History Units
10th Grade

Ichishkin (Warm Springs)

2018 High School Social Sciences Crosswalk Geography HS.52	HS.52 Identify and analyze how federal policy decisions created political hardships for the Ichishkin people
Time Immemorial	Time Immemorial, IRA, Constitution & By-Laws, Corporate Charter, Declaration of Tribal Sovereignty, BIA Schools, Meriam Report

Kiksht (Wasco)

2018 High School Social Sciences Crosswalk Multicultural Studies HS.24	HS.24 Describe the possible benefits and consequences, both intended and unintended, of the inundation of Celilo Falls
Treaty Access Fishing Sites	Life Cycle of Salmon, way of life, trade, language

Numu (Paiute)

2018 High School Social Sciences Crosswalk History HS.65	HS.65 Identify and analyze the nature and systemic oppression of the Northern Paiute, as well as other traditionally marginalized groups, in the pursuit of justice and equality in Oregon, the United States and the world
Acts of Congress, Federal Policy	Attempted genocide

TRIBAL HISTORY, SHARED HISTORY
THE CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF WARM SPRINGS
RESERVATION OF OREGON
TRIBAL EXPERIENCE

TITLE: Tribal History Unit - Ichishkin (Time Immemorial0

STANDARD/S MET: GRADE 10 – SOCIAL STUDIES

2018 High School **Social Sciences Crosswalk** **HS.52**	**HS.52** Identify and analyze how federal policy decisions created political hardships for the Ichishkin people

OVERVIEW

Copy of Federal Policy: Indian Reorganization Act (Establishes Tribal Government)

Learning outcomes
1.

2.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

1. Desired student results
2. Relevant standards and essential understandings

LOGISTICS

1. Where does the activity take place (classroom, outdoors, gym)?

2. How are the student organized (whole class, teams 2/3, Pairs, Individually, other?

MATERIALS NEEDED/PREPARATION/EQUIPMENT

What will be needed for students to engage in this activity? Are there technology needs?

Describe how might these materials be best organized, stored, assembled, and if necessary where to fine.

For the lesson
1. Describe steps needed to utilize materials

TIME FRAME

What is the time frame of lesson? Describe how this lesson may be shortened or expanded.

BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS

Time Immemorial, IRA, Constitution & By-laws, Corporate Charter, Declaration of Tribal Sovereignty, BIA Schools, Merriam Report

KEY VOCABULARY

Time Immemorial
Water Rights
IRA
Politics

Considerations for teachers

Assessment: How will you know if students are learning?

Practices: (Group roles, classroom routines, etc. This depends on the activity. For instance how do you rotate roles? Assign computer? Get supplies?

LEARNING TARGETS

Describe specific learning targets. Examples:

1. I can use steps in a design process to solve a problem using technology and common sense.

2. I can learn basics of magnification and apply what I've learned

3. I can record information

4. I can work with others to complete a complex task

ACTIVITIES

Provide detailed outline of activities to accomplish learning targets. This may be broken down into class-periods or specific time slots (1 pm to 2 pm).

Day One:
Day Two:
Day Three:

OPTIONS/EXTENSIONS/ANTIICPATORY SET/DIFFERENTIATION

How might the teacher differentiate lesson to meet the various needs of students?

Are there early finisher activities for students?

REFLECTION/CLOSURE

Is there a pre-assessment? Post-assessment?

ATTACHMENTS
IRA
Court Case - Water Rights
Court Case - Fishing Rights

TRIBAL HISTORY, SHARED HISTORY
THE CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF WARM SPRINGS
RESERVATION OF OREGON
TRIBAL EXPERIENCE

TITLE: Tribal History Unit – Kiksht (Inundation of Celilo/Treaty Access Fishing Sites)

STANDARD/S MET: GRADE 10 – SOCIAL STUDIES

2018 High School **Social Sciences Crosswalk** **Multicultral Studies HS 24**	**HS.24** Describe the possible benefits and consequences, both intended and unintended, of inundation of Celilo Falls

OVERVIEW

Photo of Celilo Falls before/after inundation
Life Cycle of Salmon

Learning outcomes
1.

2.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

1. Desired student results
2. Relevant standards and essential understandings

LOGISTICS

1. Where does the activity take place (classroom, outdoors, gym)?

2. How are the student organized (whole class, teams 2/3, Pairs, Individually, other?

MATERIALS NEEDED/PREPARATION/EQUIPMENT

What will be needed for students to engage in this activity? Are there technology needs?

Describe how might these materials be best organized, stored, assembled, and if necessary where to fine.

For the lesson
1. Describe steps needed to utilize materials

TIME FRAME

What is the time frame of lesson? Describe how this lesson may be shortened or expanded.

BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS

Inudation of Celilo Falls
Kiksht lost their way of life
Kiksht were moved from the river
Kiksht loss of commerce and trade
Kiksht language was interrupted by outside "forces"
Kiksht family fishing sites were lost on both sides of the Columbia River

a. Dam impacted the Salmon run
b. Supplement wild stock with hatcheries
c. Impacted burial sites
d. Removal of children from villages by the state social services/adopted non-natives

KEY VOCABULARY

Fishery
Hatcheries
Removal
Language

Considerations for teachers

Assessment: How will you know if students are learning?

Practices: (Group roles, classroom routines, etc. This depends on the activity. For instance how do you rotate roles? Assign computer? Get supplies?

LEARNING TARGETS

Describe specific learning targets. Examples:

1. I can use steps in a design process to solve a problem using technology and common sense.

2. I can learn basics of magnification and apply what I've learned

3. I can record information

4. I can work with others to complete a complex task

ACTIVITIES

Provide detailed outline of activities to accomplish learning targets. This may be broken down into class-periods or specific time slots (1 pm to 2 pm).

Day One:
Day Two:
Day Three:

OPTIONS/EXTENSIONS/ANTIICPATORY SET/DIFFERENTIATION

How might the teacher differentiate lesson to meet the various needs of students?

Are there early finisher activities for students?

REFLECTION/CLOSURE

Is there a pre-assessment? Post-assessment?

ATTACHMENTS

Photo of Celilo Falls - before/after inundation of Celilo Falls
Map of In-Lieu Fishing Sites

TRIBAL HISTORY, SHARED HISTORY
THE CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF WARM SPRINGS
RESERVATION OF OREGON
TRIBAL EXPERIENCE

TITLE: Tribal History Unit – Numu (Acts of Congress/Attempted Genocide)

STANDARD/S MET: GRADE 10 – SOCIAL STUDIES

2018 High School **Social Sciences Crosswalk** **History HS.65**	**HS.65** Identify and analyze the nature and systemic oppression of the Northern Paiute, as well as other traditionally marginalized groups, in the pursuit of justice and equality in Oregon, the United Staes and the world.

OVERVIEW

Provide summary of the lesson. Is this lesson tied to other lessons (review)?

Learning outcomes
1.

2.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

1. Desired student results
2. Relevant standards and essential understandings

LOGISTICS

1. Where does the activity take place (classroom, outdoors, gym)?

2. How are the student organized (whole class, teams 2/3, Pairs, Individually, other?

MATERIALS NEEDED/PREPARATION/EQUIPMENT

What will be needed for students to engage in this activity? Are there technology needs?

Describe how might these materials be best organized, stored, assembled, and if necessary where to fine.

For the lesson

1. Describe steps needed to utilize materials

TIME FRAME

What is the time frame of lesson? Describe how this lesson may be shortened or expanded.

BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS

What key information may teachers want to be aware of when teaching the lesson?

Describe how the scripts in the instructions can be used as written, or adapted to fit your own context and practices better. They are provided to give specific instructions students need in order to conduct the activity, but sight difference in sample and personal style may suggest alternative language.

KEY VOCABULARY

List key vocabulary and definitions.

Considerations for teachers

Assessment: How will you know if students are learning?

Practices: (Group roles, classroom routines, etc. This depends on the activity. For instance how do you rotate roles? Assign computer? Get supplies?

LEARNING TARGETS

Describe specific learning targets. Examples:

1. I can use steps in a design process to solve a problem using technology and common sense.

2. I can learn basics of magnification and apply what I've learned

3. I can record information

4. I can work with others to complete a complex task

ACTIVITIES

Provide detailed outline of activities to accomplish learning targets. This may be broken down into class-periods or specific time slots (1 pm to 2 pm).

Day One:
Day Two:

Day Three:

OPTIONS/EXTENSIONS/ANTIICPATORY SET/DIFFERENTIATION

How might the teacher differentiate lesson to meet the various needs of students?

Are there early finisher activities for students?

REFLECTION/CLOSURE

Is there a pre-assessment? Post-assessment?

ATTACHMENTS

Attach source documents, research, or other resources which may be relevant to the lesson. Are there media/video resources?

As they waited at Old Camp Warner the American soldiers and McKay and the Indian and Indian commandos fed and guarded the Paiute women and children--and pursued and sought to recapture any that tried to escape. Meanwhile, the soldiers and Indian commandos went fishing for trout in the local creeks, or hunting for deer or antelope at Steens Mountain. And new Sharps rifles arrived for the Indian commandos, and especially Archie McIntosh's men, as described and celebrated by the journalist Wesson:

> Several of the Boise wagons arrived here last night, and among other things, brought Spencer carbines for lieutenant Parnell's company, and today Archie's men get the best of his Sharp's guns. He has done the most of the rough work so far with the poorest tools, and it is time that his outfit be improved. It is my belief that the Boys will all see much rough travel in the next six weeks...All of the reliable indications point to the country south and west of this as the general rendezvous of the hostiles, and I think time will develop the wisdom of going after them where they live....September and October, to be sure is the time the Indians are most scattered, but this expedition will scout the country fifty miles wide at least and must in waking them up to judgment in numerous instances. The party of twenty-two gobbled near Camp Warner several weeks ago were en route from Steen's Mountain to the Goose Lake section and were most terribly surprised at the advent of the command from the direction of the Pueblo, having marched in the night, Mr. Indian did not see the joke until he struck the floor heavily.[1]

McKay and the Warm Springs commandos also helped secure the supplies for the forthcoming fall campaign. He oversaw the shoeing and distributed the new horses, to provide each Indian commando with two horses for their "scouts" and campaigns. **With their new Army weapons they had vastly greater firepower than the Paiutes they would hunt and attack. The Paiutes would typically respond with a mixed combination of old firearms and bows and arrows.**

Crook's soldiers and the Warm Springs commandos also found ample time for recreation during this brief haitus at Old Camp Warner. They organized, held and bet on several horse and mule races in the Camp, held on August 8, 11, 13 and 20. William McKay spent his spare time reading, typically reading the *Sacramento Union* or the *Owyhee Avalanche*. He wrote to his wife and read mail delivered to the Camp. He took tea with Captain David Perry. One evening he had dinner with General Crook and Archie McIntosh. And he commented regularly on the weather--and on the peace and quiet of the Camp. On a number of days through this haitus he would comment in his diaries, "nothing new."

The actual movement from Old Camp Warner to New Camp Warner occurred on August 22-23. It was a major undertaking. When the moving group finally got underway their pack train stretched out for some six miles, as described by McKay:

> **August 23, Friday**, left camp early about ½ past 5 O'Clock. The Cavalry take the lead then the Scouts, Cattle & loose horses then pack trains. It made quite a formidable appearance extending for about six miles in length.[2]

---

[1] Wasson in Cozzens, *Eyewitness to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890,* 58-59; see also at 51-52

[2] Clark and Clark, *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Fall 1978, 284-285

The American Society for Ethnohistory

J. W. Perit Huntington to Hon. N. S. Taylor, Umatilla Reservation, December 22, 1868
Author(s): J. W. Perit Huntington
Source: *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Spring, 1956), pp. 163-179
Published by: Duke University Press
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/480528
Accessed: 19/01/2015 13:24

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Duke University Press and *The American Society for Ethnohistory* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Ethnohistory*.

http://www.jstor.org

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

DOCUMENTS

[The document which is reproduced in the following pages comes from The National Archives of the United States, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The document is a letter to the Hon. N. S. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, from J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon (1863-1869), written from the Umatilla Indian Agency in northeastern Oregon on December 22, 1868, and detailing the first extensive trip undertaken by an Oregon Superintendent into the Northern Paiute Indian country of central Oregon.[1] Huntington's original letter is now in the National Archives, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Oregon Superintendency. Letters Received, H-18. A copy of it is also in the microfilm publication issued by the National Archives, "Oregon Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1848-73. Register of letters sent, April 1866-December 1872; and copies of letters sent, April 1866-December 1872, Micropy No. 2, Roll 10," pp. 257-266. —EWV]

Umatilla Indian Agency
Oregon, December 22nd, 1868.

Sir,

I have the honor to report to your office the following account of the progress and results of an expedition which I have recently made among the Indians in that part of Oregon which lies East of the Cascade range of mountains.

