THE MASTERY OF CULTURAL CONTRADICTIONS:
DEVELOPING PAIUTE INDIAN LEADERSHIP

by

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ABSTRACT

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Submitted to the Department of Political Science
on September 30, 1971 in partial fulfillment of the
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This is an examination of the struggle over more
equitable power relationships between two American cultures.
Specifically it is the study of the development of leader-
ship from a relatively powerless minority in the face of a
long and negative experience.

The subjects of this study are the Southern Paiute
people of the southwest. Two cases were investigated: the
leadership and organization of the Southern Paiute communi-
ties of Cedar City, Utah and Kaibab, Arizona; how the
residents of these communities cope with the political
system of the United States from their powerless position
and, conversely, how the overall society copes with them.

The resultant cultural interplay, which is essential-
ly a political problem—a question of power relationships—
dresses central questions of political Science. A vast
segment of the earth's population, including the Southern
Paiutes, lack the power that they need to control their own
lives, even as collective, cultural groups, in the modern
complex world. Others with power over them, control many
of the essential resources. Theories, hypotheses and no-
tions of political and economic development have generally
failed to generate successful change in the intercultural
power relationships.

The study of the cultural interplay and the develop-
ment of leadership and power from within this framework can
not only add to our knowledge of that culture of Native
Americans as a minority, it can also add to our understand-
ing of changing societies, resistance to change and the cost
of change in general.
In this study, one of the cases (Kaibab) exhibits the growth of successful Paiute leadership with all the attendant growth in Paiute power, reduction of hostility, and mastery of cultural contradictions. The other case (Cedar City) does not show such progress and therefore exhibits many of the frustrations to successful cultural interplay and a more equal distribution of power. Together these cases are small examples of the variations of the barriers most Native Americans and other relatively powerless peoples are struggling with in the world.

This study has found that successful Paiute leaders become the key link for adaptation, development and change for their culture, on the one hand, and understanding and acceptance form the dominant culture on the other. With increased understanding and acceptance comes a larger measure of control to affect their own lives. It is primarily the leader's mastery of the cultural contradictions (massive barriers to harmonious relations) that generate increased equality in the form of political power and facilitate growth toward a mutually satisfying bi-cultural society. The goal of all political development centers around similar adjustments in the power relationships toward a more equitable distribution of power. This means that the power relationships would become more reciprocal.

The activities of the leadership sector can best be described as those of political brokers. These transitional leaders form a collective body who can tell the rest of the bi-cultural population what are the major issues and priorities, create a favorable atmosphere, and establish the most efficient techniques for reaching their goals, and perhaps, above all, mediate and placate during times of stress.

Transitional leaders, or brokers, display this type of reciprocal power relationships in this study. While the old social and economic relationships and behavior patterns of authority are disrupted by the efforts of the powerless to gain more power, and while barriers are constructed within both cultures, there is real hope for a positive resolution because a group of political and cultural brokers have been able to establish tentative reciprocal power relationships and compatible inter-cultural interplay. They have mastered the cultural contradictions between them.

Thesis Supervisor: Everett E. Hagen
Title: Professor of Economics and Political Science.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and most importantly, I would like to thank the subjects of this study: the Southern Paiute and Anglo residents of the Kaibab Reservation and of Cedar City, who, almost without exception, cooperated fully and were very often warm and open, especially the two councils. In my analysis of their relationships I have tried to reciprocate the warmth they showed me. Where I have erred I apologize to them particularly.

To my thesis committee, Professors Everett E. Hagen, Lucian W. Pye, Roy Feldman (and during the final weeks), Suzanne Berger, my deepest thanks. I also received valuable assistance from members of the faculty at the State College of Southern Utah and the Universities of Utah and Nevada.

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Ralph Britsch worked long and hard editing the rough draft into proper English and Garr Campbell's graphic abilities provided the maps.

Thanks to my family for their encouragement and moral support and to my father Royden Braithwaite for his editorial suggestions. My wife Mayre deserves special consideration for many reasons but particularly for doing the questionnaire coding and for taking care of many of the maddening details.
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This is a study of the development of leadership and political power in a Native American minority: the Southern Paiute Indian culture in the predominantly Mormon country of the Southwest. The major barriers to their development today are the cultural contradictions between their way of life and that of the Anglo-American society they are surrounded by and immersed within. These contradictions affect the members of both Paiute and Anglo-American groups often in subtle yet powerful ways. As the minority in this environment, the Southern Paiutes are particularly influenced by these conflicts as they attempt not only to gain for themselves a portion of the affluence and freedom of choice that is all around them but also to survive as a culture.

Understanding another culture is an extremely difficult task, not only for the members of bi-cultural communities like those in this study but also for the outside observer. Each culture brings with it its own reality and truth, both the reality and truth of history and the reality and truth of the present.

Following is a selection of statements concerning the two cultures' interpretations of various events and ideas. These statements span the whole period of their history, from their beginnings as reported by mythology,
through observations of the earliest contact and on to the present-day leaders.

It is believed these statements will be of value to the reader by helping to give insight into the basic cultural contradictions with which the Southern Paiute leaders must cope. Because these observations are not consistent, many of the important cultural contradictions are focused in stark relief.

Division of the Races

Southern Paiute Reality

"When the earth was created it was level and beautiful, fruit and vegetation grew spontaneously. Game was plentiful everywhere and all was peace, God lived in the south, and had two sons. The elder son, who was independent and could always take care of himself, was the father of the Indians who inherit his nature: the younger was a cry baby always wanting everything he saw, and he is the father of the white people. The God granted him his desires, and the whites inherit his disposition, that is the reason why the white people are smarter in getting and in inventing and making things. But as orators they are not the equals of
the Indians."

Paiute legend reported in Peter Gottfredson, Indian Depredations in Utah (Salt Lake City Utah, private printing, 1919), p. 321.

Anglo Mormon Reality

"And inasmuch as thy brethren shall rebel against thee, they shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord. And inasmuch as thou shalt keep my commandments, thou shalt be made a ruler and a teacher over thy brethren. For behold, in that day that they shall rebel against me, I will curse them even with a sore curse, and they shall have no power over thy seed except they shall rebel against me also. And if it so be that they rebel against me, they shall be a scourge unto thy seed, to stir them up in the ways of remembrance."


"And it came to pass that I beheld, after they had dwindled in unbelief they became a dark, and loathsome, and a filthy people, full of idleness and all manner of abominations."

The Southern Paiute Culture

Southern Paiute Reality

Why the Paiutes are nomadic: "The deer, the antelope and all the big animals went away to find food when there was none here. They were smart. The ducks and sage hens and all the birds went away to find food when they had none here. They were smart. The squirrels and rabbits and all the little animals went away to hunt for food when they were hungry. They were smart. You should have as much sense as the animals and the birds. The country is large and somewhere there is always food. If you follow the animals and the birds they will lead you to it. Go out now and follow their tracks.

"From that day to this the Paiutes have been a nomadic people. Leaving their homes in the caves, they have followed the game from high land to low and gathered in gratitude the foods which the gods distribute every year over the face of tu-weap, the earth.

"The Paiute wears a lone eagle feather, not the war bonnet of many feathers, to call down the protection of the great spirit upon him. He does not kill wantonly, but only for food and clothing, for Shinob (the great Spirit) might
be one of the animals he tries to shoot."

Paiute legend recorded by
William R. Palmer in
Pahute Indian Legends
(Salt Lake City, Deseret
Book Co. 1946) pp. 119-125.

Anglo-American Reality

"The Indians who live in the valley and its vicinity
to the west, north and east are called in their language
Hauscari (Paiutes). They dress very poorly, and eat grass
seeds, hares, pinon nuts in season, and dates. They do not
plant maize, and judging from what we saw, they obtain very
little of it. They are extremely cowardly and different
from the Lagunas (Timpanogots Ute) and Barbones (Pavan
Ute)."

Father Escalante, reporting
his first contact with the
Paiute Culture near Cedar City
1776; Herbert E. Bolton:
"Pageant in the Wilderness"
Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol.
18, 1950, p. 204.

Speaking of Indian tribes in Utah and the Great
Basin: "The lowest as warriors were the Pah-Utes, or Pi-
Utes of Southern Utah and the desert portions generally,
several bands of miserable beings, who were getting into a
more wretched state each generation, through starvation and
their defenseless condition. They were decreasing in numbers,
in stature, and in physical strength, and were constantly preyed upon by their neighbors. Their food consisted of snakes, lizards, roots, berries, grass-seed, worms, crickets, grasshoppers, and, in short, anything that could be chewed, swallowed, and partly digested."


"As a people the Paiute are peaceable, moral, and industrious and are highly commended for their good qualities by those who have had the best opportunity for judging. While apparently not as bright in intellect as the prairie tribes, they appear to possess more solidity of character. By their willingness and efficiency as workers they have made themselves necessary to the white farmers and have been enabled to supply themselves with good clothing and many of the comforts of life, while on the other hand they have steadily resisted the vices of civilization, so that they are spoken of by one agent as presenting the 'singular anomaly' of improvement by contact with the whites.

"Another authority says: 'To these habits and excellence of character may be attributed the fact that they are annually increasing in numbers, and that they are strong healthy, active people. Many of them are employed as
laborers on the farms of white men in all seasons, but they are especially serviceable during the time of harvesting and hay making."


Paiute Indian Policy--Historical

Southern Paiute Reality

Shi'vwits headman replying to a speech by Jacob Hamblin and John Wesley Powell in 1870: "Your talk is good, and we believe what you say. We believe in Jacob, and look upon you as a father. When you are hungry, you may have our game. You may gather our sweet fruits. We will give you food when you come to our land. We will show you the springs and you may drink; the water is good. We will be friends and when you come we will be glad. We will tell the Indians who live on the other side of the great river (Colorado) that we have seen Ka'purats, (Army Officer, Powell's Paiute name) and that he is the Indians friend. We will tell them his is Jacob's friend.

"We are very poor. Look at our women and children; they are naked. We have no horses; we climb the rocks and our feet are sore. We live among rocks and they yield
little food and many thorns. When the cold moons come, our children are hungry. We have not much to give; you must not think us mean. You are wise; we have heard you tell strange things. We are ignorant. Last year we killed three white men. Bad men said they were our enemies. They told great lies. We thought them true. We were mad; it makes us big fools. We are very sorry. Do not think of them; it is done; let us be friends. We are ignorant--like little children in understanding compared with you. When we do wrong, do not you get mad and be like children too.

"When white men kill our people, we kill them. Then they kill more of us. It is not good. We hear that the white men are a great number. When they stop killing us, there will be no Indian left to bury the dead. We love our country; we know not other lands. We hear that other lands are better; we do not know. The pines sing and we are glad. The seeds ripen and we have to eat and we are glad. We do not want their good lands; we want our rocks and the great mountains where our fathers lived. We are very poor; we are very ignorant; but we are very honest. You have horses and many things. You are very wise; you have a good heart. We will be friends. Nothing more have I to say."

Anglo Mormon Reality

"The lazy devils didn't have a foot of land but they claimed everything. One fall they turned their horses in our fields and we would have killed the whole tribe if Bishop Lunt had let us go."


"As we have here an assemblage of the people from other settlements, I wish to impress them with the necessity of treating the Indians with kindness, and to refrain from harboring that revengeful, vindictive feeling that many indulge in. I am convinced that as long as we harbor in us such feelings toward them, so long they will be our enemies, and the Lord will suffer them to afflict us. I certainly believe that the present affliction, which has come upon us from the Indians, is a consequence of the wickedness which dwells in the hearts of some of our brethren. If the Elders of Israel had always treated the Lamanites as they should, I do not believe that we should have had any difficulty with them at all. This is my firm conviction, and my conclusion according to the light that is in me. I believe that the Lord permits them to chasten us at the present time
to convince us that we have to overcome the vindictive feelings which we have harbored towards that poor, downtrodden branch of the House of Israel."

Taken from, The Discourses of Brigham Young, selected and Arranged by J. A. Widtsoe, (Salt Lake City, Deseret Book Co. 1940), Vol II, p. 263.

"After all our forty-three years of futile efforts, we had won the hearts of this strange people. We had fed them, given them presents, endured their insults and their robberies for forty-three years--now we had conquered them in the only way wild men can be conquered, the only way in which they love to be conquered.

"Our battle with his people (Posey, a Paiute leader who died of gunshot wounds from a battle with the Mormons in 1923) had been unlike any other, in that it had won by force of arms, not only the respect of the conquered, but also their love, their confidence, their relish of what it brought to them. They were as the willful child who must be soundly spanked before he can appreciate his parents. This had opened the door for the Mission to deliver the greater part of its message. It had been accomplished by the intervening Hand "which moves in a mysterious way,"
its wonders to perform."


**Southern Paiute Reality**

Paiute Mountain Song: (Sung slowly with a hand covering the eyes): "When an Indian pass mountain, that is my old home. When a little boy, I played there, Indians fished there and shot deer for food. But a stranger came and took my home from me. Now I can't hunt there, I can't fish there. When I look at mountain and see the stranger, I feel sick. That no more is my home, my mountain home, so I close my eyes so I cannot see."


**Anglo-American Reality**

"In view of the historic policy of Congress favoring freedom of the Indians, we may well expect future Congresses to continue to endorse the principle that as rapidly as possible we should end the status of Indians as wards of the government and grant them all of the rights and pre-
rogatives pertaining to American Citizenship. With the aim of 'equality before the law' in mind our course should rightly be no other... Following in the footsteps of the Emancipation Proclamation of ninety-four years ago, I see the following words emblazoned in letters of fire above the heads of the Indians -- THESE PEOPLE SHALL BE FREE!


Southern Paiute Reality

"When they came to talk to us about termination we didn't know what 'termination' meant. We didn't know what 'registration' meant and couldn't vote. They put our money in the bank far away where we couldn't get at it."

Clifford Jake (Headman Indian Peaks band), 1957.

"The reason the Paiutes were terminated was because Senator Watkins wanted to have them terminated."

Yetta Jake (Clifford's wife), 1957.
Anglo-Mormon Reality

"Several times in the years that have passed, agitations have been started in Cedar City [Utah], to kick these Indians [The Cedar Band] out. Some group or organization working to make Cedar City more attractive want some Indian ground for a ball park, or a golf course or a race track and anyway their hovels are unsanitary and unsightly in our fair city. Some of these encroachments have succeeded and the Indians have received no compensation for the ground thus appropriated. We get all steamed up about protecting and defending the downtrodden in Korea or somewhere else across the world but we never see the injustices being dealt under our very noses.

"Has anyone taken a look at this situation: Wahnquint [Cedar Band] boys have been and are still being drafted into military service the same as our white boys. Some are in the service now and others have served their time and come home. While for them it has been good training, it has been in no sense compensation for their land and game losses. The benefits they have received from the service are wholly incidental. Indians are denied all the privileges of citizenship yet we put on them its burdens. They cannot vote or hold civil office, and, worse still,
they cannot homestead land or even purchase a piece of public domain. A white man could come and homestead the springs on which the Indians and their fathers have lived for generations. The Indians then were forced to move away. Such things have been done hundreds of times. Our laws permitted the white men to rob the Indians of their homes, their property and their rights, and have given them no means of redress. Look that situation in the face and then ask yourself in justice and right what claim have we upon the Wahnquints for military service? The fact that they have given it only lays on us a greater obligation to assist them to better standards of living and to assure them of more just, more fair, and more honorable dealings in the future than we have given them up to the present time."


**Southern Paiute Reality**

"We are all broken up, broken-up thoughts, broken-up ideas and broken-up goals."

Clifford Jake, Headman, Indian Peaks Band, at a meeting of Cedar City Paiutes, January 6, 1971.
Southern Paiute Reality

"We like to be sociable and you say you want to be our friends, yet when we go up town you won't even look at us. You won't even say "hi"--or anything. When we are in church you say, 'We are brothers and sisters,' but away from church you are not."

Phyllis Richards Cedar Band, at community meeting, 30 June 1970.

Southern Paiute Reality

"The problem among the Indian people, we must solve our own problems, down at the Indian Village. We do not seem to be able to communicate and I do not know why. We have a lot of disagreements among the people. There are people who don't like each other, and there are a lot of them that don't care. We do have somewhat of a rough life down there.

"A lot of the Indian people do not have jobs. We do not see any Indian people who work uptown in the stores. Most of the Indians have to work out of town.

"Red power was mentioned. The truth is that none of the Indians here have accepted the red power movement, they don't know what to do. I know very little about it. The reason people here will not accept it is because of what they
are, and because of what the Mormon people have done to them, and what they have taught them. So it goes back to religion. I know some people who are Mormons and who really believe in the church. They have said good things and they have said bad things. I don't know about things down there.

"I was not here but they built the church and were enthusiastic about it. They were willing to help then. That was when Brother William Manning lived and they developed a piece of land. But this disappeared when he passed on.

"I came here about a year and half ago, and I recognize the people here need help real badly. People did not have any voice in the state, the people did not have any voice in the city, none at all. I learned in the government school that I should let them know and I wanted the white people to know. Where ever you go the white people have control over community development and in all kinds of things. But I always wanted to see places such as Reno Colony, Sparks, Nevada, Yerington, at Moapa Valley they started with community projects and land development, but the way they got started they have a lot of people, but we don't we just have a group here in Cedar City.

"I have seen other peoples of other tribes, how powerful they can be... how they can represent their people and have a voice in a state. This I have seen and I don't
know where to start.

"We have a lot of kids who have problems, whether you know or not, so we don't have anything to be proud of. No homes or land. We don't have nothing. I don't know what we have done to live such lives up to date... We have always lived so. The city here, community, or the county or the state who has control of development has never recognized us! They have turned their backs on us.

"I don't know that we will change very easy. We were born Indian and we will die Indian. We are not the only Indians with such problems... like Rapid City, South Dakota ....with prejudice and discrimination. Its been real bad. We have had it in Cedar City also. I hate to see how my people have to live.

"People turn to drinking because they have nothing, and spend their time roaming around. I never had a strong family. Some of the fault is with my people and some fault of white people. I believe that we can work together and that the city people just cannot turn their backs on us.

"It seems we are a forgotten people for a long time. We are not even recognized in this state... we just live. We are just everyday people. We don't have any tribal homes. If we had tribal homes we could do things for our-selves. We don't have anything. And I like to live in a home that is very good... suitable to live in. But I don't.
Even today the rain leaks in through the roof.

"Maybe we are some few Indian people that would like to work with white people. I feel that the Indian people should run their own affairs... together with help of white people.

"It has been hard for me to understand some things... about my people.

"This makes me feel stupid to come up here and try to tell older people how I feel about things.

"If we don't change now, we won't change tomorrow. We will live the same for the rest of our lives. I hope the city will realize we do have problems here. We are a small people but have big problems.

"If all Indians could organize and get together, we would become a stronger people.

"It is for the future that we can hope for the children to get educated and developed. If we don't, we may be living, but we will be as Dead People.

"That is all I have to say."

Extemporaneous speeches given June 30 and August 4, 1970 in Cedar City, Utah by Maynard Pete.

These are some of the points of conflict between the Southern Paiute and the Anglo-Mormon cultures from antiquity to the present. They reveal many of the problems that must
now be overcome by both groups as they attempt to understand and support one another. Why may not be seen in these selections are the factors of history, cultural values, psychological make-up, and the specifics of particular cases. The remainder of this volume will be devoted to a description and analysis of these factors, with an eye to some explanation of the situation, particularly in terms of Southern Paiute leadership.
Chapter I

SETTING AND SCOPE

The subjects of this study are the Southern Paiute people of Southern Utah, Southern Nevada, Northern Arizona and the desert regions of Southeastern California. Specifically two cases will be investigated: the leadership and organizations of the Southern Paiute communities and the Anglo-American environments of Cedar City, Utah and Kaibab, Arizona.

In this study I have chosen to look at the Southern Paiute Tribe and its leadership through the conceptual framework of political science because cultural interplay is essentially a political problem—a question of power relationships. More specifically I am interested in observing how the Southern Paiute leaders cope with the American political system from their powerless position, and, conversely, how the overall system copes with them.

Life in a small minority culture within an environment controlled by a large and powerful dominant culture is often difficult. This is particularly true for the leadership of the Southern Paiute because they not only cope with their own powerlessness in an absolute sense, but they must also cope with their own personal identities as it relates to the contradictions between the two cultures. If they are
successful in this they must also identify, isolate and soften similar personal contradictions for their followers.

In addition, these leaders must bridge the gap between the cultures as they communicate between them. This study has found that successful Southern Paiute leaders become the key link for adaptation, development, and change for their culture, on the one hand, and understanding and acceptance from the dominant culture on the other. With increased understanding and acceptance comes a larger measure of control to affect their lives in several aspects of the Paiute communities' lives. It is primarily the leader's mastery of the cultural contradictions which act as such massive barriers to harmonious relations that generated increased equality in the form of political power and facilitated growth toward a mutually satisfying bi-cultural society. To be satisfactory to both cultures there must be a more equal distribution of power so each culture can direct and effect its own destiny to some measure.

In this study, one of the cases exhibits the growth of successful Paiute leadership with all the attendant growth in Paiute power, reduction of hostility, and mastery of cultural contradictions. The other case study does not show such progress and therefore exhibits many of the rather complex frustrations to successful Southern Paiute leadership. The mastery (or failure to master) these cultural contradiction is the focal point of the present study.
The Framework

As a study designed within the general framework of political science this is quite explicitly a study of the power relationships between two American cultures and the development of leadership among the relatively powerless of those two societies. It is rather incidentally about the Southern Paiute Indians and their Anglo-Mormon neighbors.

On one level this is rather obviously the description of yet another American Indian culture that has been smothered by the dominant Anglo-Americans in the United States. Indeed, because there is relatively little known about the Southern Paiute and the somewhat unique general attitude and policies (both historical and current) of the Mormons, such a description of the ethnography, historical experiences, and present circumstances is interesting and valuable.

On what seems to me to be a more important level of analysis this is a study of the development of more equitable power relationships by a leadership which must start from a relatively powerless position in the face of a long and negative experience. It is this focus which separates this study from many others concerning other Native American cultures by the disciplines of anthropology, history, and sociology.

Stated briefly, the Southern Paiutes and other Native American societies have been deprived of a vast
measure of the power to control their lives, to live life according to their culture's own set of norms. In this they are by no means alone. There have been many studies describing and analyzing what happens to people when they lose the power to significantly control their own lives. On the individual level, Elliot Liebow analyzed black streetcorner men in Washington D.C. who had lost most of the power to control their own destinies.

On the community level in the United States, Arthur Vidich and Joseph Rensman have studies power in a rural community that lacks the power to control the institutions the regulate it. In other areas of the world, Edward Banfield has described a more advanced condition of the powerlessness of families in Southern Italy as "amoral familism," and Oscar Lewis described strikingly similar conditions in Latin America and saw "a culture of poverty." In most of these and many other similar studies, the result of powerlessness and poverty is a demoralized culture of class that exhibits so many similarities in apparent values and live styles that their appears to be truly "a culture of poverty."

In fact much of what can be thought of as a culture of poverty is not entirely a streetcorner black's or a Southern Italian's, or a Puerto Rican slum-dweller's "way of life" or value system. In most cases the life styles are
not so much socially standardized ways of seeing and thinking about the world, or of carrying out actions and pursuing goals as they are imposed patterns of behavior; imposed either consciously or unconsciously by a more powerful culture or social strata. In the words of Charles Valentine:

Many of these features seem more like externally conditions or unavoidable matters of situation expediency, rather than cultural creations internal to the sub-society in question.\(^5\)

In the United States there is little formally held ideological justification for poverty. In many other traditional societies the poor are thought of as natural based on widely held beliefs of station and class. American ideological values place a great deal of importance on the notion of equality. Since the poor are deprived in comparison with the comfortable, the base measurement of poverty is relative deprivation, and since the "essence of poverty is inequality" most Americans seem to go to great lengths to find other explanation for poverty and the powerlessness that goes with it in this country. Some of these explanations tie the fault to the traditional culture of the poor and the powerless themselves.

These notions and explanations are very important in the reasoning of many, if not most, of the Anglo-Americans in this study; therefore, a great deal of care will be
taken to separate the traditional culture of the Southern Paiute from those behavior patterns which appear to have been imposed on them by the long experience of poverty in the form of extreme relative deprivation and inequality.

A great deal of care will also be taken in examining the relationship of the powerful segment of the bi-cultural society to powerless. In this case the powerful are the predominantly Mormon Anglo-Americans and the powerless are the Southern Paiutes. But the importance of their relationships will be in the analysis of the attitude of the dominant toward the dominated, the "father" toward the "son", in psychological terms, a subject that has been all too neglected in the past. We often think about the son's attitude toward his father and its effect on his development. It is also interesting to contemplate the father's attitude toward his son and its effect on his development and their mutual development over time. Since the power relationships between Native Americans and Anglo Americans in general, and certainly the Southern Paiutes and Mormons in particular, are almost always paternalistic, it is especially meaningful to analyze this relationship here.

Of further interest to the political scientist is the fact that apart from relative powerlessness to control their lives and degree of poverty, the Southern Paiutes are part of the world's population which is trying to catch up,
trying to develop the political, social and economic institution and the leadership that will provide them with a greater degree of modernity while at the same time preserve aspects of their traditional culture and values. In this regard there seems to be a growing conflict over relative power between the "haves" and the "have-nots" of the world. There is a considerable literature concerning models of development to follow toward rapid development in the form of social and economic change. One of the central questions is becoming: How should the "haves" help the "have-nots" most effectively? In this regard the Native American cultures of North America have something to offer political development theory.

The Native Americans were perhaps the first group of people to be by-passed by modern industrial society, and at close quarters. They were almost certainly the first to be subjected to massive doses of aid specifically designed to make or help them "catch up." They were the first recipients of "foreign Aid" programs, economic, social and political development schemes as we know them now all over the world. Their bright young men were among the first to be trained "outside" so that they could return to help their people advance. For the most part these programs have failed to reach the goals that were set for them.
Since World War II the number of newly independent nations has snowballed. Each wants "progress" at a very rapid rate and almost all are receiving assistance from the "haves," the richer, more powerful countries.

A substantial body of theory, hypotheses and notions has been built up by social scientists interested in the political development of this vast segment of the earth's population.

Just as Native Americans have learned to expect these plans and the theories they were based upon have failed to live up to expectations, just as postwar projections for third world development have fallen short. Most developing people have not "taken off," and there is an ever growing literature analyzing why this is so.

The study of the Southern Paiute leadership and the bi-cultural interplay from within this framework can not only add to our knowledge of that culture of Native Americans and their political development as an ethnic minority, but in addition, it can add to our understanding of changing societies, resistance to change, and the costs of change in general.

The Scope

Since the Southern Paiute are one of the relatively few tribes of Native Americans that have not been deluged
by social scientists of various disciplines making studies during the past fifty years, the present investigation will be a broad-based exploratory study. As such, rather than depending upon any one methodology or instrument, several approaches will be used in analyzing the two case studies to be outlined shortly. These research methods include participant-observer techniques, several types of questionnaires, and assorted unobtrusive measures. Hopefully this multi-facted approach will minimize errors as relatively new ground is broken in the study of contemporary Southern Paiute leadership.

The single most important device for collecting data was as the participant-observer. My aim has been to put together a clear, firsthand picture of the Paiute leadership in the Kaibab and Cedar City cases, and, as much as possible, to get to know all of the people in both paiute villages. In this effort I attempted to follow Elliot Liebow's advice:

The degree to which one becomes a participant is as much a matter of perceiving oneself as a participant as it is of being accepted as a participant by others.

Like any participant-observer I was an outsider in many ways, but it seems to me we are all more or less constantly interacting with outsiders. The Southern Paiute leaders are certainly doing this on a regular basis. They
knew I was observing them (in every case I was in attendance with their permission), but as we got to know each other, I was constantly brought into the proceedings. Often after a meeting I was asked my opinion and advice. By the end of my field studies in both cases, I was actively volunteering my thoughts and generally trying to act as a mediator when it seemed proper to do so. (This is my normal, comfortable role in most groups I participate in.)

In addition to being a participant-observer at council meetings, etc. I participated in more casual associations such as "bull sessions," funerals, meals, and ballgames and one memorable drunken automobile ride through Arizona and Utah. I was also an employer to some of the Paiutes.* It was the subject of their humor and their frustration, which is often closely connected. All in all I thoroughly enjoyed my association with the Southern Paiutes.

Nevertheless the barriers were always there, and I believe they were apparent to all of us. I was always Anglo, thought of as "rich," from a "big" school, and always coming and going, able to leave when I wanted to. Therefore:

*One important reason I did not attempt a Tally's Corner type study is that the Paiute equivalents to Tally are very often occupied with long-distance drinking and driving.
(Following Liebow)

The wall between us remained, or better, the chain-link fence, since despite the barriers we were able to look at each other, talk and occasionally touch fingers. When two people stand up close to the fence on either side, without touching it, they can look through the interstices and forget that they are looking through a fence.

I was also a participant-observer in the two white communities, Cedar City, Utah, and Moccasin, Arizona. The barriers were still present, I was still often thought of as an "outsider," even though Cedar City is my home town, but to a much lesser degree.

To supplement this highly personal experience, questionnaires were administered to all the Paiutes in the two cases above the age of fifteen. This was an effort to tap certain psychological characteristics, attitudes, opinions and demographic data on the two populations. Similar questionnaires were administered to all the white population over fifteen in Moccasin, Arizona, the Anglo-Mormon village located one mile away from the Paiute village of Kaibab. In Cedar City, with a population of over 8,000, my problems were different. Here I administered the Anglo questionnaire to the persons most actively involved with the "Indian Village."

In three cases I achieved almost total involvement: Kaibab, 48 out of a possible 51 people over 15 and in
residence at the time. Cedar City Paiute Community, 60 out of a possible 64. Moccasin, 27 out of a possible 29 and 25 of the most active whites in Cedar City. In addition I gave a short questionnaire tapping general attitudes toward Indians and awareness and knowledge of the local Indian community to 50 members of the Cedar City Kiwanas Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and a women's literary club.

I interviewed almost all of the Anglos (my wife administered 4 questionnaires in Cedar City). The Paiute populations were interviewed by members of their community. Two women were employed as interviewers in Kaibab and three in Cedar City. All were high school graduates, ranging from 20 to 58 years of age. A great deal of care was taken in training these interviewers, and I was very satisfied with their work. Since the Southern Paiute people have not been overstudied as of yet, being interviewed in this fashion was often seen as an exciting event, and some respondents even asked to be interviewed before we contacted them.

The purpose of the questionnaires and the data they generated was to explore the areas of my study in a different way and on a different level than is possible using one method only. As such, they acted to reinforce my participant-observer activities.
There were also other supplemental methods. First I interviewed many "experts," ranging from University professors to resident "racists" to original pioneers. Unobtrusive evidences such as law enforcement records, public school records, and church records were also used.

I attempted to minimize the errors inherent in any single method by using a multiple approach:

So long as we maintain, as social scientists, an approach to comparisons that considers compensating error and converging corroboration from individually contaminated outcroppings, there is no cause for concern. It is only when we naively place faith in a single measure that the massive problems of social research vitiate the validity of our comparisons.9

Since none of the data collected in this exploratory study of leadership are particularly "hard", in a statistical sense, it is hoped that one will compensate for the weaknesses of the others and that the findings of all will support each other.

The Setting

The Southern Paiutes are a people small in number. Official U.S. government tribal roles list some 1155 members of the tribe. Of these only approximately 60 percent live in Paiute communities. The remainder fall into the grey area as far as any cultural definition of Southern Paiute is
concerned, since they live outside of Paiute groups.

The Southern Paiute bands lived in a relatively harsh and hostile environment long before Europeans arrived on the scene. This environment undoubtedly contributed to the development of a culture consisting of small, extended family bands which traveled between widely separated fertile valleys, mountains, and watering places. These small groups were occupied almost completely with plant and seed gathering, hunting, and survival and therefore had much less time to devote to the development of complicated social orders and customs that, for example, the great plains cultures developed. In contrast to many other American Indian tribes, the Southern Paiutes came in contact with substantial numbers of their own culture outside family groups only a very few times a year.

The arrival of the European cultures, first Spanish and Mexican and then U. S. settlers, in the form of Mormon Pioneers, further isolated the Southern Paiutes. The settlers naturally settled on the most fertile valleys, near the best water sources, thereby displacing the bands immediately. Further, the livestock of the white settlers competed directly with the Paiutes for food, since they all lived on seeds or grasses. The direct confrontation between cultures was not nearly so fast in most other areas of the country.
Through this rapid confrontation with small, isolated Southern Paiute bands, they were quickly dispossessed without a fight or an "Indian war" in the usual sense of the word. Instead, the bands tended to remain in their traditional area and supplement their hunting and gathering with begging and stealing and menial labor in and around the new Anglo communities. The policies of the Mormon pioneers encouraged this course of development, as opposed to open warfare and conquest. As a result the Southern Paiute bands were never forced into a larger group on a single reservation.

Government policy as it relates to the Southern Paiute bands has been erratic. Today some have small reservations, (the official Bureau of Indian Affairs term is "colony"); others are "squatting" unofficially near white communities; and four of the Utah bands were terminated from Bureau of Indian Affairs support in the 1950's.

The two case studies included here represent all of these conditions. In Cedar City, Utah, the Tu-roon-Quints or Indian Peaks band is terminated (cut off from all federal Indian programs). Also living in Cedar City is the Wahnquints or Cedar Band. This latter group has never "owned" any land, by Anglo standards, which means its members have never had a reservation. Since they have never received any federal support, it follows logically that they
could not be cut off or "terminated" from it. This is a
band of "squatters" who only in the last few months have
been told that they are still under the wing of the Bureau
of Indian Affairs. In Cedar City both groups are facing
several crisis situations. Soon, as will be seen, they will
be awarded a great deal of money as a land settlement. They
are negotiating for the land they now live upon and are in
the midst of consolidating their first central political
council. If the members of the Cedar City Paiute community
are going to progress through this period of rapidly chang-
ing demands and opportunities, they must quickly adapt their
values and organizations to these crises.

The second group is the Kaibab Band of Southern
Paiutes, living on the Kaibab Reservation located in the
remote section of Arizona north of the Grand Canyon. This
band has a "tribal council" in the Bureau of Indian Affairs
(B.I.A.) structure and is actively administered from the
Hopi Agency located in Keams Canyon, Arizona.

In both cases the Paiute communities have had many
years of very close contact with the local Anglo culture,
and in both cases the Anglos were predominantly Mormons.
They not only have been involved in almost continual face-
to-face contact, but they have also been subject to approxi-
mately the same historical process, influenced by the same
streams of cultural diffusion and homogenization. Similar
plura-cultural environments elsewhere in the southwest have been studied previously in the early 1950's, Evon Z. Vogt and Ethel M. Albert edited as a study of the values in five cultures and entitled it People of Rimrock. In their study they investigated why five different value systems continued to exist in

five cultures all having to meet similar problems and adjustment and survival in the same ecological area, all having been exposed by actual contact and by stimulus diffusion to each other's value ideas and practices.10

In the present study, the differences in the cultures are seen to be a product of different cultural traditions, different social structures and different opportunites but most centrally vastly different amounts of power to effect change, and to control their lives. Although the Southern Paiutes and the Mormons live in the same ecological area and have been affected by the same historical processes for the last one hundred years, these similarities are merely superficial. In fact, the two cultures have not participated equally in the affairs of their area nor have they preserved their environment in the same way. They were not exposed to the same survival adjustments because of their cultural differences and their controlled-controller and powerful-majority/powerless-minority relationship. In this the Southern Paiute
experience has been very similar, not to the Anglos they live among, but to the general population of the Native Americans in the United States.

Both Paiute communities lost the power to control their cultural way of life at about the same time, in about the same way, to the same Anglo-American culture. In one of these Paiute groups the leadership has regained a great measure of that power in that it now controls a fair amount of its destiny again. The other group has not and, in fact, is in a very powerless state. Both groups continue to be surrounded by the same socio-religious Anglo culture while at the same time being subjected to significant variations in attitude and behavior from that dominant society.

In Kaibab, Arizona there is an isolated reservation, organized on its own and affiliated with both the B.I.A. and inter-tribal groups. Although there is an Anglo community nearby, the Indians have a good deal of political power and are the majority.

In Cedar City, Utah the two Paiute bands form a single, disorganized minority ghetto located entirely within the city limits of the largest town for hundreds of miles. In many respects they are an urbanized poverty class as much as a Native American culture, as we usually think of them.
The Southern Paiutes in this study are the products of very similar psychological pressures which are also very similar generally to those felt by most Native American cultures in the United States today. It is not surprising that they react in a generally similar fashion.

Together these cases are very small examples of the variations of problems most Native American leaders are struggling with in the United States of America.

Explanations for the differences between these two Paiute communities are many and lengthy but briefly, this study found that because of several historical, economic, and social differences, a significantly distinct psychological environment is present in Kaibab. Leadership has developed and is now solving enough of the problems and cultural contradictions between traditional Paiute values and Anglo-Mormon values and between ideals of equality and the realities of Native American politics. Through reducing these contradictions to a tolerable level they have been able to effect a shift in the power relationship in their bi-cultural political environment in the direction of equality.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

1 Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men (Boston, Little, Brown & Co. 1967).


6 Ibid., p. 3.

7 Liebow, p. 256.

8 Ibid., pp. 250-251.


Chapter II

THEORY AND METHOD

If political development theory is of any particular value, over and above a journalistic approach, it comes from a systematic and scientific attempt to explain the processes of the development in terms of a generalized body of theory and to make predictions based on the inter-action between the variables under investigation.

Accordingly, the underlying theory of this study is presented here to bring into focus the variables most important to the study of Southern Paiute leadership and to explain the relationships between them.

Concepts and Definitions

The Concept of "Power"

In the study of political science notions of "power" are usually central to any issue since politics can be briefly described as a "struggle between actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues." This is clearly the study of power relationships.

A definition of "power" which seems to be acceptable to most political scientists is that "power", "is an
interpersonal relationship in which the behavior of one individual alters the behavior of another".

In a democratic country is generally assumed that power is reciprocal to a significant degree, that is within the system power is evenly and equally distributed. An analysis of the Paiute cases or any other Native American group that comes to mind does not fit this definition.

The Southern Paiutes and other Native American are as powerless a minority as there is in the United States. This powerlessness is perhaps the most pervasive thing a Paiute leader has to overcome in his coping.

Political Development

The term "political development" will be used very broadly in this thesis. When political development for the Southern Paiute Tribe is spoken of, it means: change toward greater distribution of power and reciprocity in the societies in which these two Paiute communities reside.

Political development is just one aspect of a multidimensional process of social change. No segment can likely lage behind for long, because all segments or aspects impinge on each other. It is because political development is only a part of a system that there are so many explanations and definitions of political development. Lucian Pye isolates ten general categories; other authorities have
developed different divisions and lists.

Following Pye, once the semantic differences are recognized it seems there are three major characteristics common to most of the definitions of political development. The first has to do with the political culture and its attitude toward "equality." Equality in turn is generally taken to mean three things: 1) increased mass participation and popular involvement in political activities, 2) universalistic laws applied to all, and 3) political leadership based upon achievement standards of performance and not the ascriptive norms of the traditional social system.

The second characteristic has to do with the authoritative structures or the institutions of the society. This dimension is commonly called "capacity." Capacity includes: 1) the magnitude and scope of the political system, i.e., how much can the government handle? 2) the ability of the system, if it is developed, to do these things better and faster; and, 3) the performance of the system in a secular, rational manner.

The third theme has to do with the non-authoritative aspects or general political processes of the society at large; called "differentiation." It is marked first by an increase in functionally specific roles within the political system; second, by specific structures to facilitate those roles; and third, integration of the structures and functions.
That is, differentiation is not fragmentation and isolation of the different parts of the political system, but specialization based on an ultimate sense of integration.  

The problems of "equality" are most generally related to the culture; the problems of "capacity" are related to the authoritative structures of government; and the problems of "differentiation" are related to the non-authoritative and general political process. In turn the differences or contradictions between one system and another or the same system at different times can be compared and analyzed.

The Meaning of "Culture"

An important concept in all of this is that of "culture." "Culture" is a psychological term in that it has psychological connotations, which in turn means that it is not very systematic. Just as the same childhood experiences need not result in the same psychological development in two individuals, so the same historical or environmental experience will not necessarily result in the same cultural development for two peoples.

"Culture" is tied up in the traditions of a society, the spirit of its public institutions, the collective reasoning of its people, the operating codes and mores of its leaders, and their personal histories. It is the
product of the collective history, the political system, and the life histories of its individuals.

One culture is very often very difficult to separate from a neighboring one. It is often like a current in an ocean, in that "It is possible to point out generally where a particular current exists, especially at its center or strongest point, but it is not ordinarily possible to neatly separate that current from the surrounding sea." This is particularly true of Native American cultures today, the Southern Paiute case certainly included because so much has been forced upon them.

A culture can have many options for behavior, but it must include some sense of "peoplehood" shared by all the individual members. So long as the Paiutes, for example, possess a sense of identity, of "peoplehood," and, by what ever means, are conscious of their own distinctiveness from "outside others," they can be said to possess a culture.

As part of our American myth, perhaps, an Indian culture is often thought of as a way of life that only was valid in its pure form before the impact of the whites on that culture. Actually cultures are much more dynamic than that, and we usually think of our own cultures in a more dynamic way.
"No European thinks that the Irish ceased to exist when they came into contact with the Danes or the Normans, or even the English... The succession of transformations which the Cherokees, the Papagos, the Navajos, the Iroquois, and the many other Indian groups have undergone does not require a different approach. Like Europeans, the Indians have suffered and survived conquests; and they have continued to adapt in their own styles to successive changes in their social environments."10

Political culture: lets people find meaning in and explanations for their lives. The Native American tribes, for all that has been lost or made useless from their ancient cultures, have remained distinct cultures. Although a great deal has been imposed on them and they have lost control of their lives, "Culture" is largely a notion of self-definition and must remain so.

In this study, a Southern Paiute is anyone who claims to be a Southern Paiute and feels a sense of "peoplehood" with other Southern Paiutes. This is consistent with the cultural definition of "Indian," where pure bloodlines are of lesser consequence.

A sense of "peoplehood" with other Southern Paiutes might be significantly different than for other Native American cultures. The Southern Paiute people are called a "tribe," but they have very little in common with other "tribes" that have possessed a strong national-territorial sense, or others who have formed giant political
federations. It is very difficult to generalize about American Indian tribes. Tribes existed because of common language, common culture, common social organization, common territory and in some cases simply because they had a common residence in a town or village. In this study the term "tribe" will be avoided and replaced by the term "culture" or the term "people."

Although cultural identity is extremely important, and in this study a self-definition of Southern Paiute culture will be used, culture does mean much more. Modern anthropology has an ecological explanation of the forces that shape behavioral patterns into a culture, and a measure of how the culture is doing is how efficiently it provides its people with a way of making a living.

People must wrest a livelihood from the land they live on. They do this with the technical apparatus which they are heir to. But the means by which they exploit their environment involves them in various kinds of collaborative activities. These in turn shape the patterns of human interaction, including the values, the rituals, and other forms of customary behavior. Thus it follows that these institutional and attitudinal characteristics are instrumentalities for survival.12

In part this means that effective cultures must be viewed in their ecological and historical context. If the environment changes in its historical relationships or if the ecology changes, the culture will probably have to
change also to remain effective.

This is true only when the ecology is compulsive. By that is meant that a pure agriculturist moving into the interior Great Basin would soon be compelled by the ecology to abandon most of his agricultural way of life if he were to survive. On the other hand, the Southern Paiute from the interior of the Great Basin would not be compelled to change his culture if he moved to a more lush area. He could go on hunting and gathering, only doing it better or with much less energy.

A much more variable element of culture is history. The inter-human relations of an environment change more rapidly and more often than the ecology seems to. A graphic means of expressing these relationships is the following non-mathematical equation. Culture should change when either history or ecology changes in the cultural environment, if the question is to remain balanced:

\[
CULTURE = \frac{HISTORY \text{ (Much more variable)}}{ECOLOGY \text{ (Much more static)}}
\]

Since institutions and attitudes are designed for the maintenance of human life, then cultures should be evaluated in terms of their effectiveness toward that purpose. In this study the Southern Paiute culture will be defined by those who participate in it, but it will be
judged in terms of its effectiveness in adapting to changing historical and ecological pressures in its environment.

**Southern Paiute Leadership**

The focus of this study is on the cultural contradictions and specifically how they effect the Southern Paiute leadership and organizations in the communities as the leaders strive to gain better power relationship with the Anglo-American. These contradictions operate on several different levels: they operate within the individual, they effect the legitimacy of the leaders, they effect the relations between the ethnic groups, and they effect the development of modern organizations.

For the leader the pressures are varied and great because transition from traditional ways means tension between the cultural elements of contradiction. Balancing these tensions requires personal decisions on the part of the leaders. The leader is constantly making both a personal choice and choosing for his followers. He must constantly attempt to solve all the contradictions of the two cultures he bridges, first for himself and then for his followers.

The psychological pressures are perhaps the greatest ones on the leaders. They are assaulted by their past heritage on the one hand and examples of modernization on
the other.

Any change in the Paiute society will to some extent effect the status quo, the institutions and power relationships of the surrounding society and therefore bring pressures to bear on those leaders. Often the results are frustration and resistance on the part of the Anglo community leaders. This process puts institutional pressures on the Paiute leadership, pressures originating from the dominant community.

Leaders also receive pressure from their own people. The Paiute culture makes demands on leadership different from those Anglos make on leaders of the same level. The demands a Paiute leader can make on his people in return are significantly different from those Anglos make on their followers and, perhaps just as important, the legitimate sanctions he can bring to bear on them are greatly different.

They must resolve their position in three directions: 1) with the white/affluent community, 2) with their past, often idealized, and 3) with their own people. The rationale or ideologies they develop in an attempt to reduce the ambiguities are themselves often contradictory. In many instances effective leadership under these conditions comes from persons who are located somewhat outside the culture, persons who for some reason do not feel all
the cultural constraints or the ambiguities inherent for them in the social and economic institutions of the larger, white-dominated society.

Briefly, this theory, argued by Everett E. Hagen, states that the innovative and creative personality in a transitional culture is a deviant person who belongs to a segment of society which has suffered "a withdrawal of status respect." As such this leader perceives that the best road to regaining status and respect is through turning his energies toward change. This process is made easier because he has already rejected some traditional aspects of his society and is now armed with a new concept or idea.

Aspects of this notion are expounded by many other students of development and change. Clifford Geertz has explained much the same process of transitional leadership in this way:

The function of the entrepreneur (leader in modernization) in such transitional but pre-take-off societies is mainly to adapt customarily established means to novel ends.17

He believes that these entrepreneurs face both directions, capitalize on the knowledge they develop in their traditional roles, and attempt to apply them toward more complex institutions.

As a result, they are able to create transitional economic institutions within which many of the values, structures, beliefs, and skills of a customary
culture are integrated with features characteristic of developed and specialized firm economies. 19

The Southern Paiute leaders are not only economic entrepreneurs; they are political entrepreneurs as well, and on occasion they have dove-tailed traditional, primordial values toward power relationships between: individuals, individuals and organizations, and organizations with modern anglosized concepts which function efficiently in U. S. society. Nevertheless, the Southern Paiute leader faces serious cultural contradictions between what powers of leadership are legitimate and what responsibilities of follower-ship will be agreed to in return. These different norms of leaders and followers are extremely important to understand if we are to begin to understand Paiute leadership. These standards exist as a general difference between all American Indian cultures and predominantly white U. S. society.

The general loyalty to the tribe and material collectivism, lack of private ownership of land and a tendency toward cooperation rather than competition, have led Anglo-Americans to believe that the Native American is not individualistic. This is simply not true; the course that Native American individualism took was just different from the white man's and therefore difficult for him to recognize.
In most Native American cultures the individual has a great deal of personal freedom within his cultural setting. But this personal freedom, this "individualism," must be viewed by the Paiute's cultural definition and not ours.

