Yanawant
Paiute Places and Landscapes in the Arizona Strip

Volume Two
Of
The Arizona Strip Landscapes and Place Name Study

Prepared by
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Erin Dean
Justin Gaines

December 12, 2005

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Of

The Arizona Strip Landscapes and Place Name Study

Prepared for
Bureau of Land Management,
Arizona Strip Field Office
St. George, Utah

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Report of work carried out under contract number #AAA000011TOAAF030023

Table of Contents

Preface……ii i

Chapter One: Southern Paiute History on the Arizona Strip……...1

Introduction..... 1
1.1 Early Southern Paiute Contact with Europeans and Euroamericans 5
1.2 Southern Paiutes and Mormons 8
1.3 The Second Powell Expedition..... 13
1.4 An Onslaught of Cattle and Further Mormon Expansion..... 16
1.5 Interactions in the First Half of the 20th Century 26

Chapter Two: Southern Paiute Place Names On and Near the Arizona Strip 37

Introduction 37
2.1 Explanation of Orthography..... 37
2.2 What Do You Name? 38
2.3 Patterns in Paiute Place Names on the Arizona Strip 41
2.3.1 The People/Place Connection 41
2.3.2 The Footprint of History 43
2.3.3 Frequently Used Phrases..... 45
2.3.4 Water Sources 45
2.4 Southern Paiute Place Names on the Arizona Strip 47

References 82

Appendix 1: Place Names in Chapter 2, Listed by English Name 89

Appendix 2: Place Names for Which Locations Could Not be Verified..... 95

List of Tables

Table 2.1. Southern Paiute Names, Locations, Meanings, and Descriptions 57

List of Figures

Figure 1.1. *Puaxant Tuvip:* The Southern Paiute Holy Land 2
Figure 1.2. Southern Paiute Districts on the Arizona Strip (taken from Kelly 1934:554, revised in Fowler and Kelly 1986:369) 3
Figure 2.1. Places seen from the home of a Kaibab Paiute elder..... 40
Figure 2.2. Overview of place names for the Arizona Strip 42
Figure 2.3 Places where a Southern Paiute name has been replaced by an English one 44
Figure 2.4. Water sources on and near the Kaibab Paiute Reservation 46
Figure 2.5. Overview of Southern Paiute place names on the Arizona Strip 48
Figure 2.6. Boundaries of named locations 49
Figure 2.7. Northwest portion of Arizona Strip..... 50
Figure 2.8. Southwest portion of Arizona Strip..... 51
Figure 2.9. North central portion of Arizona Strip 52
Figure 2.10. South central portion of Arizona Strip 53
Figure 2.11. Eastern portion of Arizona Strip..... 54
Figure 2.12. Northeastern portion of Arizona Strip..... 55
Figure 2.13. Southeastern portion of Arizona Strip..... 56

Preface

This report is the product of a study funded by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) entitled, *The Arizona Strip Cultural Landscape and Place Name Study.* That study had five main objectives: (1) to provide an overview of American Indian Cultural Landscapes and their relevance for federal agency practices, (2) to describe the ethnographic, historic, and cultural bases for Southern Paiute communities' access to particular sites within the Arizona Strip, (3) to identify Numic place names, trails, and stories associated with selected cultural landscape sites within the Arizona Strip, (4) to include descriptions of the cultural significance of natural resources and physical environmental features at selected cultural landscape sites, and (5) to determine the need for future studies based on gaps identified in the historic and ethnographic record. The study is intended to serve as a foundation for identifying and managing Native American resources, cultural sites and cultural landscapes on the Arizona Strip.

This report is organized in two volumes. The first volume is entitled *Yanawant – Paiute Places and Landscapes in the Arizona Strip* and presents a framework for understanding cultural landscapes and Southern Paiute relationships to places on the Arizona Strip. It draws upon direct interviews with Southern Paiutes at some of those places.

This second volume, *Southern Paiute History and Place Names*, draws upon historical accounts, diaries, and oral histories to document Southern Paiute occupation and use of the Arizona Strip from the time of European and Euroamerican contact until the middle of the twentieth century. It also includes Paiute names for 148 places on and in the vicinity of the Arizona Strip. These names were culled from written sources, matched where possible with a current official name (recorded in the United States Geological Survey Place Names database), and translated. All names were reviewed by a team of Paiute elders in the presence of a linguist and two ethnographers. Also included are stories related to some of the named places. The stories were taken from both archival sources and oral history interviews.

This second volume of the report has benefited from the contributions of many people. The authors express tremendous appreciation to Gloria Bulletts Benson of the Bureau of Land Management for her continued support and assistance throughout the study. Gloria played an active role in the design and implementation of the study and ensured its success. In addition, the study was supported by the tribal leaders of the participating tribes. It was made possible through the collaboration of tribal chairpersons, cultural resource and language program directors and their staffs, and cultural experts from the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians, the Moapa Band of

Paiutes, the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, and the San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe. Special appreciation goes to Warren Mayo, Sr., Lester Asket, and Eunice Surveyor for sharing their personal oral histories. Special thanks are offered to Gevene Savala, Ilena Drye, Warren Mayo, Sr., Milton Rogers, Marilyn Jake, Vivienne Jake, Brenda Drye, Eileen Drye, and Glendora Homer for helping to review and to discuss the locations and meanings of seemingly endless lists of Paiute place names. In addition, we could not have completed this work without the linguistic expertise and patience of Dr. David Shaul.

Southern Paiute elders meet with Kaibab Paiute Language Program members, linguist Dr. David Shaul, and University of Arizona ethnographers for final review of Paiute place names

Chapter One: Southern Paiute History on the Arizona Strip

Introduction

Southern Paiutes occupied a large territory, referred to in Southern Paiute as *Yanawant*, that stretches across the Great Basin and western Colorado Plateau (see Figure 1.1). Within this area, they organized themselves into several distinct levels of political organization, including at least two major subdivisions, a dozen or more districts, and numerous local groups, sometimes referred to as "bands" (see Stoffle et al. 1994, Stoffle et al. 2000). Several researchers have attempted to classify Southern Paiute groups; some have focused on the local groups while others defined aboriginal Southern Paiute district territories. Because of the close connection between Southern Paiute people and the places they lived, as Paiutes' access to different areas changed, so, too, did their local organization (see Volume I). Bands that existed in the 1800s are no longer remembered today.

In 1933-1934, Isabel Kelly, an anthropologist from California, worked among the Southern Paiutes. She identified 16 districts (which she referred as bands) and the territories she understood them to occupy in 1840 (Kelly 1934:554, revised and updated in Fowler and Kelly 1986:369). As shown in Figure 1.2, five of those districts were within the region that is now recognized as the Arizona Strip. From west to east, these districts were the Moapa, Shivwits, Uinkaret, Kaibab, and San Juan (for more on places and names, see Chapter Two). The St. George (St. George/Santa Clara) district is important to this study as well because some of the Shivwits Paiutes were relocated to that district in 1891. Many of the districts Kelly identified have been converted to autonomous political units officially organized and recognized by the U.S. government as tribes. Nevertheless, it is important to note that interaction among Southern Paiute groups was and is high, and Southern Paiute people from all districts have a sacred tie and contemporary legal right "to be aware of and respond to actions that potentially impact traditional natural and cultural resources within the Southern Paiute Holy Land" (Stoffle et al. 2000). For example, in her discussion of the Kaibab Paiutes, Kelly (1964:23, 99) noted that members of the group traded with the Panguitch and Cedar Paiutes and occasional intermarried with the Panguitch, Kaiparowits, and San Juan Paiutes. Those patterns have continued to the present day. In the 1970s, for example, Pamela Bunte and Robert Franklin, anthropologists who worked with the San Juan Paiutes, observed that a San Juan woman named *Muvwi'ait* ("No Nose") from the Cameron area had married a Paiute from the House Rock area, giving her ties to both the Kaibab and San Juan Paiutes. Though there have been efforts to revise Kelly's district boundaries in light of more recent research and to resolve internal inconsistencies between her published map and descriptive text (Halmo, Stoffle, and Evans 1993), the delineation of the core areas of the districts has been upheld (Stoffle et al. 2000:33-34). Thus, for this report we will use Kelly's band structure as our starting point representing a bridge between early contact social organization and the Southern Paiute tribes that exist today.

As will be discussed throughout this chapter, Southern Paiutes' relationship to the Arizona Strip has been one of continuous adaptation and change. Prior to European and Euroamerican contact, Southern Paiutes were dispersed over a large region through which they moved in purposeful and

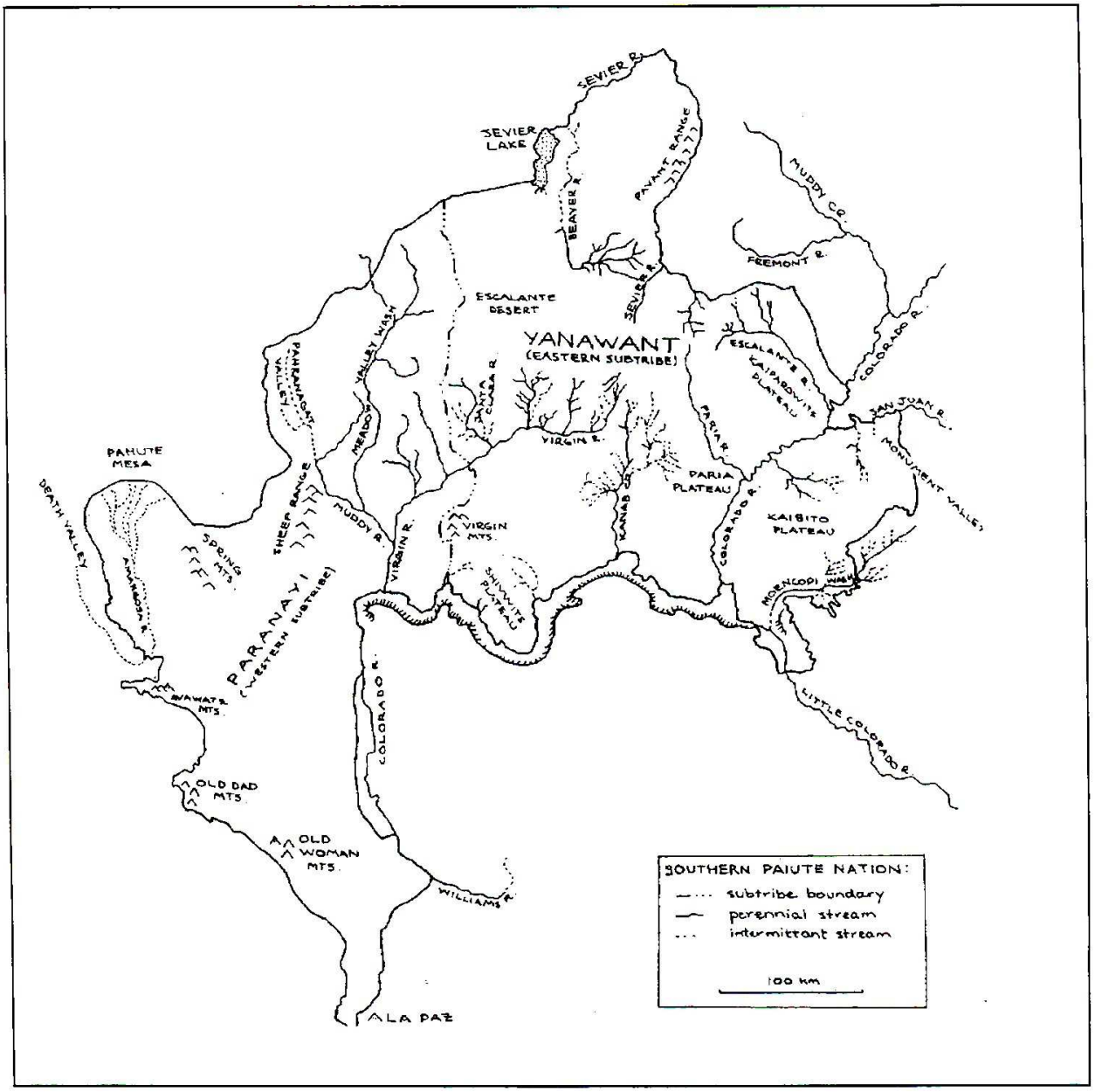

Figure 1.1. *Puaxant Tuvip:* The Southern Paiute Holy Land

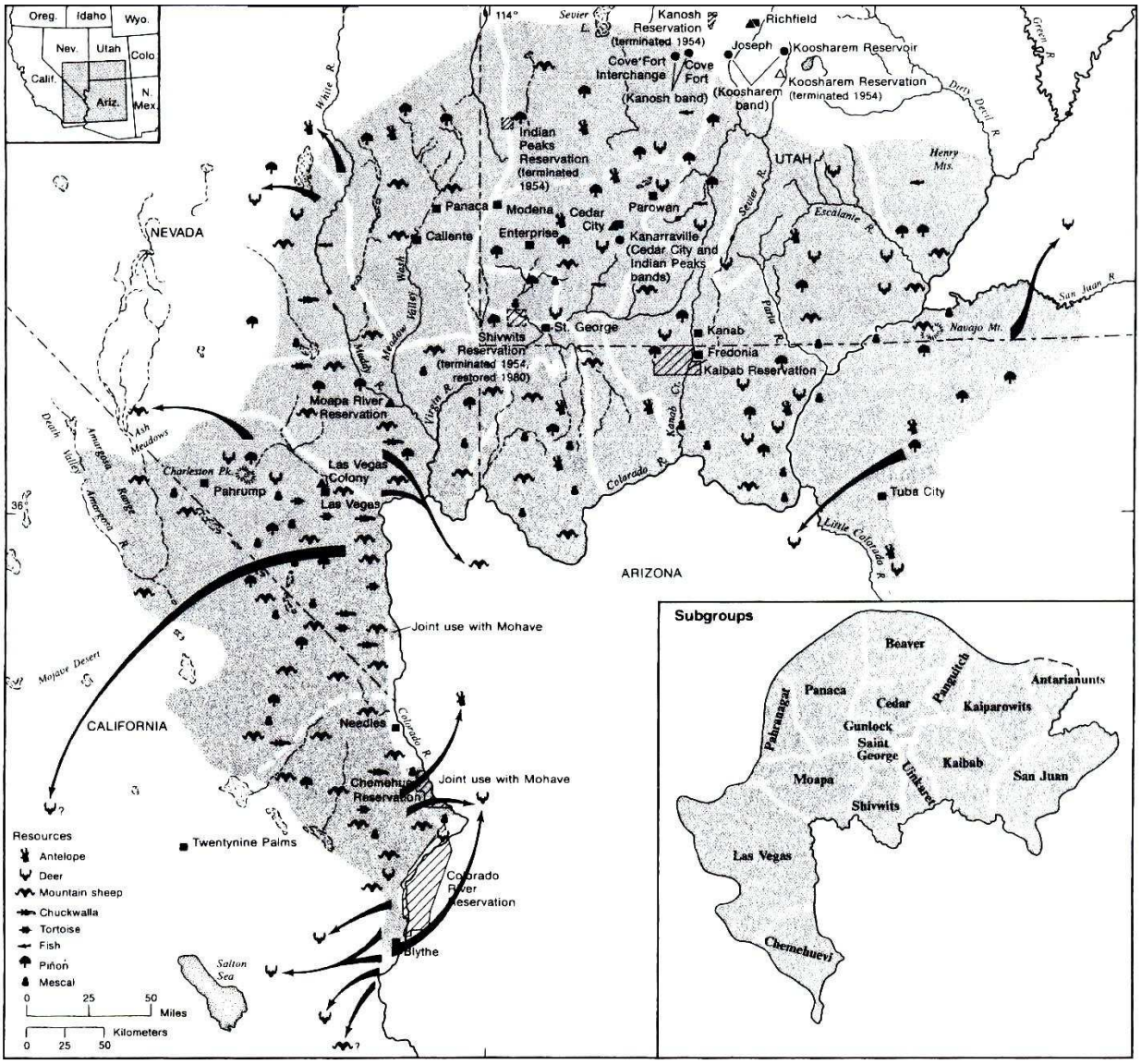

Figure 1.2. Southern Paiute Districts on the Arizona Strip (taken from Kelly 1934:554, revised in Fowler and Kelly 1986:369)

determined patterns. As noted by Martha Knack in her comprehensive ethnohistory of the Southern Paiutes (2001:14-15), "The people's movements were far from random; had Paiutes 'wandered,' as later Euro-Americans mistakenly described their mobility, they would have soon starved. Their movements were based on extensive knowledge of the growth preferences of specific plants and solid familiarity with the seasonal blooming and ripening of each species. Pauites harvested one plant after the other as each matured. They ate what they needed and sun-dried whatever was left over for winter use. Once one species had ripened and loosed its seeds to the wind, Paiutes moved on to the next scheduled resource, which probably required that they relocate to a place where their past experience and careful observation predicted they would get

the best return of food for their time and labor… Because virtually every part of Paiutes' territory offered many different altitude zones in close proximity, their seasonal needs were usually filled in a customary harvest circuit. It was known by all adjacent camps that a particular group of people could usually be found somewhere within that area and that they were harvesting or planning to harvest virtually all its production; hence that zone was acknowledged as 'their territory,' not in the sense that they owned it or could sell it to others but because their history of customary use had justified their prior rights to its resources. If drought or other prolonged natural disaster stripped all plant foods from a camp group's usufruct lands, and the deer and their game migrated to better browse, a camp might walk into another group's territory. Discretion as well as courtesy demanded that Paiutes search out the local group to ask permission for temporary use of that territory. Such welcome was never refused, for everyone knew that the next year it might be they themselves who needed access to additional lands, and those who borrowed undertook the reciprocal ethical obligation to extend hospitality in turn."

Water has always meant survival, and practices surrounding access to and use of water also were adapted. "The Paiute people remember through our oral history to acknowledge our existence and ties to the land and water. Many generations of Paiute people have passed and, despite that, oral history teachings instruct the people to continue to look upon water in a special and reverent way. Traditionally, Paiutes went to the water, moving from spring to spring and from the mountains to the canyons. Then, water was hauled to individual homes in wooden barrels from a single watering source which was piped from a natural spring. The barrels were hauled by wagon and horses. The heads of households were responsible, working together, to make certain every household got its share of water" (Austin and Jake 1998:4).

As they were confronted with and reacted to European and then Euroamerican cultures, Southern Paiutes continued to utilize their special knowledge and adaptability to maintain social cohesion, interact with the newcomers, and survive. This chapter illustrates this process in one geographic region, the Arizona Strip. It highlights where and how people came in and out of the region, interacted, and responded to the unique environment there. Information about Paiute occupation and use of the western Arizona Strip is taken from oral history accounts, published materials on the Southern Pauites, and Mormon diaries and other writings. While Kaibab Paiutes have maintained continuous occupation on the Arizona Strip since precontact days, facilitated by the establishment of a reservation in 1906, Uinkaret Paiutes were dispersed in the late 1800s, Moapa Paiutes were "settled" on a reservation in Nevada in 1873, Shivwits Paiutes were relocated to the Santa Clara River in 1891, and San Juan Paiute movements back and forth across the Colorado River were restricted by both Navajo and Mormon activities there from the 1860's on. These differences are reflected in the types of historical knowledge that Paiutes who are alive today have about the Arizona Strip. At the time of this study, for example, the only known Shivwits Paiute elders with direct ties (within one generation) to family members who had lived on the Strip in the 1800s were Eunice Surveyor, daughter of Tony Tillohash and granddaughter of Indian Simon, and Lester Asket, son of Rex Asket. The grandchildren of Janey Rogers and Sue Mokaak, both Shiwits Paiutes, are active members of the Shivwits and Kaibab tribes. These individuals shared specific stories of their families and events that took place on the Strip, and their stories are integrated with stories taken from written accounts. Unfortunately, as in any history project, we lament what has already been lost.

“The older people talked about it when I was little; as they were getting older they barely talked about it… I don’t know how the places got their names. Someone should have followed up on that a long time ago” (Shivwits tribal member, May 2004).

As we move closer to the present, many people can contribute their accounts. In the early part of the 20th century, Paiutes were still gathering plants and hunting out on the Strip. They also were working in the mines and on the ranches out there. By the 1930s, Paiute tribes had farms, acquired cattle, and raised feed on their reservations, and Paiutes had begun participating in both Indian and non-Indian rodeos. Few of these stories have been recorded, and little, if any, attention has been given to Southern Paiutes’ stories. This chapter attempts to fill information gaps and deepen present understanding of the Arizona Strip and its history. It chronicles early Southern Paiute contact with Spanish explorers and trappers but is devoted primarily to the century following the arrival of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) and the settlement of the Arizona Strip, which was hastened by the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862.

1.1 Early Southern Paiute Contact with Europeans and Euroamericans

The Arizona Strip is a place of both continuity and change. Dramatic environmental events such as drought and floods have been ameliorated or exacerbated by human livelihood strategies. Systems for the allocation of water, for example, allowed relatively large numbers of Southern Paiutes to live in this environment and leave minimal visible signs of their occupation while dry farming and cattle ranching, though carried out by a small number of Euroamerican families, proved to have limited viability. This chapter describes the Southern Paiute experience on the Arizona Strip from the time of the first influence of Europeans and Euroamercans until the end of the 20th century. Martha Knack aptly describes the interrelationships between Paiutes and other groups: “By using the concept of interethnic boundaries I do not want to imply two separate entities in impermeable isolation but, rather, quite the opposite. If there was a regional system, if there were interethnic relations between cultural groups, as I am firmly convinced there were in this case, such isolation was precluded. Paiutes were not ‘left behind’ or ‘left out’ of the history of the region but were drawn into a patterned mesh of interrelationships that tied them in systematic ways to non-Indians” (2001:7).

European influence in this region predated the sustained presence of Europeans and Euroamericans and began as early as the 1600s when mission caravans were organized to transport people and goods from Mexico City to northern New Spain and its capital at Santa Fe (see also Stoffle et al. 2000). Critical consequences of these early intrusions into the region, followed by the establishment of regular routes such as the Dominguez and Escalante Trail and the Old Spanish Trail, include the spread of people, material culture, ideologies, and diseases (Sanchez 1997:119, Reff 1991:167, cited in Stoffle et al. 2000; Fowler and Fowler 1971:150). By the early 1700s trade relations between the Spaniards and the Utes were well established and included “buckskin, dried meat, furs, and slaves to barter for horses, knives and blankets” (Hafen and Hafen 1993:84) as well as the exchange of “knives, corn, tobacco, horses, flour awls” (Sanchez 1997:97).

By 1776, when Fathers Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante crossed the region, impacts of earlier contact were evident; some of Escalante's men were able to converse with the Utes they encountered, extensive trade networks had moved Spanish horses and material goods as far away as the Dakotas and Montana, and epidemics and disease had radically reduced the populations of many indigenous groups. The exact dates of the earliest contacts between Spaniards and Southern Paiutes of the Arizona Strip are unknown; though the Spanish crown sought to control trade and ensure profits for itself, active trading occurred throughout the 1700s. In addition to the likelihood that they had direct interaction with Spaniards, Southern Paiutes also communicated and traded with Hopis, Havasupais, and Hualapais who had contact with the Spaniards (Vélez de Escalante 1995 [1792], Hafen and Hafen 1993:59, Euler 1972:16). By 1775, when Escalante and his party were planning their journey, the Hopis "were sullen (because) they had had more than enough contact with Spaniards" (Hafen and Hafen 1993:59, cited in Stoffle et al. 2000:45). Escalante and his party avoided travel through Hopi and Apache territories and selected a route that took them across the eastern portion of the Arizona Strip (see Stoffle et al. 2000:45-46 for details of Spanish contact with Southern Paiutes on that expedition).

The Escalante expedition reinvigorated illicit trading throughout the region. Of particular consequence for the Southern Paiutes was the slave trade. Southern Paiute slaves may have appeared in Santa Fe as early as the late 1700s, and by 1840 Paiutes were documented in Spanish settlements on the upper Rio Grande (Brugge 1968:19). Utes were a critical link in the slave trade; they captured and then sold the Paiute slaves (Malouf and Malouf 1945). Though in September 1778 Spanish officials passed a *bando* to "prohibit settlers and Christianized Indians from visiting the Utes for trade and barter" (Hafen and Hafen 1993:262, Sanchez 1997:91, cited in Stoffle et al. 2000), the capture and "purchase" of Southern Paiute children continued through the mid-1800s, even escalating in the 1830s and 1840s (Malouf and Malouf 1945). After Mexico declared independence from Spain in 1821, "many of the old Spanish *bandos* were.only weakly enforced, and New Mexicans continued to go to the Yuta country" (Sanchez 1997, cited in Stoffle et al. 2000). Slavery, due to the selective capture of young women and children, exacerbated population loss; an early Indian agent estimated a 50 percent population loss to slavery (Garland Hurt in Simpson 1876, cited in Knack 2001:36).

Furthermore, the Mexican government sanctioned exploration. In 1829, for example, Antonio Armijo led an expedition to document the government's new possessions and find a new route from Abiquiu, New Mexico to Los Angeles, California. Armijo's route crossed the eastern edge of the Arizona Strip near what is now known as Wahweap Canyon and the Paria River (Sanchez 1997:105). On December 10, Armijo and his men found a settlement of *payuches* in this area (Antonio Armijo's Diary, in Hafen and Hafen 1993).

Fur traders also impacted the Southern Paiutes. Jedediah Smith, the first American trapper to meet the Paiutes, passed through their lands in 1826 and 1827. In 1826, Smith found Paiutes farming along the Santa Clara, Virgin, and Muddy Rivers, where they raised corn, pumpkins, squash, and gourds and brought him a rabbit and ear of corn (Brooks 1977). The following year, Smith found very different conditions; Paiute homes along the Santa Clara had been burned down and no Paiutes were seen. Later reports confirmed that a group of trappers from Taos had traveled up the Colorado River in late 1826 and fought with both the Mohaves and Paiutes

(Sullivan 1934, Pattie 1930, cited in Alley 1982:120). Within a few years, trappers had not only increased contact and depredations on the Southern Paiutes, they had also begun spreading negative images about them. Daniel Potts, a member of the 1827 party wrote about the Sevier, "This river is inhabited by a numerous tribe of miserable Indians… These wretched creatures go out barefoot in the coldest days of winter" (Potts 1827, quoted in Alley 1982:120-121), while George Yount, who met the Paiutes in 1830, wrote, "These people are an anomaly – apparently the lowest species of humanity, approaching the monky [sic] – Nothing but their upright form entitles them to the name of man…" (Camp 1966, quoted in Alley 1982:121). Though later investigations led researchers to conclude that the Southern Paiutes lived quite well "as culturally adapted peoples capable of exploiting a variety of conditions in numerous ways" (Fowler 1966:14), the image created by the trappers "performed an ideological role far beyond factual observation," "corresponded with the attitude trappers had toward Paiute territory," and "provided justification for overlooking the Paiutes' stake in their world" (Alley 1982:121, 122).

Of grave consequence for the Southern Paiutes was that, from the Spanish explorers and fur traders onward, "(i)mmigrants conceived of the land as empty of meaningful habitation, even when they occupied native campsites, recorded Indians fleeing across the hills in front of them, or kidnapped Paiute people to extort information from them" (Knack 2001:41). As a result, the Paiutes were subjected to one wave after another of outsiders who refused to recognize their rights and "treated anything they found on the land as theirs to appropriate" (Knack 2001:41).

Under Mexican rule, use of the Old Spanish Trail increased. Commercial trade, especially the movement of large stock animals from the west coast, affected the vegetation and water sources along the trail and began the disruption of the balance among people, plants, animals, water, and land that existed on the Arizona Strip and throughout Southern Paiute territory. "After the Yount-Wolfskill party of trappers opened the Spanish Tail in 1830, capture of Paiute slaves became regular and persistent. The trail ran directly through the heart of Southern Paiute territory, allowing New Mexican slave traders direct access to potential victims" (Alley 1982:118, see also Hafen and Hafen 1954, Malouf and Malouf 1945). By 1844, when Captain John C. Fremont of the U.S. Army traversed the route, it was a well-defined trail over which annual caravans traveled back and forth from Santa Fe to the coast (Fremont 1851).

In April 1848, George Brewerton observed a caravan along the Old Spanish Trail consisting of: "some two or three hundred Mexican traders who go once a year to the Californian coast with a supply of blankets and other articles of New Mexican manufacture; and having disposed of their goods, invest the proceeds in Californian mules and horses, which they drive back across the desert. These people often realize large profits as the animals purchased for a mere trifle on the coast, bring high prices in Santa Fe. This caravan had left *Pueblo de los Angeles* some time before us, and were consequently several days in advance of our party upon the trail – a circumstance that did us great injury, as their large *caballada* (containing nearly a thousand head) ate up or destroyed the grass and consumed the water at the few camping grounds upon the route" (cited in Hafen and Hafen 1993:192)

By this time, Southern Paiutes shared with other indigenous groups a growing resentment toward the Spaniards and trappers. Fremont, for example, reported that the Paiutes observed between Las Vegas and the Muddy River (recognized today as the Las Vegas and Moapa Bands of Paiute

Indians) were numerous, insulting, and quick to capture and kill any animals left behind. As he and his party traveled up the Virgin River, they were followed by a group of Indians. One of the men in the group was reportedly killed by Paiutes when his group camped near what is now Littlefield, Arizona and he went back to look for a lost mule (Fremont 1851:391).

