

By 1855, Joel Palmer, the Superintendent of the Indian Affairs for the Oregon Territory, negotiated nine treaties between the Pacific Northwest Indians and the U.S. Government. Many Native Americans agreed to the treaties because they saw it as the only way to keep some of their land. On June 25, 1855, Warm Springs signed the The Treaty of 1855

(https://warmsprings-nsn.gov/treaty-documents/treaty-of-1855/)

which then started the long drawn-out process of being moved to the Reservation.

The Warm Springs Bands and the Wasq'u people agreed to cede to the U.S. Government roughly ten million acres of land south of the Columbia River between the Cascade and Blue Mountain ranges. (<a href="https://fisheries.warmsprings-nsn.gov/2016/05/ceded-lands-2016/">https://fisheries.warmsprings-nsn.gov/2016/05/ceded-lands-2016/</a>). In exchange they received \$200,000 and a variety of government services including a school, a hospital, flour, and saw mills. The treaty also created the Warm Springs Reservation and reserved for the Warm Springs Bands and the Wasq'u People the right to hunt, fish and gather food on traditional land outside the reservation boundaries.

Since signing the Treaty of 1855, The Warm Springs Bands have endured many conflicts involving the use of land and boundary disputes with others between different geographical areas of their homelands. They have not been able to gather traditional food freely. They were forced into boarding schools to continue the U.S. Government's policy of forced assimilation. The intersection of cultural identities and the process of assimilation dramatically changed the way of life that the Ichishkin people always knew, including their language, dress, food, and spirituality.

Celilo Falls was a major fishing place for their people. All this changed on the morning of March 10, 1957, when the massive steel and concrete gates of the Dalles Dam closed and choked back the downstream surge of the Columbia River. Four and a half hours later and eight miles upstream, Celilo Falls, the spectacular natural wonder and the age-old Indian salmon fishery associated with it, was under water (<a href="https://critfc.org/salmon-culture/tribal-salmon-culture/celilo-falls/">https://critfc.org/salmon-culture/tribal-salmon-culture/celilo-falls/</a>).

Today the Ichishkin speaking people are still here in Central Oregon and they still have fluent speakers and practice their way of life. The Ichishkin language is taught in the Warm Springs public school to make sure it is passed on from generation to generation.

#### Wasq'u History

The Kiksht speaking people were settled on both sides of the Columbia River centuries before European contact. The most Eastern bands referred to themselves as Wasq'u, who were settled on the Southern shore, and Iłaxluit (Wishram) on the Northern shore. They considered themselves as one people as they spoke the same language with very little dialectal difference. Their villages dotted the North and South shores above Ten Mile Rapids to the mouth of the Columbia.

The Wasq'u way of living was tied to the salmon in the Columbia River. Leaders in the Tribe would travel to the river to determine the fishing season. They would watch the birds, the insect hatches, and the weather to report to the Chief to determine the fishing season. When the Chief and the leaders determined when the Tribe would begin to fish, they would first hold a salmon feast. Once the people had feasted, they were allowed to go out and fish.

The Wasq'u people were forced to relocate from the Columbia River and placed upon the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in Oregon by a treaty with the United States Government in June of 1855. The Wishram, on the other hand, were placed on the Yakama Indian Reservation in Washington State. The Tribes were formally known as Wasq'u, Kigatwalla, and Dog River that participated in the treaty with the government.

The Tribal laws, culture, and customs are still practiced today, while the language has faded away. Today, there are no fluent speakers of Kiksht Language and three semi-fluent people that are still working on their fluency and revitalization efforts of the Kiksht Language. There is an intense effort in maintaining and reviving the language by teaching in the Warm Springs K8 Academy, community classes, college classes, dance classes, and radio broadcasting.

The Wasq'u governing body of the Wasq'u people consisted of chiefs who were the spokesman of their families. They enforced laws of the people and acted as delegates to the other Tribes. They called together the people as the need arose to let them know of any changes that needed to be discussed.

Today the Wasq'u people have adopted much of the Warm Springs peoples ways as the Wasq'u ways are diminishing.

If you have other questions, please contact Culture and Heritage at 541-553-3290 and cultureandheritage@wstribes.org.

