



# **John Jarvie Historic Ranch: Ute Map Lesson**

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**Authored by: Amanda Scheuerman**

**Grade 4-6**

## LESSON PLAN DETAILS

Time Frame:  
30-45 Minutes

Group Size:  
15-30 Students

Materials: Attached  
Maps

Life Skills:  
Geography, Mapping,  
Historical Thinking,  
Interpretation

Intended Learning  
Outcomes:  
Students will become  
familiar with Ute  
Lifeways, dispossession,  
and culture.

# Jarvie Ranch Ute Lesson Plan

**By: Amanda Scheuerman**

This lesson plan is intended for fourth to sixth grade.

## SUMMARY

In the Ute map lesson, students will learn about the history of the Ute people located in Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming. This history will include precontact lands as well as the transformation and eventual dispossession of Ute lands.

Utes argue that they have always lived in the region they called home. The first European contact included Spanish explorers, fur trappers, and miners. With the arrival of Mormon immigrants and ranchers, Utes experienced a drastic change of life. Anglo-American peoples began encroaching upon Ute lands and overtime reduced the Ute land base drastically. this lesson will illustrate the loss of land that the Utes had to undergo. Students will be able to identify traditional Ute lands and compare this to contemporary reservations.

## **Relevant Core Standards**

### **Utah Standards 4th Grade:**

**Social Studies Standard II: Students will understand how Utah’s history has been shaped by many diverse people, events, and ideas.**

- 1. Objective 1: Describe the historical and current impact of various cultural groups in Utah.**
- 2. Objective 2: Describe the ways that Utah has changed over time.**

### **Colorado Standards 4th Grade:**

#### **Social Studies**

##### **History:**

- 1. Organize and sequence events to understand the concepts of chronology and cause and effect in the history of Colorado.**
- 2. The historical eras, individuals, groups, ideas, and themes in Colorado history and their relationships to key events in the United States.**

##### **Geography:**

- 1. Use various types of geographic tools to answer questions about the geography of Colorado.**
- 2. Connections within and across human and physical systems are developed.**

### **Wyoming Standards 4th Grade:**

#### **Social Studies**

- 1. Content Standard 1: Citizenship, Government, and Democracy**
- 2. Content Standard 2: Culture and Cultural Diversity**
- 3. Content Standard 4: Time, Continuity, and Change**
- 4. Content Standard 5: People, Places, and Environments**

## Background for Teachers

Students will be able to:

1. Identify the key historical events that occurred as Euro-American settlers came into Ute lands.
2. Understand the relationship between history and geography.
3. Identify historic and contemporary Ute lands.

Prior to teaching this lesson, teachers should become familiar with a summary of the history of the Ute people. See [Appendix](#). Prior to European colonization, the Ute landbase spanned Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico. After European entrance into the region, the Utes began to see their landbase shrink due to dispossession. The maps in this lesson illustrate the land loss of the Utes. Use these maps as you teach the students about the history of the Ute people.

## Background for Students

Prior to beginning this lesson, students should learn about early Ute lifeways.

## Lesson Plan Procedure

### Day One

- Ute Lifeways and History

### Day Two

- Ute Maps

This Ute Map Lesson is intended to provide a basic history and background of the Ute people. While there are a few notable histories written of the region, much is left to be researched and written about. *Being and Becoming Ute: The Story of an American Indian People* by Sondra G. Jones and *Ute People: An Historical Study* compiled by June Lyman and Norma Denver and edited by Floyd A. O'Neil and John D. Sylvester have been influential in writing this lesson plan. Additionally, the resources and maps that were used in this lesson plan were generously given by the American West Center. Several other sources were utilized while compiling the Ute Map lesson plan. A great deal of debt and gratitude is owed to the anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians that contributed to this lesson plan.

While it is accurate that with European and American colonization of the region came a written record that gives us a peek into the lives and politics of the Ute Nation, it is important to recognize that the Ute people have much to add to their own histories. Oral histories, collected by the American West Center, have been integral to allowing Utes to lead the conversation. This lesson plan hopes to take an inclusive and comprehensive approach to history, taking in all sources and viewpoints.

### Lesson Vocabulary

<b>Bands</b>	A loose organization of kinspeople and close associates.
<b>Dispossession</b>	The process of having land taken away.
<b>Immigration</b>	Moving from one place into another, often between countries.
<b>Reservation</b>	An area of land set aside for American Indian habitation.
<b>Nuu-ci</b>	“The People,” this refers to what the Ute call themselves.
<b>Explorer</b>	A person who investigates an unfamiliar area.
<b>Settler</b>	A person who moves with a group to live in a new country or area.
<b>Trader</b>	A person that buys and/or sells goods.
<b>Old Spanish Trail</b>	An historical route that connected New Mexico with those of California.
<b>Treaty</b>	An agreement between two nations or countries.

## **Map 1: Ute Bands**

This map illustrates the Great Basin and beyond. Contemporary state lines indicate where state boundaries are. The yellow portion of the map describes the extent of Ute lands, reaching across several state lines. Within the yellow, are portions indicated with orange. These orange regions represent the various Ute bands within the region.

Assist the students in locating the various states on the map, such as: Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming. Help the students identify the various Ute bands that are located throughout the region. There were twelve bands historically. These bands were made up of families that lived similar lifeways and were influenced by neighboring nations. Make a special note of the extent of the Ute territory. Utes lived in a region that spans Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico. This is a vast amount of space that the Utes called home.