I left Salem on the 29th of October last, arrived at Dalles on the 2nd November, left there on the 4th Nov., arrived at Warm Springs Agency, on the 6th November, at Klamath Agency on the 20th of November, at Fort Warner on the 2nd December, at Fort Harney on the 9th December, at Carson City on the 14th December, and at this place on 20th December. The distances are as follows, to wit:

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

From Salem		To Portland	55	miles
"	Portland	" Dalles	119	"
"	Dalles	" Warm Springs	80	"
"	Warm Springs	" Klamath Agency	195	"
"	Klamath	" Fort Warner	135	"
"	Fort Warner	" Fort Harney	175	"
"	Fort Harney	" Carson City	80	"
"	Carson City	" Umatilla Agency	198	"
"	Umatilla	" Salem	316	"
		Total Distance	1353	Miles

Of these distances, all except those between Dalles and Portland, and between Umatilla and Salem, have been performed on horseback, over an uninhabited region, at an intensely cold, and a very inclement season, and for long distances over mountains deeply covered with snow.

The region traversed is vast in extent, and the hostile character of the fierce Indian Tribes who have inhabited it has hitherto prevented any but a most partial and imperfect exploration.

It has been the field in which all the Indian depredations have been committed in the last twelve years. The labor and hardship of such a journey, under so unfavorable circumstances, would have deterred me from undertaking it, had not the peculiar condition of the Snake Tribe appeared to imperatively demand it. But what I learned, and what I have accomplished compensate me for the fatigue.

The agencies which I visited, to-wit, Warm Springs, Klamath, and Umatilla, are all in quiet and prosperous condition, and I shall defer any report concerning them until my return home.

The chief object of the expedition was to visit the Snake Indian tribes, ascertain by personal inspection their precise condition, and take such measures as were in my power to secure a continuance of the peace recently inaugurated.

A reference to the map[3] will show that the three Agencies

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

named are upon the borders — the outskirts of the vast interior region traversed, and they have all been subject, as well as white settlements, to occasional predatory raids of the hostile Snakes, in some of which large numbers of horses and cattle have been stolen from the friendly Indians, and many of their lives taken.

In order to properly understand the present condition of these Indians, it is necessary to refer to their circumstances and history of a few years past. Reference to them, accounts of them and statements concerning them are to be found in reports of Superintendents and Agents in this Superintendency published with annual reports of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dates and pages as follows to wit

Annual Report	1860	E. R. Geary, Supt.		page 173 et. seq.
"	"	1861	W. H. Rector "	" 155 " "
"	"	1862	W. H. Rector "	" 260 " "
"	"	1862	J. M. Kirkpatrick Special Agent	" 264 " "
"	"	1863	J. W. P. Huntington Supt.	" 49,56" "
"	"	1864	J. W. P. Huntington "	" 84, 112 "
"	"	1864	E. Steele "	" 120 " "
"	"	1865	J. W. P. Huntington "	" 101, 466, 472 et. seq.
"	"	*1866	J. W. P. Huntington "	

(*No copies of the report for this year were received in this Superintendency, Annual Report 1867 J. W. P. Huntington Supt.) page 72, 91, 95 et. seq. There are other printed accounts of these Indians in former reports of Indian Affairs, and in the military reports of the various officers who have had command in that region of country, but as I have not at this remote point, access to them, I cannot cite them accurately.

Their intercourse with whites, dates back to the earliest occupation of the country. As long ago as 1834 the Hudson's Bay Company had a post known as Fort Boise, established for the purpose of trading with these Tribes. It was occupied by them con-

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

stantly down to the year 1855 and produced a large revenue in furs &c. The emigrants of 1842 and 1843 passed through the country having the most amicable intercourse with the Indians, not only suffering no molestation, but often receiving valuable assistance from them. In 1844 some emigrants—for very slight causes it is alleged—killed several of the Indians on the Snake Fork of the Columbia River, about one hundred miles from Fort Boise. Since that time they have always been hostile to whites, and have been a terror to emigrants and miners. A complete account of their depredations and crimes can probably never be made, but the partial compilations which I have made and cited in the reports above mentioned, show an appalling record. They have destroyed and captured property worth millions of dollars, and the lives of the whites they have taken may be counted by thousands. With the Indians on the South and East of their country they have been—so far as I am able to learn—uniformly friendly. They are in fact almost the same tribe as the "Pah-utes" of Nevada and Utah. They always mingle in friendly intercourse with the Klamaths,[4] Modocs, Pitt Rivers, and the tribes of Utah and Nevada. The celebrated Chief "Winnemucca" of Nevada, was the same Indian known as "How-lark" among the Snakes.[5] He was friendly and peacable in Nevada, and most determinedly hostile in Oregon. He was the leader in some of the most important raids of the Snakes upon the whites and friendly Indians. The Cayuses, Umatilla, Walla-Walla and Nez Perces tribes were their hereditary enemies. Tradition does not go back to the time when they were not at war.[6] These tribes occupied the northern boundary of the Snake country, and lived along the Columbia River. Their country affords fine grazing and they possessed numerous herds of cattle and horses, which of course invited the raids of their hostile neighbors. They often went in force against the Snakes, and being usually better armed and better provided, were generally victorious. The "Confederated Tribes and Bands of Middle Oregon"—that is the Wasco, Deschutes, Tenino and other tribes located at Warm Springs—were formerly friendly with the Snakes, often intermarried with them

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

and annually met at Tygh Valley in summer for festivals of horse racing, gambling &c. In the winter of 1855, some Deschutes Indians, visiting the Snakes on the main fork of John Day's river, were treacherously murdered by the Snakes, their horses stolen and their women and children enslaved. From that date they were bitter enemies, and both being warlike tribes, their warfare was disastrous to both. The Warm Springs Agency was once (1859) captured by them, the whites driven out, many friendly Indians killed, all the Government stock stolen, the principal building at the Agency burned, and a large number of horses belonging to friendly Indians driven off.[7] Troops were sent into their country, at various times, the first of which I have any knowledge being in 1849. In that year a detachment under command of Major Casey left Sutter's Fort in Sacramento Valley, intending to explore the country to Fort Hall, and meet the Regiment of mounted Rifles then coming from Missouri under command of Col. Loring. At Lake Warner (the same lake designated in Fremont's journal of 1843 as Christmas Lake) they were attacked by Indians, Capt. Warner, Pattatoo, a half breed (the guide) and several soldiers killed, and the command so demoralized that they were compelled to return to Sacramento.[8] At the same time a detachment under the command of Lieut. Hawkins, left Oregon City, passed through Umpqua, Rogue River by way of Goose lake to Fort Hall. They were attacked by Indians near the same locality, a citizen named Garrison killed and several others wounded. The expedition was not broken up however, but proceeded to Fort Hall.

In 1858 Capt Wallen with a strong detachment from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia river penetrated the Snake country, passed near where Fort Harney now stands and reached Salt Lake. His force was strong enough to deter hostile demonstrations on the part of the Snakes. He had with him as guides the chiefs "Pau-li-nee" and "We-you-we-wa", who have since become so celebrated as leaders of the war parties. They had been taken prisoners by late Agent A. P. Dennison at Warm Springs and turned over to the military for safe keeping. Appearing to be well disposed, they

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.145 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

were employed as guides, but when in the vicinity of Harney Lake they decamped, taking with them several horses and two good rifles which doubtless were afterwards the instruments of death to many a white man.[9]

In 1860, Major Stein made a similar expedition, following nearly the same route, beyond Harney Lake to the mountain range since called by his name, returning thence to Fort Vancouver. He had some unimportant skirmishes with the Indians, but no friendly intercourse with them. Hon. E. R. Geary, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, accompanied the expedition, but failed to get into communication with any of the Snakes.[10] An account of the expedition is found in the Report of late Supt. Geary (see report Commissioner Indian Affairs 1860, pages 174 and 175.)

In 1862 and 1863 several detachments of Oregon volunteer troops penetrated the Snake country and waged war upon the Indians, with various results. A part of these troops started from Fort Dalles, a part from Fort Walla-Walla, some from Fort Klamath and others from Fort Bidwell. At the same time Col. Connor with a strong force was operating against the same tribes a little further East, in the vicinity of Bear river and the Salmon Falls of Snake River. These Troops were usually victorious when the Indians could be brought to battle, but that was seldom done. The Indians carried on a guerrilla warfare to which our troops were quite unaccustomed, and the facility with which they moved over their vast country, their intimate knowledge of all its strongholds and hiding places, with their ability to endure long marches without food or clothing, gave them enormous advantage. In the years following 1863 the plan was adopted of erecting small military posts at short distances through the country—twenty-three in all were built. Although there were troops enough in the country to harass the Indians greatly, and partially protect the white population, yet there were not sufficient to subdue the savages, nor compel a peace. The Snakes were defiant, bold and rendered desperate by the necessity of murder and robbery to procure means of subsistence and ammunition. Systematic and vigorous war can hardly be said to have begun until 1865,[11]

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

when a large addition was made to the forces in the field supplies of forage for winter provided and in 1866 Majr. Genl. George Crook placed in command.[12] General Crook had much experience with Indians in northern California and Southern Oregon from 1855 to 1860 and is an officer of great energy and determination. With ample forces and supplies, the Indians were pursued almost literally night and day, summer and winter. The war was relentless, cruel and bloody. Two thirds or more of the entire Tribe were killed or perished of starvation. Men, women and children perished alike. In June 1868 a few of them gave themselves up to General Crook,[13] upon promise of protection and food, more have since come in and are coming, and the war may be said practically to be at an end. No hostilities have been committed since last June and if the Indians are properly cared for and protected there need be none. Too great praise cannot be given to General Crook and the officers and men under his command for their gallantry and efficiency.

The Indians as fast as they have given themselves up, have been located near the military posts, and kept under surveillance. One pound of Beef a day has been issued to them by the orders of General Crook since the 1st December. No other food of any sort has been given to them.

They are now temporarily located as follows, to-wit:

1st. At Warm Springs Agency[14] (about) 50 souls. These were prisoners who were captured by the enlisted friendly Indians during the war, and taken to the Agency for safe keeping. Subsistence is provided for them by the Agent in charge, and they will be comfortable enough during the winter. The friendly Indians attempted to make slaves of them, according to the old Indian custom, but I forbid it. Measures will be taken to remove them to their own people in the spring.

2nd. At "Yi-nax," on Sprague River[15] (about) 130 souls. This place is about 55 miles East of Klamath Agency and Fort Klamath, and 80 miles west of Fort Warner. These Indians are in deplorably destitute condition, both as regards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing. At the time of my visit to

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

them there were not in the entire camp enough garments of all descriptions—including blankets, dressed skins &c. to equal the amount of clothing two adult whites would ordinarily wear. Although the weather was intensely cold, ice freezing every night thick enough to bear our horses, nearly all of the children were entirely naked, and all of the adults nearly so. As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them. I do not think it could possibly keep them alive longer than the middle of January. Capt. Hall, in command at Fort Warner, refused to issue them beef as he did those encamped in the vicinity of the Fort, unless they removed to it. This they cannot do, without abandoning all of their supplies of roots &c.

3rd. At Fort Warner[16] (about) 250 souls. These are quite deficient as to clothing, though not so totally destitute as the band at Yi-nax. They are camped near the Fort and under the immediate supervision of the Commanding Officer. They receive since Decr. 1st rations of beef from the Commissary, one pound each per day. Their supply of roots and seeds is very small. "O-tsche-ho" the Chief of this band[17] professes to be very anxious to become peaceable and alleges that he has avoided war whenever he could for more than two years past. He acknowledges "We-you-we-wa" as his principal chief since the reported death of "Pau-li-nee". In fact I find this to be true of all the bands I have met.

4th. At Fort Harney[18] (about) 700 souls. This band is supplied with clothing to about the same extent as the band at Fort Warner and are furnished Beef by the Commissary at the same rate. One small issue of Flour—I think one fourth of one ration to each—had been given them also for ten days but is not to be continued. They have a very small store of roots and seeds, but they were industriously engaged in digging in the adjacent marshes, whenever they were not frozen too hard. The roots they obtain are the "Kamas," "Sow-weet," "Queah" and "Klouse." They are very nutritious and if the Indians could obtain a plentiful supply they would thrive, but the little marshes which furnish them are scat-

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

tered all over the country, and to permit the Indians to visit them would preclude the idea of gathering them upon a reservation. If limited to one or two marshes, the roots would soon become exhausted. If they are ever gathered upon a reservation some other means of obtaining food must be provided them.

5th. At Fort C. F. Smith[19] (about) 150 souls. I did not visit this camp and therefore can only report that (as I learned from the Army officers and others who had visited it) the condition of the Indians is about the same as at the other points. Maj. Perry endeavored to induce them to remove to Fort Harney, but thus far without success.

6th. The "Wah-tah-kin" band—numbers unknown vaguely estimated at 300 or 400. This band was in the vicinity of Fort Warner when hostilities ceased and a part of them came in to the Fort. They soon left however, and went off in a south easterly direction. Their exact whereabouts is unknown—probably in Nevada or Utah. They have always been forward in hostilities, and it is not unlikely may renew them in the spring. A part of the Indians now at Warner and Harney think they will do so, while others allege that they only went south to a milder climate to winter.

7th. Scattering bands and families numbers unknown, estimated at 300 souls. There are many little camps of Indians yet hiding among the mountains and in the marshes, afraid to come in. They are scattered from the Cascade Mountains to the "Owyhee" and from the Blue mountains far down into Nevada. I think most of them will come in to the Forts or perish during the present winter. I estimate them at three hundred, but with very little pretensions to accuracy.

Total - 1980 souls.

I am very confident that this estimate is high enough. I shall not be surprised to learn that when more carefully made it is considerably reduced below that figure.