By the 1850s, when the next major incursion into Southern Paiute territory on the Arizona Strip was to occur, the land, resources, and health of the Southern Paiute people had already been seriously impacted.

1.2 Southern Paiutes and Mormons

Sustained interaction with Europeans and Euroamericans and a new period of disruption and change in the Southern Paiute way of life began with the arrival of Mormon settlers. In 1847, the first group of Mormons began to move west from the Missouri River; they arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley with the intention of following Texas' lead in breaking away from Mexico and in establishing a Holy Land whose boundaries would encompass all of the lands within the Great Basin. The Grand Canyon would serve as a natural barrier isolating the Mormons from the Mexican government. The indigenous people who claimed the land were not perceived as deterrents to this plan because they were recognized by the Mormon religion as descendents of the Lamanites, a people "cursed by God, heathens, and heretics to the true faith" (Knack 2001:49).

Yet the Mormon state, to be called Deseret, was not only a religious entity. "All things merged in the church. It was the legislative, judicial, and executive body operating through its delegated ministry. It embraced all things, secular and civil" (Evans 1938:94, cited in Holt 1992:24). Almost immediately, a small party of Mormons under the leadership of Captain Jefferson Hunt traveled to the Pacific Coast, following the Old Spanish Trail much of the way, to obtain provisions and livestock and communicate with Mormon Battalion members stationed in California. The route traveled by Hunt's men was later named the Mormon Trail.

The following year, in 1848, the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo marked the beginning of a shift in power on the Arizona Strip both geographically and politically, from the Mexican capitals at Santa Fe and Mexico City to the Mormon capital at Salt Lake City and the United States capital at Washington, DC. In 1849, the Mormons completed a constitution for the state of Deseret and petitioned the U.S. federal government for statehood (Morgan 1940). Though their petition was denied, in 1850 members of the U.S. Congress recognized a smaller region as the territory of Utah.

Also in 1849, hundreds of gold seekers entered the Salt Lake Valley and were unable to continue westward to California because of snow in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Captain Hunt led the group, consisting of about 125 wagons and 1,000 head of cattle, across the Mormon Trail.

Mormon settlement was orchestrated from the Great Salt Lake Valley; at least 12 exploratory expeditions were conducted between 1847 and 1864 to ascertain the nature of the country they were colonizing (Rosenvall 1976). Upon arrival in each new area, the Mormons began prostelytizing and baptizing the Paiutes. Key among the factors in the choice of settlement was a

year-long water supply. When the settlers were sent, they quickly and deliberately took control of water sources. In many cases, Southern Paiutes, not aware of what they would soon face, led settlers to springs and other places where they could find water. For example, Jacob Hamblin, a Mormon missionary to the Indians, was first shown House Rock Spring in 1860 by Enoch, the Paiute guide who led him to the Hopi villages (Little 1971 [1881]). Of the Mormon communities that were established during the mid-1800s, many failed, the largest number of which were located on the Colorado Plateau, in both southern Utah and the region of the Little Colorado River, where attempts to irrigate with water from tributaries of the Colorado River proved untenable (Rosenvall 1976). On and in the immediate vicinity of the Arizona Strip, failures occurred along the Virgin River, Paria River, and Johnson Wash.

The Mormons also began to take control of trading networks. Sanchez (1997:130) notes that "(t)wo events hastened the end to the New Mexican dominance of the Yuta trade: the settlement of Utah by the Mormons and the Mexican War of 1846." The 1848 Treaty and legislation passed in the state of Deseret between 1851 and 1855 significantly affected trade in the Southern Paiute homelands.

In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Homestead Act, which declared that any citizen or intended citizen could claim 160 acres (equivalent to one quarter square mile) of surveyed government land. To retain the land, the claimant had to "prove up" the land by erecting a dwelling, producing food, and remaining on it for five years, after which s/he gained full ownership of the property. The law went into effect on January 1, 1863, and the following month, on February 24, Congress established the Arizona Territory. This set the stage for a surge of activity on the Arizona Strip.

W.B. Maxwell established a ranch at Short Creek (now Colorado City). In 1863, James M. Whitmore created ranches at Pipe Springs and Moccasin, and Ezra Strong of Rockville settled on Kanab Creek (Woodbury 1944:166). Over the next couple of years, more settlers arrived in the vicinity of what is now the Kaibab Paiute Reservation. Beginning around 1865, James Andrus operated the Canaan Cooperative Stock Company, and by 1865 the Mormons had expropriated all perennial water sources in the region (Knack 1993). At the southernmost Utah border, they established the town of Kanab and withdrew most of the water from the only permanent stream, Kanab Creek, for irrigation. Soon afterward, another town, Fredonia, was established downstream just beyond the Arizona-Utah border.

On the western end of the Strip, Mormons were active as well. However, settlers along the Virgin River experienced tremendous floods. A dam they had constructed on the river was washed out in both 1857 and 1858. According to Andrew Karl Larson (1961:74, cited in Rosenvall 1976), "In 1859 when Apostle Franklin D. Richards and Joseph A. Young visited Washington [settlement four miles east of St. George] in midsummer, they found a group of colonists about ready to give up the struggle. Storms that season had been frequent, and their dams had been carried away three times. It was not that the floods were very large: a reasonably gusty freshet could do the damage. The troubles in rebuilding the structure overtaxed the strength of the few settlers who remained, and this with the malaria which most of these had to suffer just about convinced them that moving away was the only logical solution." A settlement was begun

in the area of Beaver Dam, but it was washed out by a flood in 1867. Eventually these settlements were abandoned.

The Muddy River Valley, including the community of Saint Thomas and the site of one of two salt mines used by Southern Paiutes in the region, was settled by Mormons in 1865. It was part of the territory of Utah until 1866 when Congress moved the boundary of Nevada east by a full degree. The communities there were not affected until the federal boundary survey of 1870 revealed that they were within the region now belonging to southeastern Nevada (Larson 1961, cited in Rosenvall 1976). The Muddy River settlements were established to produce citrus and cotton and to serve as way stations for emigrants and freight en route from California to Salt Lake City via the Colorado River (Rosenvall 1976). However, the Muddy River provided an undependable water source because it, too, alternated between dry periods and floods.

In the east, settlement began in House Rock Valley. The area was home to Kaibab Paiute and used seasonally by San Juan Paiutes who gathered wild seed there in the fall, as a result of an express agreement with the Kaibab Paiutes living in the area (Bunte and Franklin 1987:19, 100-101 Dellenbaugh 1908:167-168).

The rapid and widespread intrusion of Mormons into Southern Paiute, Ute, and Navajo territories did not go unnoticed. “In 1864, the Paiutes and Utes in areas previously settled by Mormons began to resist the Mormon presence. For three years they ‘waged guerrilla warfare against the settlers from Sanpete County to the south of Kanab [areas just west and north of San Juan territory in Utah and Arizona]’ (Corbett 1952:258). Jacob Hamblin attributed this state of hostility to the fact that the settlers’ livestock grazing and other activities had destroyed the Indians’ wild plant and animal resources causing them to suffer increasing hunger and demoralization (Little 1971 [1881]:87-88)” (Bunte and Franklin 1987:63). Angus Woodbury (1944:167) contended, “The period following early settlement was marked by Indian troubles with both Paiutes and Navajos... The whites had brought with them their livestock, which they grazed upon the public domain, turning the cattle and horses loose and herding the sheep. These animals multiplied rapidly and quickly depleted the edible fruits and seeds upon which the Indians subsisted. Indian resentment not unnaturally was inflamed, and with starvation staring them in the face, there was little left for them to do but beg or steal… Not only were seeds and fruits being eaten by the livestock, but game also was getting scarce and hard to find, due largely to encroachment of cattle and sheep which were taking the place of deer upon the range.” According to Bunte and Franklin (1987:63), “San Juan Paiutes, with Kaibab Paiute and possibly Navajo allies, appear to have joined in this guerrilla warfare, perhaps in sympathy with their Southern Paiute relatives and friends of other bands but almost certainly also out of opportunistic self-interest.”

In 1866, James Whitmore and Alexander McIntyre were killed at Whitmore’s ranch at Pipe Spring. Stories about the event differ. According to Tony Tillohash, whose father and grandfather were among the innocent Paiutes killed by Colonel Pierce, James Andrus, and others in retaliation for the Mormon murders, “My father and grandfather were killed by the white man at a place called ‘Bullrush’ in Kanab Creek below Pipe Springs, Arizona. Among the dead were five brothers, one of them my grandfather. The trouble started when the Navajos killed a sheepherder named Whitmore” (quoted in Martineau 1992 :63). Eunice Surveyor, Tony’s

daughter, reported that both Tony's parents were killed at the time, leaving only Tony and his grandmother alive. "Tony's grandmother, being left an orphan, received the name Tuhduh'hets *Orphan*. This is how Tony got his anglicized last name of Tillahash. Evidently this name was given to her after the massacre. The general meaning the Tillahash family give this name is 'The Beginning and the End of a Family'" (Martineau 1992:63).

Angus Woodbury (1944:168) described the event as follows: "Hostilities in the south began late in 1865, when, on December 18, a number of Paiutes raided Kanab and made away with some horses. During that winter Dr. James M. Whitmore and his son-in-law, Robert McIntyre, were herding sheep in the vicinity of Pipe Springs. Soon after the first of the new year, a band of Navajos and Paiutes stole a herd of Whitmore's sheep. The next day the two men went in pursuit and failed to return. This was reported to St George and a cavalry detachment was organized under Captain David H. Cannon. As his force appeared inadequate, he sent an appeal from Pipe Springs for additional support. D.D. McArthur came from St. George to take charge and brought with him forty-seven men under James Andrus with wagons and supplies for an extended trip designed to drive the Navajos across the Colorado River. When they arrived at Pipe Springs, the snow was two feet deep and no trace of the sheep or men could be found. On January 18, they came upon the tracks of two Paiute Indians following a large steer, tracked them until sundown, and captured the Indians in the act of killing the beef. After questioning and torture, hanging by the heels and twisting of thumbs, one of the Indians admitted that he had dreamed that Navajos had been there and then revealed the whereabouts of a camp of Indians about ten miles out. A detachment was sent and found that it had been moved another five miles. The militia overtook the camp about sunrise on January 20, killing two Indians and capturing five. Third degree methods elicited information about the killing of Whitmore and McIntyre. The captives led another detachment to the scene of the killings, where the posse crisscrossed the area on horseback, uncovering the arm of one of the victims in the deep snow. Both bodies had bullet wounds and were riddled with arrows. They had been killed on January 10. A wagon was sent after the bodies. While the men were recovering the remains the other detachment with the five Indian prisoners arrived. These had in their possession much of the clothing and personal effects of the murdered men. The evidence of guilt seemed conclusive, so the Indians were turned loose and shot as they attempted to run. The Navajos who probably assisted in the killing escaped."

At least one Kaibab Paiute reported that the killing was done by Patnish, a San Juan Paiute leader, accompanied by two Kaibab Paiutes and several young Navajos (Hamblin, quoted in Corbett 1952:267, cited in Bunte and Franklin 1987:63). During the time of the killing, Patnish was the leader of the San Juan tribal community. Several years later, in 1871 and again in 1872, Euroamericans reported seeing Patnish and other San Juan Paiutes meeting with Paiutes from Kanab (Corbett 1952:314, cited in Bunte and Franklin 1987:64; Dellenbaugh 1908:167-168).

Whatever the actual details of the events surrounding Whitmore and McIntyre's killing, the event had several long-term consequences. It occurred during the "Black Hawk War" that began in Sevier Valley, Utah in late 1865 and lasted until 1868 and thus raised particular concern. Mormon settlers from southern Utah were sent into the area for a few weeks "to act as guards to watch for Indian signs and keep watch over the cattle" (Woodbury 1927:2). Then, martial law was declared and settlers were consolidated into fewer, large towns. Most accounts attributed hostilities to Navajos and Utes, and many settlers maintained relationships with the Paiutes. For

example, “The crops planted in Long Valley had been left in the care of friendly Paiutes when the settlers left” (Woodbury 1944:172). Still, Paiutes continued to be the victims of often indiscriminate revenge killings. In the fall of 1867, Jacob Hamblin was sent to keep in touch with the Paiutes and do his best to pacify them. He urged the Paiutes “to cooperate in preventing Navajo raids by watching the fords of the Colorado and the trails leading to the settlements” (Woodbury 1944:175). Over the next few years, some of the Paiutes assisted the Mormons, often working with the settlers in posse and overtaking the Navajos to recapture stolen goods. Others tried to stay out of the way.

Marauding and pursuing the perpetrators seriously disrupted life on the Arizona Strip. By the late 1860s, Southern Paiutes were being affected across the region in which they usually lived. Even deep within the canyons of the Colorado River, which were among the remotest of the Southern Paiute living and hunting areas and served as regions of refuge, non-Indians were appearing. Like their predecessors, the new arrivals refused to acknowledge the native peoples’ rights as owners of their homes and gardens. In 1869, Major John Wesley Powell led the first of two exploring expeditions through the Grand Canyon. On August 26, a few miles about Separation Rapids on the Colorado River, one of Powell’s men, George Bradley, reported:

“We found an Indian camp today with gardens made with considerable care. The Indians are probably out in the mountains hunting and have left the gardens to take care of themselves until they return. They had corn, mellons [sic] and squashes growing. We took several squashes, some of them very large, and tonight have cooked one and find it very nice. Wish we had taken more of them. The corn and mellons were not up enough to be eatable. There were two curious *rugs* hung up under the cliff made of wildcat skins and sewed like a mat. They were quite neat looking and very soft, probably used for beds. They had no regular lodges but seemed to live in booths covered with brush and corn-stalks. From signs and scraps of baskets we judge they are Utes, probably Pah-Utes [Paiutes]” (Darrah 1947:69).

That same year, Powell visited the Southern Paiutes and suggested that the whole of southern Nevada be made into a reservation for them. Then, in 1870, Powell joined forces with Jacob Hamblin and arranged for a peace settlement and regularized trade between the Navajos and Mormons. This ultimately had negative consequences for the Paiutes who were little rewarded for their faithfulness to the Mormons during the preceding years. On November 4, 1871, Lee reported “Navajos started to visit the settlements as far as Beaver” (Cleland and Brooks 1955:173). In 1872, Dellenbaugh (1908:249) reported from Kanab that “(a) Pai Ute later came in with a report that a fresh party of Navajos on a trading trip had recently come across the Colorado...” Bishop, too, reported, “There are some 20 Navajos here [in Kanab] now and blankets are for trade” (Kelly 1947:221).

Soon, many of the places that had been abandoned in 1866 were reoccupied; Long Valley and Kanab were resettled during 1870, and a guard house and corral were built at Paria. These and new settlements expanded in the ensuing years. During this period Brigham Young promised to help the Mormon settlers find a more direct route between Kanab and northern settlements and eliminate the need for settlers to travel the long way across the Arizona Strip.

Upon returning to Washington, DC, Powell established the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) in the Smithsonian Institution and became director of the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS). One role of the BAE was to appoint Indian agents and begin research into how to improve conditions of native people. In 1871 the Southwest Nevada Indian Agency was created with headquarters and St. Thomas, G.W. Ingalls as agent, and a constituency of 31 tribes from southern Utah, northern Arizona, southern Nevada and California. The first official act of the new agency on behalf of the Paiutes concerned the Indians at Moapa. In 1871 the Mormons abandoned the Muddy Valley and Ingalls settled six tribes in the deserted Mormon village of West Point (Hafner nd:12). On March 12, 1873, the Muddy Indian Reservation was established as the first Indian reservation in Nevada; it was also the only reservation established for Southern Paiutes during the 19th century. By 1875, the reservation, for which 3,000 acres had been originally set aside, was reduced to 1,000 acres.

1.3 The Second Powell Expedition

In 1871 and 1872, John Wesley Powell led the second and most extensive of his expeditions into the territory that included the Arizona Strip. Southern Paiutes were still living and hunting across the region, and by this time they had combined mechanisms for acquiring resources from the settlers with their pre-contact practices. In his journal, W.C. Powell recorded, on March 21, 1872, "The Pah-Utes prowl about, begging, doing odd jobs, and selling Indian trinkets…Most of the tribe are now out on the plateau, gathering yant – a species of the rose [*Agave*]. From this product they made a cake, by baking it in the ashes. It is said to taste like roasted chestnuts" (Kelly 1947:403-404).

The Paiutes had learned that information, too, could be traded. On February 10, Jones reported, "Got into camp at dark. Found old Margats, a Pa-Ute in amp. He agreed to show us a route to the Colorado from Stewart's Ranche for a blanket" (Gregory 1948:109).

On April 20, 1872, Dellenbaugh reported: "At two o'clock I reached Black Rock Canyon, where there was a water-pocket full of warm and dirty water, but both the mule and I took a drink and I rode on, passing Fort Pierce at sunset. Off on my right I perceived ten or twelve Shewits Indians on foot travelling [sic] rapidly along in Indian file, and as the darkness fell and I had to go through some wooded gulches I confess I was a little uncomfortable and kept my rifle in readiness; but I was not molested and reached camp about ten o'clock…" (Dellenbaugh 1908:193). [Note: Fort Pierce Spring is located at the base of the Hurricane Cliffs.]

During April and May, members of Powell's expedition arranged to distribute food and other items to the Shivwits and Kaibab Paiutes, first at Washington (near St. George) and then at Kanab. They continued to interact with Mormon leaders to try to influence Southern Paiute lifestyles. For example, in his journal, Jones, a topographer with the second Powell expedition, recorded the following, "Distrib-[uted] some goods to the Pa-Utes on Monday, the 20th. There are in the band – men, women, boys and girls… Jacob Hamblin will try to persuade them to farm some" (Gregory 1948:126).

During their work, Powell and the members of his party established numerous routes from the Arizona Strip to the Colorado River, generally using Paiute trails. On July 17, Thompson

recorded, “Left Pine Spring at 8:00. Traveled in west-southwest direction for five or six miles, when we came to the canon of the Colorado. At a point exactly west [east?] of Mount Trumbull we were at the bend of the river. On our right the river bore 247 degrees true for 45 miles or on to the ‘Lava Falls’…The Pa Ute trail to river goes down the first or ‘Limestone Cliffs’ to the right of where we stood and down the cliff to water at a point a little west of south of us…” (Thompson 1939:90, brackets in original).

Then, members of the group were at Lee’s ranch on the eastern edge of the Strip in mid-August. “Found the Major, Prof. and wife, Prof. Du Mott [DeMotte] and George Adair. Indian Ben for a guide. ‘Quawgunt’ [Kwagunt] In the evening Jones, Fred and myself took Mrs. Thompson and Du Mott boat riding” (Hillers’ Diary, Fowler 1972:132-133).

In early November, Powell met some of the Paiutes who lived around Mount Trumbull. The following diary entries illustrate that contact and interaction was regular and ongoing throughout the time he and his men were on the Strip. In the second entry, Dellenbaugh distinguishes among three of the bands whose territories included land on the Strip. Though clearly the members of the bands were on friendly terms, they also ensured that the visitors were aware of the their territorial boundaries.

November 6: “…we found there a short, fat, Unikaret whom Chuar introduced as Temaroomtekai, chief. In the settlements… he was known as Watermelon… Teemaroomtekai had a companion and next day Prof. and the Major climbed Mt. Trumbull with them” (Dellenbaugh 1908:253).

November 9: “Wishing to have a talk with the Shewits we moved…around to Oak Spring, near which some of them were encamped with their kinsmen the Unikarets. Except for a wilder, more defiant aspect, they differed little from other Pai Utes. Their country being so isolated and unvisited they were surly and independent. The Unikarets on the other hand were rather genial, more like the Kaivavit band” (Dellenbaugh 1908:253). “A camp of Shivwits near and the Unig-karets 2 miles away…Indians all around” (Jones’ Journal, Gregory 1948:168-169).

November 10: “The Major traded for bags of food seeds, baskets, spoons made from mountain sheep’s horns, balls of compressed cactus fruit from which the juice had been extracted for a kind of wine, rolls of osse-apple pulp, which they ate like bread, etc., all for the Smithsonian Institution” (Dellenbaugh 1908:253).

The Paiutes, of course, also distinguished among the non-Indians they encountered. On November 11, Dellenbaugh recorded, “With the Shewits the Major and Prof. had a conference…Prof…explained to them what he wanted to do. An agreement was reached by which he was to be permitted without molestation of any kind to go anywhere and everywhere with two Shewits for guides…” An assistant from Powell’s party was advised to remain in camp, “so that he would know as little as possible, and should not tell that little to the ‘Mormoni’ whom the Shewits disliked” (Dellenbaugh 1908:253).

November 12: “The next day, November 12th, our party divided into three…Prof. with Nathan Adams, one Shewits, named Paantung, and our guide, ‘Judge’, who may have been a Shewits also for all we could tell, prepared for the entrance into Shewits land” (Dellenbaugh 1908:254).

November 14: “After some work at the canyon we went back to the spring on the 14th, the Unikarets again acting as our pack horses…we killed some rabbits and cooked them on hot coals…found little, round, beaming, Teemaroomtekai, who knew our plans, already there” (Dellenbaugh 1908:254).

November 25: “Prof. had come in on the 25th by way of St. George, having had a successful tour through the Shewits region, all agreements on both sides having been carried out to the letter. He had been two weeks in the wild country…Prof. had climbed Mount Dellenbaugh, though the Shewit objected to Adams’s going up and he remained on the trail…On the summit were the ruins of a Shinumo Building circular in shape, twenty feet in diameter, with walls remaining about two feet high” (Dellenbaugh 1908:259). {Note: Thompson has the trip up Dellenbaugh Mountain on November 16 but otherwise reports also that Pa-an-tung, the Shivwits guide, did not want Adams to climb the mountain.} That evening the group went to the Shivwits camp, and the following day they “Traveled down the canon, followed it a ways, then crossed a low divide into another canon which we came down into Grand Wash near the old Whitmore Ranch. Found an Indian there with flour, sugar, and bacon” (Thompson 1939:106).

Powell, like other explorers, depended on Paiute guides to get him across the Strip. During one of his trips into Kanab, Frederick Dellenbaugh (1908:250) reported, “After a few days the Major came in from a trip accompanied by several Pai Ute, among whom was Chuarooumpeak, the young chief of the Kaibab and, usually called Frank by the settlers and Chuar by his own people… Frank was a remarkably good man. He had been constantly devoted to the safety and welfare of the whites. A most fluent speaker in his native tongue, he would address his people with long flights of uninterrupted rhetorical skill.”

The Paiutes living on the Arizona Strip had also seen and tracked the movement of gold miners who had been prospecting in creeks running into the main stem of the Colorado River (Thompson 1939:105). By this time, Paiute interaction with the non-Indians was common and involved all manner of exchange, trade, and mutual service. When John D. Lee went down to the banks of the Colorado to establish the Lonely Dell Ranch in 1871, he noted a Paiute community there on the river (Lee’s Diary). Lee arrived at his new home with part of his family and cattle in December. His intention was to construct a wagon road from Kanab to that location and to operate a ferry across the Colorado River. “On Christmas Day he carved his name on the rocks near House Rock Spring, so named because of a large rock near the spring which was known as ‘House Rock Hotel” (taken from one-page information sheet, “House Rock Spring” on file at Pipe Spring National Monument, no date or author). In 1872, Lee successfully opened a wagon road across the Kaibab Plateau and through House Rock Valley. Several years later, when a shorter route was constructed, the spring became a major camping spot along the route. That route was to be later named the “Honeymoon Trail” because of the large number of couples who used it to reach the St. George Temple to be married and receive their endowments. Until 1874 when the Salt Lake Temple was completed, the St. George Temple was the only Mormon temple west of the Mississippi River. Many inscriptions at the spring date to the 1870s and 1880s and

indicate the route was heavily traveled during those years. In 1928, when the bridge over the Colorado River was completed, the ferry went out of business.

John Lee operated his ferry across the Colorado at a place where Southern Paiutes had been known to cross the river, and he recorded the following activities on the eastern edge of the Arizona Strip:

December 26, 1872: "On the way to Dell from the Ranch, Lee discovered a messenger (Tocataw [a Paiute]) with a message from Hamblin" (Lee's diary, Cleland and Brooks 1955:217).

January 11, 1873: "First launch of the Colorado River ferry boat. Tocataw was at the dinner party aboard" (Lee's diary, Cleland and Brooks 1955:219).

February 1, 1873: "Lee took 12 men from the Arizona Exploring Co. to the dell; they had with them Tocataw, a Paiute" (Lee's diary, Cleland and Brooks 1955:224).

February 4, 1873: "A Kaibab Indian came to Jacob's Pools to get his gun repaired. Named Moa-atts. Seven lodges of Indians were encamped at a spring about 15 miles south" (Lee's diary, Cleland and Brooks 1955:225).

February 22, 1873: "Tokatom, a Paiute, came up and reported the Explorer Co. was at the Little Colorado on the 19th" (Lee's diary, Cleland and Brooks 1955:227).

May 7, 1873: "Four of the Co. came back to the Dell to get more wagons. Hamblin, 3 others, and 3 friendly Indian guides had gone to explore the Riovirdy Walnut grove and the country in general" (Lee's diary, Cleland and Brooks 1955:237).

Meanwhile, Thompson was working on the Shivwits Plateau. On July 18, 1873, he reported, "Came from Colorado River to Pa-Koon Spring. Went to Mo-que-acks [Moquiac's] wick-e-up. Had watermelons and a big talk. Saw Quetus and other Shewits. Went to Pa-Koon Spring, found that Bentley's horse had given out" (Thompson 1939:113). The following day, Thompson traveled from Pa-Koon Spring to Cane Spring. "Came from Cane Spring to Black Rock. Left Bentley's horse with the Indians at Cane Spring. They are to bring him in five days to Bentley. I am to give them a hat, a shirt, a pair of pants, a box of caps, two bars of lead, and some powder. They think the horse is mine. I think the heat, no shoe, and some trouble with his water is what ails the horse. Indian's name that is to bring him in is Tar-mu-ga-towt" (Thompson 1939:113).

1.4 An Onslaught of Cattle and Further Mormon Expansion

Mormon expansion continued throughout this period, aided by the agreements Powell had initiated with both the Navajos and the U.S. government. Despite Hamblin's recognition that at least some of the Indians' hostility could be attributed to the destruction caused by cattle, the Mormon Church and its members continued to expand cattle operations. In 1870, Brigham Young bought up Whitmore's land claim at Pipe Springs to create a center for the church-owned cattle herd. A fort was built around Pipe Spring to secure water for the Mormon settlers and help establish the Church's herd. Brigham Young sent Anson Perry Winsor and his sons to build the

fort in 1870, ostensibly for protection from the Indians. According to Anson's son, Joseph Winsor, who went to Pipe Spring at age 6, "The purpose of the call was to build up a church herd of cattle by gathering the tithing and donation cattle from Fillmore south – these to be fattened and ready to furnish beef cattle to feed the temple hands during the construction of the St. George Temple. From Fillmore to Pipe Springs he gathered 2,000 herd of tithing and donation cattle" (Cook 1984).

Lucy Hatch Thompson, Anson's granddaughter, wrote that her grandfather was in charge of building the fort at Pipe Springs to protect the people and church cattle from the Indians. However, the primary purpose of the fort was clear, "The Fort was built directly over the spring, the only available water within a radius of over sixty miles. In this way it also controlled the traffic across the Arizona strip and kept many of the marauding bands of Navaho and Paiute Indians from troubling the settlers of Southern Utah" (Hatch nd).

A sawmill was constructed on Mt. Trumbull to furnish lumber for construction of the St. George temple, and additional livestock were brought in to supply food for the workers. In 1872, the Church herd at Pipe Spring had 1,000 to 2,000 head of cattle (McKown 1960). The herd was sold to individual church members in 1876, soon after the temple at St. George was completed, and it passed through several owners, operating for some time as the Winsor Stock Growing Company. In 1879, 2,269 head of cattle and 162 horses were reported at Pipe Spring, with over 50,000 head of cattle and large herds of sheep grazing on the surrounding grasslands (Farnsworth 1993). It was common for pinyon trees to be removed from the rangelands, and sensitive plants such as Indian rice grass (*Oryzopsis hymenoides*) were quickly destroyed.