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# **TREATY OF 1855**

STUDENT MATERIALS



# **Lesson One: Mini-Lecture**

#### **Introduction to Treaties**

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Treaties are legally binding agreements that hold the status of the supreme law of the land under the U.S. Constitution. In the 1850s, the U.S. government engaged in treaty negotiations with Tribes across the nation—Signing a treaty means recognizing that a group cannot be defeated and must be respected as a separate nation. Each treaty served as a commitment to uphold certain promises, including the protection of Tribal lands, resources, and cultural rights. Thus, the U.S. Government holds a legal duty, often referred to as the Trust Responsibility, which requires it to safeguard the interests of Tribal Nations. This responsibility extends to all federal agencies, which must collaborate to ensure that Tribal rights are respected and upheld, particularly when decisions are made regarding land use and natural resources.

In 1855, several Tribes, including those of the region that is now Oregon, agreed to cede approximately 10 million acres of land. These negotiations ended in the creation of the Treaty of 1855. However, the treaty also guaranteed that these Tribes would retain critical rights, such as the ability to hunt, fish, gather, and access sacred or spiritual sites on the land. These rights were integral to maintaining their cultural practices and way of life. In accordance with the treaty, the U.S. government established the Warm Springs Reservation for the Wasq'u and the Warm Springs Tribes. About 20 years after the Reservation was established, the Northern Paiute Tribe was settled on the Reservation. Today, all three Tribes form the CTWS and retain their reserved rights to fish at their traditional fishing sites—also known as "usual and accustomed places"—both on and off the reservation.

From the CTWS' People of Warm Springs resource: Traditional ways of life changed greatly after the relocation onto the Warm Springs Reservation. Federal Policies to destroy our cultures were taking their toll on us. It was becoming more difficult for us to live as earlier generations and we had few resources available to control our future. The children were educated in non-Tribal schools where the speaking of Tribal languages was discouraged. There were few opportunities to apply our culture and traditional teaching both on and off the reservation.

Adjustment to the new land resource, federal policies, lack of non-Indian understanding of off-reservation Treaty rights, boundary dispute (McQuinn Strip), and the introduction of the third Tribe (Northern Paiutes) were major events that shaped reservation life. The continued influx of immigrants to the Columbia River area greatly affected us as well.

The Treaty of 1855 (Also known as the Treaty of the Middle Oregon, Kiksht & Ichishkin) Articles of Agreement:

- 1. Ceded Lands Exclusive Right, reservation/usual & accustom sites
- 2. Payment Several sums of money promote, advance civilization, wellbeing, moral improvement, education

- 3. Money Buildings on reservation, farms, tools, subsidize Indians
- 4. Saw mill, hospital, school
- 5. Allotments
- 6. Protection of annuities Not used to pay debt
- 7. Pledge of dependence Peace
- 8. Prohibition
- 9. Right of way

# **Lesson One: Treaty Background**

#### **THE TREATY OF 1855**

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When Indian Agent R.. Thompson called the treaty council that June, (119 years ago), the people of the river traveled to the village of the Wasg'o. Only 300 people lived in Wasg'o, but the incoming chiefs and head-men and their families soon swelled the population of the tiny village to more than 1,300. Before the council began with the white men, the Indian leaders and people counseled among themselves many days. They were not sure what the white men would offer in the treaty, but the Indian people agreed that they must try to keep their fishing, root digging, berry picking, and hunting grounds.

The mood of the Indian people at the treaty council was sad and serious. Fearing what the treaty would bring, they held worship singing and they counseled in the evening to give them strength and wisdom.

Only four days of the treaty council meeting are recorded, but it is plain that the first few days of the council the white men did most of the talking. Speaking in Chinook Jargon or through interpreters, General Palmer read what the government wanted. Palmer was a tall man with blond hair and a full blond beard. He spoke like a man used to commanding other men. He was a very strong speaker for the government side.

Chiefs speaking for the Wascos of the narrows were Mark, William Chinook, and Cashkella. Speaking for the Wyam people were Stocketly and Iso. Speaking for the Dock Spus people were Simtustus, Locksquipa, Shickame, and Kuckup. Speaking for the Teninos were Alexie and Talekish. Walachin spoke for the Dog River Wascos, and Tahsymphs spoke for the Gigwaladamt of Cascade Falls. William Chinook and Tahsymphs served as interpreters for the Indians while John Flett and Matthew Doff interpreted for the government.