After visiting the different camps, I had a final council with the Chiefs and head men at the camp near Fort Harney, and

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

agreed to a treaty which was reduced to writing and signed by me on the part of the United States and by the Chiefs on the part of the Indians. It provides that

In future hostilities shall cease on both sides, that the dominion of the United States Government shall be acknowledged by the Snakes, its laws respected and obeyed by them, that when any offences are committed by Indians the offenders shall be delivered up to the proper judicial authorities for punishment according to law, and the same treatment to be observed in case of white offenders against the persons or property of Snakes. The Snakes also agreed to remove to and reside upon such reservation as may be allotted to them by the U. S. Government, protection of life and property being guaranteed to them. It was further stipulated that this treaty should be considered only preliminary to a more complete one to be made at such time as the U. S. authorities should designate.[20]

A copy of the treaty, of which the above is merely a brief abstract, will be forwarded to your office. The Indians appear to be sincere in their professions of peace at this time, and if properly managed and treated they will probably remain so. But if maltreated, or neglected we may expect to see them on the war path next summer.

The question now arises—what disposition shall be made of them? They ought undoubtedly to be collected together somewhere upon a reservation and provisions made for their government and subsistance until they can subsist themselves. This can be done.

First By creating a reservation in their own Country establishing an agency thereon and collecting them upon it. The arguments in favor of this course are that it involves no very great expense of removing them and it will be more satisfactory to them than to receive them to some distant locality with which they are unacquainted. The objections to it are that an agency then must always be enormously expensive owing to the great cost of transportation and the climate being intensely cold is unfavorable to agriculture.

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

All freight to Fort Harney Costs Six Cents per pound in gold Say 8/2 cents in Currency. There is a very large amount of heavy freight - Iron - Tools - Nails - Flour - &c. required in the establishment of an agency and a very great sum of money will be required to transport it to that region. The climate is too frosty for the production of wheat - Corn - Potatoes or other garden vegetables but in the lake valleys Barley perhaps oats turnips Carrots &c would probably thrive — As a grazing Country it is very superior much of it which is totally unfit for Cultivation producing nutricious grass. There is no timber in the vicinity of any of the arable lands and if an agency were erected all its timber for building fencing and fuel must be hauled from ten to twenty miles or even thirty miles.

Second By removing them to some reservation already established. — There is abondant room for them at Klamath or Siletz.[21] Klamath is open to the same objection as the Harney lake region, it is nearly as cold and transportation to it is very expensive. Timber and arable land are abundant. But if the Indians are removed there they will be immediately upon the borders of their own Country and liable at any time to return to their old haunts. Selitz is near the coast transportation is very Cheap and the soil of which there is a larger extent unoccupied is exceedingly fertile. The crops which grow there best are Potatoes Carrots, Turnips and all of the Brassica tribe — Peas Oats &c. They are raised in the greatest abundance with very little labor. These are just the Crops best adapted to their wants. The Climate is very mild and timber very abundant. The agency is an old one and already supplied with tools and buildings and the heavy cost of transportation necessary for a new agency at Harney or any point in that vicinity will be avoided.

The Snakes will have the advantage of the example of other Indians who have been several years under instruction and who are already much advanced in agriculture &c. This is uniformly found a great advantage. The supply of fish at Siletz is unlimited. They are found in the ocean and in all the streams running through the Reser-

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

vation in such abundance that large quantities of them perish every Year. Fish have always formed a large part of the living of these Indians. And this sort of food so abundant and so easily taken is well suited to them.

But the chief argument in favor of taking them there is this that when once there they are permanently located forever. There will be no possibility of their ever escaping through the settlements of the broad Willamette Valley and across the Cascade mountains with which they are entirely unacquainted. They will be in small compass where they can be easily controlled and they will be entirely isolated from whites and Cheaply supported. They cannot again Commence war nor escape to their own Country.

The only objection so far as I know to Siletz as a location for them is the expense of their transportation thither. This is very insignificant compared with the first Years expenses of a new agency.

To sum up I think that economy (both present and future) the safety of the white population and the welfare of the Indians all demand the removal of the Indians to Siletz.[22]

A brief description of the country over which I have travelled will not be out of place here. It is all a high, cold region, sparsely timbered near the Blue and the Cascade Mountains and totally destitute of timber for hundreds of miles in the interior. From Warm Springs to Klamath the route is parallel to the Cascade mountains, and not distant from them. There is some arable land along the route, much other land which produces grass but cannot be cultivated, and the last (southern) 100 miles is an absolute desert — having water only at long intervals, no grass, and sparsely timbered with a worthless dwarf pine (Pinus Contorta). Along the whole route there is sufficient timber for all the settlements likely to be ever made in it.

From Klamath to Warner the country is partly habitable and partly not. The bottoms of Sprague river, of Drews valley and Goose Lake valley being apparently quite rich, but all the upland is totally barren. There is enough timber to supply the wants of

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

settlement, water good and abundant. The climate is intensely cold and frozen, grazing good. It will be populated at some future day by a pastoral people—never by an agricultural one.

From Warner to Harney (175 miles) the route is through a miserable desert. Artemisia of two or three sorts, a very little scattering bunch grass and basaltic rocks are its only productions. There is not a tree in the whole distance. The climate is intensely cold and even if the soil were not barren, it could produce little valuable crops. The lakes along the route were all frozen hard enough to bear up loaded wagons when I passed—(6th, 7th and 8th December). In the immediate vicinity of Fort Harney are found a few bottoms of arable land, but the climate is too cold to raise anything on them. The water is all strongly impregnated with alkali and is considered unwholesome to drink.

From Fort Harney to Canon City the country is very high, broken and sparsely timbered. The road crosses one of the principal ridges of the Blue mountains. Some of the land appears rich enough for cultivation, were it not so cold. Canon City is on a far lower level than Harney. The descent in the last fifteen miles of the road is enormous. In the vicinity of Canon City are some small bottoms of fertile land which yield excellent crops. The whole country is covered with very nutritious grass.

From Canon City to Umatilla the route travelled passes by "Dixie" a little new mining town, Fort Logan, and through several valleys of apparent fertility, before it strikes the principal ridge of the Blue mountains. From "Dixie" to within twenty miles of Umatilla, there is plenty of timber and, when I passed through, several feet of snow. It is a very high mountainous country, valuable only for its mineral wealth, although it is said to produce fine grazing in summer. Although I found a great deal of snow on the route, this was the only part of it where travel was seriously obstructed.

Taken as a whole this region is not an agricultural country. It can, and no doubt will, support large herds of domestic animals, but agriculture proper will never amount to much within its limits.

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

It is in its minerals that its chief source of wealth is to be found. The gold mines at Canon City were discovered in 1862, work commenced in 1863, and continued ever since, although the miners often suffered severely from the depredations of the Snakes. It is considered as good a mining camp as any in Oregon or Northern California. All the mountains from there to near Umatilla and extending West 100 miles from my route, and East to Snake river are known to be full of gold. Little camps of miners have for two or three years been scattered over this vast region, in spite of the constant danger of hostile incursions. If savage warfare is no longer to be dreaded they will soon be filled with a hardy and money getting population. Gold has been found in all parts of the entire region, and no doubt will be extensively mined all over it. Very rich leads of Copper have also been found, Silver is known to exist, and when peace affords opportunity to prospect it, there is no doubt it will prove one of the most valuable mining districts on the Pacific Slope.

In travelling on this late journey I have uniformly had every courtesy and assistance needed extended to me by the military officers at the various posts. I take this method to put my acknowledgment on record.

Very respectfully

Your Obt. Servt.
(Sgd.) J. W. Perit Huntington
Supt. Indian Affairs in Oregon

To Hon. N. S. Taylor
Commissioner Ind. Aff.
Washington D. C.

Notes

1. For attempted earlier visits by Indian Bureau officials to the "Snakes" or Northern Paiute of central Oregon see Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, The Northern Paiute of Central Oregon: A Chapter in Treaty-Making (ETHNOHISTORY, vol. 2, 1955, pp. 95-132,

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

241-272; vol. 3, 1956, pp. 1-10) vol. 2, pp. 118-119, fn. 8. Hereafter this paper will be cited as "Northern Paiute."

2. See Northern Paiute, vol. 2, pp. 252-253, 268-269, fn. 224.

3. Huntington is probably referring to his Diagram of the Reservations and Tracts of Lands purchased from the various Indian tribes in Oregon. Superintendent's Office, Salem, Jan. 1st, 1864 (Ms. The National Archives. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Record Group 75. Map 973. Tube 497).

4. In 1866 and 1867 the Klamath feared Snake raids. See Northern Paiute, vol. 2, pp. 108-109, 128-129, fns. 84, 86.

5. Howlark was a hostile Snake chief who in 1865 and 1866 attempted to persuade Pauline to join forces with him in attacks on the Whites. In those years he was often reported as being in the vicinity of upper Sprague River Valley, in the eastern part of the Klamath Reservation; see Northern Paiute, pp. 107, 128, fns. 76, 77, p. 248. We know of no other contemporary source that confirms Huntington's statement that the Nevada leader, Winnemucca, and Howlark were one and the same person, although Howlark does drop from sight, after a few references to him, in a rather puzzling way. He may, of course, have been killed.

6. This may be true for the more easterly Snakes, but in the first half of the 19th century White explorers encountered Snakes in the Des Chutes River region in company with Walla Wallas and Nez Percés (ibid., vol. 2, p. 259).

7. See ibid., vol. 2, p. 260.

8. For a full account of the attack on Capt. W. H. Warner of the Topographical Engineers and his party see Georgia Willis Reed and Ruth Gaines, eds., Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff (2 vols., New York, 1944) vol. 1, pp. 310-312, 577-587, 624-627.

9. Capt. H. D. Wallen's expedition was made in 1859, not 1858 as Huntington states. For an account of it see H. D. Wallen, Affairs in Oregon (Congressional Documents Series No. 1051, Document 65). For the activities of Pauline and Weyouwewa, both notable Snake war leaders, see Northern Paiute, vol. 2, pp. 95-132, 241-272.

10. The Major's name was Enoch Steen, often misspelled as "Stein" in Huntington's day. Superintendent Geary accompanied

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Maj. Steen's expedition only as far as Buck Creek, a tributary of Crooked River. For Geary's account see Huntington's reference, or Congressional Documents Series No. 1087, pp. 398-400; also Congressional Documents Series No. 1079, pp. 45, 117, 207, and The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (70 vols. in 128. Washington, 1880-1901) vol. 50, pt. 1, p. 336.

11. Systematic war against the Snakes of central and eastern Oregon started in the spring of 1864, not 1865. Three expeditions went into the field in 1864. See Northern Paiute, vol. 2, pp. 114-115, 132, fn. 131.

12. Crook started campaigning in the winter of 1866-1867. See ibid., vol. 2, p. 266, fn. 204.

13. This is a reference to Crook's peace council at Camp Harney, some 15 miles north of Malheur Lake, Oregon, on June 30, 1868; see ibid., vol. 2, p. 268, fn. 223.

14. Warm Springs Agency is on the west side of the Deschutes River, about 60 miles south of the river's mouth (see Northern Paiute, vol. 2, p. 96, fig. 1, Map of Central Oregon). Huntington took the trail from The Dalles, at the mouth of the Deschutes, south to Klamath Reservation; at the latter point he turned eastward.

15. See Northern Paiute, vol. 2, p. 96, fig. 1.

16. This was New Camp Warner; see ibid., vol. 2, p. 96, fig. 1.

17. Otscheho or Ocheo was the leader of a group of Paiute who, ca. 1867-1868, roamed in Surprise Valley in extreme northeastern California, and around Old and New Camp Warner. The descendants of this group are now knows as the Surprise Valley Paiute. See Northern Paiute, vol. 2, p. 124, fn. 49; p. 129, fn. 94; p. 110, 251.

18. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 96, fig. 1.

19. Fort C. F. Smith was south of Malheur Lake in Nevada, close to the Nevada-Oregon line.

20. Huntington never met with the "Snakes" again. He died in Washington, D. C., the next Spring, and in May, 1869, A. B. Meacham succeeded him as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. At the end of 1869 Meacham held another council at Camp

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Harney and succeeded in persuading Ocheo's band of Northern Paiute (see above) to remove to Klamath Reservation. By Act of Congress of March 31, 1871 treaty-making with Indian tribes within the territory of the United States was abolished.

21. Klamath Reservation is in south-central Oregon. Siletz (now Grand Ronde-Siletz) Reservation is on the northwestern coast of Oregon.

22. The Snakes were not removed to Siletz. On September 12, 1872, Malheur Reservation, a large tract a few miles northeast of Camp Harney, Oregon, on the headwaters of the North and Middle Forks of the Malheur River, was created for the "Paiute, Snake and Shoshoni Indians" by Executive Order of the President (Charles C. Royce, Indian Land Cessions in the United States, 18th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1899, pp. 858-859, Map. Oregon 2).