### **Questions to Ask:**

1. Which state do we live in?
2. What is a band?
3. What are the twelve Ute bands?
4. How many Ute bands are there?

## **Map 2: Ute Lands 1868**

The attached map titled “Ute Lands 1868” illustrates the large amount of lands lost after the creation of the Uintah Valley Reservation on October 3rd, 1861 and the creation of the Confederated Ute Reservation on July 25, 1868. A yellow line shows the original landbase of the Utes. Ute lands were reduced drastically with the implementation of reservations.

### **Questions to Ask:**

1. What are the original Ute land boundaries?
2. Where are the 1868 Ute boundaries?
3. What is the difference between the original Ute lands and the 1868 boundaries?
4. What is dispossession? Note: Dispossession is the process of taking away land or property.

## **Map 3: Ute Lands Today**

The attached map titled “Map 3: Ute Lands Today” illustrates the land loss of the Ute people. While the Uintah and Ouray Reservation is the second largest in the United States, it represents a great loss of land to the Ute tribe. Between the eighteenth, nineteenth, and

twentieth centuries Utes faced a constant barrage of European and Euro-American settlers into the region. The immigration of settlers, miners, and ranchers led to the great dispossession of Ute land. Additionally, when the reservation was opened due to the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887 land was divided up among individuals. This led to the checkerboard effect that is illustrated in the attached map.

Show these two maps to the students using a projector, or print it out for students. Have the students compare all three maps, which illustrates the eventual land loss of the Ute Nation. Instruct the students to write what they notice about the maps and their differences over time.

**Questions to Ask:**

1. How are the original Ute boundaries different from the current boundaries of the Uintah and Ouray reservation?
2. What led to land dispossession?
3. Are there ways to restore lands to the Ute tribe?

## Extension: Grades 7-12

### **Colonization:**

In 1851, Utah Indian Superintendent J.H. Holman made a chilling comment about the American Indians that lived in Utah Territory. He stated that they were:

“...very much excited by the encroachments of the Mormons, as they are making settlements, throughout the Territory on all the most valuable lands...The Indians have been driven from their lands and their hunting ground destroyed, without any compensation...they are in many instances reduced to a state of suffering, bordering on starvation.”<sup>1</sup>

Colonization is the act of settling among and displacing an indigenous population. Discuss the process of colonization of Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming with students. This would include exploration of a region by Europeans and Euro-Americans, the settlement of Mormon pioneers, and encroachment of miners into Ute country.

**Have the students write a news article as if they were living in the 1850s about the process of colonization into Ute Country. This will be an editorial, expressing the students’ opinions based on known facts of the status of the Utes at this time and the history of Utes up to this point. In this article, students are to write about the “Ute Question”- meaning how the Utes should be treated by outsiders and what to do about the influx of settlers into the region.**

### **Ute Nation Today:**

Over half of all Utes today live on reservations. They face singular issues that are unique to many tribes throughout the United States. This includes further land dispossession, recognition, and sovereignty issues.

Have students research current events in Ute issues. They can do so by researching online as well as through newspapers. One such website is: <http://www.utetribe.com/>. Here, they will learn about the current status of the Ute Nation as well as issues that they face.

**After researching current events with the Ute Nation, direct students to write a short essay about their findings. This essay should be editorial; students should express their opinions about what they research. Students should then be directed to discuss possible solutions to the problems they come across.**

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<sup>1</sup> From Sondra G. Jones, 2019, *Being and Becoming Ute*, 91.

### ***Discussion Questions:***

- What are some of the issues that the Ute Nations face today? (Have the students discuss their solutions and ideas regarding Ute current events)
- What is sovereignty? (*The authority of a state or nation to make discussions without interference from another nation*).

## Ute Word Search

The American Trapper, General William H. Ashley traveled through Ute country in the Spring of 1825. There, he met a band of Utes and camped with them. He learned and recorded several Ute words. The Ute Word Search, below, has 10 Ute words hidden throughout. In this word search, students will become familiar with some words from the Ute language. Allow the children the opportunity to pronounce the words and compare them to the words in English.

Ute	English
Cothe	Buffalo
Pantuta	River
Tarve	Sun
Martoits	Moon
Nosvint	Man
Marmont	Woman
Tawip	Ground
Kiba	Mountain
Cabar	Horse
Nunke	Beads

P W A K W U S T D B  
T N B I T W F A A Q  
N A C B Y L X R C H  
M N P A L S A V I J  
P P I O Q T H E L J  
H C O T H E O T T X  
C R T E S L E J D I  
P L A V C A B A R Y  
A J W N C Y N G W A  
N Z I J J Z T I G K  
T C P B J H M V C W  
U A G E B E A Z L P  
T F I D Q R R U M G  
A O N E W I M R N N  
R I M A R T O I T S  
S N Q Y F B N D J R  
V U K D A G T M G H  
G N Y N O S V I N T

B K N U E Q G N I G  
G E C K S P U W Z U

**Cothe  
Pantuta  
Tarve  
Martoits  
Nosvint**

**Marmont  
Tawip  
Kiba  
Cabar  
Nunke**

## Jarvie Ranch Visit Extension

While at Jarvie Ranch, students will have the opportunity to discuss historic Ute lifeways with a Park Ranger.

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## Appendix: History of the Ute People

While at Jarvie Ranch, students will have the opportunity to discuss Ute lifeways with a Park Ranger.