During the council, everyone gathered around the table rock under the open sky. The Indian leaders and people listened carefully as the government side was read. Even though most of the main speakers on both sides understood Chinook Jargon, the different languages of the people---Wasco, Wayampam, and English---made the talks go slow. The white people offered the Indians a reservation in the treaty but the reservation land was not well known to many of the Indian and white people there. So many maps were drawn in the sand. This took time.

The land that was offered to the Indian people is the same land that makes up the reservation today. But the Indian leaders did not want to live there. Some wanted land from the (Hood) River to the Tygh Valley. Some wanted land stretching from the Cascade Mountains to the Tygh Valley to the John Day River. Few cared for the present-day reservation land because it was so far south of their fishing places and because it was rocky and dry. Many had learned to farm and knew that farming required better soil.

They finally accepted the present reservation land area because General Palmer told them it was the best deal they could get. He told them that if they didn't accept the treaty, he could not promise them protection from all the white settlers who would be coming to the country. The chiefs and headmen didn't like the reservation land but they knew it was important to have a place the white people could not settle on or take from them.

In exchange for the reservation, they gave the government rights to all lands they had roamed. Paiutes did not come to the Warm Springs Reservation until later, in 1879 and 1884.

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The Columbia River Indians also signed the Treaty of 1855 because they were promised these things:

- 1. \$100,000 in cash paid during the first 20 years of the reservation.
- 2. \$50,000 to buy lumber and tools and to hire men to build houses and buildings for the people on the new reservation.
- 3. A sawmill, flour mill, hospital buildings; school, and blacksmith shop with a tinsmith and gunsmith shop attached.
- 4. Skilled people to run these places for 20 years.
- 5. A house, 10 acres of fenced land, and \$500 a year for 20 years to each chief or headman.
- 6. The right to fish and hunt on their old fishing and hunting grounds.

Although these things were promised, some of them were not delivered. After the reservation was set up, a few Indian leaders and agents went to Washington, D.C. to pick up the cash promised in the treaty. But the money didn't reach the reservation people. Whatever happened to it is a mystery to this day. The flour mill promised in the treaty wasn't built.

The Indian leaders signed the treaty on June 25, 1855. The American government officially approved it four years later.

In 1857, the government began moving the Indians from the Columbia River to the reservation. Many moved to Tygh Valley and stayed there several winters before going on to the reservation. Some moved to Ne Ne Canyon at first. The first few years on the new land was hard on the Indian people. Not all the shelters were built in time and food rations promised by the government didn't come. Many people spent hard winters and quite a few died. During the move south, many of the people wept to be leaving their homeland along the Columbia. There are still crying songs sung today about the people weeping as they traveled south to a new land and a different life.

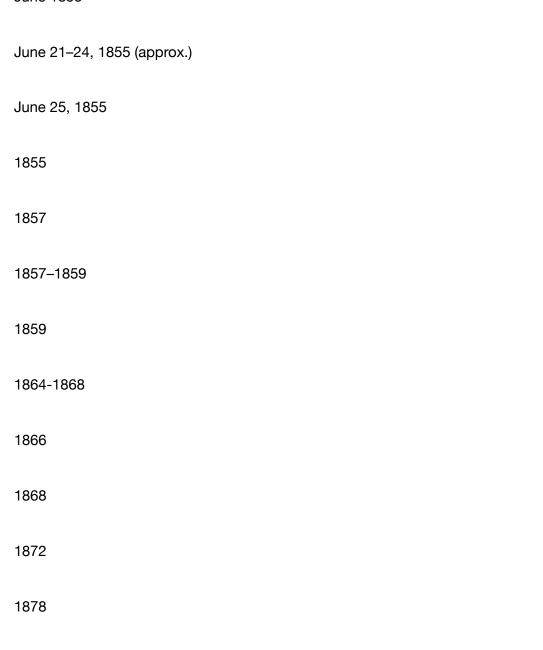
The Snake Wars (1864–1868) were a series of violent conflicts between the United States and Native American tribes, mainly the Northern Paiute, Bannock, and Shoshone, who were collectively labeled as "Snakes" by settlers and the military. The wars took place across Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, and California, as white settlers, miners, and ranchers moved into Native American lands. Native American resistance grew in response to broken treaties, loss of land, and violent treatment. The U.S. military launched multiple campaigns to suppress the Tribes, often using brutal tactics. By the end of the conflict, many Native communities were devastated, forced onto reservations, or killed, and their land was opened to further white settlement.