This content downloaded from 67.204.135.165 on Mon, 19 Jan 2015 13:24:06 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

The Network of Resistance:
Northern Paiute Opposition to Imprisonment at Yakama Reservation, 1878-1884

Augustine Beard

Decolonizing Research: The Northern Paiute History Project | Robert D. Clark Honors College, University of Oregon

Oregon Heritage Fellowship | Oregon Heritage Commission, Oregon Parks and Recreation Department

Abstract:

After the Bannock-Paiute war ended in 1878, General Howard and the US army led approximately 550 Northern Paiute Indians on a trail of tears from Oregon Great Basin to the Yakama Reservation in southern Washington with intent for them to remain there permanently as prisoners of war. While at Yakama, the Northern Paiutes faced discrimination from the Yakama Indians as well as mistreatment by Indian Agency that failed to provide adequate food, shelter, and clothing to the Paiutes. The Northern Paiutes refused to accept internment in Yakama and engaged in resistance, primarily through civil disobedience, in attempt to return home to Oregon. This paper investigates the nature of the Northern Paiutes' resistance while at Yakama between their arrival in 1878 and departure in 1882. The current understanding of this history focuses on Sarah Winnemucca's lectures and activism, and the role of the individuals in the Department of War and Department of Interior in advocating for the Northern Paiutes. I demonstrate that the Northern Paiutes refused to be passive victims, and that their resistance was one of the primary reasons for their return home as well as the Yakama Indian Agent James Wilbur's resignation. I introduce a resistance network framework, which better accounts for the plurality of actors and motives. I use primary sources mostly in the form of correspondence between government officials, and partly from the existing body of secondary literature.

Acknowledgements:

This work would not have been possible without the generous support of the University of Oregon Library, the Oregon Heritage Commission, our course partners, and our instructors. The library provided us with the space and resources that made the research possible, and the staff was extremely helpful throughout the process. I'd like to thank Wilson and Myra for taking so much time to help us with our projects and introduce us to the wonderful culture of the Paiutes. I knew next to nothing about the culture before this course, but now I'm enthusiastic to continue my education about the rich history of the Northern Paiute tribe. Additionally, I'd like to thank James Gardner who gave me the idea of this topic, was the first to give me feedback on my ideas, and whose contribution to my project cannot be understated. Finally, I'd like to thank Kevin and Jennifer for the countless hours they have put into this project over the years, not only sharing their academic endeavors with undergraduates, but allowing us to contribute. This opportunity has been one of the most rewarding educational experiences I've had, and because of it, I hope to continue work on historical research throughout my academic career and possibly my professional career.

"From the stories I heard from my grandpas from Umatilla, our past people didn't look at boundaries. There were areas that overlapped. If they were warring tribes, one tribe stayed out if they knew the other tribe was there. As they left, they'd move in and use the same area, too. There were no definitive lines. It was hard for my ancestors that were on the Snake River. When the Homestead Act was made and all that land along the Snake River that the farmers were buying up and the ranchers were buying up for their cattle herds and for farming, they were telling those pockets of tribal people: "You can't stay here." They sent soldiers to bring in those groups of people who were not on the [Yakama] reservation, [saying]: "You have to move to Yakama, where we can protect you." But our people were [wondering]: "What kind of protection are they giving? All the people in Yakama, or even in Warm Springs, or in Umatilla reservation — all the people on the reservation are starving. They're sick, and we're not sick, and we're not starving. We're still eating roots, we're still eating wild game, and yet you're trying to make us go there." And, then, the fences went up, the barbed wire fences. Our people didn't know what they were. In southeast Oregon, my dad's people cut them down because that was changing the migration of the mule deer. They cut the fences down so that they could get through them and get into their root areas, or hunting areas. They didn't know what a fence was. The land was never meant to be cut up to be owned by anybody. It was a resource given to our people by the Creator, to have forever." – Wilson Wewa[1]

In 1878, the United States military under the authority of General Howard rounded up over 500 Northern Paiute men, women, and children from southeast Oregon and marched them to the Yakama Reservation in south-central Washington. By the end of 1884, all of the Northern Paiute had returned to Oregon, despite the efforts of Howard and the Department of the Interior. This story covers a brief but foundational period in Northern Paiute and Oregon history. The Northern Paiute internment at Yakama

[1] Jr. Rex Buck and Wilson Wewa, "'We Are Created from This Land': Washat Leaders Reflect on Place-Based Spiritual Beliefs," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 115, no. 3 (2014): 313, doi:10.5403/oregonhistq.115.3.0298.

offers a case study in the complexity of the settling and unsettling of the Pacific Northwest. As *washat* leader and oral historian Wilson Wewa indicates, the removal to and imprisonment at Yakama has important connections to the history of colonialism, tribal sovereignty, resource management, and land ownership in Oregon. Following the lead of many native and non-native historians, culture keepers, archivists, and museum curators in Oregon, I present a narrative that highlights the nuanced intricacy of colonialism in Oregon and centers the Northern Paiute as the primary actors in their history.

The Northern Paiute tribe have received very little attention in the study of Oregon history. This is in spite of the fact that their ancestral lands span the largest geographic breadth of Oregon tribes, their longevity of residence in Oregon, and their rich cultural history. Most of the work – academic and otherwise – on the Northern Paiute tribe has centered on Sarah Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute woman who collaborated with the United States army in a war against some bands of her tribe and later wrote and lectured across the country on behalf of the Northern Paiutes.[2] The remainder of the historical literature on the Northern Paiute appears as chapters or mentions in broader tribal histories and military history of the conflicts between the Northern Paiute and United States.[3] More often than not, the Northern Paiutes' history appears as a footnote in other stories of Oregon's past. Take for example William G. Robbins's recent article about the recent Malheur Wildlife Refuge occupation by an extralegal militia the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*. Robbins details the history of Euro-American landownership and ranching in Oregon, but only makes one mention of the Northern Paiute. He writes, "Beginning with the U.S. Army's removal of the Northern Paiute people to sub-marginal locations during the late 1860s, the county has been the setting for struggles over the control of land and water, with geography playing a significant role

---

[2] Gae Whitney Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1983); Carolyn Sorisio, *The Newspaper Warrior: Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins's Campaign for American Indian Rights, 1864-1891* (U of Nebraska Press, 2015); Sally Zanjani, *Sarah Winnemucca* (University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Noreen Groover Lape, "'I Would Rather Be with My People, but Not to Live with Them as They Live': Cultural Liminality and Double Consciousness in Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins's 'Life among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims,'" *American Indian Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1998): 259–79, doi:10.2307/1184813; Leah Sneider, "Gender, Literacy, and Sovereignty in Winnemucca's Life among the Piutes," *The American Indian Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (October 5, 2012): 257–87.

[3] Cynthia D. Stowell, *Faces of a Reservation: A Portrait of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation* ([Portland, Or.]: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1989); Greg Hodgen and Larry Purchase, *The Rocks Are Ringing: Bannock - Paiute Indian War Oregon 1878* (Saber Publications, LLC, 2002).

in land-ownership patterns."[4] Robbins does not turn his attention to the involvement of the Northern Paiute in these struggles despite the fact that the Burns Paiute tribal leaders were at the forefront of the dialogue about the Malheur occupation.[5] Their presence in the conflict contradicts Robbins's exclusion of the Northern Paiute by beginning his story with their "removal to sub-marginal locations," likely referring to the Yakama affair. Robbins is certainly not alone in this characterization; other works also treat the Yakama affair as the end of the Northern Paiute history when their agency was fully stripped from them by an unsurmountable colonial force.[6]

I argue that rather than marking the final defeat of the Northern Paiutes, the Yakama affair is a powerful moment of Northern Paiute resistance to settler-colonialism. Furthermore, this history resists binary characterization with Northern Paiute and Euro-Americans as homogenous actors in constant opposition. Rather, I embrace a model of resistance that recognizes a plurality of actors each with their motivations and goals, allowing for alliances between colonizers and natives and conflict within the tribe. This history will offer a lens into the broader context of Northern Paiute and Oregon history and seeks to open a conversation about the Northern Paiutes' unique but familiar experience with colonialism. Understanding Northern Paiute history is important in its own right, but can offer further context for the history of natural resource management, semi-arid environments, cattle ranching, cultural confluence in the West, and other interests of Oregon historians.

The Northern Paiute tribe used three tactics in their resistance. First, many of them simply escaped. For the most part, escapes had to occur quietly and in small numbers to be successful. Second, they engaged in civil disobedience, avoiding any symbolic gesture indicating they accepted Yakama as their legitimate home. Third, the prisoners capitalized on a stigma of fear surrounding the Northern Paiute after the "Snake" and Bannock Wars (through threat of property destruction or violence, both explicit and

---

[4] William G. Robbins, "The Malheur Occupation and the Problem with History," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 117, no. 4 (2016): 577, doi:10.5403/oregonhistq.117.4.0574.

[5] Amanda Peacher, "Paiute Tribe Denounces Malheur Refuge Occupation," accessed May 30, 2017, http://www.opb.org/news/series/burns-oregon-standoff-bundy-militia-news-updates/tribe-denounces-malheur-refuge-occupation-/.

[6] This is largely because of the emphasis given to Sarah Winnemucca who advocated on behalf of the Northern Paiutes during the affair.

implicit). They benefited from strong leadership at Yakama, a network of Northern Paiute advocates outside of Yakama, and alliances with some United States government actors. I will first provide context for understanding the history of the Northern Paiute-United States relations. Then I will discuss the resistance upon arrival and how quickly the Yakama affair became a problem for high ranking government officials. Once it entered the national dialogue, native and nonnative advocates began to argue on behalf of the prisoners at Yakama. Finally, I will detail the civil disobedience at Yakama and the final escapes.

Context

To fully understand the Northern Paiute internment at Yakama and their resistance, it is important to contextualize the story in a broader history of Oregon and colonialism. The internment and resistance at Yakama resulted from intersecting phenomena in Northern Paiute history: The devastating and genocidal "Snake War"; their status as non-treaty signers; and the complexity behind their homelands and the short-lived Malheur Reservation. The Snake War was a foundational period in Oregon history lasting from 1855 to 1868. Ironically, this conflict began with the Treaty of Middle Oregon in 1855, which signed away Northern Paiute land in the present-day Warm Springs reservation to a number of Columbia River tribes.[7] When the United States military further provoked the Northern Paiute and some of the northern bands retaliated with raids, the Warm Springs tribes joined the US army against the Northern Paiute. What began as raids over contested land evolved into a genocidal war against the Northern Paiute, whom the US called the "Snake Indians" to dehumanize them and justify their "extermination." The war, which resulted in the death of two thirds of the Oregonian Northern Paiute tribe, finally ended in 1868 when Old Chief Winnemucca – father of Sarah Winnemucca – agreed to a peace deal with the United States. Although the terms of peace allowed the Northern Paiute to stay on their ancestral lands, the Bureau of Indian Affairs insisted that they be forced to a reservation. Because the leaders protested being removed to Klamath or Siletz reservations, President Grant established the Malheur Reservation in southeastern Oregon by executive order. The Northern Paiute did not sign a treaty with the United States

[7] This is a controversial point in Oregon's native history under ongoing debate.

with the peace deal nor the establishment of the reservation. Their status as a non-treaty tribe has been a burden, often denying them the same power as other tribes to negotiate as a sovereign state.

While it was a promising resolution on paper, in time, the Malheur Reservation brought even more conflict between the Northern Paiutes and the white settlers. The first agent of the reservation – William Rinehart – sought to drive the Northern Paiutes off of the reservation to open up the land for more white settlers. He insisted that the reservation was not Northern Paiute land and deprived them of resources, forcing them into abject poverty. This period of deepening animosity and tension also saw the rise of strong leadership. Chiefs of various bands began to challenge the white settler authority, such as the spiritual lead Oytes and tribal band leaders Leggins and Egan. Furthermore, Sarah Winnemucca, who had been raised by a white family in Nevada, began her political advocacy for the Northern Paiutes at this time.

In 1878, a number of Paiutes including Egan and Oytes's bands joined the Bannocks in their uprising, which surmounted to a brief and devastating war for the Northern Paiutes. Rather than push the white settlers away as intended, the war gave anti-Indian colonizers such as General Howard—a military leader of this conflict—a reason to punish the Paiutes, remove them from their homeland, and cede their land to miners, ranchers, and farmers. This war not only polarizing for the relations between the Northern Paiute and United States government, but also within the Northern Paiute tribe. While many Northern Paiute people did join in arms with the Bannock Indians, including the band of the spiritual leader named Oytes, others remained neutral.[8] The war ended with the killing of the leader Egan, and notably with Sarah Winnemucca acting as an informant to the US Army. Lasting just over two weeks, this unusually short war had devastating consequences for the Northern Paiute. As swiftly as the Malheur Reservation had been signed into existence, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs terminated it. Without a treaty, the Northern Paitue could not challenge this maneuver. In November 1878, the Secretary of Interior and Secretary of War ordered the Paiutes who participated in the war to the Yakama Reservation in Southern Washington. Of the Paiutes brought to Yakama, less than half—primarily from the band of the leader

[8] Jim Gardner, *Oregon Apocalypse: A Hidden History of the Northern Paiutes* (2015).

known as Oytes—had fought in the Bannock War. A majority of the others were members of the *Tagatoka* (tube-eater) band under the leadership of Leggins. Historian James Gardner calls the 350-mile journey from Camp Harney to Yakama the Paiute Trail of Tears.[9] Of the 543 Paiutes that left from Camp Harney in early January, only 510 arrived at Yakama a month later. Many froze to death on the trek, which crossed two mountain ranges. They arrived at Yakama starving, devastated, starving, under-clothed, and demoralized.[10] At Yakama, the Paiutes faced the hardship at the hands of the Yakama Reservation Agent James Wilbur and the "civilized" Yakama Indians. Wilbur was a devout Christian and saw himself as a missionary. The Paiutes were already skeptical of these "missionary" agents, like William Rinehart at the Malheur Agency, and criticized Wilbur for being "another Rinehart." They were eager to leave from the start, and Sarah Winnemucca soon departed from Yakama to tour on a lecture series across the country. [11]

Arrival and Resistance

Almost as soon as they arrived, the Northern Paiute were determined to return to Oregon. In the first winter at Yakama, 24 Paiute escapees arrived at the Warm Springs reservation to the surprise of the agent there, John Smith.[12] At Warm Springs, they met another 25 Paiutes who had been living there for some years.[13] Soon after, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price ordered Smith not to provide any supplies to these escapees and insist that they return to Yakama, but the escapees were able to subsist through hunting for the next few years.[14] Denying supplies and aid had been a common method of the federal government to exert control over the Paiute since the end of the Snake War and the establishment of Malheur.