Most Indian Americans rebel, whether consciously or unconsciously, at the white man's 'individualism,' though they themselves have had their own kind of 'individualism.' Their culture made room for considerable autonomy so far as each personality was concerned. Yet the individual carries on his existence within an extensive network of formalized personal relationships that reached out beyond the biological family into the framework of his community or tribe. Herein lay his psychological security, for he could express and fulfill himself with confidence in this particular setting. 20

The problem of understanding comes because in those ways that Anglo-Americans are least individualistic, the Indian people are often most individualistic. The best example of this seems to be in the area of religion. Most Christian religions leave very little up to the individual church member. Our theologies are codified and static. Authoritarian figures are set above us by some order of "priesthood," and they interpret and decide for us all. However, in the case of Native American religions,

"the outstanding feature of Indian character is reliance upon individual visions as fundamental guides in the path of life. The red man is primarily a mystic, and to a degree elsewhere exemplified only in Christian and Oriental ascetics. Life is to him peculiarly personal and inward, with
no persistent reliance upon any social
sanctions. 21

On this subject, many Native Americans cannot
understand Anglo missionaries. Religion is not something
one has to "sell" to others, in their minds. The most
sacred aspects of a religion are private and in many cases
must be kept secret.

Another important aspect of Native American or at
least Paiute individualism concerns the follower's concept
of "representation," as opposed to the Anglos concept of
the same term. Traditionally each Paiute has spoken for
himself; no one could legitimately have power over him
(represent him) under normal circumstances. Modern U. S.
society uses "representation" almost continually in both
private and public matters. In private affairs Anglo-
Americans use "brokers"-lawyers, accountants, insurance men,
bankers and stockbrokers to represent them, to act for them,
in many specific and specialized cases. This is a very
personal form of "representation" and not completely foreign
to most Indian's experience. But public and political
affairs Anglo-Americans are "represented" by congressmen,
governors, mayors, school board members and commissions of
almost infinite variety. Anglos are also generally bound
by the organizations they belong to. Bureaucrats of may
types commit them to certain behavior constantly and in
that sense they "represent" in very binding ways. These
types of "representative power relationships" are remote and impersonal and quite foreign to most Native American's experience. Thus concepts of legitimate power relationships are greatly, different in each culture and herein lies one of the major contradictions between them.

In the face of these problems the modern Indian leader must "represent" his people if he is to be effective in larger society. As he represents his people and is generally a non-traditional leader he violates the norms of the society and to the extent he does he commits acts of anti-social leadership. Because Paiute concepts of representation are very limited and what representation is considered legitimate is on a one-time-only, face-to-face basis, it is very difficult to conduct business efficiently in the dominant society and political system.

The different concepts of "collectivism" and "individualism" between the Anglo culture and the Native American culture (in this case Southern Paiute culture) are extremely important in understanding leadership among the communities under study. Since Indian "individualism" is of such a private, personal, inward, nature, and so foreign to the Anglo-American understanding of the word, I will use the term "privatism" when referring to the Indian's use of the concept.
The relations between the concepts that give meaning to the life-styles of the Southern Paiute and the Anglo-Americans result in serious misunderstanding of each other's cultures. In addition, the controller-controlled, powerful-powerless nature of the relationship and the history and ideologies that have resulted from several generations of this unequal condition have culminated in a general and deep feeling of personal hostility on the part of both ethnic groups toward the other.

All of the contradictions between the two societies are very inter-related, and they cannot be separated in reality without affecting some aspect of the system as a whole. Conceptually the bi-cultural system of the Southern Paiutes and Anglos in Southern Utah and Northern Arizona is much easier to analyze if each set of contradictions is treated as if it were a separate and more or less independent element in that system. Therefore these contradictions will be analyzed separately as they relate to attitudes toward, public and private sectors of an individual's life, legitimate forms and areas of leadership, psychological characteristics, personal life styles, and historical experience.

With this approach, using the methodologies listed and the theories and notions set forth, I plan to investigate the following aspect of Southern Paiute leadership
within both the Paiute culture and the larger society:

First, what are the cultural demands on leadership? What are the ramifications of the collective aspects of the Paiute culture? What are the ramifications of the private aspects of the Paiute culture? What are the demands the Anglo-American society places on the Paiute leader?

Second, what manner of man becomes a leader in the face of these cultural demands? What demands are legitimate for him to make of his followers? What sanctions are available for his legitimate use?

Third, what are the norms of "followership" in the Southern Paiute culture? What are the cultural demands on the follower? What are the ramifications of the collective aspects of the Paiute culture? What are the ramifications of the private aspects of the Paiute culture? What are the demands Anglo-American society places on the Paiute follower?

Since there is relatively little that is generally known about the Southern Paiute history and culture or the Anglo culture as it relates to these Native Americans, it is very important to present the cultures involved in proper context. Therefore, a great deal of care will be taken to present the ethnography and history of the Southern Paiutes and the Mormon people they live among before focusing on their leadership and organizations,
which is the central theme to be presented here.

This background information will include:
Southern Paiute ethnography; the impact of Anglo cultures on Pre-European Paiute culture; the Mormon Church and the Southern Paiute; and the traditional values of the individual Southern Paiute within this historical context.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter II

1
Vernon Van Dyke, Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 134.

2

3

4

5

6
Ibid., pp. 45-48.

7
Ibid., p. 47.

8

9

10


13  Richard Thompson, Department of Archeology Southern Utah State College Cedar City, Utah, Personal Interview, April 1971.


15  For a more complete discussion of this train of thought see S. P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968) for a theoretical treatment or G. C. Lodge, op. cit. for a series of examples of this phenomenon in Central America.


19  Ibid., p. 153.

Chapter III

THE GREAT AMERICAN MYTH
(AND THE NATIVE AMERICAN)

Understanding the plural-cultural environment of the modern-day Southern Paiute is not the only obstacle that must be confronted. The contradictory views of reality which were presented in the Preface to this study are a case in point. All social scientists operate from a position based initially upon their own bias's, prejudices, ideologies, and myths, which are part of their very personalities. For the Anglo-American scholar these personal factors become very important. The morass that is so much a part of Anglo-America's image and tradition of Native Americans must be faced and overcome, as much as possible, by the scholar if he is to be able to recognize, isolate, observe, and analyze the cogent aspects of these human relations that are so central to any social inquiry. The following section is a brief attempt to identify and face some of the major problems and misconceptions that should be confronted before a study of any Native American culture should be attempted. To fail to do so is to forever relate to the Native American in terms of false definitions, to pigeonhole them into either the "noble savage" or "bloodthirsty savage" stereotype and define away their
individuality and humanity.

The Great American Myth and the Student of Indian Studies

The "image" that one ethnic group comes to have of another ethnic group is very important in understanding the interaction between those groups. In the case of the white citizens and the Native Americans, this "image" has developed into a body of mythology rather than a portion of reality. This is extremely important because the image is a derogatory one toward the Native Americans. Policies have been based wholly or in part on this "image" or mythology. This is not to say there now is or was ever a single "image" or mythology, but the effects have nevertheless been damaging to the Native Americans.

As the time of the discovery of the Western Hemisphere, conquest was a normal feature of European life. The white race came to conquer and control, not to compromise or form a "melting pot."

Carl L. Becker, the historian, developed a theory which sums up the European state of mind at the time they met the Native Americans for the first time. According to Becker the point of departure came when men gave up mere verbal manipulation of ideas, and became involved in the manipulation of things.
Whereas other peoples—the Hindus and the Chinese and the Hellenized peoples of western Asia—remained relatively immobile, fixed within the places where they had long dwelt, content with repeating the activities and adhering to the idea that use and custom make familiar, the Europeans alone are always on the move, pushing beyond their frontiers, spreading themselves ever more dominantly over the habitable globe.¹

This environment produced men who grew increasingly "cocksure" of themselves. Generally they saw themselves as a chosen people. Europeans came to the new world to colonize, to dig out raw materials, to conquer nature. They ordinarily considered themselves to be superior to other culturally different populations and even in many instances to be divinely ordained conquerers or civilizers.²

Even with this psychological orientation many of the first explorers and settlers in the New World found the Native American to possess knowledge and skills of a very high order. In fact, most early settlers to any area, whether it was the Virginia colony or the Mormon colonizers of the Great Basin, owed a great deal to the help and knowledge of the Native Americans they found when they arrived in that area. Inevitably when the cultures clashed, when the white men sought to push the Indian off the land he had occupied, the white men discovered the Native American to be a stubborn obstacle to "progress," an enemy of "civilization," a part of nature to be conquered.
Roy H. Pearce explains the process this way:

Americans who were setting out to make a new society could find a place in it for the Indian only if he would become what they were—settled, steady, civilized. Yet somehow he would not be anything but what he was—roaming, unreliable, savage. So they concluded that they were destined to try to civilize him and by trying to destroy him, because he could not and would not be civilized.3

Out of this frustration the dominant notion of the "Great American Myth" was born. In America the experience most common to all settlers on all frontiers was the confrontation with the Indians. Conquering the Indian symbolized and personified the conquest of all the difficulties in taming nature. To defeat the Indians was to prove the worth of the settler's own mission, to establish "civilization."

The psychological ramifications of this myth seem to be an important part of American national character. It has been suggested that:

The frontier, of which the Indian was so intimately a part, is usually credited with the development of the traditional American characteristics of courage, resourcefulness, energy, and tolerance. Though the frontier is gone, these qualities still characterize, in the eyes of Americans, the ideal-stereotype of their national group.4

In America the man on horseback has traditionally been an Indian fighter.
Today, largely because of this myth, most Anglo-Americans seem to be quite ambivalent about the Native American. There is something faintly anachronistic about contemporary Indians. They seem to be figures out of the past, as relics of a more heroic age. This ambivalence is not new; our "image" has long been troubled and has therefore affected the relations of the two races. The pendulum of public opinion has swung several times from one image to the other. One image sees the Native American as the "noblesavage" or the "child of nature," the natural man. The other image saw the Native American as a "bloodthirsty savage" or "wild animal" who delighted in scalping and torturing white people and actively obstructing the taming of nature and the progress of civilization.

But a belief in the golden age of natural man is an important part of our American political thought. The Native American in this image is seen as a romantic embodiment of what all men should be, minus the tarnishing influence of civilization. In practice, most colonists believed as Rousseau that the Noble Savage could be improved upon. The Europeans believed he possessed the key to the improvement of the Noble Savage. "It was 'order' which must be imposed upon the red man, in order that he might attain his highest potentialities."

As the Indians resisted, the image of the Indian as
a "bloodthirsty savage" became predominant in the minds of the white colonists. Since the Indians did almost all of their resisting on the frontier, the image of the Indian as a savage, cruel, and almost irredeemable enemy became very strong. The "noble savage" viewpoint was effective only in literary and intellectual circles and was seldom applied to an Indian living where the major cultural confrontations were taking place.

Thus, many Easterners in the nineteenth century developed a real sympathy for "book" Indians, but this did not appreciably alter the actual treatment of the remnants of eastern native groups, nor did it really ameliorate conditions on the western frontier, where actual warfare and conquest were then in progress and where the negative image of the native dominated.  

As the Indian was defeated, attitudes have become more complex, but in general the image of the Indian as a "bloodthirsty savage" has become less pervasive.

Attitudes at present seem to range from, viewing the Native American as a lazy and backward incompetent to seeing him as the noble creator of a rich and valuable culture, with most Anglo-Americans possessing an ambiguous set of images largely determined by motion pictures and other mass media.  

Today there is still a distinct division in the way different Anglo-Americans view the "Indian." For example, the new youth movement in the U. S. (the hippies), in their quest to return to the primitive, natural life, are attempting to become "noble savages," which seems to
fit their image of the American Indian. They see the Indian as a Rousseauian ideal, not the bad Indian of the Westerns or the more nearly real Indians of the ethnographies. They see only the community harmony and not the sometimes autocratic and sometimes severe controls that at least some of the Indian cultures practice.

Many people who live around Indians have an image of them as being uncaring and lazy and nearer their ancestors' image of the Indian as a somewhat animalistic creature.

Who and What Is the American Indian

One of the major misconceptions our image of Native Americans makes easy for us to accept is the concept of a single Indian culture. At the time of first contact with Europeans there was far more cultural and linguistic diversity in North America than there was in Europe. For example there are over 150 different Native American languages in use in the United States today. Many more were in use earlier. Language, methods of obtaining foods, belief and personality all differ in a vast number of significant ways. Indians also vary greatly physically; there is only the slightest resemblance between a Montana Crow and a Mexican Maya. There are a number of theories as to why this is so.
On the other hand Native Americans have a great deal in common. The obvious background fact that they hold in common is the defeat of the Indians by the whites, and their subsequent similar experiences as conquered nations or occupied foreign colonies. On a deeper level, a considerable body of evidence indicates that there is a persistent core of psychological characteristics of Indian personality that seem to carry through most tribal and cultural lines.

George and Louise Spindler suggested the following core psychological characteristics:

(1) Restrained and non-demonstrative emotional bearing coupled with a high degree of control over aggressive acts within the group; (2) always with a concern for the safety of the group; (3) generosity, expressed in varying patterns of formalized giving or sharing; (4) autonomy of the individual, in societies that were largely free of classes or hierarchies; (5) acceptance of pain, hardship, hunger, and frustration without voicing complain; (6) high regard for courage and bravery, often patterned as aggressive acts against the out-group; (7) fear of the world as a dangerous place, sometimes expressed as fear of witchcraft; (8) joking relationships with certain kinsmen, as a device for relieving pressures within the group; (9) detailed, practical, and immediate concern in problem situations, rather than advance planning to prevent future difficulties; (10) dependence upon supernatural power, which is invoked through dreams or ritual, as a means to a good life.
To the extent that these traits exist among all Indian cultures, they can help to determine the perceptual screen through which the groups make choices as to such matters as leader selection, the legitimate demands he can then make on his group, and what demands the group can make upon him.

It is largely the existence of these characteristics that makes generalizations about Native Americans valid. On the other hand such generalizations are usually oversimplifications for any specific native culture and therefore should be used with caution.

These common psychological traits present a personality definition of an Indian. Of course there are many Native Americans who would exhibit different personality traits and therefore fall outside this definition of an Indian. How do we adequately define "Indian"? This is a problem the U. S. Government and others have been struggling over for several hundred years.

"Indian" or "Indio" is the unfortunate result of Columbus' belief that he had reached India. In our early history, before much colonizing had begun, the Europeans called Native Americans "Americans." The use of the term "Indian" was revived when the citizens of the United States began calling themselves "Americans" rather than "United-stateseans."
Who is a Native American or an Indian today? Since different people apply different definitions, there is no single or clear answer. Most definitions are based on either a concept of "culture," which would include the personality definition, or a "racial" concept.

In brief, the Latin Americans have adopted the cultural definition; to be an Indian is to live an Indian way of life. This means that occasionally a white is thought of as an Indian if he has adopted the Indian culture. On the other hand, in the United States a white man who had adopted an Indian culture as had his Latin counterpart would be regarded only as a man who had "gone Indian."

The United States has been inclined to define a person by his racial background rather than by his way of life. In fact the government has kept rather close record of whether a person in an Indian community is "full-blood," "half-blood," "quarter-blood," etc. This is not a consistent rule; it only applies to persons served by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and does not include the more than 30 million Mexican-Americans who are at least biologically as Indian as most populations living on a reservation.

Jack D. Forbes makes the following statement on the definition used in the United States:

In summary, the only type of person in the United States who can be safely categorized as an "American Indian" under any and all circumstances is an individual who
is of unmixed or virtually unmixed United States native ancestry and who 1) resides in an Indian community, 2) is a member of a tribal organization, and 3) participates in the way of life of the group to which he belongs; or, 1) resides in an urban setting (usually temporarily), 2) maintains contacts with "home," and 3) participates in the activities of inter-tribal organizations or tribal clubs.14

(In this study "Indian" will be defined culturally. In addition, the terms "Indian" and "Tribe" will be used as little as possible. Whenever it is practical a specific tribal name or band name will be used. Citizens of the United States of European ancestry will be called "Anglo-Americans" and "Indians" will usually be referred to as "Native Americans.")

Native American Civilization

Another common misconception whites must face up to before they attempt to study Native Americans concerns "civilization." Most civilizations are ethnocentric enough to view themselves as "civilized" and outsiders as "barbarians of some sort." In this respect Native American civilizations were at least as ethnocentric as the rest of the world since most tribes called themselves "The People" and all others something derogatory.
Anglo-Americans have an additional problem: The Great American Myth. Indians are usually perceived, as we have said, as nomadic, with few material possessions and even fewer political, social, or cultural structures and contributions. However, there is an ample body of literature about many of the outstanding examples of Native American cultures ranging from popularized studies to very detailed works for the serious student. Here the main point can be made with a very brief and incomplete survey of some of the these outstanding Native American cultures.

The Hopewelian culture of 500-700 a.d. developed gigantic trading networks along the great river valleys of America; the Iroquoian culture developed a democratic system with concepts that were adopted into the United States Constitution; the five civilized tribes of the southeast developed impressive European-like civilizations after they felt the impact of Anglo-American society; and the Pimas were progressive agriculturists long before the Spanish discovered them until they were forced to move to reservations and begin farming according to the dictates of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The point to be emphasized here is that the Native Americans produces many impressive civilizations before the Europeans arrived and were able, on other occasions, to develop their own impressive and unique civilizations after
they had withstood the initial impact of white civilization through astute adaptation of white innovations to their existing cultures.

Another reason to be on guard against ethnocentricism is that the Native American civilizations long ago altered those brought to the New World by the Europeans. By far the most important contribution Native Americans have made to world civilization has been in food. Many of the Indian cultures in North America were very accomplished agriculturists, but the greatest the world has ever known were the Inca's.

More than half of the foods that the world eats today were developed by these Andean farmers; it has been estimated that more kinds of food and medicinal plants were systematically cultivated here than in any other sizable area of the world! One has only to mention the obvious: maíze—twenty varieties; potatoes—240 varieties; sweet potatoes, squash, beans of infinite variety; manioc (from which come our farina and tapioca); peanuts, cashews, pineapples, chocolate, avocados, tomatoes, peppers, papaya, mulberries; so many and so varied the plants, and so long domesticated in the old world, one forgets that all of these originated in the Americas.²⁰

Other plants first cultivated by Native Americans are now used extensively world wide: tobacco for instance, and all cotton grown in the United States as well as the long-fiber cotton grown in Egypt was derived from an Indian variety.²¹
By way of further contributions, the civilization of the modern United States would not be complete without such devices as canoes, smoking pipes, dog sleds and toboggans, snowshoes and parkas, hammocks and ponchos, or without the thousands of words and names of cities and states, rivers and lakes, such as cougar, moose, papoose, hickory, pecan, raccoon, or Alabama, Idaho, Massachusetts, Wyoming. In fact over half of our states have Indian names as do cities like Chicago, Miami, Seattle, Schenectady and Tucson.

These few and very brief examples of Native American cultures and contributions serve to indicate the level and diversity they attained. Simple definitions just do not serve; moreover, they greatly obstruct meaningful relationships between the Anglo and Native American societies.

Native American Heritage Since Columbus

Although the Native cultures of North America differed greatly originally, since the impact of the whites there has been a common experience that tends to bind them together today. This is the common heritage of United States Government policy and the attitudes of a predominantly white society, our collective image.

The most common sequence of events for almost all Native American cultures has been crowding of their lands
and military defeat,* followed by generations of isolation and poverty, hostility and frustration, dehumanization and dependency.

Over the years the official programs of the government have shifted several times from paternal supervision to abrupt separation from government support; but the ultimate objective, whatever the approach, was to destroy distinctive Indian cultures as a preparation for rapid assimilation.

Physical separation (on reservations) from the mainstream of society suggests Federal paternalism to most Indians since that is the only separate existence they have known. Programs aimed at assimilation or even reform of

*Most of our histories are ethnocentric. Members of the dominant society see the social universe as oriented around what they control.

In most texts on the Indian wars the Indians involved are often viewed "sympathetically, but always the frame of reference is the necessity for adjustment to the dominant societies aims and institutions." From E. H. Spicer, A Short History of the Indians of the United States (New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. 1969), 3. There are, thankfully, several other exceptions to this. Recently Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West (New York, Holt Rineholt, Winston 1970).

In the area of this study, the Southwest Mr. Spicer has written Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest (Tucson, University of Arizona Press Second Edition, 1967).
old methods of operation suggest to most Indians a revision of the termination policies of the Eisenhower administration or the allotment acts of the 1880's, both of which sought to end with the greatest possible dispatch, the special relationship of the Indians and the Federal Government.

Commenting upon this "failure of national policy" a special subcommittee of the U. S. Senate on Indian education said:

A careful review of the historical literature reveals that the dominant policy of the Federal government toward the American Indian has been one of forced assimilation which has vacillated between the two extremes of coercion and persuasion. At the root of the assimilation policy has been a desire to divest the Indian of his land and resources.22

The senators then pinpointed what seems to be the major fear most Indian leaders have today: that is renewed attempts by the government at "coersive assimilation" or termination. The senators were explicit in their condemnation of coercive assimilation and the reasons for it. The reasons for its persistence in spite of its failure over the years seems to be two-fold:

A continuous desire to exploit and expropriate Indian land and physical resources and a self-righteous intolerance of tribal communities and cultural differences.24
Once the effort is made to clarify the image Anglo-America has regarding the Native Americans, to realize that they are not one people or culture, "Noble Savages" or "Bloodthirsty Savages" or any other single and simple categorization; once their contributions to the United States and the world are acknowledged, the barriers can be sufficiently broken down to begin serious inquiry into the nature of a specific group of Native Americans the Southern Paiute and their experience within the larger flow of United States' society.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter III


8 Ibid.


14 Ibid., p. 126.


18 Ibid., pp. 107-108.


21 Stewart, p. 494.

22 Senate Report No. 91-501, 91st Congress, 1st Session.

23 Fey and McNickle, *This is the major theme of this book.*

24 Senate Report No. 91-501.
Chapter IV

SOUTHERN PAIUTE ETHNOGRAPHY

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the Southern Paiute culture just before the arrival of the permanent Anglo-American settlers to their land. Particular attention will be paid to their political institutions, power relationships and the values these ancient people had toward them, and, most importantly, their leadership and how it functioned.

Ethnically, the Southern Paiutes belong to the Ute-Chemehuevi group of the Shoshonean branch of the Uto-Aztecan stock. The Uto-Aztecan language family is one of the larger ones in North America, ranging throughout the Great Basin, the Southern plains and most of what is now Mexico.

The Shoshonean subfamily of languages includes the Shoshone tribe of California, Nevada, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming; the Northern Paiute of Southeastern Oregon, western Nevada and extreme eastern California; the Ute of Utah and Colorado; the Southern Paiute of Utah, northern Arizona, southern Nevada and southeastern California and the Bannock of Idaho. Some of the other important tribes in this group include the Hopi, Pima, Comanche and Aztec.
As with most desert dwellers the world over, the pre-settler Shoshonean subfamily lived near oases where they gained most of their livelihood. But within the Great Basin the desert varies greatly, from salt flats to towering mountain ranges, and from broken canyon lands to large lakeland areas. Thus the way of life of the various groups in the Great Basin varied with geography and culture.

Since these relatively fertile areas were small and generally widely separated, the populations supported by them also remained very small throughout history. As there seems to be a correlation between complexity of culture and size of population, the very limited number of people who could live close together on a regular basis in the Great Basin resulted in simple organizations.

The political organizations of the Shoshone Indians and their linguistic relatives of the Great Basin, the Northern Paiute, the Ute, and the Southern Paiute, can be best designated a primitive democracy. Leadership was earned by demonstrating skills and abilities. Followers were always free to give allegiance to new chiefs and were allowed to choose competing leaders in the group.3

The Great Basin is so named because its borders are formed by mountains higher than the many mountains within its boundaries and, more importantly, because most of it has no outlet to the sea. The relatively few interior rivers flow into lakes and there evaporate, forming shallow
lakes and eventually salt flats.

Although the Great Basin includes the Colorado, Green and Snake Rivers, it is generally bounded on the east by the Wasatch Mountains and deep canyonlands of Utah and on the west by the Sierra Mountains, in the south it merges into the Mohave Desert of California.

In addition to having a hostile topography, there is no staple food (one which could supply the major part of the diet of a group) found in the Great Basin area. Animal food is irregular and hard to obtain. There is no universal large game animal such as the buffalo to rely upon. The jackrabbit supplied the most nearly universal important meat product, but rabbits are subject to population explosions and droughts. For no apparent reason large sections of the Great Basin are sometimes overrun with large numbers of jackrabbits and then, in another cycle, have almost none. Between these short periods of feast or famine there is usually a moderate supply but not enough on which to base a hunting culture.

Strangely enough, of all animal products fish is the most dependable one in the Great Basin. In the regions along the rivers in Idaho and the larger lakes in Nevada and the lakes and streams in the plateau valleys of Utah, the local Indian groups depended heavily on them.
Pinon or pine nuts would have gained the same place in the diets of the Basin people as did the acorn among many California cultures except that they, too, are subject to irregular growth patterns. Pinon pine trees produce many cones irregularly, usually not more often than once in three or four years; therefore a stable diet cannot be built around them.

The Shoshonean sub-family gathered, processed and consumed insects of many kinds, but here again incursions of crickets came only about once in seven years. A great variety of seeds and roots were also gathered.

To summarize, there are relatively few areas in the world with fewer natural resources for human use than the Great Basin area (although this is often exaggerated), but virtually all of those resources that were available were used by the Indian groups living there. Over three hundred different plants were used for medicine alone in Nevada. It is reported that over 174 species or varieties of plant life were used in some limited manner for food in the Basin area.

The Southern Paiute Sub-Family

The prehistoric Southern Paiute, as part of the linguistic sub-family, shared generally in all the environmental circumstances outlined above. On the other hand,
if specifics are important, their experiences differed
significantly from their linguistic brothers.

The Southern Paiute called themselves "nūma," 5
which means "people." This is not very surprising since
almost all Native American cultures call themselves some
variation of "the people." ( Anglo-Americans are not the
only ethnocentric people in the world.)

The terms Pi-Ute, Pai-Ute, Piede, Pi-ede, Pah-Edes,
Pah-Ranagats, Pi-eds, and Pah-Utes have all been used by
reputable authorities to designate the Native Americans now
most commonly called Southern Paiute. The term "Paiute"
is most commonly said to mean "Water-Ute." Since the
Paiute word for water is "Pah," it would seem that the
correct spelling would be "Pahute," as William R. Palmer
argues. The word "Pah" means "water" and the word "Pai"
means "true" in Southern Paiute and therefore the word
"Paiute" might mean "true Ute." In any event, in the
1870's one of the first authorities on the Southern Paiutes,
John W. Powell maintains that Paiute referred to only one
small band of the culture which lived on the Corn Creek in
southwestern Utah. The name was later given to several
additional bands. I have elected to use the spelling
"Paiute" rather than the one I feel is probably correct for
two reasons: First, the Paiutes I have studied seem to
pronounce it that way, and second, because most of the
literature spells it that way.

There is also a bit of confusion about the territorial boundaries of the Southern Paiute bands. Most of the trouble comes on the northern limits, where the Southern Paiutes stop and the Utes begin, and on the eastern limits, where the Southern Utes and Navajos mingled with the San Juan Paiutes. These questions are important to this study primarily because they are still important to the Kaibab and Cedar City Paiutes themselves.

The Konosh and Kosherem Indian people are generally considered Utes by most historians and anthropologists, but politically they were defined as Southern Paiute when they were terminated in 1956. This was partially the result of a political action on their part. Earlier in their history they had refused to move to the Uinta Ute reservation because in the past, they had children stolen from them by the present residents of that reservation.

The eastern boundary holds some interest. The San Juan area of Utah, Colorado and New Mexico was, in the latter part of the last century and the first twenty-five years of this one a gathering place for many of the desperadoes and renegades of the vanishing old west. One of these hold-overs was an Indian called "Posey," who fought the "last Indian war" in 1915 and was fatally wounded in a fight with a posse in 1923. Both the Anglos of the San
Juan area and the Paiutes I have talked with claim that he was Paiute, although some authorities say he was probably a Southern Ute.

These questions have some importance to this study because people involved have become part of the Southern Paiute heritage. A good deal of ethnic pride seems to come from recognizing Posey as "one of us." On the other matter relatives of the Cedar City and Kaibab communities now live in the Kosherem and Konosh colonies. Based on the sense of "peoplehood" and identity that has developed on these issues, rather than any solid anthropological evidence, the Kosherem and Konosh bands were declared Southern Paiute, and Old Posey died a proud Paiute as far as this study is concerned.

Ethnographic literature concerning the Southern Paiute is somewhat limited and spotty in that some traditional bands were once investigated quite thoroughly, while others were missed completely and have now disappeared. Fortunately for this study, the Kaibab are among these most thoroughly covered. On the other hand the Cedar and Indian Peaks have had only bits and pieces done on them. But the problem is not as great as it might first appear, because the bands in this study lived in quite similar topographical areas on the edge of the High Plateaus.
The Southern Paiutes of this study lived for the most part on the eastern edge of the Great Basin, in the High Plateau subregion of the Colorado Plateau. The base elevation is 5,000 feet. In this area, climat and vegetation vary directly with elevation. The highest tablelands, ranging from over 11,000 feet to 7,000 feet, receive considerable rainfall and support fairly dense forest areas. The areas between 5,000 and 7,000 feet are native grasslands, with open stands of pinon and juniper (called cedar trees locally); and the areas below 5,000 feet are predominantly desert, with sage and other smaller plants.

Because of the relatively heavy snowfall in the winter in the higher regions, historically the population was concentrated in the middle and lower elevations. Other than the few reliable streams and springs, areas at this elevation are arid. Just as it was true in the general Great Basin cultures, the Southern Paiutes located on or near the springs and streambeds where seeds and small animals were more plentiful for much of the year.

Material Culture

   The Southern Paiutes were limited in their options by the restrictions of their environment. In fact this Great Basin area prompted the development of one of the most powerful modern anthropological theories--cultural
materialism, which is in turn a result of the thinking of Marx on the one hand and Wittfogal on the other.

The essence of cultural materialism is that it points out the interaction between behavior and physical environment. This interaction is mediated by peoples and their cultures. For anthropology, Julian Steward developed this theory in his studies of the Native Americans of the southwest, particularly the Great Basin.

The present analysis of Southwestern society assumes that cultural process, and therefore sound historical reconstruction, can be understood only if due attention is paid to the economic and ecological factors that shape society. This requires analysis of the degree and manner in which economic factors have combined with kinship, ceremonialism, inheritance, and other factors to produce observed social patterns.

Steward also developed a sequence of development among western hemisphere cultures that was roughly parallel to the development in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and North China. These sequences are hunting and gathering; incipient agriculture; formative; regional florescent; cyclical conquests. The key in every case, he found was irrigation, or "hydraulic civilizations."

This body of ideas is very close to Karl Wittfogel's cultural-ecological explanation of the Chinese and other Asiatic societies:
In Wittfogel's early formulations these systems were characterized as "mighty hydraulic bureaucracies" whose despotic control over the densely populated ancient states in China, India, and Egypt arose from the techno-environmental exigencies of large-scale irrigation and other forms of water control in regions of scant rainfall. Although inspired by Max Weber, this analysis owed its central thrust, its clarity, and its success to Marx.

Wittfogel's analysis of the functional interdependence of the main features of the social organization and techno-economic pattern of irrigation civilization led him to stress the general importance of environmental parameters in the application of historical materialism to the understanding of social system.\[12\]

Steward applied a cultural-materialistic approach and research strategy in living people in their natural habitat rather than to documents and historiography, which Marx and Wittfogel had to depend upon. And he did so by studying the seed gatherers of the Great Basin, including the Paiutes.

A cultural-materialistic explanation of the traditional Southern Paiute society would seem to be the most enlightening approach to use in a brief investigation of their ethnographies. Steward's method of analysis of the bands of the Great Basin shows the interaction between technology and environment and can explain most of the important structural and ideological features of the Southern Paiute culture.
The Southern Paiute bands remained in small and relatively unsophisticated social and political groups because of the limitations of a harsh environment. The ethnography reveals several intriguing hints as to how this came about.

The Southern Paiute culture was a low-pressure one. The domestic economy rested largely on direct exploitation of the habitat, although not exclusively. A generally held view of plant-oriented hunting and gathering culture which was unable to depend on a single source of food is that they tend to remain stable for a relatively long period of time. This is largely because they have already made a very close adjustment with their environment.

There is another view: that the most striking feature of the Southern Paiute territory specifically and the Great Basin in general is its physical and biological diversity.

From the lowland basins on the west to the canyons and high plateaus on the east, numerous topographic changes and all major life zones except the topical and arctic-alpine are in evidence. Portions of the region are true deserts; others have more abundant resources. Moreover, rapid changes in elevation often cause appreciable variation in the biota within the space of a few miles. Pine-forested plateaus abounding in deer were as common to the aboriginal range of some Paiute groups as interior draining alkaline sinks inhabited by small rodents were to others.
Often particular bands, such as those that frequented the Kaibab Plateau, ranged through elevations of several thousand feet and hence, had available greatly diverse life forms for their daily subsistence. Everywhere, variety was the key characteristic.\textsuperscript{14}

If one drives over the vast, dusty valleys and dry mountains of Nevada and Utah, it would be easy to subscribe to the first view. I believe the advocates of the first view did essentially that. If, on the other hand, one observes the details of the topography and of the activities of the groups of people who inhabited it, it gives one a picture of infinite variety.

In either case, the wide variety and lack of a single source of food made the Southern Paiutes a very adaptive people. They became remarkably experimental and fluid in their exploitation and manipulation of their environment, within its limitations.

The Southern Paiutes were not only aware of their diverse environment but managed their resources well enough to allow for a well-developed food preference. Certain plants were taken only when they were the most flavorful, even though they could have been eaten all year around. The Paiutes did not hunt and gather indiscriminately. Rather they harvested both plants and animals, leaving areas from time to time to allow the resources to increase.
These and similar patterns show the Southern Paiute not as pawns of a harsh environment, but rather as culturally adapted peoples capable of exploiting a variety of conditions in numerous ways.\textsuperscript{17}

In terms of quantity, not variety, the environment was perhaps more important. The seasonal cycle of economic life and their culture kept bands small and separated. During the summer the people lived in family groups at small springs along the cliffs at the foot of the plateaus, where they harvested seeds and small game, which were the principle source of meat, with occasional trips to higher elevations for larger game and the harvesting of berries and mountain seeds. In the fall most of these small groups were located in the highlands harvesting pinenuts and yucca fruit and killing and preserving deer. They cached stores in the area of the home spring, but they usually ran short. When that happened, in late winter or early spring, many groups traveled to the lower canyons to eat cacti, juniper berries, mescal, and other starvation foods. Most Southern Paiute bands lived within this general framework.

There was always considerable shifting from spring to spring. This, combined with the constant and predictable movement, gave quite wide social contact with other Paiute groups but no known established large camps.

The material culture of the Southern Paiute was relatively limited, and was not noted for its excellence.
Housing was rudimentary; in good weather it was often little more than a fireplace and windbreak. Clothing was minimal. Both men and women wore aprons made of grass, bark, or fur. These were essentially a belt with fringe in front and back. Later buckskin clothing was introduced, and soon after, cast-off white clothing replaced the more traditional apron. Both men and women wore woven rabbit blankets; sometimes these were woven out of bark.

Basketry was both the main source for containers and the principal artistic form. Large conical baskets could carry over a bushel of pinenuts. Basketry water jugs brought water long distances. Bowls and ladels were made from basketry, as were cooking bowls. The Paiutes did their cooking by dropping hot stones into soups or stews and stirring rapidly. In addition, fish traps and hats were made using the same basketry techniques.

Before the white man, the material culture of the Southern Paiute was fairly stable. Almost all groups possessed rabbit nets, bows and arrows, woven mats and bags, flint knives, some pottery and, of course, baskets.

The Southern Paiute concept of private property is an interesting combination of private ownership and collective "ownership" or, rather, collective usage of resources. Springs, for example, were private property
and perhaps the most important property any individual could own. But this "ownership" was not of the completely individualistic type white society is acquainted with. In the 1930's while Kelly's informants seldom hesitated in naming the individual owner, of 77 springs the owner seemed to hold the spring in trust for his family group. The group also "owned" a little land around the spring itself but not the surrounding valley. If someone wanted to camp by the spring, that seemed to be permissible and even desirable. Either the "owner" had no power of eviction or the matter never came up. Theoretically, watering places were inherited by the oldest child, in practice they seemed to pass to the nearest male relative who happened to be at hand and continued to live on the sight.

Eagles' nests were another important form of private property, and a well-developed sense of property was associated with them. They were owned by right of discovery or inheritance. Eagle feathers were very important for the construction of arrows. In addition, because they were light they were an important barter item as well as a common item used in gambling.

Other items of private ownership were individual implements which were very often burned or buried when a person died. The most important exceptions to this were rabbit nets. These nets sometimes reached a length of
several hundred yards and were carefully preserved and passed from generation to generation. The owner of a large net was often the most wealthy man in a large geographical area.

Other than springs and other watering places and the specific examples mentioned above man owned only what he labored for. For example a man who fired a plot of ground to encourage growth of wild tobacco "owned" that crop but not that ground. There were no exclusive hunting rights except when a man constructed a bird blind. In this case the blind was his as long as it lasted.

Religion and Philosophy

The religion of the Southern Paiute was essentially shamanism, based on individual powers which were either sought or obtained unsought when a spirit came before an individual and gave him a ritual or other power.

The Southern Paiutes of antiquity were animists; they believed that everything has life. All of nature was in partnership with them. Since everything that moved had life as well as motion, it also had power and intelligence to direct its energies. The cloud that drifted across the sky had the power to spit out fire and death as well as rain. The gentle breeze could also roll up into a tornado.
that destroyed everything in its path. Even water and fire, the most useful elements to the Southern Paiutes, could also become most destructive if they became angry. Believing all these things, the Southern Paiute people constantly tried to placate and bind these elements by gaining favor with them.

In this sense the Paiute people were very practical in that they were constantly concerned with bringing nature under control. Many of their practices were devised to insure that nature would do their bidding. The problem was that the Paiute people (and most other nonliterate groups for that matter) applied logic too fast, saw association as causation too often. Rather than being mystical in the usual sense, the Southern Paiute people saw the world in very concrete terms. That is, the forces that affected their lives were not always understood, but they were very often "known" to them. Aspects of this philosophical frame of mind seem to still be important in Paiute thinking today.

The Southern Paiutes did not expect their gods to be consistent, because they possessed many human qualities. They could be childish, selfish, benevolent and understanding, angry and hasty; above all they could be approached and bargained with by man and animal alike.
But although the living things of the earth could bargain with them and even trick them at times, they were still supreme and transcendent in power and glory, and the Paiutes always appealed to them in confidence in their most dire times of trouble and need.

In this study the term "living things" will be used in a broad sense as the Paiutes used it. It is an all-embracing term which covers trees, flowers, clouds, water, fire, rocks and "things that go bump in the night," as well as animals and man. To the Paiute mind these "living things" were all in a partnership together.

Social and Political Organization

There is a great deal of controversy among anthropologists over the nature of the social organizations in the Great Basin. The "evolutionists," following Julian H. Steward, see the people of the Great Basin as an example of the very beginnings of man's socio-political development as "nuclear families." 27 His definition of a band requires that there be "cooperation, centralized political control and a sense of solidarity among those inhabiting a given territory." 28 Steward felt that the Southern Paiute did not meet these requirements.
Elman R. Service takes a different view. He argues that people organized along "patrilaterally extended family lines" man constitute a band more than other groups of people who may have daily face-to-face contact. He maintains that:

In desert areas . . . individual nuclear families spend much of the time foraging alone, or at best sometimes forming a camp of only a few nuclear families headed by brothers. However, it is common for the families of brothers to remain more contiguous to each other than to others even when dispersed; hence there is a relatively discernable residential group within the band.

. . . The above remarks are made in order to emphasize that for a band to be a band the people do not have to be closely, physically associated as a face-to-face group at all times, or even much of the time.29

Specifically regarding the Southern Paiute he writes that Father Escalante, in 1776, observed bands with separate and definite territory. If his interpretation is correct, it is still scant data upon which to base a definition of "Paiute bands."

Kelly doubts whether the Kaibab segment of the Southern Paiute was a band, because she believes they fail to qualify on the score of either wholesale cooperation or centralized political control. On the other hand she reports they do, as groups, associate within clearly defined territory, "which in itself would seem to have political implications." She writes:
I cannot quite abandon the notion of the Kaibab as a band, despite the notorious lack of economic cooperation and central political control. There is evident association with a given territory, and hunting gathering activities normally localized within it; it was not shared with others.  

It would probably be an error to try to fit the Southern Paiute social structure into any of the most prominent typologies. This is undoubtably an important question for political anthropologists, judging from the body of literature on the subject, but here it will suffice to describe the nature and structure of the traditional social and political organizations of the Southern Paiute people.

The makeup of the economic units, which were also the social and political units among the Southern Paiutes, was what will be called "kin and clique" units. These units were composed of one to several bilateral relatives joined by various combinations of friends and acquaintances. This is a very broad classification, but these groups were extremely fluid. There were no social compulsions which gave them a permanent identity. Friends in particular were apt to change their alliances easily for practical or emotional reasons. This provided for considerable individual freedom within the culture.
The most common-sized group was the family, which very often included a friend or child Anglo-Americans would not consider part of their biological families. The biological family remained the principal social unit.

Marriage among the Southern Paiutes has been called "brittle monogamy," because of frequent changes of spouses. In addition, both polygamy and polyandry were not uncommon and were acceptable. Young people, newly married, could be with the family of either spouse and frequently alternated between the locales of the husband and wife.

Traditional Southern Paiute Leadership

The Southern Paiute in total had no central "Chief," nor did any of the bands. There were, however, local headmen. Kelly noted seven such men in the Kaibab region. Some of these chiefs were called "big chiefs" and others were "lesser chiefs." The distinction seemed to depend on the size and importance of the settlement the chief controlled and, perhaps more importantly, on the level of his activity.

A "big" chief such as Keno addressed the people every morning: Keno spoke early in the morning, every morning, standing by the door of his house. He spoke loudly so all could hear from their camps. He told the people how to hunt and where to hunt; and after a time everybody answered, "Yes." Then they went
for deer. The chief went first, alone, and the men followed his tracks. He went to the hills and everyone gathered around him. He had them circle about in the timber and chase the deer toward him. Sometimes there were fifteen or twenty men and each had a deer; sometimes there was one deer for each two or three men. The chief stayed on the mountain until all the hunters had left. Toward evening he came home alone. When he reached camp everyone gave him a piece of meat. Then he spoke again to the people.34

It seems that an active or "big" chief almost always held reveille and gave morning instructions to his people, particularly during the hunting season. A big chief also directed the seasonal movements of camps and gave advice to the people. But he apparently did very little long-range planning; rather, he operated on a day-to-day basis.

Under no circumstances did he act as a judge. In a case of theft, the victim or his relatives demanded the return of the property. If the stolen property was not returned, no fight resulted; instead, the family of the damaged party probably retaliated later. The chief rarely intervened and then only to request a settlement. More serious crimes such as murder were little different. Retaliation was common or the murderer would flee, but in any case, the chief played only a minor part, and that part was as a relatively powerless arbitrator. In the case of accidental homicide he would often negotiate a material payment such as a large buckskin or a bow and arrows for
the death of a man—nothing at all for a woman or child. One case was reported in which a cripple's life was offered in payment for the accidental killing of a healthy man. The value of human life was not high; murder was considered a family matter and often useless oldsters were abandoned to die.

There were other types of chiefs and other chiefly functions. Even a big chief was not in charge of every type of hunt.

There was different leadership for different game. Although the "big" chief was often in charge of the hunting of the most important game for his group, whether it be deer or fish, etc. In some groups the rabbit chief was the most important man and he did not necessarily have to be a net owner. He usually stood to one side watching. "He did not call out instructions but he gave advice on how to get rabbits and when to get them."

There were also dance chiefs, who would address the camp every night, usually saying "No dance tonight." After that announcement everyone could go to sleep. When a dance was to be held, he would send word ahead of time to neighboring camps and then coordinate the social activities.

The several chiefs in a group apparently operated independently of each other. If they conferred with each other, it was on a friendly, informal basis and not as part of any formalized council. This was also true when several
groups gathered.

One spring, the Kaibab Plateau, allegedly owned by a "Big Chief," was occupied by three camps during spring and fall. Nevertheless, this chief did not lead visitors who arrived to hunt; the latter relied on their own headman or, lacking one, hunted individually. 37

The Southern Paiute followed the Great Basin model of primitive democracy with the exception that the majority did not rule. People usually went along with it but they were free to abstain from any group activity without being subject to group sanctions. When a chief died, the candidates were discussed openly; very often the man chosen was a son of the old chief's brother or sister.

Rarely if ever was the successor a son of the chief. The process seemed to be as follows: the relatives of the chief would call a meeting, and everyone would have his say. Often the relatives would select a man; if many of the people demurred, another would be selected.

The selection was usually based on ability and family ties, although it was often on the potential rather than actual, demonstrated ability of the new chief. Sometimes the group would go several years without replacing a chief.

Women played a relatively minor role in the politics of a band, although the wife of the headman was often in
charge of plant gathering and water hauling and announcing the new chief formally. Women played very minor roles in the informal campfire discussions.

Given the very informal and independent nature of the different groups in a general area, i.e., the three separate bands at the spring mentioned above, it is interesting to note that "new chiefs were often selected in consultation with those of other economic clusters." Kelly reports several such occurrences among the people living on the Kaibab Plateau. This seems to indicate more unity among the several groups than one would expect in the absence of large-scale cooperation or collaboration in economic activities.

Early Cultural Interaction

Southern Paiutes in general seemed to be on good terms with all other Southern Paiutes. Marriage to members of distant Paiute groups was not rare, and a certain amount of trade was carried on.

Until pressure from the European settlers pushed the Navajo across the Colorado River, the Southern Paiute received little pressure from that direction. The Utes raided for children on occasion, but there was very little if any attempt at retaliation or even resistance.
No culture remains static. The Southern Paiute culture was constantly changing even before the impact of European cultures was felt. The first cultural change in the Great Basin for the Southern Paiute must have been when they encroached upon the people of the Fremont, Anasazi or Pueblo cultures of pre-history. The Southern Paiutes long traded with the Hopi, occasionally encountered the Navajoes, Apaches, and Havasupas; or the Utes, Goshutes, Shoshones Chemehuevis, and Mohaves, depending on their location in Paiute-land.

Although they were certainly primarily gatherers and hunters, at least some Southern Paiutes also became agriculturists quite early. Probably as a result of trade. Along perennial streams such as the Virgin and the Santa Clara, as well as many springs, they engaged in the farming of corn and squash. Father Escalante reported along Ash Creek in Southern Utah "three small corn patches with their very well made irrigation ditches." This agriculture was probably introduced to the Southern Paiutes through their pre-historic contacts with the Anasasi, or Pueblos.

Contact with other cultures was not always that beneficial to the Southern Paiutes. Although they were the second Great Basin culture to become known to Europeans with the visit of Father Escalante in 1776, they adopted little directly from any European culture until the Mormons settled
in their lands.

The Utes were the first to make contact with Europeans, and by the early 1800's they had developed a good working relationship with traders along the Spanish Trail, which avoided the great Arizona desert and its fighting tribes by winding its way from Santa Fe to Los Angeles via central Utah. The Spanish would trade the Utes for fur and slave children usually obtained by the Utes from the Southern Paiutes in raids.

Even though for most of the next fifty years this practice was illegal under Spanish, Mexican, and United States laws, the Utes continued to make a good livelihood at it at the expense of the Southern Paiute.

The Navajo tribe also began to raid various Southern Paiute bands for slaves. This put the Paiutes in the unenviable position of being hemmed in between the Utes to the North and the Navajoes to the Southeast. The Navajo kept many of the slaves they captured. Women slaves were treated quite well, assuming the same roles as the Navajo women and even becoming wives and mothers with apparently all the rights and privileges. The men were treated much worse. They were compelled to endure many indignities. Many were emasculated so they could be left in "safety" while the Navajo men were away raiding.
The Southern Paiute culture was not ready to cope with this new threat to its way of life. Since there was no legitimate precedent for group military response, slave trading was an individual matter. The group was powerless to prevent such things, and therefore the individual and his private reaction to stress was made all the more legitimate as the very limited political power of the bands became even weaker.