Between 1866 and 1878, the Northern Paiutes experienced significant hardship and displacement due to U.S. military actions and broken promises. In 1866, U.S. Commander George Cook threatened Paiute leader Wewawewa with "Peace or Death," leading to the forced march of over 700 Paiutes to the Yakama Reservation—an event known as the Paiute Trail of Tears, with fewer than 150 survivors. Although a peace treaty was made at Fort Harney in 1868, it was never ratified. In 1872, President Grant established the Malheur Indian Reservation, but the land remained contested. The situation escalated in 1878 during the Bannock War, when some Northern Paiutes, including leader Oytes, joined the uprising. The war ended with the Paiutes' forced removal, the loss of their lands, and the termination of the Malheur Reservation.

Many Paiutes eventually found themselves as prisoners-of-war. One group, who had originally made its home between Prineville and Bend, were relocated to the Warm Springs Reservation in 1879 from Fort Vancouver. During the next five years, these Paiutes were joined by other Paiutes who had been forced by the army to move to the Yakima Reservation in Washington.

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**Activity:** Create a timeline by extracting the dates from the above text and write a sentence offering its significance:
June 1855



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1879 & 1884

## **Lesson Two**

Read the following text and answer the questions that follow.

#### **FINAL WORDS: TREATY COUNCIL OF 1855**

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(As recorded by William C. McKay, recording secretary for the treaty council, on the 25th day of June, the last day of the council)

#### First to speak.

Chief Simtustus: "I wish to talk now. The chief talks right. I take his words. My heart is glad to hear you speak and all my people. He speaks right and straight and I am glad. Our heart is soft, not so hard as it was. They have asked for our land some time ago. Now, I have given my word and I will stick to it. It is true I think about what he said: the reason that you have told him to think of the words. It is true the whites have taken pity on us. I am afraid of their words. Matthew Doffa knows my country, and I am going to talk of it. What we talk of. I know what I am talking about, for myself and my people. The DesChutes have sustained us in fish. The falls where we catch the fish, we would like to reserve it. You have seen our country where we get our roots; this is the country that I spoke about. I wish to keep the country beyond the Tygh about the Mutton Mountains and between the Mutton Mountain and Jefferson Mountains. There we gather our berries. About the big branch of the DesChutes. We wish to also reserve the country that lies South on Tamalawe River to the wagon road, called the middle road to Oregon. Then following the stream down to DesChutes then down to the DesChutes Falls."

Locks Quipa, Kuckup, and Alexie each spoke briefly. Now Stocketly is going to speak. Stocketly: "I like a piece of land as my heart. I have already given a piece of my land, the others have already given a piece of theirs. I also think it is good for me to do the same. My heart is I will not speak of the reservation you speak of. I wish to have a piece of land on the East side of the DesChutes River---that is all I have to say. I wish to have a piece of land on the spot I spoke of, the rest you can have. My heart is to choose this piece of ground that I spoke of from the Columbia to the Blue Mountains, also my fishing place on Columbia DesChutes Falls. This is all I have to say."

General Palmer told them how the President had refused to sign the treaties made by Gov. Gaines and Dr. Dart wherein individual Tribes or bands had been given separate smaller reservations and directed that several bands be placed on one larger reservation to segregate them from the whites rather than place them in small communities surrounded by whites.

General Palmer: "We cannot agree to let part of them live on the east side of the DesChutes but we have placed in the treaty the right to fish on their old fishing grounds. When the fishing season is over they can go home and say this is my home. I would have selected a better place for the reservation but I know of no better place. Our chief cannot build mills and houses all over the country but he will build these in one place to accommodate all the people."

Chief Mark is starting to speak:

Chief Mark:

"That is good what he has said. What the general had said, it is good. We are as wild animals. We are afraid of what we have heard, like when we are near some wild animal that we are afraid of. What the others have said, they take your word, they are good. That is my heart. The place that you have

mentioned I have not seen. There is no Indians or white men there yet, and that is the reason I say I know nothing about that country. If there were Indians and whites there then I would think it was a good country. That is all my heart. I heard from you at the other council good words from you. When there is good land everything produces well. Where you have given the land it is a large country. When first we commence with a small garden then it will enlarge. Now and after this we can say, "Look, the whites have taken pity on us." That is my heart. I am speaking now those things that are to come after me. When I heard that our children are to be taught to read and write, I am afraid of that country. I wish the line to start from Tygh. My country lies from Dog River to Tygh. It is not for nothing that I am speaking, you will see my heart. I am speaking the same as if I had only one good and fast horse. The country that you have already named to us there is one piece that is good. We claim the country from two miles below the Dog River to the Mutton Mountain. We want the line to commence from the Tygh and up. If you take pity on me, then I will speak to Stocketly."