---

[9] Ibid., 739.
[10] A map of this is included in Appendix A.
[11] James Gardner, *Oregon Apocalypse: A Hidden History of the Northern Paiutes*, forthcoming, 745-49. This work is frequently cited, but the page numbers listed in this paper are subject to change under revision of the book. Contact the author of this paper for assistance locating a particular citation.
[12] It's unclear exactly when they arrived. The earliest and most specific date is Smith's reference to an order from Price in February 1880. In his letter dated December 20, 1881, Smith says the Paiutes were not sent back immediately due to the "lateness of the season."
[13] John Smith to J. H. Wilbur. *20 December 2015. Office of Indian Affairs, Correspondence and Records of the Yakama Indian Agency (Formerly I6), 1870-1910*. [This collection is hereafter referred to as *OIA*. Additionally, the title of letters lists the writer and recipient as they were written in the letter.]
[14] Ibid.

While relatively small and seemingly inconsequential, these two dozen escapees became the subject of a battle of control between outside Northern Paiute and various government actors and provided an early indication to the Northern Paiute that they could effectively escape from internment. In the wake of the escape in spring 1880, Agent Wilbur insisted that the Northern Paiute were content at Yakama with adequate housing and an eager attitude towards work.[15] Despite receiving minimal and inadequate supplies at Warm Springs, the 24 escapees were determined to stay. They repeatedly told Agent Smith that they would rather stay at Warm Springs without supplies than go to Yakama and receive provisions from the Government. Further, they demanded that Smith allow their families to join them at Yakama. Smith wrote to Wilbur expressing his inability to understand the persistence of the Northern Paiute in their refusal to return to Yakama.[16] Smith also acknowledged the likelihood that the Paiutes would only further resist returning to Yakama. "As they ran off from your reservation," he wrote "it is not unlikely some of them some of them may steal away from this reservation before spring now that they know they must return to your agency…and some may run off unknown to me or my Indians until sometime afterwards."[17] In the early summer of 1881, Chief Natchez requested that the Northern Paiutes at Warm Springs be allowed to join him and the other Paiutes at Fort McDermitt. He estimated an "approximately sixty" Paiutes at Warm Springs indicating knew about the escapees at Yakama and was attempting to assist them in avoiding the jurisdiction of Price.[18] Just a few months after Natchez's request, in fall 1881, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Price sent a letter to Smith ordering him to send the Paiutes back to Yakama immediately. Because of a miscommunication and slow response from Price, the message was not clearly conveyed to Smith until December. Smith requested authorization to provide the Paiutes with supplies so they could survive through the winter, to which Price agreed. The Warm Springs Agent Smith found himself powerless to fulfil the Natchez's request nor Price's order, and instead

---

[15] James H. Wilbur to R. E. Trowbridge, 22 May 1880, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 133.
[16] John Smith to J. H. Wilbur, *20 December 2015. Office of Indian Affairs, Correspondence and Records of the Yakama Indian Agency (Formerly I6), 1870-1910*. [This collection is hereafter referred to as *OIA*]
[17] Ibid.
[18] R. F. Bernard to Assistant Adjutant General, 28 June 1881, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 137-8. Smith said a total 49 Paiutes were at Warm Springs. Either way, Natchez knew that there were a few dozen more than the 24 that arrived after the Bannock War.

attempted to negotiate a medium between the two; in the end the people were able to remain at Warm Springs, but with minimal government aid.

Wilbur's determination to keep the Paiute people at Yakama was largely a result of outside pressure. He received letters from General Howard, officials from the Department of Interior, and settlers from and around the Malheur area all expressing desire to keep the Northern Paiute prisoners at Yakama. In spring 1880, Curry, a man from Canyon City, wrote to Wilbur warning that the white settlers there would meet a return of the Paiutes with armed resistance.[19] The same day, General Howard wrote to Wilbur expressing concern that if they returned they would starve and that the white settlers would be hostile towards them.[20] A week later, Wilbur wrote to Commissioner Trowbridge expressing his desire to keep the Paiutes at Yakama, citing the concerns brought up by Curry and Howard. He briefly acknowledged their frustration with being held at Yakama for so long: "While in this restless, uncertain state of expectation it could hardly be expected they would manifest much interest in my plans for their future."[21] Wilbur then asked if the department had reached a verdict. On June 30, 1880, Trowbridge replied to Wilbur stating, "All reports show that if the Piutes[22] [sic] attempt to march across the country from Yakama to Malheur, it will be attended with great risk of life along the way; consequently the Secretary advises that you hold them at Yakama at the present,"[23] thus reversing the order of the Schurz letter.

It is important to note Wilbur and Price's narrative about the Northern Paiute being perfectly content at Yakama, and it is worth unpacking to understand the ideological forces that the Northern Paiute were resisting at Yakama. On the surface, this narrative had the immediate goal of justifying the internment at Yakama and Wilbur's request to force the escapees back to Yakama. However, this claim begged the same question of Wilbur's contemporaries as it does for the modern reader: if the Northern Paiute were content at Yakama, why were they escaping? The glaring contradiction calls for deeper

---

[19] Geo. B. Curry to Rev. J. H. Wilbur, 15 May 1880, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 133-4.
[20] O. O. Howard to Agent J. H. Wilbur, 15 May 1880, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 131.
[21] James H. Wilbur to R. E. Trowbridge, 22 May 1880, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 133.
[22] This was the most common spelling of "Paiute" at the time.
[23] R. E. Trowbridge to Wilbur, 30 June 2015, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 135.

analysis. It was in part because of the fear of the threat of the Northern Paiute returning to a hostile settler populace wand the potential for future conflict. However, if this were the only component, the BIA officials would have simply left it at that. Wilbur and his superiors were wholly convinced of the aptitude of the Christian civilizing project. They believed they could quickly convert the Northern Paiute into an agrarian, Christian people in the immediate aftermath of a bitter war against settlers. This narrative that the Northern Paiute were content at Yakama sought not only to force the escapees to Yakama, but also to justify the ideological underpinnings of the settler-colonial apparatus that had led to the Bannock War and forced removal. The escape controversy served as a platform for the Secretary of Interior and other officials to justify imprisoning the Northern Paiute at Yakama. Further, the capacity of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Department of the Interior to keep the Northern Paiute at Yakama was a matter of proving the capacity of the "civilizing" and Christianizing forces of settler colonialism.

Native Advocacy

While the Paiutes were beginning to escape Yakama, Sarah Winnemucca was touring the country contesting the BIA's narrative about the Northern Paiute. While she aided General Howard and the army in settling the Northern Paiute uprising, she could not stand the injustice her people faced in the immediate aftermath. After raising awareness with lectures in San Francisco and other major cities, she gained enough publicity to organize a meeting with Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz and President Rutherford Hayes.[24] She convinced Secretary Schurz to send tents to the Northern Paiutes at Yakama and to allow the Paiutes to leave. Schurz wrote a letter to Agent Wilbur stating "those of the Pi-Utes [*sic*.], who in consequence of the Bannock war, went to the Yakama Reservation and whoever may desire to rejoin their relatives, are at liberty to do so, without expense to the government for transportation."[25] Winnemucca eagerly departed for Nevada to share the order with the Paiutes there before going to Yakama to inform the Northern Paiute prisoners.

---

[24] The reader should note that there was turnover in government positions such as the Secretary of Interior during the period this paper covers. When it is not relevant to the experience of the Northern Paiute at Yakama, I do not elaborate on the change in position.

[25] Gardner, *Oregon Apocalypse: A Hidden History of the Northern Paiutes*. Schulz's letter is included in its entirety in Appendix B.

Winnemucca and her sister arrived at Yakama in spring 1880 with the letter from Secretary Schurz. To her surprise, Schurz did not inform Wilbur of his order. By her account, when she told him about the letter, Wilbur replied, "Sarah, your people are doing well here, and I don't want you to tell them of this paper or read it to them. I will give you fifty dollars and write to Washington and see if they will keep you here as interpreter."[26] He said she would only receive her pay from previous work as interpreter if she agreed not to share the letter with Paiutes. She made no promises.

About a week later, the Leggins and the other prisoners demanded that she meet with them. When she arrived at their encampment, Leggins stood up in front of the Paiutes and, having heard rumors of Schurz's letter, condemned Sarah Winnemucca for not sharing it. When she read the letter to them, the Northern Paiutes were overcome with joy, and Leggins said they would prepare to leave immediately and presented a choice to all the Paiutes to stay at Yakama or leave with him. Winnemucca recalled their response: "Every one cried, 'Why ask us: We are all dying off here. Who wants to stay here? We will all go,—,yes we will all go if we have to crawl on our hands and knees.'"[27]

The Paiutes eagerly went to meet with Agent Wilbur to discuss their departure, but he refused to meet with them for four days. Their excitement to leave grew into frustration until, finally, Wilbur agreed to a meeting with Sarah Winnemucca. Once again, Wilbur refused to acknowledge the letter. She harshly criticized his treatment of the Paiutes, and decided to leave and continue lecturing. That was the last time they saw each other, but Sarah Winnemucca would continue correspondence with the Paiutes throughout their internment at Yakama as they continued to struggle and agitate against the forces keeping them there.

The Northern Paiute at Yakama sought help from other Northern Paiute leaders outside the reservation as well. In summer 1882, J. J. Lewis, a Paiute leader at Yakama wrote to Natchez asking for help with returning the Paiutes to Fort McDermitt:

My Dear Friend Natye,

---

[26] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (Boston: Couples, Upham & Co. , 1883), 234.
[27] Ibid., 237.

> It is a long time since you have written to me. I hope you did not forgotten us. Are you trying anything for my people towards going to their old home! The Piutes are nothing to eat at Simcoe Reservation. My people there are willing to go to their old home on the foot, if the government should let them of and will never fight again. You try hard and come and see us right away; or, do your people don't care for my people any more! Legou, the chief, is almost blind, and Oitye don't want to go home to Camp Harney. My people want to go—about forty-three lodges, and Oitye six.
>
> Yours, truly,
> J. J. Lewis[28]

Here Lewis urges Natchez (Natye) to assist his people at Yakama, who had not had much contact with the prisoners since the initial escapes to Warm Springs. Lewis emphasized the worsening state of the Northern Paiute at Yakama: Leggins (Legou) health was deteriorating and he was going blind, the people had nothing to eat, and the leaders were divided on the question of return with Oytes (Oitye) fearing retaliation from settlers at Camp Harney.

After receiving several letters with similar requests, Natchez and other band leaders elected Leggins as the new Chief of the Northern Paiute, and used this reason to demand his return to the Northern Paiute homeland. Although, the Department of Interior did not meet Natchez's demands, the increased pressure from the Northern Paiute in the Great Basin no doubt further pressured the government given the residual fear of the tribe after the wars. Further, Natchez traveled across the region including to San Francisco to meet with General Irvin McDowell.