Utes are part of the Numic, sometimes called Shoshonean, language group. The Shoshonean people are grouped into three major linguistic groups, the Western Shoshonean, Central Shoshonean, and Southern Shoshonean. Utes fall into this last category, the Southern Shoshonean. The Utes call themselves Nuu-ci (or Nuche), which means “The People.”<sup>2</sup>

The Utes believe that the Creator, Sinawav, and Coyote were the first ones to live on the Earth. Then, Sinawav cut sticks and placed them in a bag. Sinawav then told Coyote to take the bag to a very specific valley. Coyote became very curious about this bag and its contents. On his way, he opened the bag, and out spilled people speaking all sorts of different languages. These people scattered about. Knowing that he only had a few people left in the bag, he continued to the Sacred Valley. There, he poured the rest of the people out. These people would be very brave. This would be the Ute people.

The Ute people lived in the region that spans the modern-day states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming, stretching as far as Kansas for centuries before they came into contact with Spanish explorers, Euro-American fur traders, miners, and ranchers.

Ute culture is deeply attached to the land. There were several sacred sites within Ute Country. These include Pikes Peak (Tavakav) and the region of Bears Ears National Monument. According to the Ute people the bear that taught them the Bear Dance sleeps at Bears Ears and keeps watch over them.<sup>3</sup>

There were twelve bands of the Ute people that lived in this vast range.<sup>4</sup> Each band consisted of kinspeople and close associates. However, it is important to note that these bands were loose organizations where people could intermarry and move between them.<sup>5</sup> The boundaries between bands were very porous. People moved throughout the region in search of game, edible plants, and fish. For example, the Timpanogot Utes lived in the area surrounding Utah Lake, however they traveled into the mountains in search of game. People also moved in and out of various bands as they intermarried and traded.

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<sup>2</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming Ute*, 2019, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> From “A Spiritual Reason Utah Tribes Want to Protect Bears Ears: It’s Their Eden and Plays Into Their Stories of Creation,” by Bob Mins, *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 17, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> See “Ute Map 1” for the name and location of each of these historical Ute bands.

<sup>5</sup> From Jerry D. Spangler, *Paradigms and Perspectives: A Class 1 Overview of Cultural Resources in the Uinta Basin and Tavaputs Plateau*, Volume II, 1995.

When explorers, trappers, and traders started coming into Ute Country, Utes controlled the area. They also controlled travel and trade within the region. Other groups, such as the Shoshone traveled into the Ute country often, causing disputes between them. When Europeans came into the region, they typically faced a demand for tribute from the Utes.

Utes lived in two different types of houses depending on location. Eastern Utes lived in tipis, similar to other Plains Indians. Western Utes lived in homes called wickiups, which were hut-like homes with grass roofs.

Utes were adept basket weavers. They wore deerskin leggings and jackets, as well as rabbit-skin robes when the weather was cold. They hunted deer, bison, and fowl and also caught fish in abundance. Additionally, the Utes ate roots, berries, and seeds which they made into a gruel. They traded with the Pueblos and the Navajos for items such as corn, blankets, cotton, sheep, and goats. In return, the Utes provided horses, beaded bags, otter skins, and buffalo robes.

The new economic and social connections made between the Ute and the Spanish traders led to drastic cultural change. As mentioned above, one vehicle for change came with the introduction of the horse. Many speculate about when the Utes gained access to horses, however it is clear that by the 1640s the Utes gained a deep understanding of horse culture, changing the way in which they did business and interacted with other tribes and Europeans. In fact, "Utes acted as the major conduit of horses west of the Rocky Mountains after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680".<sup>6</sup> Horses were a source of wealth and power for the Ute. It also meant more access to big game, slaves, and material wealth. The horse-mounted Ute were intricately connected to the slave trade in the Western United States, with Spanish officials reporting Ute trade in the 1700s.<sup>7</sup>

Utes often raided smaller, horseless groups for slaves, then sold them throughout the region. Horses became an integral part of life for some Utes, however not all Utes adopted the horse as a way of life. Perhaps due to a lack of access, Western Utes continued older lifeways, without horses; fishing and gathering were mainstays. Additionally, horses were a less viable option for the Ute the further south and west one goes. This is due to the fact that horses compete for resources with people and forage is generally lacking in that region.<sup>8</sup>

Along with the horse, weapons often altered the dynamic of power between groups. In the 1700s the Plains Indians had more access to weapons from the French traders, giving them an advantage over the Utes. This started to shorten the Ute reach into certain regions for hunting and trade. At this point, the Ute began to lose ground on their original territories.

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<sup>6</sup> From Gregory Smoak, Email message to author, February 26, 2020.

<sup>7</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming Ute*, p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> From Smoak, Email message to author, February 26, 2020.

Before the end of the eighteenth century, Ute territory would be threatened again, this time by cartographers.

As the Spanish began to colonize North America from the South and West, they saw the Ute as hostile enemies. Trade from the Pueblos decreased leading to an increase of raiding from the Utes. The slave raids led to military expeditions into Ute country. These Spanish run military drills into Ute country destructive in casualties, but also due to the captives that they took away. Spain allowed the taking of captives for labor when they were taken during a “just war.” As early as 1606, Spain started targeting Ute bands. In 1716 another attack led by Governor Martinez against the Ute ended in killing many, starting a war of retaliation that lasted for 30 years.<sup>9</sup> The borderland between New Spain and Ute country became dangerous grounds for retaliatory attacks and slave raids. Spain decided to reinforce the Chama River Valley by forcing colonists to resettle the previously abandoned region. Through state sponsored settlement, Spain began to encroach upon Ute territory. Utes negotiated for peace in 1752 and at the same time, the Ute became prey to Comanche attacks. The Utes turned to an alliance with the Spanish to fight against Comanche raids. Utes would continue to help the Spanish in ventures against Navajos and Comanches.