This constant harassment, plus the fact that the Southern Paiute never acquired the horse on a large scale, as well as other factors such as lack of impressive cultural trappings, dances etc., gave the Paiutes a chronic inferiority complex. For example, their arch-enemies, the Utes, (which they never fought on a large scale) enjoyed enormous prestige: "They know everything. They know the bear dance and the sun dance. They know how to make buckskin dresses and gloves and how to make beadwork."

**Traditional Paiutes and Political Development Concepts**

This, then, is a brief overview of the Southern Paiute culture just before the arrival of the permanent white settlers to their lands. Within reasonable limits, throughout most of their history, the basic material culture and foodstuffs remained the same. Gathering and hunting were the predominant methods of subsistence, although, with
some groups, agriculture was of real importance.

The political and social structures also remained the same, essentially informal, small, and fragmented. This is the culture, no matter how distant and in some respects foreign and forgotten to the modern-day Southern Paiutes of this study, which holds the key to their present attitudes and values toward socio-political organizations and leadership.

Analyzing the traditional political and social system from within the conceptual framework of "equality," "capacity," "differentiation," and an examination of leadership and followership norms, set forth in Chapter II presents us with some interesting insights.

Culturally, the Southern Paiutes had a great amount of "equality" in that their attitudes toward political equality were very positive. Everyone in an economic cluster participated in the activities of the group. The norms or "laws" of the group applied to all. And the political leadership was based on achievement standards of performance. The traditional system's norms provided for selection of leaders on the basis of their proven or potential ability to perform certain tasks for the group.

The institutions or the "capacity" of the society was a different story. The magnitude and scope of the political system was very limited. In the traditional
society the Southern Paiutes were organized to function quite well economically. Apparently the leader could supervise the gathering, hunting and seasonal migrations effectively, but this is where his power stopped. The system was not designed to handle the input of much new information. When pressures were applied on the culture from outside, as from raiding parties from other Indian cultures, the traditional institutions could not cope with them. The ability of the political-social system to handle strife or tension was almost non-existent, whether that tension be domestic or foreign. The handling of tension and strife was considered an individual or family matter. This falls far short of the classic definition of political power Max Weber set forth, which is, "the exclusive use of legitimate physical force in a given territorial area." 47

There was a somewhat surprising amount of inter-group communication and consultation when new headmen were being selected, but these activities did not seem to increase the capacity of the total culture in any significant degree. The system did, however, perform what tasks it set for itself in a very rational manner.

Briefly, the Southern Paiute political and social institutions were not designed to accomplish new tasks better and faster. When new pressures and problems were introduced to the culture, the people could not respond as
a group, in a coordinated fashion.

The third theme, "differentiation," which has to do with the general political process, was marked by a clear division of roles. The various chiefs—the "big" chief, if there was one, the rabbit chief, the fish chief, the deer chief, and the dance chief—all had functionally specific roles within the general political process. These roles were not very structured or formalized. Differentiation, in the sense in which it is used here, does not mean isolation or fragmentation of the different parts of the political or social system, but rather specialization and integration of efforts on a sophisticated level. It has been noted that the several chiefs in an economic cluster seldom if ever met together in a formal council to coordinate their activities. Therefore, they did not measure up to the ideal.

What pressures did the Paiute leader feel from his people just before the settlers moved into their area? What were the cultural demands on leadership? First, the leader had to be a man of outstanding ability in his specialty among his group. To have this ability usually meant that the leader had to be active and in good health. In addition a "big" chief had to have a certain amount of oratorical skill because he spoke to his people on many subjects daily. These are the more obvious, less subtle cultural demands.
The men who led were also men who wanted to lead. Often when a chief died or became old and feeble, one of the relatives would say, "If any of you boys want to be chief, say so." After a while one would say he would like it. Then a meeting was called and the people talked it over.

But their culture demanded they lead without receiving any very effective, legitimate tools of power. There were very few legitimate demands a Paiute leader could make of his people. It follows that he had few, if any, sanctions he could bring to bear against those who failed to follow his lead, even though he was their recognized and appointed leader.

The "big" chiefs became what they were because they overcame this cultural barrier to effective leadership by developing what must have been powerful personal persuasive techniques. They constantly had to "sell" their programs and ideas to "followers" under no obligation to "buy" them. When leadership was effective under this system, it was of a highly personalized nature.

What did the traditional Southern Paiute culture demand of the individual? What were the norms of followership? There are many ramifications to the collective aspects of the culture. Because formalized rules that could facilitate cooperation were generally lacking, the people
developed informal ways of cooperating with each other. In many cases this was an economic necessity. Rabbit or deer hunts, for example, are best conducted in large groups of drivers.

The Southern Paiute also derived a great deal of their identity and psychological strength from their kin-and-clique economic clusters. They lived in a harsh environment where neighbors were few and far between; therefore they had to rely only on the members of their kin and clique for a measure of security in case of accident, sickness, etc.

Individuals were important because they gave the group, as a collective body, additional strength. As long as an individual was a productive member of the group in its economic efforts, he was welcome.

On the other hand, the culture, because of environmental as well as other factors, developed strong individualistic traits in its people. As James F. Downs has written:

The freedom of the small social unit to make its own decisions within the limitations of the Basin environment, and the freedom of individuals to shift from group to group and choose their own alternatives without reference to even the smallest of units is, I feel, one of the most significant social facts of Basin life. 49
The society was structured so that it allowed for economic experimentation with minimal risk to the society as a whole.

In politics the individual's thoughts and experiences extended little beyond his small group. There was little reason for a person to learn to submerge himself in a larger group.

For the individual Paiute, followership was a temporary condition. He was accustomed to following a leader, yes; but it was a leader he knew intimately and the leader was probably both a personal friend and relative: he was a personal leader. The individual was a follower only if he so chose in each instance and only for a very specific task. Even while being led by another, the individual could drop out at any time for almost any reason without receiving public censure, as long as he was not consistently a malingerer.

This psychic orientation toward individualism or "privatism" was highly important. Life, to the Southern Paiute of the 1840's and earlier, was a very private affair.

In summary, ethnographic and ethnohistoric data indicate the following orientation toward leadership and political and social organizations: First, leadership was task-oriented and the task was of an immediate, present nature.
Second, leadership was personal in nature, with little institutionalized authority or sanctions. Leaders did not simply direct others, or coordinate. They physically lead.

Third, political and social organizations were small and relatively isolated, and membership in them was often temporary.

Fourth, individual freedoms were protected and nurtured in the environment and culture.

The traditional Southern Paiute culture was designed to combat the relatively harsh Great Basin environment, a task it accomplished very well; it was not designed to cope with the input of new ideas or pressure from other cultures. It was not well suited to interact with other peoples because the ecology of the area had prevented many people from being able to survive in the Great Basin area, given the existing technology.

Coordinated group effort in any area other than either economic pursuits or a few rituals was simply unheard of. Mass politics was not a legitimate problem which had to be faced in the Great Basin before the impact of the European culture was felt. The concepts of political power did not extend very far and certainly not into the development of social organizations that would be needed in the bi-cultural Paiute world of the future.
These attitudes and values, based on traditional functions of the economically based culture, must be understood as we observe the Southern Paiute culture become immersed in the culture of Anglo-America.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter IV


5 Swanton, p. 381.

6 R. C. Euler, Southern Paiute Ethnohistory (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Anthropological Papers, No. 78), p. 3.


9 C. S. Fowler, "Environmental Setting and Natural Resources," Southern Paiute Ethnology, R. C. Euler, ed. (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Anthropological Papers No. 78, 1966), p. 15.
10  

11  

12  
Ibid., pp. 671-672.

13  
This view is most prominently stated by J. Steward 1938, Driver and Massey, 1957, and Kroeber, 1939.

14  
Fowler, p. 13.

15  
Downs, p. 41.

16  
Ibid., pp. 39-56.

17  

18  

19  
Ibid., pp. 60-62.

20  
Ibid., pp. 78-83.

21  
Ibid., pp. 6-10.

22  

23  
Stewart, p. 278.
24
Kelly, pp. 53-54.

25

26

27

28
Ibid., p. 181.

29

30

31

32
Steward, p. 282.

33

34
Ibid., pp. 26-27.

35

36
Kelly, Ethnography, p. 30.

37
Ibid., p. 30.
38  
Ibid., p. 28.

39  
Ibid., p. 30.

40  
Ibid., p. 33.

41  
Euler, pp. 111-112.

42  

43  

44  

45  
Palmer, p. 40.

46  
Kelly, Ethnography, p. 33.

47  

48  
Kelly, Ethnography, p. 29.

49  
Downs, p. 42.

50  
Malouf, p. 5.
Chapter V

THE IMPACT OF THE UNITED STATES
ON THE SOUTHERN PAIUTE

Mormon colonies, spreading out from the Salt Lake Valley under the direction of Brigham Young, reached the land of the scattered Southern Paiute bands in about 1850. During the next twenty-five years or so the Paiutes' traditional way of life became thoroughly disrupted and they lost much of their old power to control it. But even before permanent settlers arrived, the Southern Paiute had been affected by an ever-increasing stream of explorers: Catholic priests, trappers, traders, and river-runners.

The first period of cultural change, brought on either directly or indirectly by European cultures, was the period of exploration and exploitation without permanent habitation. Fathers Francisco Anastacio Dominguez and Sivestre Velex de Escalante were the first Europeans to penetrate the Great Basin; they visited all the Paiute areas central to this study. Near what is now Cedar City, on October 10, 1776, the Escalante party made its first contact with the Southern Paiutes. Here they captured a woman, wearing "only some pieces of buckskin hanging from her waist," who was a member of a party of about twenty women
gathering grass seed near Coal Creek. She later told the Catholic fathers that this was the home of "many of her 
1 people." Later the same day they captured a man carrying "a large net very well made of hemp, which he said he used 
2 to catch hares or rabbits."

At the first village, or rancho as they called it, these Europeans saw a more typical Paiute group. In it were three grown men, three women, and several children. They were well provided with food, pinon nuts, yucca fruit 
3 and sacks of maize. About 25 miles south of what is now Cedar City they observed fields of maize well irrigated.

From the Virgin River the Spanish party traveled through the desolate country north of the Grand Canyon, where they saw many Southern Paiute bands, some of which we would now call members of the Kaibab people. They crossed the Colorado River and were soon out of Paiute territory.

The same year Father Francisco Garces, while exploring the lower Colorado River area, described some of the Chemehuevi ranchos. Neither of these explorations (or the others that probably followed unreported) effected Southern Paiute culture very much and for the next fifty years little is known about the contact between Paiutes and Europeans.
During the second quarter-century of the 1800's travel greatly increased. By the 1830's the old Spanish Trail had developed into a major trading route. Horses and mules were in great demand in Santa Fe for the Missouri trade, and these animals were very plentiful in Southern California. In Utah these routes went along the Sevier River in central Utah, through what is now Cedar City, out across the southern Nevada deserts, and into California.

The traffic on the trail greatly affected the cultures of all the native people. When Escalante traveled the area, the Utes were not mounted. By the time the trail was well established they were not only well mounted, but they also were armed and organized to such an extent that they could conduct both the slave raids on the Southern Paiutes mentioned earlier and widespread raids into Southern California for horses and mules. These mounted groups showed ever-increasing political organization, while the unmounted Southern Paiutes exhibited less.

Jedediah Smith was the first "Anglo-American" to report contact with the Southern Paiutes. In 1826 and 1827, he, along with a party of trappers, traveled the length and breadth of the Great Basin. Between 1822, when he came west, and 1831, when he was killed by Comanches, Jedediah Smith saw more of the west than any explorer before him.
Smith's route is followed almost exactly by U. S. Highway 91 and follows closely Escalante's route. His party did pass through what is now Cedar City, and although his accounts of the Indians are scanty, they do indicate that the Southern Paiute culture had changed little between Escalante's and Smith's visits.

It is interesting to note that both Escalante and Smith received friendly treatment from the Southern Paiute people once the Paiutes recovered from their initial fright.

After the Smith parties of 1826-27, trappers visited the Southern Paiutes almost yearly, and it is almost certain that some from the United States participated in the Spanish Trail slave trade. At any rate few left any account of their observations concerning the Southern Paiutes.

In 1830, George C. Yount and William Wolfskill lead the first "American" party over the Spanish Trail. They left an account of the Southern Paiute that became more or less typical over the years to come:

As a group (sic) of the lowest and most degraded of all savage hords (sic) of the west... All they have in the world was some dried rabbit-meat... They had not a hatchet, nor any instrument to cut or perforate the softest wood... They would get fire by rubbing together pieces of hard wood... They have few words and communicate chiefly by signs... They live in little clans scattered over a very great extent of country... Their food consists of occasionally a rabbit, with roots and mice,
grasshoppers and insects, such as flies, spiders, and worms of every kind... Where nuts exist they gather them for food... They also luxuriate and grow fat when they find a patch of clover... On many kinds of grass they feed like cattle... They love to be covered with lice because they appropriate these for food.7

Since the description of Young and other later explorers is much more bleak and foreboding than those of Escalante and Smith, it is possible that the beginnings of the slave trade resulted disastrously for the Southern Paiutes. Another possible explanation could lie in the values held by Anglo-Americans of the time. At any rate the descriptions of the early Spanish explorers and Jedediah Smith differ significantly from those of later travelers. The Early Spanish spoke of poverty, to be sure, but they emphasized friendliness, agriculture, and independence, while the later Anglos wrote of abjectness and degradation of all types.

Regardless of the differences of the accounts, a new era was dawning for the Southern Paiute culture. On July 24, 1847, the Mormon pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. These people were not travelers; they were settlers and colonizers of very ambitious proportions.
The Mormon Pioneers and the Southern Paiute

The Mormon relationship with the Native Americans is long and complex. It is also somewhat unique because of the tie between the Mormon theology and the Native Americans which did influence the Mormons' policies toward the Paiutes. (Mormon theology and the Indians will be covered separately in the following chapter.)

Nevertheless, the Mormon settlers were basically frontier Americans by culture, and therefore they were subject to the same myths as all other people of the United States. At best, they could barely tolerate the values of the Indian cultures they came in contact with: the stealing, the low value of human life, the concept of property commonly held, the slavery, or almost any other aspect of Native American life.

One of the most revolting aspects of their culture, to the Mormons, was their use of insects in their diets. During the first winter the Mormon pioneers were near starvation. At the same time "the ground was covered with millions of black crickets which the Indians harvested for their winter food." The settlers watched in horror as the Indians (Shoshoni) ate with apparent relish cakes made out of masses of pressed crickets. The Mormons themselves were not prepared to follow the practice of the Great Basin
peoples in coping with their rigorous environment. They could understand wars, slavery, starvation and epidemics, but eating crickets was a clear indication of degradation and savagery.

Different eating habits aside, early Mormon accounts were much more complimentary than those of their non-Mormon contemporaries.

By the early 1850's there were several Mormon communities in Southern Paiute territory. Cedar City was established in 1851. John D. Lee, who was appointed church recorder at Cedar City, reported the following concerning the Native Americans of the area:

On this stream (the Santa Clara) we saw about 100 acres of land that had been cultivated by the Pintes Indians, (A band of Southern Paiute) principally in corn and squashes. This tribe is numerous and have quite an idea of husbandary.⁹

Another account indicates that another band along a perennial stream was relatively advanced agriculturally. New crops such as grain and potatoes had been adopted and, moreover, the band was somewhat better organized than was traditional and ready to adopt additional aspects of the white culture. This occurred on Ash Creek, about twenty-five miles South of Cedar City.

At Ash Creek we found a number of Indians raising grain. Their corn was waist high; squashes, beans, potatoes and corn looked well. They had in cultivation
some four or five acres: their wheat had

got ripe and was cut. I looked around to

see their tools, but could not see the

first tool, only their hands, to dig their
ditches, make their dams, or anything
else. The Paiute chief made us a speech,

showing us their destitute situation,

without clothes or food. Brother Lee told
them we would learn them to work and raise

breadstuff, make clothing and etc., at

which they were well pleased, and wanted

us to come soon and make a settlement
among them.10

During the early years the Paiutes were occasionally

of great help to the newcomers. William Adams wrote from

Parowan, Utah, in December 1852:

I will say this much concerning the

Indians. . . only for their labor, there
would have been hundreds of bushels of
produce lost, that could not have been
saved by the white population. I con-
sider myself a common hand, to work, but
I must give up to some of the Pides for
quickness, and the Pahvantes work con-
siderable, but not so willing as the
Paines or Pahutes. We have had from 20
to 40 lodges here through the summer and
fall, averaging from one to two hundred
natives.11

This is not to say all early contact was pleasant

and mutually helpful to both cultures. A great deal of
trouble was caused by begging, stealing and shooting of
livestock by the Southern Paiute bands. Speaking of the
Paiutes of the same general area, Hosea Stout, another
early pioneer, said:
The Indians of the Rio Virgin and Muddy are the most low and contemptible I ever saw and show the most degraded and dishonest disposition. They are worse than the Otoes and Omahas and I believe they are more treacherous and fickle.\(^{12}\)

These descriptions bring up some intriguing questions. They describe Paiutes along the same river valleys, but the ones who were friendly and the ones that were treacherous and fickle might have been from different economic clusters or bands. On the other hand it might have been that the growers of waist-high corn might have been the same people who shot horses for food. Their culture would certainly have permitted this.

Another explanation might be that though the Mormon settlers were tolerant while they were weak, in the early stages of colonization, they grew more hostile as they became more secure and powerful and as the cultural contradictions became more apparent to them and their fear of the Paiutes and their new environment became less threatening.

The following is a normal sequence of events for the Southern Paiute bands from the time of the first Mormon scout to consolidation of the Mormons' hold on the Paiutes' land.
First, an advance party arrived and found the Paiutes initially afraid but then friendly and helpful. Second, the permanent settlers would arrive seeing themselves as divinely ordained conquerers and civilizers, move in on the watering places, and start cultivating the flats around these watering places. As we have seen, most of these watering places were owned by a Paiute individual. But it was also proper, in Paiute tradition, for the visitors to be welcomed by the owners. It was even proper for the visitors to harvest the seeds in the flats for their own use or even plant crops and harvest them. The problem came in the different concepts the two cultures had as to the ownership of land. By the time the Southern Paiutes realized that their land was gone for good, that they had no grass seeds to harvest, etc., it was too late. The settlers were in control. The Paiutes had lost the ability to control their environment. Power had passed almost completely into the hands of the Anglos.

The last stage of normal events was reached when the local Paiutes were forced into leaving their traditional area or to begging and thievery. In a very short time they had become squatters on their own land. Their culture had welcomed the visitors, and it was acceptable for the Mormons to share their resources. But on the other hand the Mormons culture could not tolerate those who did
not labor for their food and whose habits were "savage and decadent."

The Mormon church had very definite policies concerning Native Americans found in the areas of settlement. The most famous statement of Mormon policy was made in 1866 by Brigham Young. It was extremely important because it is so often quoted by members of the church. But it was the policy long before 1866. In fact, the statement indicates that it was just a summary of what experience had taught Brigham Young over the years:

We have proved that the pacific, conciliatory policy is in every sense the better course for us to pursue. Experience has taught us that it is cheaper to feed than to fight them—a statement that has been so often repeated that it has become a recognized axiom among us.13

Some historians view this policy as unusually humanitarian for its age; others see it as a shrewd system which facilitated Mormon settlement of better lands through the establishment of a dole system. In fact it was both; it was intended to be humane, and, as compared with the treatment other Native Americans received almost everywhere else from the Anglo settlers, it was humane. But the key to this policy was safety first for the Mormons.

As a Mormon policy it was effective, but as a declaration of human rights for the Native Americans it was no different from the rights accorded Native Americans
elsewhere. Brigham Young sent colonies out to possess the lands peacefully if they could, but by force if they must. It did not really matter that the natives had to vacate their homelands, and it is unlikely that this aspect of their colonization entered many of the pioneers' minds.

Then, the dispossessed Paiutes in Southern Utah either caused problems around the new settlements, or they moved into another band's territory and caused serious inter-band problems as they overcrowded the delicate balance of the environment of that area.

In any event, while the "feed rather than fight" policy was colored by strong self-interest, in the Mormon's eyes, it was also well intentioned and was designed to assist the Utah Indians in coping with the threat of expansion into their areas. The desire to "help the Indians" is a very strong concept in Mormon theology.

Brigham Young was strongly against shedding of Indian blood. He counseled:

...patience and long suffering, and never their (Indian) lives as a equivalent for petty stealing; remember that it is a part of their existence, practiced by them from generation to generation.14

Mormon resistance against Native American depredations almost always assumed a defensive rather than offensive military appearance. Nevertheless, Brigham Young had
many forts built, and the "Walker War" was fought over slavery and other issues in 1853; and a decade later the "Black Hawk War" was fought.

As a guiding policy, however, Brigham Young believed that all Native Americans were destined to become part of the Mormon community and would therefore contribute to the building of the Mormon Kingdom.

It is part of Mormon theology that he who "is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer" or "The idler shall not have place in the church, except he repent and mend his ways." To become a part of the Mormon church, the Indian would have to learn (be taught by good Mormons) to be, among other things, industrious and self-sustaining. It is apparent that the "feed rather than fight" policy was meant to be a temporary policy measure designed to smooth over an unsatisfactory condition until such time as the Native Americans could feed themselves in a manner that would not disrupt normal Mormon life.

This general approach to Native American cultures resulted in a great number of tactics and policies in practice in the different local Mormon villages. They can be summarized as follows:

First, a new settlement formed a militia and very often built a fort.
Second, the citizens were admonished to be constantly vigilant, to guard their property at all times.

Third, the settlers were instructed to feed the Indians rather than fight them. They were always to feed them when they asked for food.

Fourth, promises made with Indians were to be strictly kept.

Fifth, the settlers were asked by the church leaders to by Indian children whenever they were offered for sale. This was both to prevent their death and to alleviate their suffering.

Sixth, the settlers were not to gamble with the Indians or in other ways engage in contests of skill with the Indians. This might cause hard feelings on both sides.

Seventh, the Mormons were to attempt to stop the Indians' practice of blood revenge. In addition they themselves were to find the guilty Indian, and not to punish one Indian for the offense of another. This was a unique form of "justice" as far as white-Indian relations were concerned. It was deliberately so because it was thought by Brigham Young that this was the best way to teach the Indians the American system of justice.

Eighth, individual trading with the Indians was discouraged, and specific traders were "called" to trade with specific groups of Indians.
Ninth, the Indians were to be treated kindly, and in a friendly manner, but not as equals. This was because of the Mormon theology to be treated at length later. Briefly, Indians were "Lamanites," who were cursed with a dark skin, and of a lower cultural level. This, according to Mormon teachings, is just a temporary condition or curse; some day they are to become a chosen people again, "white and delightful."

To this end the Mormon settlers sent out missionaries to convert the Indians to Mormonism and started several collective farms. Neither effort gained much lasting success.

Rapid assimilation was not the goal, in contrast with missionary efforts of other churches. In New Harmony, just south of Cedar City, Utah, the missionaries were admonished to:

Take not their wild habits and liberty from them at once, but by degrees, and help them to farm, but let them labor for their food. We must treat them like children, by degrees, to quit their savage customs.  

Brigham Young told the New Harmony missionaries:

You are sent not to farm, build nice homes, and fence fine fields, not to help white men, but to save the red ones, learn their language, and you can do this more effectively by living among them... go with them where they go, live with them and when they rest let them live with you, feed them, clothe them, and teach them as
you can, and ... you will soon be able
to teach them in their own language.
Not many generations shall pass away
till they become a white and delight-
some people. 19

In summary, the impact of Anglo-Americans upon the
Southern Paiutes was much less harsh than was often the
case in other areas with other cultures of Indians and
whites clashing. As to the Paiutes, they were timid; they
had come through a long period of harassment and slave
raids; their social structure and concept of property
facilitated the takeover of their land by the settlers.

As to the Mormons, they were ambitious colonizers,
with a unique theology that conceived Indians in a special
light, different from normal Americans at that time but
subject to the same myths plus some of their own. They
were less harsh but very paternalistic. While individual
Mormons held many different attitudes toward Indians, the
most common belief was that although they were "savages,"
they were also "childlike" and they were to be taught
"civilized" ways with patience.

In this fashion the traditional Southern Paiute
culture was largely destroyed, usually not by force of arms
but by cultural contradictions and the relative difference
in power. The American system of colonization had been
different in areas of the country, but the results for the
Native American culture had been very similar.
Discrimination and neglect in the Paiute's homeland resulted in the same controller-controlled relationship as elsewhere during the initial settlement period and after.

**Paiute Views of History**

The process of Mormon colonization was not without its military tragedies, particularly for the Paiutes. Those that happened to the Paiutes in the Kaibab, Cedar, or Indian Peaks bands will be covered later, but there are two cases that remain very important to the Southern Paiutes to this day. These accounts are included here for that reason, because these events are viewed by the Southern Paiutes as great wrongs done to them in the past. They, or at least the individuals who told me their versions, perceive those versions to be extremely important.

If we are to understand the Southern Paiute leadership and political culture we need to understand what they think and what in their past hurts them still. In addition I believe their accounts give us some real insights into Anglo history and culture.

**Paiutes in Circleville**

In 1866, during Utah's Black Hawk War, the Paiutes of Circle valley, Utah, continued to live near the Mormon
settlement of Circleville and professed friendship. The local Anglos did not trust them and feared attack at any moment. On April 21, 1866, the men of the settlement staged a preemptive strike to prevent an attack on their settlement. They surrounded the Paiute camp after dark and arrested all the residents with the exception of one young man, who resisted and was killed.

The Paiutes were kept under guard in the church. On the second day they attempted to escape in mass, even though they were unarmed. Although only a few men escaped and only two guards were hurt, and only slightly, the Paiutes were all killed with the exception of the small children, who were adopted by the settlers. There were never any attacks on the settlement by the Paiutes, but fear of them resulted not only in this massacre but the abandonment of the settlement less than two months later.

The Paiutes today claim that there was never any danger of attack and that the reason for the killings was not fear but the Anglos wanted to get rid of them.

Old Posey

Many Southern Paiutes take considerable pride in the fact that their culture were part of the last "Indian War" in the United States. In 1923, a San Juan Paiute
called "Old Posey" by the Anglos planned and executed an escape from the trial of some young Paiutes. This resulted in a running battle between about 50 Paiutes and several posses of settlers.

Posey had been planning to drive the Mormons from San Juan County for years and had devised a credible strategy for doing so. He purchased or otherwise acquired long-range rifles for the Paiutes who would listen to him, and they all became excellent shots. Since the settlers all had shorter range saddle guns, the Paiutes hoped to hold them at long range and defeat them in this manner.

During the "war" most of the Paiute band was held in an open "bullpen" in the center of town in Blanding, Utah. Those who were not captured were finally run to the ground by the settlers, who by then knew the country as well as the Paiutes.

In terms of lives lost the war was not large. One of the men who escaped was later killed outright, and Posey died of his wounds and of exposure while hiding in a cave.

According to the Mormon accounts he did not surrender because he feared the worth of his followers. My Paiute informants, one of who claims to be his nephew, claims he feared punishment from the Anglos themselves.
After the discovery of the death of Old Posey, the Paiutes were released from the bullpen after a stay of about twenty-five days. In the words of one of the Anglo participants:

When Posey's people came out of their bullpen, their children were put in school with our children. A spacious dormitory was fitted out for their comfort.

The Lord, who loved them as much as he loved us or anybody else, was radiating into their humbled souls the necessity and the beauty of love, friendliness and the way of peace in which we lived. Their time-honored customs of the ages had been shattered. Their beloved old traditions and superstitions of the past, made venerable by practice from their childhood, had been flatly contradicted; they had been shipped and shut up in a corral; they had been told what to do, and there was no escape from it.  

Very often this was the result of the Mormon policy: uneasy but relatively friendly initial relations, brief violence, and finally paternalism. It is not much different from elsewhere in the United States.

Political History of the Southern Paiute Since Mormon Consolidation

After the Mormon settlers won their fight against the harsh Great Basin environment, which included subduing the local indigenous cultures, interest in the Southern Paiutes dropped off considerably. While the ethnographic
data is adequate literature on the Southern Paiute since the pioneer period is very scanty indeed.

As the Mormon settlements became established in the various homeland areas of the Southern Paiutes, the latter tended to become hangers-on in and around those communities. This process began in about 1850 with establishment of Parowan and Cedar City and the other communities along the "Mormon corridor" and continued for the next fifty years until the settlement of Blanding in San Juan County in 1905.

At the beginning of this period John Wesley Powell did keep quite detailed accounts of the Southern Paiutes and several other tribes. In fact, he was probably the first scientific ethnologist in the Great Basin.

In 1873, Powell, with an Indian agent named Major G. W. Ingalls, who was in charge of the Southern Paiute Reservation in Moapa, conducted a survey of all the Indians in Utah, Nevada, eastern Idaho, and southeastern California and parts of Arizona on behalf of the United States' Congress. In all they found only 5,5000 Native Americans in the whole territory. There were 31 bands of Southern Paiutes, 7 Utes, 5 Gosiutes and 30 of Shoshones. The largest band found had a population of 200 people. There were undoubtedly many errors in this count, but the total is nevertheless surprisingly small.
Powell and Ingalls located the following bands of Southern Paiutes: Small bands in or near the Mormon settlements of; Beaver, Parowan and Cedar City; a band of 125 persons in Long Valley and another 107 in Kanab Valley (this would have been the Kaibab). There were 180 Shivwits near St. George, Utah, with a few still left on the eastern side of the Colorado River and several others "in small tribes," scattered about, "holding allegiance to many petty chiefs." In total they counted 2,027 Southern Paiutes and about 300 Chemehuevi.

Powell and Ingalls recommended that all the Southern Paiutes be gathered to one central reservation located on the Muddy River in extreme southeastern Nevada, near what is now Moapa. They further wanted all Anglo-Americans removed from rich river bottom land where they were settling.

The two men wrote on the subject:

They fully understand that the settlement of the country by white men is inevitable. . . . Their hunting-grounds have been spoiled, their favorite valleys are occupied by white men, and they are compelled to scatter in small bands in order to obtain subsistence. . . . The country inhabited by these Indians (Southern Paiute) no longer affords game in sufficient quantities worthy to be mentioned as part of their subsistence. . . . They principal part of their food is obtained by gathering seeds and digging roots. All of the tribes
cultivate the soil to a limited extent raising wheat, corn, beans, melons, and squashes. Some food and the greater part of their clothing is obtained by begging, the skins of such animals as they kill being entirely inadequate to their wants for this purpose. 25

The bands had been forced away from their favorite valleys further and further into unfavorable country where their traditional seed-gathering and hunting could not feed their population. Bad as this existence was, life on the reservations was probably worse. Corruption was a way of life there; terror, gross misappropriation of funds, and 26 immorality were commonplace.

Powell and Ingalls proposed to the Congress a very comprehensive program for Great Basin Reservations which included, the reservation as a "school of industry," not a pen where "hordes of savages are to be fed, etc., from the Government bounty." 27 The report was largely ignored because most of the congressmen were not interested. The western Congressmen, virtually without exception, wanted to get rid of the Indian, and the eastern congressmen considered the Indian a purely sectional problem.

Although he failed in his larger goals, Ingalls was a successful reservation manager during his time on the Moapa reserve. Six bands of Southern Paiutes moved there and were each given a tract of land; and for a time, at least, they resumed and expanded on the agricultural
pursuits they had begun before the arrival of the white man.

Most of the other Southern Paiute bands were located on small reservations such as the Shivwit, Indian Peaks and Kanosh in Utah and the Kaibab in Arizona—the latter not until 1923. Others, the Cedar band in particular, just continued to be "squatters" around white communities.

A final word should be said about John Wesley Powell. He was not only an explorer; he was also, as we have said, an ethnologist of some importance. He traveled the length and breadth of the West, particularly the Great Basin, studying the various Native American cultures. He was the only one at that time to do so first hand, largely because he had absolutely no fear of the Indians. He completed vocabularies of all the Shoshone and Ute, including Southern Paiute tribes. He studied their mythologies and social institutions, recording them in great detail. In addition, he collected a great number of artifacts which are now on display at the Smithsonian Institution, Harvard's Peabody Museum, and others. He became the first head of the Bureau of Ethnology. Comments on the American Indians should be noted. In addition to giving us his own views, they present valuable insights into the American myth concerning Indians and the reasons for it:
He who sees only their crimes, and studies the history of their barbaries as it has been recorded for the past three or four centuries, can see in the Indian race only hordes of demons who stand in the way of the progress of civilization and who must, and ought to be destroyed. He who has a more intimate knowledge of Indian character and life sometimes forgets their baser traits, and sees only their virtues, their truth, their fidelity to a trust, their simple and innocent sports, and wonders that a morally degenerate, but powerful civilization, should destroy that primitive life. Social problems are so complex that few are willing or able, to comprehend all the factors, and so the people are divided into two great parties, one crying for blood, and demanding the destruction of the Indians, and the other begging that he may be left in his aboriginal condition, and that the progress of civilization may be stayed. Vain is the clamor of either part; the march of humanity cannot be stayed; fields must be made, and gardens planted in the little valleys among the mountains of the Western land, as they have been in the broader valleys and plains of the East. And the mountains must yield their treasure of ore to the muner, and, whether we desire it or not, the ancient inhabitants of the country must be lost; and we may comfort ourselves with the reflection that they are not destroyed, but are gradually absorbed, and become a part of more civilized communities. 28

Generally, after the 1870's, the Southern Paiute bands slipped into a period of almost complete invisibility. They were largely neglected or forgotten by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on their various small, isolated and widely separated reservations and colonies. They became accepted
as "our local Indians" by most of the citizens of the Mormon communities, a term that connotes and explains a volume of sins, degradation, and stupidity to most westerners. On the surface the Southern Paiute culture developed into an almost classic example of Durkheim's "Anomie," a state of almost complete hopelessness and purposelessness.

During many years after consolidation of the pioneer villages and ventures, the Mormon Church, as a body, did little in the way of developing a constant program for the Southern Paiute bands. During this period the church was itself subjected to outside pressures in the form of anti-polygamist legislation and other problems. Brigham Young died, and the Mormons' interest as an organization moved away from their Native American neighbors and to other things. Their attention became focused not inwardly on the "kingdom of Zion" which soon became the state of Utah and not so much with the threat of the outside world as with joining it.

Largely because of this charge in emphasis it is difficult to glean an adequate record of the history of the Southern Paiutes during the period from about 1880 to 1920. They were simply not viewed as being as important to those writing diaries as they had been in the past.
Scholars such as ethnographers were understandably more interested in looking to the traditional culture therefore there is a general void of source material to draw from.

Some of the gaps in both Kaibab and Cedar City will be filled in later in separate sections. At the present the history of the Paiutes moves rather abruptly to the modern era.

Most of what was done for the Southern Paiute people during this time was done by dedicated individuals working within some Mormon "calling" rather than a Church-wide program. These efforts generally lacked consistency, and at times years would pass between major efforts. In this manner different localities developed significantly different approaches to their particular "Indian problem" while at the same time remaining under the umbrella of acceptable Mormon behavior towards Native Americans.

Termination

In the 1950's the tide of official opinion in Washington, D.C. swung away from government support of reservations and the separatist approach to "the Indian problem." The reservations had obviously not worked. The Indians had not become "civilized," and Congress thought it saw another way: through termination of all federal
support to Indians.

The assumption was then, as it had been throughout U. S. history, that the Indians were inferior because they were: "simple," "primitive," or "savage." Whatever the Indian was thought to be, policies were designed to "civilize" or "assimilate" him. Termination is essentially an attempt at assimilation by Legislation, "to get Congress out of the Indian business as soon as possible."

The purpose of termination is not new. As was indicated in the first chapter, federal policy has, from time to time, attempted to rapidly move the Native Americans to adopt the ways of their Anglo-American neighbors. Throughout most of American history, treaties with Native American tribes have vacillated from making them tribes on the assumption that they were land-owning, autonomous nations, to compelling them to live as wards of the U. S. Government. Laws were enacted in the 1800's that abolished tribal existence; but of course most of them didn't work.

Between 1950 and 1958 there was a major controversy over just how termination should proceed. On the one hand some said it should take place as soon as possible, even without the consent of the Native American cultures involved. At the other end of the termination continuum were those who wanted it to take place so slowly that it would not be significantly different from the programs
that were in effect at the time. In the middle were those that advocated termination only with the consent of the members of a few selected tribes. Termination remained a national goal until the Kennedy term began.

Senator Arthur V. Watkins, Republican from Utah, expressed the termination philosophy quite well. He thought of Native Americans as "fellow Americans" equal in every respect. Therefore they should be equal in employment and responsibility, which was not possible if they were kept separate. Termination would cause the development of self-reliance in the Native Americans.

This general philosophy prevailed long enough to result in House Concurrent Resolution Number 108, of August 1, 1953 and Public Law 280, of August 15, 1953. These laws in turn resulted in the disrupting of Indian life in several cultures, the Southern Paiute bands of Utah, the Klamaths of Oregon, and the Menominees of Wisconsin are three of the most prominent examples. Their tribal governments were disrupted, and their property and public services were taken from them.

As a spokesman for the more moderate attitude, Oliver La Farge advocated a softer approach which prevailed until the 1960's. He maintained that the termination of the 50's had been extremely hasty and one-sided and impatient at best. His approach was, briefly that the
U. S. had "disintegrated" the Native American cultures; therefore, it is the U. S.'s responsibility to integrate them. Since Native Americans have had, generally, a very bad experience with Anglo American ways, through association with Indian agents, reservations, etc., they are not likely, he thought, to move quickly in the direction of Anglo society.

Termination was the last important event that has happened to the Southern Paiute, at least in Utah, and perhaps the most important thing that has happened to them since the arrival of the Mormons on the scene. The Paiute community in Cedar City lives daily with the effects of termination. The effects of that policy on the two bands located in Cedar City will be covered in detail later.

Political and Social Organizations

Through the period from pioneer consolidations to termination, the political and social organizations of the Southern Paiute remained about the same, that is, at most an informal aggregate of family groups who sometimes gave temporary allegiance to a prominent number of another Paiute group. This is what the Anglo-Americans saw as a band, although it is quite clear that terms such as "bands" and "chiefs" or "captains" came into common use
only after the Anglo arrived in the area.

As the environment changed, as freedom of travel was limited, as competition for traditional sources of foods became greater, and, as opportunities for obtaining it became fewer, it is likely that the bands did become somewhat larger, as the Paiute people congregated around white population centers for the dual purposes of begging and plunder.

To the present day, the traditional kin-and-clique subsistence unit has remained important. The Southern Paiutes, whether they live on reservations or not, tended to cluster in these traditional groups both for social matters and economically. Political divisions can still usually be traced along kin-and-clique factions.

Economically the Anglo-American has helped perpetuate this traditional unit. Pensions, welfare payments, surplus food distribution and similar aids are very important to any poverty culture, and the Southern Paiute are no exception. The older members of the families are economically important because the aged have an easier time qualifying for the various poverty aids. This process has helped to maintain the kin-clique groupings by holding extended families together.
Leadership roles changed significantly, not so much in outward appearances as in function. The settlers very often appointed surrogate leaders, since that was their way of conducting business between groups. They did not appear to know that they were seeing leaders where there were none, at least in the form and function they assumed to be natural.

Anglo-imposed leaders, (they were called "captain" in the Great Basin area) were often leaders of some type when the settlers arrived, but, as we have seen, except in the relatively rare case of a "big chief" they held only functionally specific, task-oriented leadership roles and in any case could not speak for or represent other members of his group. Each member of a Southern Paiute held his own personal veto and traditionally used it quite often. Few Anglo-Americans have ever understood this, particularly those dealing initially with various cultures.

The men most often identified by the Anglos as leaders were the best orators. In many ways this was consistent with traditional ways since oratory was a prime requisite for a "big chief." Another Anglo practice was the selection of the son of a chief to replace the last leader. This was not consistent with Southern Paiute tradition.
Kelly gives the following account which exposes this process:

After Tapiel died there was no real chief. The whites made my father (son of Tapiel) chief; Major Powell wanted him to have the job. Then my father died, and the white people called me captain (George who was the present Kaibab "chief and one of Kelly's informants for her _Southern Paiute Ethnology_) they think I am chief."

According to informants, Powell also was responsible for the chieftainship of Frank, called Chuar by his own people... One informant commented that "he could talk pretty good." Dellenbaugh speaks of the young chief of the Kaibab band, usually called Frank by the settlers...a most fluent speaker in his native tongue, he would address his people with long flights of uninterrupted rhetorical skill.36

Captain Frank did, in fact, develop into a powerful leader, by Paiute standards. In 1872 a diarist reported:

Then Pa-Ute Frank (Chuarumpeak, the Kaibab band leader) talked awhile and the conference closed. He (Frank) is a good speaker, is a young man and is trying to become chief of all the tribes in southern Utah.37

Captain Frank's attempt at unification, of course, failed. The leaders soon lost their traditional functions. The various headmen no longer had their hunts to organize, and the clusters ceased to migrate with the seasons. They no longer had well-defined and specific economic tasks to perform as they had had in the past, and there were very few other leadership roles that could legitimately be
performed by Southern Paiute leaders.

Paiute leadership became largely Anglo-imposed and reactive in nature, that is, the "chief" acted only as a leader when Anglo-Americans came to him with some proposal or complaint. The leader very rarely initiated any action either within his group, where it was often considered improper to do so, or with the Anglos where he was relatively powerless.

The individuality that was very strong traditionally remained just as strong, perhaps stronger. Life remained essentially a very private matter or at most a family, kin-clique affair. It is little wonder that the individual or families had little motivation to submerge their traditional "privatism" to permanent authority or more central leadership when that leadership was largely non-functioning and in a system they neither understood or had any significant control over.

The values of "equality" within the Southern Paiute culture have suffered greatly in the past seventy-five years or so. Whereas, in the past, everyone participated freely and equally in the activities of the group, now this freedom has evolved into a system of equal rights to not participate in what few activities are still attempted. There were never many norms or formal "laws" to abide by, but now there are even fewer standards of behavior, and the
world the Paiutes live in is infinitely more complex. In addition, a great many norms and "laws," both formal and informal, are imposed from "outside."

In the past political and social leadership was selected by the whole group, often with friendly collaboration from other neighboring groups. This leadership was based on ability. Since the incursion of the settlers, the selection role passed into the hands of the all-powerful Anglo-Americans in the area, and their criteria were foggy at best; at their worst they ran counter to traditional Paiute goals.

The "capacity" of Southern Paiute to govern, to meet new challenges, to process new information, was never very great but it had functioned very satisfactory in an economic sense for a great number of years. This limited capacity withered as the Paiute world changed and passed into the hands of the Anglos.

The handling of tension and strife within the culture remained the prerogative of individuals and family groups, unless it drew the attention of the Anglos. In this case tension and strife became the business of the alien society and was completely out of Paiute hands.

New tasks were not learned and handled better and faster, and the old tasks became outmoded or impossible. Coordinated effort for the whole cultural group never
developed.

Instead of having functionally differentiated roles, leadership became non-functioning and general. "Differentiation," as it is used analytically here, decayed from where it had been traditionally because the political process, as far as the Southern Paiute culture was concerned, largely ceased to function.

As their culture evolved into the modern period the demands on the leaders became extreme; the leaders had no choice, they had to meet Anglo-American standards, whatever those standards might be. To do so, if it was ever possible, would have been against the values of the people they led, and the people were well within their cultural rights to disregard the suggestions of their leaders. Further suggestions were the most powerful tool the leader had to use. The Paiute leader, often Anglo-imposed, had Anglo tools such as police power, economic sanctions, etc. at his disposal, but to use them, or even verbal persuasion of the type Anglo leaders used, was an anti-social act within his culture. Leadership, understandably, usually withdrew from this impossible situation and became a reaction function only.

Individual Paiutes still derive a great deal of their identity and psychological strength from their kin-and-clique relationships. The environmental conditions were,
if anything, more harsh than before because they had far fewer options open to them. In addition, the psychological environment was even worse than it was in the slave-raiding days. Even more than ever they had to depend on their family groups for a measure of security.

Understanding this, the freedom of the individual to go his own way was vastly increased. Just as he could, in the past, go to and join a new economic group if he chose, he now had many groups and agencies ready and willing to help if he came to them. As a matter of fact, most Anglo controlled agencies were designed to wean the Native American individual away from his culture. Therefore, when there were problems he didn't want to face or choices he didn't want to make, there were always ways around them for the individual Paiute.

Within the Paiute culture, followership continued to be a temporary condition. The leaders, although somewhat more distant than before, were still likely to be personal friends or relatives. Anglo leadership in the form of missionaries, agents, and "friends of the Indians" were also personal leaders, but the institutions and organizations they represented were not at all understood by the Paiute with their tradition of non-representation of others. Briefly social and political organizations and Paiute leadership had changed in the following ways:
leadership roles had been rendered useless, and the leadership selection process had been largely taken over by whites. Leadership had become more distant and impersonal, and the individual had been largely left to his own devices, in a world he could not effect to any degree.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter V

1

2

3
Ibid., p. 203.

4
Malouf, p. 11.

5

6
Malouf, p. 11.

7

8

9
Euler, pp. 54-55.

10
Ibid., pp. 55-56.

11
Ibid., p. 57.
12

13
Brigham Young's Papers (MSS in LDS Church Historians Library) 1800-1870.

14

15
*Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 42:42.

16

17
Malouf, p. 19.

18

19
A full account can be found in either the pro-Mormon book, *Indians and Outlaws*, by Albert K. Lyman, the defense lawyer in the abortive trial, or in *The Last of the Indian Wars*, by Forbes Parkhill, New York, Collier Books, 1962. The latter being a somewhat anti-Mormon account, at least in the eyes of the settlers of San Juan County, Utah.

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21
There are a number of books treating Mormon colonization. One which is focused specifically on Southern Utah is N. Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942, 1966). This is a secular history. In addition, there are innumerable diaries and journals ranging from the scholarly to the less than scholarly. The best examples seem to be those edited by Juanita Brooks, *The Diary of Hosea Stout* (Two volumes) and John D. Lee.


Euler, pp. 91-92.


See Sarah Wennenwucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Paiute* (Boston, 1883).

Darrah, pp. 202-203.


See "A Program for Indian Citizens" Report to the Secretary of Interior by the Tash Force on Indian Affairs, July 10, 1961, also "Declaration of Indian Purpose" American Indian Chicago Conference, University of Chicago, June 13-20, 1961.
32

33

34
Euler, pp. 100-103.

35
Malouf, pp. 33-34.

36

37
Euler, p. 84.
Chapter VI

THE MORMON CHURCH AND THE NATIVE AMERICAN

As has been shown in Chapter V, the Mormon settlers, while perhaps having no more understanding of the Indian cultures they encountered, were generally less harsh in their relationship with them. Unique for 19th-Century America, this stance toward the Indians is based squarely on Mormon church theology. The present chapter is an examination of theology. Since the Southern Paiute culture is immersed in an Anglo-Mormon culture and not just an Anglo-composite culture, this relationship and the theology behind it are extremely important in an understanding of the present unequal political and social situation of the Southern Paiute.

Mormon Theology Concerning the Native American

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the official title of the Religion commonly called the "Mormon" Church by members and non-members alike. The nickname comes from the church's Book of Mormon which is a supplementary body of scripture for the church membership. The Mormons also believe in the Bible, as far as it is
translated correctly.

The Book of Mormon is the history of several groups of Israelites who migrated to the Western hemisphere at various times, some long before the birth of Christ. In addition to being a history, the Book of Mormon supplements and complements the theological teachings of the Bible. It is upon the Book of Mormon and upon revelation received by the founder of the church, Joseph Smith, that Mormon theology concerning the Indian is based.

The Mormon conception of the American Indian is briefly as follows: The American Indians are a people of mixed blood and origin. Chiefly, however, they are "Lamanites," a branch of the "Nephite" nation, which in turn was the most prominent group of Israelites to come to the Americas. (The history of the "Nephites" and "Lamanites" will be covered shortly.)