#### General Palmer again.

General Palmer: "The wagon road passes through that country, and I cannot give it up. The line is at Mutton Mountain. I have told you already (Note: He continued to argue that there is not much good land on the Tygh and it would be too far to send the children to the schools that would be built on the reservation, too far to go to the mill, etc.). When we come to put you all on the reservation and find that there is not land enough for all of you, then we extend and make the reservation a little larger. If we do not make a treaty before two years the country will be settled and also this country that we talk about."

After General Palmer, William Chinook spoke briefly, wishing only to make certain that all the old folks understood what was being done.

#### Chief Mark is ready to speak again.

Mark: "I do not wish to speak more, I know that the country you speak of, it is not good country. And that is the reason that I want the Tygh. The Cayuses have given you good country and they have also kept a good piece of land. I do not say that I do not give you this land, I have already given it. There is good timber and good range for horses. The winter comes and the snow falls deep. There is not a country to raise any produce, the frost kills it all. If it is good country I would have said yes long ago. This country is not filled up, it is still open. I do not wish to tire our chief General Palmer. We will trade."

#### Chief Mark has finished, now Cashkella is going to speak.

Cashkella: "The others talked and I have listened. I do not wish to hurt your feelings. I am glad that you have spoken good to us. I want the little piece of ground at Tygh. We wish to live on it. Very true that you have given us good talk for our country. But I still think much of my country. But I think we will make a trade for the country. If you had spoken loud as to try and frighten them, I would not have talked as I am doing. My heart is glad, the same as if I were wounded. If I do not get the piece of land I want---at the same time if you take pity on me and give me that piece of land---if you would say yes, I am ready to give you all the rest and I am done."

#### General Palmer is going to answer Kas Kolla.

General Palmer: "I would like to accommodate him but the great chief knows this country. He has maps. He knows where the wagon road is. His instruction to me is to put the reservation off from the white settlements. The Cayuses had a road through their reservation. But I made arrangements to put another road farther South. Where is there a chance to put another road South of Tygh? I believe there

is more good land than they speak of in the reservation. They drive cattle there to winter. Deer also come down from the mountains into that valley. There is plenty of game there."

#### Stocketly is going to comment.

Stocketly: "I hold to my words, my heart is still as it was. When will be the time that I shall run to this place. I can see this country. There is few places that I can make a garden in it. My heart is to have the country that I spoke of, from the DesChutes to the John Day River, from the Columbia River to the Blue Mountains."

#### General Palmer to comment again.

General Palmer: "He is chief, he talks for his people. There is no use talking about it - I have given him the reasons that I did not allow any land to be given across the DesChutes---I do not expect always to be their chief. The next that comes may not do as well by them. If they think it is best to throw my talk behind them, they can do so. If Stocketly and his people fail to enter into a treaty with us now, it will be too late when he wants to; the whites will come in and we cannot prevent them."

#### Iso wishes to speak.

Iso: "I wish to go to the reservation. I give up all the country. I wished to have a piece of land on the other side of the DesChutes at the Xaus country. I wish to go there every spring to dig Xaus if you give me the privilege. My heart will be glad. I am done."

#### Chief Mark speaking now.

Mark: "He sees the wagon road. It is very true that I would like to have that piece of country. I do not call the Tygh a good country. We can see the wagon road plenty. I am doubtful about getting a good piece of land to raise a garden. If it is possible to show you my heart I would do it. I think Stocketly speaks right about getting a good piece of land on the other side. Very true you have chosen a place where there is plenty of wood and they have chosen where there is no wood.

If there was any good land near the Hot Springs I would not talk so long. That is the reason, my friend, I am talking long. It is not for anything good about Tygh that I wish to have it. Ever since three years since we have been mixed up with the whites, we have learned to do several things. There is not much good land about the Tygh, only a piece on the upper end. The rest is all rocks. The children would learn to read and write. It would be like throwing it away. There will be no good country for them to work at. My friend, my heart is very hungry for the rocks on the lower end of the Tygh. I am very much in trouble to find a good piece of land to live on."