Nonnative advocacy

Stationed at the Presidio in San Francisco, McDowell – best known for his defeat at the First Battle of Bull Run – passionately believed that the forced removal and imprisonment at Yakama was an undue injustice. McDowell had been an ally to the Northern Paiute since before the Bannock war when he fought for the right of some tribal bands to remain in their ancestral lands outside of a reservation. When the army came to round up the Northern Paiute and remove them to Yakama, Natchez and Old Chief Winnemucca visited him in San Francisco to ask for his help. He insisted to Howard that there was no

---

[28] J. J. Lewis to Natye, 1 July 1882, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 118.

pretense for forcing innocent people off of their ancestral land, but his criticisms turned out empty.[29] Suspicious of Agent Wilbur's claims that the Northern Paiute were embracing his civilizing and Christianizing process, McDowell worked with another general Miles sent an interpreter to the reservation. The interpreter, Arthur Chapman, arrived unannounced at Yakama in October 1881.[30] He met with Chief Leggins who relayed the situation from his perspective and sent his report on the condition of the Paiutes to General Miles on December 19, 1881.[31]

When Chapman arrived, he estimated that there were about 440 Paiutes, including 300 of Leggins' band. Judging by this number, about two-dozen other Paiutes either died or escaped since arriving at Yakama (accounting for the 24 Paiutes that had escaped to Warm Springs). Leggins informed Chapman about further maltreatments the Paiutes faced from the Agency and the Yakama Indians. The leader explained that the government had violated its obligation to the Northern Paiute by removing those who had not been involved in the war. The Paiutes were underfed, under-clothed, and had no housing. Additionally, the Yakamas had been stealing supplies and horses from the Paiutes. Leggins told Chapman "my people are put here to die with cold and hunger." After the meetings, Agent Wilbur and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Price threatened Chapman with arrest forcing him to leave, but Chapman promised the Northern Paiute he try to secure an escort that spring.[32]

Realizing Chapman would be unable to fulfil his promise to see through the return of the Northern Paiute, the Northern Paiute found more allies in the army. In 1882, some Northern Paiute escapees arrived at Camp McDermitt, on the Oregon-Nevada border where Natchez and his band were located. Furious that the Northern Paiute continued to escape, The Secretary of Interior Henry Teller and Commissioner Price notified the Department of War that the Northern Paiute would only receive provision if they were at Yakama, and that the army should take no steps in aid the escape.[33] They further

---

[29] Gardner, *Oregon Apocalypse: A Hidden History of the Northern Paiutes*, 781.
[30] Ibid., 783.
[31] Arthur Chapman to Nelson A. Miles, 19 December 1881, *OIA*.
[32] Ibid.
[33] H. Price to Secretary of Interior, 23 January 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*., H. Price to Secretary of War, 24 January 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.

requested that the Department of War return the Paiute escapees at Camp McDermitt to Yakama.[34] While Secretary of War and others in the army did not want to see the Northern Paiute at Yakama against their will, they felt they had no choice but to follow the orders to ensure the Northern Paiute continued to receive the government aid.

The Secretary of War agreed to this proposition and on 30 March 1883 assigned General Schofield to bring the Paiutes back to Yakama. Soon after, Schofield wrote to the Adjutant General stating that he received the order, but after the Northern Paiute at Camp McDermitt explained the injustice in their imprisonment, Schofield expressed reluctance in compelling them to return. By now, Sarah Winnemucca's advocacy and Arthur Chapman's report had shifted the narrative about the Northern Paiute's desires and compelled government officials to respect the autonomy of the the Northern Paiute people. Some back-and-forth between the Department of War and Department of Interior ensued about whether the Northern Paiute should be forced back to Yakama against their will. The former generally opposed removal by force, often citing the logistical problems in such a maneuver, while the latter argued that the Northern Paiute could best receive resources at Yakama.[35]

During this time, General Schofield proved himself to be a vital advocate for the Paiutes and their resistance network. He wrote a letter to the Adjutant General of the Army in the fall of 1883, again advocating for the Paiute people at Yakama. He called for more supplies before removing the Paiutes at Camp McDermitt, claiming that the resources allocated were insufficient. He delayed his orders from the Secretary of War by continuously demanding more supplies General Schofield went on to say, "I beg leave to suggest that the best practical disposition of the matter would be to place these Indians upon a Reservation with some of their own kindred people. This could be done at far less cost than to send them back to Yakama, and they would probably be far more content and less troublesome in future," thus reiterating the argument that the Paiutes should have their own land.[36] Schofield continuously pushed the the "escort" date back as far as he could, giving the Paiutes more time to escape from Yakama, and giving

---

[34] H. Price to Secretary of Interior, 23 January 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.
[35] Sanford to Assistant Adjutant General, 8 June 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.
[36] Schofield to Adjutant General, 9 April 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.

the outside advocates such as Sarah Winnemucca, General Miles, and General McDowell more time to argue on their behalf.[37]

The nonnative advocates of the Northern Paiute – Arthur Chapman and Generals McDowell, Miles, and Schofield – used three rhetorical tools to argue on behalf of the prisoners: an appeal to humanitarianism, economic logistics, and a looming security threat. General Schofield's initial letter to challenge the order of forced removal uses all three:

> "I also desire to say that I do not understand 'escort' as used in this case to mean a force to *compel* the removal of these Indians against their will. The force necessary for such a purpose would be for greater than that now available in the Department of California. Although these Indians are not numerous and are very friendly to the whites, they are understood to be strongly attached to their present homes. Any attempt to remove them by force would probably result in costly and bloody war."[38]

The nonnative advocates represented the imprisonment as a humanitarian crisis due to the destitute state of the Northern Paiute and the lack of consultation with the Northern Paiute. In his statement above, Schofield wrote, "Although these Indians are not numerous and are very friendly to the whites, they are understood to be strongly attached to their present homes."[39] Here, Schofield highlighted the attachment the Northern Paiute had to ancestral lands and the inhumanity in removing them from a place where they felt such a strong connection. Arthur Chapman emphasized this in his report to General McDowell, inserting Leggin's belief that the Northern Paiute were left at Yakama to freeze and starve to death. They also maintained that it was logistically more difficult to keep the Northern Paiute at Yakama than allowing them to leave. General Schofield wrote, "I beg leave to suggest that the best practical disposition of the matter would be to place these Indians upon a Reservation with some of their own kindred people. This could be done at far less cost than to send them back to Yakama, and they would probably be far more content and less troublesome in future."[40] Here, Schofield insisted that it is an economically better decision to bring the Northern Paiute home. Third, they contended that holding the Northern Paiute at Yakama was a greater threat than allowing them to leave. The allies articulated this through both subtle

---

[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Schofield to Adjutant General, 25 September 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.

hints and explicit warnings. General Nelson Miles wrote that if Arthur Chapman were allowed to escort the Northern Paiute back to Southeastern Oregon, it "may prevent an outbreak in the spring," suggesting the prisoners would take up arms to force their way out.[41] General Schofield made this same threat more explicitly months later referring to the escapees at Camp McDermit: "Any attempt to remove them by force would probably result in costly and bloody war."[42]

These tools demonstrate the values that the allies had. Skeptical of the BIA's ability to "civilize" and "Christianize" the Northern Paiute, these army officials instead sought peaceful coexistence through a new reservation policy. While the primary ways they argued for the Northern Paiute involved economic impacts or threat of violence, they did insist on the humanity of the the prisoners and their rights to live on their ancestral land. Further, given that these men were often reporting on the information that Northern Paiute leaders were conveying, we can in part read these rhetorical tools as the leaders' voices arguing on their own behalf with actors in the executive branch.

In a broader contextual scope, the advocates' discourse is a direct response to the anti-Paiute racism emerging after the Snake War. In the midst of the Snake War, the army and governor Woods used the term "Snake Indians" or simply "snakes" hence the name of the conflict. This slur contains two important components important in understanding anti-Paiute racism. First, the association with an animal evidences the dehumanization the nonnatives used against the Northern Paiute to justify Governor Woods' "war of extermination," just over a decade before the Yakama affair. Second, snakes themselves bear a connotation of danger or toxicity which parallels the portrayal of the Northern Paiute as a "savage" and warlike tribe. This "savage" narrative is perhaps most pronounced in the post-Snake War portrayal of Chief Paulina who, until very recently, has been since portrayed as a blood-thirsty war chief by nonnative accounts (and whose name marks numerous geographic places such as Lake Paulina).[43] The advocates insistence on the humanity of the Northern Paiute sought to dispel the dehumanization that the US army instigated. By highlighting the injustice enacted on women, children, and civilians who lacked clothing

---

[41] Nelson A. Miles to Division Headquarters, 7 January 1882, *OIA*
[42] Schofield to Adjutant General, 9 April 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.
[43] Gardner, *Oregon Apocalypse*, 389-401.

and food, the advocates put a more sympathetic story to the interment than the decades of the "snake" rhetoric would have allowed. On the other hand, the advocates weaponized the stigma against the Northern Paiute to imply a looming threat of another bloody conflict. They recognized the surmounting fear of the Northern Paiute in the previous decades, and utilized it to suggest that the Northern Paiute would once again take up arms to defend their right to return home. Read in this way, the advocacy served the immediate goals of returning the Northern Paiute to southeast Oregon, but did not dispute the harmful anti-Paiute racism that would continue in the years following. In sum, the Northern Paiute, lacking a treaty, substituted charisma and alliances within the federal government to articulate sovereignty and autonomy over their residence.

Resistance Through Civil Disobedience and Strike

Given this context of the policy debates and public advocacy by both nonnatives and the Northern Paiute, we can better understand the resistance occurring on the ground at Yakama. After the revocation of the Schurz letter, which should have granted the Northern Paiute the right to leave Yakama, the prisoners escalated their resistance beyond occasional escapes. Elation turned frustration spurred within the leaders a greater determination to leave Yakama by their own resistance. Soon after Wilbur refused to acknowledge Secretary of State Schurz's letter, some of the Northern Paiute threatened to burn down the agency and leave by the light of the burning buildings, instilling a new fear within the Indian Agent.[44]

In fall 1881, one week after Chapman's arrival, Wilbur wrote to Price revealing the severity of the Paiute resistance. He wrote that those in Oytes's band were hard workers and demonstrated desire to remain at Yakama, but that the remainder of the Northern Paiutes were anxious to leave. In this letter, he revealed the Paiutes' civil disobedience: "their hopes have been kept alive by their leaders, - Leggins, Paddy, and others, who urge them to do no work, accept of no lands, and never consent to remain here."[45] Wilbur believed that if the leaders were removed, the rest of the Paiutes would follow Oytes's example.

---

[44] Gardner, *Oregon Apocalypse*, 781.
[45] James Wilbur to H. Price, 1 November 1881, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.

All of the pressure from the Northern Paiute took a toll on Wilbur, who began to crack under the weight of all the opposing forces surrounding him. He wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "I do not believe it would be for their interest, – I am sure it would not be for the interest of the Department – their atrocities committed without the slightest provocation when they took up the hatchet, deserve no favor; but their departure would relieve me of inexpressible annoyance and vexation, and end the suspense and uncertainty under which for two years I have labored."[46] Further, the interpreter Arthur Chapman claimed Wilbur believed, "It was wrong that these people were ever brought there," and that it would "require a military force to keep them another year upon the reservation."[47] While Chapman's paraphrasing of Wilbur may be exaggerated given the Interpreter's loyalty to the Northern Paiute, Wilbur was clearly exhausted and demoralized by the tribe's reliance and determination to leave. Under the pressure of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Price, Wilbur allotted more land for the Northern Paiute to cultivate, in hope that this may contribute to their efforts to "civilize" the tribe.[48] All but 40 initially refused to go to the land he allotted them and that "it required great firmness and some pressure to induce them."[49] Wilbur's solution, then, was just more "civilizing" of the Northern Paiute. While the resistance from the Northern Paiute had begun to dissolve the Agent's composure, Wilbur was not yet ready to give up on his and the BIA's mission.

The Northern Paiute understood that their constant resistance to Wilbur's orders were taking a toll on the agent, and they further challenge the agency's authority. In summer 1882, Leggins's band of Paiutes left Yakama with the intent to return to Fort McDermitt.[50] Paddy Cap, another Northern Paiute band leader at Yakama, tried to stop the Paiutes, but said Leggins pushed through his words.[51] The Paiutes traveled across the Columbia to The Dalles where the Indian Sheriff stopped them, arrested the

---

[46] Ibid.
[47] Arthur Chapman to Nelson A. Miles, 19 December 1881, *OIA*.
[48] H. Price to J. Wilbur, 20 March 1882, *OIA*.
[49] Wilbur in H. Price to Secretary of Interior, 23 January 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.
[50] Assistant Adjutant General to A. M. Randol, 15 August 1882, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 118.
[51] H. Price to James Wilbur, 3 August 1882, *OIA*.

leaders, and detained Leggins in jail for a short period.[52] The Department of War saw this as an opportunity to help the Paiutes join the rest of their tribe in Nevada. Soon after, General Miles and General McDowell telegraphed the Secretary of War asking for permission to escort the escapees to Winnemucca Reservation in Nevada. Miles made the case that it would be best to help them, believing "a portion of them [would] attempt to rejoin their friends in the south even without permission."[53] Although the Secretary of Interior Teller denied this request and demanded the prisoners be escorted back to Yakama, the escapes proved to be the last straw for Agent Wilbur who resigned a month later.[54]

With Wilbur resigning in the aftermath of the escape attempt, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Price felt pressured to retaliate and constrict the capacity and desire of the Northern Paiute to oppose their internment. In winter of 1882, a commanding officer at the Fort reported that a band of 161 Northern Paiute people were "in a destitute and starving condition."[55] The Department of War denied a request to fund supplies for these people, and they had to kill cattle in the surrounding area to survive the winter. Commissioner Price saw an opportunity here: because many of the Northern Paiute at Yakama sought to join those at Camp McDermitt, the commissioner urged the removal of this group to Yakama. This would further open southeastern Oregon to settlers, and diminish the resolve of the Northern Paiute to leave Yakama.[56] Price convinced the Secretary of War to order General Schofield to escort those at Camp McDermitt to Yakama, which Schofield refused as discussed above. A bitter back-and-forth ensued with the Secretary of Interior feeling deceived by Price, Schofield continuously stalling the "escort," and Price relaying his perspective wherever he could in pursuit of the total removal of Northern Paiute from Oregon.[57]

The Northern Paiute at Yakama did not wait to hear the outcome of this policy debate. During the spring and summer of 1883, they began escaping en masse. They did so with the implicit consent of

---

[52] Gardner, *Oregon Apocalypse*, 790.
[53] Miles to Assistant Adjutant General, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 121.
[54] Gardner, *Oregon Apocalypse: A Hidden History of the Northern Paiutes*, 796.
[55] Colville P. Terrey to Assistant Adjutant General, 29 December 1882, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.
[56] Commissioner Price to the Secretary of Interior, 23 January 1883, *OIA*.
[57] Commissioner Price to the Secretary of War, 24 January 1883, *OIA*; General Schofield to the Adjutant General of the U.S. Army, 9 April 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.