In addition to having "Lamanite" blood, the American Indians have some "Nephite" blood as well as possible Scandinavian blood from the Norse expeditions and obviously quite a bit of oriental blood from the migrations across the Bering Strait. The Mormons have little quarrel with the archeological indications that there were an unspecified number of groups of people who probably found their way from the Old World, both Europe and Asia, to the New World in pre-Columbian times. Out of all these groups came the
American Indian.

But with it all, for the great majority of the decendants of the original inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere, the dominant blood lineage is that of Israel.¹

In about 600 B.C. a Jewish family under their patriarch Lehi, with some of their friends, left their homeland and began a migration that finally brought them to the Western hemisphere. It is believed this group of people had acted under the direction of the Lord and with his direct assistance. Almost from the beginning there was open conflict between the sons of Lehi, the patriarch of that family: Nephi, on the one hand, and Laman and Lemuel on the other.

Not long after their arrival in the New World the two factions split and became known as the Nephites, or followers of Nephi, and the Lamanites, or followers of Laman. Shortly after the separation, according to Mormon doctrine, a two-fold curse came upon the Lamanites.

1. "They were cut off from the presence of the Lord and thus died spiritually. Scales of darkness dovered their eyes because they did not accept the saving principles of the gospel. They became apostates and the descendents of apostates." (I Nephi 2:21-24; II Nephi 4:4-6; Alma 9:13-14)

2. "After they dwindled in unbelief," that is, after they have forsaken the church and the gospel, "they became a dark, and loathsome, and a filthy people,
full of idleness and all manner of abominations." (I Nephi 12:23) So that they might not be "enticing" unto the Nephites, "the Lord God did curse a skin of blackness to come upon them." (II Nephi 5:20-25; Alma 3:14-16)²

In the words of President Joseph Fielding Smith, the current President and Prophet of the Mormon Church:

The white and righteous people were called Nephites; the rebellious were called Lamanites. Their history from this time forth until the coming of Jesus Christ (to the Western Hemisphere) is one of continued rebellion, war and bloodshed. When the Nephites rebelled against the commandments of the Lord the Lamanites acted as a scourge.³ (See II Nephi 5:22-25)

The Lamanites, then, acted as an instrument of the Lord, punishing the Nephites whenever they strayed from the teachings of their religion. The Mormon pioneers saw Indian trouble in much the same light in the 19th century.

Mormon doctrine tells us that after Christ was resurrected he visited the people of the Western Hemisphere. He established his Church among all the people here, both Lamanites and Nephites, and for two hundred years all the people became united in "one kingdom and one church."

There were no robbers, nor murderers, neither were there Lamanites, nor any manner of -ites; but they were one, the children of Christ, and heirs of the kingdom of God." (4 Nephi 13:17)

After this period of peace, the people became less righteous; in fact the Nephites became more corrupt and
wicked than the Lamanites and eventually the Nephites were destroyed as a nation. (Mormon 6) Before the end of the Nephites in the 4th century A.D., their last prophet, named Mormon, prophesied of a yet greater curse to come to the Lamanites:

"This people shall be scattered, and shall become a dark, a filthy, and a loathsome people, beyond the description of that which ever hath been amongst us, yea, even that which hath been among the Lamanites, and this because of their unbelief and idolity" (Mormon 5:15; D & C 3:16-20)

This presumably, is the curse the Native Americans were living under when Columbus discovered them and the one they are living under today unless they join the Mormon Church.

On the other hand the Lamanites are also a chosen people in Mormon theology. In the last days the Lamanites will "blossom as the rose." (Doctrine and Covenants 49:24) The members of the Mormon church believe they will be the ones to help the Lamanites "blossom" through missionary work and generally "working with the Indians." (Doctrine and Covenants 10:48)

And then shall they [the Lamanites or Indians] rejoice; for they shall know that it is a blessing unto them from the hand of God; and their scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a white and delightsome people. (2 Nephi 30:6)
There is a good deal of confusion about the term "Lamanite," and "Nephite" for that matter, because there are several definitions in the Book of Mormon. Originally the designations were a means of identifying true believers and apostates. Later, after the Lamanite skin was darkened, the terms were racial. In the Book of Mormon, as the cultures became different, the terms were used to identify nationality and ancestry rather than belief. This was particularly true as some Lamanites accepted the church and some Nephites left it.

In fact there were periods when the Lamanites were more faithful, as a group, than the Nephites. As we have seen, there was the two-hundred-year span when there were no "-ites" and the Lamanites became a "white and delight-some people" again. (See page 183)

According to McConkie, as the apostacy began anew, the true believers were once again called "Nephites," and those falling away were called "Lamanites" regardless of their previous nationality and of whether their ancestors had been "Nephites" or "Lamanites" in that sense of the word. (Also see 4 Nephi 36-38)

In the last days, the Nephite nation, (speaking of those with white-skinned ancestry) became more corrupt than the Lamanites (referring to their ancestry). Therefore the white-skinned people could be called "Lamanites,"
since they were non-believers, if that definition of the term were to be used. It is a common practice today, in the Mormon Church to call the Indians "Lamanites," particularly those who are members of the church.

In the Book of Mormon this was not the case. When a person became a believer he was no longer called by that name. (Alma 24:16-17) Needless to say, the term "Lamanite" is now a very confusing term and must be carefully defined.

In addition to the problems of definition, as has been shown, there are two main themes concerning the Lamanites and therefore Native Americans are significant in Mormon thought. First as the concept of Native Americans as a dark, cursed scourge, the enemy to God's work. The second concept shows them a blessed people in the last days, a people the Mormon Church must help and then will be helped by in return.

These two themes seem to create a great deal of ambivalence within the average Mormon Church member, but, at the very least, Anglo-Mormons are able to support their version of the American myth about Native Americans with a fully developed ideology and theology.

This ideology or theology, however, can be devastating to the Native American in either case. He is told that in his present state (if he has retained his
Native American culture) he is one of "a dark, a filthy, and a loathsome people, beyond discription. . . . and further, he is told that he can make progress, develop, and become "white and delightsome" only if he accepts that definition of himself and his culture and ceases to be "Indian."

In practice the theology comes across not only as a spiritual curse or an explanation of race, but as a theology that is also manifest socially and materially. The theology is employed by Native Americans as well as Anglo-Americans as a rationalization of the "plight" of the Indians and a reason for doing nothing about it. This school of thought reasons that the Native American, as an Lamanite, is defeated before he starts because he is cursed by God. The only way for the Native Americans to progress is for them to become "white," like the Mormons. Then and only then will they become "white and delightsome" and "blossom as the rose." This theology is not very appealing to the Native Americans who is proud of his "Indian-ness." On the other hand if the Native American believes that he is "cursed and loathsome" in a physical sense or even believes that the very people who are working most closely with them believe it, this can be very damaging to his self image.
This line of reasoning is by no means the only approach Mormons take whether they be Anglo or Native American, but it seems that if they take another they must first overcome this one.

Some of the views of Brigham Young on this subject were set forth in Chapter V as they pertained to the historical development of Mormon-Paiute relationships. As usual he was emphatic on this question just as he was on most others.

President Young believed in the curse, but he did not seem to feel that the spiritual curse should make the treatment of Indians any different from what it would be with any other people in the matter of civil rights. The following statements are taken from his Discourses:

There is a curse on these aborigines of our country who roam the plains, and are so wild that you cannot tame them. They are of the House of Israel; they once had the Gospel delivered to them, they had the oracles of truth; Jesus came and administered to them after his resurrection, and they received and delighted in the Gospel until the fourth generation when they turned away and became so wicked that God cursed them with this dark and benighted and loathsome condition. 14:86

The Lamanites or Indians are just as much the children of our Father and God as we are. So also are the Africans. But we are also the children of adoption through obedience to the Gospel of his Son. 11:272
I spoke a harsh word yesterday with regard to a man who professes to be a Latter-day Saint who has been guilty of killing an innocent Indian. I say today that he is just as much a murderer through killing that Indian, as he would have been had he shot down a white man. To slay an innocent person is murder according to the law of Moses. 11:263

Do we wish to do right? You answer, yes. Then let the Lamanites come back to their homes, where they were born and brought up. This is the land that they and their fathers have walked over and called their own; and they have just as good a right to call it theirs today as any people have to call any land their own. They have buried their fathers and mothers and children here; this is their home, and we have taken possession of it; and occupy the land where they used to hunt the rabbit, and, not a great while since, the buffalo, and the antelope were in these valleys in large herds when we first came here.

When we came here, they could catch fish in great abundance in the lake in the season thereof, and live upon them pretty much through the summer. But now their game has gone, and they are left to starve. It is our duty to feed them. The Lord has given us ability to cultivate the ground and reap bountiful harvests. We have an abundance of food for ourselves and for the stranger. It is our duty to feed these poor ignorant Indians; we are living on their possessions and their homes. 11:264

In these extemporaneous speeches, it seems clear that Brigham Young felt rather strongly that, first, Native Americans should be treated with strict fairness and, second, that the Mormons had taken their homes and way of life from them and had a duty to them for that reason.
While the theology of the Mormons is unique and the policies of some leaders such as Brigham Young were quite enlightened for the Southern Paiutes as well as some other Native American cultures, the relationship of the Mormons to Native Americans was little different in how it affected the Native Americans than was general in the United States. Both generally and in the Mormon case, the Anglo-Native American relationship was not one of partnership and cooperation or of reciprocally giving and receiving advice and aid toward solving mutual problems; it was rather one of controlling and being controlled, the powerful verses the powerless.

But whereas most Native American cultures were treated this way because they had been defeated militarily, those under the Mormon influence were treated in a similarly authoritarian or paternalistic manner because they were cursed by God long before the Mormons arrived in the West.

The Mormon Church as a Socio-political Organization

Since the Mormon church is a powerful socio-political organization in the Great Basin, particularly in the rural areas where the Southern Paiutes live, it will now be examined briefly as a socio-political institution rather than a theological organization.
Mormon History

The Mormon church is first a religious body, but it also embodies many typical American values. From the time of its formation, in 1830, to the present time, the church has been a separate and peculiar religious community which at the same time has been an integral part of America.

In their religious beliefs the Mormons acted on two dominant American ideas. The first, which they consciously followed, was to imitate the model of biblical Israel. But without realizing it they also projected this "Israel" into the second idea, the American dream of creating a better life out of the wilderness. Their colony in the Great Basin, "Zion," as it is often called by Mormons, is an Americanized version of Biblical Israel. Biblical Israel is

. . . above all the story of a people who shared convictions about their status as elected by God. It depicts the development of institutions, secular and religious at once, which embody collective existence of this people. And finally, the Bible proposes for this people a common homeland - set apart and appointed by the Lord - a promised land to be occupied, possessed, and rendered their own.  

This seems to be how many of the Mormon settlers in Utah felt in the 19th century. Many probably still feel the same way now.
Despite obvious differences, Mormonism is very much like the United States in miniature because the same general processes occurred in both Mormon history and the history of the United States as a whole.

The Mormons experienced the same type of conflicts with the larger United States' society that the colonies experienced with England.

They settled on free land and devoted a great amount of energy to its development into agricultural land. They also engaged in city building in an attempt to achieve a better life in the present world. This process was a significant factor of United States life all over the country.

With urbanization, particularly in northern Utah along the Wasatch front, the Church has become much more secularized than it was when the state was essentially a theocracy. In rural areas the Mormon church still at least coordinates secular activities. In these areas the Church is still the most influential and powerful political body; also, the Church still carries on projects based on community cooperation rather than private enterprise. The Mormon Church is still to a large extent a theocracy with socialistic tendencies, although "socialism" is a very bad word in those areas.
There is still a strong separatist feeling, particularly in rural, isolated communities. Mormons are proud to be called "peculiar people." On the other hand since patriotism is so strong in some areas, this feeling may be considered part of old-fashioned American sectionalism. But in some ways Mormons are also very different than other Americans.

The Mormons had a violent beginning; four times they were forced by mobs and unsympathetic officials, local and national, to leave an area they had settled.

Their founder and prophet was killed by a mob in 1844. Eventually they were forced to leave the nation and move to the Great Basin, which was then part of Mexico.

The Mormons were also polygamists, and largely because of this practice they were harassed and maligned by the press and public opinion as well as by government policy until they repudiated that form of marriage in 1890 and were admitted to the Nation as a state in 1896.

Briefly, then, Mormonism is both separate and typically American. It is also very different from what it was a few years ago because instead of being consciously singular, it is now consciously expanding into the larger world.
Secular Aspects of the Mormon Church

Mormonism as a secular institution as well as a church organization clashes in several important areas with the Southern Paiute culture of today.

For example, the Mormon Church touches almost every aspect of its members' lives; not only church meetings on Sunday but also religious meetings during the week; extensive cultural programs, work and welfare programs, women and youth organizations, and many social activities. The Church owns a great deal of property and has an extensive building program that necessitates a very large real estate arm. There is an ambitious educational program as well as a welfare effort. Large publication facilities turn out a daily newspaper, several magazines, and numerous books. In addition the Mormon Church has invested wisely and is actively involved in business.

All of this has resulted in a rather large bureaucracy at least from the Paiute point of view. There are specific channels within which one operates. For the average member this usually means working through the local bishop and stake president, who are personal leaders, but from then on the bureaucracy takes over.

A bureaucratic organization runs counter to anything the Southern Paiute experienced traditionally or
understands clearly today. The Paiutes deal in face-to-face relationships. They did so traditionally and this has been reinforced by experiences with more non-personal methods from Indian agents and the U. S. Congress to the present welfare agencies. They are somewhat receptive to the use of "brokers" who personally represent them on specific matters, but they do not understand or like being represented by "unknown others," as is the case in a bureaucracy.

Perhaps an even more important cultural contradiction involved the two concepts of authority. In the Mormon church, which is headed by a living prophet and governed by a body of twelve apostles and other "General Authorities," "Truth" flows downward. The hierarchy establishes programs, and the membership carry them out. A good Mormon does not question too much once he has been "called" to perform a task or implement a program.

In the Paiute culture, with no formal organization or hierarchy, each individual finds his own "truth." The aspect of their culture the Paiutes seem to protect most actively is the concept that "nobody speaks for me." There is always the option of the "personal veto." The Mormon can also utilize his "personal veto" in going or not going to church, believing or not believing, participating or not participating and so forth. The difference
between an active Mormon and a Southern Paiute is one of degree, whereas there are definite consequences that result from consistent use of the "personal veto" for the Anglo-Mormon, since it is very much outside acceptable behavior, it is expected norm in polite Paiute society.

There are other contradictions. The Mormon approach to the Native American is very paternalistic, but this is consistent because the church's approach toward all people is somewhat paternalistic. The major problem, in this regard is intensified as far as the Southern Paiute are concerned, because the two cultures have very different concepts of what a "father" should and should not do to or for his "child." Another serious contradiction between cultures is the legitimate bounds to which a father can go in building his children; it is much more restricted in the Paiute culture than it is in the Mormon culture. This cultural contradiction makes the paternalism of the good Mormons who "work with the Indians" as "willful children" all the more foreign and dismaying to the Southern Paiute people and probably to all Native Americans.

The relationship between the Mormon Church and the Southern Paiutes in Kaibab and Cedar City are just a small part of the church's overall "Lamanite program." The Mormon maintain two full-time missions to Native Americans, divided between the northern and the southern
reservations west of the Mississippi River, and several more less formal missions such as the one which serves the Southern Paiutes.

Brigham Young University (run by the Mormon Church) has the largest enrollment of Native Americans in the United States (548 in the spring of 1971), and the university has a very unique and active "Lamanite program." Also, five thousand Native American children are placed in Anglo-Mormon homes through the Church's Placement Program in an attempt to break the general cycle of poverty and dispair. It is reported that 16,000 more attend part-time Mormon seminaries. The objective of all these activities is not only to convert the Lamanites to the church but also to "give the Indian student a better concept of himself, not to make him into a white man."

There are many other facets to the overall Lamanite program of the church such as, health care, secular education and a rather extensive economic development program. In all cases the official goal is as follows:

Possibly the most important thing that could be said about the Lamanite programs of the Church is that they are developing leadership and strength among the Lamanites. The gospel of Jesus Christ brings men and women to a greater measure of their potential, and nowhere is this more evident than among the Lamanite members of the Church.
And on the other side of the coin, the vestiges of paternalism and prejudice among the non-Lamanites in the Church are being worn away.  

Under this overall umbrella of church policy and programs, local leaders in the form of stake presidents and bishops administer their areas in a great many ways. In part, their personalities account for many of the differences which can be seen between the relationship between the Mormon Church and the Paiutes in Kaibab and Cedar City. These relationships are further separated because through the insistence of the Kanab Stake President, the Mormon Church is experimenting with totally integrated church activities there. In Cedar City the Lamanites and the Anglo-Mormons remain segregated as is the general rule in bi-cultural communities throughout the church.  

The list of serious cultural clashes between the Anglo-Mormon Church and their Southern Paiute members or prospective members could be expanded on at great length and several of the following chapters will touch upon others. Here the point is that there are fundamental differences between the Southern Paiutes and the Mormon Church on several key attitudes.  

These contradictions would be difficult to overstate in the two case studies presented here because in both the Mormon Church is the dominant political power as
far as the local Paiutes are concerned, as well as the most important religious organization in their area. The Southern Paiutes in Kaibab and Cedar City are almost constantly interacting with either the Church leadership itself or individuals who are active members of the church whose activities are very often colored by Mormon beliefs.

The Mormon Church and Political Development Theory

To sum up, the Mormon Church as a socio-political organization can be looked at in terms of the same characteristics, "equality," capacity," and "differentiation" used as a theoretical framework elsewhere in this study.

Within the Anglo-Mormon Church there is a great amount of popular or mass participation. Outsiders are usually amazed at the amount of activity that goes on in the Mormon church. There is a rather large and specific body of rules or "laws" that apply to all members, and in most cases a person is judged, both formally and informally, on how he adheres to these "laws." The leadership is chosen largely on ascriptive criteria. Any given leader is called by a man above him in hierarchy, and in most cases direct inspiration or revelation from the Lord is involved.
The scope of activities of the Mormon Church is also much beyond the scope of more conventional church organizations. The members of the church handle a great many tasks and activities very well and quite efficiently. Although the Mormon church undertakes a great many secular activities such as business activities or education, it cannot be considered a secular organization because all of its activities are conducted as part of the general religious endeavor.

The roles of the leadership hierarchy are not functionally specific. The General Authorities, Stake Presidents, and Bishops have the final control on all activities, whatever their nature. The structures are designed to funnel all authority to these positions.

The church has not developed a "differentiated" system of operation. The Mormon church is not a modern political organization, but of course it was not designed to be one, nor does it desire to be viewed as one. The problem arises when it becomes apparent that for many Southern Paiutes as well as some whites, the Mormon Church functions as the political power as well as religious power in their lives.

For the good and active Mormon, his church leaders have broad and extensive powers over him. Final decisions are not to be questioned, and within the system the
follower can only obey. Since the church is a voluntary system made up of unpaid workers, there is a good deal of sophisticated, and at times, imaginative foot-dragging; but there are few open refusals from the active members. Here again an open contradiction with Paiute tradition is observed.

The leaders have a great many sanctions that can be brought to bear on the wayward, particularly in communities that are almost 100% Mormon and social pressure is great. These are in the form of the "laws" mentioned above. (They are called covenants, commandments, and commitments within the church.)

The cultural demands on the follower within the Mormon church are great as long as he remains an active Mormon. The follower does have the "personal veto" of inactivity or foot-dragging, but too much of this and he becomes inactive or a "Jack-Mormon" and loses the support of the church and all that it means to him.

The demands of being a good Mormon are significantly different from the demands made of Southern Paiutes by their culture. Because of pressure on the Paiutes, in both case studies, to become Mormons, the cultural contradictions made by these demands are very real to the Paiute populations in those communities.
Briefly, in the Kaibab Case Study, twenty-six of the forty-eight Paiutes are members of the Mormon Church, ten are protestant, three Catholic, six claim to believe in a God but belong to no formal church, and none admit to belonging to the Native American Church. It is interesting to note that none of the leaders on the Tribal Council are active members of the Mormon Church, although they are friendly towards it and in almost every case some members of their families are active Church members.

In the Cedar City Case Study, the membership in the Mormon Church is a much higher percentage: forty-eight of the sixty respondents are Mormons, two are Protestant, none are Catholics, three believe in a God and six are members of the Native American Church. In Cedar City much of the leadership is Mormon, at least in name.

In both Paiute communities very few are very active in the majority of the Church activities that a devout Mormon normally takes part in. Several of the respondents indicated that they belonged to more than one church, particularly in Cedar City, where all of the members of the Native American Church are also members of the Mormon Church.

While some of the Mormon Paiutes seem to believe that they are cursed in the eyes of God, there are also several who believe that this is a misinterpretation of Mormon doctrine. They support this argument with their
religious legends which apparently are quite close to some accounts in the *Book of Mormon*. (They will not talk about them to me or apparently any other Anglo.) For the Mormon Paiutes who accept this unique explanation of their religion, and there seem to be more than a few, the theology is turned around on the Anglos, and the Paiutes become the chosen people and the Anglos the ones who have fallen away and do not understand the word of the Lord. The Paiutes have only to keep the faith, which includes keeping their legends secret, and wait for the second coming of Christ, when all this will become clear to the Anglo-Mormons.

In any event the Mormon theology and the Mormon Church as a powerful socio-political organization in the area makes for a unique environment for the Southern Paiutes. It is one which effects every aspect of the lives of both Mormon and non-Mormon Paiutes.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter VI

1

2
Ibid., p. 428.

3

4
McConkie, p. 529.

5
John A. Widtsoe, The Discourses of Brigham Young (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1940), pp. 122-123.

6

7
Ibid., xviii.

8
Wilford Woodruff, "Official Declaration," Doctrine and Covenants (October 6, 1890), pp. 256-257.

9

10
Ibid., p. 13.

11
Ibid., p. 13.
Chapter VII

THE TRADITIONAL SOUTHERN PAIUTE INDIVIDUAL

It was stated earlier (in Chapter IV) that the traditional Southern Paiute culture as it existed before Anglo-American settlement of their area, developed strong individualistic traits in its people, for environmental as well as other reasons. The economic clusters experimented with their particular environment until almost all the resources of the area were exploited. In this way a premium was placed on the innovation of the hunters and gatherers of the group. In addition, as has been shown, the people within any group were free to join other groups if they desired, and they often did so for a great number of reasons. Political power over another person was a temporary thing, usually lasting only for the duration of a specific economic task. Thus individual freedoms were protected by the culture in all their power relationships.

On the other hand, as these freedoms were only important so long as the individual operated from within some group. Much of the Southern Paiutes' identity and psychological strength grew out of their kin-and-clique relationships because they had to rely on the few others for security, both physical and psychological, in their
harsh environment. They were isolated from other human beings, for the most part, and the associations they did establish were very important to them, for as long as they lasted. In a sense the cooperative nature of the group was a demonstration of respect and sensitivity for the individuals private rights.

Southern Paiute Life Stages

The important question to be asked in this section is: How did the Southern Paiute become the type of individual that fits into this frame of life? As Erik H. Erikson has pointed out so well, individuals from any culture have to synthesize their concepts and ideals in a coherent design for living, and this of course includes the leadership:

They [primitive societies] cannot afford to create a community of wild eccentrics, of infantile characters, or of neurotics. In order to create people who will function effectively as the bulk of the people, as energetic leaders, or as useful deviants, even the most "savage" culture must strive for what we vaguely call a "strong ego" in its majority or at least in its dominant minority--i.e., an individual core form and flexible enough to reconcile the necessary contradictions in any human organization, to integrate individual differences, and above all to emerge from a long and unavoidably fearful infancy with a sense of identity and an idea of integrity.
The Paiutes had accomplished this in their culture. They produced the effective leader, the Paiute everyman, and even the valuable deviant personality types that were helpful and useful in their society. They remained a stable functioning society for many years before the Europeans introduced their cultures; first in the form of the horse, which enabled the Paiutes' neighbors to begin raiding them with impunity, and later in the form of permanent Anglo-American settlers.

The data on traditional Southern Paiute childhood are sketchy and not sufficient to develop the full-blown presentation of the Paiute culture that Erikson developed on the Sioux and Yurok peoples. On the other hand there is enough to provide insight into the subject for an exploratory study of the leadership in Southern Paiute society.

The traditional Southern Paiute of history, like most peoples, recognized and isolated the crises in every individual's life, although they did not develop as much ritual as did most Native American cultures. Life was logically divided into infancy, youth, maturity, and old age. Each stage had its recognized dangers for the individual's development, but the culture practiced relatively few rituals and had few taboos associated with the passage from one stage to another.
Infancy

Birth took place in a special structure, not the usual menstrual hut. The expectant mother "sat" on a bed of sand ashes and a rabbit skin robe which was warmed by hot stones placed there by the father morning and evening. The duties of the father were several: he built the hut, carried wood and water, tended the fire and stones, and generally made himself useful. In addition, during this time, he ran everywhere he went so as not to become lazy. Several other people assisted in birth. A shaman sang either inside the hut or outside. A midwife assisted, along with two or three others, by supporting the mother by the arms while she squatted, and if the birth was prolonged the woman was shaken vigorously. It seems that nobody was paid for such assistance perhaps because the father could and often did perform any of the needed arts. The father did give away clothing, particularly with the first child, but this was to the general population of the group.

The mother remained in the hut until all discharge stopped and, in some bands, for a month. Apparently while she was isolated she performed all her normal work but did nothing for others.
Some taboos were included. The mother could not eat meat for about a month. The eating of meat was not thought to harm the infant but would cause excess bleeding with the next child. The woman also avoided drinking cold water and avoided touching her face or hair. Failing to obey these rules would result in rapid aging for the mother. The taboos on the father were much less exacting. He abstained from meat for about a week. Copulation was banned for a month after birth and at least a month before. This is a relatively short time for American Indian cultures. Taboos were adhered to not because of fear but rather to avoid the derision of other women.

The baby was fed on warm water until the milk came and was then nursed until it was about two years old. During this time the child had relatively easy access to the breast, but there was little elaboration on this.

Siblings had much to do with the upbringing of younger children. Here again this is consistent with many Native American cultures. The young child was taken care of by slightly older children who controlled him by means of teasing, etc. when the toddler broke accepted group norms such as toilet habits. Children were also the responsibility of all the members of the family, not just the parents. In time of trouble the young child would go to another member of its family as well as a parent, and
often before a parent.

Small boys spent most of their time playing with other boys of the same general age group at a fairly wide variety of games that developed the hunting skills. The boys were not allowed to hunt seriously until they reached about twelve years of age, but they did practice the same skills almost constantly. Many of the children's games were participated in by fathers, and in this way the youngsters were taught their way of life.

Boys were taught toughness at an early age and throughout their youth. Sometimes in the winter boys of six were thrown into the snow and rubbed with it; likewise they were instructed to run a great deal. This was not compulsive, but the boys were taught to "like" activity of this type. The younger boys were expected to fetch water and wood both morning and evening. Lazy children were whipped, and there was no fear that this would cause illness as in some Indian cultures.

Small girls played with dolls, and when they became a little older, they began gathering and grinding seeds with their mothers.

No information is available concerning weaning or toilet training.
Youth

There were apparently no special observances for a boy at puberty. The girls had little new happen to them. They were taken to the menstrual hut and remained there for five days, observing the same taboos as in birth: no meat, no cold water, and abstaining from touching the face and hair. Some after the girls reached puberty they married, as a rule. In neither sex was there any singing or dancing involved.

The boys were taught serious hunting at the age of about twelve, although they may have killed small game like mice and chipmunks before that time. It was at this point in a boy's life when his father or other male relative took an active role in his training. Game was usually killed in an hierarchial order--squirrels, cottontails, jackrabbits, and eventually deer. After the killing of the first deer, any animal could be hunted.

Boys were not allowed to eat any of the meat they killed until they were old enough to marry because it was believed that game killed by a lad was weak as water and men, boys and young women would become weak, sick and lazy. The meat killed by young boys was eaten by the old and young girls. The same hierarchy applied here. As a boy grew older he could begin eating his own squirrels, then
cottontails, and on up to deer.

The age when a boy became a man is not clear, but one of Kelly's informants ate the first cottontail which he himself had killed when he was sixteen years old. Apparently full manhood was not reached as quickly as full womanhood.

Marriage and Maturity

Marriage was very casual for the Southern Paiute. The male who was attracted by a certain female went to her camp to sleep with her. If her parents disapproved he was sent away; otherwise they offered him some mush. If this was done and he took it, the matter was sealed, and in most cases he moved in with her family, although this was by no means a hard-and-fast rule.

There was no bride price, but usually, in due time, the parents of the bride received a gift from the groom.

Divorce was just about as casual as marriage. The man, if he had been abandoned, could fight it, particularly if it was a case of infidelity, but these were not very violent fights. Death was not part of the ritual; rather, the relatives of the man fought the relative of the female (and other male) with fists. There seemed to be no indemnity for infidelity, and one of Kelly's informants claimed these
fights were "just for fun." These were also called "squaw fights," and the rules changed somewhat after the Anglo settled the area.

Polygamy was not common and was usually reserved for the "big chief" because he received extra meat from all of his hunters and could afford the extra wives.

Children were important to a marriage, and barren wives could be abandoned. Widows and widowers married the brother or sister of the deceased, "if they were single;" otherwise they were free to marry anyone. The polite time to wait for the death of a husband or wife before remarriage was about half a year.

Old Age

The old in the Southern Paiute culture were respected largely because they had the power to endure the ordeal of life to the end. Their skills, luck, and ability to manipulate the supernatural powers were clearly demonstrated by their long lives.

Life had a value different from that which Anglo-Americans are accustomed. Often individuals who were judged to be dying were left alone, either in a dwelling or in the open if the band was on the move. Following death the dead one would be mounded. On occasion a relative, usually a
wife or daughter, was killed when a man died.

Most of the time the dead were buried in caves along the cliffs. Chiefs were the only people to receive true grave burial in a deep hole lined with cane. A particularly hated and reviled individual was cremated.

Usually the corpse was wrapped in a blanket of bark (later buckskin), and buried along with personal effects.

In early times mourning was quite simple: the women close to the dead one cut their hair. Later near the end of the 19th century the "cry" was introduced. A "cry" was a time of high emotion, but it was not all grief, it was also an opportunity for major diversion. Gambling, circle dancing, foot races and other competitions and games were a major part of the activities. The mourning was conducted at night, and the festivities were saved for the daylight hours.

The name of the dead person was avoided, although in the Southern Paiute culture there were very few taboos connected with addressing certain relatives directly as in many other cultures, and the mentioning of the dead's name was not a horrible mistake.

After death, the soul "went away;" Kelly's respondents did not mention a specific place.

Suicide was unknown; apparently it is a relatively new phenomenon brought into practice after the impact of
Anglo-American culture.

Male Roles of Behavior

The mature Southern Paiute male was a hunter first and foremost. As one informant explained it, the "men hunted rabbits and sat around. . . the women dug roots and men ate them." It is interesting to note here that although the gathering activities of the women were probably more important than the hunting activities of the men as far as daily foodstuffs were concerned, the bigger game held the highest status even though they provided a secondary role in the diet. This concern with hunting is also reflected in the amount of time the shamen spent on hunting rituals.

The women were the gatherers and prepared all the foods. In other activities the labors were shared. The men made their weapons and hunting paraphernalia, and the women did most of the tanning, although this was not a strict rule. Both sexes made cordage for rabbit nets, and both shared the responsibility of training the children, but details were not recorded by ethnographers.

As was mentioned above, the father occasionally took part in small boy's games, presumably gave instructions, and later supervised the training of the young hunter. The father decided when his son was man enough to eat what he
killed, and he supervised the toughening process that included running and rubbing oneself with snow.

The father was also the policeman for his family. In the Southern Paiute culture the father was the only law in that he decided who would be punished and how. He would administer justice for any crime committed against his family, whether it be a slight infraction of polite Paiute behavior or murder. This might not have been a very effective way to handle slave raids by the Utes and Navajos or stop the encroachment of the Mormons, but it did give the father a great deal of power and status within his family for a great many years prior to the 1800's.

In this way the Paiute father "stood out" and enjoyed the admiration and fear of his family without coming into open competition with his peers, who were usually his brothers or other relatives. He competed more openly with them in games, gambling and occasionally in physical fights, but in the things that were really most important within the culture he did not have to compete strenuously.

Hunting was a somewhat different activity, but here again the Southern Paiute handled it without much open competition. Some hunters were much better than others. The most important men in the economic cluster were usually the best hunters of the high-status big game, but although the status went to the individual, the meat went to all. This
practice was undoubtedly facilitated by the problem of storing excess animal products and the uncertainty of finding and killing them. All shared in the bounty of the hunter, and his success was thought of as a group-wide gain. Competition was controlled by the division of the meat and the communal nature of most important hunting activities.

The skills of war and militarism held little if any importance for the traditional Southern Paiute man. It was perfectly acceptable to take to physical flight rather than do battle when somebody might get killed. In this system the father did not have to subjugate his authority as the ultimate policeman and judge to a centralized military organization.

In his old age the father was honored by his family for his wisdom. In addition he would become the recounter of tales, the perpetuator of the religion, mythology, and ideology of his group. Until he was perceived as dying, he held a respected place in Paiute society.

In traditional society, then, the father performed the following general functions:

1. He was the hunter and provider of the food that helped to sustain his family. This activity was the highest status activity in the band.

2. He taught his sons how to be men, how to become proper Southern Paiutes with knowledge of all the necessary
skills essential for surviving in the Basin environment.

3. In many instances he represented his family in religious activities. His knowledge of the spirits and of nature lore, which included the supernatural, and interpretation of the often-confusing world made him important in a religious sense.

4. He was the protector of his family against outsiders. Further, he decided what justice required.

5. He was the recreational director for his family, supervising sports and festivities.

6. If he was successful, he gave status to his family until they could establish status of their own.

In summary, the Paiute father taught his family the proper values, attitudes, manners, behavioral patterns and skills that made it possible for his children to get along with other members of their culture. He presided over his family and protected it. The roles listed above gave him his "manhood," his purpose in life, and his place in society.

**Female Roles of Behavior**

Women were the homemakers. They gathered the wild seeds and processed them into edible foods. They manufactured the cooking utensils and cooked the meals. They bore
the children and cared for them in their early years. They performed all the supervisory and training roles of their daughters that their husbands did for their sons. They developed most of the art of their culture in the basketry and pottery they made. In addition, they processed most of the hides and made the clothing for the family. They cared for the sick, brought in water and wood.

The Paiute woman traditionally was extremely active in managing the home and mothering her family. Like her husband she performed important economic, educational, and socializing functions that gave her an important purpose in life and a place in society. Her activities gave her the sense of "womanhood" that made her life meaningful.

She derived much of her status from doing her tasks well and receiving the approval of her peers. She could gain some status, could stand out, through her own skills and accomplishments, but more importantly she received a status from her husband's skills and accomplishments. If he became a chief she often assumed a leadership role in the group. But in the final analysis women and other family members were not accepted or honored much by others as individuals in their own right. Their social status came in a large part from the reputation and prestige and social standing of the male at the head of the family.
The Southern Paiute's View of the World

The mythology and religious orientation of the Southern Paiutes are useful indicators as to how the individual person viewed his world, the relationship between himself, his gods, and the environment, what could not and what could be manipulated by man and the relationship of the things of the earth to each other. Most of this information comes from their legends. But, as has been stated before, these legends and the religion behind them are not consistent; the philosophy expressed in one legend often contradicts another. Nor are the gods and supernatural spirits consistent, because, as I have said, they have many human-like foibles, in that they can be angry, make mistakes, be argued with and convinced by the Paiutes and other animals, and on occasion can be conned.

Dr. William R. Palmer, a historian from Cedar City, Utah, spend many years collecting the legends of the Southern Paiute. He was a fluent speaker of their languages and appeared to be very meticulous in his efforts to be sure his facts were clear and correct. The results of his efforts along this line give the student of the Southern Paiute an additional view of their world. Much of the information in the following section is the result of his efforts.
As mention previously, all "living things" have intelligence for the Southern Paiute. There was not a great deal of difference between the intelligence of the gods—Wolf, the powerful one, and Coyote, his younger brother, and that of the Paiutes, or the rocks, or clouds, or animals, for that matter. The difference lay in the power and control each had over the world. The gods, of course, had a great deal of power, while the other things had considerably less.

Although the Paiutes in legends are constantly talking to the gods, traditional Paiutes did not often pray to them. It is interesting to note the Paiute word for "praying" is "coyote talk," since the younger god is named coyote. In this regard there seemed to be little attempt to manipulate the weather or other natural phenomena, other than the wind, which almost any Paiute could call up with a bull roarer (This is a notched piece of flat wood attached to a cord and whirled around one's head.)

While the Southern Paiutes did not often talk with their gods, they did communicate with the animals and supernatural beings very often. For example, the deer on the Kaibab plateau were "owned" by a supernatural being called "Big Lion." He appeared in the form of either a man or a dog, and since he had lost his deer on the mountain, he was constantly attempting to foil the Paiutes'
efforts to hunt them. The Kaibab hunters were therefore very careful not to offend him.

It was believed that every person has a soul, which was considered to be his invisible double and leaves the body at death. The soul then travels west to the shore of a far-away river. The soul lives in the heart or breast of its double, leaves the body during sleep, and experiences the events that are dreamed. For this reason it is considered dangerous to awaken a person suddenly if he was dreaming. The soul could not get back inside the body in time and would wander until the next rest period, but a lot of serious things could happen to the soul in the meantime.

Most of what happened in the world was caused by supernatural forces—not the gods, necessarily. Fire, rain, animal-habits, their markings and voices were all the result of the unseen and only partially understood activity of nature. Activity proceeded on several different levels at once in this world. Most of it was invisible to the human being, but it nevertheless effected his life almost constantly. There was an explainable reason for everything. Understanding this, even though the exact process was not understood, gave the Southern Paiute a sense of security because he had a place in the overall scheme of things; there was a continuity and a certain orderliness to the
world.

This is not to say that his place in the world was a comfortable or safe one. The world was filled with malicious spirits, evil spirits, and danger and sickness of all types. The very "humanness" that made the gods approachable and to some extent controllable made them dangerous to the Paiutes, because they could become angry or make mistakes that hurt.

Although the Southern Paiutes were not as pre-occupied with ghosts as the Navajos, they did have to contend with them. Ghosts and evil spirits could assume any form but were usually invisible and moved about like the wind or a shadow. Whistling was usually a sign of a ghost. One who whistled attracted ghosts.

The groups did not stay knowingly in camps where people had died because ghosts might linger in the vicinity. There were also "water babies," small human-like creatures, that lived in large bodies of water and could do people harm, even drown them.

One of the most persistent themes in this group of legends is the idea that one does not successfully escape from one's nature. In almost every legend some creature was punished because it did not keep its place in the scheme of things. Taking unfair advantage of others, being too greedy etc., is what got most of the living things of
the earth marked the way they are or gave them their undesirable characteristics.

For example, the beaver lost the hair on its tail because it was too vain. The rocks of the earth had their power of locomotion taken from them because they abused it by rolling around crushing to other living things in their paths. Even though the rocks are unable to move unless they are carried, they are still living things and they are sullen; therefore, they must be handled with care, or they will bring harm by skinning and bruising those that handle them carelessly. They are hard and harsh and cruel, but they can be useful if they are kept in their place and made to serve.

These legends also show that the Paiute had a reverence for all the things of the earth. Their stories are filled with tales of mutual aid and understanding between most of the earth's inhabitants. The hunter was not performing an act against this cooperative concept when he killed unless he was greedy and took too much. Legend has it that the Southern Paiutes wore only one eagle feather to remind themselves that they should not kill wantonly. The gods protected the other animals from useless killing and would be very displeased if any type of waste was created.
Reflected in their mythology is this approach to their environment, which has already been shown to be highly imaginative in that the vast majority of the resources available for use were, in fact, used by the Southern Paiute and at the same time quite ecologically wound in that nothing was harvested in excess.

Condensing from Palmer's account:

"Why the Paiute's Are Nomadic"

It was in the high mountains of the far west where the Indians could look out over waters that were wider than their eyes could reach. They lived with Tobats (the older god) and Shinob (the younger god) in a great cave that was warm in winter and cool in summer, and it was always dry when everywhere else was wet with rains.

One day, Tobats told Shinob to send the Pahutes away. He said, "Give them homelands across the wide desert toward the land of the rising sun."

Shinob called the Pahutes out from among the other Indians and told them to go. He said, "Your country is away out there in the red mountains across the wide desert. Take corn seed and bean seeds with and water to drink and don't stop until you come to the red mountains."

On the trip many of the weak ones and old ones died but the strong men and some of the women lived for they were more used to hard work and privation. When they reached the red mountains they settled in caves like the one they came from.

They planted their seeds and lived happily along the many stream beds in the area.... Then came a time when the rains of summer and the snows of winter began to diminish. The land dried up and the crops of beans and corn died.

The Pahutes called a series of councils where they first attempted to kill game for a livelihood, then they
attempted to kill fowl for their food, next the smaller
animals like rabbit and squirrel and chipmunk.

After they had done all they could and were still
starving they sent a great distress cry to Tobats and
Shinob. The younger god, Shinob came to them and asked
angrily what all the noise was about.

The god listened to their tale of their efforts to
take care of themselves and said, "The deer, the antelope
and all the big animals went away to find food where there
was none here. They were smart. The ducks and sage hens
and all the birds went away to find food when they had
none here. They were smart. The squirrels and rabbits
and all the little animals went away to hunt for food when
they were hungry. They were smart. You should have as
much sense as the animals and birds. The country is large
and somewhere there is always food. If you follow the
animals and the birds they will lead you to it. Go away.

From that day to this the Pahutes have been a
nomadic people. Leaving their homes in the caves, they
followed the game from high land to low and gathered in
gratitude the foods which the gods distribute every year
over the face of tu-weap, the earth.

W.R. Palmer, Paiute Indian
Legends Salt Lake City,
Deseret Book Co., 1946.
119-125.

The Paiute world was a complicated place, and in
the legends the living things often saw mistakes in the
nature of things. When this happened, they would go to the
gods and explain their suggestions for improvements. Very
often the older god and his younger brother would take
those suggestions.
The Southern Paiute legends are important because they are a powerful additional indication of how the traditional viewed his world, particularly his place in it. The Paiutes believed that their world could be understood if natural relationships were studied and life was lived properly. It is very important to note, once again, that for a Southern Paiute to live his life properly he had to maintain his place in the scheme of things and not attempt to fight his position too hard.

In a real sense the individual was sacred to the Southern Paiute. When one is in charge of his own vision of life, when one talks personally to supernatural powers (possibly including the most powerful god), when one can argue with them, bribe them, and even on occasion trick them, then at least in one's own mind he is manipulating and exploiting his own environment in ways that modern man never can.

Since both gods were Southern Paiutes when they appeared in human form, the Paiutes' view of the world might have been restricted and ethnocentric but it did establish a base from which they could function as individuals in small and relatively isolated groups in a harsh and varied environment. The culture developed people who, as individuals, had the type of personality and psychological makeup needed to cope in their world. More than that, they
found their sense of identity and the meaning of their lives in the process of coping. The traditional Southern Paiute culture developed the type of ego that Dr. Erikson finds to be so important.

From this brief analysis of Southern Paiute legends two points become apparent; first, the individual Paiute had a very definite place in his environment, and it was generally dangerous to attempt to change the nature of things by attempting to improve his position too greatly. The second point, however, is that within this context the individual Paiute felt he was sacred and important enough in his position to communicate directly with the supernatural powers of the world, and therefore he was not completely helpless or dependent on others, but was important as an individual.

The Southern Paiute and "Universal" Traits of Indianness

In Chapter III it was suggested that there was a body of literature which maintained there is a core of psychological characteristics of Indian personality that seem to carry across most tribal and cultural lines. Here the personality of the traditional Southern Paiute people will be compared to those characteristics. It must be noted that the data are not complete enough for
one to take a firm stand on each of the proposed universal characteristics compared to the traditional Southern Paiute model, but the comparison is interesting nevertheless.

1. "Restrained and non-demonstrative emotional bearing coupled with a high degree of control over aggressive acts within the groups." There is little information on how demonstrative the Paiute families were. We can surmise, however, that the relationships were for the most part uninhibited, since this is how they conducted themselves in areas of other personal relations. There were no relatives they were forbidden to talk to or associate with. We do know that there were very few controls over aggressive acts against other members of the group. Since the groups were very small, it is likely that the informal policemen-fathers were able to keep relatively calm relationships. There was the added option of flight if too many aggressive acts were committed against one. It was perfectly possible to move to another economic cluster if one were a Southern Paiute.

2. "A constant concern for the safety of the group." The Southern Paiutes were concerned with the welfare of the group, but they never established centralized military power to protect the group even though they were raided by other cultures for many years.
3. "Generosity, expressed in varying patterns of formalized giving or sharing." The Southern Paiutes had these formalized patterns. Their giving was restricted by their relative poverty but not their giving spirit. For example, the father gave away most of his valuable possessions upon the birth of his first child.

4. "Autonomy of the individual, in societies that were largely free of classes or hierarchies." The Southern Paiute was highly autonomous and the hierarchies were quite temporary. For example, band members were free to change group membership without constraint of any kind.

5. "Acceptance of pain, hardship, hunger, and frustration without voicing complaint." The types of hardships listed here were the Paiute way of life. There is little mention of complaining in the literature and they suffered from hunger, pain, etc., all of their lives.

6. "High regard for courage and bravery often patterned as aggressive acts against out groups." Bravery was particularly admired among the Southern Paiute if enduring the hardships of the Great Basin elements without complaining can be considered bravery. However, they appeared to feel that military bravery was foolish. Violent death had little status in their culture.

7. "Fear of the world as a dangerous place, sometimes expressed in the form of witchcraft." The Southern
Paiute feared the world because it was a dangerous place for them to live in. There is little mention of witchcraft, and apparently the shaman did not function that way in their culture to any great extent.

8. "Joking relationships with certain kinsmen, as a device for relieving pressures within the group." There were no such relationships in the Southern Paiute culture.

9. "Detailed, practical, and immediate concern in problem situations, rather than advance planning to prevent further future difficulties." The Southern Paiute was very practical. Their primary orientation was to the economic present. There was very little advance planning on any level. Leaders were almost exclusively concerned with day-to-day economic problems.

10. "Dependence upon supernatural power, which is invoked through dreams or ritual, as a means to the good life." The Southern Paiute were not very ritualistic as Native American cultures go; there was no quest for a vision, or rites as an individual passed from one stage to another. They were, however, very much aware of supernatural powers, but not dependent on them for a good life in the same sense that the plains Indian cultures were.

The traditional Southern Paiute displayed most of the "core characteristics" but the differences they exhibit are at least as interesting as the similarities. If the
list of core psychological characteristics is taken as
generalized simplification, a typology of sorts to be
used to compare Indian cultures and not as a measurement
of "Indianness," then the exercise completed above is
interesting.

In the final analysis the Southern Paiutes did what
every human culture has to do if it is to survive over
time. They developed a many-sidedness to their culture,
not only practical or economic, not only mystical or
religious, and certainly not only artistic or spiritual.
Traditionally, there were well-balanced and many-sided
in the sense that they were a stable culture, producing
useful personalities for their system for a long time.

The Southern Paiute culture was unique and dif-
ferent from other Native American cultures, but it was no
less Indian because of those differences. By the same
token, the Paiute individual today, while subject to a
different heritage and different circumstances at the
present, is nevertheless typically Indian in the general
sense of the word.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter VII

1

2
I. T. Kelly, Southern Paiute Ethnography, pp. 96-98.

3
Ibid., pp. 98-99.

4
Ibid., p. 47.

5

6
Ibid., p. 132.

7
J. Chapman, Professor of Sociology at Southern Utah State College suggested this check list in a mimeograph sheet entitled "Hunter Warrior and Teepee Builder: The Changing position of the Indian Father".