As the Utes used alliances with Spain to fight against Comanches, they were also able to gain a more solid foothold in the region. Utes controlled the flow of trade and travel in Ute Country. Spain also benefited from the alliance. It allowed the empire to have a buffer between them and Comanches. It also created inroads into Ute country for trade. Spain then sought new ways into Ute Country seeking silver and gold.

Juan Maria de Rivera led a Spanish funded expedition into Ute Country in 1765. Rivera’s mission was to find Ute country, where the mythical Aztecan Aztlan was to be located. Rivera was also to find a way across the Colorado River. When his Ute guides showed him the crossing, he dismissed them, although this would be the crossing that many used later.

On July 29th, 1776, two Catholic priests, Fray Silvestre Valeze de Escalante and Father Atanásio Francisco Dominguez, set out on an expedition to explore the Great Basin. Later that year, they camped near what is today known as Dinosaur National Monument along the Green River. It was at this time that the Utes met them. Escalante and Dominguez wrote their observations down along with detailed maps of the region. It was due to Escalante’s travels that Spain was able to set up alliances with the Utes. They also mapped out a new passage to the Great Basin through Utah and Western Colorado using mainly American Indian trails.

One such new passage would become known as the Old Spanish Trail. The Old Spanish Trail was monumentally important to future traders and explorers as they would follow the

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<sup>9</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming Ute*, p. 37-39.

same path into Ute country. The new road would continue to bring in threats to the boundaries of the Ute people as Europeans continued to explore the region.

The Old Spanish Trail became integral to the North American Fur trade and Ute country sat at the center of it all. Several fur traders and trappers, often referred to as Mountain Men, traveled into the Uinta Basin and Uinta Mountains between 1812 and 1847. Utes often allied themselves with various fur trappers based on shifting political climates.

The Ute set up partnerships with several fur traders and trappers. These Mountain Men, in turn, set up several forts throughout the Uintah Basin and Colorado Plateau to streamline the trade process. Three major forts were built in this region: Fort Uncompahgre, Fort Uintah, and Fort Davy Crockett. Here, Europeans and Americans exchanged goods for hides. For example, they received elk, otter, beaver, mountain sheep, and deer hides from Ute and Shoshone traders. Competition was fierce and Utes were known to go to Fort Uintah with these hides in exchange for tools, guns, and ammunition.

While trade benefited both groups, it had a devastating effect on the wild life throughout the region. One of the last rendezvous for the fur trade was at Brown's Park.<sup>10</sup> William T. Hamilton stated:

Several traders had come from the states with supplies, and there was quite a rivalry among them for our furs...Besides the trappers, there were at the rendezvous many Indians -- Shoshones, utes, and a few lodges of Navajos -- who came to exchange pelts for whatever they stood in need of. Take it all in all, it was just such a crowd as would delight the student were he studying the characteristics of the mountaineer and the Indian. The days were given to horse racing, foot racing, shooting matches; and in the evening were heard the music of voice and drum and the sound of dancing.<sup>11</sup>

The last rendezvous was held in 1842. This was in part due to a decline in the global market for fur. In addition fur bearing animals were over hunted to fuel the trade. As such, the period of time that the Mountain Men were actually influential in the West was relatively short.

With the loss of so many game animals, Utes eventually had to rely on begging and stealing to get access to food and goods. This left settlers and travelers through the region uneasy and oftentimes the situation turned to violence.

Following the short, yet intense, fur trade, several American expeditions set out to explore the American West. A fascination with the West, expansion, and discovery had taken the nation, especially following the Mexican American War. John C. Fremont was the first American government explorer sent to chronicle the West in 1843. Fremont first entered the Uinta Basin on his way back East during his first expedition. Of Brown's Park, he noted that it was

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<sup>10</sup> John Jarvie Ranch is located within Brown's Park.

<sup>11</sup> From William L. Tennent, *John Jarvie of Brown's Park*, 1981, p. 15.

“considered among the most dangerous war-grounds in the Rocky Mountains.”<sup>12</sup> While Fremont did not often comment on the American Indian populations that he encountered often, his expeditions produced many maps and detailed descriptions of the areas in which he traveled.

Fremont’s expeditions into and through Ute country opened up the region for American and Mexican settlers.<sup>13</sup> Mormon settlers rushed into the area after the summer of 1847. They first settled the Salt Lake Valley, but quickly turned to other areas within the region. These settlers set up military forts against the Utes and continued to settle. They often took land away without any compensation to the American Indians in the region.<sup>14</sup>

In 1848, as the Mexican American War ended, many Americans in both the South and the North viewed the West as a place to renew the market and expand slavery. They saw new opportunities in the West. That American Indians had lived there for centuries did not matter. These new settlers were determined to take the land as they saw fit. Additionally, the federal government had made promises to New Mexicans that they would be protected from American Indian attacks. This created an enemy out of the Utes and other American Indians. The government sought ways to deal with the “Indian Problem” and the land.

In 1849, the Capote band leader, Chief Quixiachiagate and twenty-seven other leaders met with James C. Calhoun, New Mexico’s Indian agent. The leaders signed a formal treaty that authorized the federal government to have control over all of the Utes. Quixiachiagate did not have the tribal authority to make such a move. Many Utes rejected the legitimacy of the 1849 treaty. The treaty also allowed the federal government to set up reservations, to force agriculture, and settlement. This early treaty would be used to justify future treaties all under the pretense that a united Ute confederation existed, when this was not the case.