The establishment and growth of St. George, Utah also had a significant effect on the Arizona Strip. In 1874, activity at Mount Trumbull was increased when it was determined that St. George would become the site of a new Temple and that the lumber to build the Temple would be obtained on the mountain. In April, 45 men constructed 80 miles of road and established two sawmills capable of cutting 20,000 feet of lumber daily (James Bleak, cited in Larson 1961:586).

In 1877, recognizing that 160 acres, as allocated under the original Homestead Act, was insufficient for a homestead in the arid west, Congress passed the Desert Land Act. This act gave 640 acres to any claimant who irrigated the land within three years, requiring payment of 25 cents per acre up front and an additional $1.00 per acre after the irrigation work was completed. The major beneficiaries of this act were cattle companies who would often pay men to claim the land (Fite nd; college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/rcah/html/ah_071800_publiclandpo.htm). In turn, the company would build a small cabin and dig an irrigation system for the claimant, who, after three years, would transfer the title to the land over to the cattle company's name. Throughout the west, the Desert Land Act contributed to overgrazing and the destruction of native vegetation.

All across the Strip, the Mormons began "trading" with the Paiutes for land and water sources and stocking the countryside with cattle. "In 1878 [the Winsor Stock Growing Company] was merged with the Canaan Cattle Company, and between them it did not take long to denude the lush Canaan Valley and the whole Pipe Springs pasturage. In the meantime local cattlemen had formed co-operative herds at Mociac, Ivanpah, Nixon, Parashont, and other watering places. In

each the white men had purchased the water from the Indians, giving a pony or a gun for the larger springs, and a blanket, a sheep, or some trinkets for the seeps. In almost every case they moved more cattle to the watering place than the land could support permanently" (Brooks 1949:295-296). At this time, there were still approximately 30 Paiutes were living in the vicinity of Parashant.

According to Daniel Nelson Pearce, who was born in 1872 and told this story in 1970, "My dad, Thomas Jefferson Pearce, got Ivinpatch in a trade with the Indians, and we had our cattle there and at Parashaunt at the same time that Anthony Ivins and the Saunders and Sorensons were there" (quoted in Cox and Russell 1973:9). The Paiutes continued to occupy the region through the remainder of the nineteenth century and to utilize its resources, though they were not recognized by the Anglo settlers as persons with human or property rights, and the plants and animals upon which they depended were severely impacted by the settlers, their livestock, and their practices.

Toab, a recognized leader and troubleshooter among the Paiutes, became well-known on the Strip. This story, recorded by LaVan Martineau (1992:65-66), indicates his stature, "A long time back, the Shivwits and Cedar Indians had a disagreement over the Cedar Indians coming down and taking children to sell to the Mexicans. Toab and John Rice went to Silver Reef where they had a big meeting over this disagreement. They were almost to the point of war when Toab went and stood in the midst of the big fire they had built. He was not hurt and as he stood there in the fire his hair stood straight up caused by the wind of the ascending flames. This had the desired effect upon the Cedar Indians as it frightened them, and so trouble was averted. As this was going on John Rice was standing by ready to back up Toab. Toab had the power to heal and would heal people but sometimes he would lose it when somebody was using witchcraft. Toab was also bulletproof and one time when he was healing someone he allowed himself to be shot in the chest with a muzzle loader to show his power. He just spit the bullet out."

In contrast, in 1974, Ivy Stratton, a white settler on the Strip, talked about his recollections and the treatment of Toab: "I was only 17 years old when I spent some time out at Parshaunt with Jimmy Guerrerro, who as about the same age. I was afraid of the Indians in the area, but I guess not scared enough to keep me from pilfering. Old Toab and his squaw were camped up in the hollow south of the old house on the hill, there at Parashaunt, about 200 yards from the windmill and in the middle of a patch of native grass which was almost like a wheat field. The heads of the grass were about two inches long, and the Indians were gathering and winnowing the seeds and grinding them in a metate for their winter use. One day, Jimmy wanted to ride a brown colt they had out there and wanted me to go with him. I didn't have a saddle, so Jimmy borrowed Old Toab's and also his bridle for me to use, and we went for a ride. Those Indians used to make fine buckskin out of deer hides, so well tanned that it was almost like leather. And Toab had some lovely strings of this on his saddle. Well, I was in need of shoestrings, right then, so I trimmed some off of the wide strips that hung there…" (quoted in Cox 1982:xii).

Gordon Mathis also remembered interacting with Toab: "When Clair Sturzenegger and I were about twelve years old, our fathers left us alone at the Mokiak while they went over on Snap Mountain for a couple of days. Then early in the afternoon, Old Toab Indian came up to the ranch leading his old, raw-boned riding horse. We had both heard so many stories about that bad

Indian that we were just about scared to death. But he seemed pleased after we fed him, so we began to feel a little easier. Just the same, night was coming on, and all we had was that little dirt-floored shack, and we didn't want to go to bed in the same room with an Indian who was accused of having killed people – even if he was old… So we watched our chance and jumped him and managed to get his hands tied. Then we dragged him outside in the yard and tied him to a tree. Of course he cussed us out in the Paiute language. And we knew what he was saying; and it wasn't nice. But after we cooked a good supper and fed him, he wasn't so upset with us. We kept Toab tied up and fed until our fathers returned. They looked a little grave at seeing him tied outside like that, but agreed that he might have done us some harm…When the men turned him loose he just laughed and pointed his finger at us…However, most people out on the Strip claimed that he didn't want to kill any of them" (quoted in Cox 1982:xvi-xvii).

Stories from both Mormon and Paiute sources relate that Toab killed another Paiute, though details are sketchy and even the identity of that person is unknown (see Martineau 1992:66). In 1970, at age 85, Jimmy Guerrero told this story, "To-ab was at Parashaunt when I went to work for Preston Nutter as a boy of seventeen. Tone Ivins was there, and I used to work with him. Well, right across from the ranch house at Parashaunt, a knoll ran down to a point, and Ivins said that was where Powell's men had been killed. He told me, 'I used to ride my horse up there and could never get more than half-way up, when my horse would whirl and go back.' Tone wanted me to see if I could find where the men had been killed and their remains buried. I think To-ab was the one who killed them He never gave me any trouble, though. I would cuss the h___ out of him, every once in a while, and he would say, 'Little bishop alla time talk, talk, talk.' He figured I was chief around there and always treated me nice. One day, he was sitting there eating, and began telling me about Powell's men. 'I was just a little bitty boy then, and they just begged and they cried,' he said. I said, "To-ab, you were anything but a little bitty boy. You were the one who struck the match.' He said, 'No – no – ' But I think I touched the right man" (quoted in Cox and Russell 1973:10). It is likely that Toab capitalized on the Mormon's fears to enhance his reputation.

Despite the competition from Mormon settlers and ranchers, Toab continued to lead a group of Paiutes living on the Arizona Strip. At times, they attempted resistance. According to Daniel Pearce, "We had trouble with To-ab, though, as he tore out the trails leading into the spring, causing the cattle to choke. My dad caught him and told him he would whip him if he came around there again. A couple of years later, two prospectors hired To-ab to guide them through that country. He was scared of my dad and didn't want to, but they persuaded him to do so. When Dad saw him there, he tied him to a tree and gave him the promised whipping" (quoted in Cox and Russell 1973/1998:9). Toab's daughter, Ida, was born in 1879 at Tassi, and his son, Foster, was born a year later at Tuweep. In 1884, Rex Asket, another Shivwits Paiute, was born in Grand Wash. After the Paiutes were moved to the Shivwits Plateau in 1891, Toab would spend summers farming near St. George and then return to spend winters in the Grand Canyon. Then, around 1900, Foster (also Foster Charles), Tony Tillohash, Thomas Mayo, Brig George, Seth Bushhead, and Minnie Rice were sent to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania (Martineau 1992:305). According to Lester Asket, his father, Rex, was also sent to Carlisle Indian School at the same time as Tony, but he ran away and returned home.

Another well-known Southern Paiute, who lived on the eastern end of the Strip, was Posey, a Paiute who married a Ute wife and became a leader of her people. Owen Johnson discussed an encounter with Posey, "When I was eight or nine, my family lived at the old Lonely Dell ranch about one and a half miles from the mouth of the Paria where it came into the Colorado River. We raised horses and cattle there, but the Indians would steal them if they got a chance. And they would take other things, too. When my dad was gone, one time, a bunch of them led by Old Posie, a murderer just like Toab, came down the old Indian Trail that passed our place on the east. And they rode right into our dooryard…" (quoted in Cox 1982:xiv-x). Posey and his men turned their ponies into the alfalfa field and allowed the horses to eat all they could. "All night long, we kids could hear them laughing and carrying on around the fire they had built a little way from the house. We had a big melon patch nearby, and they really had a feast! They just helped themselves to everything. Dad finally got home; but it was morning before he could do anything about getting rid of them. Then they offered him a little skinny Indian pony to ferry them across the river, and he accepted" (quoted in Cox 1982:xv).

Though Southern Paiutes had participated in trade with other indigenous groups for thousands of years, the notion of owning, and therefore having the right to trade, land was unfamiliar to them. "The classic transaction in which Manhattan Island was reputed to have been sold for trinkets valued at $24, is rivaled by a deal with an Indian Chief at Orderville. The records there show that for a rifle and some ammunition, Chief Quarats granted to the Order the perpetual right to graze its cattle on Buckskin (Kaibab) Mountain" (Pendleton 1939:10). Consequently, transactions such as this and the one described by Daniel Pearce (above) were unlikely to have been fully understood by the Paiutes.

An equally serious concern surrounds the trade in humans. Following decades of having their children stolen and placed into slavery, Southern Paiutes became susceptible to the Mormon practice of buying or trading for Paiute children. The purported goal of the practice was to save these children, both spiritually and physically, but many children died from exposure to diseases. Those who did not were generally unable to fit into either white or Indian society as adults.

Harvey Pulsipher, son of a Southern Paiute woman and a non-Indian man, worked at the Grand Gulch Copper Mine on the Arizona Strip. His story, and that of his family, provides further insights into the relationship between the Paiutes and the Mormon settlers. Harvey's mother, Susie, was purchased by Dudley Leavitt. According to Dudley's daughter, Hannah,

"Once when the Indians were hungry, they sold Susie to father. The Indian put down a blanket and father poured wheat on it as long as any would stay without rolling off. I can still see father holding the bucket and pouring it on. He also let them have some sheep that were killed before they went away. Susie was a little Indian girl about five years old. Aunt Janet took care of her. I can still see her crying when the Indians went away. Father kept her five years and let Brother William Pulsipher have her for a span of oxen" (quoted from Hannah Leavitt Terry's Journal in Brooks 1944:44).

When she was old enough, Susie began taking housework in different Mormon homes and then became a cook at the mining camps on the Strip. She was never married but had three children, Rene, Harvey, and Nina. When she was called before local Church authorities to answer for her

sins, she argued that she had a right to have children, even if she would have to raise them as a single woman. According to Juanita Brooks (1944:45), Susie and her children gained acceptance because she argued that "No white man will marry me. I cannot live with the Indians. But I can have children, and I will support the children that I have. I will ask no one else to support them. I have them because I want them. God meant that a woman should have children." Susie's oldest daughter, Rene, went to work with her at the camps. Her youngest daughter had three children, all of whom were adopted into a white home; one of them died young, and "the other two have both married whites, and are fitting into white society unquestioned" (Brooks 1944:45).

Susie's sister did not have such good fortune; knowing no white man would ever marry her she married a Moapa Paiute who had been hired by the family to which she had been sold. She was unable to adjust to life among the Moapa people, so she left. According to a story told to Juanita Brooks (1944:47), "She didn't belong to the whites, and now she decided that she didn't belong with the Indians. The last I heard of her she was living with the Santa Clara band and thought that she might get a husband."

Initially simply another intrusion into their territory, the mines and mining camps provided work and became an important part of the overall livelihood strategy of many Southern Paiutes. By the 1870s, miners had discovered the Arizona Strip and the canyons of the Colorado River. "Though prospecting in the Grand Canyon began in the late 1860s, it was not until the mid-1870s, when word of copper and gold reached other parts of the country, that many miners were attracted to the region" (Billingsley 1976:69). The miners moved down canyons and washes and into House Rock Valley. In March 1872, after observing a group of about 40 miners on their way to the Colorado River, John D. Lee was advised to leave Paria Ranch and return to House Rock to secure ranches there (Lee's Diary, Cleland and Brooks 1955:184). The miners were not to be trusted; in addition to gold and valuable metals, they were also looking for water. On April 7, Lee reported, "staked off the springs; another co. of miners on their return trip; miners had intended to secure the springs" (Lee's Diary, Cleland and Brooks 1955:186). One gold rush in Kanab Creek, which began in February 1872, lasted only four months after it was discovered that the gold was extremely fine and very hard work was required to extract it from the river sand. According to Captain Marion Francis Bishop, topographer of the second Powell expedition, in April 1872, "Miners are still pouring in and pouring out, cursing their luck and the man who started them on such a wild goose-chase" (Kelly 1947:229).

Sheep were introduced onto the Strip in the 1880s, and they caused additional impacts. The herders would leave their animals in the Utah mountains during the summer months and then let them graze across the open plateaus of the Strip during the winter.

"The leaders of the [United] Order early recognized the opportunities afforded for stock and sheep raising, and lost no time in controlling the range by acquiring possession of the watering places in southern Utah and northern Arizona. These ranches include House Rock, Jacobs Pools, Cane Springs, Castle, Elk, and a hundred and fifty acres on the Pahreah River. Many watering places were also controlled on the Kaibab Mountain. In 1875, the Order owned a small band of sheep and fifty cows. By 'taking sheep on shares,' agreeing to give the owners yearly a pound and a half of wool, and further agreeing to double the herds in four years, we find the Order in 1881, paying taxes on 5,000 head of sheep. The cattle had increased ten-fold" (Pendleton

1939:149). The Orderville United Order (OUO) was organized in 1874 by Brigham Young as an attempt “to live the Biblical Law of sharing and having all things in common” and gave many their start (Cox 1982:17).

In the early 1880s, B. F. Saunders settled at Parashant (Cox 1982:356). He also had interests in Pipe Springs, and ran the Grand Canyon Cattle Company (the Bar Z) at Kaibab, House Rock, and the Paria. In 1883, Anthony Ivins and Andrew purchased the ranch at Parashant from B.F. Saunders for $1,500, which included three houses, a bowry, and a storage room. “Sacks of pinenuts were there in the fall waiting to be taken to St. George for winter use. These pinenuts Andrew had got from the Indians by trading animals to them” (Cox 1982:178). The ranch also had a well, which had been fenced in, and three stockade corrals.

The following year, David Esplin took the United Order Cattle out on the Strip. According to Lee Esplin, “My father, David Esplin, went out on the Arizona Strip about 1884 with the OUO cattle, which were being run out in the sand hills in the Kaibab Forest area east of House Rock Valley. When the Order was dissolved, some of the men got the cattle, and my father, Dave, and his brothers, Henry and John Esplin, got the sheep” (Cox 1982:17). Later Esplin ran his own cattle and sheep on the Strip, establishing the Esplin Cattle Company as one of the largest in the region. Several families settled at Littlefield during this period and began running their cattle on the slopes south of town. Soon they also began to utilize Pakoon, Tassi, Pocum, and Black Rock (Cox 1982:356). In 1887, the Mormon Church ceased sawmill operations on Mount Trumbull and the Schmutz family began running cattle there.

Doretta Iverson Bundy, who lived in Littlefield as a child, recalled some of the children’s pastimes, “On the other side of the river, on the hill, was a petrified spring and beautiful ferns. We would get old bird nests and other articles and put them in the water. In a few weeks they would be coated just like petrified rocks. We had many good times roaming over hills. On the point above the spring which supplied our culinary water, were many round, pot-like holes in the limestone rock where the Indians had ground their corn. We found a lot of arrowheads, and my brother Willard found the grave of a small child and took a handful of beads which had been around its neck” (quoted in Cox and Russell 1973:19).

Though the Pipe Spring fort was never required for protection against marauding Indians, one source has argued that it was used as an “across-the-line refuge for as many as 40 plural wife families following the 1884 edict banning plural marriages in Utah” (Dodge 1960:85). In the 1880s, due to antipolygamy raids and to floods, many Mormons left the Arizona Strip for Mexico. Mormon settlements were founded in Sonora and Chihuahua, Mexico between 1885 and 1905, and church members traveled between these and the Arizona Strip when times were tough.. In 1890, James Andrus sold the Canaan Ranch to B.F. Saunders and Preston Nutter. Nutter, a big rancher from around Price, Utah, bought out the Ivins holdings at Parashant, acquired all the springs there, and began what was to be a 40-year cattle operation. Among the Mormons, Nutter was admired by many but also developed a reputation for greed. According to Gordon Mathis, “I remember riding for Preston Nutter’s outfit at Parashaunt back in 1917 when there would be six-or-seven-hundred head of cattle in the corral at one time for the purpose of branding and cutting out the steers. Some of them would belong to Mathises, Thaynes, Sturzeneggers, Neilsons and a few others, but Nutter was by far the largest operator in the area,

probably owning more than all the rest put together" (Cox 1982:198). Rudger Atkin, a member of one of the ranching families, commented, "Anthony Ivins and others were running cattle out South at that time and had developed different springs of water. Well, Nutter knew about this 'script' and applied it, thus gaining control of a lot of springs. It was all legal, but it was morally wrong" (Cox 1982:194). Of course, this moral code extended only to the white settlers and cattlemen.

The Kaibab Land and Cattle Company was established in 1891 with money borrowed from New York bankers (Woodbury 1944:191). Despite the earlier exodus, several families had moved back into Beaver Dam and, in 1895, Abraham Bundy's family bought out most of them; Littlefield and Beaver Dam were the only communities on the western portion of the Strip at the time.

Several mines were established on the Arizona Strip in the 1880s, and in these, too, Paiutes played a role. "Operations at the Apex Mine were begun in 1884, and at the Grand Gulch in 1885. This came about when some Indians brought ore samples in to St. George and showed them to different people. After going out and looking at the body of ore, a man named Sam Adams and another called Joe Cunningham decided it was worth working, and began getting equipment and supplies together for that end. To work a mine in those days all that was necessary was to have the claim recorded in the Court House, giving the description and location as nearly as possble" (Athole Milne, quoted in Cox 1982:309). Of course, one also had to be recognized as a citizen, which precluded any of the Indians from establishing their own claims.

Working in the mines, nevertheless became a regular source of employment for Southern Paiutes throughout Nevada and Utah. For example, Harvey Pulsipher, Susie's son (described on p. 19-20 of this report), was employed at Grand Gulch in the early 1900s (Athole Milne, quoted in Cox 1982:311). The women, too, found work at the mines. According to Ivy Stratton, "I remember some of the women who worked as cooks and waitresses –Susie Pulsipher and her daughter, Rene were two of them. Susie was an Indian and was the mother of Harvey Pulsipher, also. Rene got appendicitis out at the mine and had to be brought into St. George. As I recall she died shortly after" (1974 Tape, quoted in Cox 1982:313).

The mines caused direct impacts at the site of the ore and also affected water sources for miles around. Grand Gulch was a relatively large copper mine. "Water for the Grand Gulch Mine had to be hauled in barrels, using wagons and teams, from Pigeon Spring about eight miles distant. If the crew was large such as the 80 persons working there during World War I, two trips a day might be necessary. The regular crew of some 45 workers did not require so much" (Athole Milne, quoted in Cox 1982:309). The mines also required large amounts of timber; lumber for the Grand Gulch Mine was hauled from the sawmill at Parashant.

During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the Mormons and other cattlemen permanently altered the ecology of the Arizona Strip. "In 1874, the meadow in [Kanab] canyon was thrown open to livestock, by which the vegetation was gradually destroyed. The creek was thus concentrated in few channels and its flow was increased more than half" (Davis 1903:10). "As the land could no longer sustain a large herd of cattle, many of the ranchers moved on,

leaving behind damaged grasslands that have never recovered. The Mormon Church decided to sell Pipe Spring in 1888" (Farnsworth 1993:13).

Not only had settlers' livestock devastated the native grasses, their attempts at controlling water had caused serious changes in water channels. The most well-documented of these occurred at Johnson and Kanab washes. "Ever since the first settlers arrived, the entire valley [Johnson Wash] had been covered with meadow grass, which they always cut for hay. But the 1880s were extremely wet years in Johnson. One year the meadows were so wet they could not get onto them to cut grass. So Hyrum S. Shumway took his big blue team and plowed a furrow through the center of the valley. The furrow did its job well. It drained off the excess water so the hay could be gathered. But alas, the protective covering of sod had been broken and every rainstorm thereafter took its load of sandy soil from beneath the meadow grass" (Robinson 1972:17).

Heavy rains in 1882 and 1883 were followed by drought, and the resultant flooding exacerbated existing erosion. "The first great flood…swept away all of the farms and meadow lands in the canyon, as well as the field crops just south of the village, and scoured out a broad channel beneath the former valley floor. In passing Kanab, the flood was pronounced 'as wide as the Missouri River,' a rushing stream of liquid mud, bearing cedars, willows, and great lumps of earth… As a result of three years washing, the stream bed was cut down about sixty feet beneath its former level, with a breadth of some seventy feet, for a distance of fifteen miles" (Davis 1903:11). "Masses of earth as large as a common house floated down [Kanab Creek] with willows still standing. Extensive damage to crops, and all farming land in the canyon was destroyed. Some cattle killed. Canyon near old city dam was cut 50 feet down and 16 rods wide. Flood lased 7 to 8 hours. Fresh cutting in the channel opened up several new springs" (*Deseret News*, July 30, 1883). According to Woodbury (1944:182), "Erosion, however, caused trouble at Kanab. From 1883 to 1890, floods presumably resulting from overgrazing tore out dams and ditches and gutted the canyons and valleys with deep washes. Water arose in the bottom of the washes and that in Kanab Wash (below Kanab) was diverted about 1886 onto a new townsite just beyond the state line in Arizona, called Fredonia, which later served as a refuge for a number of polygamous wives during the Federal offensive against the practice."

By 1888, the natural vegetation around Pipe Spring had been denuded and profits from cattle raising had been greatly reduced. The Church sold Pipe Springs and two-thirds of Moccasin Spring to a local stock-raising cooperative. The remaining third of Moccasin Spring was allocated to the Paiutes. One Mormon account suggests that it was an attempt to keep Paiutes away from the Mormon towns along Kanab Creek (Chubbuck in Knack 1993:216). The remaining property passed through a number of hands over the next twenty years (Heaton 1936:1, Olsen 1965:17-19). During this time, cattle continued to be the primary industry on the Arizona Strip, and the Paiutes were largely excluded from ranching ventures. Instead, they survived by hunting and gathering, where possible, and through wage work and begging in Mormon towns (Knack 1991, cited in Knack 1993:216). Paiute access to resources for hunting and gathering continued to be reduced by Euroamerican encroachment and then by the withdrawal of land for forest reserves, preserves, and parks (see Stoffle, Halmo, Evans and Austin 1994). State deer hunting laws that restricted hunters and required licenses impacted Paiutes who had neither a reservation nor off-reservation hunting rights. Mormon Church

officials responded to the severity of the Paiute situation by turning to their congressional representatives and seeking Federal assistance (Knack 1993).

The Southern Paiutes in the areas most heavily affected by cattle and sheep were soon unable to find sufficient resources for survival. Eventually, many of the Paiutes who were scattered across the Arizona Strip were relocated to the Shivwits and Kaibab reservations. By the 1890s, the Uinkaret people left their area and moved to live with relatives at Shivwits/Santa Clara or Kaibab, though they would often return to the Strip. “The Indians around Parashaunt were about the only playmates Bill and Ben Sorenson had. Andrew and Amanda, and in fact the entire family were always very kind to these people and the Indians loved and trusted them. Years later, when some of the Indians were living on the Shivwit Reservation a few miles from St. George, they would visit the Sorensons and camp in their lot. Amanda would see that they had food and were comfortable. Andrew would care for their horses in his corral along with his own as long as they cared to stay” (Cox 1982:xvii). By the time Isabel Kelly interviewed people at Kaibab in the 1930s, the people with whom she talked told her that their families had lived in the Uinkaret uplands, but none of them had lived there themselves.

According to Clyde Whiskers, a San Juan Paiute, San Juan Paiutes continued to use House Rock Valley for gathering plant resources until the cattle companies took all the area, even as far up as Page, Arizona. “We used to have a lot of antelope [in that area], but now there are none left. The only antelope are at Gray Mountain” (personal communication, June 28, 2004).}

Southern Paiutes continued to utilize large animals for food, whenever possible. Though many Mormons, like other non-Indians before them, responded to theft by killing any Indians in the vicinity, others took a different approach. Their solution was to remove the Indians, a gesture some later remembered as pleasing to the Indians. When asked in 1970 to talk about the past, James Guerrerro, a cowboy born in 1885, said “When they started putting cattle out on the Strip, Tone Ivins said the Indians should have the right to kill some and eat them, since it was their grass that was being eaten, and it was their game that was being frightened away. Tone could see there was going to be trouble so he went to see Old Shem, the chief. Shem asked him where his gun was, and Tone said he didn’t need one, since he had just come to talk. Then he asked if Shem would be willing to move his people to the Foster Farm out along the Santa Clara Creek, if he could get it for him. Shem nearly had a fit he was so tickled. So Tone took an option on the land, and in six weeks had the Indians settle there. Even Old To-ab moved in, when he saw the others were being well-treated. (This was in 1891, with additional land being added in 1916, to total 26,800 acres)” (quoted in Cox and Russell 1973:10, parentheses in original). Dan Bulletts, whose wife Crissy was the granddaughter of Mokaac and daughter of Janey Rogers, reported that the Shivwits Paiutes were taken to Little Valley at Fort Pierce Wash, south of St. George [SPH2O files, BARA].

The 1891 Congressional authorization for the purchase of lands along the Santa Clara River for a school was the first official U.S. government action on behalf of Southern Paiutes in Utah. The school, known as the Shebit Day School, was established in 1898, closed in 1903 when the Shivwits Reservation was established, and then was relocated to Panguitch in 1904 to be opened as a boarding school.

The other Mormon solution, which was to separate Paiute children from their families and teach them non-Indian ways, also continued. Tony Tillohash was born in 1886 in Mt. Carmel, Utah. His father and grandfather had been killed by Mormons near Pipe Spring in retaliation for Whitmore's murder; his sister had been traded to a Navajo by an uncle; and he was being raised by his grandmother when he was discovered and taken into the home of Alvin and Lucy Heaton until he was old enough to attend the Indian school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania (Martineau 1992, Brooks 1944). Tony became very homesick and discouraged at school, but his foster mother convinced him to stay and graduate. After graduation, he returned and was advised to go live and marry among his own people. His daughter, Eunice, talked about how his education affected him, "And my mother said, oh, the only reason why he don't believe in [the Indian ways] is because he thinks he's got education, just because he went to school. That's how come he don't believe in those things. He believes the white man's ways. But in his later years, he believed in it… He was about, I'd say he was about 49 years old by the time he started going to the Indian ways. He was a translator for the Paiute Indians, because people didn't understand English, didn't know how to talk English. He had to translate for them, what they had to do, what was said to them, and they couldn't answer them and things like that. So he had to tell them what that man was saying to them, and letters that was coming in, he translated so everybody could understand what those letters said" (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 13, 2004).

The severe drought of the late 1890s triggered a range catastrophe on the Arizona Strip. Nearly half of all livestock died, and many Mormon families left. During this same period, the Mormon Church was encouraging colonization in northern Mexico, so several families from the Strip headed south to the border (Cox and Russell 1973).

1.5 Interactions in the First Half of the 20th Century

The Mormon presence on the Arizona Strip was well established by the 1900s, and the negative effects of settlers, cattlemen, and miners created new hardships for Paiute people who depended on that environment for food, water, shelter, and clothing. Still, in areas Southern Paiutes continued to live on the Strip and utilize resources of the region. Some retreated to canyons and others settled around Mormon communities to continue farming, working in the mines, and trading. As described above, in 1891 Shivwits Paiutes moved near the Santa Clara River to join the Paiutes already living there. They would garden in Little Valley and along Santa Clara Wash in the summer and return to the Colorado River during the winter.

U.S. federal government activity in the region escalated during this period. On November 1, 1903, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior established a reservation for the Shivwits Band on the land where the Shebits Day School had been located; its location northwest of the Arizona Strip affected the interaction between Shivwits Paiutes and the land and resources of their precontact territory. The Shivwits Reservation was formally established by Executive Order on April 21, 1916 (Wilson 1916) and enlarged by Congress on May 28, 1937. Only 60 to 80 of the 26,880 acres set aside for the reservation were along the creek and suitable for farming, and these were expected to support 100 to 150 people (Laura Work, Census of Shebit Indians, 30 June 1900, USNA, microfilm M595, Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940, roll 543; Laura Work, Census of Shivwits Indians 30 June 1905, USNA, microfilm M595, Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940, roll 543; John F. Wasmund to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 11 August 1911, BIA-CCF; Uintah-

Ouray Agency, Non-Taxable Lands under Jurisdiction, as of June 30, 1933, and Subsequent Acquisitions to 1939, BIA-CCF, n.p., cited in Knack 2001:154,356).