8

9
Kelly, p. 134.

10
Ibid., pp. 138-139.

11
Ibid., p. 139.

12
Ibid., p. 140.
13
  Kelly, p. 138.

14

15

16
  Ibid., "Why the Pahutes are Nomadic," pp. 119-125.

17
Chapter VIII

THE SOUTHERN PAIUTE INDIVIDUAL TODAY

The traditional economic and political functions of the Southern Paiute society are gone, for the most part, and with them much of the many-sidedness that made their a stable and practical culture for so many years. In spite of this, their sense of "peoplehood" remains strong in the sense that the vast majority of them still grow up to be "Paiute." This chapter will investigate just what it means to have a Southern Paiute personality in this day and age. The circumstances of their lives are unique, and the summation of these circumstances, in connection with their historical perspective, result in a culture of unique individuals, the composite of which results in the modern Southern Paiute culture.

The dominant aspect of the life events of almost any Southern Paiute today is inconsistency and contradiction. Because life is so inconsistent, from the very beginning the infant Paiute learns that he cannot trust, that there is no permanence in the powerful forces that control his life and therefore he learns to become very suspicious.
This suspicion and mistrust are reinforced throughout the life of most Southern Paiutes, to a greater or lesser degree, by the contradictions he faces within himself, between the traditional Southern Paiute culture and the modern world, and between the Anglo-American culture and his own. This theme of inconsistency, suspicion and contradiction will be examined first in the stages of the modern Paiute's life, then in his role in society, and finally in his view of the world.

**Infancy**

In the very beginning, the modern Paiute infant is usually well taken care of because a new baby is a treasured possession. The infant is coddled and cared for by almost all members of the family. It is fed on demand and constantly given attention. Within this behavior pattern, however, there are times, as in almost every infant's life, when the demands it makes when it is hungry or too hot or too cold or uncomfortable or any number of other reasons, are not answered for many hours.* For most Paiute infants this occurs fairly regularly because the mother is drunk

*In this chapter and several of those which follow, the vast majority of the data come either from my own field notes taken from interviews with the leaders and other
or out of town or attending to another more pressing family crisis. With these early occurrences the infant learns that the world is not a consistently trustworthy place. Most of the time the infant is well taken care of and his demands are answered, but there are also times when he is ignored for several hours.

The examples of these occurrences are numerous; one time last January an infant was observed in the back window shelf of a car while its mother and four other adults slept off a heavy drinking spree. This infant survived the ordeal and was later cared for by its grandmother for several weeks, but it doubtless survived with a growing feeling of mistrust and suspicion toward the world into which it had so recently been born.

Physically the infant's environment had probably improved since the Anglos' culture has affected the Southern Paiute. Birth now usually takes place in modern

(continue) members of the Southern Paiute communities or their Anglo-American neighbors, or directly from the more formalized questionnaires. In some cases the material comes from notes written at night, after observing a particular event or behavior of interest. It would be redundant, tedious, and not particularly useful to footnote all of the quotations which come from such data. For this reason footnotes will be relatively scarce in this and some of the other rather lengthy chapters. Of course all secondary sources will be acknowledged in the normal manner.
hospitals. The mother has probably seen a doctor irregularly and followed his advice even more irregularly, during her pregnancy. Although infant deaths are much lower than they were a few years ago, they are still above the average for the local hospitals. Most of these deaths can be attributed to the poverty culture the babies are born into.

Taboos connected with birth have nearly disappeared. The father plays almost no role in the delivery. Only a few mothers admit to abstaining from meat or cold water. The mother is no longer isolated from others after her return from the hospital.

The baby is still usually breast fed and weaned at about two years, although it appears that during the last several months a bottle replaces the breast. Infancy is still a relatively permissive period. The cradle board continues to be used during the early months, and when the baby is in a cradle board, he seems to receive constant attention in the form of rocking and patting and cooing.

Childhood

Feelings of mistrust, doubt and uncertainty as to his being able to control or understand the world are reinforced as the infant grows into childhood. Mother or
father are not always around, and when they are, they themselves are not constant or always able to help. Many of the duties of child tending are taken over by slightly older children.

During early childhood most of the youngster's demands are met much as if he were still an infant, with the exceptions mentioned before. When the child develops enough to need limits placed upon his activities, he finds these limits absent. Often he can "run wild" and do as he pleases, but when he steps over the bounds of propriety, he is often punished in some way without having these limits explained to him. In this way the intermittent reinforcement is carried from infancy to childhood.

Parental Guidance

The Paiute parent does not actually teach the child a great deal, but instead lets him learn by experimentation. Punishment or reward comes from the areas in which the child chooses to experiment, and it seems that rewards and punishments are very inconsistent and come unexpectedly. The Paiute child may be punished for an action one day and not punished for the same action another time, and he is shamed for being caught more than he is made to feel guilty for a specific act. In this way he is not taught what is
expected of him and therefore does not learn to perceive cause-and-effect relationships. He has not opportunity to establish a consistent reality because he never knows where he stands. As a result, most Paiute children seem to carry with them a feeling of suspicion and hostility toward almost all others that seems to border on paranoia. To overcome this the young Paiute children need many successful or honest relations before they overcome their history of intermittent reinforcement. They seldom if ever receive the extra help they need from either their families or the schools and other Anglo agencies.

It seems that early childhood of the Southern Paiute is divided into distinct periods. In the first, which lasts for about four years, he is treated like a baby. During this time the child is treated almost as if he were as helpless or as unable to reason at three years as he was at three months. Unless he is in immediate danger of either harming himself or someone else, he is not guided or punished.

At about four years of age there is a very abrupt change for the youngster. At this time he is expected to behave almost like a small adult. He rapidly assumes family tasks, such as caring for younger children and carrying wood and water. When he is not performing these assigned tasks, he is independent and on his own for the most part,
much as an adult is in Anglo society. His parents do not
tell him what to do during these independent periods. The
peer group is the usual controlling force and it is not
always consistent.

The parents or other adult relatives step in only
as a normal rule when the youngster gets into trouble or is
not performing his assigned family tasks. There is training
concerning the performance of the tasks, but there is very
limited moral guidance.

In a sense there is little long range planning or
"preventive maintenance." The parents respond to crisis
situations, but they do not prepare for future problems
through more abstract "moral guidance."

The Southern Paiutes still live in close kin-and-
clique groupings within their villages which are now called
bands. Most of the homes are open to all relatives even
though they are small and very crowded with normal, in-
residence family members. The parents seem to the Anglo
observer to be very permissive. The children are usually
noisy, happy, and active together. The non-kin-and-clique
neighbors are sometimes close and generally welcomed as
friends, but they are also often bitter enemies.

The kin-and-clique is still the central social
organization; therefore, a great many of the early cultural
values and attitudes are taught to the child from within it.
These kin-and-clique groups, which are very important to the modern political culture, will be dealt with at some length later in this study.

Early Education

In the past people learned to be a part of their culture, while they were young, by playing games that developed the skills and values that were important to that culture. This function has been taken over by the schools today. The schools in the United States are designed to produce "good Americans" who have the skills and attitudes that the society wants to develop in its citizens. In both case studies all the Paiute children attend the public schools of their area.

The elementary school in Moccasin, Arizona, where the Kaibab children go to school, is a two-room schoolhouse. The teacher is not a college graduate, although she will probably complete her degree this summer. By all accounts she is an excellent teacher and has taught for many years, eight years in Moccasin.

This teacher talked with me at some length about the school and "her Indian children." There are a total of eleven grade school children in both the Mormon and Paiute communities combined, this year (1970-71) four Paiute and
seven white which is unusual, in recent years most of the students have been Paiute. All six grades are represented by these eleven children. In addition to the full time teacher there is a halftime teacher's aid.

In the beginning the Paiute children are very quiet and almost too well behaved, according to the teacher. She claims they have been taught to be quiet around white people and are often thought to be very polite. She thinks it is largely fear. According to her, one of her first jobs is to get them "to loosen up." In addition, she wishes there were a good "head start" program to increase their learning experiences before they begin school.

During their school years they don't get the help at home the white children receive, largely because the parents cannot help as much as the Anglo parents can. One of the major problems, according to the teacher, is that the Paiute children often stay up too late at night and are very sleepy in school.

The Moccasin teacher feels that there is a problem in the older grades as the students begin to listen to older children who say that school is a "lot of bunk," but by then she has had a long association with them, and since she has only a few children, she can spend additional time working with each child.
My impressions of the teacher are very positive. She appears to be serious about teaching and is working hard at being a "professional." By necessity she teaches each individual student as much as he is able to handle and is probably particularly good in the lower grades. The children seem to like her, and the parents all have very favorable comments about her and the school experience she gives their children.

This long and personal experience with one familiar teacher, who obviously cares, seems to have gone a long way in reducing the suspicions of the Paiute children through consistent, positive reinforcement. This school experience also seems to adhere to some of the most advanced educational theory today. The Moccasin elementary students are able to move at their own pace. Learn and relearn basic principles over and over again as they hear others learning or, later, as they help younger students learn. These is constant activity on many levels and at least under a good teacher all this is given direction and continuity.

When the Moccasin elementary school students metriculate to the Fredonia, Arizona, junior high at the beginning of their seventh year of school, they are reported to be ahead of their new classmates from other areas that are served by Fredonia. However, while white children from Moccasin continue to do well, most of the Paiute
children drop to the lower half of the class.

The move from the one-teacher school experience has proved to be difficult for not a few Anglo students as well as the naturally suspicious Paiute children. At the present time two of the Anglo children have developed serious emotional problems largely because they have not been able to adjust to their new school situation.

In the other case study, in Cedar City, Utah, all the Paiute children attend the East Elementary School. (One of the three elementary schools in the city.) The East Elementary is the oldest in the city, but it is still relatively new, built in 1950. Because of its location in a lower-income section of town, it receives Title I funds. The Paiute children go to this school because they live within its boundaries, but in addition they enable the school to qualify for the extra funding.

Title I funds are given to a school if it has a certain percentage of its students from homes with incomes of less then $3,000, are foster children, or come from welfare families. The funds East Elementary receives pay for four teachers' aids in grades one through three and a special reading teacher. In addition, the "poverty" children receive free lunch and, twice a week, there are night classes for the parents and other interested adults.
There are sixteen Paiute children attending this school as well as three Navajos. (out of 430 students) Their attendance is normal, with some special exceptions, according to the principal.

The principal had the following comments about the problems and disadvantages of the Southern Paiute children.

1. Although he felt that the Paiute children entered his school with most of the same educational potential as did other students, the Paiutes became "educationally disadvantaged" in the course of their schooling because of such factors as lack of help from home (because parents would not help with homework or simply could not), lack of proper home conditions are conducive to study including quiet, good lighting, and warmth, and the kind of parental and communal support that comes from a group that places high value on progress through education.

2. He did feel that in the educational area (on the elementary level), there had been a vast improvement over the past twenty years. "Twenty years ago no Indians were doing average work; now at least fifty percent are doing average work on a level with their peers." At the present time, he states, "Eight of ten are operating on the average level academically for their age."

3. He has stopped conducting tutoring programs, etc., in the "Indian village" because he thinks "They should
be encouraged to get out of the village, become integrated with the community and have successful, positive experiences in the outside world. We will never be really able to help them unless they can build positive self-images. They will never do well unless they have a need to do so."

4. The principal sees no major social problem in his school. In the early grades,

They dance together, play together, hold hands and walk together. About in the sixth grade you begin to see some signs of discrimination. Then in junior high school the problem blossoms. But for the most part they are all equal in elementary school. They are very well adjusted socially until at least the sixth grade.

According to the principal there has been a great deal of improvement. The first children who struggled through his school twenty years ago are now becoming parents, and since they had a positive experience there they are better able to help their children actively.

One of the teachers' aids at the school is a very bright and aggressive Paiute mother who is hired because she could be a "successful school model who is also an Indian, for the children to look up to." She is not a college graduate and therefore is not totally qualified. The principal is very proud he bent the rules in this case.

The principal was quite concerned about the later training the Indian student received in the public schools.
In fact, he seemed to place most of the blame for the poorer achievement of the students after they left his school on the school programs of those schools.

I have never lost an elementary school kid [Indian] yet. If they sluff I go down and talk to them and bring them back and make a program for them that suits them. In junior high school and high school we kill the Indian kids off by giving them a program of failure. We give them the feeling that we don't want them to come, don't want to help them, don't care.

The two school experiences are very similar in that the administrators of the programs recognize special problems of the Paiute student and sincerely attempt to give these children a positive learning experience. They are also similar in their attempt at making this positive experience one that teaches Anglo-American values.

In the Cedar City case the school is located outside the security of the "Indian Village." In some respects the principal is attempting to enlarge the "area of security" for the Paiute children, but they remain a minority in the middle of a white neighborhood with significantly different experiences and values from their Anglo schoolmates.

The Moccasin case is considerably different. Although the school is located slightly farther away from the Paiute homes in distance, the Mormon and Paiute communities are much more integrated than they are in Cedar City. In addition, the Paiute children are not a minority
and have to associate with only a limited number of white people, both children and adults. Furthermore, these associations last for a good number of years.

In neither case is there much formal training of the teachers in understanding the Paiute culture and values. There is an implicit assumption that these are not important or at least not valuable in today's way of life. Part of the effort in the schools seems to be to help the Paiute children overcome their homelife and background. Here again Moccasin is different. Here the teacher, though she is a middle-class Anglo-Mormon woman who believes strongly that her values are the best for everyone, associates with the children and to a somewhat lesser extent the parents almost daily, both in and out of school. She has come to act normally around them and treat them as both individuals and friends. While definitely not part of the kin-and-clique group or the band organization, she is by no means an "outsider" in the minds of the children or their parents.

In summary, then, the early childhood training of the Southern Paiute in the case studies is one of cultural conflict that most children do not have to face. The Paiute children must face inconsistency at home and contradictions and inconsistencies at school. Once again the mistrust and suspicion is reinforced, along with a feeling of inadequacy and doubt. Sometimes, under some conditions, the Paiute
child is rewarded for his activities. But at other times and under different teachers or with different Anglo school-mates, the same activities are ignored, scorned, or ridiculed. If the children are successful at school, their activities and achievements are either not understood or ignored at home at least on many occasions. The training the modern Paiute child receives does not prepare him to take a more active part in his culture as he becomes a youth in that culture; rather, it presents him with a choice of cultural paths to follow. As a person becomes a teenager as a Southern Paiute, he faces a formalized crisis that he did not face in the past. On the one hand he has been trained by the school system to believe that the values of his parents, if not "bad" are at least old-fashioned.

The usual product of all these conflicts is a very untrusting young person who is not at all surprised when events go against him, either at home, with his family, or in the Anglo-controlled school system. On the other hand, if things go right for him and he is successful, he usually does not expect them to continue. He has been taught too often that the world is frightening, arbitrary, and inconsistent. It takes a great many successful experiences before a truly suspicious person will believe he can consistently be a successful person of worth.
Youth

Most authorities agree that adolescence is a very difficult time in the development of a person's personality, whatever the culture. The adolescent faces contradictions within himself between the "old" child and the "new" adult, between his desire for dependency and the emergence of his desire for independence which has come to his conscious level of thinking.

Besides these internal contradictions, the Paiute youth must face the continuing contradictions between his ethnic culture and the culture he observes at school and in his larger community from within the context of his suspicious and mistrusting personality. Although all "identity crises" are very real to the young people living through them, the Paiute's makes the Anglo-American youth's pale by comparison. The Paiute must literally decide between being "Indian" and being something like an Anglo-American while not understanding or trusting either one.

The center of control during this period of life has shifted from the home to the secondary school for both the Anglo and the Southern Paiute cultures over the past few generations. As such the secondary educational system must confront these contradictions and inconsistencies for the Southern Paiute youth, whether it does so knowingly or
not and whether its goal is to give the Paiute student middle-class values or help him preserve his traditional values while providing him with some additional skills to help him cope in an Anglo-American system while still being an "Indian."

Fredonia High School; located seventeen miles from Kaibab, is a very small facility, eighty-six students: seventy-five white, six Navajo, and five Southern Paiute. This includes all the grades from seventh through twelfth. The teachers are mostly local people, some excellent and some rather poor. The school suffers from all the problems a small, poor, rural school can suffer from. The students who are graduated and go on to college have quite a bit of catching up to do because their exposure has been restricted by their isolation and small numbers.

On the positive side there is a lot of opportunity for the students to be active. It is relatively easy to be a sports hero or a class president in a school of this size. But these are the type of positions that go to the students who step forward and stand out. Therefore few Paiutes take advantage of these opportunities, or for that matter are psychologically able to take advantage of them.

Most of the Kaibab area Southern Paiute secondary school students attend boarding schools in Riverside, California, or Phoenix, Arizona. There are exceptions;
however, in either case the education is somewhat restricted. Boarding schools are not generally noted for their excellence, and the Fredonia schools are also limited in their ability to serve the normal Paiute student adequately.

Cedar City High School is much better equipped to attack the special problems of the Southern Paiute and other Native American students, and the school administration is actively attempting to do just that. Following are my observations on the effectiveness of the program at Cedar City High School:

First, the facts indicate that the local Paiutes drop out of school before reaching high school. The several "socially adjusted" grade school children become a few students who do not attend often and almost never participate in the activities. "They slink in and slink out (of school); there is hardly ever a ripple," says the principle. Of a studentbody of 630, four are Southern Paiute.

The Cedar City High School administration tries to be aware of the cultural problems of the Paiute students and attributes most of their problems in school to the following:

If they put forth the efforts they could make it. They have the skills and the intelligence. But it demands that they make such a break with their own culture and accept some white values that are strange to them. If they begin to excel they must leave their own culture to a certain extent. The
Paiutes in the high school now are very susceptible to sub-culture pressure. If they come to school and get involved it seems to violate the code... peer groups won't let them get out ahead. (From Field Notes)

The administration feels that part of the problem would be solved if the Southern Paiute students would become more of a "problem" to them. The vice principal said, "I would give a million dollars to see Alex become militant. I'd love him to come into my office and demand something he wanted." [Alex is one of the Southern Paiute students who seems to have the most promise. In May 1971, he found he could not graduate, started drinking heavily and quit or was kicked out of school. He is now in the job corps.]

The administration is pleased that the Paiute and Navajo students recently organized an Indian club and have demanded that more books on Indian culture and history be purchased for the school library. Some books have been purchased, and the club is drawing up a bibliography at the present time. Money has been set aside for the purchase of books, and next year a class in minority cultures with a heavy emphasis on Indian cultures, "because they are our minority," will be taught at the high school.

(Interestingly enough, when the Indian Club was organized, the school had several calls from townspeople
who were irate that such a thing was allowed. These callers felt it was a prelude to a militant Indian group in the community.)

The Paiute students are treated on a completely different basis from the rest of the students. The best example for this is seen in Utah state attendance standards. Attendance records are not kept on the Paiute students because if they were, "the Indians would not be here," since the administrators are required by law to sent truants to juvenile court.

Another good example of the high school administration's flexibility is their attitude regarding graduation. The administration has waived many requirements for the Paiute student. He can take far more art or shop classes and fewer math and English classes if "he catches fire" in a non-academic area than the regulations stipulate, and still graduate.

A negative aspect of the high school administration's effort is the fact that there is still a preponderance of failure among the Paiute students. There are almost no communications between the administration and the parents, and when there is, in the words of an administrator, "The parents have very little control over their kids."

The administration sees very little discrimination on the part of the Anglo students but admits the Paiutes
feel there is a great deal. The Paiutes say, "Only the hoods will be friends with us." There is almost no special Indian training for teachers, as was the case in the other schools.

The values and standards of the high school are still very much Anglo-oriented as far as the Paiute students in Cedar City are concerned. The administration seems to realize this but does not know how to either implement the Paiute values in such a way to help them succeed or make the Anglo values more desirable.

The vice principal said:

These (the school's) values and goals are not their values and goals... They really don't recognize they are doing good or bad academically. They just don't measure that as a value. When Paiutes do attend class they just sit there... Both boys (Alex and Randy) have some talent in fields from which they could receive public praise and some self-satisfaction. Still they will not pursue them. [Randy has good art ability and Alex could be on the football team.]

The general feeling is that the Paiute student present a "hangdog," passive, extremely unresponsive exterior. It is extremely hard for the administration to communicate with them and even harder to get them to initiate anything. The administration of the school feels that it has done a great deal to date and has left the door open for more innovation but that not much progress has resulted from their efforts.
From the school administration's point of view these policies are very well meant. And in many cases, such as keeping attendance, the administration is caught in a bind between state standards of attendance and wanting to keep the Paiute students in school and have elected to judge the Paiutes on different and lower standards. It is a serious dilemma for the schools to the extent that they recognize it.

From the Paiute student's viewpoint, based as that viewpoint is on suspicion, mistrust and cultural contradictions, the double standards say to him, "We let you take more shop classes than the Anglos because you are stupid and we don't care about you. The School doesn't care if a Paiute attends or not, they don't even keep track."

Even when a teacher spends a great deal of additional time with a Paiute student, that student is likely to be very mistrusting of the teacher's motives, and much of the effort will be wasted. Often the teacher senses this suspicion, and a wall of resentment is established on both sides.

Feelings of discrimination are well established and often come into the open during high school; these problems are accentuated by the distrust of the Paiute youths. The counselor of the Southern Utah Guidance Clinic, Dr. Sheldon Prestwich, conducted a session during the
summer of 1970 involving high school students from several different backgrounds. During the sessions the Anglo members were very upset and guilt-ridden as, for the first time in their lives, they experienced the hate and mistrust that their Paiute schoolmates felt toward them. After one of the female Anglos gained insight concerning how it felt to "live in a Paiute's skin" in Cedar City, she began to cry, put her arms around the Paiute girl's shoulders and patted her sympathetically on the back in an attempt at showing love and concern and sorrow. The reaction of the Paiute girl was predictable. She said, "Don't you pat me like a dog."

The Paiute students feel that most of the open discrimination against them is related to the Anglos' image of Paiute sex life. The male Paiutes believe that they are thought of as "nasty Indians" by the Anglo girls. The Paiute girls claim that the only time Anglo boys talk to them is when they want to go "lubing" in the back seats of their cars. ("lubing" means to have intercourse.)

These allegations are undoubtably true some of the time, but this attitude precludes the establishment of any trust between students of the two cultures, just as the actions of the Anglo and Paiute girls are misunderstood on both sides.
The students leave high school with most of their conflicts unresolved. Most seem to believe that the white culture is unconcerned about their welfare and problems and even willing to do them harm. They are suspicious, apathetic, and demoralized. With these attitudes based largely on their school experiences, combined with the lack of skills they are left with far less than adequate resources to cope in the modern society into which they must move.

They are unsatisfied with their own culture, which cannot function in the larger society, and yet they are unwilling and unable to leave it. Rather than helping with these contradictions and the normal "identity" problems, as it does with the Anglo-American students, the school system, in many ways compounds them for the Southern Paiute student.

As with the men Elliot Liebow studied and reported on in *Tally's Corner*, young Southern Paiutes, just out of school, suspect that they are "losers," persons that are not going anywhere in life. They have often been seriously negatively influenced by the contradictions in their lives, the ineffective education and skills they have, and the lack of opportunities and options that they will have in the future.
Adulthood

The result of this traumatic infancy, childhood, and youth is a culture of adults who, generally, are ineffective in coping with the problems of their lives. Their behavior is marked by displaced anger of all types: drinking, a humor that is much like that found in conditions of war, acts of physical violence directed toward both themselves and others close to them, hostility of several types, and above all suspicion toward each other and outsiders.

With the problem the young develop in the culture, marriage, family, and old age become unsatisfactory experience for most of the Paiutes. There is no important "reason for being." Others cannot be trusted. Marriage is now possibly even more "brittle" than it was traditionally. The kin-and-clique extension of the family, as well as the biological family itself, has become not so much units of production and political force as they are inadequate shelters and partial havens against an outside world that is even more untrustworthy than the family and kin-and-clique groups themselves.

As a result, Paiute adults often become very isolated individuals. They are particularly suspicious of the Anglo society, but they also cannot trust their spouses, relatives, or children. In fact their identity is so shaky
that they very often do not trust themselves or know what their legitimate role in Southern Paiute society ought to be.

The isolation among the Paiutes is such that many of the people still identify with a distant band even though they have lived in either Cedar City or Kaibab for many years. For example, it is very common to hear an Indian Peaks band member claim to have no interest in what goes on in the "Indian Village" because he is "not from here;" this is in spite of the fact that he has lived in Cedar City all of his life. In the same way, several longtime residents of the Kaibab reservation still identify with their band of long ago in an attempt to explain their ignorance or inactivity in Kaibab affairs.

Male Roles and Behavior

The modern Southern Paiute male is no longer a hunter, policeman and judge. Just as is true in other cultures the male role has changed over the last one hundred years. However, the important point the Southern Paiute culture is that the male has not replaced or been allowed to replace these roles with others that would make his life more meaningful.

The father often does not perform the most important
economic functions of the family. Initially his hunting lands and freedoms were taken away from him. This lack of opportunity to win a living has since been intensified by discrimination and the generally traumatic personality development presented above. Further, the dominant society constantly tells him, both explicitly and by subtle methods, that he is supposed to lead his family while at the same time it seems to ignore the fact that he has limited opportunities and resources for doing so.

Most of the Southern Paiutes in this study do not work fulltime. In Kaibab sixteen out of the forty-eight respondents work fulltime, sixteen are housewives and five are students, one is retired and on a pension, six work less than six months a year, and another six claim to be more or less permanently unemployed. Also in Kaibab five of the sixteen fully employed work at tribal council generated jobs, and other such positions are rapidly becoming a reality.

In Cedar City eleven out of sixty respondents claim to work fulltime, seventeen are housewives, seven are students, one is retired on a pension, six work about six to eight months a year, one works less than six months and eleven claim to be permanently unemployed. The Cedar City Paiute community has not yet generated any jobs for its own population.
With the exception of the administrative workers for the Kaibab Council none of the workers in either community fills a supervisory capacity. All are unskilled laborers or semi-skilled or skilled blue-collar workers.

From these facts it can be seen that while most of the Paiutes do not work fulltime, many of those who don't work have legitimate reasons; they are either housewives, students or retired. In both communities there are six or seven who are unemployed, but the rest do work from time to time.

As the case with other poverty groups, there are many reasons why the Paiute men have a high unemployment and underemployment rate. They do not generally have the training that is required for desirable jobs, and they often seem to feel that back-breaking labor or otherwise physically uncomfortable work is not worth the effort or the low pay they receive for it. In addition most of these types of jobs are seasonal--building fence, harvesting crops, working on construction projects and the like.

Most Paiute men do not put a very high value on their jobs, but then neither do their bosses or society in general. In many ways, working at the menial and seasonal jobs that are available to them is a more concrete example of their failure than not working. In almost no way is the job most Paiutes hold satisfying in terms either of
money or of their benefits such as prestige, respect, or interesting work.

Many if not most of the Paiute men bring with them a history of feature in past attempts at fulltime work. They generally do not do well when tested. Their low self-esteem prevents them from accepting jobs with individual responsibilities or from staying with it if responsibilities are later thrust on them, no matter what the increase in wages or status might be. For example, a Cedar City Paiute recently failed repeatedly when he got a good-paying job driving a huge iron-ore truck, because he was alone and nobody could correct his mistakes before they resulted in a broken-down truck or something else. The pressure brought about by the possibility of his individual failure was simply too great for him, and he eventually froze in the driver's seat. In most cases this behavior would have resulted in yet another failure in the job experience, but this man was transferred to a job in a crew where he felt more protected from individual failure and is doing very well in that position.

Perhaps most importantly, the jobs most Paiute men can get are dead-ended positions with little or no chance of advancement. The employment experiences of many Paiutes who would like to work fulltime, or at least say they would, is strikingly similar to the experience reported in
Elliot Liebow's *Tally's Corner*:

Delivering little, and promising no more, the job is "no big thing." The man appears to treat the job in a cavalier fashion, working and not working as the spirit moves him, as if all that mattered is the immediate satisfaction of his present appetites, the surrender to present moods, and the indulgence of whims with no thought of the cost, the consequences, the future. To the middle-class observer, this behavior reflects a "present-time" orientation an "inability to defer gratification." It is this "present-time" orientation as against the "future orientation" of the middle-class person that "explains" to the outsider the behavior of the lower-class man.

But from the inside looking out, what appears as a "present-time" orientation to the outside observer is, to the man experiencing it, as much a future orientation as that of his middle-class counterpart. The difference between the two men lies not so much in their different orientations to time as in their different orientations to future time or, more specifically, to their different futures.¹

In this way the Paiutes, much like the blacks in *Tally's Corner*, are saying, "I want mine right now," which is more a cry of despair than an indication of different values.

But some of the men and women in both Paiute communities work at meaningful jobs or find meaning in their work in spite of the low status society places on them. Some of their answers to these dilemmas will be covered later. Here it is sufficient to note that they are the exception, not the rule, and it seems to be a moot
question whether they have meaningful jobs because they worked their way up to them or whether they are successful workers because they were given meaningful jobs, in the first place. The point here is that most Paiutes do not have this opportunity at all.

As a productive member of his culture the male Southern Paiute's role as a father is further reduced by his limited influence in the education of his children. He has been alienated from the traditional Paiute culture, and his children in turn are further alienated from him by his inconsistent behavior and their own experiences. The educational role has been taken over by others, and to make matters worse, most fathers cannot even assist their children with assignments or otherwise help them with their educational challenges. Most Paiute fathers' training roles have been further reduced because having very limited skills themselves they cannot teach any to their sons that would make earning a living easier for them.

Instead of teaching his children how to be acceptable, functioning members of society, he can only grope with the puzzling modern culture he sees on the "outside" and, further, cannot remember or explain the traditional culture to his children.
His religious roles have also been taken or lost. He can hear some Anglos tell him, if he listens, that not only his way of life but the color of his skin, are a curse or at the very least unacceptable to God. Further, to be saved he must become Anglosized even to the color of his skin.

In the past the Paiute male was the policeman and judge for his family, however, limited or effective. In present times he is neither. His children can "get around him" in any number of ways; through school officials, church leaders, and even the police and courts themselves they can defy him.

He can certainly no longer protect his family against outsiders and to attempt it is to intensify the contradictions he has to face.

If the father is successful in his life, and lives with other Southern Paiutes, either as a traditional Paiute or as an "Anglosized" Paiute, it may not bring much meaningful status to his family. If he is "traditional," to the extent that is possible, he will intensify the problems the rest of the family has to face with the outside world. If he becomes Angloized, and still lives in the Paiute community, his family will likely have conflict with the more traditional Paiute values. In any event the family will probably not gain much status from the father
in the eyes of the ever-present Anglo society.

Thus, the male is made helpless, in his own eyes, or in his every action: in religion, in economic endeavors, in home life, and in community relationships.

There are very few areas where it is proper for a Southern Paiute male, living wholly within the Paiute culture, to excel, at least as far as the larger society is concerned. To other Paiutes he can be many things; boisterous, antagonistic, humorous or wise, but he should not be much different; he should be "invisible." The traditions of giving and sharing prevent him from accumulating the wealth the Anglo society encourages him to accumulate, unless the whole band can acquire about the same amount of wealth. He cannot assume aggressive leadership according to the old traditions. He cannot represent any other man or presume to obligate him in any binding way. He distrusts non-personal relationships, and if he deals in them he is suspected by his cultural peers.

As a result, many Southern Paiute men are not productive members of their culture. They are, in fact, something like a drone in their own society, presenting no positive model of behavior and adding to the contradictions and suspicions with which their sons have to contend.
In the final analysis, the men no longer have the roles of hunter, teacher, police, or judge. The no longer present a positive or consistent set of behavioral patterns for their sons to follow. In fact, most of the roles that traditionally gave him his purpose in life and his society are gone. In that loss he lost his sense of "manhood."

For the Southern Paiute male, this life-style does not result in a specific feeling of deprivation or meaninglessness; rather it is a general and vague loss. Most can no more explain their feelings of distrust and hostility, or the reasons for them, than the cancer patient can be expected to explain to the physician who is treating him how the molecular chemistry of his body has changed to produce the malignant cells. Like the cancer sufferer, the Southern Paiute father and husband only knows he hurts and is suffering and only in a vague, general sort of way. He cannot often identify or isolate accurately the cause of his hurting and suffering.

**Female Roles of Behavior**

The woman among the Southern Paiutes are still the monemakers. Although they no longer gather the foodstuffs from wild plants, there is little that has changed in the
nature of the tasks they perform or the roles they act out in their culture.

They prepare and cook the food, bear the children, nurse and wean them, train their daughters in their way to be good Paiute wives and mothers, and support their husbands, often financially. Even more than in the earlier culture they are the artists. In addition to creating pottery and baskets, they create leatherwork and distinct beadwork for the evergrowing tourist trade.

Their position in the dynamic present is made easier psychologically because they are able to function as good Paiutes within the protection of the traditional kin-and-clique unit. They can operate away from the harsh contradictions of the opposing cultures. In addition, as young women, they have what the young men lack strong and useful positive models to emulate in the persons of their mothers.

Further they are a more positive model for their sons to follow than their fathers and some become confused. In fact, because they have maintained their function in Paiute society and actually increased it relative to the male role, they are just another indication to their husbands that those husbands are not very important human beings.
For several important reasons it is easier for women to obtain employment than for men. First, they can work as domestics, nurse's aids or teacher's aids. The nature of the work is of short duration, so they can work part-time and still function as wives and mothers in their culture, at the same time escaping the onus that affects men who work only part-time or who work as domestics or at menial tasks.

Because of these factors the Southern Paiute culture is becoming a matriarchal society much as many other poverty cultures have become. The Southern Paiutes were clearly not a matriarchal culture in the past. Before the settlers arrived women took little part in the important political events although they did play a role. Further, their very lives were worth considerably less than males' lives.

In summary, the Paiute woman is still active, managing the home and mothering and caring for her family. She not only continues to play important economic, educational and socializing functions, but her influence seems to be growing. Her activities continue to give her an important purpose in life, a place in society, and a sense of "womanhood."

But her life is by no means totally positive. The Paiute woman is still subjected to the same inconsistent
punishments and rewards, the same cultural contradictions, and the same discriminations and deprivations as male Paiutes. As a result, she is distrustful and suspicious. Her world is also an insecure and frightening place.

The Southern Paiute View of the World

The metaphysical world of the Southern Paiute is still a very busy and confusing place. Whereas in traditional times all things had life and intelligence and a certain amount of power over events, now the predominance of power to effect things has passed out of the hands of the Paiutes and their gods into the hands of the Anglo-Americans. The psychological contradictions that confront the individual are exemplified in his collective view of the world.

The old tools and understanding of natural relationships are gone, and the Paiutes as a group have not found or developed other explanations to replace them. Modern Anglosized life has destroyed most of the traditional beliefs and the Paiutes generally feel powerless as a result.

The philosophies expressed by their old religion on the one hand and Mormonism on the other shows some of these world-view conflicts. The conflict between the
independent, self-centered Paiute religion and the authoritarian, largely program-oriented Mormon Church was dealt with in Chapter V. Here it is sufficient to say that the power to effect one's own life religiously has shifted away from the Paiute individual in so far as he is willing to accept the conventional Mormon view.

Along these same religious and philosophical lines, in the traditional view the Southern Paiute worked with the two major gods and other supernatural beings, as well and the other living things of the earth, on a personal and almost equal basis. Now the dominant culture often tells the Southern Paiutes that they cannot operate on this basis, certainly not until they "improve" and get out from under the "curse." Even with the promise of great blessings in the future, the individual Paiute seems to feel less important, competent and powerful than in times past.

One of the greatest concerns of these peoples before Anglo settlement was to not step too far out of line, as evidenced by the heavy emphasis placed on this theme in the old legends. When they feel trapped by the Anglo society they also must feel trapped because they are very much concerned with keeping in harmony with their world, and the world order, and to right their position is to fight the way things are.
The data from the questionnaires given to all the Southern Paiutes in both case studies support these personal observations. (There were differences, interesting and significant ones, between the two Paiute communities. These differences in psychological characteristics will be considered later.) Generally the Southern Paiute feels relatively incapable of much manipulation or control over the world. Most of the people questioned—who were all those over the age of fifteen—have a low opinion of themselves as both Paiutes and as Indians as a race, but there are major differences between Cedar City and Kaibab. Of a total possible score of +43 on the Psychological Characteristics Scale, the Kaibab Paiutes scored an average of +15, while the Cedar City Paiutes scored an average of only +7. Few make any positive comments about their culture, and most know very little about their culture's history. In fact, many feel that the Anglo-Americans are "better" or "smarter" than they. These attitudes indicate a rather basic "psychological spirit" in the two colonies. They will be examined at greater length later.

Most Southern Paiutes believe that others look down on them as a people. This includes people from other Indian cultures, particularly the Navajos. Approximately a third of the respondents do not feel much closer to Indians. Also 29 of the 108 respondents are unaware of
current pan-Indian movements or red power demonstrations.

The questionnaire study shows that most do not take part in politics, either in the United States political system or in their own local Paiute politics. Most (65 respondents of 108) do not discuss politics in a serious way and very few vote regularly (27 of the 86 respondents of voting age) and most (59 of 86) have never voted. More important than formal political activity is perhaps the fact that Southern Paiutes in this study have a very low sense of civic competence, which means they do not feel that they could do such things as talk to the police when a friend is in trouble with the law (45 out of 108 respondents) or effectively protest if they are mistreated in a store (38 of 108). Furthermore, most feel "there is little a person like them could do about such things." Many (43 of 108) feel it useless to vote because none of the candidates are interested in the things they want.

Most of the Paiute respondents are very conservative in that they are suspicious of change. In fact, they are much more conservative in their attitude toward change than their white neighbors, who are usually reported to be very conservative. 57 of the 108 Southern Paiutes scored "high" on the conservation scale as opposed to 6 of the 50 Anglos.
In addition to the foregoing, the Southern Paiutes generally feel discriminated against individually, or if they themselves are not personally discriminated against, they feel others of their culture are. This is particularly true in Cedar City.

The Southern Paiutes in the two communities usually cannot understand attempts to get them to think about the future. In Hadley Cantril's Scif-Anchororing Scale, they are asked to picture how their lives would be in five years, if everything went for the best, or conversely, if everything went for the very worst. Even though a great deal of time and effort went into training the interviewers (because they also had trouble understanding the reasons for these questions) most respondents feel very uncomfortable answering abstract futuristic questions and therefore do a very poor job of it. The point here is they exhibited little inclination for thinking about the future, and, more importantly, seem to not have done it before. They are simply not accustomed to planning for and working toward any long range goals and expecting to be able to effect their world enough to obtain them.

This characteristic is all the more poignant when their answers about the present conditions are read. It is not uncommon for a respondent to have said something like: "I cannot picture any conditions worse than they
are now." They are very unhappy with their lives as they live them now, and yet they generally feel helpless as individuals and as a culture to change those conditions.

In summary, the modern Southern Paiute view of the world remains restricted and ethnocentric, but this view has also lost much of its effectiveness as a culture. It can no longer form the base from which its individual members can develop the "strong egos" Dr. Erikson talks about as being so necessary to maintaining a stable culture. The individuals in the Paiute culture do not generally develop the type of personality, the type of psychological makeup which would allow them to cope happily with their world from within what can be called the modern Southern Paiute culture, because they can no longer find a satisfactory identity and meaningfulness in their lives.

The kin-and-clique groups are still very important, but instead of performing their original positive economic, political, and social functions, they act as a collective defense mechanism. The private aspects of the individual's life are still protected but the results are now a sort of culturally sanctioned state of "anomie." Instead of the sacred-self concept of the individual, the autonomy of an individual is maintained largely because the larger group does not work any longer and the individuals in it are suspicious on one another. Individuality is now a safety
device more than a source of freedom because by remaining isolated and autonomous both from the complicated "outside" world and also from the members of their Paiute community they can reduce the threats they feel coming at them from every quarter.

The many-sidedness of the Southern Paiute culture was functional in a world without large and organized political forces. Within the present framework of society it is not large enough or powerful enough to lead to happiness and stability for the people who live within it, although it has been able to survive many years of cultural conflict.

The functions that once made it a workable culture are no longer able to provide the members of that culture with a satisfactory way of life. For the most part the values on which those functions are based are still present, and those contradictions, as well as others, make the average individual Southern Paiute of today a frustrated and demoralized person.

Once again in their personalities, most Southern Paiutes seem to be ruled by suspicion and distrust of their fellowmen. This as a result of intermittent reinforcement throughout their lives from those of their own culture and the Anglo culture.
The over-riding suspicion of others acts to destroy group unity and encourage fragmentation. It reinforces the traditional individualistic aspects of the Southern Paiute culture, and "privatism" therefore flourishes in a new and somewhat counter-productive way. This same suspicion has caused what little legitimacy there was in traditional Paiute society for concerted group political action to deteriorate. In neither case study has these developments been rational or conscious, nor have they aided the individual Paiute to cope with his present environment.

The Southern Paiute leaders of today are individuals who are born, grow and develop into adulthood in this cultural environment. Each is unique in his reaction to it, as will be shown shortly but they have all reacted to relatively common inconsistencies and cultural contradictions. Of the most interest here is how they solved, first for themselves and then for their community, the pervasive barriers they all face.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter VIII

1
Elliot Liebow, *Tally's Corner*, pp. 63-64.

2
Chapter IX

SOUTHERN PAIUTE - ANGLO-AMERICAN RACE RELATIONS

It is obvious that the typical relationship between Southern Paiutes and their Anglo-American neighbors is usually somewhat strained at best and openly hostile at its worst. That individuals and even complete communities from both cultures have been able to reduce this prevailing hostility to a minimum does not lessen the importance of this hostility because, even in the most harmonious of the bi-cultural communities race relations was and still is a major barrier. In the Kaibab-Moccasin area, race relations seem to be as congenial as can be found in the Southern Paiutes' territory; on the other hand these same relations in Cedar City are often openly hostile.

The present chapter will tie together the important aspects of the relations between the Kaibab and Mormon cultures in Moccasin and the Paiutes, Mormons and other Anglos in Cedar City. As with almost everything else, the Cedar City case is more complicated than the Kaibab-Moccasin case. The Kaibab Reservation is a bi-cultural society while the Cedar City community is plura-cultural, in that there are both the Paiutes and Mormons but in addition there is a small but relatively strong non-"ormon Anglo population.
Therefore, there is at least a three-way cultural contradiction on many of the issues. The Mormon-Non-Mormon division is somewhat confusing within the scope of this study. Therefore, even though it can be important in some aspects of race-relations, the differences seem to be those of degree rather than substance, and therefore in the Cedar City case the contradictions will be treated as if the community were also bi-cultural.

**Hostility**

The cultural contradictions and highly suspicious personalities of the Southern Paiutes as well as the ethnocentrism of the powerful Anglo-Americans have resulted in a set of inter-cultural relations consisting mostly of behavior patterns that are essentially disguised or hidden from the individual persons themselves. In the case of the Southern Paiutes they are aware of their general feelings toward the Anglos. To them the Anglo community serves as both a cause and a scapegoat for their frustrations although most of their distrust and displaced anger toward the Anglos is probably not clearly understood. Their most common reactions to the stress of their lives is hidden from them.
The behavior patterns of both cultures toward the other are marked by hidden hostility. On the part of the Southern Paiute, their most prevalent behavior is relatively common to many if not most Native American cultures today. Like other native cultures their experience has been in no way equal with the dominant culture since the full impact of the early settlers was felt.

In addition to the many other problems of inconsistency and contradictions the relationship between the Anglos and the Southern Paiutes has been paternalistic. At no time were the Paiutes treated with cooperation or mutual respect. As the last several chapters have indicated, it was a case of the Mormons and later the Bureau of Indian Affairs controlling and the Paiutes being controlled, for whatever the ideological or theological reasons.

As with other Native American cultures, historically, the Southern Paiutes were controlled by the Anglo agencies, whether they were church or state, in all aspects of their lives. Goods and services were given out to the Paiutes as the controller saw fit. The non-physical aspects of their culture, such as customs and religion, were also controlled because they were declared "bad" and "decadent" by the Anglos who controlled them. Forced assimilation was attempted here as elsewhere. They, like many other
cultures, reacted with a type of behavior which can be called "hostile dependence." This is a term clinical psychologists use to characterize the behavior of some overmanaged children.

This means that they are hostile and also that they are dependent, but it also means more: it means that they act as if they were using their dependence, the only weapon they perceived available to them until very recently as a weapon against those who controlled them. Children forbidden to do things for themselves or to give in return by an overprotecting and loving mother, and thus restrained from a normal relationship and maturation, may seek to punish her. By becoming impassive and failing to develop, the children make the mother feel her failure and suffer.\(^1\)

They act as if by being passive and by leaving the Anglo society completely responsible for their problems they would remind those who control them of their incapacity to solve the problem after they had caused it in the first place. The most commonly seen behavior among the Paiutes in this respect is their almost complete passivity even when presented with a program that promises them great improvements in their way of life. Much to the frustration of the Anglos involved, very often the Paiutes refuse to participate in or even acknowledge a "good idea" or a program for their betterment.

This behavior can be seen in the Paiute students at Cedar City High School. The administration repeatedly asks
for suggestions on improving the learning experiences of the Paiute students, offering to create any class they would like to participate in. The typical response on the part of the Paiute students as we have seen is to, "slink in and slink out" of such meetings, in the words of the administrator. The same behavior is common among many people in Kaibab as their Moccasin neighbors attempt to assist them is starting gardens or other "self-help" projects.

In this behavior pattern the Paiutes seem to act much like the Sioux Indians Hagen and Schaw observed:

... by being completely passive and leaving complete responsibility for their social problems in the hands of the white society, would remind the white man of his incapacity to solve the problem he had so arrogantly set out to master.

Every case of economic need, every individual delinquency is as if to make the Bureau officials (The Anglo community in the case of the Southern Paiutes) feel a sense of their personal failure to make them feel guilty and defeated.²

In this way, much like hostilely dependent children, they use their dependency as a weapon against a dominant, hated, all-powerful figure.

As has been indicated, hostility is also often more overt, with the Paiutes openly resenting the intrusion of Anglos into their affairs. On these occasions hostile remarks or deriding jokes are told, or if a young man is
drunk, violence may be committed. But in almost any meeting between Anglos and Paiutes there is the feeling that the Paiutes are silently saying, "I dare you to get me to participate or react."

The hostility felt by the Anglo toward the Paiute culture or individuals is subtle and almost never open in specific incidents, particularly among the actively involved Anglos. This behavioral attitude is marked by "condescending hostility," a behavior in which individuals follow the norms of their culture toward children they cannot accept. Since it is not usually acceptable to act in an openly hostile manner toward those one describes as "childlike" or "simple." It is proper, however, to talk down to them or be condescending toward them in every action and in this way vent deep resentment toward them. The most common behavior for Anglos in this behavior pattern is to begin by saying, "I just love our Indians but..." The condescendingly hostile Anglo consistently judges the Paiute to be "not ready yet." It is common to hear residents of both case study areas explain how many years they have "worked with" the Paiutes, in terms that convey the feeling that they have been training a good horse for a number of years and are very proud of the horse but even more proud of themselves.
It seems that at the root of "condescending hostility" is the concept of "tolerance." If another culture has to be "tolerated" by an outside observer, then implicitly he is fighting "intolerance" within himself as he views that culture. If this is true, then an unprejudiced person must be a rare phenomenon.

This does not mean approval of all aspects of another culture. The truly unprejudiced man would be firmly rooted in his own culture but would find it unnecessary to feel condescending to, or even tolerant about, another.

This type of condescending hostility or condescending paternalism is undoubtedly a logical extension of the type of Mormon theology many people develop concerning the "Lamanites." In this view the Native American is defined by God as something less than the Anglo at least at the present. In fact it is the duty of a good Anglo Mormon to help them overcome their present culture and become "white and delightful." The Mormon with this orientation believes that although the Paiute can and will become a select race in time, in his present state he is "cursed." But this in itself seems to be just an extension or formalized version of a common Anglo-American attitude.

Given this commonly held cultural attitude and philosophy, it is not surprising that many Anglos in the
area develop this hostility and that they attempt to hide it even from themselves. They differ from most Anglo-Americans simply because they have formally institutionalized their attitudes toward the Native American into their religious activities.