#### General Palmer:

"I said that in the event that they did not like this reservation that they could send three men with an agent to look and see if they could find a better country, a country where they would be willing to go. I selected this place. I supposed it was better than any other place. I have told them already that if the reservation is not large enough, we will extend the reservation."

Mark: "I had one of the best running horses that ever was in this country and now we all take this land. Now we know every little piece of good land that we have in our country and now we give it all up. This day the same as if I had given my fortune. What amount of things will you give to cover us with? What amount of money? How much to each man?"

#### General Palmer:

"I do not know how much it will amount to each person. We do not know how many there are of you people. We give you in all, \$150,000. Besides we build you a flouring mill, a saw mill, blacksmith, tin and gun shops, hospital, plough and wagon shops, and school house. Also give you men to do all these things. Then we build a house for each of the head people of Wasco, Tenino, Upper and Lower DesChutes, and plow and fence ten acres of land. Then all these people will choose a head chief. We will give him \$500 per year. He will be the head man and will have to attend to his people. And when this head chief dies or is superseded by another, this new one is to get and occupy it as the other. I do not know how much it will amount to a single person. I know this much: we give more than the country is worth."

Mark: "He does not give enough money. In Willamette they sell half mile claims for \$1,000. We expected that \$150,000 to each nation. We want so much money each. Commence to pay today."

Last comment from General Palmer. General Palmer: "We have nothing to pay to them but goods today. We do not give money until the treaty is ratified. I have been talking and you have been talking. Now I am tired. I am going home. And I want you to hear what I have to say. And you know what I have said. I am going home with a heavy heart. When I come again they will see me. I have other people to see besides these people; those that have signed will be provided for. The Wascos, if they see fit let them come up. And I call upon Mark first, head chief of the Wasco Tribes."

Mark went forward and signed the treaty. All other chiefs and subchiefs followed. Then the treaty was signed by all other men present. The council adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

# **Lesson Two: Discussion Questions**

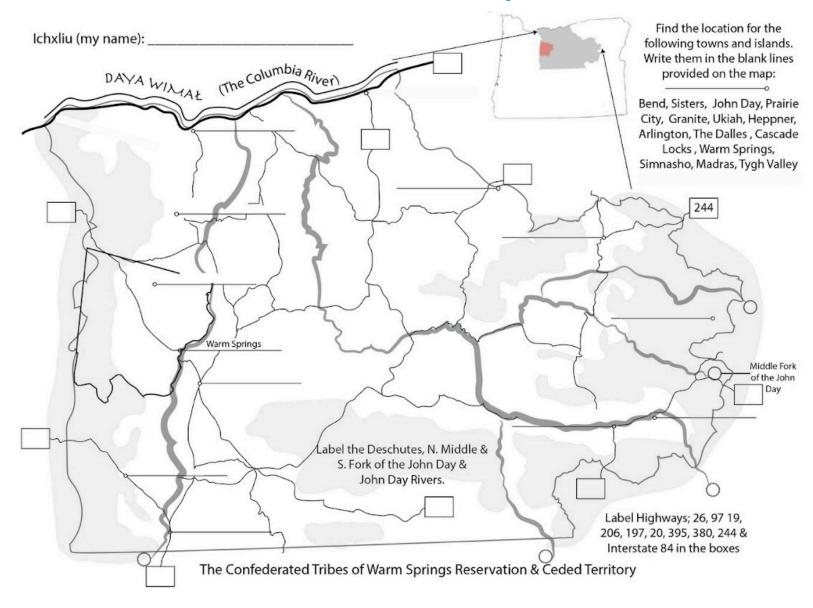
Why do you think Tribes were removed from their homelands?

Do you agree or disagree with the negotiation and ratification of treaties between the U.S. Government and Tribes? Why/Why not?

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Who benefited most from the treaties? Explain why and how.
What are two benefits and liabilities to agreeing to the terms of the treaty from your own perspective?

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Imagine that you had to sign a treaty yourself. What are you willing to give up in your own life in order to sign this treaty?
If you were told to leave the U.S. and forced to live somewhere else not of your choosing, how much time would have to go by before this land would no longer be considered your "home"? Explain and justify your answer.