The U.S. Forest Service was established in 1905, and at that time timber cutting at Parashant was placed under jurisdiction of the new agency. Beginning in 1906, in response to letters from a Utah congressmen and Indian agent that described the difficult circumstances facing the Paiutes due to the loss of water and access to hunting on the Kaibab Plateau (Knack 1993), the Federal government began appropriating money to the Kaibab Paiutes (34 Stat. 325). Public lands were withdrawn for the Kaibab Paiutes by an October 16, 1907 order of the Department of the Interior. The Kaibab Paiute Reservation was made permanent by an Executive Order of June 11, 1913 (Wilson 1913).

Mabel Drye, who was a young woman when the reservation was established, shared her story: "I remember when Kaibab was made into a Reservation. There was a lady and a man and the lady wasn't married. She was the boss. A man was helping her and was hauling everything, material, flour, and even yarn and needles to make stockings with. It was by the house in Moccasin where they stored all that stuff. There was a whole stack of flour, and stockings, and she was giving us material to make dresses with. Then they gave material to the men to make pants with. They gave us some stuff and our wagon got filled. We loaded all the stuff in our wagon. Also, they gave us bacon, great big thick ones. There wasn't any meat on it. The Indians said it wasn't pig meat, it must be elephant meat – it was too big. The people with more children received more food… At that time up on the mountain [Kaibab Plateau] there was no white man and the Indians used to go hunt deer there. They went up on horses… Later on after it had become a reservation then they closed the mountains [the government didn't let the Paiutes hunt there anymore]" (Jake, James, and Bunte nd:14, brackets in original).

"Later a government man gathered them [the Paiutes] in town to talk to them. The Mormons were there listening. He had gathered to talk to them. He was asking them if they would like to move to an area around Glendale [Utah] or Johnson [Utah], or Kanab [Utah]. The Indian people said that they didn't like Glendale – it was just a big wash and at Johnson, nothing grew good. 'And how about Kanab,' he asked. We said 'No.' I don't know where we would've been placed. There was one woman who talked and that was Wari. She said that they were going to send us to San Juan. The government man said that if we didn't like any of these areas, they were going to send us to San Juan. And then a lot of the Mormons got together and talked among themselves and then told the man, 'How could they be moved? They are okay where they are.' Then Wari said that she wasn't going to move. She was going to stay near her graveyard. Her father, Captain Frank was buried there. The government man got real mad because he wanted to send them to San Juan but the Mormons were the ones that prevented him from doing that" (Jake, James, and Bunte nd:14-15, brackets in original. The footnote reads, "Captain Frank is Chuarumpi-ak mentioned in Powell's accounts (Fowler and Fowler 1971)").

The Kaibab Reservation was comprised of 120,031 acres and occupied a 12 by 18 mile rectangle in Arizona lying approximately 30 miles north of the Grand Canyon and adjacent to the Utah border. It initially included both Pipe Spring and Moccasin Spring, though only about 20 acres were considered arable and expected to support 93 people (Laura Work, Census Roll of Kaibab Indians, 30 June 1910, USNA, microfilm M595, Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940, roll 43; Ralph

A. Ward to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 15 December 1910, BIA-CCF, 2; Uintah-Ouray Agency, Non-Taxable Lands, n.p., cited in Knack 2001:357). As noted by Martha Knack (1993:212), the history of relations between Euro-American and native American peoples is generally told as "one in which non-Indians gradually take over the various indigenous territories, while those native groups which are able to survive physically and socially offer such resistance as remains within their power. All too often the 'interesting' history is seen as ended once the land has been seized…" Individual Mormons resisted the proposal to establish the reservation, though there was no overt resistance from the Church. In 1908, the property that included Moccasin Spring was acquired by Leonard Heaton. Heaton built his home near the spring, and Paiutes continued to farm and camp nearby (Heaton 1973). He and settlers from the town of Fredonia became vocal in their protests of the reservation, and they gained support from some Mormon church leaders (Knack 1993). As a result, on July 17, 1917, the reservation was reduced in size with the removal of approximately 12 square miles for the community of Moccasin and additional acreage for the town of Fredonia (Wilson 1917). Heaton and other Mormon settlers continued to remove timber, use springs, and run their cattle on reservation lands; Mormon fences within the reservation boundaries were not removed until 1925 when ordered by a Federal lawsuit (Knack 1993). Throughout the period, Paiutes living at Kaibab continued to utilize resources of the central to eastern portion of the Strip and also of the mountains in southern Utah.

On the eastern end of the Strip, Paiutes continued to use Lee's Ferry to cross the Colorado River for trade and visiting. Joe Lee, a San Juan Paiute, and his family lived on the Arizona Strip near Lee's Ferry, having gone there in 1901 (GC Tape 9/27/93). There they planted fields. In addition, a San Juan Paiute family had a farm and field on the Paria Plateau, where they would plant watermelon, squash, and corn. They would obtain their water from a spring and help herd sheep for the sheep ranchers in the area. At the time they also had fields on the opposite side of the Colorado River. The Paiutes living at Lee's Ferry moved out when the bridge across the Colorado River was finished in 1928 (GC Tape 9/27/93). In the early 1900s a man known only as "Buffalo" Jones brought 25 to 30 buffalo to the House Rock Valley and established a herd that became a fixture there.

Paiutes from the Arizona Strip and southern Utah herded cattle for Mormon Church leaders. For example, prior to 1915, Pauites living around Tropic Valley herded cattle for an absentee Mormon bishop in exchange for food. Around 1915, the Paiutes from that area were driven out by non-Indians and moved to either Kaibab or Richfield, Utah. During the flu epidemic of 1918, several Paiutes contracted the flu when driving livestock to Flagstaff and then spread the disease to Paiutes living in House Rock Valley when they returned home (Dan Bulletts Interview, December 17, 1981).

Herding cattle remained a livelihood strategy for some Paiutes throughout much of the 20th century. Dan Bulletts described his role in the late 1920s driving herds with as many as 5,000 cattle from House Rock Valley, across the Paria Plateau, through Moccasin and Pipe Springs, and over to Cedar City, Utah. He reported that at times he earned higher pay than other cowboys on a drive in exchange for doing the roughest work such as breaking horses (Dan Bulletts Interview, December 17, 1981).

In 1909, Congress passed the Enlarged Homestead Act, which raised the amount of land deeded to each homesteader from 160 to 320 acres and required that one-eighth of the land be continuously cultivated for agricultural crops other than native grasses. As a result, the destruction of native grasses on the Arizona Strip continued.

The Mormon communities on the Strip were in flux. A disastrous flood in Littlefield in 1910 swept away most of the community, and the families living there left to join the other Mormons in communities they had established in northern Mexico. In 1912, due to the Mexican revolution, Mormon families were advised to leave the country, and all but one of their Mexican communities were abandoned. Many residents returned to the Arizona Strip; some lived first in refugee camps in Douglas, Arizona, moved to the Muddy Valley in 1916, and then returned to the Parashant area on the Arizona Strip (Cox and Russell 1973:32-33).

The Enlarged Homestead Act gave new impetus to settlers to move onto the Strip and that, combined with the return between 1912 and 1916 of the Mormons who had gone to Mexico, led to more changes on the Strip. Settlements were reoccupied, and new ones were established. All available springs were taken over to provide water for people and livestock. Subjected to the effects of the encroachment of newcomers, the settlers and cattlemen who had moved onto to Strip prior to this latest onslaught decried the injustice of the policies and their impacts. “Will Rust and the Lauritzens homesteaded at Short Creek back about 1912, and they stayed with the land until they got title to it. The Colvins and others moved in later and began homesteading up and down the valley between Cane Beds and Short Creek. But the big PUSH came after World War I, when people began to branch out all over the Strip on whatever land was open to homesteading. This meant that they would set up a tent near a watering place that someone might have developed, and which they thought they had a right to, and they would just say, “I’m homesteading this.” And there wasn’t a darn thing that could be done about it. This really made it bad for those who had been there for years—the old residents—and it was quite discouraging to try to stay in the livestock business under those conditions. Fighting the homesteaders or going to court abut the matter was equally useless” (Cox 1982:22-23).

In 1916, according to one observer, Parashant “was overrun with cattlemen, sawmill owners, and ranchers” (Cox and Russell 1973:34). Consequently, the Bundys moved to Mount Trumbull and an area just west of the mountain on the southern end of Hurricane Valley known as “Cactus Flat.” On Thanksgiving Day of 1916, several of the men staked out homesteads under the new Act. By 1917, the area had 31 residents, and before long, the community had been renamed Bundyville; its population would peak between 100 and 200 residents in the early 1930s. The Bundyville population grew very quickly, aided by the Mormons’ belief that they should produce many children. “The dry farmers’ possession of that ‘spiritual bread’ was manifested in other ways, too. They believed that their mission on earth was for the purpose of providing bodies for spirits desirous of entering this life. Abraham Bundy fathered nine children; His oldest child, Lillie Bundy Iverson, bore nine; his son, Roy, and wife, Doretta, were the parents of twelve sons and daughters, James and Chloe were blessed with fourteen; Ina had ten, Omer, ten, and Chester and wife, Genavieve, seventeen. His other three children had seven or eight each” (Cox and Russell 1973:88).

This new wave of settlement initiated another period of change on the Arizona Strip. Mormon settlers learned when and how to pick pinenuts (Cox and Russell 1973:138), competing for one of the few remaining sources of wild food still available to the Paiutes. Obtaining water was a constant challenge; not only the clear springs and associated lands were used for Mormon settlers and livestock, even the mineral springs, which were recognized by Southern Paiutes for their healing powers, were used to water animals. "(W)ater was hauled in barrels from far-distant ponds. Even almost inaccessible mineral springs were utilized – the young children of the settlers spending weeks, or even months, down in dangerous, rattlesnake-infested canyons, caring for the animals. And after numerous failures, reservoirs were made to hold water in the community, itself" (Cox and Russell 1973:6). Settlers did learn not to drink the mineral water themselves "The water from those spring was terrible and was called by a name I won't repeat in English. But the Indians called it 'Quichipa'. Don Seegmiller decided to have it analyzed to find out just What was in it… the powder would precipitate the epsom salts, which were in the water…" (Bud Seegmiller, quoted in Cox 1982:164, emphasis in original; the English translation is "shit water.")

Settlers relied on existing Strip operations to maintain a livelihood, "(h)auling freight for the Grand Gulch Mine, herding sheep, and cowboying for Preston Nutter, big cow baron of the Strip…" (Cox and Russell 1973:6).. The Paiutes, too, combined diverse livelihood strategies to survive. "(N)one of the reservations set aside for Paiute use could possibly support the resident populations by means of the BIA's favorite economy, sedentary agriculture. Even when mixed with open range cattle ranching, as practiced by their non-Indian neighbors, Paiutes could not have supported themselves on these inadequate land bases (assuming they had totally agreed with the BIA program, which they did not). Inadequate size of the land base was exacerbated by a problematic water supply. All the reserves were arid enough to require irrigation for crops. Every one of the Paiute reservations suffered water shortages severe enough to cast serious doubts on BIA farm plans" (Knack 2001:154-155). "When Paiutes did live on a reservation, to get employment they almost always had to leave for the farms, mines, and construction sites of their employers" (Knack 2001:174). Still, they had not abandoned the Strip. "One of the Bundy women recalled receiving visits from an Indian woman who would come to her tent asking for food for her sick son" (Cox and Russell 1973:42).

According to Reed Mathis, whose family began ranching at Parashaunt about 1900, "When my dad first went out on the Strip and got Snap Spring, he got this Old Simon Indian to wheel the dirt out of the shaft, which went a hundred or so feet back in the hill, and he said that was where he was born and raised. Different Indians out there owned different springs, and they respected each others' rights[1]… When I was a kid and would go to milk my cow, there'd be the driest, skinniest old horse you ever saw, there in the corral, with the most shriveled-up old saddle. Old Simon would bring his horse there and leave it for a day or a week. They must have had a terrible existence. The water coming out of that little seep then wouldn't have watered a half-dozen yellowjackets. And the Indians would eat anything – seeds, squawberries, pinenuts, any kind of animals and wild game. Other old-timers recall [Paiutes named] Waterman, Quio, Jennie, Moroni, Askit, and Chipmunk, as living in the area in the early days" (Cox and Russell 1973:10,

[1] The quote continues as follows: "Simon's wife was Tony Tillahash's daughter, Bessie, and she used to say, 'When you been out to Snap – that's where I was born?'" This is confused. Simon's daughter was Bessie Simon, and she married Tony Tillohash. Tony and Bessie's daughter is Eunice Surveyor.

brackets added for clarification). As Martha Knack has observed, Paiutes utilized all the resources of their territory, even those that Euroamericans found distasteful. Eunice Surveyor, Simon's granddaughter, recalled going into the area with her grandfather in a wagon (Interview, May 13, 2004). "We'd go clear over to see that mountain over there, that's where we'd go. Go way around. Yeah, it would take us three days. [When we got there we'd] just make our little camp. But we'd lay in the wagon, cause there's a lot of snakes out there. Rattlers. A lot of rattlesnakes. I don't know about now, if they still got 'em. They had giant ones. Giant rattlers!" As a result of decades of contact with non-Indians, by this time Paiutes were known within and outside their communities by non-Indian names.

Non-Indian children were taught to fear the Paiutes, and stories of Indian depredations were repeated and augmented. Clarence Bundy recalls a time in December 1928 when he was not quite eight years old and on a trip to move his family's cattle. "While down at the river we had played in the sand dunes, and Iven made a fire and told us about Old Quio, the bad Indian, and other bad men and really scared us" (Cox and Russell 1973:67). He also commented, however, that "my sisters had cooked rice for supper and it was so thick we kidded them about stomping it down with their feet. We had forgotten to bring spoons, so used some big oose leaves to stir with. That gave it a putrid taste!" (Cox and Russell 1973:67). Bundy's use of "oose," the Southern Paiute name for yucca (uusiv), indicates that Paiute knowledge was still shared with and among the settlers.

The U.S. government forced the Paiutes into a cash economy and into activities that would ostensibly generate the money to pay for services deemed necessary by government agents. "By 1919 $9,000 worth of road construction alone had been billed to the Kaibab Paiutes. Without any form of tribal income, it was impossible to pay off these debts. Nevertheless, water systems, drainage, road construction, bridge building, schools, and even the houses of agents and teachers became billable in an ever escalating series of 'reimbursable' expenses… At Kaibab, Indians entered into loans to purchase cattle…"(Knack 2001:176, 177). The Shivwits Paiutes still maintained small farms along the Santa Clara River. "We had a big garden up there. And it was only three people that had them farms up that way, my Dad and that George [McPhee] and Janey Rogers. They were the only ones who had their farms there" (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 13, 2004).

Southern Paiutes therefore devised a mixed economy of off-reservation wage labor, some hunting and occasional gathering of wild plants raising a few crops or gardens on small reservation plots, perhaps owning a steer or two, but always moving from one resource to another across both reservation and nonreservation lands" (Knack 2001:176, 177-178).

In the 1920s, Pipe Springs, Arizona was established as a national monument. The Heaton family had unsuccessfully attempted to purchase Pipe Springs as unappropriated land. When that failed, Leonard Heaton convinced Stephen Mather of the National Park Service to purchase the land for a national monument in 1923. With the creation of the monument, the legal ownership of 40 acres at Pipe Springs was transferred to the Federal government, The actual impact of the transfer of ownership was negligible, other than to provide an opportunity to receive Federal funding. The fort and spring were operated first as a private commercial enterprise and then as a

Mormon monument (Knack 1993). Cattle remained a prominent feature of the monument, and Leonard Heaton was named the monument superintendent.

In 1928, Congress appropriated money for the improvement and maintenance of a road leading across the Kaibab Reservation to the Grand Canyon. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1929 noted the inadequacy of the reservation and the Paiutes' need for tillable land; he reported that only 28 acres on the reservation were capable of being irrigated under the supply of water available at the time. The Commission recommended the U.S. government acquire the Heaton ranch at Moccasin to provide sufficient resources to support local Indian people (USDI 1929), but that was never done. In 1933, water flow from the springs was allocated in equal thirds to the Kaibab Paiutes, the cattlemen's association, and the Park Service "During the early years of the monument, the custodian/superintendent was allowed to continue with various commercial agricultural pursuits (gardening/cattle grazing) without regard for the integrity of the monument… The commercial pursuits of the superintendent ceased sometime around 1933 when water rights for the spring were divided into thirds. However, cattle continued to graze the monument, and gardening did not cease. These activities were continued into the present as part of a living-history component of the interpretive program at the monument" (Fox 1993:52). Competition over resources between the Kaibab Paiutes and the Mormons continued through much of the 20th century (see Knack 1993, 2001).

Leonard Heaton was also an avid collector of Indian artifacts, and he removed numerous cultural materials from the monument, reservation, and surrounding areas on the Arizona Strip. He ran a service station and store at Pipe Spring that became a draw for both Paiute and Mormon children. Frank Harris, a Paiute who lived just above Pipe Spring, was well-known for his willingness to buy treats for the reservation children. "… (E)very mail day which was three times a week he (Frank Harris) would walk down to the store where the mail was left by the carrier, and we would vusut [sic] for a while and if children were arould [sic], and they were there, as they sooned [sic] learned Frank would byt [sic] them gum or candy or crackers and tell them stories. Some I think he made up just to entertain them. He seemed to like the children around" (Heaton 1967:3).

Southern Paiutes worked on projects such as Hoover Dam as well as in agricultural, mining, and lumber enterprises. Construction of Hoover Dam began on April 20, 1931 and was completed May 29, 1935. "My grandfather, his name was Indian Simon. He lived out there most of the time, and he was one of the loggers when they were building the Hoover Dam. Helped them untangle the logs when they were pushing them down, floating them down into the Hoover Dam. And he walked back and forth from there. When he'd finish, he'd walk back, clear back. There was a time he finally got caught in the eddies, the real swift eddies, and he grabbed one of those poles, the log, and he said it took him clear down to the bottom and pushed him back up. So the river talked to him and told him, it says, no more of this! You have to stop this, it said. There won't be any more second chance. So he quit it. That's what the river said to him. It told him to quit that" (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 13, 2004).

Among its other impacts, the creation of Lake Mead behind Hoover Dam flooded the community of St. Thomas, where one of only a few salt caves in the region was located. Not only Paiutes were aware of and used the cave. "There was a cowboy out on the Arizona Strip who went by the

name of ‘Salty Sam,’ though his correct name was Lawrence Klein. He told me that he used to haul rock salt from St. Thomas, Nevada, to the pump station in Hidden Canyon owned by Preston Nutter. He would use two wagons and four to six mules” (Rolland S. Esplin, courtesy Lola D. Esplin, quoted in Cox 1982:101).

As the economy of the region grew, Southern Paiutes expanded their occupational options as well. Lester Asket’s father, Rex, got a job with the railroad and worked from Ivanpah, Utah to California. In the 1930s, when Dan Bulletts organized a group of Southern Paiutes to dig ditches, Rex joined him. The family also made money picking radishes and onions in the Moapa Valley (Lester Asket Interview, May 17, 2004).

Eunice Surveyor described how many Shivwits children dropped out of school during this period to accompany their families to work. “There was only five of us [in] the first grade. They all dropped out. They went down to Moapa with their families to work with vegetables. Radish, carrots, onions. That’s where Lester went. He was a little boy, and he used to drive his dad’s car, take them down there. They’d go down, then they’d come home. They used to have a store down at the state line, too. Water store. The big trucks come up that way, and they would get off, and Lester and his father would have a water store. The rest of the kids, they’d come back after they get through working down there, and then they’d go somewhere else and work. The family would go work someplace. It was hard because there hardly wasn’t any work. Those people, they’d go up the Ridge Hill, Enterprise. But every spring, that time they’d have these mud ditches. They’d clean them out. From the reservation down, clear down to Ivins reservoir,” (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 13, 2004).

Activity on the Strip was dictated by water. During 1930, a year of good rain and plenty of feed, the population of sheep boomed. Competition between sheep and cattle was mediated by the designation of areas for each. Still, sheep would be allowed to scatter across the plateaus. According to Darlo Esplin, the grandson of Dave Esplin, who established the Esplin Cattle Company, “Our job was to watch the cattle and make sure they got watered, though we didn’t haul water for them as much as we just moved them around from one spring or water hole to another, wherever there was water. We also had to make sure that there weren’t too many trying to water at one place, or that the cattle didn’t go dry, not knowing where the water was. Lots of times we would have to bring the stock into Short Creek, where there was permanent water, or to Yellowstone Spring” (quoted in Cox 1982:40).

The Taylor Grazing Act was passed by Congress in 1934 and created the Grazing Service to administer and conserve approximately 80 million acres of federally held grazing land. This law and Executive Orders of November 1934 and February 1935 withdrew all public lands from private entry and ended homesteading; they had significant implications for both cattlemen and the sheep industry on the Strip. According to Lee Esplin, “Judge LeRoy Cox kind of “spearheaded” things, and got up a petition to ask the Department of the Interior to bring the Taylor Grazing Act into our district and make it a Grazing District. After the petition was signed, we held public meetings at Fredonia, Arizona, and at Prescott, and this was finally done. But when we started trying to divide up the land, there were many, many arguments and disputes over ‘rights’” (Lee Esplin History, 1965, quoted in Cox 1982:25-26). The Arizona Strip District of the U.S. Grazing Service was established on July 9, 1935; soon the lands of the Strip were

adjudicated and individual allotments were fenced. Several Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps were established in the 1930s to build fences, corrals, and stockades to assist cattlemen; between 1935 and 1937, camps were established at Pipe Spring and St. George and an Indian CCC project was conducted on the Kaibab Paiute Reservation.

As described earlier, the Kaibab Paiutes began to purchase cattle; a tribal herd was acquired during the 1930s. Warren Mayo, a Kaibab Paiute born on the reservation in 1921 and one of the early Indian cowboys, talked of growing up with cattle and horses. "Been a cowboy since I was a little boy. My dad and grandpa had horses and rode all the time. My grandpa taught me how to ride… I rode around the houses and fields at Kaibab. It was easy for me when I was a boy. I could do anything when I was a boy. Ride bare-back and everything." Warren became the first Southern Paiute to become a member of the Rodeo Cowboys Association, a professional association that began in 1936. "Oh, I rode in a lot of amateur rodeos first. I got up to 500-600 points. Then I had to go to Fort Worth to get my interview and things like that. And they recommended me as a bare-back rider. I was in it then" (Warren Mayo Interview, May 12, 2004).

Eunice Surveyor's father, Tony Tillohash, was also a cattleman and, in 1936, he had made enough money to be able to afford a pickup truck. "He had cattle. He used to have them in Moccasin. That's where he was registered. And they drove the cattle over, and they had them here (Ivins). That time, the pickup didn't cost very much. Only $900 I think…That pickup… it was just a little bigger than the Red Cliff pickup. And he'd make rails on it. Then he'd take his horses over, then he finally brought the cattle over" (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 13, 2004).

The Navajos, too, had cattle, as well as sheep; in the summer of 1937, cattleman Slim Waring purchased 450 head of cattle from the Navajos for his homestead at Horse Valley Flat (Lola Dawn Esplin in Cox 1982:184).

Fencing proved beneficial, especially to the cattlemen. "It is interesting to see the difference in the quality of their cattle since the ranchers have got their own particular area fenced and have spent money developing water and improving the livestock" (Owen Johnson, quoted in Cox 1982:58). The cattle industry on the Strip was largely unsustainable without subsidies. Owen Johnson, a cattleman, commented, "After the Forest Service had started charging a fee for running cattle up around the Kaibab, the Bar Z Cattle Company, or the Grand Canyon Cattle Company, as it was also called had to get out. So they took the cattle and swum them across down at Lee's Ferry and took them over into Arizona and on to New Mexico" (Cox 1982:137). Those few who remained purchased the permits of small holders to put together large tracts of land for their operations. For example, Slim Waring "continued to purchase small permits of cattlemen and sheepmen until he put Parashaunt Ranch together with 151 sections of BLM land, eight private sections, and four school sections" (Mary Waring, quoted in Cox 1982:185). In addition, Slim and others such as Reed Mathis acquired land from the railroad; Slim obtained Green Spring on Parashant Mountain that way (Cox and Russell 1973:193). In 1969, Slim sold the Green Ranch to the Park Service but maintained the grazing rights.

The sheep industry on the Arizona Strip suffered tremendously in the heavy snows of the winter of 1936-1937, and it never recovered. Herds were decimated and the total population dropped

from an estimated one million head of sheep in the Pakoon area in 1930; one by one the sheepmen went bankrupt and left the business until there were only a handful of sheep on the Strip by the end of WWII. As the sheepmen went out of business and homesteaders began selling out, new land on the Arizona Strip was opened up for the remaining cattle operations. With the consolidation of cattle outfits, the number of jobs went down. Several Paiutes remained on the Strip as ranch hands.

In 1940, the Shivwits Tribe organized under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (48 Stat. 984), and approved a constitution and bylaws. A corporate charter was issued and ratified August 30, 1941. Tribal members continued their complex livelihood strategies, combining farming, hunting, and working as cattlemen in Utah, Arizona, and Nevada, with other forms of wage labor.

A 1942 flood, reminiscent of the floods of the late 1800s, swept through Two Mile Wash on the Kaibab Reservation, causing severe downcutting. "It was a big cloudburst come up through there, and all the animals, and pigs and watermelons, they was way down the flat. I was just coming back from Paria that time, I was working on the movies over there. Me and Sterling Johnson up here to Moccasin. We had a bunch of horses coming through here, and it hit us way down below Lamb's Point. We set under a wash down there, under a ledge, but here comes a big old flood, just run us out of there. We had to get up on top and get wet" (Warren Mayo Interview, May 12, 2004).

Across the United States, families and communities were impacted by World War II and its aftermath. No where was this more sustained than in the region downwind of the Nevada Test Site. There Cold War testing of atomic weapons began on January 27, 1951 with the first above ground nuclear test and continued through 1963. Like their neighbors in St. George and across the Arizona Strip, the Shivwits and Kaibab Paiutes watched the tests from the hoods of their cars and doorways and were exposed to fallout. "In '53, we'd watch the atomic bomb go off early in the morning. The news, we had radios that run by batteries and they'd say it was going to have the bomb test early in the morning. We'd go out and look at it. You could see that big smoke, big smoke, even from our house. Then after that, the ground would rattle and move. You could here it coming. Sounded like big thunder coming. And then the ground would shake. And that would be it. Next time, it'd do it again" (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 13, 2004). "[XXX]'s the only one I know that died from that leukemia. With the others, we didn't know what they were dying of. Lots, many people died. A whole bunch, in two years time. All them people got wiped out" (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 16, 2004).

In the early 1950s, several Shivwits Paiutes maintained their farms on the reservation, and many worked as seasonal laborers, "I picked strawberries, peaches, apricots, cherries, pears. Dan used to take us over—Dan Bullets. He'd drive a station wagon and haul us over there to pick strawberries, cherries. Harvest time over to Hurricane….We'd go down. Earlier we'd be bunching carrots, onions, rabbit ears. That was in April. Then in May we'd go over to Hurricane and pick strawberries. That's when they get ripe. You'd put them in a basket. That cost a dollar when you filled that up. …we did it when we were going to school, then we worked there, then after that, we'd work over to Washington. Dry onions. We'd work to dry onions. Lotta work

there. But hot. Dry onions, peaches, pears, apricots, cherries" (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 16, 2004).

Then, on September 1, 1954, Congress passed legislation terminating the Federal trust relationship between the U.S. government and the Shivwits, Kanosh, Koosharem, and Indian Peaks Bands of the Paiute Indian Tribe (PL 83-762; 68 Stat. 1099). The decision contradicted all studies and recommendations made earlier concerning the tribes' readiness for termination (U.S. House of Representatives 1983; BIA 1982). At the time of termination, the Shivwits Tribe held 26,680 acres of land. Termination did not abrogate water rights of the tribes and their members; the surface and subsurface rights were transferred in trust to the Walker Bank and Trust Co. of Salt Lake City. The trustee attempted to dispose of the surface rights to all but 840 acres (BIA 1982:40).