As was mentioned in Chapter VI, the attitude described above are not official doctrine of the Mormon Church; rather, there is ample room for the development of this attitude in the theology. In most cases the church policy seems to have developed into a very paternalistic and condescending set of policies, but this is not the only attitude held by actively involved church members, as shall be shown shortly.

Though the actions of many Mormon Church members seem to be paternalistic and condescending, it would be yet another matter to prove the nature of their motivations. In any event the official Mormon church has long been against prejudicial action toward the Native Americans, with the exception of the controller-controlled attitude which was common to all Anglo-American groups of the 19th century. But even this paternalistic stance has been shown earlier to be a general policy toward all individuals of the Mormon faith to a significant degree. Prejudice is nevertheless present in all societies including a predominantly Mormon one.
Prejudice

A major issue for all Native Americans is civil rights. Part of the problem stems from peculiar U. S. citizenship. Though all Native Americans are citizens, they are dealt with as if they were residents of colonies, in that their tribal lands and tribal rights can be expanded, contracted, or otherwise tampered with as Congress sees fit. Other minorities have been subjected to special ethnic legislation, but most of these laws have been rescinded in recent years. The Native American's special dual citizenship has left him exposed to such legislation as no other group.

An even more serious civil rights problem is racial prejudice as exhibited by individuals in society rather than by institutions such as a legislature. A simple definition of prejudice will be used here. Prejudice is the initial stage of racism, which also includes discrimination, segregation, and such behavior as Apartheid, expulsion, and extermination on a continuum. According to this scheme, the two-category, "we-them" distinctions which these degrees of racism maintain are characterized by the following behavior:

First, prejudice is marked by avoidance whenever possible and supported by stereotyping and by informally
patterned rules governing interaction with the out group.

The second stage is discrimination; the behavior is usually deprivation supported by more formal rules, norms, and even laws.

The third stage is segregation, in which the "in" group attempts formally to insulate itself from the "out" group. Here formal laws are strictly enforced.

The fourth stage is the extraordinary stage in which the "out" group is isolated, excluded and even executed because its members are seen as such a danger to the "in" group.

All of these stages have been present in the history of the Southern Paiutes if a system of reservation can be considered somewhat like concentration camps or a system of Apartheid; but under normal circumstances only the first three stages have been common to the Southern Paiutes.

In the case of the Anglo-Americans and the Paiutes of this study, prejudice is maintained by the concepts of, ignorance, stereotyping, and feelings of inferiority and superiority described above and simply means others are "prejudged" on these concepts. The term "Lamanite" often denotes prejudgment by definition. The Paiutes and their Anglo neighbors avoid each other at least partly for these reasons. The subtly hostile behavior is a form of prejudice based to some extent on incomplete information on
both parties.

The main danger of prejudice is that it will be "acted out" in the form of discriminatory behavior. Once the feelings of hostility are put into action, the "out" group is being treated in the second manner. The Paiutes are deprived of certain activities such as not being hired in certain capacities, or being served last in a restaurant, or being trusted less in a store.

These activities are next formalized, which in effect insulates the in-group by isolating the "out" group to certain relationships. In Cedar City, for example, the Paiutes are isolated from other Mormons in their own chapel. They are further isolated in the area where they find it easy to obtain housing. This segregation is both voluntary and enforced. Although it is possible for the Paiutes in Cedar City to attend any church service in town, they seldom choose to do so. If they did so consistently, they would be reminded that they have been assigned to a specific geographical are just as all other Mormons are. This arrangement is also convenient for the Paiutes because they feel more comfortable with people of their "in" group.

This system of prejudice, discrimination and segregation are circular and self-validating for both the minority and the majority cultures. The out-group minority find that they have fewer job opportunities and earn less;
they have less successful experiences in schools because either the schools are disadvantaged or they are deprived in them. They live in less desirable areas. The lifestyle of the out-group minority becomes even more different from the majority. And the damage to personality in the form of the self-doubt; resignation to fate and to their lower status, which has been described in preceding chapters, becomes common to those discriminated against.

The Southern Paiute, or any other powerless or poverty group, begins to see himself and his culture as inferior. Hence, hostile dependency is experienced. The majority group members feel paternalism, a smugness, and a responsibility to do something for the ones viewed as inferior but little responsibility for their conditions. In addition, feelings of guilt and frustration also emerge. The results are very often condescending hostility, at least in the case of Anglo Americans today.

It is my assumption here, that prejudicial attitudes can be shown to exist by examining the feelings of the recipients of those attitudes rather than to examine the attitudes of the Anglos of Moccasin and Cedar City. It would be one thing to question the communities to obtain their views toward the Southern Paiutes and quite another to establish a measurement of their actual behavior toward them. This is not to say that an attempt was not made to
elicit the racial attitudes of the Anglo respondents in the several questionnaires or to observe the actual behavior of the Anglo citizens of the two communities.

Since prejudice can, at times, be so subtle and ingrained that people are hardly aware they have any, the perceptions of the Southern Paiutes about this set of attitudes will be the primary indicator and then the attitudes of the Anglo respondents, and my personal observations of their actual behavior will be used as a brace of secondary indicators.

There is considerable danger that Paiute prejudices would become masked through the use of this procedure. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to expect to be able to isolate the prejudice of another culture more readily than one's own, and as the minority, the prejudice, discrimination and segregation on the part of the Anglos can hurt them much more than their prejugments can hurt the Anglos.

The race relations in the two case studies are very different and will be reported separately even though they did have their roots in the same culture and theology, and there are some similarities in spite of their different complections today.

Both Anglo-American communities display generally paternalistic attitudes, or at least behavior, but again
this is a common attitude in the Mormon culture toward people both inside and outside their religion. In both communities the majority of the Anglo people believe firmly that they have the answer for the Paiute people, that the Mormon doctrine contains the solution for all the important ills of the present Paiute culture (as well as all mankind, for that matter). In this regard the predominant attitude is a holdover of the 19th century "white man's burden" ideology which often colors their thinking concerning the Paiute's human rights as the Anglos concentrate on immortal souls. They are "children" to be protected, trained, and punished.

Another consistently general attitude which cuts across the Anglo community lines is the resentment of the government's "give-away programs" for all Americans in general and the Southern Paiutes in particular. The reasoning usually is in a Horatio Alger context that you do not appreciate anything unless you earn it, and the only way to train the Paiutes to be good citizens and to pull their own load is to make them do it themselves with very little outside help.

This, of course, is the reason termination-type policies have so much appeal to the Anglo-American people and seem to gain wide acceptance when they come to the fore every few years. The merits of termination will not be
argued here; the point is that the termination, do-it-yourself mentality places much of the blame on present policies rather than on cultural difference and historical events.

These are the most prominent common racial attitudes in Moccasin, Arizona, and Cedar City, Utah. A word of caution seems in order however. These attitudes are very general and would probably fit very few specific individuals exactly. The most interesting aspect of the race relations is that such different experiences and relationships could grow out of the same Native American and Anglo cultures in two relatively close locations.

It has been shown that in the two Southern Paiute communities, although there are significant differences in their general attitudes and prejudices toward the local Anglos, there are also some general themes which carry through both. As has been stated before, most Southern Paiutes are suspicious of all Anglos and their motives, and it usually takes an almost phenomenal amount of consistently honest friendship to convince them otherwise.

The Anglo culture is generally blamed for all of the the deprivations and other problems of the Southern Paiutes. The Paiutes of both communities demand that the Anglos help them "catch up" at least materially, on the one hand, and on the other, through their behavior, make it
very difficult for this to happen.

In the preceding chapters many of the contradictions between the Southern Paiute and the Anglo-American cultures have been described. The historical setting has been outlined and the predominant ideologies and values of both cultures has been presented and discussed as they apply to both individuals and collective bodies.

Out of this social environment comes the Paiute leadership and organizations. Within this context the leadership in each case study will now be investigated and analyzed in depth.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter IX

1

2
Ibid., p. 9.

3

4
Ibid., p. 12.
Chapter X

THE KAIBAB: HISTORY AND SETTING

The Arizona Strip country of today is almost as isolated as it was fifty or one hundred years ago. It is a vast, dry, sweeping country bordered on the north by the long, towering curve of the vermilion cliffs that stretch from the mouth of Zion National Park in southwestern Utah to the Colorado River near Page, Arizona. Behind these cliffs tower the Kaparowits and Markagunt plateaus with elevations of over 11,000 feet above sea level. Even now this high plateau country supports only a few thousand people scattered along the same isolated fertile valleys where the Southern Paiute once lived.

The southern boundary is formed by the Grand Canyon portion of the Colorado River. The river enters Arizona, where Page and Glen Canyon Dam are located. It then cuts its way south through Marble Canyon and then turns west. It is forced south again as it cut through the Kaibab Plateau and forms the Grand Canyon which is one of the earth's most formidable natural barriers.

For miles after leaving the Grand Canyon National Park the river continues to cut through massive formations of sandstone and lava until it reaches the Lake Mead area.
The land between the high plateaus to the north and the deep Canyons to the south (4,700 square miles in all which is about the size of Connecticut) is inhabited by no more than 3,000 people. In all of this area there are only a handful of reliable springs, most of which are located in the high country. There are only a few small streams that can be classified "perrenial" even by the generous western definition of the term.

The interior of the "Strip" is made up of vast dry flats and desert valleys interrupted by average-sized mountains, some of which are over 8,000 feet high, and innumerable dry washes and canyons. The way of life on the Strip has changed little since the turn of the century. Because of the terrain and the lack of water or possibility of drilling for it, the ranchers continue to use the same methods used by their pioneer forefathers. The largest community on the Arizona Strip is Colorado City, (population about 1800) formerly Short Creek, which gained a quick burst of fame in the 1950's when its polygamist population was temporarily scattered by Arizona authorities.

The unique family life of this community has since returned to normal but the people there continue to hold themselves separate from the rest of the world. Therefore, the people of this area are further isolated not only from the outside world but also from each other.
The area is even further isolated because culturally most of the residents are tied to Utah while politically they are part of Arizona. The Strip is part of two different counties, the county seats of which are located far to the south in Arizona's gerrymandered system. The eastern half is in Cococino County with its county seat in Flagstaff. The Kaibab reservation and the Moccasin Village of this study are located in Mohave County. That county seat is in Kingman, which is on the southern side of the Grand Canyon. Therefore, one must either fly or drive over three hundred miles which is a trip of six hard hours of driving, to conduct business with county officials.

Communications are very limited. Since most of the settlements are nestled under the vermilion cliffs near the springs that flow from them, the distant television broadcasting from Salt Lake City and Flagstaff are blocked by these cliffs. Even radio stations are relatively weak unless powerful receivers are used. The newspaper are trucked in daily from the larger cities, but they are printed so far in advance that even though the date on them is current, most of the news is three days old; therefore few residents buy them, at least for the news they contain.

There are only two paved highways in this section of Arizona: Alternate U. S. 89, traveling north and south, and Arizona 389, which was paved in 1967. The nearest
supermarket is located seventy miles from the Kaibab and
Moccasin communities in St. George, Utah. Although there
is a hospital in Kanab, Utah, twenty miles away, until the
last few months there was no permanent doctor in residence.

The two communities of Kaibab and Moccasin did not
get electricity until 1957, and the four-mile road leading
to them from highway 389 was not paved until June 1970.

With this combination of isolating factors it is
not surprising that the local residents often tell stories
of fairly recent experiences that sound as if they came
out of a volume of anecdotes of the old West. Even young
men have captured wild horses and have cut ice in the
winter to store in their ice-houses for use in the summer
months as their only source of refrigeration.

History - The Kaibab Paiutes

The ethnography of the Southern Paiute culture has
been covered, but there are a few specific details about
the Kaibab experience that are significant. Before the
arrival of the settlers, the many groups that lived in
the Kaibab area lived on the southern border of the
Southern Paiute territory. In addition, the only reliable
fords of the Colorado River were located in their tradi-
tional homelands. These factors meant that the Kaibab
groups had considerable contact with other Native American cultures throughout their history that the interior Southern Paiutes did not have. First, the Kaibabs traded with the Hopis; in fact, it is likely that the Southern Paiutes that lived on the land south of the San Juan and Colorado Rivers in Hopi and Navajo country came from the Kaibab groups. Later the Navajos began to expand into the area because they were being pushed by the Spanish and Mexican cultures and finally by the U. S. Army. All in all, the Kaibabs had a significant degree of contact with the cultures to the southeast which stimulated some change and innovation. Since this is still true today, in many ways they have come to look upon the Hopi and the Navajo cultures as agents of change.

The Arizona Strip area was settled by the Mormons beginning in the 1860's. However, they could not maintain permanent settlements until the early 1870's because of the pressure they received from the Navajo. (The Kaibabs were occasional allies in many of the Navajo raids, sometimes willing and sometimes not so willing.) In the 1860's the Navajos were fighting their long war of attrition with the U. S. Army in their traditional homelands of western New Mexico and eastern Arizona. As they were driven away from their own area and as their herds of sheep, orchards, and horses were depleted, they turned to the new settlements of
the Mormons for resupply.

During this same period the Utes were fighting in northern and central Utah in what is called "The Black Hawk War," which lasted from 1865 until 1868 and proved Brigham Young's maxim that it is cheaper to feed them than to fight them. The War cost over a million dollars, and over 3,000 men were enlisted from the Mormons' sparse population. The War was not large in number of casualties; only about seventy Indian and twenty-five Anglo lives were lost, but the cost of the misuse of manpower was great.

During these times of raids into the Arizona Strip from several directions, of military mobilization, and of economic expansion, one of the major incidents in the Kaibab Paiute history occurred. Since it remains a sore point to modern Kaibab Paiutes, it is worth recounting here.

In late 1865 the Paiutes had raided the settlement of Kanab. In early 1866 some Indians raided the Whitmore and McIntyre ranch at Pipe Springs and made off with their herd of sheep. The next day the two men followed in pursuit but failed to return. The militia was called in from St. George and a military operation was begun. A two-foot snowfall hampered the search, but on January 18 the tracks of two Paiutes were found as the Paiutes followed a steer.
The military patrol followed the tracks all day and finally captured the two Paiutes. After questioning and torture, hanging by the heels and twisting of thumbs, one of the Indians admitted that he had "dreamed" that the Navajos had been there and then revealed the whereabouts of the camp of Paiutes about ten miles away.

A detachment was sent to locate the village, and at sunrise on January 20, the militia attacked the camp, killing two men and capturing about five more. This was the total male population in the camp. The captives led the militia to the area of a fight between the Navajos and two white men they had heard about. After much searching the two bodies were found riddled with arrows and gunshot wounds. They had been killed ten days before.

This proved too much for the detachment of militia. They turned the captives loose and shot them dead as they tried to escape. From the official report:

A wagon was sent out and whilst those with the wagon were taking up the bodies, the five prisoners were brought up to the place, in charge of eleven men. Among the Indians taken were found the clothes of the murdered men, some money, fresh sheepskins and a few other things, which stood as evidence against them of their guilt. This meeting was too much for the brethren to stand, so they turned the prisoners loose and shot them on the ground where the murdered bodies lay. Thus did retribution overtake them on the very land of
their crime. This makes seven Indians killed. We have one prisoner in camp from whom we hope to get more information. We intend starting a detachment of thirty men to bury the Indians killed and follow Indians we knew to have gone south.

Signed

Daniel D. McArthur
Col. Commanding

Although the evidence against the Paiutes seemed substantial, the Mormon militia had failed to "find and punish the individual Indian and none other for crimes committed," as they had been taught by Brigham Young. What had actually happened, as came to light later, was as follows:

A raiding party of Navajos stole the sheep and killed the two herders. They spent the night with the band of Kaibab Paiutes and paid them for this by giving them the clothes and some sheepskins, etc. They also told the Kaibab camp the story of the complete incident which naturally caused the Paiutes to flee from the area. The Navajo continued south with most of the sheep herd and crossed the Colorado River.

The trail to the south was never followed by the militia, and they felt the matter was closed after the execution of the Kaibab Paiute captives, even though the Paiutes did not have possession of the herd and there was
a very large trail going to the south.

This tale indicated again that, although the Mormons usually limited themselves to defensive actions against the various Indian cultures with whom they came in contact, once the militia was called out they reacted much as most other Anglo-Americans reacted in the 1800's.

The Kaibab-Paiute people remember this incident much more vividly than the Anglos. The grandson of one of the men killed by the militia, an old man himself, maintains that at least forty Paiutes were killed by the Mormons and will not accept evidence to the contrary. He claims this is the reason, even today, why many Paiutes will not join the Mormon Church. In fact, there is still a certain amount of bitterness among the Kaibab Paiutes over this incident, and it is one part of their oral history that everyone, old and young, seems to be very familiar with.

The Strip area was eventually settled permanently in the early 1870's: Kanab in 1870 and Fredonia, the nearest town to Kaibab, in 1883, as a lumber camp for the nearby timbering operations on the Kaibab plateau. Fredonia is now a village of about eight hundred people. The economy still centers around lumber. In addition to the Paiutes there is a sizable population of Navajos who work at the sawmill. The Anglo population is predominantly
Mormon, and the three cultures make it an interesting village in and of itself.

Kanab was originally established as an Indian missionary colony by the Mormon Church although as might be expected, the settlers also began ambitious economic projects, particularly with sheep and cattle. Kanab is now the economic and cultural center of the Arizona Strip. It has the only movie theater and the only shopping center, however limited, in the area. In addition to their livestock industry the people of Kanab are tourist-oriented. There are several fine motels and restaurants in town. The most spectacular side of the economy is the movie and television industry. Several times a year the town is flooded with production crews and biname stars as they film outdoor segments of films, taking advantage of the spectacular and varied scenery near Kanab. Almost 100% of the almost 1500 people of Kanab are Mormon.

One of the best springs in the area is Pipe Springs (named because one of the early explorers shot the bottom out of a man's pipe at this point). Another very large spring was named Moccasin spring and was located about four miles north of Pipe Springs along the same fault line. The present town of Moccasin is located on this spring. These springs became an important watering spot along the road to St. George and the other Mormon communities in
southern Utah and also were the locations of large ranching operations. They had been, of course, very important to Indian cultures of the area for a long, long time.

Even after the Anglo ranches were permanently established, many of the Paiutes continued to live in the area during parts of the year. They had little choice in the matter, considering the water situation. Since the Mormon settlers were missionaries to the Lamanites and were both friendly and understanding, relations were relatively cordial between the two cultures.

The Kaibab Reservation

The Kaibab Reservation, established in July 1913 and enlarged in 1917, is located on the Utah border, along the vermillion cliffs. The eastern border is about one mile west of the village of Fredonia, and Highway 389 cuts the north half from the south half as the road runs to the west.

The reservation is small being about eighteen miles long, east to west and twelve miles deep, north to south. It has an area of 120,413 acres. There is an adequate mixture of resources, with most of the land being desert grasslands. The water resources are better than average because of the Moccasin Springs and a number of washes and
sinks in the area. A rather large cattle operation can be supported by the reservation, and there is the potential of relatively large cropping operations if deep wells are drilled. At the present time a large Idaho concern is investigating this possibility.

The population on the reservation is small and fluctuating. In 1960 the population was 110 Paiutes living on or near the reservation. In 1968 the population had grown to 132. In January and February of 1971 the population stood at 80. In 1968 the total labor force was 49, of which 18 were permanently employed. Underemployed (temporary and seasonal jobs) totaled 23 and permanently unemployed totaled 8. Income of non-Indian families in the surrounding communities is considerably higher than that of reservation families. There are presently 139 Kaibab Paiutes on the official Government roles published in February 1971.

Reviewing briefly, the Kaibab Paiutes, as they are now called, were originally one of many groups of Paiutes who lived for at least part of the year in the Arizona Strip area. Powell believed their total population to be about, 107 but the local pioneers say they were larger than that, numbering at least 200. With Anglo-American settlement they began "squatting" around the Mormon communities. The Mormon Church gave them the rights to one-third of the
water from Moccasin springs, and a more or less permanent settlement developed there.

When the reservation was established, a day school and other facilities were built about two miles away from the spring. The Mormon village located there, and the Paiutes moved to the present location of their village which they called Kaibab. The original superintendent sets the population at that time at 100.

The Kaibab Paiute Reservation was administered by an on-reservation supervisor until 1927. During these years a large number of programs were attempted with no noticeable success. There are today many tales of graft and corruption that were very common on reservations during that time.

The superintendent and his family lived in a very large modern home while the Paiutes lived in squalor. There are reports of the superintendent's children being dressed in new clothing after a shipment from the central office while the long-awaited cloth shipment never arrived for the ragged Kaibab people. There were the usual short allotments of beef and other commodities. The Mormon community probably performed a positive function in this regard, since it was so close and actively involved. The agents on the Kaibab-Paiute Reservation were in that sense much more under the public eye than most reservation
superintendents. It truly must have been a hardship post for them.

For the first several years after the reservation was established, the Kaibab groups continued to move about, spending only the winter months on the reservation for any length of time. The first missionary to the Kaibabs was Chris Heaton, who was also the rancher at Moccasin Springs. According to his grandson, he would plant fifteen acres of corn, melons, squashes, and beans each spring with the help of the Kaibabs. During the summer the Paiute families would go elsewhere, and Chris Heaton would care for the crops until harvest time.

In following these habits both cultures were acting as expected. The Mormon missionary was caring for the Lamanites in a paternalistic way, and the Paiutes were migrating with the seasons and doing little preventive maintenance of their crops. If the Kaibab were agriculturists at all, traditionally, they probably did not care for their crops constantly because they were moving during the summer.

**The Moccasin Island**

When the Kaibab Reservation was formed, the Mormon village, which was then more like a large ranch, was granted two-thirds of the spring water and 400 acres of land. It
is completely surrounded by the reservation with no real potential for growth. This physical setting makes this Anglo-American community unique since it is the one restricted by the Indians rather than the other way around, as has almost always been the case. In addition its people are the minority, since the Paiutes on the reservation outnumber them.

At the present time there are twelve families living in Moccasin, about 44 people in all. Eleven of the twenty-seven people interviewed had lived there all their lives. At the time of the field study there were two non-Mormons, but this couple has since been converted to Mormonism. Sixteen are high school graduates, seven have had some college and two are college graduates. Only four of the men have been in the armed services, and, in general, most have not traveled much; eleven have not left the western United States.

Eight of the twelve working men work at two jobs, usually ranching and farming in Moccasin on a part-time basis plus having another job which supplies most of their families' income. Although they see disadvantages and hardships connected with living in Moccasin, seventeen would rather live there than anywhere else, and another six would choose a small town in the immediate area. They see the advantages to be the lack of stress of mass society and
particularly the freedom their children have from the bad influences of the cities.

The major disadvantage in living in the village is the cultural and social limitations. Most feel that they personally prefer their way of life, but they worry about the restricted opportunities for their children.

As would be expected, the residents of Moccasin, as a group, are conservative politically and not particularly well informed about national and world events. On the other hand, they are usually actively involved in the major issues of the Arizona Strip.

Anglo Paiute Relations

In addition to the physical setting, the Kaibab Paiute-Moccasin Anglo relationship is unique for other reasons as well. The experience of the Mormon missionaries in the Moccasin Spring area has set up a different tradition. The head of the original family, Chris Heaton, served as a missionary while he ran his large ranching operation for many years. Later his son, Charles, followed his example. At the present time the grandson, Leonard, is still actively helping the Kaibab Paiutes. Their wives and daughters were at least as helpful, acting as midwives and caring for the sick, etc. Leonard is the man named by
most of the Kaibab Paiutes as their best friend. During the past one hundred years the Heaton family has developed very close ties with the people of the reservation.

In this manner the Kaibab people and the Mormons in general have maintained a continuing face to face relationship for a many years, sharing the same valley and its spring, the same drought and storm. They have been isolated together for a long time, and although the values of neither group have changed greatly, they have become comfortable with each other.

Like most Mormons, the people of Moccasin wonder about the Lamanites and labor among them, attempting to bring them the gospel and help them fulfill their "promise." Like most Native Americans the Kaibab Paiutes have resisted this missionary work for the most part. But unlike many areas, the two cultures are not seriously uneasy about each other. There are reasons for this other than long association. The two populations are almost equal in size; therefore, neither need feel like the minority and in danger from the other. Their power relationships are more nearly equal than in any other like community I know of.

A Non-Differentiated Community

The Mormon community is a holdover in many ways from 19th century Mormonism, in that the only real
organization in the community is the Mormon Church, and all the leaders are appointed church leaders. Essentially the Moccasin community fulfills its basic social needs, whether they are strictly political or not, through the church organization. The line between public and private and religious activities which fulfill social needs is not easy to draw because they are not usually differentiated in Moccasin. The leaders in the Mormon ward also are the leaders in more clearly secular activities. Since all their public relations involve some measure of authority, hence of political organization, a good measure of their authority comes from their position in the formal church leadership; the church is obviously the dominant political power in the community.

The church, sometimes formally and sometimes not, initiates and coordinates the following activities which usually are handled by other political agencies, in most societies:

First, the Church maintains much of the law and order, in the sense that it administers and defends the community against internal and external threats. This usually takes place in the form of protection against outside elements such as alcohol, drugs and other unwanted aspects of present-day United States' society. Social justice is administered in most cases by the Bishop of the
ward because there are very few incidents that require the attention of civil authorities in the distant county seat. The Mormon Church gives the individual citizen of Moccasin basic physical security and a predictable social environment.

Second, the Church performs most of the public works in Moccasin such as maintenance of irrigation ditches and of the church and school, which are the only public buildings. The Church is the organizing force in these projects.

Third, the Church performs most of the social security and welfare measures. The Mormon Church is the only organization that is present in the village that assists the unfortunate. The residents of Moccasin take care of each other.

Fourth, the educational effort is made by local elementary school board, but all of the people on the school board are also the most active church members. In addition, much education takes place in the various religious classes held by the ward.

Last, the activities which give emotional satisfactions, such as a feeling of belonging and participation, as well as other non-material benefits such as prestige and influence in the community, come almost exclusively from Church membership and activity. Some of the people of Moccasin are active outside their little community, and they
have prestige in the Arizona Strip because of these activities, but it is doubtful if this prestige would be very meaningful to them unless they were first prominent Moccasin church members.

This is a very logical way for such a small and homogenous village to operate. There is simply no need for several levels of social activities or organizations. The residents of Moccasin live there, despite the isolation, largely because they enjoy the non-differentiated life-style. For the Kaibab Paiutes this presents the average Paiute with only one set of leaders with whom to identify, rather than a multitude of bureaucratic agencies. In a word, the Southern Paiute non-differentiated society is relating to a relatively non-differentiated Anglo-American society.

Kaibab-Paiute Political Organizations

Past "Chiefs"

With the coming of the settlers in the 1870's, the political structure of the Southern Paiute began to change almost immediately. Beginning in the 1870's the "chief" (at least in the Anglo sense of the word) of the Kaibab Paiutes was Captain Frank. By all accounts he was a remarkable man. It has already be stated that Captain Frank
attempted to unite all the Southern Paiutes into a central political organization. The attempt failed, but the mere fact that he attempted shows unusual personal characteristics. Captain Frank was a big man, reportedly well over six feet tall and weighing over two hundred pounds. He ruled his expanded band with almost dictatorial control, according to the accounts of both the older Anglos and those of the older Paiutes.

By all these accounts he used considerable physical force to enforce his directions. In fact the Paiutes could remember talk of no other way in which he got the people to do his bidding. It is only fair to add that, with the passage of time at least, Captain Frank has taken on the image of a very wise and just man. One is led to believe that he was almost a patriarch out of the Old Testament.

Wherever the truth actually lies, the Captain Frank era marked the end of traditional political organization for the Kaibab Paiutes, because the Mormons were building Paiute leaders that fitted their own image of what an "Indian Chief" should be. It was probably fortunate for the Kaibab Paiutes that there was a man of Captain Frank's stature to set the pattern that he did.

The next Chief was Captain George, who has also been mentioned earlier in this study. (He was most active in the last of the 19th Century and first twenty years of
this one.) His main qualification for leadership, according to his son, Georgie George, who now lives in Cedar City, was that he spoke English and could communicate with both cultures. Captain George attempted to rule all the kin-and-clique groups now called the Kaibab-Paiutes, but he was apparently a more traditional man. His son says he was "never anything; the whites just thought he was."

From his son's account, Captain George spent most of his time moving from place to place, either in the traditional fashion of the Southern Paiute or working as a cowboy or handyman for various Anglos in many locations both in the Strip country and in southern Utah.

Here again all the accounts of his leadership style that can be gathered represent Captain George as being a very authoritarian leader. There is one event in particular that points this out. At one time one of his sons rode a calf in the corral at Moccasin, as many young westerners are prone to do. The owner reacted with anger and took the boy to his father. Captain George administered such a harsh beating that the boy died the next day.

This is an isolated incident, but it does point out, better than any other tale, the lifelong effort that Captain George made to keep the peace between the Mormons and his people. He acted as an interpreter and go-between in any trouble, and he could not tolerate a broken
commitment between his people and their Mormon neighbors.

Both of these two leaders followed traditional training of the youth of the Kaibab-Paiutes, and the manner in which they did it indicates that they were "big chiefs." Each day they would arise at dawn and command the young men of the band to "run around the camp until they had run enough to be tough." Then they would issue instructions to the rest of the band.

The Kaibab Tribal Council

With the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Kaibab Paiutes were organized into a formal tribal council.

The provisions of the Reorganization Act were relatively simple. First, the act was not mandatory and had to be approved by the majority of the tribe before it would be enacted. If approved, it prohibited any further division of tribal lands into individual allotments. It authorized an annual appropriation of $2 million and later a revolving credit fund of $12 million for land purchases to enable the various tribes to improve their land holdings and by equipment needed to maintain it. The effect of the act was to make the United States Government Indian policy more humanistic and reverse the trend that has been in vogue since the middle of the 1800's. During approximately
the next thirty years, most of the tribal chairmen led
their people in the traditional manner, demanding little,
planning ahead very little, and having only minimal con-
trol over the conduct of the Kaibab Paiutes.

However, the important fact here is that during
this period the Kaibabs had the opportunity to assume some
form of self government, establish their own power base
whereas before they had been almost completely under the
rule of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They have since
been able to adjust the functions, if not the structure,
of their government to fit their traditional culture where
they thought, either explicitly or implicitly, it served
them best, and leadership began to develop.

Since its enactment the Indian Reorganization Act
has allowed the tribes that used their new powers to act
much like municipalities. They managed property, raised
revenue for public purpose, administered law and order,
contracted for attorneys and other professional advisers,
and generally promoted the general welfare of their
people.

During recent years this is exactly what the Kaibab
Paiute Tribal Council has been doing for its people on a
very limited scale. As a functioning government, the
Tribal Council does not operate in a vacuum. The Tribal
Council of the Kaibab Paiute Reservation is an active and
significant political power in the Arizona Strip. To the small rural Mormon village their Kaibab neighbors approach being a full partner in some aspects of their political lives. The two cultures are different, but they are known entities to the other, and each can provide political power where the other is lacking.

The agencies and variables in the Kaibab-Paiute political environment, particularly the leadership, will now be examined. The questions to be asked are these: How has the relatively new self-government evolved into a meaningful system for them? What traditional ways and what modern Anglo behavior have become mixed? And most of all, how and to what extent have the Kaibab leaders mastered the cultural contradictions they face?
FOOTNOTES

Chapter X


3  Woodbury, pp. 167-178.

4  Anderson, Desert Saints, pp. 239-240.


6  "Master Plan," Bureau of Indian Affairs/Kaibab-Paiute Tribal Council, Summer, 1968.


Chapter XI

THE KAIBAB PAIUTES: ISSUES AND LEADERS

As one approaches the reservation village of Kaibab, along the four mile road which leads from Arizona Highway 389 to the villages of Kaibab and Moccasin, the first building one sees is a fieldstone and wood building with a large sign which proclaims "Kaibab-Paiute Tribal Office Building—Welcome." This is the center of Kaibab-Paiute political and economic life. The Tribal Council, its president, the economic development man, health worker, social worker, and police officer—these people are the governing body of the reservation, and although they are under the supervisory control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs agency in Keams Canyon, Arizona, they in fact exercise a great deal of initiative and control over their own courses of action.

Organizations

The Kaibab-Paiute Council is made up of six members, three of whom are elected during a fall election in any given year. Each council member serves a two-year term. The council chairman is then elected by the six
members of the council from their members for a two-year term. The chairman holds the only paid position on the council. In that he receives adequate yearly salary. The council meets monthly (more often if activities dictate), but generally the chairman is given a free hand.

The chairman is the official representative of the Paiutes on the Kaibab-Paiute rolls plus any resident of the reservation, which includes several people from other "bands." As the official in charge he must sign all official communications such as requisitions, claims for medical assistance, and schooling requests. In effect all community intercourse with the non-reservation world is controlled through his office.

The most frequent contact with governmental agencies is with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. For the Kaibab-Paiutes this means the Hopi agency located in Keams Canyon, Arizona, about three hundred miles from the Kaibab reservation.

The relatively close ties the Kaibab-Paiutes have traditionally maintained with the Hopi culture have thus been strengthened by this Bureau of Indian Affairs arrangement. In turn, both tribes are overshadowed by the giant of the Native American world, the Navajo. In many ways the tribes of the Southwest seem to be trying to imitate the Navajo model for development. The Navajos have such
large advantages of scale that the attempts of smaller reservations like the Kaibabs' are often somewhat sad by comparison.

The relationship between the Tribal Council and the Keams Canyon Agency is cordial; the role of the Agency is rather passive largely because of the great distance. The chairman in Kaibab travels more or less constantly to and from the agency headquarters for consultation and advice from the full staff there, and less often the staff travels to the Kaibab reservation; usually all action is initiated by the chairman rather than by the agency. In the words of one of the council members, "They come around because we needle them." This clearly exhibits some power of the council over the actions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Kaibab-Paiutes also belong to, and are active members of the Indian Development District of Arizona (IDDA), which is an aggressive intertribal organization. IDDA is divided into five subdivisions, and the Kaibab, along with the Hopi, are in the North Central Planning Area. A Hopi is the director of this area, and a Paiute is the assistant director. In his post as assistant director of the North Central Planning Area, this man works fulltime with the Tribal Council (he is also a member himself) and is in charge of economic development
for the Kaibab Reservation. The members of IDDA meet at least quarterly and do in fact represent the Native Ameri-
can cultures of Arizona in many far-ranging issues.

In addition to the Indian-oriented organizations, the Chairman and Council actively solicit the help of the many federal and state poverty and minority agencies, such as the Office of Economic Opportunities, the Economic Development Authority, Health, the Departments of Educa-
tion and Welfare and Housing and Urban Development as well as county food programs, etc.

In the past year they have participated in the manpower program, the neighborhood youth corps, and several other programs to provide employment for the residents of the reservation. Through the Council's ef-
forts not only have the Paiutes benefited, but several non-
Indians have received summer work opportunities and other advantages.

Like some other Native American groups, the Kaibabs are expecting a large sum of money as their part of the 1 aboriginal land settlements of 1968. Unlike the Paiutes located in Utah, who have been terminated or have no land, the Kaibab-Paiutes as a reservation group will handle their own funds when they receive them. While the exact amount that each individual will receive has not yet been determined because of some claims to Southern Paiute
membership which have not been settled, the amount will be sizable. The total money for all the Southern Paiutes is over $7,000,000.

The Kaibab Council has already established procedures for handling their money. They have opted for a community approach toward development rather than an individual approach, with only 15% of the award earmarked specifically for individuals. This is considerably different from the system that has been established for the Southern Paiutes in Cedar City. The following is the planned allocation of the funds:

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedure for Administration of Claims Money</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home improvements</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita Payments</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal enterprises</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community development</td>
<td>15%²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since 1966 the reservation has started to administer its own law enforcement. Although the pay is adequate for the officer, the council has a problem because the men continually receive better offers on larger tribal police forces, where they do not have to work alone and can receive advancements and live in less isolated areas. At the present time they employ a man who, after many years of
experience, was just defeated in a sheriff's election. Although it is unusual for a group of eighty people to have their own fulltime law officer, this man spends part of his time supervising the landscaping of the new self-help housing project. The hope was for the tribal officer to be a social worker and employment supervisor as well as a lawman.

The most visible and probably the most significant development in recent years on the Kaibab Reservation has been the Federally funded self-help housing project. In June of 1970, after several years of planning and a relatively lengthy construction period, ten three-bedroom cinderblock homes were finished in the village of Kaibab. Thusly, in one fell swoop the complexion of that village was transformed from a settlement of homes in varying stages of decay, to a planned community of very modern and attractive homes complete with utilities and built along paved roads. Now that landscaping is well underway, the village presents a welcome change from the desert terrain. In fact, soon the Paiutes will have newer and better looking living quarters than their neighbors in Moccasin.

The process of obtaining these homes has been an invaluable leadership training experience for two different tribal chairmen during the past several years. Since these homes had to be built as much as possible by the
Paiutes who were to eventually occupy them, a great deal of planning and coordination had to go into their construction. For example, because the men had to work full-time on the ten homes, money had to be found to provide for food and the other necessities of life while they were so occupied. This problem was not anticipated by either Tribal Council or the B.I.A. personnel, and a major crisis developed during the project before the families were fed and work continued on the homes on a full-time basis.

To keep everyone working equally diligently on all of the houses, none of the ten families knew which home was to be theirs until all were complete. Through this device and the extra financial help described above, the Kaibab-Paiutes were able to generate a degree of cooperation and full-time effort over a sustained time period that they had probably never attained before. Not only did the poorest of the Kaibabs benefit, but the leadership gained valuable experience in planning and active leadership. They have put this success and their pride in it to work for them several times in the past year.

Since the new homes have been occupied, a new political agency has been established to administer the housing project. This is the Kaibab Housing Authority, made up of prominent businessmen in the Moccasin-Frdonia-Kanab area. The meetings I have attended have been
conducted by Anglos, and in some cases have been slightly antagonistic toward the whole concept of low-rent housing, but in any event they are dependent on the tribal chairman to implement their recommendations. And it is appearant that all members of the housing authority are aware of this relationship.

The tribal chairman also sits on the Arizona Strip Area Development Council, which is a group of people, mostly Anglos, who are interested in the economic development of the locality. This group is headed by the woman mayor of Fredonia, and their major concern is attracting industry or almost any type of economic activity into the area. Since the greatest resource of locality has is its feeling of having preserved its unspoiled atmosphere, the development council is in an almost constant state of dilemma: Increased tourism could, if not handled properly, destroy the very thing the tourists are attracted to in the first place: primitive isolation. The major antagonist of the Development Council is the Sierra Club, which wants to keep the Strip very primitive indeed.

Since the Kaibab-Paiutes are a large landowner, in a sense, they have a considerable power. Moreover the projected development of the strip, in the form of reservoirs, more tourist attractions, increased agriculture are to be developed on the reservation, and at least in
these areas the Kaibabs have the greatest opportunity to bring money into the whole area. In addition, the Kaibabs are less vulnerable to the type of pressure the Sierra Club applies, since it is difficult for them to oppose the economic development of any Indian reservation both practically and morally. Once again the Kaibab Paiutes hold much of the power in the area.

The community action program in Fredonia is also considering a self-help housing program similar to the one completed in Kaibab. Since the chairman is the one with the experience in this area, he is a valuable participant in these considerations.

There are, of course, other less formal political agencies, such as the Mormon Church, with which the Kaibab Paiute Council interacts unofficially. The village of Moccasin is unincorporated and has no government as such. It does, however, have a school board as well as a school which the Paiute children attend until the seventh grade. Since the citizens of Moccasin are all active Mormons, the board is almost an extension of that church. In this way, relations with the Mormon church are very important to the Kaibab Paiutes. At the present time those relations are going well. A Kaibab-Paiute woman who is also a tribal council member is the current president of the Moccasin school board.
Finally, there is the U. S. Park Service. It administers Pipe Springs National Monument, which is completely surrounded by the Kaibab reservation, just as the village at Moccasin Springs is. Most of the money that flows into the Kaibab/Moccasin area is drawn there by the historic old fort and the story that is told by the Park Service. Many of the young people of the area work there as guides during the summer months, and several adults make their livings working there fulltime.

The Park Service is actively involved in the development of the reservation. It is coordinating plans for development of the monument with the master plan of the reservation. Furthermore, its staff is assisting in the development of the tourist complex the Paiutes are attempting to fund through Economic Development Administration. In fact, the Park Service appears to be almost as involved as the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the development of the tourist complex.

These combinations of events and conditions make the Kaibab-Paiute people, through their chairman, quite powerful politically and economically in the Arizona Strip area. In fact their power probably far exceeds the amount their numbers warrant, and this is unusual for a Native American population.
These, then are the major actors and agencies in the Kaibab-Paiute political and economic environment. The Tribal Council is learning to use its resources and personnel for the accomplishment of the Paiute goals while at the same time learning to let these agencies have access to them in return. These are the organizations with which the council interacts as it works toward the achievement of the goals of the Kaibab-Paiute Reservation.

The Issues of Kaibab-Paiute Development

The Primary goal of the Tribal Council of the Kaibab-Paiutes is to:

"develop the human and natural resources of the Kaibab-Paiute Indian Reservation. The program goal is to achieve the ultimate objective of a stronger and more diversified economy capable of full utilization of the developed and latent skills and resources of the Kaibab-Paiute Indian people."³

In the less formal words of the tribal chairman, "We want to get some good jobs for the people on the reservation, and bring back those who have left by giving them something to do."

Historically the principal economic activity on the reservation has been livestock raising. On the dry range, land where the only effective way to raise cattle is with many acres per animal, this can provide meaningful
employment for only a handful of men. In the past few years the tribal council has been attempting to promote employment of the reservation in the lumber industry at Fredonia and the tourist industry that visits the nearby national parks.

The strategy of development is as follows:

**Education**

A. Follow State Public School Program and provide an education equivalent to that at any similar location within the state.
B. Encourage improvement of school facilities at Moccasin or transporting of all students to Fredonia.
C. Provide Adult Vocational Training Courses in connection with commercial development on the reservation.

**Natural Resources**

A. Fencing, development of water sources, brush eradication, and reseeding of grazing lands.
B. Training of livestock operators in range management.

**Economic Development**

A. Establishment of commercial developments oriented toward tourist traffic on the new highway.
B. Expand credit sources for economic development.
C. Establishment of a Tribal Livestock Operation.

**Community Development**

A. Expansion of welfare, employment assistance, and law and order services to the tribe.
B. Construction of a new residential community including Mutual-Help homes, water
and sewer facilities, paved roads, and a multipurpose training and community center.  

The Kaibab-Paiute Tribal Council has been following this strategy very closely, and the past two chairmen have become quite proficient at attracting funds for the many projects called for in the master plan. This was not so before about 1966. Prior to that time the chairmen reacted only to the suggestions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. According to one the older residents of the reservation, who was a former chairman, the earlier chairmen were older men, and they had to have everything explained to them by the bureau personnel. They just said, "yes or no, and signed the papers the BIA gave them; they didn't ever send any papers to the BIA like now because they didn't know how to type or think up letters. Some of them were pretty good talkers, but they didn't have the English or the reading."

The turning point came when a young man, about thirty-two, assumed the chairmanship and took the initiative. The manner in which he was able to solve both his own personal conflicts and those of the Kaibab-Paiutes will be covered shortly.

Almost all of the points listed in the development strategy are being worked on by the Council at the present time. Some phases have been completed and others are well
under way.

The Community Development section has fared the best from federal financing. The mutual-help housing project has completed the first phase which included the construction and landscaping of ten homes, the sewer, water, and access to roadways. A second unit of houses to provide homes for the more well-to-do Kaibab-Paiutes is in the planning stage and construction of the multipurpose training and community center began in May 1971. This will provide fulltime employment for several people.

The community center will be used primarily for the training of the residents in the manufacturing of arts and crafts for the tourist business. This will be essentially a re-learning process because traditional handicrafts of the Southern Paiute will have to be revived and adapted to modern methods.

The tourist complex, as the Kaibab-Paiute leadership calls it, is in the final planning stages. In April 1971, a plan which included a forty unit motel, a multi-unit tourist shopping center, a gas station, and a small real estate development was turned down by EDA because the cost was too great. Under the EDA program a population of the size of the Kaibab Reservation could receive only $400,000 and they had requested $1,000,000. The Tribal Council has resubmitted a proposal for a camp grounds,
a trailer park, and a curio shop as an outlet for the arts and crafts produced at the community center. Hopes for this more realistic complex are very high. The tourist complex is designed to argument the Park Service programs. In no case will the Kaibab community be in competition with the monument or anyone else close by.

The planning process for the tourist complex has been an interesting one. The Park Service has developed a master plan for the Pipe Springs Monument and has been very much interested in involving the Kaibab-Paiutes in it as a source of economic development for the Paiutes as well as additional attractions and facilities for the Monument.

The Park Service has made available to the Council a highly trained staff to assist in the development of plans for the tourist complex which included feasibility studies, development of water to service the complex, architectural advice and even help in writing up the proposals and requests for funding, and later complete architectural services.

Because the Park Service had such a vested interest in the project, the chairman, at a very nominal rate hired an outside consultant to perform most of the same services. In this way he was able to remain relatively independent of the Park Service and even was able to speed up the planning process. This was the clearest example I saw of
the Kaibab Paiutes playing one government agency against another agency to further their own ends. It seemed to be a fairly sophisticated use of their power through competing brokers.

If the traffic count continues to grow along Arizona Highway 389 as it is projected, the motel and gas station and additional shops as well as guided tours and horseback excursions will be entirely feasible within a couple of years. Advanced planning is continuing along these lines.

The credit arrangements for these and other projects are very reasonable. In most cases all the Kaibab leadership must provide is labor in lieu of cash assets. Most of the projects provide on-the-job-training for the unemployed men of the reservation. Toward these same goals vocational training and more formal adult education are pursued in weekly night classes conducted on the reservation or in Fredonia and taught by the instructors at Fredonia High School.

The proposed ranching operations and other agricultural endeavors have not materialized to date, although preliminary development and planning have taken place. A major well has been developed which can more than supply the expansion of the tourist trade. The overflow will be used to increase the productivity of the rangeland.
The Kaibab-Paiutes have failed in the past in attempts at community cattle operations, and they are hesitant about attempting another until they are successful in other ventures. There are some individuals who are relatively successful with their family herds, however, and with the potential leadership and management skills, possibilities exist for the future.

There are other possibilities in agriculture. As was mentioned before, a large Idaho-based potato concern is now negotiating for a 10,000 acre lease of land from the reservation. If terms can be agreed upon and water can be found in actuality as it already has been in theory, the reservation could receive a considerable income from the potato crop in the future.

There are several other plans under consideration. Two of the most promising are the developing of sport fishing, if the reservoirs are built on the reservation, and of several light industries such as cattle-guard manufacturing. Whether or not all these ideas materialize, the fact remains that the Kaibab-Paiute leadership has formulated a master plan, devised a strategy, and followed through. They have met with some failures and many delays in the process, but have, nevertheless, continued to push forward.
Vernon Jake, young chairman who generated the first excitement back in the middle sixties was killed in a plane crash in early 1969, but the office and the plans were transferred to the present chairman apparently with little loss of time or efficiency. The Council now employs full-time chairman and controls (even though other agencies fund) a fulltime economic development coordinator, a police officer, a health worker, a social worker, and a secretary. The staff work is becoming quite sophisticated as the functions are differentiated.

The present Kaibab-Paiute political and economic organizations are a far cry from the traditional ones or those that developed after Anglo settlement, but they remain tied to the past and grounded in tradition.

For example, the modern-day Paiute culture's attitude toward equality is strikingly similar to the attitudes held by the small kin-and-clique clusters of the past. Political leadership is once again selected by popular sentiment since the council is chosen by all the people. With the small population, the election process is simple. In a general meeting of the people, nominations are held, but the Paiutes describe it in terms that indicate that prospective council members are talked over until most of the people present have a "feeling" for who is going to be elected before any formal nominations are called for. This
is much like the traditional councils that selected a new "big chief," in which the candidates were discussed until there was no serious objection.

Individuals do not choose to run openly; it would be very bad taste to campaign for a position on the council. The Kaibab-Paiutes "run" for office by demonstrating the skills and attitudes that the council needs. Once these have been demonstrated, the people will ask the person to run by nominating him in a public meeting.