Federal Indian policy involved the assimilation of American Indian populations into sedentary, agricultural people. Mormon policy followed suit, but with a religious slant. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints believed that the American Indians were descended from the biblical House of Israel that had traveled to the Americas and had fallen from the grace of God. The Mormons also believed that it was their duty to save the American Indians through baptism and intermarriage. Doing so would make them “white and delightsome.”<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> From John C. Fremont, *The Expeditions of John C. Fremont, 1838-1844*, p. 708.

<sup>13</sup> The Mexican War with Spain had just ended, making much of the West part of Mexico. Ute country was now within the political borders of Mexico. This did not stop American settlers from moving into the region. When gold was discovered in California, more pressures would be felt as miners and prospectors moved through the region in large numbers.

<sup>14</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming*, pg. 78-80.

<sup>15</sup> From “Mormons Altering Indian Prophecy,” *New York Times*. October 1, 1981, Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/10/01/us/mormons-altering-indian-prophecy.html> on February 16, 2020. See also Jeremy Talmage, “Black, White, and Red All Over: Skin Color in the Book of Mormon,” *Journal of Mormon Studies*, Volume 28, 2019, pgs. 46-68.

In practice, the Mormons attempted to assimilate the American Indians. They sent missionaries to proselytize and baptize many people. Whether or not the Mormon theology was completely accepted by these new American Indian converts is up for debate. It is possible that the American Indians saw baptism as a diplomatic tool used to create relationships with the newly arrived Mormons.

In addition to religious adoption, Brigham Young, then the leader of the Mormon church, expected American Indians to assimilate to an agricultural way of life. This was vastly different from the semi-nomadic lifeways of the Utes. Agriculture required a sedentary strategy.

Additionally, agriculture and ranching changed local ecosystems, drastically altering Ute access to game. As an increasing number of Mormons colonized the region, the Ute people felt even more pressure on their livelihoods. Not only was land openly stolen from the Ute, it was increasingly difficult for them to live as they had for the previous centuries. With hunting on the decline, due to pressure from fur trappers and over immigration into the region, Utes were often left with no choice but to rely on the colonizers for food and goods. Also, although the Mormon leadership often talked of keeping good relationships with the American Indians, many Mormons did not keep the peace.

A Timpanogos elder, “Old Bishop,” was murdered over the suspicion that he stole a shirt by three Mormon settlers (Jerome Zabrinky, John R. Stoddard, and Richard Ivie). The men mutilated the body and attempted to hide the evidence by throwing Old Bishop’s remains in the Provo River. When the body was discovered, the Utes were furious. They demanded justice by handing over the killers. When the Mormons refused, Ute leaders took matters into their own hands; Ute theft of cattle increased. Utes and Mormons stocked up on munitions and supplies. Tensions continued to rise and in no time, Fort Utah was under siege and running practice drills. With the support of Brigham Young, Mormon leader Parley P. Pratt, and John W. Gunnison, punitive action was taken. Young wrote, “I say go kill them...Let the women and children live if they behave themselves...We have no peace until the men [are] killed off.”<sup>16</sup> It would not be until four years later that the truth of Old Bishop’s murder would be explained to Young.

On February 8, 1850, Peter Conover led troops to Utah Valley and attacked Chief Opeccary’s and war leader Pariat’s camp. For two days Utes held off the attack. The sick and injured fled during the night through two feet of snow, some heading south and others toward Rock Canyon. Major General David H. Wells pursued these refugees and attacked them at Goshen Marsh. The results were disastrous for the Utes. The women and children were taken prisoners. The men were all killed. The following day, Stansbury had the heads of all the dead Ute men removed to take as trophies and scientific research.<sup>17</sup> The work of war was far from over. The troops then headed to Rock Canyon to kill those camped there.

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<sup>16</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming*, p. 85.

<sup>17</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming*, p. 86.

Many had already died of exposure or disease. Pariats' wife was among the deceased having fallen to her death after an attempt to climb the cliffs and get away from attackers.<sup>18</sup>

Life was becoming increasingly difficult for Utes. Utah Indian Superintendent J. H. Homan stated that they were:

Very much excited by the encroachments of the Mormons, as they are making settlements, throughout the Territory on all the most valuable lands...The Indians have been driven from their lands and their hunting ground destroyed, without any compensation...they are in many instances reduced to a state of suffering, bordering on starvation.<sup>19</sup>

In 1853, Utah Valley again saw war between Mormon settlers and Utes. The Walker War started after failed negotiations to settle the case of the murder of two Utes. As hostilities continued, Sowiette sued for peace. Settlers arrested and threatened to shoot him. He, and his band quickly left for Uintah Valley to escape further violence. Other Ute leaders also sought peaceful negotiations, including White Eyes and Antero.

The Walker War was characterized by several retaliatory killings and cattle theft. Brigham Young talked of creating peace and yet Mormon settlers in Utah Valley refused to obey. Although he was warned of the danger, Captain Gunnison continued into the region with a government survey crew. He was killed by a Pahvant man in retaliation for the killing of his father. The Gunnison incident caused the Walker War to end. Wakara and Young attempted once more to create peaceful negotiations, but the Governor expected the sale of Ute land and Wakara refused. In response, Brigham Young threatened to excommunicate Wakara.<sup>20</sup> Wakara, in turn, attempted again to negotiate peace with his own demands. He wanted "full economic freedom, no interference with Mexican traders, and a large number of presents to cement the peace."<sup>21</sup> Young refused to accept Wakara's terms. Brigham Young counter offered with gifts. The two sides came to an eventual peace on May 11th.