Prior to termination, the people living and farming on the Shivwits reservation got access to water through a series of irrigation canals operated by a water master from St. George. One of the immediate consequences of termination was that the water was stopped. At first, the people tried to continue farming on their own. As their farms dried up, the Paiutes who had been working for themselves had to go to work for others. Eunice Surveyor was a young woman when the transition took place: "Some people went up there and they made a hay field, an alfalfa field. But that didn't work out because there was no water. They got to where there was no water and they couldn't get nothing there. And then we had orchards right behind that old church building. Peaches, apricots, pears. That all went up because there was no water. My mother used to go down there and pick them peaches and can them for all them. … Worked with this white lady making jam. [The Relief Society ladies would] start going up there and show them how to make jam, and put their meat away. They'd teach them how to make mattresses and quilts. They used to do everything like that, these society ladies. But the men hardly went out. [After we were terminated], people just didn't want to do anything anymore. Then the relief society ladies wouldn't go up there anymore because there was nobody to teach anymore. When they had the church going, we'd have cookouts in the summertime. Wienie roast, marshmallows. We always used to be active—lot of activity in the Mormon Church. But that all played out. Pretty soon they just don't come anymore" (Eunice Surveyor Interview, May 13, 2004, brackets added for clarification). The Shivwits Band was restored to Federal trust status on April 3, 1980, as part of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (PITU), a composite tribe composed of Shivwits, Kanosh, Koosharem, Indian Peaks, and Cedar City Paiutes. Nevertheless, termination and the loss of the Tribe's farms had lasting impacts.

Out on the Strip, the impacts of the 100-year period that began in the 1860s continue to shape the environment and lies of the people who live there. Anson P. Winsor III wrote in 1959, "How the country has changed in 40 years. My grandparents and my parents as well as others could turn their milk cows out, get them in with full stomachs and udders at night. Grass everywhere. Now our range cow sometimes come in in the fall so poor they have to be hauled in" (Winsor 1959:41). The 1960s and 1970s brought significant changes on the Kaibab Paiute Reservation as the Tribe put in place the structures needed to develop a modern government, forge partnerships with federal agencies such as the National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management, and diversity its economy.

Chapter Two: Southern Paiute Place Names On and Near the Arizona Strip

Introduction

This chapter explores the history and use of Southern Paiute place names on the Arizona Strip. An important objective of this chapter is to share these Southern Paiute names, and the chapter is organized to present both the names and the processes by which places have acquired Paiute names within both historical and contemporary contexts. The Arizona Strip has been and remains a significant place for Southern Paiute people, and place names are only one component of the dynamic physical and spiritual relationship that exists between the people and their homeland, of which the Strip is an important part (see Chapter One and Volume II). This chapter does not represent an exhaustive documentation of all of the Paiute names for places on the Arizona Strip, but it is the result of a comprehensive effort to find and report Paiute names for the region, drawing upon both archival resources and interviews with Paiute elders and language specialists.

2.1 Explanation of Orthography

There is no single universally-recognized orthography of the Southern Paiute language, so textual representation of Southern Paiute names is not straightforward. Scholars have used various linguistic notations, and in some cases they have created their own orthographies. For example, Edward Sapir created one of the first comprehensive Southern Paiute orthographies, but he used symbols that are difficult for the contemporary layman to interpret.

An additional challenge for finding and interpreting names and naming schemes is that there is, in some instances, more than one Paiute name for a single place. These names have been offered by historians and other scholars, as well as Southern Paiutes themselves. Stoffle et al. (1994) explain how they handled this concern and arrived at their particular orthography for the sacred Colorado River:

> John Wesley Powell collected numerous Southern Paiute place names during his work among the Paiute people between 1868 and 1880. One of the names obtained was *Pa-ga-we-wi-gum*, the Paiute name for Canyon of the Colorado (Fowler and Fowler 1971:141). Another Paiute individual with the initials TT (Edward Sapir's consultant Tony Tillohash [Fowler and Fowler 1971: 134]) rendered the name as *paya' ?uwi'pi*, meaning "big stream river canyon" (Fowler and Fowler 1971:141). Fowler and Fowler also note that Edward Sapir (1931:704) listed the name *paya'oipi*, which Sapir translated as "Great water canyon" (Fowler and Fowler 1971:141). Frankin and Bunte (1993b:6) have rendered the term as *paya?uwipi*. In the early 1900s, William Palmer noted that of all water sources, "first in importance to the Pahute was, perhaps, the Colorado. He called it *Pa-ha-weap*. Interpreted it means 'water down deep in the earth, or "along way down to water'" (Palmer 1928:21). In the 1930's, Isabel Kelly recorded that the Colorado River was called by Kaiparowits people *paxa* (spelled *Paga* in Kelly 1964:147), or "big water." This same term and its meaning were given by Kaibab Paiute elders during a focus group meeting on July 9, 1992. The distinctive term *paxa*

> or *paya* refers specifically to the Colorado River as the "most powerful river" (project field notes) among Southern Paiutes. The term, therefore, does not refer to any watercourse in general. A Shivwits elder referred to the Colorado River as *pianukwintu*, meaning "big water." Franklin and Bunte (1993b:6) note that Tony Tillohash gave this term as the name for the Sevier River, citing Sapir (1930:590; 1910:5). During the second raft trip in November of 1992, a Kaibab Paiute representative referred to the Colorado River as *Piapaxa*, meaning "Big River." From these various sources, we have added the term *'uipi*, the Paiute word for canyon, and transliterated the Paiute place name as *Piapaxa 'uipi*, or "Big River Canyon.

This report is guided by the orthography compiled by David Shaul and Onur Senarslan for the Southern Paiute Consortium, "A Working Southern Paiute Dictionary." In compiling this orthography, Shaul and Senarslan worked with written texts by Powell, Kelly, Sapir, Bunte and Franklin, and others, and with Southern Paiute elders, in order to write hundreds of Paiute words using only letters common in the English alphabet. Alternate historical orthographies are provided alongside the Shaul and Senarlsan orthography in the descriptions of place names in this chapter. Detailed discussions of some of these place names are provided as well.

Many of the places named in this report were shared during interviews with tribal elders. All names were reviewed by a team of elders who met on the Kaibab Paiute Reservation over a three-day period in October 2004. Nonetheless, because this study involved only select people from a few Southern Paiute reservations, it is not to be assumed that these are the only names recognized today. This study provides a starting point for much more extensive work on Southern Paiute place names.

2.2 What Do You Name?

For decades, anthropologists have been interested in systems of naming, not only as linguistic markers of identity, but as indicators of cognitive systems of organization and communication (Fowler and Leland 1967). One of the areas of human life that can be more fully comprehended by accessing these systems is how people think about their surroundings. In other words, language provides researchers with a tool for illuminating the relationships people establish with their environment.

The way people describe the world around them is indicative of the way they view that world and their place within it. "Place" is a concept that matters to Paiute people. In the Paiute language, the names for plants often include descriptions of where those plants grow. Plant names include phrases such as kaib paiya mai xu (on a hill), piŋwa abai (below the mountain), and wisíbohompi (along the water) (Mabel Drye Interview, conducted by Catherine Fowler in 1967. Transcript in the possession of Brenda Drye). Location is an important idea, whether as a reference for plants or people. Place names present the most obvious linguistic marker of the relationship between the Paiute people and their environment. As Keith Basso explains, "(P)lace name terminologies provide access to cultural principles with which members or human communities organize and interpret their physical surroundings" (1984:79). That is, what gets named and how it is named can provide insight into how people understand their world.

In his analysis, Basso is interested in describing the native categories of cognition among the Western Apache. For this report, it is not the partitioning and division of linguistic categories that is important, but the principle of naming itself. Places that are named are places that are significant to the lives of the people who live there. Naming indicates a relationship between people and place, a historical and contemporary connection. Southern Paiutes have a fundamental relationship with the Arizona Strip as a place, as both a spiritual and physical homeland. In part, this is apparent in the naming of those features and areas that were and continue to be significant to Paiute people.

However, unlike Europeans and Euroamericans who claimed and then named practically every inch of conquered territory, the Southern Paiutes did not bestow names on every rock or ledge. Paiute names indicated significance, not possession. They often referred to physical feature at a place and were thus helpful in wayfinding and communication. For example, the Southern Paiute name for the Kaibab Plateau, is Kaivavitse, which translates as “mountain lying down.” Less frequently, Paiute names were also bestowed on places to mark something important that happened at that place, a practice very similar to that by which Paiutes, even as adults, might acquire several names (see Bunte and Franklin 1987). For example, Nankoweap Canyon is the anglicized version of Nengkuwipi, which translates as “burial canyon” or “canyon where people were killed.” A consequence of these naming practices is that there are many places on the Arizona Strip that may never have had Paiute names, though Paiutes were present throughout the region.

Further, there has been significant disruption in the residence patterns of Southern Paiute people since the contact period (see Chapter One). First Spanish and then Euroamericans, and especially Mormon settlers, invaded Southern Paiute territory, displaced the Paiutes from their traditional homesites (usually near springs, and hunting and gathering areas, see below) and eventually resettled the surviving Southern Paiutes on small reservations. These historical events have had a dramatic effect on the survival of Paiute names for places on the Arizona Strip. Contemporary knowledge of Paiute names for places reflects recent residence—it is clearly clustered near existing reservations. In general, except for some well-known places, the places most proximate to Paiute people today are the ones which most frequently retain their Paiute names. For example, Figure 2.1 shows the names for places visible from the house of a Kaibab elder. While the elder did not remember the Paiute names for even some major features farther away, he could recall the name of the smaller features visible from his home because these were the features salient in his everyday life.

Because of the exclusion of Southern Paiute people from many parts of the Arizona Strip, the interactions between the Pauites and members of other groups, and the language shift that has occurred from Southern Paiute to English, Paiute terminology for some places has faded and been replaced by English names, even among most Paiute people. Place names serve a purpose, and when the Paiute names were no longer functional, they were often forgotten or replaced by English ones, or by anglicized versions of Paiute names (see below). Contributing to the loss of Paiute names, much historical research was focused on or near reservations, so there are few historical sources in which Paiute place names on other parts of the Arizona Strip are recorded. Consequently, the prevalence of Paiute names near reservations is a matter of recent historical occupation; it is not an indicator that other sites were of lesser importance.

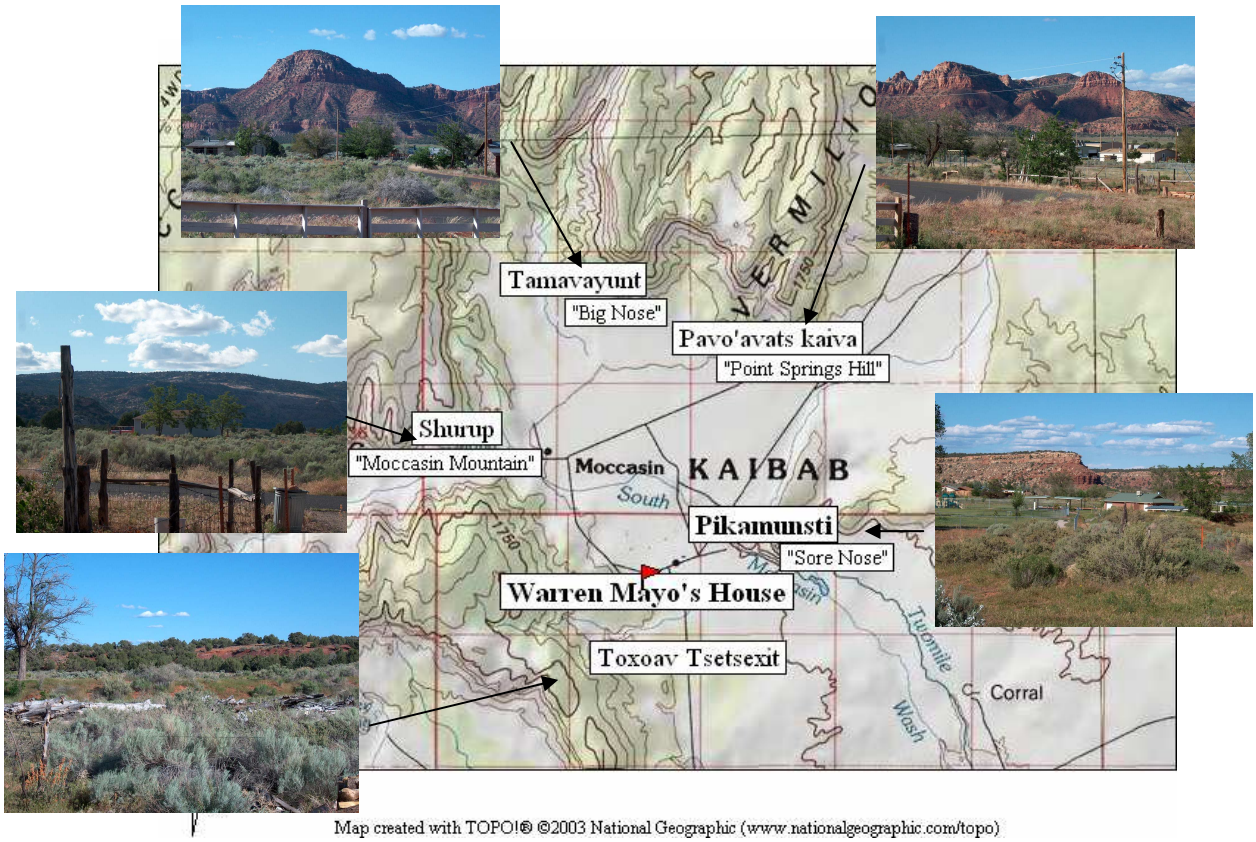

Figure 2.1. Places seen from the home of a Kaibab Paiute elder.

To summarize, there are several reasons why some places do not have Paiute names. Perhaps they were never explicitly named, or perhaps those names have been lost in the history of Paiute displacement that has shaped the contemporary Arizona Strip. Therefore, while names can reflect the relationship of people to place, naming should not be taken as the sole, or even primary, indicator of importance to Paiute people.

2.3 Patterns in Paiute Place Names on the Arizona Strip

Systems of naming reflect cognitive understandings of place, but they also reflect the historical realities of exploration and settlement. The patterns of naming on the Arizona Strip are no exception to this.

2.3.1 The People/Place Connection

One pattern apparent in examining the Paiute place names on the Arizona Strip is the direct relationship between the names of people and names of places. People are named after places and places are named after people, demonstrating the bond connecting them. This relationship is apparent in Figure 2.2, which displays an overview of Paiute place names for the Arizona Strip. For example, the Kaivavitse, the Kaibab Plateau, is home to the Kaibab people. Similarly, Sivintevipe is home to the Shivwits people. Clearly, there are obvious and enduring linguistic links between people and their homelands.

The relationship between names of people and places is apparent in more specific examples as well. The Parashant monument shares a name with a large Paiute family from Utah. A Paiute elder explained that the town of Mokiac on the Arizona Strip was where the Paiute family called the Mokaacs used to live.

When John Wesley Powell explored the area of the Arizona Strip and the Grand Canyon, he occasionally honored his Paiute guides by naming places after them. Places with existing Paiute names were thus given different Paiute names, the names of Powell's informants. These names have become the "English" standard. Thus, Kwagunt Creek, a tributary of the Colorado River in the Grand Canyon, carries the name of a Uinkarets Paiute man called Kwagunt. Similarly, Tapeats Creek (initially called Sev-tun-kat by the Paiutes) carries the name of one of Powell's Shivwits guides, Ta-peats.

This relationship also holds for many places whose names are now in English. As described in Chapter One, many Southern Paiute children were taken into Mormon homes and given the last name of the family with whom they lived. As a result, Paiutes and non-Indians may share the same last names, some of which have been used to names places such as Bushhead Flats an area near Fredonia, Arizona.

Whether Southern Paiute people were named because of where they lived or the places were named because of the people who lived there is unclear. In general, the Paiute system of naming recognizes the differences between people and places linguistically, while preserving their similarities. Most writers who have recorded Southern Paiute words have used the –tsi

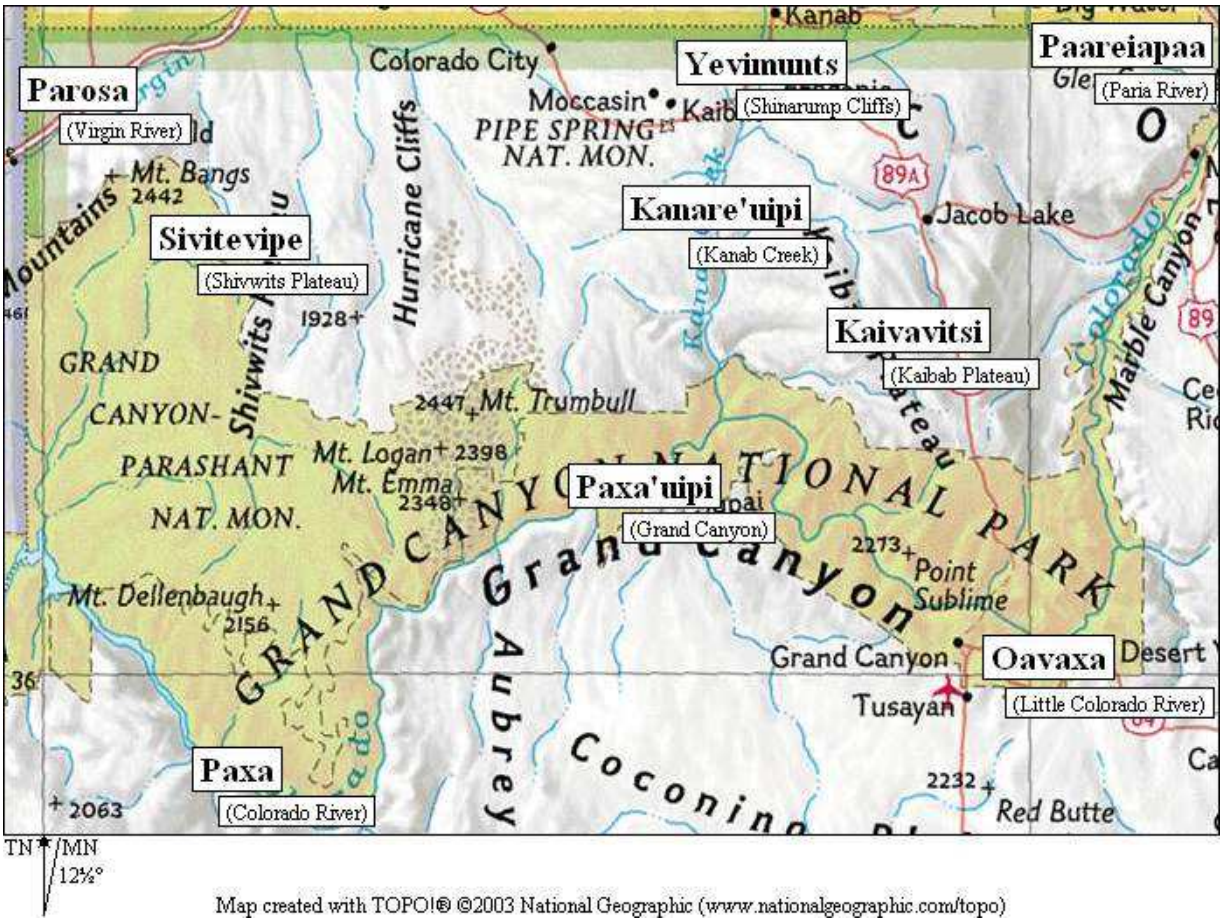

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Figure 2.2. Overview of place names for the Arizona Strip

orthography to symbolize the Paiute word ending that refers to people.[2] For example, Toai'uipi is the Paiute word for the San Juan River, meaning "rocky canyon," while Toai'uipitsi is the Paiute word for the San Juan Paiute people.

2.3.2 The Footprint of History

In addition to reflecting personal contact between people and places, the names on the Arizona Strip reveal the complex history of the area. As explained in the previous chapter, the Paiute world was disrupted first by Spanish explorers and missionaries, next by trappers, and then by Mormon colonists. The influence of each of the inhabitants of the Arizona Strip is evident in the names that places on the Strip have held over time. For example, the Old Spanish Trail became a regular overland route in the 1830s. By 1844, when Captain John C. Fremont followed the well-defined trail, Spanish names had replaced Paiute and even English names at many important places along the way. The naming history of Colorado River is an indicator of these historical trends. The Paiute name for this river integral to their cosmology was *Paxa'a*, translated as "big water" (Kelly 1964) or "most powerful river" (Stoffle et al 1994). When Spanish explorers came to the area, one of the names they gave the river was *Rio Colorado*, or "red-colored river."[3] With Mormon settlement, the anglicized version of this name become the one by which we know the "Colorado River" today. Paiutes called the large river near the town of St. George *Parús*, or "white-colored river," referencing its foamy waters. This river was called *El Rio de Sulfúreo* (Sulphur Creek) by Escalante in 1776, renamed the Adams River by Jedediah Smith, and then renamed the Rio Virgen sometime between 1827 and 1844 when Fremont passed through (Alley 1982:128 footnote 14). Today, the river is called the Virgin River.

The sustained contact of Anglo settlers, predominantly Mormons, beginning in the early 1860s, brought another level of complexity to the naming system of the Arizona Strip. In appropriating the areas of the Strip for their own, the settlers employed several naming methods. In many places they simply changed the Paiute name and used an English one. This can be seen in Figure 2.3 in the names of places like Pipe Spring (*Metenswa* in Paiute) or the Little Colorado River (*Oaxaxa* in Paiute).

In other places, English-speaking settlers changed Paiute names to similar-sounding English words. Examples of this assonance naming system can be seen in places like House Rock Valley, named after the Paiute word *Aesak*, meaning "basket-shaped," a reference to the shape of the valley surrounded by cliffs. Another example of this is the town of Hurricane, a name stemming from the Paiute *Arengkani (or Ari-can), aree-* meaning "hot," and *kanive* meaning "cave" or "nest." Located within the town of Hurricane are the Pah Tempe Hot Springs (see Stoffle, Austin, Halmo, and Phillips 1997).

In some cases, the Paiute names actually remained to some degree intact. Many names on the Arizona Strip are simply anglicized versions of the Paiute name. These include places like Toroweap (Mukunta'uipi in Paiute), Nankoweap (*Nanangko'uipi* in Paiute), and Kanab Creek (*Kanare'uipi* in Paiute).

[2] The exception is LaVan Martineau, who was not a linguist. He used –seng as the signifier for "people."
[3] Spanish explorers called the Colorado River other names as well, including El Rio Grande de Cosninas, El Rio de Tizón and El Rio de San Rafael (from Escalante's Journals, edited by Ted Warner, 1995)

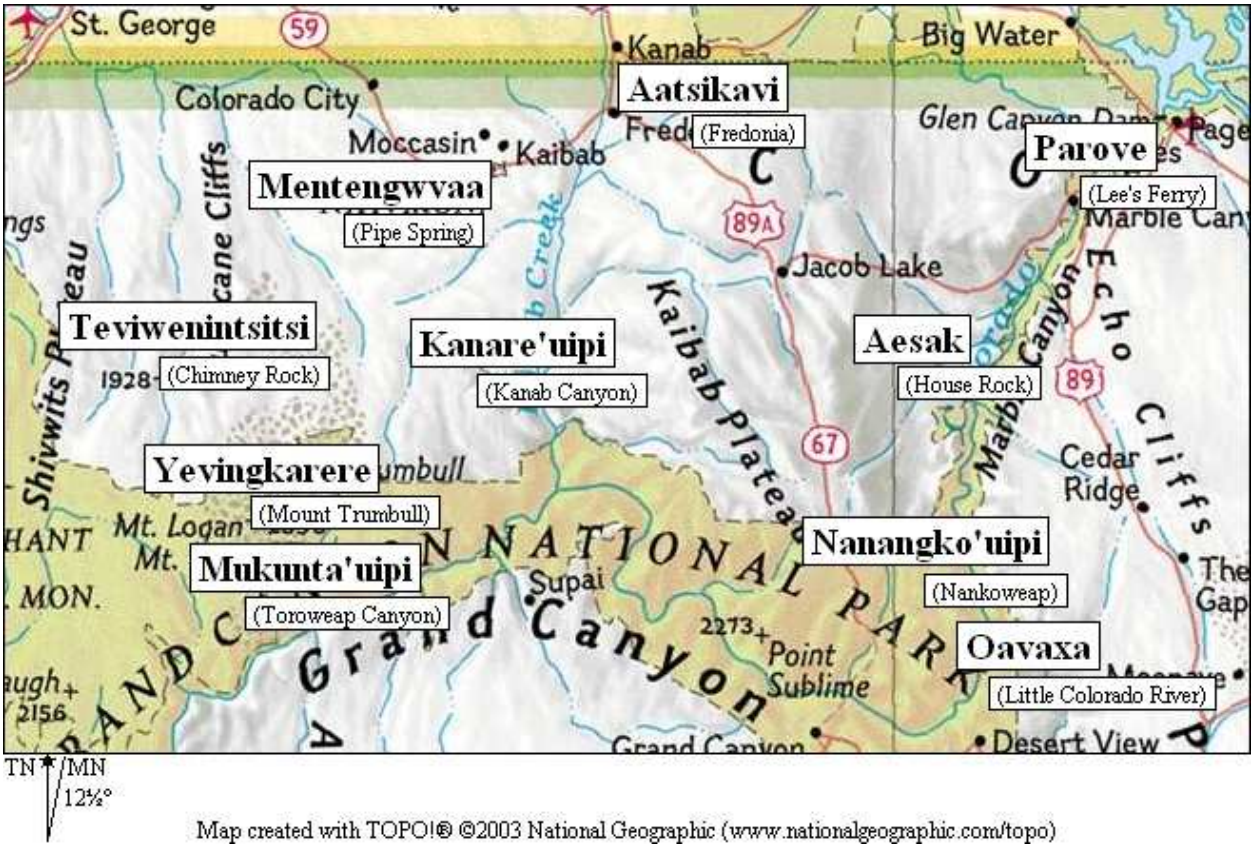

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Figure 2.3 Places where a Southern Paiute name has been replaced by an English one

Finally, there is at least one notable example of an English name being changed back to Paiute. This is the recent re-naming of Squaw Canyon Catchment by BLM staff. Built within the Grand Wash Cliffs Wilderness Area in 1983 to facilitate the re-introduction of bighorn sheep, the catchment was given the name "Squaw Canyon Catchment" to reflect its proximity to Squaw Canyon. When concern about the appropriateness of this name was raised in 2003, the catchment name was changed to "Nax Catchment." "Naxa" is the Paiute word for bighorn sheep, and the new name reflects the presence of the 80-120 bighorn sheep in the area resulting from the successful reintroduction. While the BLM only has authority to change the name of their catchment project and not the canyon itself, representatives from the BLM are pursuing the possibility of changing the canyon name with the USGS. The evolution of place names on the Arizona Strip continues to this day.

2.3.3 Frequently Used Phrases

There are several consistent patterns in Paiute naming, and several popular descriptive terms are repeated throughout these names. For example, "uipi" is the Paiute word for "canyon," and it is frequently used in the names for washes, riverbeds, and, of course, canyons. The Grand Canyon is "paxa uipi" and Kanab Creek is "Kanare'uipi." "Pikavo" means pocket, as in Enepi Pikavo (Witch Water Pocket) and Terav Pikavo (Pocket-of-the-Plain). The word for water is "paa," and this is also a frequently used component of Paiute names.

2.3.4 Water Sources

In recording Paiute place names, researchers found that an abundance of these names were available for water sources, particularly springs. Isabel Kelly's 1964 work alone lists around seventy named springs. As mentioned above, the majority of remembered names are in the vicinity of existing reservations. For that reason, we have focused on springs on or near the Kaibab Paiute reservation (see Figure 2.4).

Naming often indicates the significance of the named object, so it is not surprising that so many of the water sources on the Arizona strip have Paiute names. In traditional Paiute belief, water is both the giver of life and the taker of life. Water creates all things and brings life to all things. It is to be trusted, but it is also to be feared and respected. Water in the form of streams, tributaries, and springs connects all places on the Arizona Strip to each other, and to the sacred Colorado River and the Grand Canyon. Water has a central place in Paiute spiritual understanding.

In addition to its spiritual significance, water played a pivotal role in the material life of the Southern Paiutes. Prior to Euroamerican encroachment, the Paiutes were organized in groups whose movements and territories were regulated by the few water sources in the area (Kelly 1934). Households set up their summer camps near the permanent springs in the area, camping in clusters whose membership was regulated by kinship. Among the Kaibab Paiutes, families claimed ownership rights to individual springs, and returned to these regularly (Fowler 1982).