The election of the chairman by the councilmen is handled in much the same fashion. The man the council feels has the most ability is selected. In this manner leaders are selected for their achievement or perceived potential for achievement and not on ascriptive norms.

The chairman votes in the council only to break a tie vote, but because he is usually the one who has developed the business under discussion he, nevertheless, has a great deal of power.

In the normal course of events the individual Kaibab-Paiute does not take an active part in the political process, but he does have legitimate access to any of his leaders. The small population keeps leadership, as far as the Kaibab follower is concerned, on a face-to-face basis.

The leader commits his followers to a course of action when he begins such things as a self-help housing
project, just about as the non-Indian leader does, although the rules and thinking process he goes through are different.

The modern Kaibab-Paiute capacity for government is many times greater than it has been in the past. The reservation is in fact governed much like a small municipality, in that property and resources are managed, revenue is raised for public works, law and order is administered, attorneys and other experts are contacted, and generally the welfare of the Kaibab-Paiutes is promoted. The system is based on rational goals, and generally things have been done better and faster, over the last few years.

As the staff increases, the roles of the leadership of the reservation are continually becoming more functionally specific. The population is very small; therefore, a very few leaders do almost all of the work. It is probably fortunate that the size of the population is so small because as has been shown, face-to-face relationships are still valued highly and impersonal ones misunderstood by almost all of the Kaibab-Paiutes.

The collective aspects of the Kaibab-Paiute culture are very important to its members. As in the past, the economic strength of an individual lies in his membership in the group. Traditionally, the individual needed the help of the group, in the form of the Chairman and the Tribal Council, attracts many of the job opportunities and
coordinates the poverty and minority programs made available by the Federal and State governments. In this sense the Kaibab-Paiute political organization is performing many of the same functions it did in the past in an entirely new setting and using new methods of leadership. These new roles and functions are based on cultural values very similar to those that were held traditionally by the Southern Paiutes.

Just as important, the traditional "privatism" of the Kaibab-Paiute culture is respected and protected. Although the council conducts its business without consulting the general population, traditional individual rights are always protected. The present tribal chairman explained it this way: "We lead them without telling too much (explaining) as long as we aren't leading them into something they can't get out of."

During many interviews with the members of the tribal council and much observing, it is clear that the primary consideration in any project for the leaders is to be sure that there will be "a way out" for any individual who does not desire to participate. As long as that right is protected, the leaders feel free to proceed without very much consultation with their followers.

In this fashion the Kaibab leaders proceed without making many demands of their followers and in fact
protecting their individual rights vigorously through a type of behavior that can be described as political judo. The Tribal Council plans and proceeds without much formal communication with the people. When the plans are well laid and there is a good chance of success, it is usually relatively easy to obtain general consent, almost after the fact. In this way demands are seldom made and sanctions do not have to be used, the rights of the individual desenter is protected, and projects are completed in spite of the significant limitations under which the leadership must work.

However, within this framework the rights of the individual in the Southern Paiute culture cannot be over-emphasized. Aggressive leadership is still considered an anti-social act in that it is still not legitimate to commit others to some course of action without either very carefully getting their permission personally and specifically or at least protecting their right to use their "personal veto" and not to participate if they so desire. This is not just a traditional cultural value that is held by the more traditional or hostile dependent general body of Kaibab Paiutes; it is also highly valued by the leaders in general, even though they have modified many of their values to something closer to those commonly held by Anglo-Americans.
Civil Rights Issues

The ramifications of general prejudice in the area of the Southern Paiute were covered in Chapter IX. There are, however, significant differences in the two cases. The perceptions of the Kaibab Paiutes will be emphasized here. Their attitudes will be the primary indicator of the stages of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation in their communities. The attitudes of the Anglo respondents and my personal observations of their actual behavior will be used as a brace of secondary indicators, both here and in the case of the Cedar City Paiutes.

Kaibab Paiute Attitudes toward Prejudice

Quite a number of the questions in the questionnaire attempted to get at attitudes that would indicate feelings of discrimination and prejudice. When asked outright whether they thought most whites were prejudiced, the people of Kaibab said "no." Thirty-seven out of forty-eight did not believe most non-Indians were prejudiced. Eight believed that most were, and two did not know, and one failed to answer.

A table of this and related attitudes shows the following:
TABLE 2

Attitudes toward Prejudice: Kaibab-Paiute

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most whites are prejudiced.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't change white attitudes.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No use in Indians voting candidates don't care about Indians.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When arrested Indians get fair treatment here.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians do have a chance to make something of themselves here; it is up to the individual.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table roughly a sixth of the Kaibab-Paiutes believe that there is prejudice, less than a forth doubt white attitudes can be changed and about one third believe conditions are getting worse, most do not know who to trust in the world and almost half feel so grim about the future that they doubt the wisdom of bringing children into the world. On the other hand maybe their problems are not too great, in their own eyes, because almost to a man they believe that the individual Paiute can make something of his life.
Analyzing the Kaibab-Paiute attitudes toward discrimination another way, an index was developed in which, by assigning arbitrary weights to various answers, each respondent was given a score for feelings of discrimination. The answers indicating a feeling of discrimination were given a -1 weight while the feelings of non-discrimination were given a +1 weight; "don't knows" and "No answers" received no score. The highest possible score was +6. The lowest total possible was -6. The Kaibab-Paiute respondents had an average total score of +3 on this index. (See Appendix B). Eleven respondents scored the high of +6, while the lowest score of any Kaibab respondent was -3.

Anglo Attitudes

From the Kaibab-Paiute's own attitudes, it can be seen that while feelings of prejudice are present, they are relatively weak. In general the twenty-seven Anglo residents of Moccasin who were interviewed believed that there was very little prejudice in that village against the local Kaibab-Paiutes. Their answers to my questions about differences between the two cultures seem to support this. Questions were asked about what things or aspects were better about the Paiute culture than their own and
what things were better about Anglo (Moccasin) culture. The answers were scattered "generally" although eleven mentioned that drinking of alcohol was a major cultural problem and seven believed the Paiutes to be too lazy as a people.

When asked what the white people could do for the Indian, fourteen of the twenty-seven replied that the most important thing for them to do was to give more friendship and respect to the Paiutes. Ten said that friendship was the best way to accomplish anything with the Kaibab-Paiutes.

The trait the Moccasin residents most admired was the lack of stress in the culture of the Southern Paiute; they also felt the Paiutes as a group were more honest in their personal relationships, less hypocritical than the Anglos. The fact that the Anglos believed the Kaibab-Paiutes are less subject to stress in an interesting one, because it is difficult personally for me to imagine much more psychological stress than the Paiutes have to live with—the inconsistency, suspicion, and almost constant failure.

Very few of the residents of Moccasin know much about Native American cultures in general or the Kaibab-Paiute culture in particular. For example, fifteen of the respondents could not name any famous Native Americans whom they considered to be the greatest Indian leaders in U. S.
history. However, they do know a good deal about their Kaibab neighbors. Twenty-two of twenty-seven volunteered all the names of the Paiute leaders.

From my personal observations, I believe that the residents of the tiny Moccasin village display very little discrimination in their behavior, and, further, that what discrimination they do show is usually understood by the Kaibab-Paiutes because both groups know each other so well. The most prominent example of this, both as an example of discrimination and prejudice and as example of understanding and acceptance on the part of the Paiutes, is concerned with common Mormon paternalistic behavior.

As has been indicated before, the members of the Kaibab Ward go to great lengths to play down the "cursed" aspects of Mormon theology towards the "Lamanites," in fact the leadership of the ward strongly believes that the proper definition for the term "Lamanite" is non-believer, and therefore all of the members of the ward, whether Paiute or Anglo are simply "Mormons." I believe that this attitude comes through to both the Mormon and the non-Mormon Paiutes.

As indicated, the Mormon religion is paternalistic in regard to all its membership; therefore, many individuals in Moccasin are paternalistic in their relationship with the Kaibab-Paiutes. It seems to me that paternalistic
behavior or even a condescending attitude is relatively easy to take as long as the one treating you this way is a friend whom you know and understand fairly well.

The leadership of the Kaibab-Paiutes have been questioned at considerable length on this subject, and they agree completely with each other that there is no serious prejudice among the Moccasin residents. In fact, they seemed to be quite surprised that I pursued this subject quite hard.

When asked in the questionnaire how the integrated church services were working out, typical responses were: "These people are our friends" (Southern Paiute), "The Indians have been accepted here for years," or "There were pre-existing good relations between the Indians and whites, and now everyone is trying to make it work" (Anglo).

It has been contended that close associations reduce prejudice as people get to know others as friends. In the Moccasin-Kaibab case the people are not only friends to a far greater degree than most Native American-Anglo American communities, but they also are in a real sense, partners together in their isolated communities. However, they do not stop there; the Anglos, at least, believe that increased friendship and respect is the thing that is needed most for better relations with the village of Kaibab. A very significant factor in Moccasin/Kaibab relations
the population of both cultures has learned the art of living together, that is despite some differences in values and experiences and historical prospectives they do get along.

Kaibab Paiute Involvement

The Kaibab-Paiutes have their own prejudices, but in the questionnaire, the vast majority believed that people were very much alike. They did not believe that Native Americans or Anglo-Americans were smarter, or behaved better, or were more dependable, or happier than the other.

My personal observations indicate that the Kaibab Paiute as a group make racist remarks against blacks, whites, and other Native American cultures. In the case of blacks, these comments seem to come up every time the subject does. Since this is none too often, these observations might not be at all valid.

The Kaibab-Paiute is not generally an active participant in the larger U. S. political system. As to voting, out of the forty-eight respondents, eleven report that they voted in the last election, eleven more claim to have voted in some previous election, and one voted regularly while eleven were underage at the time. The
high turnout in an off-year election can be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that two Kaibab-Paiute women had become polling-place workers.

The Kaibab-Paiutes do not discuss current issues of the nation or world as much as their Anglo neighbors, although they are not great talkers themselves. Only twenty-three of the respondents can remember talking about such things recently while sixteen of twenty-seven of the Moccasin residents talk about current affairs regularly. Roughly forty-eight percent of the Paiutes and slightly less than sixty percent of the Anglos talk about current affairs.

The Kaibab-Paiutes responded to a battery of questions attempting to understand their sense of civic competence in the following manner: Although forty-four would attempt to do something to correct an unsafe cross walk, only fifteen could make what was judged to be a specific and reasonable suggestion as to the solution. In the case of a relative who was in unjustified trouble with the law, twenty-one way they would try to help out, twenty-five say they would stay out of it. Only six were able to give reasonable and specific solutions. Twenty-seven of the forty-eight say they would protest in some way if they are mistreated in a store.
It is reasonable to expect that these responses are lowered somewhat because the Kaibab-Paiutes are isolated and do not go into town very often. Furthermore, the towns with which they are most familiar are small unsophisticated ones where they are very well known and where civic duties tend to be less differentiated. The Kaibab-Paiutes have had almost no experience with cross walks or police officers and do not relate to the hierarchy of officials. Many say that they would go to the chairman in this case; and it is true that he traditionally intercedes in such cases.

The Kaibab-Paiutes are relatively well informed in local politics; twenty-nine could identify the Fredonia mayor, their own tribal chairman and the length of time he had been in office, the governor and the county seat. Another nine missed only one answer, while seven missed two.

The Kaibab-Paiute people as a group are fairly interested and informed about other Native American cultures. Altogether, thirty-eight say that culture was the only important difference between the Paiutes and other tribes, although thirty believed that other reservations had great advantages because of their natural resources; fifteen of those felt the Navajos were much better off than they were.

Another thirty felt closer to Native American than to other strangers they saw while they were themselves in
a strange place. However, only twenty-one out of the forty who had heard about the "red power" demonstrations approved of them. Of the fourteen Moccasin residents who had heard of these demonstrations, four approved of them in some way.

The Psychological Spirit in Kaibab

Although the Paiutes of Kaibab and Cedar City belong to the same culture and generally react outwardly in similar ways and are in fact relatives who keep close contact with each other, there are important differences in the spirit of the two communities. Once I was accepted in both communities and traveled back and forth between them frequently the differences in all the life style, the twinkle in children's eyes, the activities of the older women in their get-togethers and the multitude of other impressions, many of them very subtle, combined to produce what may be commonly called the "personality" or "spirit" of the community. The Paiute villages of Kaibab and Cedar City exude a different feeling just as many small towns in rural America give one a feeling of decay and despondency, as if the world were passing them by, while others, which appear to be operating under the same physical constraints, give one the feeling of vitality and health. Such community spirit is difficult to get a handle on because it includes
every aspect and facet of the community's life and therefore its separate elements are hard to isolate and analyze with assurance.

Data gathered in the questionnaire was used to construct several indexes which would point toward individual personality traits and collectively give an indication as to the psychological spirit of the two case studies. These data indicate and substantiate the participant observer's "feelings" about the community spirit. The Kaibab Paiute's spirit, measured by these indexes point strongly toward my intuitive belief that the Kaibab Paiutes, as a group as well as individually, are much more healthy and hopeful about their lives, activities and future than are the Paiutes in Cedar City.

The general psychological characteristics index is made up of several sub-indexes of personality or an individual's psychological makeup. The indexes are: political participation, sense of civic competence, attitude toward change, view of the world, racial stereotype, political awareness, Paiute image, and the discrimination index. Most of these have been reported separately in this section, but the total index is also interesting as it relates to the total personality. The highest possible score, which was obtained by giving arbitrary weights to the different answers, was 43 and the lowest was -22. The
average score for the forty-eight Kaibab respondents was 15. The highest score was 32, the lowest was -1.

The self-image of the Kaibab-Paiute is strong, at least compared to that of the Paiutes in Cedar City. The Paiute image index included questions concerning respondent's attitudes on such matters as: aspects of the Paiute culture that are better than others, historic Paiute leaders and positive events, and other Native American cultures' views of the Paiute. The average score on this index for the Kaibab-Paiute was 4.3 on a scale of from -7 to 12. The high score was 10, and the low was -3. (The questions that make up each of the indexes are included in the appendix.)

The value of these rather rough and arbitrary scores will come in a comparison with those of the Cedar City Paiutes and a table doing just that can be found on page 452. Briefly, that table shows Kaibab to be far ahead of Cedar City in psychologically positive attitudes.

Leadership in any society comes from an outstanding individual who for many reasons does not feel as sharply the constraints of their culture. This is particularly true in changing or transitional societies where there are contradictions between their traditional culture and that which they are moving toward. Both observations and information from the questionnaire-generated data
indicate strongly that as a group the Kaibab-Paiutes are the happier, healthier group and this provides more fertile ground for both developing progressive leadership in the first place and then accepting it once it develops.

This then is a general survey of the actors, variables, political and economic organizations, and major issues of development that the leadership of the Kaibab Paiute Reservation must relate to and deal with. In other words this is the set of power relationships they must operate within at the present time. We now turn to a study of the individual leaders themselves.

The Kaibab-Paiute Leaders

The Kaibab-Paiutes have developed several leaders who have been either able to cope with or resolve their own personal conflicts and the contradictions they face between their traditional culture and values and the new ones of Anglo-America. Not all of their answers to these contradictions and internal cultural conflicts result in the same type of personality; some find their identity and integrity by returning to some of the traditional (Pre-Anglo) values and customs, while others may throw off almost all of the old ways. In any case these leaders seem to have developed into personalities that stand somewhat outside the Southern
Paiute culture as it is now lived by most of the population.

**Bill Tom.** The current tribal chairman is Bill Tom. He is about forty-four years of age, short, stocky and healthy-looking with a happy, open face and pleasant manner. He was born into the Indian Peaks band of Cedar City, where his father is a non-functioning "chief." While still a young man he moved to the Kaibab Reservation to live with a grandfather who from that time on had a great influence on him. Johnny Dick, the grandfather, evidently insisted that the young man attend school and do his lessons, and, in this respect, Bill was given more parental supervision than is the norm in the culture. He completed the eleventh grade at the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school at Riverside, California. Bill now lives in a good home in Fredonia where he and his family are very well integrated into the community life. His wife is active in community affairs predominantly through her almost constant activity in the Mormon Church. Bill himself is a Protestant but is not active.

The classical process of leadership development seems quite clear in the Tom kin-and-clique group. Bill Tom, like some other relatives, received some important advantages in his youth because his grandfather reduced some of the inconsistency, suspicion and doubt through more positive guidance and consistent supervision and discipline. Largely as a result, Bill Tom's sense of identity and sense of integrity
allow him to cope with the many contradictions he must face.

The process does not stop here. Bill Tom and his wife have a family of three boys. The oldest, attained his master's degree this year from Northern Arizona State University. He is also a member of the Tribal Council, and is married to the daughter of a former mayor of Fredonia. The second son was a four-time all state athlete and is now attending a junior college on an athletic scholarship. The youngest is also active in athletics at Fredonia High and other aspects of school life and is getting average grades. The point here is not that Bill Rom raises super-athletes, although he approaches this. The point here is that the Southern Paiute who does not have the special identity problem most of his cultural peers have, their suspicions on doubts, can do very well in the Fredonia environment.

Bill's father has long since followed his son to the Kaibab Reservation even though he is still considered by many to be the leader of the Indian Peaks band. For years the Tom family has had one of the two most successful cattle raising operations on the reservation. To remain close to their cattle they have lived away from most of the people on the reservation in six mile Canyon, on the eastern edge of the reservation.

The Tom clan, then, lived apart from the main group of Paiutes in Kaibab. From a supervision-minded grandfather
they received a better-than-average education, with an increased emphasis on homework. In addition they lived apart and prospered more economically by adapting the Anglo methods of cattle raising to a greater extent than most of their neighbors.

It seems apparent that for at least two generations of the Toms, the sons have surpassed their fathers as the inconsistencies and contradictions are progressively reduced. The Paiute culture that Bill Tom is working to maintain and strengthen is very far removed from that of a more traditional Kaibab Paiute, but his sense of "peoplehood" seems to be at least as strong and usually more positive. His sons have moved beyond him by the same process.

Here again is the almost classic pattern of leadership development in transitional cultures. These leaders become somewhat different from the norm in their culture and are more able to make adjustments that solve the contradictions between the old and the new.

The pattern represented in Bill Tom will be repeated in several different biographical sketches in the following pages and again in the case study of the Cedar City Paiute community leaders, with significantly different experiences and results.
Bill has been the tribal chairman since the plane crash in January of 1969 killed the first modern Chairman and a number of other prominent Arizona Strip leaders. At that time he was the assistant chairman, having turned down the chairmanship twice because he felt the other man was better qualified. Since he took over, he has tried to follow through on the programs initiated while he was assistant chairman. He was reelected last fall.

Bill sees his job as chairman to be three-fold and to operate on three different levels. First, on the reservation level, he thinks of it largely as the process of generating proposals for the higher levels of government. Second, he feels he must operate on the county and state level, which he sees as keeping good relationships with the local Anglo population and being interested in regional politics. Third, he must operate effectively on what he calls the national level, which includes the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the various federal agencies. This is the level where he believes "Things are really going on."

Bill Tom evidently does a good job on the last two levels. Where he gets in trouble with the Kaibab-Paiutes is in his communications with his followers. He does not see that communication is a problem nor does he feel he needs to consult with them to any great extent. As he sees it, the reservation level is not a grass roots operation
as much as it is a place where he can work on proposals and catch up on paper work.

There seems to be a growing attitude that Bill Tom is getting "uppity" because he does not spend much time working with his hands among his followers. On the other hand some of the staff personnel and many of the Anglos joke with him because he likes to work on the job and fancies himself a very good heavy equipment operator.

Although Bill speaks fluent Paiute and expresses considerable interest in preserving the old traditions, he seems to have solved the cultural contradictions for himself by adopting many Anglo customs. He lives in a largely Anglo community, (Fredonia) and his family appears to be adopting even more Anglo customs. His methods are more effective in Anglo society than they appear to be among the Kaibab-Paiutes.

Bill's greatest fear for his people is the possibility of a revival of a termination effort. In fact this seems to be the greatest fear of the Kaibab staff in general. For these leaders and particularly Bill Tom this possibility is very real. Most of their political and economic power still comes from their special relationship with the U. S. Government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Without this relationship their effectiveness would be weakened drastically, and they know it. And they have only to look
to the Utah Paiutes if they ever have any doubts on the subject.

In addition there is the persistently voiced attitude of the Anglos in the area that "the thing that is wrong with Indians is the dole system and all the other give-away programs." These fears haunt the Kaibab Paiutes every time they begin a new program or hire an additional staff worker. They have seen many programs cut back and therefore, terminated as far as they are concerned. Bill Tom constantly qualifies his plans with statements that indicate he is worried about the continuing special relationship with the U. S. Government that he feels is so necessary for the Kaibab Paiutes specifically and Native Americans in general.

Bill could have taken several lucrative positions in other locations, but he has chosen to remain with his people and try to complete more of the projects of the master plan. Despite any weaknesses, he has been a relatively effective and well-liked chairman.

A look at Bill's general psychological characteristics lends support to the impression that he is a secure and open person. An impression gathered from days and days of association with Bill in almost innumerable meetings, private interviews, long drives to Keams Canyon and Flagstaff, and one night camping out in a boarding school guest
room, as well as several bull sessions.

Bill scored 15 out of a possible 26 on the political attitudes index. He scored 4 of the possible 12 on the Paiute image index, which was slightly below average. He scored 6 of a possible 6 in the discrimination index which indicates he feels no discrimination from whites at all. These give him a total of 25 on the overall psychological characteristics index.

It is interesting to note that Bill seems to feel more discrimination from his fellow Native Americans than he does from Anglo Americans. There are several obvious reasons for this. First, in his work he deals with some of the largest, and richest, and most progressive Native American cultures and political organizations in the United States--the Navajos. To them he must appear to be a country "hick" although they always seem to treat him with respect. He at least seems to feel somewhat inferior.

Perhaps an important possibility for his poor showing in the Paiute image index might be the result or more likely the cause of his weakness in communicating with his followers. He lives in an Anglo community and has done very well there. It may be that he is more comfortable with Anglos than he is with the people on the reservation. This analysis could be pushed too far; after all, Bill's score in this area is low only when compared to his other very
high scores. This is the only area where he is average.

**Vernon Jake.** The man who is credited with getting things rolling on the Kaibab-Paiute Reservation was Vernon Jake. He was killed in the plane crash when he was thirty-four years old. Vernon was part of the Tom family, since his mother is Bill Tom's older sister, and he was exposed to many of the same experiences as Bill.

Vernon was influenced strongly by two men, according to his mother's accounts. First, Johnny Dick influenced his mother to, "keep on your kids and make them study." He also seems to have spent a considerable amount of time with the boy himself. Because of the admonitions of Johnny Dick, Vernon's father assigned chores to his boys and saw that they did them daily. This was an extension of the traditional role of the father to what most Paiutes consider white man's tasks. Vernon had relative consistency in his homelife from both parents as well as other people.

The second man was Merle Weyant, a Protestant Minister. Mr. Weyant apparently spent considerable time giving Vernon religious and moral guidance. He was a non-denominational preacher and had Vernon "make his own religion."

Vernon attended high school at the Phoenix boarding school. He was active in music and was taken on tours
around the Phoenix area. Upon graduation he worked for a year as a hospital technician in the area and then enlisted in the Air Force for four years. According to accounts he was able to see most of the world while in the service, a thing which seemed to be very important to him.

Upon his release he worked with the family cattle and also worked at the saw mill in Fredonia. He moved into that town and settled down.

In 1966 he became tribal chairman and began to formulate his master plan. In 1968 he became the first paid, fulltime tribal chairman. His example has set the pattern for leadership ever since.

It is very difficult to get anyone, either Paiute or Anglo, in the area to say anything the least bit derogatory about Vernon Jake. He has become "the local man on horseback" if not the Native American Saint. Three of the Anglo residents of Moccasin name him as one of America's greatest Native Americans.

Vernon was a true entrepreneur: he was able to use the political organization that the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 had created to innovate for his people. He was able to turn this somewhat arbitrary form of government, as far as the Kaibab-Paiutes were concerned, into a tribal council that incorporated their strongly held values of privatism (and suspicion) into a workable
organization that has led to real progress, both economically and socially. He was able to accomplish this largely because he had developed into a personally secure and stable individual who, in addition, was outside the norm of his culture and in the direction of the more modern rather than the more traditional leader. Although their ages are quite close, he had several advantages Bill Tom has not had, and in many ways he can be considered one generation removed from him. First, he received about the same type of parental guidance as Bill Tom's boys are receiving from both parents. Second, he had a better school experience and was successful in a wide variety of endeavors before he returned to the Kaibab Reservation. Third, his parents had been affected in the same way as Bill Tom, and he benefited in much the same way Bill's sons seem to be benefiting.

In Vernon's case it is not possible to form a personal opinion on his leadership style, operating procedure, or strengths and weaknesses, but since he was from a familiar family and participated in a life style very similar to the rest of the Tom kin-and-clique group, it is reasonable to surmise he also held their attitudes. It does appear that he was very adapt at communicating with the Kaibab-Paiute people, the local Anglos, and governmental officials.
Merle Jake. The "bright young man" of the Kaibab-Paiute leadership is Vernon's younger brother, Merle Jake (named after the preacher). Merle is twenty-one years old and the IDDA staff man. He is also a member of the tribal council and the man in charge of economic development.

He was influenced strongly by the same men as his older brother: the grandfather, the preacher, and his father and mother, who implemented the advice of the other three by close supervision. In addition, the Jake boys had positive parental models to follow. Both parents have been tribal chairmen, but as Lucille Jake is quick to admit, they were of the old school. The father, Morris, died last October (1970).

Merle graduated from Phoenix boarding school and after graduation attended a college and vocational school and worked for a while. He then returned home to become the IDDA representative on the Kaibab Reservation. There is already a degree of competition between Bill Tom and Merle Jake, and although they work will together, there is little doubt in anyone's mind where the greatest threat to Bill Tom's chairmanship will come from in the future. In turn, Merle's greatest threat seems to be Bill's oldest son.

Merle is usually the first to arrive at work in the morning and the last to leave at night. In addition, he carries the bulk of the load in the family cattle
endeavor. He is married to a Hopi woman, and this also puts him somewhat outside his own culture. Like Bill Tom and his brother Vernon before him, he and his wife live in Fredonia.

Merle Jake scored a total of 23 out of 44 on the overall psychological characteristics scale. He scored 9 of 26 on the political attitudes category and 8 of 12 on the Paiute image index. Like Bill Tom, he scored 6 of 6 on the discrimination index.

Merle is above average in all categories. His lowest score is in such qualities as political participation and sense of civic competence, and considering his age (twenty-one) this is not surprising. In fact, his score might indicate a built-in bias in the index against the young.

Merle is a very open and frank person with only a healthy suspicion of Anglo motives toward the Paiutes. He quite frankly has told me that he feels there is no real prejudice or discrimination in Moccasin or Fredonia, above and beyond the discrimination any individual feels from his fellowmen from time to time. Further he thinks cries of discrimination in Kaibab are used as a crutch by those who feel it.

Theodore Drye. The man who holds most tightly to the old traditional ways is not now a formal leader
although he was the tribal chairman just before Vernon Jake. His name is Theodore Drye. He is sixty-four years old, and he has made a successful life for his family and himself by adhering to the ancient beliefs about the supernatural, traditional medicine and such customs while practicing a type of puritan ethic economically.

Theodore is now the largest cattle raiser on the reservation. In fact, for years the Dryes and the Jakes have been fighting a small range war over many alleged grievances. Now he is a kind of outcast in his own society.

As a young man Theodore traveled to Delta, Utah, to work. After several years he returned to the reservation, having acquired a working knowledge of cattle ranching and a Ute wife. Although he only had a fifth grade education, he was successful in his efforts to build a herd. To augment his income he drove the school bus. His second biggest source of income is his wife's oil royalties.

Theodore is an outsider for several reasons. First, he married a Ute woman. Second, he is quite frugal with his money, and although he used to hire Paiute men to help with his cattle, he now derides them for being lazy and does the work himself with the help of his family. The successful cattle operation plus the oil money keeps the
Drye family in new cars, trucks, and machinery while their neighbors are left in relative poverty.

Third, Theodore is quite outspoken in his criticism of his neighbors. He is not above accusing them of all manner of bad deeds against him, from slighting his wife to setting fire to his house when he is away. Some of his claims are undoubtedly true. Fourth, he believes in and practices the old ways, particularly in medicine. It is as if he bothers the consciences of some of the older people who no longer practice the traditions in which they still believe in their deeper selves.

Theodore Drye has found and maintained his identity integrity at the expense of his membership in the group in that he violates the private sectors of others' lives in nontraditional ways. At the same time he practices more of the traditional ways than any other Kaibab-Paiute observed in the study.

On the psychological characteristics index Theodore scored 20 points, with a 9 on the political attitudes categories. (This was a political participation score identical to Merle Jake's, but for different reasons). He scored 7 on the Paiute image sections and 4 on the discrimination section. The average score for the Kaibab-Paiutes was 15, and Theodore was consistently a point or two above average in all sub-indexes.
Theodore's attitude toward change and his political participation are his lowest scores. This meshes with his observed behavior as far as cultural values go. However, he has demonstrated a willingness to change his economic values considerably over the years.

Theodore is a very suspicious man, particularly towards his fellow Paiutes, and he has developed into a very private man because of it. At the same time he has carved out his own identity and he has done so by turning the opposite direction from the Tom kin-and-clique group on many important issues. In the process he has become financially independent and in the economic sense as "modern" as most of his Anglo neighbors.

Other Leaders. There are several other leaders who are important and interesting to this study. They will be covered briefly.

Gevene Savala is the health worker who moved back to the reservation when there was a high-paying position available. She is forty-two years old and married to a Mexican-American who is proud of his own Indian heritage and is well integrated into the Kaibab society.

Gevene scored the highest on the general psychological characteristics index with 32 points: 18 in the political attitudes, 8 in Paiute image and the highest
possible, 6, on discrimination. She is a happy, secure woman, and it shows in both her behavior and in her answers to the questionnaire.

Vivienne Jake is the new social worker. She is also the sister of both Vernon and Merle. She is thirty-one years old and has served a tour of duty in the U. S. Women's Marine Corps. She has been a civilian for only a few weeks at this writing, and so I don't know her well, but she appears to have deserved her rank of sergeant. She is not only forceful and competent; she is also friendly in a no-nonsense sort of way.

Vivienne's score was tabulated before I had ever met her and therefore serves as a rough check on the validity of the whole psychological characteristics index, since I did not put together the score and the personal impressions in the same sequence that was used on the other respondents.

She scored 29 points, which was second only to Gevene--14 for the political attitudes category, 10 for Paiute image and 5 for discrimination. The score of 10 for Paiute image is the high for the Kaibab population and fits my "image" of her. It is difficult for me to imagine Vivienne perceiving herself as anything lowly. I would imagine she took readily to the Marine's self-image.
Incidentally, the mother of Vivienne, Vernon and Merle scored high on the psychological characteristics index, which is not very startling. She scored 20: 11 in the first category, 3 in the second and 6, the high, in the discrimination index.

There is also Alfred Drye, who is a member of the Kaibab Ward Bishopric and as such considered, theoretically, to be one of the three most important men locally in the Mormon Church. He has had leadership thrust upon him by the church because (it seems to me) he holds a steady job and has battled his way from chronic alcoholism to sobriety despite the fact that he was once the undisputed leader of the drinking set.

Alfred is fifty-seven years old and looks like his nickname, "Bull." He has had less than six years of schooling, and the only steady job he has ever held is the one he now holds as a laborer at Pipe Springs National Monument. Recently he showed the pressure of his imposed leadership position by briefly "falling off the wagon," a very serious offense for a member of a Mormon bishopric. The people of Moccasin were, if anything, kinder to him than they would have been to an Anglo, but there is not an obvious condescending attitude in their actions toward him. It is as if they are operating under a positive double standard in his case.
Alfred scored a 10 on the psychological characteristics, which is 5 points below average and less than half the average of the Kaibab-Paiute leaders. He scored 5 in the political attitudes index, 5 in the Paiute image and 0 in the discrimination section (remember the low is -6).

He is above average only on the Paiute image section. This might be due largely to his recent success with himself and his being accepted in important white leadership circles. It would be interesting to observe his process of leadership development to see whether he assumes in fact the mantle of leadership that has been thrust upon him or whether he continues to feel the pressure to a greater degree than he is capable of handling.

In conclusion, most of these Kaibab-Paiute leaders have faced the psychological pressures that being a modern Paiute leader imposes upon them. It is evident that most are somewhat outside the mainstream of the Southern Paiute culture of today in terms of living apart from the main Kaibab Paiute group, having had extended educational advantages, holding non-majority religious beliefs, having had consistent parental guidance, and in some cases marrying outside the group. This undoubtedly makes at least some and probably many of the pressures of cultural contradictions lighter for them.
With only two exceptions they are from a single kin-and-clique group that many years ago became significantly different (perhaps in the way Theodore Drury is now different). The inconsistencies of their early lives were reduced to a level which was tolerable for them, and therefore their suspicions about the world were also reduced. With each generation this process seems to be accelerating.

Their personalities and lives are not always neat and orderly as a result of their individual answers to the ambiguities and contradictions they face, but they have found a measure of personal identity and integrity that many of the people who are closer to the center of Southern Paiute culture seem to lack. They seem to have been able to replace or modify cultural values that no longer serve a meaningful function for them.

These leaders' strategy for development of the reservation is clear and specific, and their organizations are pursuing that strategy with vigor and efficiency. Their methods of leadership are changing the traditions of the Southern Paiute leadership but, for the most part, they are still based on traditional values. The race relations are cordial largely because of the unique circumstances of the reservation environment which in spite of the cultural contradictions, has facilitated the personal friendliness of both groups.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter XI


4. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
Chapter XII

THE CEDAR CITY PAIUTE COLONY: HISTORY AND SETTING

Cedar City, Utah, is located near the southern end of the "Mormon Corridor," so called because the early settlers established their villages along the western slope of the Wasatch Mountains which run north and south through Utah. At the mouth of every canyon leading from these mountains which had a stream of any size, there was once a Mormon community, and most are still in existence.

Cedar City is situated about fifty miles east of the Nevada border and about fifty miles north of the Arizona border, on the edge of the Great Basin proper and on the shoreline on the gaint prehistoric Lake Bonneville. To the east lies the same 11,000 foot complex of plateaus which towers to the north of the Arizona Strip and the Kaibab Paiutes. The Kaibab Reservation is an eighty-six mile, one-and-one-half hour drive from the town.

To the west spread the vast reaches of the Nevada Great Basin which have been described earlier. To the south, some twenty miles, lies the Black Ridge. Here the terrain drops quickly from the 5,800 feet above sea level at Cedar City level to the low, hot deserts of Utah's "Dixie" where cotton and sugar cane can be grown, and where the
Mohave Desert begins.

Cedar City is relatively isolated, by normal U. S. standards, but communications are much better than in the Arizona Strip. Interstate 15 travels through Cedar City, and Las Vegas, Nevada, is only a fast three-hour drive away (187 miles). Salt Lake City is only four-and-one-half hours (260 miles) away by the same highway traveling north. There is an adequate airport with daily scheduled service to Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, and Phoenix and their connecting flights to the world. Both major American bus lines stop several times a day in Cedar City, and there is a Union Pacific terminal, although very few people used it for passenger service.

There are also highways traveling west into Nevada, east across the high plateau (Cedar Mountain) to eastern Utah, and southeast to Arizona. All of these transportation systems, plus the several nearby National Parks and Monuments and the generally spectacular scenery make Cedar City a busy tourist town. The many motels have an unusually high occupancy rate.

Communications are good. The Salt Lake papers are almost current, with only the late-breaking news not making the morning papers that arrive in Cedar City. Television reception from the Salt Lake stations is good, and there are two local radio stations and a weekly newspaper.
Cedar City is the largest town in southern Utah, with a population of over 8,000 people. It has long prided itself as being not only the business hub of a vast area including southern Utah, northern Arizona and southeastern Nevada, but also as being the cultural center. Southern Utah State College, a four-year liberal arts institution, is situated in Cedar City. It produces a highly regarded, month-long Shakespearan Festival each summer, as well as all the drama, art, music, and lyceum series an artistically oriented college attracts.

Recreational opportunities are spectacular. There are golf courses, ski resorts, bowling lanes, as well as the spectator sports provided by the local high school and college teams which always seem to be in contention for something. Zion National Park, and Cedar Breaks National Monument are only an hour's drive away, and Grand Canyon is just four hours to the south.

Even though the altitude is high, the weather is usually sunny and dry. As the Chamber of Commerce is quick to tell you, Cedar City is a great place to live.

Cedar City is a part of main-stream America, and its residents seem to be almost inordinately proud that they are part of that world rather than part of the isolated society of their rural neighbors such as the residents of Moccasin, Arizona, for example. The
orientation of Cedar City is outward toward places like Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, and Los Angeles rather than inward toward the smaller communities of their neighbors located nearby. The Cedar City Paiute colony is part of that largely ignored sector.

History--The Cedar City Paiutes

The Paiutes that now live in Cedar City originally came from two fairly distinct groups of Southern Paiutes. The first, which is now called the "Cedar Band," is composed of the local groups that originally lived near Cedar City and other nearby communities when the Mormon settlers first arrived in the 1850's. They became "squatters" quite rapidly and were never located on a reservation (a fact that is very important in their current history).

The second segment of the present Paiute community in Cedar City originally lived in several areas farther to the north between Paragonah, Utah, and Cove Fort and were located on the Indian Peaks Reservation on the Utah-Nevada border. In the 1950's they were terminated and relocated themselves in Cedar City.

The ethnography of these two groups is similar to the general ethnography of the Southern Paiute. Both bands lived near the high plateaus and therefore migrated and
made use of about the same resources as did the Kaibab bands. But the two bands were not as exposed to other Native American cultures as were the Kaibab Paiutes because they lived in the interior of Southern Paiute homeland. Most of their contact was with the Utes of the Northern and central Utah valleys. As was indicated earlier, there is some question whether these "Utes" were really Utes or whether they were simply Southern Paiute groups who acquired horses sometime between the visits of Father Escalante and Jedediah Smith.

While they were less exposed to the Hopi and Navajo cultures, they were very much exposed to both the slave-raiding Utes and their Spanish Trail allies and almost all of the early explorers. For years they had been victimized by the Spanish traders, and they were forced to pay tribute to the mounted Utes. Since they were usually very poor, this tribute was most often paid in the form of children to be sold into slavery.

In addition to this half-century of harsh experience, the Paiutes around Cedar Valley were the first to be displaced by the colonization of the Mormon settlers. Iron County was settled in 1850, and several communities quickly sprang up with little resistance from the local Paiutes and only occasional raids from the Navajos and the Utes.
The Kaibab seemed to be oriented toward the Indian cultures of Arizona, but the Cedar and Indian Peak groups were oriented toward the small and isolated cultures of Nevada and northern Utah. Of course there was also a good deal of contact with the other Southern Paiute groups such as the Shivwits and the Kaibab.

Settlements of southern Utah were an important part of Brigham Young's drive to make the Mormon colony entirely self-sufficient. Cedar City was the center of the first iron works west of the Mississippi River; the open pit iron mines in fact, are still in operation. Utah's Dixie was the scene of a cotton industry which flourished as long as the Civil War kept cotton from flowing out of that region. Even silk worms and mulberry trees were imported to the low, hot "Dixie" areas as part of this separatist effort.

In 1857, because polygamy was connected politically to the slavery issue (both had to do with the question of popular sovereignty), the Mormons and the U. S. Army were involved in what for them was the bloodless "Utah War." In northern Utah the Mormons held the army at bay by raiding and sniping at their livestock until the conflict was settled more peacefully.
Emotions were extremely high, however, among all Mormon settlements. Many of the Mormon pioneers had been the brunt of mob actions in Missouri and Illinois before moving to the Great Basin. As they saw it, the process was beginning all over again. Largely because of the resurgence of these old fears and hatreds, the most heinous event in Mormon history took place near Cedar City in September of 1857, the Mountain Meadow Massacre. Since the Southern Paiutes were involved in the controversy which followed and remain to this day very bitter about the event. The tragedy and their part in it is summarized briefly here.

During the time of the most heated war preparations, an immigrant train bound for southern California was traveling along the Mormon Corridor segment of the California trail. These people were from Arkansas, but the Mormons called them "Missourians." They were also called the "Fancher Party," after their leader, Charles Fancher. Apparently there had been almost continual conflict on their trip through Utah, conflict over refusal to sell foodstuffs on the part of the Mormons and anti-mormon statements and threats on the part of the immigrant train. At any rate, tensions reached intolerable heights as the party was passing through an area thirty miles southwest of Cedar
City.*

It has been difficult to ascertain the complete truth of this tragedy, but whatever the details might be, on September tenth, according to the most reliable white sources, Indians (Southern Paiutes) and Mormons attacked the wagon party at Mountain Meadows, thirty miles southwest of Cedar City. After defending themselves for three days, the travellers were induced to surrender. The people of the company came out from their barricades and were soon killed. Out of a party of 140 all but a very few small children, who were too young to remember the events, were killed, and $30,000 worth of loot was taken.

*Probably the most objective account, and the one summarized here is:


There was, of course, a great outcry over this tragedy, but it was not until 1877 that one man, John D. Lee, was brought to trial, convicted, and shot at the scene of the crime. He was undoubtably a participant and even one of the principal leaders. but it is doubtful that he was the only man responsible.

Neff claims that over two-hundred southern Paiutes under Lee and another one hundred under Carl Shirts from St. George were present, and despite the best efforts of the white men present the Indians attacked the train. Later more Mormons arrived and took part in the final events.  

Juanita Brooks believes that the Paiutes had been harrassing the Fancher party for several days before the massacre. She has also found that the Paiutes mounted the initial attack in force on the tenth of September and kept the party pinned down for several days. Her evidence also indicates that the Paiutes probably killed the women and children while the Mormons killed the grown men.

She maintains that the leadership of the Paiutes was Anglo and traces the responsibility back to both Jacob Hamblin and Brigham Young, although neither seemed to have had any knowledge of the actual Massacre and would almost certainly have stopped it if they could. Just prior to the events at Mountain Meadows, Jacob Hamblin took ten of the
headmen from the southern bands to attend a conference with Brigham Young in Salt Lake City. At that time president Young probably told them what he said on another occasion: "They must learn that they have either got to help us or the United States will kill us both."

The Indians must have started back home immediately, for in seven days they were harrassing the emigrants at Mountain Meadows, and in ten days they participated in the massacre of the company. Jacob Hamblin, on the other hand, went out to the town of Tooele... The records of the Endowment House show that he was married on September 11, 1857.

The Paiute headmen returned to their homes filled with much the same war fever that infected the Mormons.

The Indians, who were newly impressed with the fact that the Mormons and Merricats [sic] were at war, and that they must help the Mormons. The stories of the poisoned seeps and the poisoned meat were told and retold, and grew with the telling. The herds of cattle and the fine outfits of this company would be a fair reward for doing away with people who so definately deserved to be killed. The Indians, being "the battleaxe of the Lord," could logically do the work, for they had no qualms about shedding blood, even innocent blood. Since the Big Mormon Chief wanted them to help with this war, here was a good place to begin. So the natives had followed and annoyed the company, happy in the sense of Mormon approval; they sent out runners to other bands for reinforcements in this exciting and thrilling game.

The Southern Paiutes themselves claim that they were never there in such great numbers and, moreover, that
they were sent away so far they could not see during the final stages of the tragedy.

In any event it is unlikely that the Southern Paiutes would have been the main segment of the attacking force, their culture having the values it did. First, they never put much value in serious fighting of any type, let alone three-day battles against a well-armed foe. Second, they seldom gathered in large groups even approaching three hundred men. The fact that there were many Paiutes present almost surely indicates that they followed Anglo leadership.

In fact no competent author seriously implicates the Southern Paiute with the leadership of the final outcome, but the Southern Paiutes believe that they are blamed for it, and that is what is important here. The typical Paiute resident of Cedar City believes that his ancestors were the scapegoats of the Mountain Meadow Massacre, not John D. Lee.

Despite such setbacks, travelers continued to use the California Trail, and the Mormons continued to expand into new areas. With the discovery of silver in the sandstone of southern Utah in 1874, the western slope of the Wasatch Mountains began to prosper more than the eastern valleys. It was at this time that Cedar City and the other nearby towns began to leave the traditional communal
Mormon mold and take on a more secular image. The Union Pacific railroad was built nearby, miners moved and the Mormon communal effort of the United Order failed. Utah began to think of itself as part of the United States of America.

During these years the Paiutes that became the Cedar Band lived on the outskirts of the various settlements, where they begged for the necessities of life and occasionally worked at odd jobs or did seasonal labor. In time most settled in the "Indian Village" on the east side of Coal Creek, in approximately the same location within the city limits where they are presently located.

On March 1, 1899, $25,000 was appropriated by the U. S. Congress for "the purchase of necessary land, erection of buildings, for education of Cedar City Indians, etc." (30 stat. 945, c. 324.) It is not clear what has happened to this appropriation but it is obvious that no land was purchased with it for the Paiutes that lived in Cedar City. Several people have tried to determine what happened, including William R. Palmer, who was much closer to the scene. They were not successful and today the personnel of the Phoenix Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has no idea concerning the whereabouts or disposition of the funds.
On March 2, 1925, $1,275 was appropriated for the purchase of nine lots in Cedar City for use and occupancy of the Cedar band, with the title being held in trust for them by the U. S. Government (43 Stat. 1096, c. 394). Under this act, the Cedar band would, for the first time, have fallen under the wing of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1926 Dr. E. A. Farrow, the Superintendent of the Kaibab Agency, traveled to Cedar City to determine what should be done.

In a letter of January 27, 1926, he wrote "...that the Mormon Church has purchased two tracts of land at Cedar City and has established the Indians on this land. It would appear that no further action on our part is warranted...and I believe that no action looking toward an appropriation for the proposed purchase need be taken."  

The money was carried to surplus in the fiscal year of 1928.

The history of the Mormon Church's role in the land question is almost as confusing. In 1926 the private owners of the land the Cedar Paiutes lived on wanted them moved off. At that time the Stake President of the Mormon Church for the area was William R. Palmer, the historian. Under his direction twenty-five acres (later increased to forty-one acres) and eight very old homes were purchased at the cost of $30,000 for the use of the local Paiutes. The homes were sold to individual families, but the land was
"held in trust" by the church for the Cedar City Paiutes.

The need for some helping hand to be extended to these poor people was then presented to the First Presidency of the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City. They responded favorably and spent about thirty thousand dollars in buying out eight homes and twenty acres of farm land with good irrigation rights and added this to the little tract of land the Indians were on. The Indians were moved into these homes on Christmas day, 1926. Since Indians were not members of the Mormon Church, and further that the homes and lands bought for them were all inside the city limits of Cedar City, the Church specifically stipulated that it would assume no supervisory jurisdiction over the colony.9

There is an obvious problem with the dates. Dr. Farrow, of the B.I.A. in January, 1926, says that the Mormon Church had already purchased the land. Dr. Palmer indicates that they did not do so until late in 1926.

In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs stepped out of the picture because they felt that the Mormon Church was going to provide all the necessary services for the Cedar Band of Paiutes. From their side of the issue, the church clearly had no intention of assuming any responsibility for the governing of these Paiutes, beyond being their landlords, apparently because the Paiutes were not Mormons and because they lived within the city limits.

To this day there are many different theories concerning the problem of the land. Some Paiutes and non-Mormon Anglos claim that the church took the appropriations
from the federal government and bought the "Indian Village" land while keeping the title themselves. This is clearly untrue in the case of the 1925 appropriation and highly unlikely in the case of the earlier one. Another belief is that land was purchased in 1899 near the center of town and is still legally owned by the band. A prominent Indian attorney in the state told me that as far as Paiute claims are concerned, he believes there are probably several fairly large cases involved in the land issue and the Cedar Band. In any event it would take a court case to solve all these interesting issues.