Unfortunately, peace was not enough to save Utes from starvation and disease. Overcrowding from colonization, agriculture, and ranching altered the landscape. Water became a rare resource for the Utes, where before it was plentiful and accessible. Hunting ground and fishing spots had all been taken over by settlers and were depleted of resources. Timber was cut down, leveling forests as well. Winters were deadly, and without valuable hides, fire wood, and the ability to move, the Utes had few options. By the end of the 1850s, life for the Utes had changed drastically.

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<sup>18</sup> Mormon and American settlers renamed this location "Squaw Peak." For current events regarding Squaw Peak and its naming, see McKenna Park, "Native Americans Advocate Squaw Peak Name Change," *The Daily Universe*, April 27, 2017. Retrieved from <https://universe.byu.edu/2017/04/27/native-americans-provo-city-advocate-squaw-peak-name-change1/> on February 16, 2020.

<sup>19</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming*, pg. 91.

<sup>20</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming*, pg. 103.

<sup>21</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming*, pg. 105.

Industries such as cattle and sheep ranching began to rise since the 1770s as demand for wool textiles rose. Land was in short supply and so the industry expanded North into New Mexico. After the Mexican-American War, which ended in 1848, settlers rushed into New Mexico and Colorado territories using the Old Spanish Trail in the spirit of enterprise. The illegitimate 1849 treaty did little to stop predations on American Indians in the region.

Using maps from explorers such as John C. Fremont, the Transcontinental Railroad sent surveys into Ute country starting in 1853. Topographical maps were not the only result of these surveys. Immigrants started coming into the region by the thousands. The new railroads would fuel the burgeoning cattle industry and the expanding nation.

During the Walker War of the mid 1850s, many Ute bands became tired of war and wary of Mormon settlers. The Uinta Basin was deemed unsuitable for agriculture and Euro-American settlers by George Washington Bean in 1852. Sent to the region by Brigham Young, Bean concluded that the “finest timber was here [Uinta Basin], but not much land in a body suitable for cultivation.”<sup>22</sup> As such, Young did not send Mormon settlers into the region.

As settlement in the Utah, Sanpete, and Sevier Valleys increased so did the demand for additional Ute lands. The displacement of Utes and the tension of wars caused Ute bands to move into the Uinta Basin. One solution was the creation of Ute farms, which were, in reality, small reservations.<sup>23</sup> Mormon settlers and the federal government both decided that agriculture was the best route for American Indians. These farms were highly unsuccessful. The winter of 1859-1860 was especially difficult for Utes. Many died of starvation and exposure. Utes turned again to theft of Mormon cattle.

Mormon leaders urged the United States government to create a reservation for the Utes. In 1861, Henry Martin, then Indian agent for the region, petitioned the federal government to create a reservation in the Uinta Basin. The region was reported to be without an “oasis” and was “one vast ‘contiguity of waste,’ and measurably valueless, excepting for nomadic purposes, hunting grounds for Indians and to hold the world together.”<sup>24</sup> Being unsuitable for Euro-American settlement, politicians argued that it was perfect for American Indians. President Abraham Lincoln established the Uintah Reservation on October 3, 1861. By 1865, all Ute claims to lands in Utah were terminated. Mormon expansion into the Sanpete and Sevier Valleys, the failed responsibility of the federal government to provide provisions, and the starvation that resulted in neglect during the Civil War created the circumstances that led to the Black Hawk War.<sup>25</sup> The series of raids were also connected to the extreme loss of hunting grounds and game in the region. James Duane Doty reported that he found the Utes

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<sup>22</sup> From Spangler, *Paradigms and Perspectives*, pg. 699.

<sup>23</sup> From Warren Metcalf, “A Precarious Balance: The Northern Utes and the Black Hawk War,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Volume 57, Number 1 (Winter 1989): pgs. 24-35.

<sup>24</sup> From “Uinta Not What Was Reported,” *Deseret News*, September 25, 1861.

<sup>25</sup> From Warren Metcalf, “A Precarious Balance: The Northern Utes and the Black Hawk War,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Volume 57, Number 1, 24-35.

“in a state of destitution, and suffering severely from want of food and clothing, and no provision had been made for their relief.”<sup>26</sup>

The Spanish Fork Treaty was created in June of 1865. Several Ute leaders, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Oliver H. Irish, and Brigham Young entered into negotiations. Many of the Ute band leaders agreed to the terms of the treaty which included money, protection, and homes if they signed and would be removed to the Uinta Basin. However, the following winter was especially harsh and the federal government failed to follow through on their end of the treaty. Those leaders that did not agree to the Spanish Fork Treaty connected with Ute bands and other tribes.<sup>27</sup>

Band leader, Black Hawk (Autenquer), directed raids on Euro-American cattle and Mormons traveling into and through the region starting in 1864. While possibly not a full blown incursion, the Black Hawk War was, in reality, an increased series of raids by less than a hundred hungry Utes.<sup>28</sup> Several Utes, though not directly involved in the raiding, offered support in the form of ammunition, boarding, and food to Black Hawk’s band, even though they were warned not to by the federal government. A handful of band leaders, including Sanpitch, were arrested on charges of providing ammunition to Black Hawk. Sanpitch was subsequently wounded while in a Manti jail. Mormon militiamen killed the wounded man as he tried to escape.<sup>29</sup> The Black Hawk war was brutal, costing many lives on both sides. While the American Indians involved focused mainly on stealing cattle, they also killed several civilians. However, the largest act of violence during this time occurred at Circleville in 1866. The Circleville Massacre was the greatest massacre of American Indians in Utah history, with a loss of multiple Paiute lives after the settlers killed captive men, women, and children.<sup>30</sup>

In Colorado, dispossession occurred differently than in Utah. Utes in Colorado and New Mexico faced an ever increasing population of immigrants into the region, beginning in 1847. The federal government first espoused similar policies as the Mormons; that of assimilation, extermination, and later of conciliation. However, none of these strategies were satisfactory until the forced removal of Utes to reservations.