The springs and other permanent sources of water drew Euroamerican settlers into the Arizona Strip as well. Within a few years of contact with Southern Paiutes, Mormons had appropriated the major water sources in the area and controlled their access. The loss of the water sources and

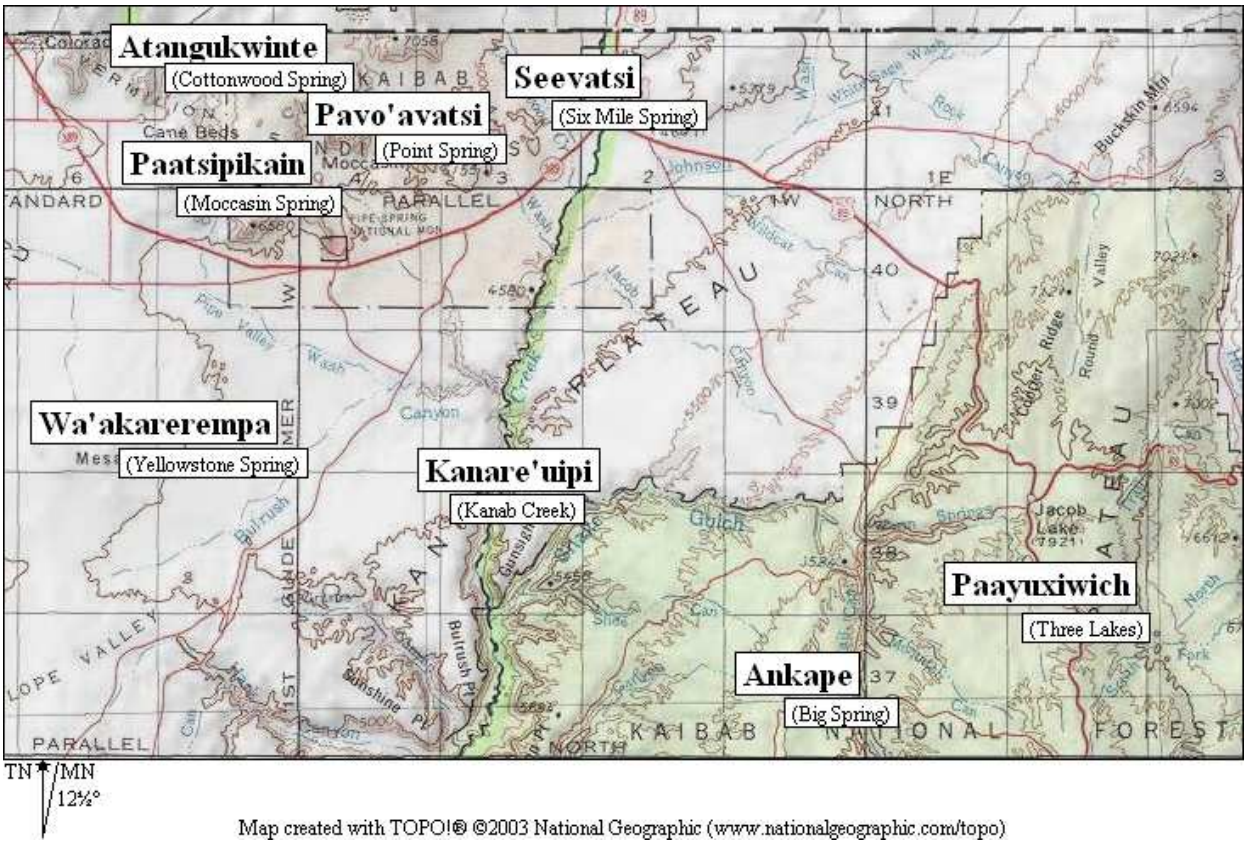

Figure 2.4. Water sources on and near the Kaibab Paiute Reservation

the disruption of the remaining forage and agricultural resources by Euroamerican livestock led to an 82 percent population decline among the Kaibab Paiute within ten years of Mormon settlement, due predominately to starvation (Stoffle and Evans 1976).

While today Southern Paiutes, like other Arizona Strip residents, pump water from aquifers for culinary purposes, they recognize the connection between surface and groundwater. Springs and permanent water sources remain important places. Spiritually, they are significant because they are sources for water, the sacred giver of life. Practically, they are crucial watering points for livestock and provide irrigation water for crops and gardens. But control of these critical water resources remains a contentious point in the region. There is still a Mormon community living around one of the major springs within the Kaibab Paiute reservation. While the Shivwits Reservation has recently adjudicated its water rights claims, pressure from encroaching development continues to be controversial.

Figure 2.4 shows water sources on the Kanab Plateau. The Paiute words for these places often describe the physical characteristics of the springs, creeks, or their surroundings. For example, *Metengwvaa* (or "m tin"), the Paiute term for Pipe Springs, means "point running out into plain." This exactly describes the location of the spring overlooking the vast plain between the spring and the Grand Canyon. Kanab Creek is *Kanare'uipi* in Paiute, which means "willow canyon," a reference to the willows that grew along the creek's banks before upstream damming diminished the water flow. Moccasin Spring is described as "water emerging" or "water coming out," which translates as *Paatsipikain* in Paiute. The naming strategy for these places was descriptive, highlighting the special characteristics of these crucial water sources.

2.4 Southern Paiute Place Names on the Arizona Strip

While the above sections illustrate some of the patterns in Paiute place naming, the following section provides locations and descriptions for many of the Paiute place names uncovered through our research. The list is alphabetical,[4] and the places are plotted on nine maps, one overview map (Figure 2.5), a locator map (Figure 2.6) and seven separate maps detailing the various portions of the Arizona Strip (see Figures 2.7-2.13). The numbers on the maps correspond to the places listed below; beside each place name with a known geographic location is listed the reference to figure on which that place is found. David Shaul and Onur Senarslan's orthography was used to write the Paiute name, indicated by [SS] ("A Working Southern Paiute Dictionary"). Additional orthographies include Powell [Po] (names obtained by Powell, some of which were recorded in Fowler and Fowler 1971); Sapir [Sa] (Sapir 1992); Palmer [Pa] (Palmer 1928), Fowler and Fowler [FF] (Fowler and Fowler 1971);[5] Presnell [Pr] (Presnell 1936); Jake, James, and Bunte [JJB] (Jake, James, and Bunte nd); and Martineau [M] (Martineau 1992). In addition, where they are available, we have included the official name (recorded in the United States Geological Survey Place Names database) and a translation (given in quotation marks). Also included are stories related to the place; these have been taken from both archival sources and oral history interviews. All names were reviewed by a team of Paiute elders.

[4] An alphabetical list of names, organized according to English place name, is provided in Appendix 1.
[5] Note that Fowler and Fowler (1971) is a compilation of Powell's works. These are credited to Powell except in the cases where Fowler and Fowler add a name that they got directly from a Southern Paiute.

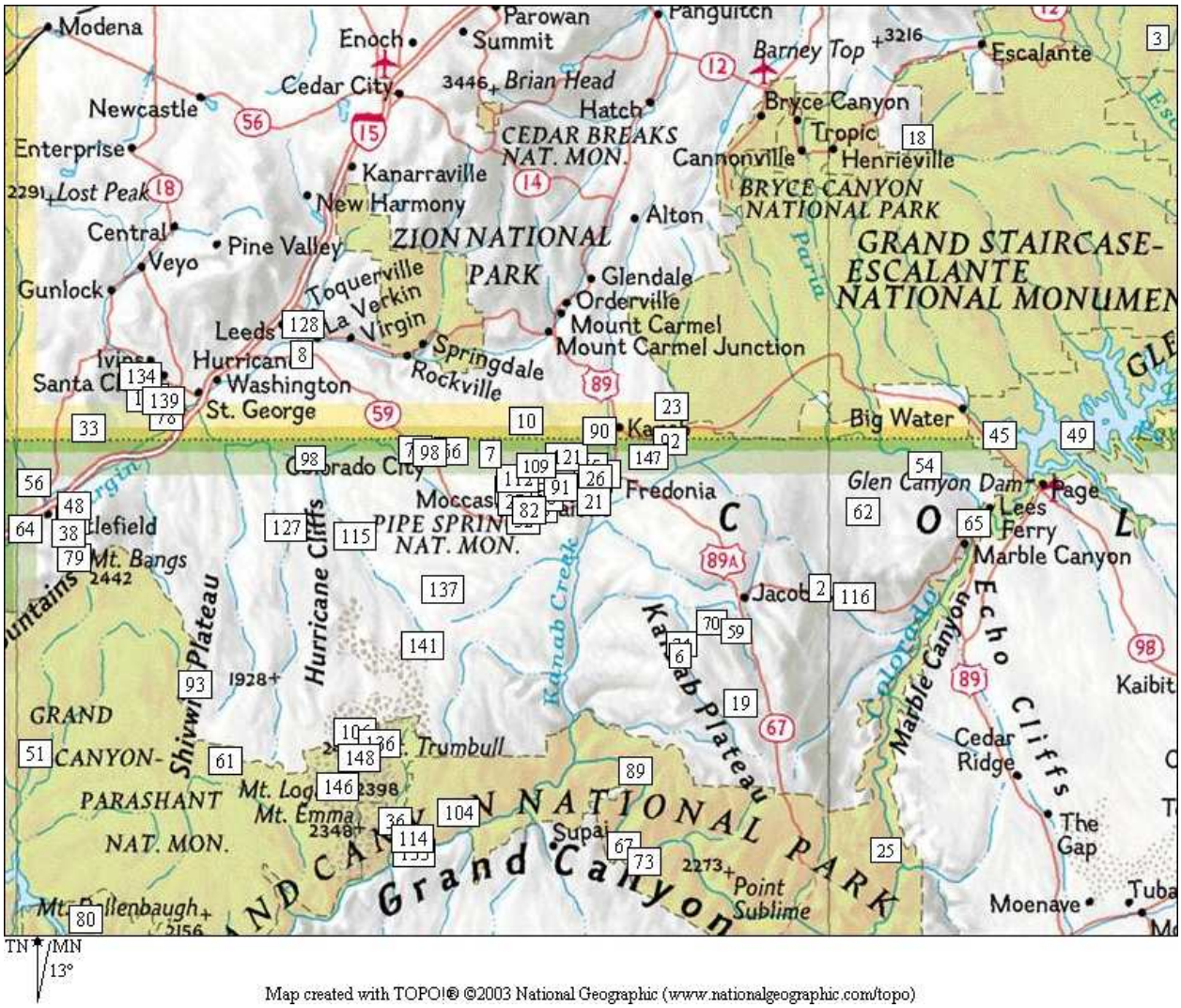

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Figure 2.5. Overview of Southern Paiute place names on the Arizona Strip

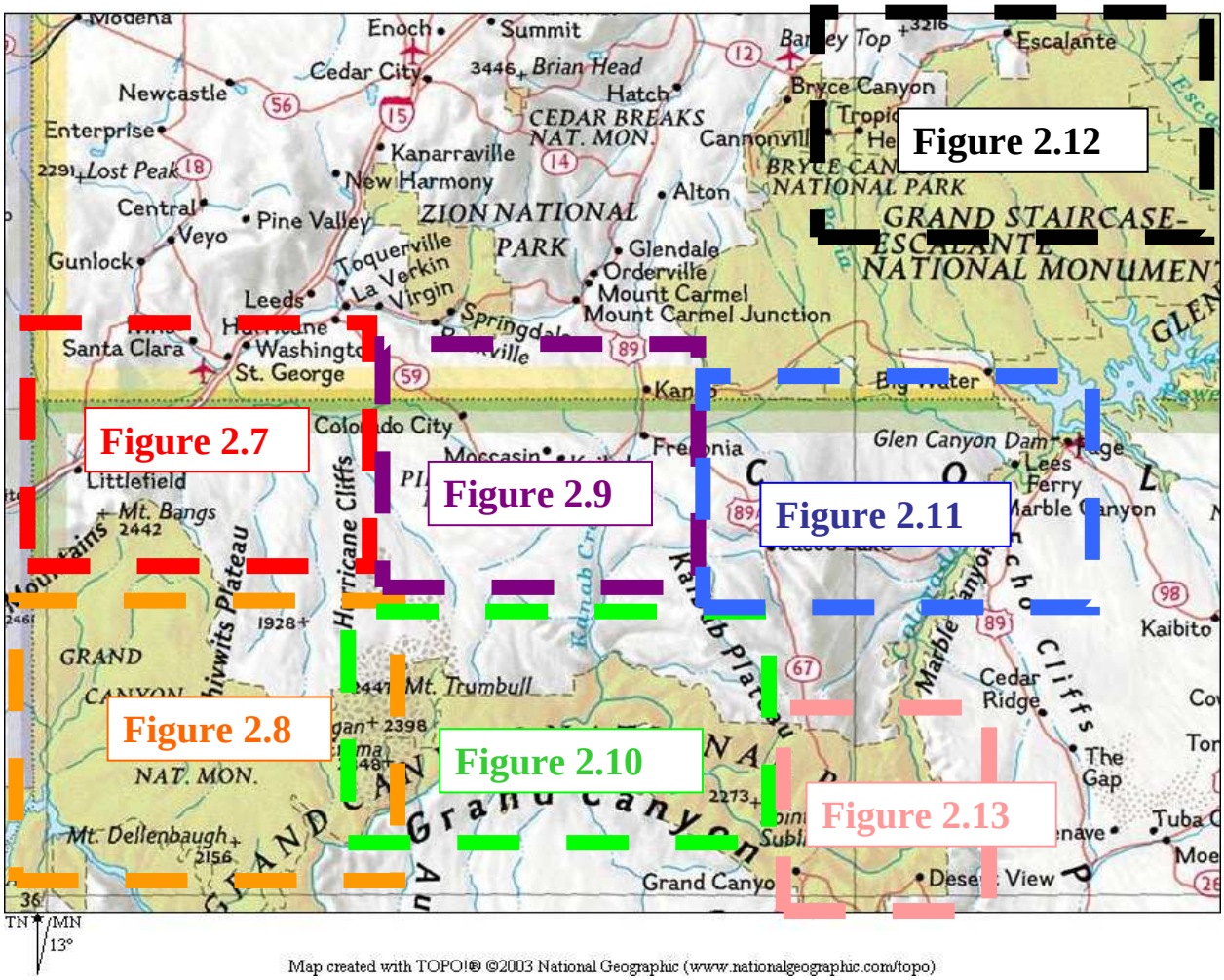

Figure 2.6. Boundaries of named locations

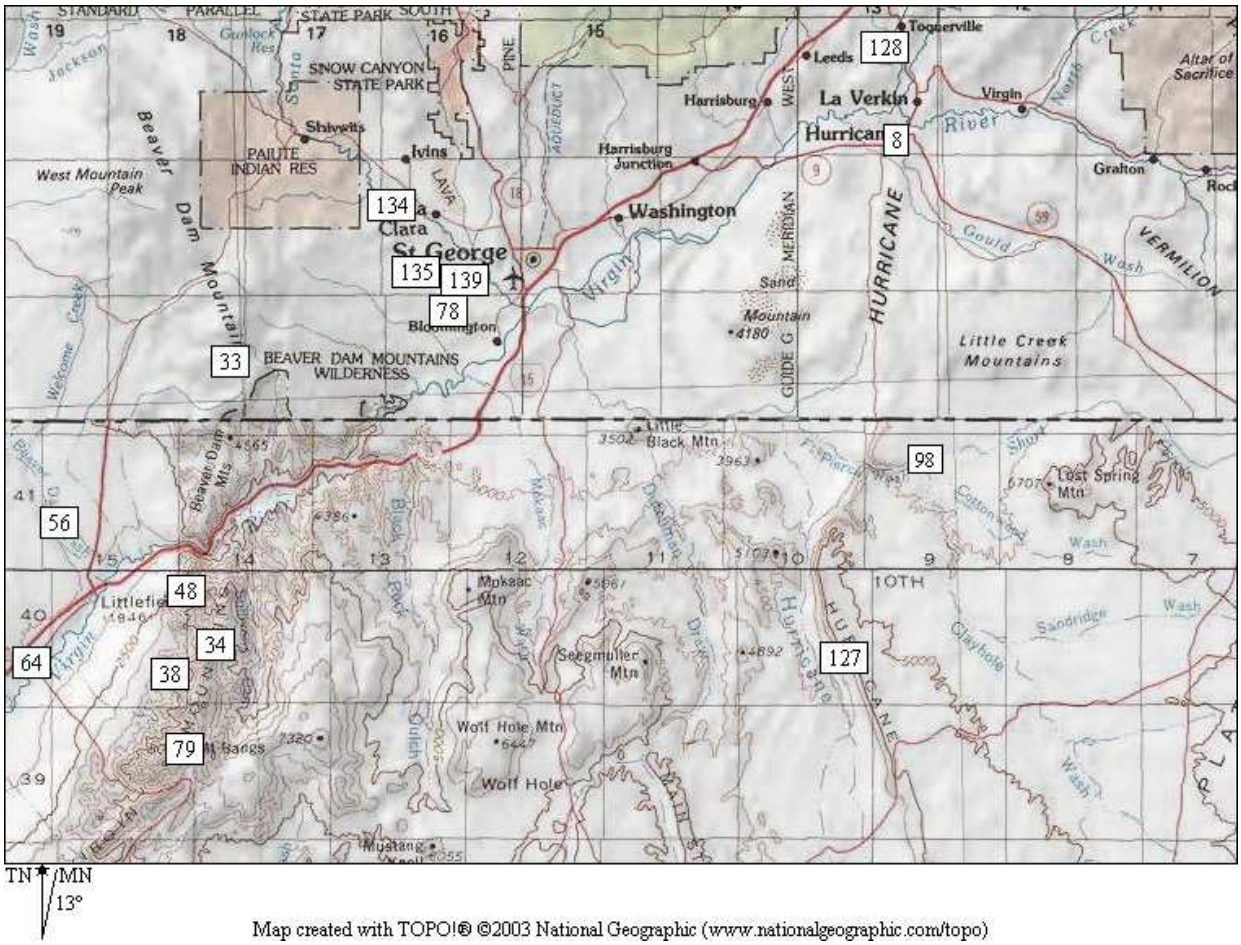

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Figure 2.7. Northwest portion of Arizona Strip

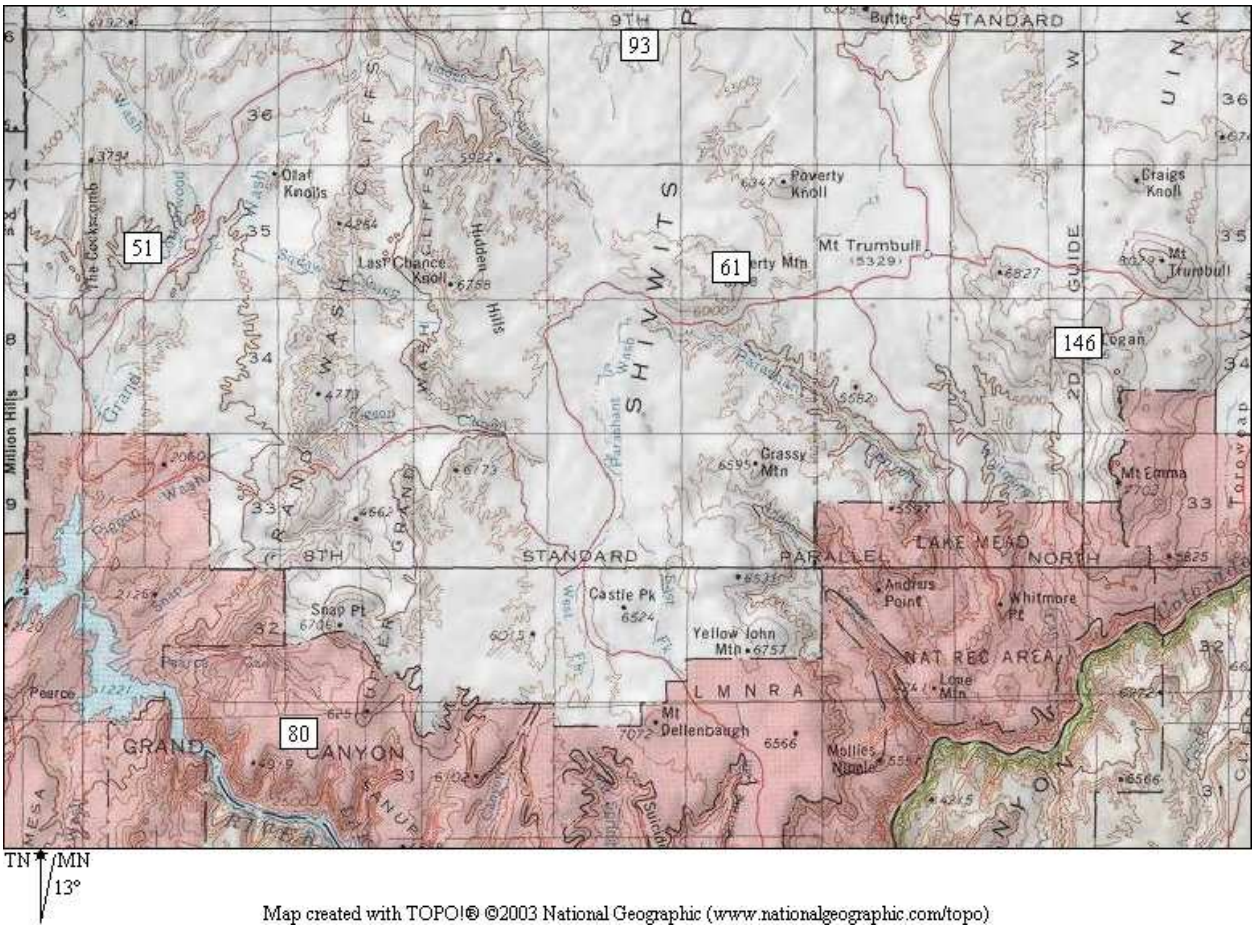

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Figure 2.8. Southwest portion of Arizona Strip

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Figure 2.9. North central portion of Arizona Strip

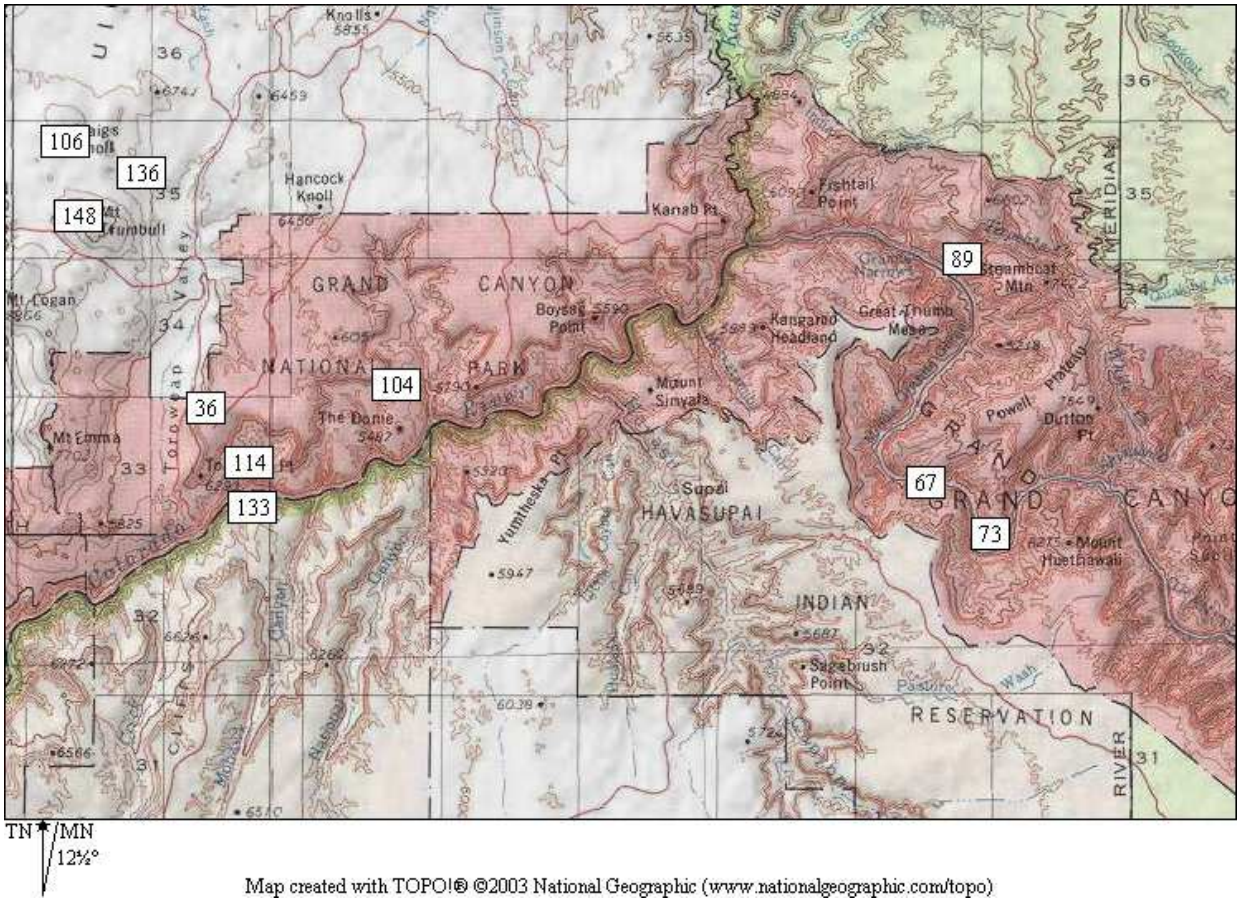

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Figure 2.10. South central portion of Arizona Strip

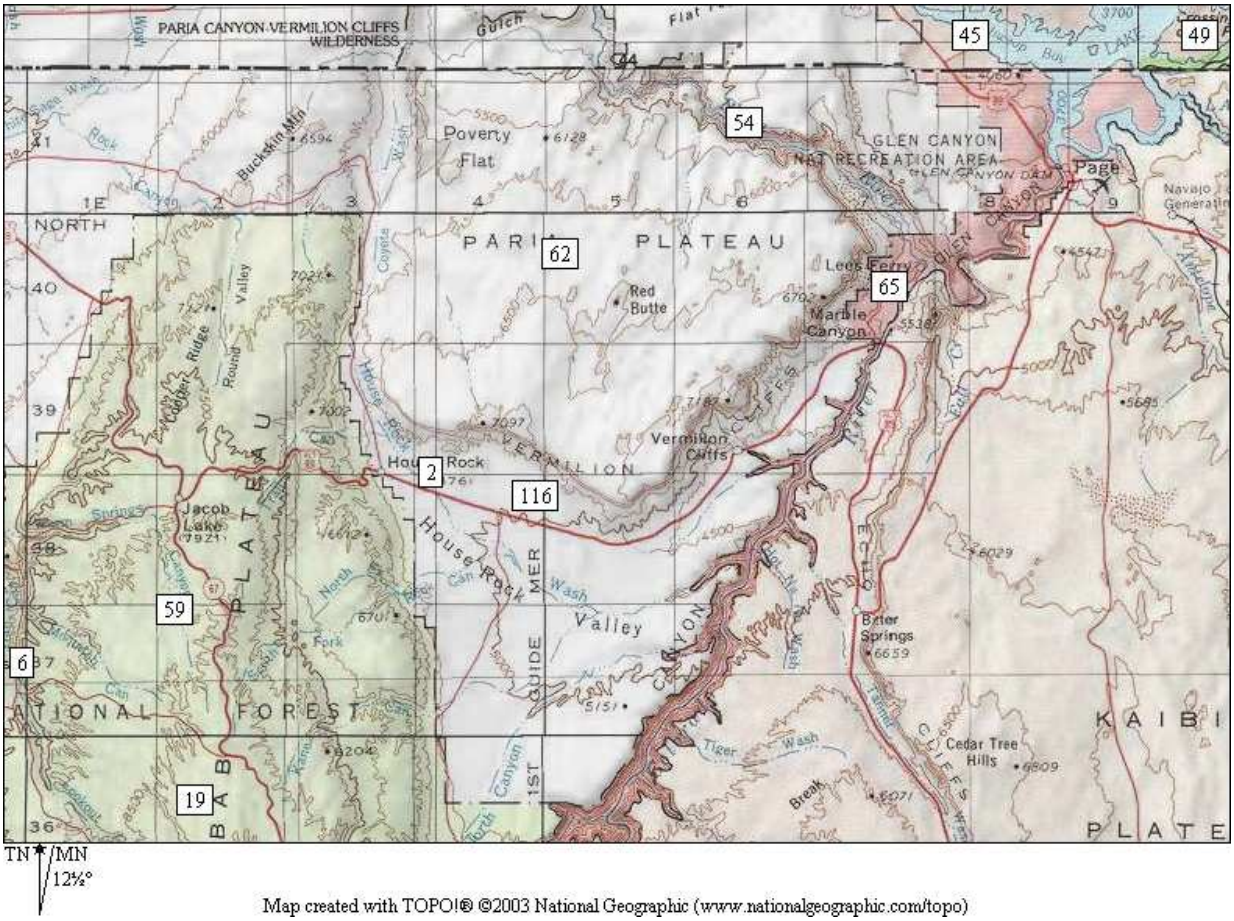

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Figure 2.11. Eastern portion of Arizona Strip