Agent Milroy who had replaced Wilbur and did not want to repeat the previous Agent's failure and frustration. Milroy insisted to Commissioner Price and the Secretary of Interior that there was nothing he could do to stop the escapes.[58] According to one settler in eastern Oregon, during this time, some 300 to 400 Paiutes managed to escape back to Oregon and Nevada, completely deserting the Yakama reservation by October 1883.[59] Only in April 1884 did the Department of Interior finally agree to accept that the Paiutes would not be imprisoned at Yakama anymore. They reached an agreement with the Department of War that the best policy would be to allow the Paiutes to stay at Pyramid Lake, Duck Valley, or Walker River reservations.[60]

The story of the Yakama Affair resists both the triumphal narratives that have dominated western American history and declensionist narratives of destitution and defeat. The Northern Paiutes forcefully removed to the Yakama Reservation refused to remain passive victims. Instead, they continuously engaged in resistance through escape, strike, and public advocacy. This resistance was organized into a network of advocates and leaders dedicated to seeing the return of the prisoners. This method of resistance allowed the Northern Paiute to diversify their approach to opposition, which would prove effective and vital in returning the Paiutes home. This pluralistic and heterogeneous understanding of resistance complicates a paradigm of a binary conflict between colonial and native actors.

This brief but foundational story provides a lens into the immensely complex web of social and cultural history surrounding the Northern Paiute. Hopefully, an understanding of the resolve of Northern Paiutes to remain in their homeland, the stigma and anti-Paiute racism, and the history of conflict with ranchers, settlers and other Euro-Americans will encourage inclusion of Northern Paiute history into the dialogue of Oregon and the region east of the Cascades.

---

[58] R. H. Milroy to H. Price, 8 June 1883, *OIA*.
[59] Meldrum, John M., 17 October 1883, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*.
[60] Secretary of Interior H. M. Teller to Secretary of War, 23 April 1884, *OIA*.

A Short History of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation

Herrin Gallery in The Dalles photographed three Wasco Indians in the early 1900's. From left they are Da-wa-da-tha (Peter Jackson), Wa-bi-ga, and Wa-lik-sma (Susan Seymore).

A Short History of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation

SEVERAL INDIAN TRIBES LIVED, from ancient times, along the Columbia River in the vicinity of Celilo Falls.

There is no record of their life before the white man came. And so their history as it is known begins with their first mention by explorers, particularly in the Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Journals speak of encountering Indian groups almost continuously as they went down the Columbia in the late autumn of 1805. "Received us with great kindness," William Clark wrote of Indians met near the mouth of the John Day River.

Salmon made up the bulk of the Indians' diet, supplemented by roots and berries and occasionally deer and other meat.

The land along the Columbia was their home because it was the source of the salmon. But they ranged to the south and east, gathering berries along the slopes of the Cascades and the roots over a broad area.

These tribes living near Celilo Falls were called by settlers the Indians of Middle Oregon and later the Confederated Tribes. They were members of several small bands of Walla Wallas and of Wascoes.

They claimed as their land the country from the Cascades eastward to the Blue Mountains and from the Columbia southward somewhat beyond the present site of Bend.

The area that was to become the Warm Springs Reservation was not particularly well known to them although they had considerable familiarity with the eastern part since a trail used in going to and from the Columbia ran fairly close to the Deschutes River in the south and ran east of Simnasho as it skirted hills in the north.

The first white men to cross the reservation area were probably in a Hudson's Bay Co. supply party led by Finan McDonald and Thomas McKay in 1825, but they, too, followed the Indian Trail. Not until 1855 when a railroad survey party led by Lt. Henry L. Abbott investigated the country close to the Cascades, are whites known to have seen the western area of the reservation, although it is possible that gold prospectors had followed some of the rivers—without success.

The office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Oregon Territory, was established in 1848 and a few years later the United States government was in the midst of a great treaty-making program.

R. R. Thompson, Indian agent at The Dalles, was instructed by the Oregon superintendent, Gen. Joel Palmer, to assemble near The Dalles in 1855 all Indians "inhabiting the country between Willow Creek and the Cascade Falls. and between the Columbia River and the 44th Parallel of North Latitude."

The purpose, he said, was "to effect treaties of purchase for the extinguishment of their title to the land claimed by them." The government was pressing forward

rapidly with its treaty program at that time because the number of settlers was increasing with great rapidity and as a consequence there was growing friction. Indians were resisting settlers' efforts to push them from their ancestral lands, and settlers would brook no interference.

So Thompson gathered the Indians together and they met with Palmer on June 23, 1855. After three days of discussion they signed the treaty that established the Warm Springs Reservation of about 600,000 acres and gave to the United States title to 10 million acres.

Why did the Indians make what on the face of it was a sorry trade?

Palmer had been persuasive. He reminded them that when whites and Indians came together in numbers, there was trouble. He told them that white settlers were coming in still greater numbers and that they would make their homes on land Indians had considered theirs. There was no way to stop this, he said. However, he added, in exchange for most of the land, the United States would set up an Indian residential area—a reservation—into which white men could not go without permission.

In addition to this safeguard for their future, Palmer said, the federal government would give the Confederated Tribes $150,000 and numerous other benefits.

The money would be paid on the basis of $8,000 a year for five years, $6,000 for the next five, $4,000 for another five and $2,000 a year for the final five years. This was $100,000. Another $50,000, he said, would be put into buildings, fencing, farms, teams, farm implements, seeds, payment of employees and subsistence for the first year the Tribes were on the reservation.

The government also agreed to build a sawmill, flouring mill, hospital, school, blacksmith shop, plow and wagon shop and engage a doctor, schoolteacher, miller, sawyer and farming instructor. It also was to build four residences for chiefs and give $500 a year for 20 years to the head chief.

And of course in addition to all this, the Tribes would get the land that was being set aside for their reservation. Palmer discussed with them the boundaries.

The report of what went on at the treaty council revealed unhappiness on the part of many Indians. But it also revealed their awareness that they had little alternative. And so on June 25, 1855, they signed the treaty.

Palmer's letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington accompanying the treaty, said that this, following a treaty he had just negotiated with the Cayuse tribe, meant "the entire country is included in the purchase to the western boundary of the Snake country."

But of the reservation lands, "the Indians seriously objected to the district on account of the small quantity of agricultural lands, many of them having adopted the habits of the whites and being engaged in farming to a considerable extent."

"The consideration to be paid these Indians," Palmer went on, "is believed to be the lowest amount adequate to meet their necessities and consonant with humane policy of the government." Still, he continued, "we give more than the country is worth."

The bands of the Walla Wallas, who became known as the Warm Springs Tribe, and the Wascoes, were all settled on the reservation well before Congress ratified the treaty in 1859.

Those early years on the reservation were difficult. The treaty said they had exclusive right to fish on the reservation and could continue to fish "at all other usual and accustomed stations." This meant fishing in the Columbia, miles north of the reservation. They also retained "the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing their stock on unclaimed lands"—which also meant going off the reservation.

But whites objected so strongly to reservation Indians roaming off the reservation, that a supplemental treaty was signed in 1865 that rescinded these rights.

Under it a member of the Tribes could leave the reservation only for a brief time and only with a written permit. And as it turned out, getting a permit was difficult.

The unfairness of this treaty was apparent. If enforced it would have reduced the Confederated Tribes to even greater poverty and would have brought widespread hunger. The treaty was allowed to die and whenever there was a court decision bearing on it, the treaty got another blow. In 1969 U. S. Dist. Judge Robert C. Belloni gave it the coup de grace in his decision on a fishing case.

In addition to harrassment from whites in those early treaty years, the Confederated Tribes became subjected to raids from Snake Indians of southeastern Oregon as early as 1859 and these continued until 1866 when the Army began a massive campaign to exterminate or subdue the Snakes.

The Snakes, who had not reached agreement with the United States and whose lands yielded little food, raided the reservation for horses and cattle. Occasionally women and children were taken.

Appeals for troops on the reservation were met with assignment of a score of troopers for a brief time, then they were withdrawn. This assignment and withdrawal continued, but when the Army began its major campaign, it called on the Confederated Tribes for help.

The Warm Springs Scouts were organized by the Army and performed with conspicuous gallantry in the campaign against the Snakes. Five of their number were killed and several wounded.

All this was a dominant part of the reservation life. In 1873 the Army again called on the Scouts for help in the Modoc War. They saved one Army unit from massacre and were helpful in the final capture of Captain Jack.

And then the reservation had peace and the small activities that mark it. The first boarding school was established in 1874 and the Tribes began to give some attention to the need for education.

But on the whole the Indians were trying to wrest an agricultural and ranching living from an area that was difficult indeed. They had no per capita payments; the money the government promised was spent "under the direction of the President" and some of the tribal members saw none of it. Then there was the effort to blend a fishing economy with an agricultural economy. Poverty resulted for many.

In 1879 the first of the Paiute Indians, part of the Snake Tribe, came to the reservation from Vancouver Barracks where they had been held as prisoners of war since the 1866-68 fighting.

In 1882 Brig. Gen. Nelson A. Miles recommended that Paiutes still held on the Yakima Reservation, where they were most unhappy, be allowed to leave. Many of them came, then or later, to the Warm Springs Reservation where they had friends. This completed the establishment of three tribes as part of the Warm Springs Reservation—the Warm Springs, the Wascoes and the Paiutes.

Then the years went by with small triumphs and small failures, but over all there was an aura of poverty; of hard work with little return.

In 1938 the United States gave all Indian tribes a chance at self-government. The Confederated Tribes elected to accept self-management, retaining the Bureau of Indian Affairs in only an advisory capacity. This proved to be a decision opening the way to major changes. Management was in the hands of the Tribal Council—eight elected members and the three hereditary chiefs.

The great break came with World War II and the incessant demand for more and more timber. The Confederated Tribes entered into their first contract for timber sales in 1942. In 1943 they began making small per capita payments to tribal members.

The timber, mostly along the western edge of the reservation, became a source of comparative affluence. Per capita payments climbed to their present level of $720 a year.

Warm Springs Indian Reservation . . . Old and New North and West Boundaries

Through all the years the Tribes had protested that their reservation was smaller than they had agreed; that they really had more land at the north and west than the survey showed. Restudies confirmed this, but nothing helpful happened until 1948 when Congress agreed to give the Confederated Tribes the revenue from national forests in that disputed area. Those revenues amounted to almost nothing until 1955 when the Tribes got $240,433. The amount dipped to $39,354 in 1958 and although it fluctuated widely in later years, the total receipts through 1970 were $5,951,386.

Another cash gain—if cultural loss—came in 1958 when the United States destroyed the ancient Columbia River fish grounds at Celilo Falls with the reservoir behind The Dalles Dam. The Confederated Tribes received $4 million in indemnity.

Part of this money was distributed in per capita payments, but most was held in the tribal treasury. Oregon State University was retained, at a cost of $100,000, to study the reservation's potential for development, particularly in creating jobs for the people.

After the study, the Tribes paid $165,000 to recover land at the Hot Springs that had been sold to an outsider. This became the site of Kah-Nee-Ta Village, a resort development.

In 1967 the tribes bought a privately owned sawmill on the reservation and built a plywood plant. The Indians thus became the processors of the timber cut on their reservation.

In 1972 Kah-Nee-Ta Lodge, a convention center, was opened near the original resort village, adding to the Tribe's job-producing enterprises.

Meanwhile, a home-building corporation had been set up to provide good housing for tribal members. A community center was built in the town of Warm Springs. The Tribes set up a garage and automotive repair shop.

And they took care of their older citizens with a pension of $100 a month at age 60, increasing $10 a year to $150 at age 65.

In 1972 they finally won their long fight for revised boundary lines on the north and west, giving them the land the tribal leaders believed, in 1855, would make up the reservation.

The Confederated Tribes have received praise from government officials and others for their numerous self-help programs. Much of this praise resulted from what Vernon Jackson, then tribal general manager, described in 1966 as "a transition to the white man's way of looking at things." And he added, "It was kind of hard."

During the past two years, the Confederated Tribes have built a new administration building which houses not only the tribal offices but the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices as well. A special wing contains the tribal council meeting room and an office for tribal council activities.

Fifty-five more rooms have been added to the Kah-Nee-Ta Lodge and an information center has been built on the highway near the Deschutes River.

New building projects in Warm Springs proper include several frame homes and an extensive mobile home park in the southeast area, as well as the construction of more than a hundred new homes in the West Hills area of the community.

A fish hatchery, valued at $5.5 million, is nearing completion on the Warm Springs River just north of the bridge leading to Kah-Nee-Ta. It is hoped that the hatchery will go into operation in 1978 or early 1979.

The Simnasho area is now served by telephones and the entire reservation now has electricity available.

Plans are being considered for the construction of a shopping center and an early childhood education center, and feasibility studies will be made for a Warm Springs airport and additional power from Pelton Dam.