The process of removal in Colorado was prompted by the discovery of gold in 1858 and lasted until the 1870s. Suddenly, prospectors and miners poured through the “southern and eastern boundaries of Ute homelands as well as the passes they used to access the

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<sup>26</sup> From James Duane Doty, “Utah Superintendency,” *Annual Report of the Indian Affairs*, U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, United States, 198.

<sup>27</sup> Spangler, *Paradigms and Perspectives*, 699-712.

<sup>28</sup> From Metcalf, “A Precarious Balance,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 26-28.

<sup>29</sup> From Spangler, *Paradigms and Perspectives*, 699-712.

<sup>30</sup> From Albert Winkler, “The Circleville Massacre: A Brutal Incident in Utah’s Black Hawk War,” *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Volume 55, Number 1, (Winter, 1987), pg.122-129.

Plains.”<sup>31</sup> Once Colorado was established as a territory in 1861, federal officials started searching for solutions to American Indians who inhabited the region. This included the Ute.

Similarly to Utah, the Utes in Colorado and New Mexico felt the crunch of colonization by Euro-American settlers. Hunting lands were decimated and eventually controlled by Euro-Americans as well as Plains Indians. The Utes in this region had to resort to begging and theft in order to survive. Raids on settlers occurred where Utes were becoming most desperate for food and supplies. This changed by the 1860s, as it became increasingly clear that the American military was quite powerful, especially after the Civil War. A handful of leaders from the Mouache, Capote, and Tabeguache Utes eventually turned to diplomatic solutions.

In 1863, a few Utes gathered at Conejos to negotiate a treaty, which included representatives from the Tabeguache and Grand River bands. The leaders in attendance were considered leaders of a non-existent confederated Ute tribe, where in reality no such singular tribe existed. The 1863 Tabeguache Treaty established legal precedent for future treaties even though it was not, in fact, representative of the entire Ute Nation. Among those that signed the treaty included Ouray (U-ray), Colorow, and Nevava (Novavetuquaret).<sup>32</sup> Included in the treaty was a cession of land that belonged not to those in attendance, but to other Ute bands. The lands included in the treaty would house future mines. Included in the arrangement was the unstated understanding that smaller reservations would be set up once these mines were established. The federal government was to provide provisions, money, and protection. Part of this agreement included agricultural and ranching equipment. The treaty was misunderstood by the signatories as they believed they were establishing a boundary for their hunting grounds. The treaty was ratified by Congress, however the provisions from the federal government fell short of the treaty’s obligations.

Additional gold and silver mines were found throughout the 1860s resulting in an influx of Euro-American settlers into Ute country. While some American policy makers argued for a more forceful approach to American Indian removal, others sought peaceful solutions. Utes were again urged to enter into new treaty arrangements. A delegation of ten Ute leaders traveled to Washington, along with Kit Carson, to sign a new treaty. On March 2, 1868, they created the Ute-Kit Carson Treaty. This treaty created a Confederated Ute Reservation, which would be fifteen million acres in Western Colorado. It is important to note that the Utes who signed the treaty did so with the understanding that they would not be confined to a specific district. The reservations, to them, were lands reserved for hunting. They did not expect to be restricted to such an area. Instead, the federal government insisted on relocating the Utes to the reservation. A few months after the 1868 treaty was signed, two-thousand Utes gathered in Colorado to protest the treaty. Unfortunately, their protests did nothing to change the provisions of the treaty. Additionally, even though the treaty provided

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<sup>31</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming Ute*, 120.

<sup>32</sup> From Jones, *Being and Becoming*, pg. 122-129.

protection to the Utes from American incursions, the military withdrew its services from the reservation. Prospectors continued to pour into the reservation in search of gold.

Utes began to become agitated at the increase of settlers and prospectors into the reservation. While at the same time, Coloradoans sued the federal government to reduce Ute lands. They argued that the Utes had too much land for the number of occupants. Additionally, silver and gold mines were found within the reservation. Congress then passed the 1871 Indian Appropriations Act with a provision that prohibited all future treaty making. By the end of 1872, all Indian nations were considered dependent nations of the United States. As such, Indian agents and the Utes gathered to create a new agreement, not a treaty. After several attempts to come to an arrangement, the Brunot Agreement was signed in 1873 which ceded lands in southwest Colorado due to the discovery of silver mines. This agreement reduced Ute lands.