# **Lesson Two: CTWS Ceded Territories Map**



# **Lesson Three: Treaty Signers and Non-Treaty Signers**

In 1853, the military commander at The Dalles posted a notice that cautioned:

"Emigrants, and other white persons, are hereby warned not to settle in the Indian Country East of the Cascade Mountains in the Territories of Oregon and Washington. The Indian Title has not yet been extinguished by Treaty. The Government alone has the power to treat for the extinguishment of the Indian Title. And it becomes all good citizens, to wait for the action of the Government."

It didn't take long for the U.S. to take action. In 1855, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of the Oregon Territory, received orders to clear the Indians from their lands. He did so by negotiating a series of Indian treaties including the establishment of the Warm Springs Reservation. The treaty was a mechanism to protect an Indian's way of life for personal homelands and reserving off-reservation rights.

Meeting at Wasco, Oregon, near the City of The Dalles in June 1855, Palmer had to convince Tribes to move south of Barlow Road (main emigrant trail which paralleled the Columbia River into the Willamette Valley).

The Northern Paiutes did not sign the 1855 Treaty that created the Warm Springs Reservation — and they were never invited to. Unlike the Wasq'u and Warm Springs Tribes, the Paiutes were excluded from treaty negotiations, even though the land being discussed included their traditional territory. This lack of consultation violated their rights and sparked lasting resentment.

The Paiutes also had a different lifestyle and geography. They were traveling hunters and gatherers who moved across large areas of Oregon, Nevada, and Idaho. Because they lived farther from early settler routes, they had less contact with U.S. officials and were often left out of early treaties and agreements.

Indian Agent Edward Geary (1860) argued that the treaty resulted in the transfer of Paiute hunting grounds to rival Tribes without their agreement or any compensation. This caused significant resentment among the Paiutes, who viewed this as an encroachment on their traditional lands. According to this source, Geary wrote to General William Harney on February 6, 1860:

"I would here beg leave to sustain my impression as to the real source of the inveterate hostility of the Snake Indians towards those placed on the Reservation, secured to the Wascoes and other bands by treaty, [that] lies within the limits of the Territory not only claimed by the Snakes themselves, but admitted by the Indian parties to the treaty to belong to them. The Snakes claim that the Whites had no right to give to their ancient enemies their favorite hunting grounds, without consulting and compensating them the true and original owners..."

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Source: Geary, E. (1859, February 6) as cited in Hwang, 2014, p. 21.

By 1879, after the Snake and Bannock Wars (refer to the Timeline Chart in Lesson One) had been waged, it was an Act of Congress that released the remaining "Prisoners of War" to return to their respective land bases. In 1879, the Oytes Band of 78 opted to move back to their original land base on the South end of the Warm Springs Reservation. Other bands from the same prisons left for Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, and Northern California.

Indian Agent John Smith described the Paiutes' arrival on the Warm Springs Reservation in a September 1879 letter:

"I received...a request from Ben. O.O. Howard...to come to his headquarters at Vancouver Barracks...regarding a small band of Paiute prisoners held by him. Anticipating what his object might be, (tribal) members here voluntarily told me that if these Indians wanted to come here, to bring them home with me...My Indians will give them all assistance possible, and (will have) the most friendly feeling toward them which is remarkable since but a few years ago they were inveterate enemies."

Source: The People of Warm Springs. (1984). Profile: The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon. Quill Point, Inc.; Rockey/Marsh Public Relations., p. 39.

# **Lesson Three: Source Analysis Activity**

In groups, conduct a Source Analysis activity based on these prompts:

#### 1. Conflict and Land

Quote to examine:

"The Snakes claim that the Whites had no right to give to their ancient enemies their favorite hunting grounds, without consulting and compensating them..."

What does Geary's letter suggest about why the Northern Paiutes were hostile?

How does the letter describe the relationship between the Paiutes and other Tribes?

Why is the phrase "ancient enemies" important? How does it reflect InterTribal history and government interference?
2. Sovereignty and Exclusion
Quote to examine: "The Indian Title has not yet been extinguished by Treaty The Government alone has the power to treat"
How is the idea of consultation and consent addressed or ignored in Geary's letter?
How does the use of legal language like "extinguished" and "true and original owners" shape our understanding of land rights?

#### 3. Tone and Bias

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"My Indians will give them all assistance possible... which is remarkable since but a few years ago they were inveterate enemies."

What tone does each agent take toward the Paiutes? Does it change from 1860 to 1879?

How does Smith frame the arrival of Paiutes at Warm Springs? Is it respectful, surprised, dismissive?

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What is not said about the Paiutes' agency or consent?