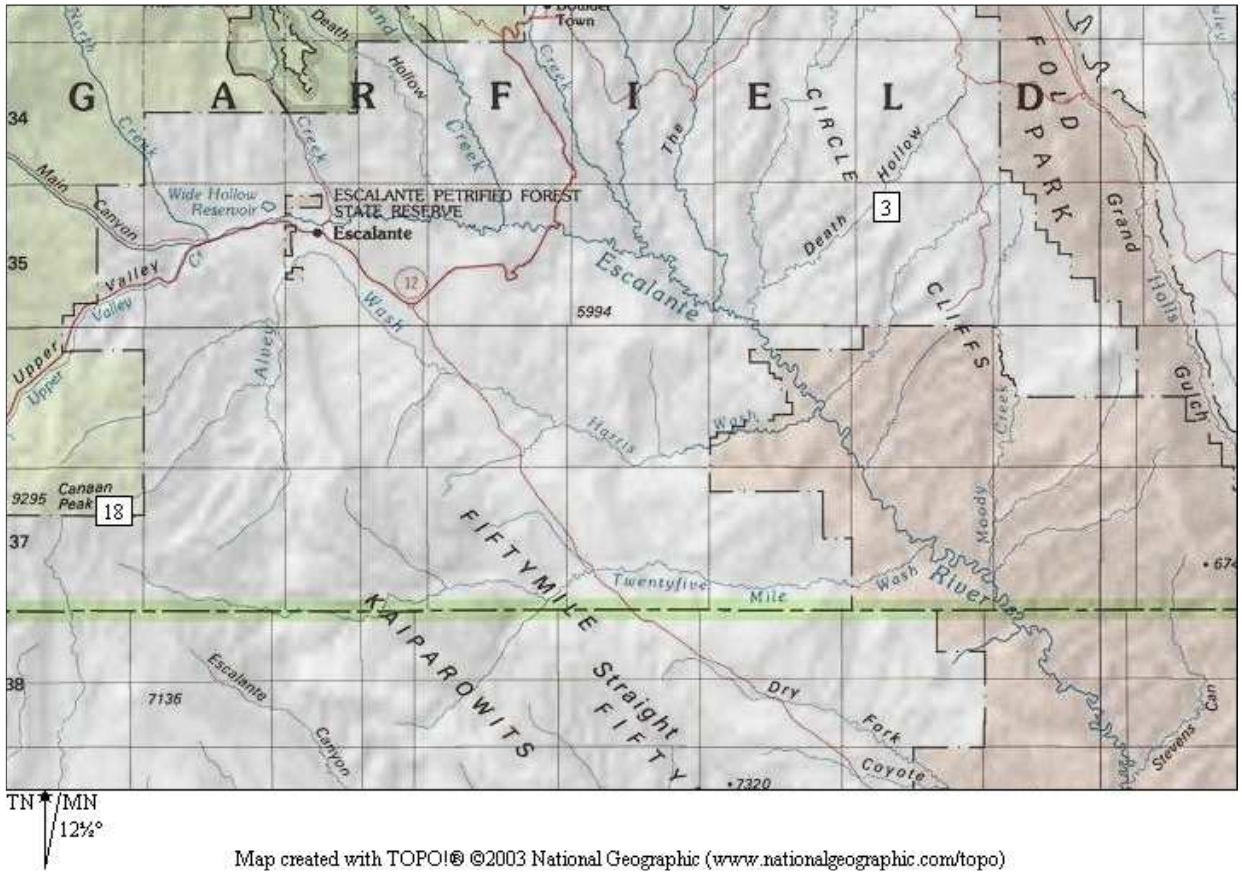

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Figure 2.12. Northeastern portion of Arizona Strip

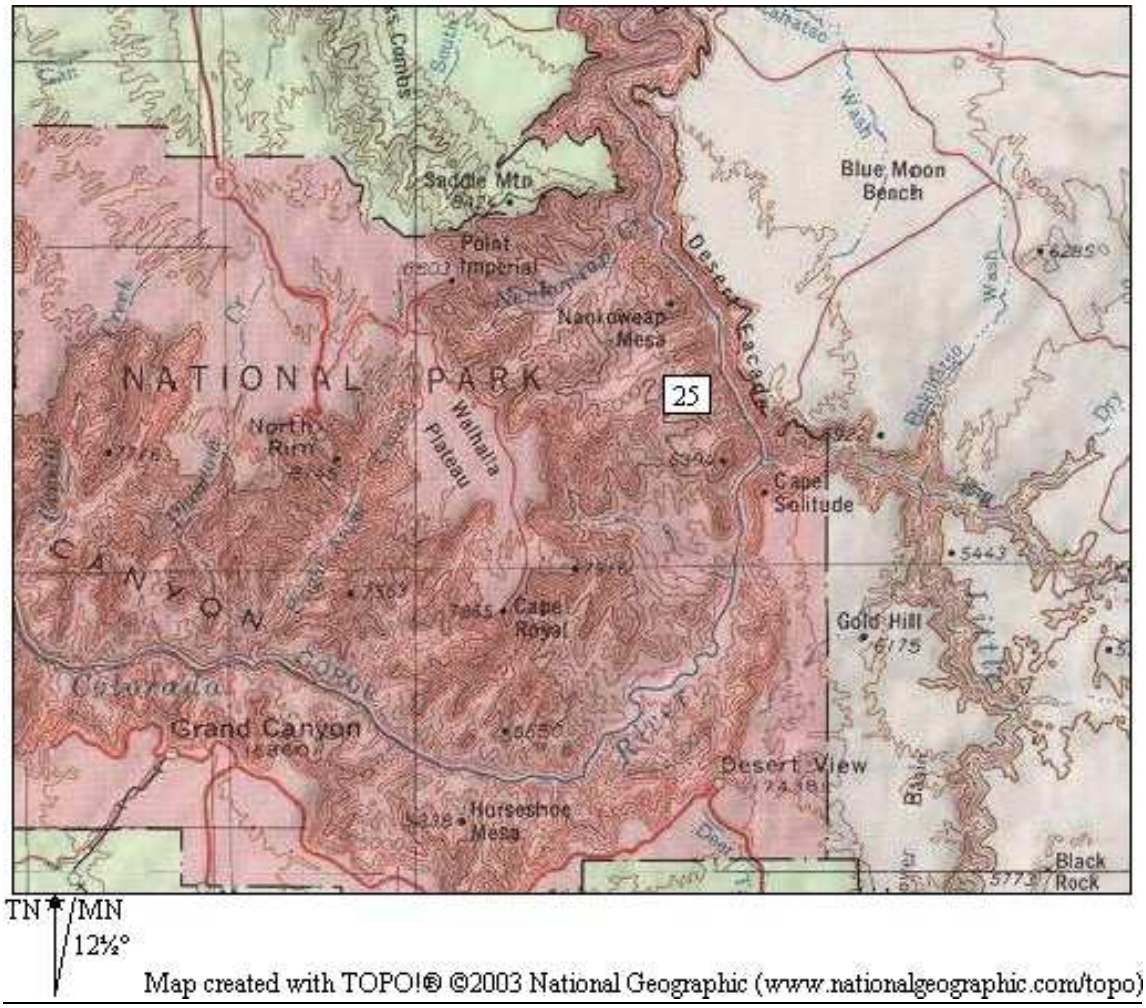

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Figure 2.13. Southeastern portion of Arizona Strip

Table 2.1. Southern Paiute Names, Locations, Meanings, and Descriptions

1) Aatsikavi — Fredonia

[SS]		

[Figure 2.9]

2) Aesak — House Rock

[SS]		"basket-like"

[Figure 2.11]
This name refers to the valley, surrounded on all sides by cliffs, like a basket.

3) Aivevich — Circle Cliffs

[SS]		
[K1964]	Aivavič	"sandstone plateau"; aive "sandstone"

[Figure 2.12]
Located at point where scarp of Aquarius Plateau swings northeast of Kaiparowits Plateau.

4) Angkakani — Cliffs between Short Creek and Kaibab

[SS]		"red house"
[Po1872]	Unka-kan-ig-uts Unka-kenig-its	

5) Angkapaa — Spring near Stewart's ranch

[SS]		"red water"
[Po]	Un-kop	"red water"

6) Ankap<u>e</u> — Big Spring

[SS]		"one that's red"
[Sa]	Aŋqa'-p◈ï	"reddish"

[Figure 2.11]

7) Angkar Mukwanikant — Vermilion Cliffs

[SS]		"red cliffs"
[Po]	Un-ka-gar Mu-kwa-ni-kunt	"red cliffs"
[FF]	aŋka muk^{w}anikantị	"red cliffs"

[Figure 2.9]
A generic term for the full extent of the Vermilion escarpment from the Paria Plateau, westward (Fowler and Fowler 1971).

8) Arengkan<u>i</u> — Hurricane

[SS]		arin "hot"; can "cave"

[Figure 2.7]
The place is named because it is so hot all the time. Elders spoke of mineral springs in the area, which attracted many people. “My grandma used to go down there every winter and go in that hot spring they’ve got down there. She had those kind I got, arthritis or things like that. She’d go down in that mineral water there, to see if that didn’t cure her aching and things like that” (WM interview).

9) Atangukwinte — Cottonwood Spring

[SS]	Atangukwinte	“sandy spring”
[Sa]	A 'ta’-n·U^{x}qw✕-ntï	“sand stream”
[K1964]	Atankwintɨ	“sand stream”

10) Atar’uipi — Corral Pink Sand Dunes

[SS]		
[Po]	Ha’-tur-rip	“sandy land”
[FF]	hata’wipi	“sand canyon”

[Figure 2.9]
Area of Corral Pink Sand Dunes, the Sand Hills and the Wygaret Terrace.

11) Avanpaa — Sevier River

[SS]		
[K1964]	Avapa	“much water”

12) Ayaxare — Turtle Mountain

[SS]		“turtle sitting”

13) Chakotampatsi — Two Mile

[SS]		“circle in the sky, birds that go around”
[F1967]	Čakódampa c^{i}	

[Figure 2.9]
An elder on the Kaibab reservation remembered that there used to be a spring over by Two Mile, where a man used to live. You can still see his corral. Two Mile was also where they held the tribe’s cattle auctions in October. There was a big corral there and scales for weighing cattle. It was big event: “There were a lot of white people come in...All over the country, all the ranchers, they were there and they’d bid on them and see if they go to the highest bidders. And big trucks comes in there and haul them off. But they keep the heifers who will have the calves, they keep them. But they sell the old cows, over seven years old. When they go seven years, they have teeth like me now. They don’t have any!” Water no longer runs to Two Mile, but “disappears” further up Kanab Creek (WM interview).

14) Enepi Pikavo — Witch Water Pocket

[SS]		enepitsi –“evil spirit, devil, ghost”
[Po]	Inupin Picavu	

1872 “…we arrived at the rocky pool… which we learned now from Chuar the natives called the Innupin (or Oonupin) Picavu, or Witch Water-Pocket. They said the locality was a favourite haunt of witches. These were often troublesome and had to be driven away or they might hurt one” (Dellenbaugh 1908:251).

1872 November 5 Thompson left Pipe Springs to a spring 18 miles away, camped at a spring in red cliffs north of Wild Band Pocket. “Came to Rock Pool or Witches Spring, as the Indians call it (Do-nu-pits)” (Thompson 1939:103). The party stayed at that place for a couple of days to take bearings of cinder cones (oo-na-ga-re-chits) on the north of Mount Trumbull and to climb Mount Trumbull.

15) Enepisuvasipikant

[SS]		“ghost willow spring”
[Po]	U-nup’-shu’vats Spi’kunt	

Spring at Pygmies’ aspen on the Kaibab. The exact location of this spring is uncertain.

16) Iipaa — Navajo Well

[SS]		“old water”
[K1964]	Ipa	“old water”

About 1 mile south of Vermilion Cliffs.

17) Kai’kwit [?] — Pine Valley Mountains

[SS]		
[Po]	Kai’gwit	
[FF]	kaiyici	“mean mountain”

18) Kaiva’aipetsi — Canaan Peak

[SS]		
[K1964]	Kaiparuwɨcɨ	“mountain boy”

[Figure 2.12]
Also called Kaiparowits Peak. Mountain Boy is said to be son of Table Cliff Plateau, named by Coyote.

19) Kaivavitsi — Kaibab Plateau

[SS]		“mountain lying down”
[Sa]	Qá-i-va-vits	“mountain lying down”

[M]	Kai Awvahv	“mountain lying down”
[K1964]	Kaivavič	“mountain lying down”

[Figure 2.11]

The white settlers called Kaibab Buckskin Mountain.

20) Kaivaxare — Navajo Mountain

[SS]		“sitting mountain”
[Po]	Kaiv’-a-kar-et	
[FF]	kaiβakadi̧ti̧	“mountain sitting”
[M]	Nengwoo Kaiv	“Paiute Mountain”

21) Kanare̲’uipi̲ — Kanab Canyon/Creek

[SS]		“willow canyon”
[Sa]	Qana’rī̄ˀo(ʷ)ip·I	“willow canyon”
[K1964]	Kanariuipi	

[Figure 2.9]

Kanab Creek is named for the willows (kanav) that used to be prevalent on its banks before damming upstream restricted the flow of water through the creek bed.

22) Kanavaa — Willow Spring

[SS]		
[Po]	Ku-nav	

The location of this spring is unclear, but it is likely east of the Shinumo Amphitheater. It was a campsite for Powell’s party (Fowler and Fowler 1971).

23) Kanavatsi̲ — Eight Mile Spring

[SS]		
[Po]	Ka’-na-vats	
[FF]	kanaBaci	“willow spring”

[Figure 2.9]

In the fall of 1871, Powell and his party had a base camp at this spring, which was east-south-east from the settlement of Johnson, inside Johnson Canyon.

24) Kani̲nu̲kwi [?] — House Rock Spring

[SS]		
[K1964]	Kankwi, Kankwic	“water singing”

At eastern base of Kaibab Plateau called Miapikanwki.

25) Kwaakante Kwagunt

[SS]		"one who has winnings"
[Po]	Kwa'-gunt	

[Figure 2.13]
Powell named the valley at the foot of the Kaibab Plateau after Kwaganti, a Uinkarets Paiute, who said his father had given the land to him. (Fowler and Fowler 1971).

1872 Hillers' Diary (Fowler 1972:132-133). Editor's footnote reads, "Kwagunt was a Southern Paiute Indian. As a young child, he and his sister had reputedly been the only survivors of an attack (presumably by the Yavapai Indians) on his family's band then camped on the Kaibab Plateau. The children somehow made their way to another band camped near what is now Kanab. Kwagunt Hollow on the Kaibab Plateau is named for him (see Brigham A. Riggs, 'The Life Story of Quag-unt, a Paiute Indian, told to Brigham A. Riggs, a cattleman of Kanab, by the Indian himself,' MS on file Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)." Kwagunt lived in House Rock Valley as a young boy, with his and one other family, when he witnessed the murder of his parents and older brother. It is interesting that the editor attributed the attack to a group of Indians. The text in Riggs' manuscript reads, "The Navajos took their cattle on to Lee's Ferry and we moved south to South Canyon. We killed one cow to have meat. Next morning about sun up some white men came close to our camp and began to shoot. Our men got their guns and started to shoot at the white men. My sister and myself ran and hid in the rocks. We hid all day and everything was very still. When we dared to come out we looked around and found all the Indians dead but we could not find any of the squaws. We didn't know what to do. There were no Indians living on this side (the east side) of the mountain. My sister had been over on the west side of the mountain once but I never had. We knew we had to go where there were some Indians or we would die during the winter. The only place we knew of to go was Moccasin where our tribe lived" (Riggs 1938:2).

26) Kwanatsikani Six Mile Shiprock

[SS]		
[F1967]	K^{w}anáncisan i	"where eagle lives"

[Figure 2.9]
According to an elder from Kaibab, this term does not refer specifically to the rock formation at Six Mile, but to any place that an eagle lives.

27) Kweserape

[SS]		meaning uncertain

[Figure 2.9]
Mountain near Moccasin Mountain [SS]. This mountain is named because of the prevalence of "goat head," a barbed ground cover. A Kaibab elder explained, "You can't walk around over there or they'll stick on your pants leg and everything" (WM interview). (See Figure 2.1)

28) Kwiyumporochagante̱ Aquarius Plateau

[K1964]	Kwiumporočaganti̱	"bear dig [?] roots place"

29) Maakasi Moccasin

[K1964]

The place name is the Paiute pronunciation of the English name.

30) Maavaxarere̱ Brush Lake

[SS]

This is a haunted place near the Kaibab Plateau. The exact location is unclear.

31) Manavaa Coconino Mine

[SS]		"thorn spring"

32) Metengwvaa Pipe Spring

[SS]		
[Po]	Mu-tūm-wa-va	"dripping rock"
[FF]	Mi̧t^{h}i̧ŋwe	"divide point, protection from the wind"
[FF]	Mi̧X-ti̧ŋwaβa	"divide point, cuts wind off for protection"
[Sa]	mï·'ü'ŋwa	"point of a hill; point of a mountain running down into plain"
[K1964]	mɨʔ'tɨŋwava	"point of hill"

[Figure 2.9]

Powell used the term Mu-tūm-wa-va to refer to Pipe Spring itself, but others thought the term referred to the butte behind the spring.

33) Montegan Beaver Dam Mountains

[SS]		"where the owl lives"
[Po]	Mont-si-gunt	

[Figure 2.7]

34) Mowipi̱ Second mountain south of Virgin River Gorge

[Po]	Mo-wīp	meaning uncertain

[Pa]	Mov-wi-ap-pat	

[Figure 2.7]
Section of country west of Hurricane Valley.

35) Muapaa — Moapa

[SS]		
[Po]	Mo-a-pa	"muddy water"
[CF1967]	moy^{w}a'pa	"deceitful water"

As reported by Fowler and Fowler (1971), there is some confusion about this name. Tony Tillohash gave the term *moy^{w}a'pa*, meaning "deceitful water" because the river looks shallow but is not (Fowler 1967).
Mori means "bean," but according to Sapir the English speakers misheard mori for muddy.

36) Mukunta'uipi — Toroweap Canyon

[SS]		"straight canyon"
[Po1875]	Mu-koon-tu-weap	"straight canyon"
[Pr1936]	Muhuntuweap	

[Figure 2.10]
According to Tony Tillahash, the lower portion of Pahrunuweap Canyon was named Muhuntuweap, after his maternal grandfather. John Wesley Powell believed that the Paiutes called the canyon Mu-koon-tu-weap (Po1875), so Munkuntuweap National Monument was the first name given to the canyon when it was set aside by presidential proclamation in 1909.
Sapir identifies Toroweap Canyon as Pahrunuweap Canyon. However, there is no confirmation of the use of that name.

37) Murinukwinte — Muddy Creek, Little Muddy Spring

[SS]		"bean stream"
[Sa]	M✱ri☜^{i}-nu'qwintï	"bean person" (people there grew beans)

38) Muutangkan — Third mountain south of Virgin River Gorge

[SS]		
[Po]	Mu-tsi-gunt	Meaning uncertain

[Figure 2.7]
Right by Castle Cliffs.

39) Muu’tutsatsvaa — Hummingbird Head Spring

[SS]		
[Sa]	moo'-n^{t}ɔ‘tsi-va◈ts◈	

40) Nanangko’uipi — Nankoweap Canyon

[SS]		“burial canyon”
[M]	Nengwoo’ koahoyp	“Indians killed”
[K1964]	Nɨnkuipi	“people killed”

Martineau speculates that this canyon’s name refers to a time when a group of Paiutes were killed by Apaches (1992:190).

41) Nearekani — Area around Fredonia

[SS]		“wind house”

42) Nukwint<u>e</u> Mukwanikant<u>e</u> — Vermilion Cliffs on north side of Santa Clara River

[SS]		“stream cliffs”
[Po]	No’-gwint Mu-kwa’-ni-kunt	
[FF]	nok^{w}antı̨	“breasts” (breast-shaped formation)

South escarpment of Red Mountains northwest of St. George. Perhaps this is the root nooxwante, “pregnant.”

43) Oarengkanivats<u>i</u> — Cane Ranch Spring

[SS]		“salt cave spring”
[K1964]	Oariŋkanivac	“salt cave water”

East base of Kaibab Plateau.

44) Oatempa paya — Salt Canyon North (near Kanab)

[SS]		“salt rock side”

45) Oa’uip<u>i</u> — Wahweep

[SS]	
[Po1872]	Wa-uipi

[Figure 2.11]

46) Oavatsi

[SS]		
[K1964]	Oavac	“salt/alkali water”

47) Oavaxa — Little Colorado River

[SS]	
Stoffle 1994	Oavaxa

48) Ontokarer — First mountain south of Virgin River Gorge

[SS]		“brown sitting” or “brown hill”
[Po]	Un-to-ka-rīr’	
[FF]	onto’ kadįdį	“black sitting”

[Figure 2.7]

49) O-pi-munts — Cliffs at Crossing of the Fathers

[Po]

[Figure 2.11]

Powell was likely referring to the sheer north bank of the Colorado River, at the mouth of Padre Creek. This area is now submerged by Lake Powell (Fowler and Fowler 1971). This name is uncertain, though, it contains either ompi-, “ochre” or opi, “mesquite.”

50) Oxontenavaa — Name not recorded

[SS]		“pine base spring”
[K1964]	Ogontɨnava	“water under pine tree"
[KSa1930]	ɔγɔ-ntïrï'na-va	“fir-butt spring”

[Figure 2.9]

51) Paakuna — Pakoon Spring

[SS]		
[M]	Pahcoon	paw “water”; koonaw’ “fire”

[Figure 2.8]

An elder from Kaibab talked about running cattle down at Pakoon Springs. He would take them down to Pakoon at the beginning of the year and stay around there until June, when it got hot. There was a ranch house there, and mineral springs. According to the elder, a lot of people came through there every weekend from Las Vegas. They would all go down to Pakoon and play games like horseshoes and catch and eat bullfrogs (WM

interview).

52) Pa’atakaipe — Table Cliff Plateau

[SS]		
[K1964]	Paʔantakaipɨ	“tall mountain”
	Piagaivɨ	“big mountain”
	Avinkova-gantɨ	“white faced peak”

Kelly recorded three alternate names for Table Cliff Plateaus.

53) Paatepikain — Panguitch Creek

[SS]		
[K1964]	Paguitua	“end of lake”

54) Paareiapaa (syn. Pareianukwinte) — Paria River

[SS]	Pareyanukwinte	
	Pareya-pa	“elk water”
[Po]	Tu-wits-an-a-kwint	
	Pa-ru’	“river, branch of the Paria”
	Kong-wu’	“North branch of the Paria”
	Shu-on’-a-kwint	“first west branch of Paria”
[Sa]	Parï'ya-nu‘q(w)✕ntɪ	“elk river”

[Figure 2.11]

55) Paatsipikain — Moccasin Spring

[SS]		“where the water is coming out”
[Sa]	Pa◇'-ts◇pɪ-k◇ai-na	“water rising, coming up”
[Pa]	Pa-spika-vatsas	

[Figure 2.9]

An elder from the Kaibab reservation explained that when he was a kid, he only heard Moccasin Spring called “mok sin.” The alternate Paiute name for the spring, maakasi, also references the Mormon designated Moccasin, indicating a continuing evolution in naming and renaming. (see entry #29)

56) Paa’uipi̲ Beaver Dam Wash

[SS]		
[Po]	Pau-wip’	“water wash”

[Figure 2.7]

57) Paa’ungwatich

[SS]		“drizzle of rain”
[K1964]	Uwantič	“rain”, because water sprays off rocks
	Patɨtuatič	“water sprinkling”

58) Paaxare

[SS]		
[K1964]	Pagarɨ	reservoir; apparently a pothole

59) Paayuxiwich Three Lakes

[SS]		“water is sitting in one place”
[Sa]	Pa(i)-yv(⟐ᵘ)xw✕-tc⊕	“water sitters”

[Figure 2.11]

60) Paontsikante̲ Paunsagunt Plateau

[SS]		“beaver place”
	Kwiyamuntsi	“oak plateau”
[Po]	Pauns-a’-gunt	“home of the beaver”
[K1964]	Paunsagantɨ	“beaver place”

Kelly says this plateau is named because of its profile.

1872: October 22 On or near Kaibab Mountain. “Went south to the canon and then west. The valley we are in drains into Bright Angel Creek. Went on west site of valley of the creek… Made sketch of valley. There is a big spring, as the Indians say, at the head of one branch. Small springs in others. The Indians call the creek ‘Pounc-a-gunt’ or

‘Beaver Creek’ and say a long time ago the beavers lived in it, but that now all are killed. Can see the granite along the creek, and the granite caped by limestone on river” (Thompson 1939:102, brackets in original).

61) Parasante — Poverty Mountain

[SS]		

[Figure 2.8]

62) Pareiakaiv — Paria Plateau

[SS]		“elk mountain”
[M]	Paduh’eau Kaiv	“elk mountain”

[Figure 2.11]
“The Paiute name for the Paria Plateau is Tàmutsi, ‘sandy place’… He says they used to farm, have a field. He used to plant watermelon, and squash, and corn; there’s a motel [there]; right above it there’s a small spring” (San Juan Paiute tape 9/27/93).

63) Parisumpaa — Parrissawampitts Spring

[SS]		
[Po]	Pa-rish-u-um	“gurgling water”

Paro’sa — Virgin River

[SS]		“white water”
[Po]	Pa-ru’-sha	“rapid water”
[Pa]	Parrus	“dirty, turbulent stream”
[FF]	pa do’s[a]	“Virgin River”

[Figure 2.7]

65) Parove — Lee’s Ferry

[SS]		“crossing”
[Stoffle 1994]	Pari, Paru	“intersection of rivers”

[Figure 2.11]

66) Pavo’avatsi — Point Spring

[SS]		“clear water”

[Figure 2.9]
According to a Kaibab elder, the water there used to be good, and people drank it. However, it was tested and found to have traces of uranium in it. Residents were told not to drink that water anymore (WM interview). It is still a popular watering point for livestock.

67) Paxa’ Colorado River

[SS]		“great water”
[Po]	Pa’-ga-we’-wi-gum	
[Sa]	Pa(◇)γa◇'‘	“big water”
[M]	Pawhaw; Chuhcheep	“big water”

[Figure 2.10]

68) Paxampatsi

[SS]		
[K1964]	Pagampacɨ	“cane water”

On east side of House Rock Valley, south of Kaibab Gulch.

69) Paxampatsi Cane Spring

[SS]		
[K1964]	Pagampacɨ	“cane water”
[Pa]	Pa-hump-ats, Pa-gaump-ats	

On east side of House Rock Valley, south of Kaibab Gulch northwest of Kaiparowits Plateau.

70) Paxampiakante Cane Ranch

[SS]		“place that has a bunch of cane”
[K1964]	Pagampiagantɨ	

[Figure 2.9]
At east base of Kiabab Plateau.

71) Paxangkwitonintse Cane Patch Creek, Cane Valley

[SS]		“round valley with cane”
[K1964]	Paganktonič	“cane knoll”
[Sa]	Paγá-ŋqw✕‘-tɔn' nɨntcï	“cane valley”

[Figure 2.12]
East of Canaan.

72) Paxa’uipi

[SS]		
[K1964]	Pagawipi	“cane canyon”

73) Paxa’uipi Grand Canyon

[SS]

[Sa]	Pa(◇)γa◇'-’oip◇I	“Colorado River canyon”	

[Figure 2.10]

74) Piaitsapinukwinte — Magnum Spring

[SS]		“locust tree stream”
[K1964]	Piačampipkwitič	“locust stream”
[KSa1930]	Pia'Itcap·I-nuq·(w)ınt Ï	“oak spring”

[Figure 2.9]

75) Pianukwinte — Sevier River

[SS]		“big flowing water”

76) Pikaxakante

[SS]		“something hard or rough”
[Po]	Pi-ka’-ka-gunt	

[Figure 2.9]
Cliffs west of Short Creek.

77) Pikamunsti — Hard Mountain

[SS]		“sore nose”

[Figure 2.1]
Mountain east of Kaibab village at a point below an Indian pasture. This mountain is named because of its unique shape (WM interview).

78) Poron’uipi

[SS]		“canyon (one) travels thru”
[Po]	Po-ro-no-wip	“three sharp”

[Figure 2.7]
Mountain peaks between Tau’go Ka- rīr and Sina’-vich in Beaver Dam Mountains [Po].

79) Saikudatsi — Mount Bangs

[SS]		
[Po]	Sai-koar-wav	
[FF1971]	saikudaci	“Yellow Mountain,” meaning uncertain

[Figure 2.7]
Mount Bangs is the highest peak in the Virgin Mountains [Po].

80) Sanapi̱ Sanup Mountain
[SS] "pine pitch"
[Figure 2.8]

81) Sangwavatsi̱
[SS]
[K1964] Sawavac "sagebrush water"

82) Seevatsi̱ Squawbush Spring, Six Mile Spring
[SS]

[M] Suhuh'Vawts "squaw bush water"
[Figure 2.9]
A Kaibab elder explained that this was the name of the spring that had a lot of squaw bush around it. People would go and make baskets out of the squaw bush (WM interview).