By the time the Brunot Agreement was ratified, many Utes expressed disagreement with the conditions of the arrangements. While they retained hunting rights, they again lost a good portion of their lands. By the 1870s, many Mormons and Coloradeans saw fertile grazing lands in Ute reservations. Additionally, Ute populations began to decline dramatically due to starvation, war, and disease.<sup>33</sup>

During this time of forced removal to reservations, the federal government insisted on making the Utes and all American Indians learn to live in Euro-American lifeways, that is: agriculture and ranching. Many Utes despised this. In 1878, Nathan C. Meeker became the agent of the Yampa, or White River, Utes in northwestern Colorado. Meeker believed that he could create white men out of the Utes there. He forced them to build houses and to farm. When Meeker plowed through a prized horse track, many Utes became incensed and fired off shots. Meeker then sent for the Army. Utes interpreted this as a movement toward war. When the Army, led by Major Thomas T. Thornburgh, marched into the Ute reservation, Utes, led by Colorow, attacked. Thornburgh was killed in the battle and the Army troops lay under siege for several days. During this time, Utes led an attack against the agency, killing Meeker and a dozen others, and took his wife and children hostage. Ouray negotiated the release of the hostages weeks later.

Colorado politicians used the incident as an excuse to further dispossess Utes in the state. They insisted that the Utes could not be trusted to live in peace. Subsequently, Colorado Utes were forced to move to the Uintah Reservation. Much of the land was not suitable for agriculture. The Uncompahgre Reservation was established in 1882 by President Chester A. Arthur, but much of the land was desert.

In 1887 Congress passed the General Allotment Act, which is also known as the Dawes Severalty Act. The Dawes Act changed the way in which reservations were maintained. Instead of having a reservation which benefited the collective Indian nation, allotments of 40,

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<sup>33</sup> From Spangler, *Paradigms and Perspectives*, pg. 707.

80, or 160 acres were given to individual tribal members. The rationale behind the division of land was to open up land for Euro-American settlement. This resulted in a checkerboard pattern of private lands within reservations. Once gilsonite, a form of asphalt, was found in the Uintah Basin in 1888, land was quickly opened up for settlement and mining. This vein was located directly inside of what was the Uncompahgre Reservation.<sup>34</sup> By 1898, Uncompahgre land was opened for legal mining. Utes were further dispossessed of their lands as another land rush commenced.

A delegation of Ute tribal leaders went to Washington to insist that the federal government uphold treaty and agreement obligations. In response, President Theodore Roosevelt set aside over a million acres of the reservation for the Uinta Forest Reserve, created a townsite, and opened Ute land for homesteading. 282,460 acres were set aside as tribal lands.<sup>35</sup> The proclamation created yet another land rush of Euro-American settlers into the region.

The White River band (Yampahs) of Utes were especially outraged by the loss of their way of life. As more land was lost to American settlers and starvation continued, they decided to leave the reservation. While the press at the time represented this group of disgruntled Utes as dangerous and suing for war, the fact of the matter is that they were instead seeking a peaceful resolution to the depredations on their lands and a return to previous lifeways.<sup>36</sup> Led by Red Cap, the White River Utes left Utah and traversed through Wyoming. Wyoming settlers became uneasy with the caravan of Utes traveling through their state and attempted to get the federal government to take action. However, because the Utes were peaceful, no action could be taken. Captain C.G. Hall, the Ute agent in Wyoming stated:

As long as they [the Indians] are peaceful and do not threaten hostility it does not seem that the Federal Government would be justified in interfering with them. Moral suasion has been used with little apparent effect in inducing them to return to their homes, it would therefore seem at present that the case is one for the local authorities rather than for this Department.<sup>37</sup>

The Utes' peaceful journey took them through Wyoming and into South Dakota. However, the people of Wyoming continued to push for federal assistance in removing the Utes. Major-General Greely sent the Tenth Cavalry to discuss the matters at hand with Chief Appah. While there, additional soldiers were sent in to "overawe them and persuade them to return quietly to their homes."<sup>38</sup> From there, they were escorted to Fort Meade, South Dakota.

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<sup>34</sup> From Spangler, *Paradigms and Perspectives*, pg. 730.

<sup>35</sup> From Spangler, *Paradigms and Perspectives*, pg. 730.

<sup>36</sup> From Floyd O'Neil, "An Anguished Odyssey: The Flight of the Utes 1906-1908," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Volume 36, Number 4, pgs. 315-327.

<sup>37</sup> From O'Neil, "An Anguished Odyssey," pg. 321.

<sup>38</sup> From O'Neil, "An Anguished Odyssey," pg. 323.

Once in South Dakota, the Utes sought the assistance of the Sioux. Unfortunately, the Sioux were unwilling, and quite possibly, unable to help the wandering Utes.

The White River band faced a dilemma: fight alone, turn around and go back to their reservation, or stay and work for two dollars a day.<sup>39</sup> Some of the Utes decided to take jobs with the railroads. One of these railroads refused to pay Utes after losing money. Other Utes went to Rapid City to work on roads and fences. Government agents insisted that the Utes sell their horses, but the Utes refused as this was a source of wealth. By 1908, many Utes expressed wishes to return home to the Uinta Basin. The federal government offered to help and paid them \$9,920 to assist on the route back to Utah.<sup>40</sup>

Today, the Ute remain a very versatile people. Many of the Ute tribe are divided among the three reservations. The Uintah and Ouray Reservation is located in northeastern Utah. The Ute Mountain Reservation is located in the southwest corner of Colorado. The Southern Ute Reservation is just east of the Ute Mountain Reservation. The Ute celebrate their culture through art, basketry, intricate beadwork, song, and dance. They have annual celebrations that include the Bear Dance and powwows. The Ute have an active tribal government that promotes sovereignty and the needs of Ute tribal members.

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<sup>39</sup> From O'Neil, "An Anguished Odyssey," pg. 325.

<sup>40</sup> From O'Neil, "An Anguished Odyssey," pg. 325-326.