Fort Harney Treaty of 1868

Treaty made this tenth day of December, A.D. 1868 at Fort Harney, Oregon between the United States represented by J.W.P. Huntington Supt. Indian Affairs and the Snake or Shoshone Indians represented by We-you-we-wa, Gsha-nee, E-he-gant, Po-nce, Chow-wat-na-nee, Ow-its, and Tash-e-go, Chiefs and Head men.

Article 1 – Hostilities heretofore existing between the whites and the Indians parties to the treaty cease from this date. No penalties or punishment to be inflicted for acts done by either party during the war.

Article 2 – The Snake Indians acknowledge the dominion of the United States and agree henceforth to submit to its authority and obey such Laws and may be enacted for their government and guidance.

Article 3 – It is mutually agreed that when any crime depredation or offense is committed by an Indian of the Snake Tribe he shall be delivered up to be punished according to law, and likewise when any crime or injury is perpetrated by any white man upon the Indians aforesaid the punishment shall be inflicted according to the Laws of the United States and the State of Oregon.

Article 4 -- The Snake Indians agree that they will reside upon such reservation as may be hereafter allotted to them and that they will obey the authorities lawfully placed over them. In the United States hereby guarantees protection to such Indians in person and in property while upon such Reservation.

Article 5 -- Future provisions will be made by the government of the United States for the permanent location of the snake Indians for and for their education, government, food and clothing and for allotment of lands in severalty to them when their advancement warrants it.

Article 6 -- Complaints may be made by the Chiefs or head men of any offense committed by whites to the agent in charge of the Tribe or to any other officer of the United States in the vicinity and in case wrong has been done or crime committed redress is guaranteed.

Article 7 -- This treaty is only preliminary to a more complete treaty to be made hereafter under the direction and authority of the government of the United States.

Done at Fort Harney Day and Year above written -- by the parties whose names appear hereto and in the presence of the Subscribing Witnesses.

J.W.P. Huntington	(L S)
We-you-we-wa	X (L S)
Gsha-nee	X (L S)

E-he-gant	X (L S)
Po-nee	X (L S)
Chow-wat-na-nee	X (L S)
Ow-its	X (L S)
Tash-e-go	X (L S)

Witnesses:
W.R. Parnell
1st Lt. 1st Cavalry, Bvt. Maj. U.S.A. Army Camp Harney Oregon
W.F. Rice
2nd Lieut 23d Inft. Bvt. Capt. U.S.A.

*Note-Nov 5, 2017: In "Tash-e-go," the "T" should be a "P" (per Pasigo's family)

Ex 11

Treaty made this twelfth day of Decr A D 1868 at Fort Ramey Oregon between the United States represented by J W P Huntington Supt Indian Affairs and the Snakes or Shoshone Indians represented by Pa-yon-ne-wa-Yaha-roo. E. Ky-gant Po-ne-Ahn-wat-na-roo- Chiefs and Yach-e-ga Chiefs and Head men

Article-1- Hostilities hereto-fore existing between the whites and the Indians parties to this treaty cease from this date No penalties or punishment to be inflicted for acts done by either party during the war

Article-2- The Snake Indians acknowledge the dominion of the United States and agree henceforth to submit to its authority and obey such laws as may be enacted for their government and amendment

Article-3- It is mutually agreed that when any crime depredation or offense is committed by an Indian of the Snake Tribe he shall be delivered up to be punished according to law and likewise when any crime or injury is perpetrated by any white man upon the Indians aforesaid the punishment shall be inflicted according to the laws of the United States and the State of Oregon

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Washington, D. C.
Image Certificate

RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.
Letters Received, Copy of Unratified Treaty with Snake Indians, dated December 13, 1868.

Article 4 The Snake Indians agree that they will reside upon such reservation as may be hereafter allotted to them and that they will obey the authorities lawfully placed over them - And the United States hereby guarantees protection to such Indians in person and in property while upon such Reservation

Article 5 Future provision will be made by the government of the United States for the permanent location of the Snake Indians and for their education, government, food and clothing and for allotment of lands in severalty to them when their advancement warrant it

Article 6 - Complaints may be made by the chiefs or Headmen of any offence committed by whites, to the agent in charge of the Tribe or to any other officer of the United States in the vicinity and in case wrong has been done or crime committed redress is guaranteed

Article 7 This treaty is only preliminary to a more complete treaty to be made hereafter under the direction and authority of the government of the United States

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Washington, D. C.
Three Centimeters

RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
Letters Received, Copy of Unratified Treaty with Snake Indians, dated December 23, 1868.

Universit, . Oregon Special Collections - Knight Library William James Crawford papers

Done at Fort Hanney Day and Year above written - by the parties whose names appear hereto and in the presence of the Subscribing Witnesses

J W P Huntington /L S/
Mer-a-pin-ne-ne X /L S/
Sahar-nee X /L S/
B-ne-gant X /L S/
Po-nee X /L S/
Chow-wat-na-nee X /L S/
Ow-ite X /L S/
Pash-e-go X /L S/

Witnesses
W R Shinell
1st Lt 1st Cavalry Brt Maj U.S.A Brig Comdg Camp Hanney Oreg.
W F Rice
2nd Lieut 28th Infty Brt Capt U.S.A

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Washington, D. C.
Paper Conservators

RECORDS OF THE OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.
Letters Received, Copy of Unratified Treaty with Snake Indians, dated December 13, 1868.

Wilson Wewa, Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation
Prisoners of War
TOMV 2006

My people are from the Great Basin. My dad's people were the Northern Paiute people up here in Idaho; the same people that we call Northern Paiute people are also known as Bannock people. And the Bannocks and the Northern Paiute talk the same language. We have the same culture and we have all the same traditional places.

Here in the Boise River Valley as it joins the Snake and the Owyhee and the Malhure Rivers, all these lowlands at one time were places where there were a lot of Bannock and Shoshone villages. And because most of you that live around here know that the lowlands is where all the fertile soil is, that was the prize of this area was the lowlands; and that's why you have a lot orchards in those low areas rather than up here on the...up on the flats where there's no water. And the lowlands also supported camas roots that our people dug for subsistence as well as [housh] and bitterroot and a variety of other foods, like chokecherries, gooseberries and a lot of things that grew along the river.

Well, when the [Feddlers] came, they looked at it as property to be plowed up to...to start growing wheat and things that they were used to gathering, and so they pushed the Indians off the lowlands in this area. And those of you that are older and may know the history of the area, it was for that reason that the...what is known in history as the Bannock-Paiute War of 1878 - that's what started it, was because the plowing up of all the food meadows where our people gathered food and they turned loose some stock - cattle, pigs - that were uprooting the foods and so that started the war in 1878.

And my people became a part of that war. And so that's just a little short history of my people. Like I said, the languages are different. On our reservation we have three tribes: the Warm Springs, the Wasco, and the Northern Paiute. In Wasco language, we say...they say [speaking Wasco] - that means like "Good Afternoon." That's equivalent of "Good Afternoon," [repeating Wasco greeting].

In the Warm Springs language, they say [greeting in Warm Springs], and that's the equivalent of "Good Afternoon." In the Northern Paiute language, my language that I speak more fluently, is [greeting in Northern Paiute]. So you can see by the examples of the language that they are probably...not being able to understand one another in the old days.

The reservation that I come from, the Wasco and Warm Springs people singed a treaty to go onto that reservation, but my people, the Northern Paiute, went on there as prisoners of war after the Bannock and Paiute War in 1878. My people were sent to Fort Vancouver and over in Washington across from Portland, Oregon, and Fort Simcoe on the Yakama Reservation. And then in 1882 they were sent to Warm Springs Reservation because that was in our territory and it was raining too much down there in Portland all the time - it's always raining down there. And them people in Portland and Vancouver and Eugene, they all have webs between their fingers and toes, so... And our people didn't want to get like frogs so they moved us back to Warm Springs to the climate, which is pretty similar to this.

2-419

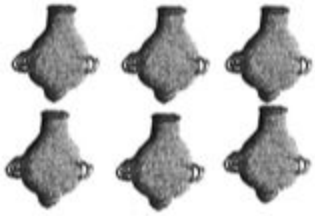
Sumu'yoo

Waha'yoo

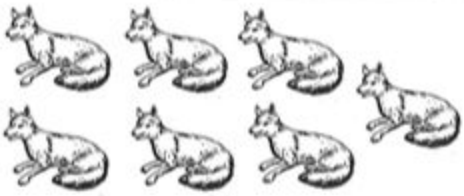
Pahe'yoo

Watsukwe'yoo

Manege'yoo



Naapahe'yoo



Natakwatsukwe'yoo

Namewatsukwe'yoo

Sumukadoo'oopu

Suumano'yoo

[illegible] EX: UNAAVI (SALT) OR UHAXWACHAADE (YELLOW)

	SHOSHONE	BANNOCK
0	GAIHAIWAT	KADUYU
1	SEMME	SEMEYU/SEWEYU
2	WAHATEWE	WAHAYU
3	BAHAITE	PAHIYU
4	WATSEWITE	WATSEKWIYU
5	MANIGITE	MANIGIYU
6	NAFAITE	NAAPAHIYU
7	DATSEWITE	NATAKWATSEKWIYU
8	NAIWATSEWITE	NAIWATSEKWIYU/NAMIWATSEKWIYU
9	SEMME A WEMMIHANDE	SEWEU KADUUPE (one missing)
10	SEWOTE/SEMOTE	SEMANOYU/SEWANOYU

Vocabulary Words in the Uto-Aztecan Language Family

These Uto-Aztecan words are not spelled phonetically--each word is spelled according to the orthography of its own language, so if you're not familiar with these languages you will need to follow the links to see how to pronounce them. We are working on a second chart transcribed into IPA symbols. We have included twenty basic Uto Aztecan words, enough to give you a feeling for each language. All the nouns are singular and all the verbs are 3rd person singular ("he or she sings") because many Native American languages don't have a separate infinitive ("to sing") the way English and French do.

If you need to know a Uto-Aztecan word that is not currently on our page, you can take part in our American Indian translations fundraiser or visit our main Uto-Aztecan Indian languages site for more free resources.

Thanks for your interest in American Indian languages!

Sponsored Links

Uto-Aztecan Word Sets

	Numic words							Takic words							Other Northern Uto-Aztecan		Aztec
English (Français)	Chemehuevi	Comanche	Kawaiisu	Mono	Northern Paiute	Panamint	Shoshone	Ute	Cahuilla	Cupeno	Gabrielino	Juaneno	Luiseno	Serrano	Hopi	Tubatulabal	Nahuatl
One (Un)	'Sua	Sema	Suuyu	Suma	Suma'yoo	Sawimii	Semme'	Šau	Sóple'	Suplawut	Pukua'	Supil	Supil	Hutkp	Suukya'	Čiť	Ce
Two (Deux)	Wa'ha	Wahaate	Wahayu	Wahat	Waha'yoo	Wahatii	Wahatchwe	Waini	Wih	Wi'	Wehee'	Wéx	Wéh	Woh	Lóóyo'	Woo	Ome'
Three (Trois)	Pa'hi	Pahiite	Paheyu	Pahi	Pahe'yoo	Pahitii	Bahgjee'	Peini	Pah	Pa	Pahee'	Piahuy	Piahay	Paahei'	Pàayo'	Paai	Yeyi
Four (Quatre)	Waciw	Hayarokwete	Watsuyu	Wacukwit	Watsukwe'yoo	Wacciwitii	Watsewite	Wacuwini	Wiciw	Wichu	Watsua'	Wasá	Wasá'	Wacah	Naalöyo'	Naanau	Nahui
Five (Cinq)	Ma'nig	Mo'obete	Manügiyu	Manuki	Manege'yoo	Manügitii	Manegite	Manigini	Namakwánang	Nomaqanana	Mahaar	Mahár	Mahár	Mahác	Tsivot	Maahaiźiya	Macuil
Man (Homme)	Ta'wac	Tenahpe	Ta'napüz	Nawa	Nana	Tappomme	Dgjnah	Tangwaci	Kinangil	Naxanis	Pukuu'	Kwoooyt	'Atiax or Ya'él	Taqt	Taaqa	Taatwal	Tlacatl
Woman (Femme)	Ma'ma'u	Wa'ipe	Momo'o	Huahpi'	Mogo'ne	Waipi	Wa'ipi	Mamaci	Ñácit	Muwikat	Tokoor	Shongwásla	Šengáal	Núht	Wbuti	Šoobilt	Cihuatl
Sun (Soleil)	Ta'va	Taabe	Tava	Tape	Taba	Tabe	Dabgj	Tavaci	Tátnyat	Tamyut	Taamit	Temét	Timét	Taamit	Taawa	Taal	Tonaltzi
Moon (Lune)	Mi'ja	Mea	Mita	Tamua	Muha	Mitah	Muh	Muatagoci	Métnil	Munil	Muwaar	Móyla	Móoyla	Muat	Mauyaw	Muuyal	Metztli
Water (Eau)	'Paa	Paa	Po'o	Paya	Paa	Paa	Baa'	Paa	Pál	Pal	Paara'	Pàal	Pàala	Pàt	Kuuyi	Paal	Atl

Additional Resources

Wikipedia: Uto-Aztecan

Search Another Topic