83) Seevatsi̱
[SS]
[K1964] Sɨivac "squawbush water"
[KSa1930] Cïï'-vʷa·ts·

84) Seevatsi̱
[SS]
[K1964] Sɨʔɨvac "squawbush water"

85) Seevatsi̱
[SS]
[K1964] Siʔivac "squawbush water"
On east side of House Rock Valley, above Kaibab Gulch.

86) Senavatsi̱
[SS]
[K1964] Sɨnavac "coyote water"

87) Senavitsi — Apex Mountain

[SS]		"little coyote"
[Po]	Sin-a'-vich	
[FF1971]	si'wankaditi	

88) Sengwapatsi — Gravel Spring

[SS]

Exact location unknown.

89) Sev-tun-kat — Tapeats Creek

[Po]		meaning uncertain

[Figure 2.10]

This side canyon was eventually named Tapeats Creek, after Powell's Shivwits informant, Ta-peats. At that point, the original Paiute name was lost.

90) Shin-ár-ump Mu-kwa'-ni-kunt (see also entry #147) — Shinarump Cliffs

[Po]		
[FF]	šIdadupi	

[Figure 2.9]

While this name refers specifically to the Cliffs south of Kanab, extending from Kanab Wash on the west to Seaman Wash on the east, Powell applied the term too many cliffs exhibiting similar geological characteristics.

91) Sikumpatsi — Riggs Spring

[SS]		
[M]	Skoom Pawts	"rabbit brush water"

[Figure 2.9]

92) Sikurempaa — Johnson Canyon, Rabbit Brush Canyon Mouth

[SS]		
[JJB]	sikurumpa	

[Figure 2.9]

93) Sivitevipe — Shivwits Plateau

[SS]		"Shivwits land"

[Figure 2.8]

Sivitsi means "a Shiviwits person."

94) Sovingwener — Sheep Trough Spring

[SS]		"cotton wood tree standing"

[Po]	Tso-uing-wi-neur	
[K1964]	Sovipac	“cottonwood water”

So named because a cottonwood tree was nearby.

95) Sovinukwinte — Cottonwood Spring

[SS]		

[Figure 2.9]

96) Sovinukwinte — Soap Creek

[SS]		
[K1964]	Sovinokwičč	“cottonwood running”

97) Sovinukwinte [?] — Cottonwood Stream, Cottonwood River (creek)

[SS]		
[Po]	Tsa’-ra-kwint	

Tributary of Virgin River. Possibly another rendition of Short Creek. (see entry # 99)

98) Sovinukwinte — Short Creek

[SS]		
[Po]	Tso-vi-nu-kwunt	
[FF]	so βinuk^{w}Intį; so binuk^{w}intį	“cottonwood stream”
[K1964]	sovinokwint	“cottonwood stream”
[Sa]	Cɔ’ vɪ-p·ï	

[Figure 2.7]

Short Creek is a tributary of Fort Pierce Wash, itself a tributary of the Virgin River. The settlement of Short Creek is now called Colorado City and is located on the banks of the stream (the Virgin River) where it emerges from the Vermilion Cliffs [FF].

99) Sovipatsi — 16-mile spring [?]

[SS]		
[K1964]	Sovpac	“cottonwood water”

100) Sovipatsi

[SS]		
[K1964]	Sovapac	“cottonwood water”

Spring east of Jacob lake.

101) Sovi’uipi — Cottonwood Wash

[SS]		

[K1964]	Soviuipɨ	"cottonwood wash"

102) Tau-um — Muddy Mountains

[Po]

Mountain range on road from St. Thomas to Vegas [Po]. St. Thomas was a small community on the Muddy River, now submerged by Lake Mead (Fowler and Fowler 1971).

103) Tavi'ngwatsi

[SS]		
[K1964]	Taviŋwac	"far-side-of-mountain-people"

Refers to southern flank of Aquarius Plateau, but Kelly is uncertain. Tavi'ngwa means "sunny side of canyon."

104) Tekape — Tuckup

[SS] "eat"

[Figure 2.10]

105) Tempi'avich — Water Pocket Fold

[SS]		"rock lying down"
[K1964]	Tɨmpiavič	"rock mountain, plateau"

Water Pocket Fold is located within Capitol Reef National Park in southwest Utah. The fold consists of many basins of water pockets that have formed in the sandstone layers due to erosion by water.

106) Tempi'avitsi

[SS]		"rocks lying"
[Po1872]	Timpe-ab-ich	"Heaton's Pockets"

[Figure 2.10]

Located on the northern benches and foothills of the Trumbull Mountains.

107) Tempikaretsetse

[SS] "rocks piled in one place"

Near Pikamunsti.

108) Temipingwavatsi — Spring on Kaibab near head of Tempits

[SS] "water

			spring”or “rocky mountain foot spring”
	[Po]	Tung-ping’-wa-pats	

Spring on Kaibab near head of Tapeats Creek, between Grass and Parrissawampitts Canyons [Po].

109) Tempi saxwaxar — Blue Knolls

[K1964]		
[Po1872]	Timpe-shau-wa-gots-ist	

[Figure 2.9]
These are the western foothills of the Kaibab Mountains.

110) Tengkanivatsi — Cave Spring

[SS]		“cave house”
[Sa]	Pā(·)γa·’-’oip·I	

Location of spring unknown.

111) Teŋkanivatsi — Antelope Spring

[SS]		“cave spring”
[K1964]	Tiŋkanivac	“cave water”

Southwest of Pipe Spring.

112) Tengwavaxante — Thunder Mountain

[SS]		
[F1967]	tiŋwá bahant^{i}	“windy, makes a noise”

[Figure 2.9]
This is a large hill visible to the north of Kaibab village. It was brought to our attention by an elder on the Kaibab reservation, and also appears in Fowler’s 1967 interview with Mabel Drye. According to the Kaibab elder, the hill is named because “that makes noise all the time down there. When you get under there, that is making noise, just like wind blowing like that when you are under there. That’s what they call it Tamavayuant” (WM interview). (See figure 2.1).

113) Terav Pikavo

[SS]		“water pocket on the plain”
[D]	Teram Picavu	

1872 “the Major, Jones, and I proceeded to the foot of the Toroweap, to a water-pocket near the edge of the Grand Canyon called by the Uinkarets Teram Picavu…we hired Uinkarets to carry our goods nine miles down to the pocket, descending 1200 feet at one point over rough lava” (Dellenbaugh 1908:254).

1872 “the Major decided to move to another water-pocket the Unikarets told about, farther east across the lava, a pocket they called Tiravu Picavu or Pocket-of-the-Plain. It was on the edge of the basaltic table overlooking what they termed the Wonsits Tiravu or Antelope Plain…Jones and I struck along the moccasin trail, leaving our goods to be brought on by the Unikarets packers” (Dellenbaugh 1908:254-255).

114) Tevipe Toroweap

[SS]		“land”
[Po]	Tu-row-weap	
[M]	Toroweep	“cattail canyon”

[Figure2.10]
1872 “The following day Jack and Fennemore went down to the brink of the Grand Canyon, at the foot of a sort of valley the Uinkarets called Toroweap” (Dellenbaugh 1908:192).

115) Teviwenintsitsi Chimney Rock

[SS]		“land standing”

[Figure 2.9]

116) Timarepaxante Jacob’s Pool

[SS]		“place with a lot of Indian spinach”
[Po]	Tu-múr-up-a-gunt	
[K1964]	Tumaranpaganti	

[Figure 2.11]
This is a small pool in House Rock Valley at the base of Vermilion Cliffs, named after Jacob Hamblin.

117) Tengkanivatsi

[K1964]	Tiŋkanivac	“cave water”

118) Teravpaanukwinte probably Badger Creek

[K1964]	Tiraupaŋkwicič	“level-ground-water running”

119) Toai’uipi San Juan River

[SS]		“rocky canyon”
[Sa]	tɔi–’ ip·I	“rocky canyon,” or “creek running

through a
rocky bed”

120) Tonotempaya probably Sarcobatus Canyon
[SS] “greasewood
rock side”
[K1964] Tonotɨmpaiya
Upstream from Navajo Canyon.

121) Tonovatsi Greasewood Spring, Wolf Spring
[SS] “fir wolf
spring”
[M] Tono’Vawts “greasewood
water”
[K1964] Tonovac “greasewood
water”
[KSa1930] tɔnɔ’a·v·ts·
[Figure 2.9]
A Paiute elder gave Sikumpaa as the name for this place, located near Lamb’s Point.

122) Tosapikononu cave at Wɨnorumpac
[K1964] “white rock
shelter”

123) Toxoavatsi
[SS]
[K1964] Togoavac “rattlesnake
water”

124) Toxoav Tsetsexit
[SS] “rattle-snake
rattle”
[Figure 2.9]
Rattlesnake-shaped hill on the Kaibab reservation.

125) Tsakuarumpatsi Wild Geese Spring
[SS]
The location of this spring is unclear.

126) Tsi’ampivatsi Yellowjacket Spring
[SS] “wild rose
spring”

127) Tsingkawihav Hurricane Cliffs
[SS]
[Po] Tsun-kwo’-wi-gav

	[FF]	čiŋka' wįhav^{a}	"rough hill top"

[Figure 2.7]

128) Tukarnukwinte — Ashe Creek

[SS]		"black stream"
[Sa]	to^{I}-q·(w)a-rı-Nu'q(w)ı-ntI	"black stream"

[Figure2.7]

129) Tukure Kaiv — Jackson Peak (on Santa Clara River)

[SS]		
[Po]	To-ker-kaiow	"black"
[FF]	to kadį	"black"

130) Tukur Paa — Spring on the Kaibab

[SS]		
[Po]	To-kum-pa	"black water"

131) Tu-mu-ur-ru-grait-si-gaip — Temples of the Virgin

[Po1872]

132) Tupaatsi

[SS]		
[K1964]	Tupac	"black water"

About 3 miles east of Iipaa.

133) Turup Pikavo — Toroweap Lake

[SS]		"clods water pockets"
[Po]	Tu-roump-pi-ca-vu	

[Figure 2.10]
A water pocket north of Vulcan's Throne on the north rim of the Grand Canyon.

134) Tuunukwinte — Santa Clara River

[SS]		"black stream"
[Po]	Gya'no	
[FF1971]	to'noK^{w}intį	
[Ma]	TooaNookweent	"black flowing"

[Figure 2.7]

135) Tuxukarer

[SS]		"sitting up high"
[Po]	Tau'-go Ka-rīr'	

[Figure 2.7]
Mountains to right of road, going from Santa Clara to Beaver Dam Wash (part of Beaver Dam Mountains) [Po].

136) Unakaretsisti

[SS]		"sitting inside"
[Po]	Oo-na-ga-re-chits	

[Figure 2.10]
Basaltic cones around Mt. Trumbull. Apparently Powell used this as a general term for the more than one hundred and thirty volcanic cones in the area (Dutton 1882 in Fowler and Fowler 1971).
November 9 "Climbed to the top of the Oo-na-ga-re-chits at the foot. Took bearings and made a sketch of river from the butte, run from the Kaibab to the turn southwest of the Oo-na-ga-re-chits. Saw and noted where the lava that dammed the canon flowed in. Climbed up a long, black ridge into Oak Spring Valley. Saw a camp of Piutes. Rode in and shook hands all around. Saw them parching grass seed preparatory to grinding. Found that the wagon had made the trip to the spring alright. Very cold night. (Thompson 1939:103). {Note: Wild Band Reservoir in Bulrush Canyon, sw of Pipe Springs}
1872 "I continued measuring and locating the oonagaritchets or cinder-cones, of which there were more than sixty, and got in four more on the 15th [of November]" (Dellenbaugh 1908:254).

137) Wa'akarerempa — Yellowstone Spring

[SS]		"cedar knoll spring"
[Sa]	W'a′-ʔq·ariṅ̈-mpa'	"cedar knoll spring"

[Figure 2.9]

138) Wa'ako'aich — Cedar Ridge

[SS]		"cedar trees going in a straight line"
[Po]	Ua'-kwaitch	
[FF]	owakadi̧	"yellow"

This term refers to the hills (Yellow Hills) visible along Johnson Wash, south of the Shinarump Cliffs (Fowler and Fowler 1971).
Wa'ape means "cedar/juniper", and oa- means "yellow."

139) Wa'awitsi Mukwanikant Shinarump

[SS]		probably "cedar cliffs"
[Po]	Wa'-wits Mukwa'-ni-kunt	

[Figure 2.7]
Cliffs south of the Santa Clara River.

140) Wantsitsikunava Antelope Point Spring

		"antelope sack"
[K1964]	Wancitkunava	

Half way up Vermilion Cliffs.

141) Wantsitsi Teravi Antelope Plain

[SS]		Wantsits, "antelope"

[Figure 2.9]
1872 "the Major decided to move to another water-pocket the Unikarets told about, farther east across the lava, a pocket they called Tiravu Picavu or Pocket-of-the-Plain. It was on the edge of the basaltic table overlooking what they termed the Wonsits Tiravu or Antelope Plain…Jones and I struck along the moccasin trail, leaving our goods to be brought on by the Unikarets packers" (Dellenbaugh 1908:254-255).

142) Wimp-u-run-cent

[Po]

1872 November 15 "At Wimp-u-run-cent, pocket in south branch of canon, to Av-e-ku-net, pocket at point marked DR, Pa-an-tung [Paiute guide] says a creek comes in where Americans hunted gold. It must be Diamond River. At point S. is Sacramento mining district. It may be that at point B. is bad rapid where Bradley went over (Thompson 1939:105). Av-e-ku-net appears to be Diamond Creek, on the south side of the river.

143) Wiyakarer Paiute Point or Muddy Peak

[SS]		"muddy hill"
[Po]	Wa-ka-rir	

144) Wiyavaa Muddy River

[SS]		"muddy river"

Tributary of Virgin River.

145) Yevimpikavotsi apparently Jacobs Pool

[SS]		"long needle pine water pocket" [?]
[K1964]	Uinpikavoc	"pine tree pot

			hole”

146) Yevimpur Wekavika — Mount Logan

[SS]		
[Po]	Yu-we-wu-guv	

[Figure 2.8]
Powell named this peak after John Alexander Logan, a senator from Illinois.

147) Yevimunts (see also entry # 90) — Shinarump Cliffs

[SS]		“pine mountain”
[Sa]	Yïv✕′-munts·	“pine mountain”

[Figure 2.9]

148) Yevingkarere — Mount Trumbull

[SS]		“pine knoll, pine seated”
[Po]	Yu-win-ka-ret	“region of pines”
[Pa]	Uint-karits	
[Sa]	Yïvi′ŋqarïR㊀ Yïv^{w}✕′-ŋKarïR㊀ Yuv^{w}-L′-ŋqarïR㊀	“pine peak”
[FF]	yi̧wiŋkadi̧ti̧	“pine tree knoll”
[M]	Yooveen Kawduhd	“ponderosa sitting”

[Figure 2.10]
An elder from St. George described how she and her family used to go by wagon to set up summer camp near Mount Trumbull, where it was cooler. “But we’d lay in the wagon, cause there’s a lot of snakes out there. Rattlers. A lot of rattlesnakes!” She elaborates: “The weeds were about that high, the grass was really high. I was scared to walk through it because I thought there were snakes in it. I wanted to go down that trail. There’s a trail down there that goes right into the Canyon. I wanted to go down that” (ES interview).

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Appendix 1
Place Names in Chapter 2, Listed by English Name

ENGLISH NAME	PAIUTE NAME
Antelope Plain	Waantsitsi Teravi [SS]
Apex Mountain	Sin-a'-vich [Po]; si’wankadiṭi [FF]
Ashe Creek	Tuukarenukwinte [SS]; Tóqwarin'w'qwint'I [Sa]
Beaver Dam Mountains	Mont-si-gunt [Po]
Beaver Dam Wash	Pau-wip' [Po]
Big Spring	Aŋqáp'u [Sa]
Blue Knolls	Timpe-shau-wa-gots-ist [Po]
Brush Creek	Maavaxarere [SS]
Cane Patch Creek	Paγáŋq'wtonɛniṇto [Sa]
Cane Spring	Pa-hump-ats [Pa]
Cave Spring	Tengkanivatsi [SS]; Tiŋqánivä.ts [Sa]
Cedar Ridge	Waka-wits {BARA}
Chimney Rock	Tevewenitsitse [SS]
Coconino Mine	Manava [SS]
Colorado River	Paxa'a [SS]; Pāy á [Sa]
Cottonwood River	Tsa'-ra-kwint
Cottonwood Spring	Atangukwinte [SS]; A 'Tánuxqwinti' [Sa]
Eight Mile Spring	Ka’-na-vats [Po]; kanaBaci [FF]
Fredonia	Aatsikavi [SS]
Grand Canyon	Paxa'uipi [SS]; Pa'-ga-we'-wi-gum; Pāyáɛɑoiṇp'I [Sa]
Gravel Spring	Siumpatsi [SS]
Greasewood Spring	Tonovastsi [SS]; Tono'Vawts [M]
Heaton Pockets	Timpe-ab-ich [SS]
House Rock	Au'sak [SS]
Hummingbird Head Spring	Muunto'tsivatsi [SS]; Moóntloitsivāts [Sa]
Hurricane	Ari-can {BARA}
Hurricane Cliffs	Tsun-kwo’-wi-gav [Po]; čiṇka’ wiḥava [FF]
Jackson Peak	To-ker-kaiow [Po]; to kadi ̣ [FF]
Jacob's Pool	Tu-múr-up-a-gunt [Po]
Johnson Canyon	Sikurempa'ya [SS]; sikurumpa [JJB]

ENGLISH NAME	PAIUTE NAME
Kaibab Plateau	Kaivavitse [SS]; Qáivavits·' [Sa]
Kanab Canyon, Creek	Kanare'uipi [SS]
Kanab Creek	Kanave'uipi [SS]; Qanárïɛowịp'I [Sa]
Kwagunt Creek	Kwa'gunt
Lee's Ferry	Parove [SS]; Pari, Paru [Stoffle]
Little Colorado River	Oaxaxa [SS]; Oavaxa [Stoffle]
Little Muddy Spring	Muapa [SS]
Moccasin Spring	Paatsipikaina [SS]; Patsipikaina [SS]; Maakasi [SS]; Paɛ áts·pikain [Sa]; Pātspkyain [Sa]
Mount Bangs	Sai-koar-wav [Po]; saikudaci [FF]
Mount Logan	Yu-we-wu-guv [Po]
Mount Trumbull	Yevingkarere [SS]; Yu-win-ka-ret [Po]; Uint-karits [Pa]; Yüvíŋqarïr [Sa]; yịwiŋkadịtị [FF]
Muddy Mountains	Tau-um [Po]
Muddy River	Murinukwinte [SS]; Mo-a-pa [Po]; Mórīŋ'u'qwint'I [Sa]; moywa’pa [CF]
Nankoweap Canyon	Nengku'uipi [SS]; Nengwoo’ koahoyp [M]
Navajo Mountain	Kaivayaatse; Kaiv'-a-kar-et [Po]; kaiβakadịtị [FF]
Old Stream	Piaitsapinukinte [SS]
Paiute Point or Muddy Peak	Wa-ka-rir
Pakoon Springs	Pahcoon; Pawkoonaw [M]
Paria Plateau	Tàmutsi; Paduh’eau Kaiv [M]
Paria River	Pareyanukwinte [SS]; Tu-wits-an-a-kwint, Pa-ru’ [Po], Paríyan’u’qwint’i [Sa]
Parrissawampitts Spring	Pa-rish-u-um [Po]
Paunsagunt Plateau	Pauns-a'-gunt [Po]; Kwiyamuntsi [SS]
Pine Valley Mountains	Kai'gwit [Po]; kaiyici [FF]
Pipe Spring	Metenswa [SS]; Mu-tūm-wa-va [Po]; mịthịŋwe, mịX-tịŋwaβa [FF]; mitiŋwa [Sa]; mị’tịŋwava [K]
Point Spring	Pavo'avatsi [SS]
Poverty Mountain	Parasante [SS]
Riggs Spring	Skoom Pawts [M]
San Juan River	Toai'uipi [SS]; Tai'Áip'i or Tai'oip'i or toiÁmp'w [Sa]
Santa Clara River	Tuunukwinte [SS]; Gya'no [Po]; to’noKwintị [FF]
Sanup Mountain	Sanapi [SS]

ENGLISH NAME	PAIUTE NAME
Sevier River	Pianukinte
Shinarump Cliffs	Yevimunts [SS]; Yüvímunts [Sa]
Shinarump Cliffs, south of Kanab, Utah	Shin-ár-ump Mu-kwa’-ni-kunt [Po]; šIdadupį [FF]
Shinarump Cliffs, south of Santa Clara R.	Wa’-wits Mukwa’-ni-kunt
Shivwits Plateau	Sivintevipe [SS]
Short Creek	Tso-vi-nu-kwunt [Po]; so βinukwIntį; so binukwintį [FF]; sovinokwint [K]
Six Mile Shiprock	Kwanáncisan i [F]
Squawbush Spring	Seevaatsi [SS]; Shi-vats {BARA}; Suhuh' Vawts [M]
Tapeats Creek	Sev-tunkat
Temples of the Virgin	Tu-mu-ur-ru-grait-si-gaip [Po]
Three Lakes	Paayuxwitse [SS]; Paiyû´uxwitc' [Sa]
Toroweap	Tuweap or Tevipe [SS];Tu-row-weap [Po]; Toroweep [M]
Toroweap Canyon	Tuweap, Mukunta'uipi, Tevipe [SS]; Tu-row-weap [Po]
Toroweap Lake	Tu-roump-pi-ca-vu [Po]
Tuckup	Tekape [SS]
Two Mile	Čakódampa ci [F]
Vermilion Cliffs	Un’-kar’Mu-kwa’-ni’kunt, Un-ka-gar, Mu-kwa-ni-kunt [Po]; aŋka mukwanikantį [FF]
Virgin River	Parús [SS]; Pa-ru’-sha [Po]; pa do’sa [FF]
Wahweep	Wa-uipi [Po]
Wild Geese Spring	Tsakuarumpatsi [SS]
Willow Spring	Ku-nav [Po]
Witch Water Pocket	Inupin Picavu [Po];Enepitsi[SS]
Wolf Spring	Tonovastsi [SS]; Tono'Vawts [M]
Yellowjacket Spring	Tsi'ampivatsi [SS]
Yellowstone Spring	Wa'akareremp a [SS]; Wεáqarïrumpa [Sa]

Appendix 2
Place Names for Which Locations Could Not be Verified

##	Standard spelling	Source	Original spelling	English meaning
1)	Angkavatsɨ	[K1964]	Aŋavac	“black-ant water”
2)	Angkanukwinte	[K1964]	Aŋkankwint	“red stream”
3)	Asixare	[K1964]	Asikaivɨ[6]	“gray mountain”
4)	Aatavatsɨ	[K1964]	Atavac	“sand water”
5)	Chiakwayavatsɨ	[K1964]	Čiakwaiavac	“oak [var.] spring”
6)	Tsi’ampivatsi	[K1964]	Ciampivac	“wild-rose water”
7)	Enampetupatsɨ	[K1964]	Ɨnantopac[7]	“badger-hole water”
8)	Kachoapatsɨ [?]	[K1964]	Kacoapac	“end of water”
9)	Kamuvatsi	[K1964]	Kamuwac	“rabbit water”
10)	Kananukwinte	[K1964]	Kanaŋkwicič	“willow run”
11)	Kaivayuxwitsi	[K1964]	Kaivɨyɨgacɨ [8]	“mountain turn”
12)	Kakarampatsi	[K1964]	Kakarɨmpac	“quail water”
13)	Kanarempiko	[K1964]	Kanarɨmpiku	knoll [?]; “willow rock”
14)	Kanavetsi	[K1964]	Kanavɨc	“willow”
15)	Kanawaitsi	[K1964]	Kanawaic	“willow hanging down”; meaning unverified
16)	Kwiyavaa	[K1964]	Kwiavac	“oak water”
17)	Kwichpaa	[K1964]	Kwitɨpac[9]	“stump water”
18)	Maava wener	[K1964]	Maavawɨŋɨtɨ	“tree in water”[10]

[6] “all rocks, no trees”, not identified, south of Cannonville, east side of Paria River
[7] At base of cliffs, about 1 mile north of Moccasin Springs
[8] District in north east limits of Kaiparowitz-categorically different, but physically part of Kaiparowitz
[9] Spring north of Jacob lake
[10] Probably translates as “brush standing”

19)	Meavipan[11]	[K1964]	Miavi-pan	“divided valley” because it separates two mountains[12]
20)	Meteng^{w}xaipaukaute	[K1964]	Mɨʔtɨŋ-wogaip-paganti	meaning uncertain
21)	Muyantich	[K1964]	Muiantič[13]	meaning uncertain
22)	Munavatsi	[K1964]	Muɨvac	“mosquito water”
23)	Mukovatsi	[K1964]	Mu ʔ kovac	rock [?] water
24)	Muukwivatsi	[K1964]	Mukuvac[14]	meaning uncertain
25)	Na’avatsi	[K1964]	Naʔavac	“lone spring”
26)	Pa-gum-who-ki’-o-pa	[Po]	Pa-gum-who-ki’-o-pa[15]	meaning uncertain
27)	Paxamtepaya	[K1964]	Pagamtɨpaiya[16]	“cane canyon”
28)	Paxwuyatsipikante	[K1964]	Pagwuiacpikantɨ[17]	meaning uncertain
29)	Payampaaxante	[K1964]	Paiyampaganti	“water half way up hill”
30)	Pakwanui	[K1964]	Pakwanui[18]	“frog jumping in water”
31)	Paŋwauɨ	[K1964]	Paŋwauɨ[19]	“water [?] grass”
32)	Pangwiavatsi	[K1964]	Paŋwiavac[20]	“mud water”
33)	Pangwiavatsi	[K1964]	Paŋwiavoc[21]	“mud water”

[11] If it means divided, it has to have the root mea-, “be divided”; the root mia- means “small”.
[12] Escalante valley, apparently downstream from point where river turns S.E.
[13] Said to refer to nose, a lake east of Johnson Canyon.
[14] Based on Kelly’s -kw- spelling, this could mean “Hopi Spring”.
[15] Spring on north side of Kaibab Plateau.
[16] Down stream from Navajo Canyon.
[17] “Gambel Oak, north of Magnum Spring.
[18] Undoubtedly contains pakwana, “frog”
[19] District on upper Kanab Creek, near Alton Settlement at the foot of the high plateaus.
[20] Spring at foot of Paunsaugunt Plateau
[21] At base of cliffs, beneath uinpikavoc.

34)	Paiyawiwe	[K1964]	Paiyawiwe[22]	“water canyon”
35)	Pawiavatsi	[K1964]	Pawiavac	“mud water”
36)	Pikipaa	[K1964]	Piki-pa	“rotten water”
37)	Tsikatsi Sipikant	[Po]	Sha’-gats Spi’-kunt[23]	perhaps “cleft/cut spring”
38)	Sagwogoʔacpa	[K1964]	Sagwogoʔacpa	“tobacco water”
39)	Seyare	[K1964]	Sɨ aripɨ[24]	“aspen”
40)	Siyempatsi	[K1964]	Siɨumpac	“yellow, gray [?] water”
41)	Soviwenetsitsi	[K1964]	Soviwɨnɨčič	“cottonwood standing up”
42)	Tamavatsi	[K1964]	Tamavac	“spring [season] water”
43)	Teavatsi	[K1964]	Tɨavac[25]	“service berry water”
44)	Teavnukwinte	[K1964]	Tɨavɨnkwint[26]	“service berry water”
45)	Usinuauɨ	[K1964]	Usinuauɨ[27]	from “nettles”
46)	Wa’apetsi[28]	[SS]	Wa’apetsi	“bunch of cedar”
47)	Wa’apexaiy	[SS]		“forested with cedar”
48)	Wexompatsi	[K64]	Wɨgɨmpac[29]	“vulva spring”
49)	Wingwe’napatsi	[K1964]	Wɨnorumpac	“arrowhead water”
50)	Yantarey	[K1964]	Yantarɨi[30]	“source of creek”, meaning uncertain

[22] Henrieville Creeks
[23] Spring on the Kaibab.
[24] Escalante Mountains
[25] [SS] translates as “service berry spring”.
[26] [SS] translates as “service berry stream”.
[27] Usi- appears in several cactus names.
[28] Generic place with cedar trees.
[29] Not a running spring; “just a damp spot”.
[29] Applied to area and its “almost ute” residents, along the Colorado River between the Dirty devil and Green Rivers
[30] Applied to area and its “almost ute” residents, along the Colorado River between the Dirty devil and Green Rivers