The Paiutes of Cedar City have continued to live on the Church-owned land with little change other than several additional homes and shacks that have been built in the past forty-five years. Politically, the Mormon Church has taken over the prominent supervisory role in the life of the "Indian Village" as the leadership of the Church in Cedar City has changed.

The other major segment of the present Cedar City Paiute population, the Indian Peaks Band were gathered onto their small 10,000 acre Reservation, which was established in a fairly fertile but isolated area of extreme western Utah. During the history of that reservation very little was accomplished by the B.I.A, agency there beyond the construction of a headquarters building and
some homes for the Paiutes.

The population was always small, and the residents had to leave if they were to find any type of meaningful employment. The governmental process was performed almost entirely by the staff of the reservation, while the band remained passive, organized in the now non-functioning traditional kin-and-clique groups.

At the time the Indian Peaks Paiutes were terminated from special federal Indian support in 1957, there were twenty-six residents living on the Indian Peaks Reservation. They then moved to Cedar City and their reservation has become an antelope preserve.

At the present time there are ninety-two members of the Cedar Band on the official government roles and twenty-seven members of the Indian Peaks Band. A surprising number still lives in Cedar City. Most of the others on the rolls live in nearby Paiute communities.

The history of Anglo-Mormon involvement in and around Cedar City does not parallel that of Mocassin. The Mormon members of the community were not called specifically to be missionaries to the Lamanites, rather, they were called to build heavy industry and commerce. In fact the last Lamanite missionary of note in the area seems to have been John D. Lee. Of course there are always Mormon missionaries serving among the local Lamanites, and Cedar City
has had its share. Among these men were William R. Palmer and William H. Manning, whose records are important histories for this study. These two men and Scott Urie, who followed them and is still serving at the present time, worked long years for their church trying to help the Paiutes physically while they attempted to either convert them or keep them active as Mormons. These men developed close, friendly, and sympathetic relationships with the Cedar City Paiute groups very similar to those developed in Kaibab/Moccasin.

In the absence of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they also performed the function normally carried on by that agency. The best example of this was the purchase of the forty-one acres of land which has become a sort of Church-run reservation rather than one administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

It would seem that the theological beliefs and the paternalistic approach that is so common among the missionaries would be much more antagonistic and psychologically damaging in the case of the almost-forgotten Paiute minority in Cedar City than it would be in the almost equal and personal pluralism of the Kaibab and Moccasin communities.

While the population of Moccasin was completely involved with the Kaibab Paiutes, the Anglo involvement
with the Cedar and Indian Peaks Paiutes was restricted almost entirely to the Mormon Church workers who were often "called" to their positions rather than because they had a personal and sympathetic desire to become involved with them.

Rather than being an isolated island of Anglo-Mormons, Cedar City was and still is a more cosmopolitan community, aggressively involved in the hustle and bustle of the Anglo-American way of life. In this atmosphere, instead of being ever-present partners in the life of the community, the Cedar City Paiutes became an almost invisible and powerless minority to most citizens of Cedar City.

This general history does not mean that all the Anglo residents of Cedar City were unaware of the Southern Paiute community in their midst.

An outstanding example of those who were very aware was Dr. William R. Palmer, a noted historian of the Southwest in general and the Southern Paiute in particular. His attitude toward the Paiutes in Cedar City is very well summed up in the speech which is included in the preface of this study. He was not only a diligent worker and Southern Paiute missionary for his church, he was also an outspoken advocate of their civil rights. He was responsible for the purchase of the forty-one acres of land in Cedar City and at that time, under his leadership, "the
Church specifically stipulated that it would assume no supervisory jurisdiction over the colony."

In the 1940's Dr. Palmer was sent by the Cedar City Chamber of Commerce to Washington, D.C., to try to find out why the Cedar Band of Paiutes had never received any land of their own and had very limited services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He was able to have an extended visit with William H. Brophy and was advised to seek legal recourse for them. He appears to have labored several years, but nothing has been accomplished on the matter of land for the Cedar Band of Paiutes to date.

William R. Palmer was not only a church worker, advocate and historian; he was also a good friend of the Paiutes. Probably more than any other Anglo he understood their mythology, and his volume on the legends of the Southern Paiutes is the only collection in existence. I have asked some of the older residents of the "Indian Village" about him, and they claim that he spoke Paiute as well as they did, although he "didn't understand some meanings," and some of his Paiute stories are "a little mixed up."

Another dedicated man, and sincere friend was William H. Manning who followed William R. Palmer and seems to have united the Cedar City Paiute community as no other Anglo has been able to do. He expanded the church program to be much more than simply religious instruction for them.
He wrote in his journal that the church must help them in "four fields of growth": social, educational, cultural, and spiritual" and he then set about to implement his ideas, with some opposition initially from higher church authorities.

Although Mr. Manning was apparently very much at ease with the residents of the "Indian Village," his writings are full of paternalistic attitudes. He was very much the father figure, and the Paiutes were the children but nevertheless, as paternalistic programs go, his was very good.

The current president of the Southwestern Regional Indian Mission for the Mormon church is Scott Urie. He has served for the past twelve years, which is the longest anyone has ever held that position. Mr. Urie is a local automobile dealer, but in addition to his long hours with his business he spends untold hours a week acting as a broker or buffer between the Indian Village and Anglo Cedar City. Just as the Kaibab Paiutes often turn to Bill Tom in times of stress, such as funerals or serious financial emergencies, the Cedar City Paiutes most often turn to Scott Urie, and he can usually help.

Mr. Urie is justifiably proud of his efforts and at the same time he is justifiably chagrined at their results. Scott Urie questions the value of the VISTA workers who are presently working at the Indian Village, because he fears
they and others like them will try to get the Paiutes moving too far and too fast. He is afraid that they will "promise them the world and end up giving them nothing when they leave." Here again Scott Urie is somewhat justified, during his twelve years he has seen several groups get "all fired up" only to be deflated and defeated by the hostile-dependent reaction of the Paiutes and move on to other causes. He fears participation before organization.

Within this context, however, Mr. Urie believes that "the Paiutes deserve all the help they can get from any source, as long as the goals are good." He has also said, "The church shouldn't have to do it all alone and probably can't."

Scott Urie recognized rather early that the process of growth in new organizations and leadership would result in considerable conflict. Again he has said, "(The Indian Community Development Council) has a lot of people thinking--the young people like Patsy, Ida, Maynard. The old people, more old in ideas than age, are thinking too but don't know what to do." He knows this process will make a lot of people uncomfortable. "With all of these people wanting to do something, they may do it wrong, but that will still be progress because they will probably do it right the second time if they get the second chance."
On the other hand Scott believes that nothing ever comes from what he calls "ugly conflict," and he fears that the Paiutes and the non-Mormon Anglos as well as some Anglo Mormons are becoming ugly towards the church because, as the only institution that consistently tried to help the Cedar City Paiute community, it has made all the mistakes. He believes there is a very real danger that the Paiutes, who are hostile to begin with, will begin fighting more and more among themselves as the normal transitional conflicts develop and end up in tearing themselves apart instead of moving toward greater cooperation among the various factions.

Scott Urie is now attempting to act as a buffer for all the groups involved in Cedar City Paiute politics. He is an active member of the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council. In fact, he is a member of the Board of Trustees and also a member of the Housing Authority, two of the new and potentially powerful Paiute organizations in Cedar City.

Scott is still working within the Mormon Church hierarchy, but he has come into quite open conflict with some of the more conservative leadership on some issues.

Dr. Palmer, William Manning, and Scott Urie, as well as several others, have administered the programs of the church about as well as could be expected. For years they served as the only link between the contradictions of the
Anglo culture on the one hand and the contradictions of the Southern Paiute culture on the other. The programs they administered may have been paternalistic to a fault, but these men were very effective individuals nevertheless.

Cedar City Paiute Political Organization

The Southern Paiutes of southwestern Utah were subjected to Mormon rule about twenty years before the same fate befell the Kaibab Paiutes; therefore, their governmental and social ways changed that much earlier. One of the first things that happened in Cedar City as well as elsewhere was the almost immediate influence of the Anglos in the leader selection process. The headmen became the sons of the chiefs who were serving at the time of Mormon settlement, or as in the case of Captain George in Kaibab, the man who would or could talk to the whitemen the most effectively.

In addition, the Paiutes in Cedar City were never involved in the formal type of tribal councils that the Indian Reorganization Act provided for. Though other cultures, including the Kaibab, were almost forced to adapt their values and concepts of government and leadership to something more nearly like the U. S. system, the Cedar City
Paiutes remained non-functioning or simply reactive in their social organizations.

There were no strong leaders of the stature of Captain Frank, at least none that were recognized by the early settlers. There was one Captain Pete, who acted as a guide against the raiding Navajos, generally helped the settlers, and acted as a go-between for his people and the Anglos, but he never had any land base to work from or any Bureau of Indian Affairs to appeal to or work through.

His son, Jimmy Pete, served as the "chief" of his band as far as the Anglo community was concerned until his death last February (1971), but his "reactive" role had long since moved into the hands of his son, Grant Pete, as far as the Cedar Band was concerned.

The Cedar City Indians were thus in a state of almost complete powerlessness, "directionlessness" or "anomie" when the termination movement swept upon them and caught them unaware and unprepared to express themselves, much less defend themselves.

**Termination in the Southern Paiute Case**

Even accepting the reasoning behind the termination legislation, the selection of the Southern Paiute groups in Utah was unwarranted and went beyond the criteria established
by its writers.

The avowed objective of the termination movement was to move the Native American cultures forward to "full citizenship as soon as possible." William Zimmerman, Jr., the acting head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, strongly recommended that the different cultures be adequately prepared before being terminated. He went on to suggest criteria by which to judge that readiness. The first to be terminated should be those few tribes who were paying most for the administration of their reservations themselves. The second group was made up of a few tribes which the Bureau felt could reach that level in a few years.

The vast majority of the Native American cultures fell into the third category. Because of many reasons—such as: lack of education, non-use of the English language, impoverishment, etc., these cultures, for many years, were judged to be unprepared. Although the recommendations of Mr. Zimmerman were ignored, the same type of guidelines were established later.

Basically the following factors were to be studied before a tribe was terminated:

1) The degree of assimilation of a tribe, as indicating acceptance by the Indians of white habits and acceptance of the Indians by the white community.
2) Economic condition of a tribe, to indicate a reasonable possibility of gaining a livelihood through the use of available resources.

3) Willingness of the tribe to dispense with federal aid and guidance.

4) Willingness and ability of states and communities to provide public services.¹³

Under these criteria it would be hard to imagine a less likely choice for one of the termination efforts than the Utah bands of the Southern Paiutes. Not only were the bands poor, but they had also received almost no services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Their educational level was also very low, and they had no established power or organizations. Nevertheless, the authorities reported that the Indian Peaks band, although not competent to manage its own affairs, was ready for complete Bureau withdrawal as soon as the reservation is sold and the Indians completely established on individual home sites within good labor market areas... It is our belief that the members of these groups have in general attained sufficient skill and ability to manage their own affairs without the very limited special Federal assistance that they now receive.¹⁴

Almost none of the standard procedures had been followed. As to the Paiutes' rights to vote down any move concerning termination, the "chairman" of the Indian Peaks band says: "(He) did not know what termination was all about during the time they held hearings with the Indians." This opinion was repeated by most of the Indian headmen
involved. Many of the leaders at the hearings were semiliterate; it is therefore not likely that they understood what was being pressed upon them.

Another of the stipulations was that the state and local agencies were to be able and willing to assume full services for the terminated tribes. Clifford Jake testified regarding this aspect: "The courts are not friendly and my old father is over 65, but could not get welfare because he had no birth certificate."

A year after the Paiute termination was completed in 1956, the terminated people were in shambles: registering to vote, complying with state regulations for hunting and fishing or driving licenses, or obtaining farmers' home or other loans were all beyond the experience and understanding of the Paiutes. Without birth certificates, Social Security numbers, land deeds, and a basic command of the English language, they were quite helpless.

The Indian Peaks band sold their reservation to the state of Utah for $4.00 an acre. The money was deposited in Walker Bank located in Salt Lake City because the Paiutes "were not ready to handle that much money yet." It was different for the Paiutes to contact and communicate with the bank trustee. Chairman Clifford Jake testified that "the Walker Bank and Trust Company appointed George C. Morris
as our attorney."

He is paid out of our land sales. He never has time to talk to us either. What can we do if our trustee refuses to do anything for us, if he will not see us long enough for us to explain? Then Mr. Morris, the lawyer for the bank, writes us a letter and suggests that we do some prospecting for minerals on the reservation we sold, because the mineral rights have been reserved to us for ten years. Mr. Morris says that if we find any minerals that look like they have value to let him know, and he will have the samples tested. But we don't know one stone from another.18

For this type of service the bank received 5% of the sale price of the land plus $5,000.

The evils of rapid termination described by Mr. LaFarge and outlined in Chapter V can be easily seen. The Paiutes did not automatically become like average Anglo-American citizens through the process of assimilation by legislation, any more than a newly arrived peasant immigrant. They simply did not have the power or organizations to do so.

The facts speak for themselves. In July of 1970 the population of Cedar City "Indian Village" was 111. There were seventeen family dwellings, all of which were (and are) substandard; for example, there are only two indoor toilets in the village and only one with a septic tank and the waste from the other flows out onto the open ground. Only ten homes have indoor water, and only one has a hot water heater.
Unemployment among the male working force is eighty-two percent and ninety percent for the females. The aged provide a good deal of income in the village. Eight of the twelve over sixty-five are receiving old-age assistance. There are only four families with total incomes of over $3,000.

Over ninety-two percent have less than eight years of education, and that education was substandard.

Legally and technically the Cedar band was spared this fate of termination because they owned no land. The 1899 and 1925 appropriations were not acted upon, and no land was ever purchased. Practically, the fact that they were not terminated made no difference to them because they had never received any meaningful or consistent assistance from the B.I.A.

The Cedar band was not generally aware that they were not terminated until a tumultuous meeting in August of 1970, when a B.I.A. representative informed them that since they were still under the wing of the B.I.A., that agency would oversee the distribution of the money the band would receive as their share of the Aboriginal Land Settlements Act. Although he was pressed vigorously by the normally passive band members, he chose not to explain the absence of the B.I.A. during the preceding thirteen years.
In effect the Cedar band has been abandoned since termination, and its members and the B.I.A. officials have both acted under this assumption, which is understandable. Until 1965 the Bureau of Indian Affairs and even the attorneys for the Southern Paiutes considered the Cedar City band and the Indian Peaks band as being synonymous, and the termination acts had proceeded under that assumption. Upon further investigation in 1965, the Bureau determined that according to old government records the Cedar City Paiutes and the Indian Peaks Paiutes were separate entities and that the Cedar Band was not mentioned in the termination act and therefore had not been terminated.

Although this became clear to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1965, the Cedar Band Paiutes did not become advised of their new condition until the summer of 1970. The Bureau office in Phoenix is now expediting all requests for services from the Cedar Band but only at the initiative of the band members themselves since they do not live on trust land.

As an outgrowth of all this, the Indian Peaks band recently started serious action to get themselves unterminated. They are seeking legal advice now. This has been the case in several of the terminated Native American groups.

The outcome of both the case of the missing appropriations and the abandonment of the band by the Bureau of
Indian Affairs is interesting to speculate upon, but the final outcome will probably take place in the courts several years from now.

The abandonment, through termination or otherwise, of the federal government is probably the most persistent fear of the Native Americans in general.* It is certainly the case with the Indians associated with the inter-tribal organization of Arizona, as will be shown later. It seems that the Native American cultures have a sort of love-hate relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but they feel they have no relationship at all with other governmental agencies, and some kind of governmental relationship and support is extremely important to them.

Even the most progressive reservations and cultures see themselves as cultural islands, and despite external pressures and internal change, most will likely continue to view themselves as distinct social units, which preserve their basic values, personality, and Indian way of life. It is not likely that attempts at assimilation by legislation will work as well as the Native Americans concept of cultural islands. The case of the Utah bands of Southern Paiutes seems to support this contention.

*It is so reported by Mrs. Harold Fey and D'Arcy McNicle, Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet (New York: Harper & Row, 1959 and 1970). In fact, that is the theme of the book.
In summary, the Cedar City bands live in a far different political and social environment than do their Kaibab cousins. The Anglo residents of Cedar City are generally more sophisticated and more highly differentiated and they are very ambivalent about their own situation. Theirs is a small town but the largest in a vast area. It is isolated but the hub of the region.

The Mormon Church is not only a powerful and important political and social force; it is also the landlord for the Southern Paiutes in Cedar City.

In Cedar City the Paiutes are an isolated minority in the midst of a bustling and preoccupied Anglo majority. As such the two cultures remain strangers to each other, for the most part. The Southern Paiutes are fearful of the larger community while the Anglo is largely unconscious of the minority within the city limits.

The factors and variables at work in the Cedar City Paiute environment are significantly different from those just examined in the case of the Kaibab Paiutes.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter XII


4 Ibid., p. 41.

5 Ibid., p. 42.

6 Ibid., pp. 56-57.


9 W. M. Manning, "My Work Among the Indians," (Unpublished and undated article), p. 3.


11 W. H. Manning, pp. 25-35.
12

13

14
W. A. Brophy and S. D. Aberle, p. 194.

15
S. A. Aberle, "Termination and it's Effects on the Shiwwits, Koosharem, Indian Peaks and Konosh Bands of the Southern Paiutes in Utah," (Unpublished and undated article), pp. 4-6.

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Chapter XIII

THE CEDAR CITY PAIUTES: ISSUES AND LEADERS

The most remarkable and pervasive characteristic of political environment of the Southern Paiutes of Cedar City is the number of things they lack, the number of political factors usually present in Native American communities which are formally missing in Cedar City. The Cedar City Paiutes lack almost all of these formalized political institutions because of their unique historical experience. Furthermore, this heritage has resulted not only in lack of services but also, in isolation of individual Paiutes from each other, and an acute isolation from the hostility toward the surrounding Anglo-American society. Their individual and suspicious reactions, plus the lack of outside assistance, have resulted in no formal community organization for the Paiutes. The initiative has rested in the hands of the Anglos for generations. It is perhaps too early to determine whether these traditional relationships are changing, but a beginning has been made.

On anything but a measurement of physical distance, the Cedar City Paiutes are far more isolated from the rest of the world than the Kaibab Paiutes. Largely because of their historical experience they are much more isolated
from each other. They are exposed to many more contradictions than the Kaibab Paiutes and predictably their reinforcements are very intermittent. As a result they are extremely suspicious, not only of the Anglo community but also of each other. There are major divisions along band lines, along family lines within those bands, between religious membership and levels of activities, and between those that are "full bloods" and those who are only partial Southern Paiute.

They are also isolated from the larger Cedar City community in almost innumerable non-physical ways, many of which have already been discussed. The psychological environment for the Cedar City Paiute community has been devastating (this will be covered at greater length shortly).

In the political sphere the absence of the normal Indian agencies, whether they be federal, state, pan-Indian or pressure group, has resulted in a power vacuum as far as the local Paiutes are concerned. As was noted in the last chapter, the two band headmen are almost non-functioning since they provide only the reactive role that has become the norm since the Mormon settlers consolidated their hold on the land in the 1850's. The recently organized Cedar City Indian Community Development Council is changing some of this in ways that will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.
The Bureau of Indian Affairs is missing, and this may account for the lack of a tribal council since the Indian Reorganization Act has not been implemented. In addition there is no inter-tribal council for the Cedar City Paiutes to belong to in the state of Utah.

Two years ago this vacuum was almost complete as far as Paiute organizations were concerned, but during the past year, the period of this study, several organizations have been established largely because events are bringing several crisis situations to the Cedar City Paiutes.

Organizations

During the summer of 1970, under the direction of some staff members of Southern Utah State College, the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council (CCICDC) was incorporated as a non-profit entity in the hope that it would be able to attract federal funds for several different projects. Although no funds have yet found their way into Cedar City, this organization is the only central political or economic institution in the "Indian Village," as the Paiute ghetto is called locally.

The council was initiated by non-Indians who were concerned about the situation of the local Paiutes and found that the Paiutes themselves were also concerned,
which is not too surprising. The council is still dominated by Anglo leadership, but the officers of the organization are all Paiute, and these people are constantly taking more and more of the initiative as they gain experience.

The council, incorporated the thirteenth of August 1970, has several interesting features which are designed to encourage the development of Paiute leadership, and in the meanwhile protect their rights and power in that organization so that non-Indian influence will be kept at a minimum.

According to the Articles of Incorporation, the purpose of the corporation is

To provide an organization through which the Indian people of Southern Utah and particularly Iron County might receive the assistance in obtaining those basic economic and social needs that precede success in family and community relationships.

The trustees are made up of one member of each household from all the Native American families in Cedar City, plus four influential non-Indians. In any action of the corporation or council, the majority of those voting must be Native Americans. The council has specifically stated that this was an organization of all Indians living in Cedar City and not just the Southern Paiute majority.
"Membership in the council is open to all persons, Indian or non-Indian, who hold the aforesaid purposes as their motivation for membership." This means that many more non-Indians participate in the council than can vote.

The council is not fully legitimate in the eyes of many if not most of the Cedar City Paiutes. Active participation is limited to a handful of the most active and aggressive members of their community. The rest of the population remains passive in the "hostile dependency" behavior pattern that has become common to them. Neither band headman has been particularly active, but in both cases their offspring are among the leaders of the new council. The Paiutes who are most active and hold leadership positions in the Indian Branch of the Mormon church are also noticeably inactive. But, as time goes on this pattern is changing. For example, recently a member of the branch presidency (similar to a bishopric in a normal Mormon ward) was elected to the housing authority, where his contacts with the Mormon hierarchy and his leadership skills are being put to good use.

The formation of the council was partly a reaction to the need for something more than the Mormon Church was providing in the way of leadership. Although several of the individuals who had been working in the church program are active in the council and the president of the Southwest
Indian Mission is one of the non-Indian trustees, the spirit of the council can be best described as "extra-Mormon," in that most of the most active council members are not satisfied with the results or priorities of the church program.

For quite some time the most obvious feeling of the established church workers was that the council was an anti-Mormon group which was bent on duplicating or disrupting the church program. As time has passed, the advantages to the separation have become more apparent to almost all citizens of Cedar City, and the acceptance of the government-like council has grown.

The Paiute leadership in the council does not function as a tribal council like the Kaibab council. It may, in fact, function much like the earlier Kaibab tribal councils, before Vernon Jake's period of leadership. The Paiute officers usually react to non-Indian proposals. However, they do carry through with the projects and do most of the leg-work.

As of yet, there have been no formalized procedures set up for length of office or transfer of power. The non-Indian membership seems to be quite aware of the dominating role they still play, and there is a constant effort on their part to do less initiating and more following. Within this climate, the growth of actual Paiute
leadership has been substantial. It remains to be seen if the council develops into an all-Paiute governing body similar to the Kaibab Tribal Council.

It is not likely that the council will ever attempt to become a municipal-type government, but they are attempting to raise funds and perform other similar tribal government functions.

In May, 1971, the council formed a housing authority and began serious negotiations with the Mormon Church Real Estate Office. The Cedar City Paiutes are interested in purchasing the land they now live on so they can begin a mutual-help housing project similar to the one in Kaibab. Up to that time the politically conservative leadership in the Cedar City Indian Branch of the Mormon Church had effectively blocked any attempt to attract such housing programs because they were suspicious of the "strings" that are attached to any federal program. As landowners or at least administrators for the landowners, they had little trouble in stopping any housing project they disapproved of. Land ownership is the key to much of what the council is attempting to accomplish, and these negotiations are therefore of great importance to the council.

Since the Southern Paiute "Nation," as congress calls it, will soon be awarded over $7,000,000 as payment for the lands that were taken from them with Anglo
expansion, financial plans similar to those designed by
the Kaibab have been drawn up for the Southern Paiutes in
Utah.

Since the Paiutes of Utah are terminated (with the
notable exception of the Cedar Band) the award will be
directed by the Utah State Division of Indian Affairs. This
agency has elected to turn the funds over to the five bands
of Southern Paiutes to be administered separately by them.

In the fall of 1970 each band elected three of its
members to act as representative on a finance committee
which would oversee the funds for that band. The first
official duty of these three band members was to select
three non-Indians from their community to serve on the
committee with them. After these men were selected they
had to pass the approval of the Division of Indian Affairs.
Once this was done, the State government placed very few
restrictions on the committees.

The committees must have four of the six members
present to conduct business, and at least three must be
Paiute. In addition, the money must be kept in a full-
service bank and not a savings and loan association. With
those guidelines the local band finance committees are on
their own.

In Cedar City there are two committees, as there
are two Paiute bands, though the money has not yet been
received, the new structuralized division has already become apparent. It will be difficult for any Paiute community-wide financial venture to take place with the two different committees controlling the funds. Contrary to the Kaibab plan the two bands in Cedar City are not setting aside any of the funds for collective action; at this date all of the funds will go to individuals.

The caliber of the non-Indians on the committees is high. Of the six Anglos serving on them there are three bankers, a car dealer, a prominent retired businessman-politician, and a district judge. On the one hand this is fortunate, but once again the Cedar City Paiute political organizations are not in the hands of the Paiutes themselves. When the money is sent to the local banks, these committees will become very powerful bodies as far as the Cedar City Paiutes are concerned. They will also be subjected to a great deal of pressure from within the Paiute community and from without.

The "Indian Village" has its own law enforcement officers in that two Paiute men are on the County Sheriff's force as special deputies. They are selected for their sobriety and for their ability to handle themselves in a fight. In the words of one of them, "We have to be able to mix it up pretty well to keep their respect." They are also both in the Mormon Branch Leadership. Usually the
"ring-tos," as drunken fights are sometimes called by the Paiutes, are handled by the special deputies.

Despite the absence of the normal "Indian" agencies or formal local tribal councils, the Cedar City Paiutes do interact with "outside" organizations. The difference between them and the Kaibab is that in Cedar City, individual Paiutes represent themselves in their dealings with these organizations rather than working through and being represented by a tribal council or other organization, therefore the power relationships are significantly different.

While the Bureau of Indian Affairs has done very little for the Cedar Band, now that the members of that band know they are not terminated, they can apply for college scholarships, they can attend boarding schools if they desire, or they can qualify for numerous other programs. In every case, it appears that the individual will have to contact the bureau himself; and, without the advantages of living on trust lands, the person from the Cedar Band will stand last in line.

Since the Indian Village is entirely within the Cedar City limits, the city has a responsibility to govern and serve that section of town. In fact, about the only contact the average Paiute has with the city government is with the law enforcement and courts. The city government can provide many reasons for its lack of activity, many of
them convincing, but the fact remains that most services normally provided to residents do not reach those of the "Indian Village" in Cedar City. Here, also, things may be changing. Recently the city government has been reacting enthusiastically to requests of the council (CCICDC) to do such things as form the housing authority. However, the governments role has been limited to reaction. The city has not initiated any program to systematically provide more services to the ghetto or to include the Paiutes more fully in city life.

The individual Southern Paiute in Cedar City can and quite often does take advantage of several other agencies such as vocational rehabilitation, the employment office, and health programs. Here again the personal contact is between a private individual and a welfare agency rather than between a tribal government which expedites an individual's needs and that agency, as in the case of the Kaibab-Paiutes.

The Cedar City Paiutes are not members of any civic boards, with the exception of the Red Cross Board, and therefore do not participate in these aspects of civic life as the Kaibab Paiutes do.

In summary, the Cedar City Paiutes do not have any formalized tribal government, although the CCICDC may soon approach this. The two bands do not function as political
entities, but they do have headmen who continue to receive some respect in the old traditional fashion. The band finance committees may also change this.

The all-Paiute political and social organizations are largely reactive in nature and, for the most part non-functioning. The relatively effective and growing political and social organizations such as the council and the finance committees are dominated by more forceful Anglo-Americans even though safe guards have been set up to minimize this tendency.

In short, the present culture of the Paiute in Cedar City is going through a period of rapid political, social, and economic transition. Its new institutions are changing almost weekly, and the pressure on the leadership is intense. Much of this activity was initiated through planning for the arrival of the two Cedar City bands' share of the award money and initiated by concerned Anglo residents of Cedar City, not the Paiutes.

Finally the relative economic deprivation is much greater in Cedar City than it is in Kaibab. Not only do the Kaibab-Paiutes live under much better conditions, but the Cedar City "Indian Village" lives on a much poorer relative scale. In Cedar City the Paiutes are more deprived to begin with, and the general community is much more affluent. This is particularly true of most of the
most actively involved supporters of the Paiute causes.

The Issues of Cedar City Paiute Development

The Cedar City Paiutes do not have a set of formalized goals or a group strategy, but there is a consensus that land and housing are the most pressing needs. This is what the council is most concerned with, but there is also a considerable interest in improved education. The council is working on a rather comprehensive front as it attacks a broad spectrum of problems that are part of ghetto life no matter what the original culture was.

The ownership of the land is important to the Paiutes as it never was traditionally, not because the values have changed so much, but because the whole Anglo system is based on the ownership of land. The Cedar City Paiutes find it very difficult to qualify for any of the numerous programs designed to help the disadvantaged unless they own the property upon which the development is going to take place.

The forty-one acres in Cedar City will likely never be an adequate land base on which to develop economic strength, but it would be a very satisfactory political base from which to work. This is largely because the larger Anglo society sees it as such an important matter. The
fact that the Cedar City ghetto would be owned by the people that lived there and would be improving their own land is somehow much more honorable by Anglo-American standards than it would be if the Mormon Church held the land in trust for the same residents and the very same improvements were made. Since land ownership is so important to the larger society and government, it has, by necessity, become the key for the Cedar City Paiutes.

One has only to note the criteria of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to see this point. Since the Cedar band have never owned any reservation, they receive secondary consideration after the reservation cultures. Many of the bureau's programs are based on this criterion rather than on need.

Even if land ownership were not important for the reasons developed above, it would still be very important for the Cedar City Paiutes to obtain the land they now live on because it would solve the dilemma between the Mormon Church and the Cedar City Paiutes. As landowner and landlord the church is both church and state in many respects.

An almost classic example of how the church acts as the government for the "Indian Village" concerns the attempts made to get the city to pave the roads in the ghetto. The city replied that it could not pave the roads until the landowner put in curb and gutter. The church
did not want to put in curb and gutter until water and
sewer were put into the homes. But it seemed foolish to
the church leadership to run water and sewer pipes to the
sub-standard shacks scattered all about in an unsightly
sprawl until new, substantial homes could be built. The
Paiutes were unable and/or unwilling to put money into new
houses on land they did not own, and the ideology of the
church leadership in charge of the Indian Branch prevented
them from considering seriously the possibility of a
poverty housing project on their property because this would
be giving the Paiutes "something for nothing," and they
wouldn't "grow and develop" that way.

In this manner a relatively simple request for paved
roads becomes an unsolvable and circular "systems" problem.
This cycle of reasoning was not broken until the president
of the Southwest Indian Mission pushed through plans for a
partial water and sewage line to the most central homes.
The Paiutes were to have done the labor, as much as pos-
sible. The homes were to be improved and new ones added
at a later date. During the winter of 1970-71, the pro-
ject halted, and work had not started again during the
following spring.

If and when the Paiutes gain ownership of the land,
they hope to be able to attack the complete systems problem
with a complete systems answer much like the mutual-help
housing project in Kaibab, where houses, water and sewer, and paved roads were all constructed at once.

Land ownership would also reduce tensions in another area. It would let the Mormon Paiutes as well as the non-Mormons get the freedom of choice that all other Mormons enjoy. At the present time the church leadership controls what functions and activities take place on all forty-one acres. This means that an attempt is made to keep out all non-Mormon activities.

During a council meeting in which a VISTA sponsored playground was suggested, the following dialogue took place:

Branch President Lynch:

"All forty-one acres is a church facility; no non-church program can take place in church facilities."

(This is based on a ruling the Mormon Church has prohibiting the holding of such things as political rallies, fraternal organization, functions and other such secular activities in the church chapels. As far as I know, Mr. Lynch's extension of this standard procedure for chapels to include church-owned living facilities as well is his policy alone).

Patsy Jake (a Paiute mother):

"You mean we can't build a slippery slide for our kids in our own backyard?"

Mike Heaton (another church worker):

"You have to understand, you don't have a backyard."
The Branch President has been consistent in his actions in this regard. Earlier he attempted to stop the holding of the CCICDC meetings in the Mormon chapel, even though it is the only suitable building in the "Indian Village," on the ground that it was a secular activity. It was only through the intercession of Scott Urie, the Southwest Indian Mission president and also a trustee in CCICDC, that the meetings are still held in the church facility.

It is largely for these political reasons that the most pressing task, as the council sees it, is for the Paiutes in Cedar City to own the land, and not because of apparent change in their traditional attitude concerning land ownership. If the land is purchased, it will have to be sold for a very moderate price because the Cedar City Paiutes feel, first, that the land rightfully belongs to them, and second, that the church leadership of several years ago promised the residents of the "Village" that they could remain on that land "forever."

Although there is no formalized strategy or published plan, the immediate goal for development is the ownership or control of the "Indian Village" land and the housing project and increased freedom of choice and activities that will follow.
Many of the Cedar City Paiute do not see it this way. Less than half, twenty-eight of sixty Paiute respondents, even think it would be a good idea to consider buying the land from the church, while twenty-four give definite "no" answer. After discussing the attitudes these figures seem to indicate, I found that respondents were against buying the land for several reasons: First and foremost, they felt the forty-one acres was theirs, and it would be utter foolishness to spend money on what they already possessed. Many of them also believe that the church would charge too much; and, based on this negative assumption they believe it would be a poor idea to spend to much of their money on it, if and when it comes. Some even expressed the belief that the whole movement to purchase the forty-one acres is a plot of the Mormon church to get all or most of the thousands of dollars the Paiutes will probably soon receive.

Although a price has not been established, the church Real Estate Office has indicated it is willing to sell or lease the land at a very nominal price if the land can be released to an entity such as the housing authority and then leased to individuals, thus protecting against piecemeal sale of lots to individual Paiutes.

Little thought has one into the problems of financing on a long-term basis. It has already been
mentioned that it will be difficult for the two bands to unite and appropriate some of the Aboriginal Lands Claims' money to put toward the price of the land. In fact, the only fund-raising activity or planning has been for the pre-school program of the VISTA Volunteers. (In May, 1971, a dinner and Indian program was held and over three hundred dollars was raised to carry on the activities of the pre-school program for the coming year.)

In summary, the powerlessness of the Cedar City Paiutes has not changed, as a general rule. The Anglo-initiated council, housing authority and finance committees may obtain the results desired by both cultures but the basic Paiute attitudes or life style have changed very little as of yet.

The attitudes held by the culture toward equality are essentially the same as they have been for many years. Kin-and-clique relationships remain the most important political group. Even though progress has been made by the council, most of the political and economic activities are still carried on within the family cluster. Most contact with other groups such as city government, welfare agencies, and the schools is carried on by private individuals and not much of the time by a Paiute buffer like the tribal chairman in Kaibab.
Much of the leadership is not selected in the traditional Southern-Paiute way, by popular sentiment, rather, it is handed down from father to son in the manner imposed on the Paiutes long ago by the settlers who were identifying "Indian chiefs" according to their own images of the term. The new organizations are holding elections for all the officers, but such organizations are dominated by Anglos by forcefulness if not in numbers, and it is not clear how the Cedar City Paiutes will adapt to this procedure.

It is clear that the Southern Paiute leaders who are elected in the new organizations are reluctant to run openly for leadership positions. It is embarrassing to them when they are pushed to the forefront and praised in public by one of their Anglo supporters. It is obviously still considered in poor taste for a Southern Paiute to actively seek leadership. Fortunately, the criterion for leadership is demonstrated ability for both the Anglo activists and the Cedar City Paiutes.

In the course of selecting the most qualified leaders, many women are now being elected. This was not the traditional way; but with the passage of several generations not having positive male roles, female leaders seem to be acceptable to the Cedar City Paiutes.
The capacity of the Cedar City Paiutes remains very limited, but here again they are in a period of rapid transition.

A year ago, in early 1970, the political and economic organizations of the Cedar City Paiutes were very similar to the ones they had for the last one hundred years. They were reactive in nature in that no real planning or activity was carried on by the Paiutes themselves. Whatever political, social, or economic activity took place was almost surely initiated and conducted by concerned Anglos who were almost always Mormon church missionaries to the Paiutes.

But, since the summer of 1970, the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council has been organized, and incorporated; it has passed some fairly stiff tests in the form of initial opposition and is now a fairly successful and recognized power in the "Indian Village." It is assuming more and more of the stature of a tribal council; in fact some people think that is just what it is. It may be that in time the term "council," which is what CCICDC is most often called, will be thought of as the "tribal council" by all the people of Cedar City, Paiute and Anglo alike.
Soon they may have property to manage and they will most surely have substantial funds which the newly formed finance committees will have to administer.

The council is already using lawyers and other experts as brokers between them and the larger society much as is done by the Kaibab-Paiutes, or most Anglo organizations for that matter. Most importantly they are beginning to use the powerful and influential Anglos who are interested in assisting them as resource people who can represent them on specific issues from time to time.

Rational goals are being developed and during the past few months the capacity of the Cedar City Paiutes has grown. They are doing many things that they have never attempted before and they are doing some of these things rapidly and efficiently.

The differentiation in the Cedar City Paiutes' organizations is still limited and informal. Most effective relationships are still face-to-face, and the roles are not yet actually functionally specific, even though staff positions have been designed into the organizations by the Anglos who guided the establishment of the most promising of the Paiute political structures.

The private sectors of the Cedar City Paiutes lives are still very much protected; not so much by design as by default, at least on the part of the Anglo initiators.
The Paiute leaders are reluctant to represent the thoughts of other Cedar City Paiutes. In meetings they simply refuse to speak for each other much to the frustration of many of the Anglos who are attempting to move very rapidly from issue to issue.

Just as with Kaibab leaders, the Cedar City Paiute leaders know they cannot legitimately commit one of their followers to a course of action. Since none of the organizations with the exception of the finance committees can be legally binding on the Paiute individuals, their individualism and the private nature of their lives are protected not only by the leadership who understand the cultural constraints but also by the nature of the political organizations designed by the Anglos, who do not generally understand those constraints.

Civil Rights Issues

The problem of civil rights of Cedar City Paiutes is considerably more complicated than it is on the Kaibab Reservation. This is largely due to the vastly more complicated way of life the residents of Cedar City live when compared to the residents of Moccasin. Instead of one activity that is highly valued by the Anglos (the church) which can be used as an indicator, Cedar City has several
thousand inhabitants with a great many interests and organizations.

Paiute Attitudes

While the Kaibab Paiutes were included in the activities of the highly valued church, the Cedar City Paiutes are segregated in their Mormon activities and largely excluded from most other activities, if they even attempt to take part. But this is only one aspect of the complex civil rights issue in Cedar City.

The same questionnaire was administered to the Cedar City Paiutes as was given to the Kaibab-Paiutes. When asked outright whether they thought most whites were prejudiced, most of the Paiutes said "yes." In fact, thirty-nine of sixty said "yes," eighteen said "no," two didn't know, and one gave no answer.

A table like the one developed for the Kaibab-Paiutes brings out several interesting differences between the attitudes commonly held by the two populations on discrimination.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most whites are prejudiced</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't change white attitudes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No use in Indians voting, candidates don't care about Indians</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When arrested Indians get fair treatment here</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians do have a chance to make themselves here; it is up to the individual</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cedar City about two-thirds of the Paiutes believe that most whites are prejudiced. This contrasts sharply with the one-sixth minority in Kaibab that feels prejudice of the whites when asked what is different between Indians and whites. In Kaibab nobody thought of it. On the other hand, thirteen Cedar City Paiutes say that the Paiutes had a richer cultural background than the whites. The same question in Kaibab resulted in no such responses. Instead of less than one fourth (in Kaibab) feeling that Anglo attitudes cannot be changed the majority in Cedar City, over sixty percent, feel negatively. In Kaibab one-third feel conditions are getting worse, while in Cedar City about fifty-seven feel that way.
The Cedar City majority, thirty-two of sixty, feel that conditions are so bad that they doubt the wisdom of bringing children into the world. In Kaibab most of the people feel there was some value in voting, while in Cedar City fifty-eight percent feel the candidates didn't care enough about the needs of the Paiute to consider it worthwhile.

Both communities feel that they receive fair treatment from the police, sixty-nine percent in Kaibab and sixty-six percent in Cedar City; and ninety-eight in Kaibab and ninety-five percent in Cedar City feel an individual Paiute can make something of his life. These answers seem to indicate that the prejudice the Paiutes in Cedar City feel is more of an individual nature than an institutional one.

The attitudes of the children have been covered in Chapter VIII, but the spoken attitudes of their elders reflect the same belief that "the white people uptown look at us like we are dirty."

A consideration of psychological characteristics index of the individual Cedar City Paiutes reinforces the difference between the feelings of discrimination of the two Paiute communities.
Remembering that a +6 is the highest possible on the scale and a -6 is the lowest, the Cedar City Paiutes had an average score of +3 which is ten times lower than the +3 average of the Kaibab-Paiutes. The high score for the Cedar City Paiutes was +6, and the low was -4. In Kaibab, eleven of forty-eight respondents scored the highest possible on lack of feelings of discrimination, in Cedar City three of sixty scored the maximum. In fact, more people scored the low (four) than scored the high for their population.

This data from the formal questionnaires indicate strongly that the Cedar City Paiutes feel very discriminated against, much more so than the Kaibab Paiutes. The leaders, who will be covered shortly, reflect this same trend.

Anglo Attitudes

In Cedar City it was not possible to administer a questionnaire to all the Anglo citizens over the age of fifteen, as it was in Moccasin. In addition there was not time or money available to conduct a scientific, random sample survey of the Anglo population of the community.

However, two cluster survey samples were taken. First, twenty-five of the most actively involved Anglos were given the same questionnaire as the twenty-seven
Moccasin residents completed. This was under the assumption that this population would have had somewhat similar contact with the Paiute in their community as the Moccasin people had had. At least they would be the most nearly comparable.

In an attempt to tap the attitudes of the more nearly representative citizens, fifty short questionnaires were given to the memberships of the Chamber of Commerce, the Kiwanis Club, and Women's Literary Club. It was assumed that the attitudes and knowledge expressend in these groups would be more enlightened than those of most citizens because these people are more active and involved in all types of endeavors than the average citizen of Cedar City. Of the thirty-five men questioned, all but three were professional, managerial or business. The literary club was made up of women whose husbands were all prominent and fairly well-to-do citizens of Cedar City.

Forty-one of fifty short questionnaire respondents are Mormons, thirty-three are college graduates, and fifteen have attended at least some graduate school. Almost all are active in other civic minded organizations in addition to the one they were attending when the questionnaire was given to them.

The overpowering conclusion that can be drawn from a study of the data generated by this short questionnaire
is that these active and community involved citizens know very little about the "Indian Village" or the Southern Paiutes who live there.

While forty of the fifty respondents knew the tribe designation (Southern Paiute) of the local Indians only six knew the names of the two local bands. Only one knew the correct headman for the Cedar band and only two (both women) for the headman of the Indian Peaks band.

Only twenty-seven said that the land the Paiutes lived on belonged to the Mormon church and, only three knew that the Paiutes had been terminated. It is interesting to note that sixteen knew of the prospects of the individual Paiutes to receive quite a lot of money in the near future. This does not support the cynics' suspicion that the merchants are anxiously awaiting the money with schemes of taking it away from the unsophisticated Paiutes.

Seven of these respondents belong to an organization that is actively involved in helping the local Paiutes. If the answers of these people are deleted, the knowledge of the Paiutes of this survey would be even more meager.

While an awareness about the Cedar City Paiutes is lacking, many of the respondents have had considerable experience with some Native American culture sometime in their lives. Twelve have had a Native American child living in their homes for at least one school year as part
of the Mormon church's Indian placement program. In fact, all but twelve reported that they have had significant experience over a period of time with some other Native American culture at some time in their lives. At the same time these twelve claimed to have never had a personal conversation with an Indian in Cedar City while another seventeen claim to have had only a few such conversations with an individual Native American.

Despite their collective lack of knowledge about the local Paiutes, these groups of respondents knew all the right answers to give on the questions which attempted to get at any prejudice they might feel about the Paiutes. When asked what was the major difference between Indians and whites, only twelve made responses that could be considered at all discriminatory, while the majority named lack of opportunities and lower standard of living as the major differences. Most blamed society, not the Paiutes, for their conditions today.

On the other hand eleven did blame the problem on too many welfare and giveaway programs. And twenty-one believed that the Cedar City Paiute was more irresponsible, undependable, and lazy, and were less honest and had less self control than the average white person.

While these do not prove prejudice on the part of the Anglo respondents who answered the short questionnaires,
they do indicate strongly that these respondents as a group are unconcerned and uninformed about the ghetto in their community.

The answers from long questionnaires given to twenty-five Cedar City Anglos who are actively involved with the "Indian Village" are also very interesting. These people are very different from their counterparts in Moccasin. In Cedar City thirteen of them belong to civic or political groups and several hold important positions in them. Another five belong to groups outside these activities or church activities. In Moccasin only four belong to any groups outside of their village.

The Cedar City respondents are a much more cosmopolitan group; most of them have moved around a great deal more than the residents of Moccasin. Ten of the nineteen men questioned had served in the armed forces while in Moccasin only four of fourteen had served. Most of the people had lived elsewhere for a good part of their lives. Eleven of the twenty-seven Moccasin residents had lived in their village all their lives.

The Cedar City group is also much more liberal than the Moccasin group; twelve of the twenty-three answering the question were in favor of most "red power" demonstrations they had heard about, and only two knew nothing about them. In Moccasin four approved, ten disapproved and twelve had
never heard of them.

However, as with the group in Cedar City, there is very little evidence of prejudice in the answers of the twenty-five, but similarly there is a surprising lack of knowledge about the Southern Paiute culture. Also like their counterparts to the south in Moccasin they know a good deal about the local Paiutes as individuals; twenty-two of the twenty-five knew all the answers as to the informational questions testing their knowledge of the Cedar City Paiutes, and another two only missed one question.

In Cedar City the respondents believe the major problem in the Paiute culture was irresponsibility; six answered that way. Five others believe the worst aspect of their culture is that it gives them no self-respect, and five more believe that their culture results in a low standard of living for them. These answers are quite different from those given in Moccasin. Only one person in Cedar City believes that drinking is the worst problem as opposed to eleven in Moccasin.

Once again the Anglo respondents admire what they see as a lack of stress in the Southern Paiute culture. In Cedar City eleven answered this way. Apparently they view the lack of movement and the low employment in the Indian Village as a life-style that saves the people there from the pressures of the "rat race" they themselves participate
in and fail to see the different, and in my opinion greater, psychological stress such isolation and despondency such a poverty culture produces in its members.

Like the Anglo-Americans in Moccasin, those in Cedar City who were given the longer questionnaire believe that the most important thing for them to give to the Paiutes is respect and friendship--twelve of the twenty-five. Most feel that the way to help the Indian Village advance economically and socially is for the attitude of the local Anglos to change.

In Cedar City very few of the Anglo respondents know much about the Native Americans in general. Most are unable to volunteer names of Native Americans they feel are the greatest leaders in U. S. history. On the other hand, as was mentioned above, they do know a good deal about the local Paiute individuals they are actively involved with, if not their culture.

My personal observations once again support the data. It seems to me that the active portion of my two samples in Cedar City display no more discriminatory tendencies than do their Moccasin counterparts, with the exception of some of the church workers who show the condescending attitude. These people are the conservative members of the Branch leadership who believe sincerely that the Paiutes must accept Mormon life styles and become "white
and delightsome" in a literal sense. Because they control
the land as they do and feel they have the answer for all
the Paiutes, their attitudes hold much significance for the
Cedar City Paiute.

The respondents to both questionnaires in Cedar City
use much more sophisticated language than do the people of
Moccasin. Perhaps reflecting their higher education. Words
such as "identity" and "self-actualization" show up in many
of the questionnaires.

It would appear that this increased sophistication
does not result in increased empathy on the part of the
Cedar City respondents. They are only "part-time friends"
of the Paiutes in the sense that the "active Indian sup-
porter" is only one of the roles that they play almost
daily. I believe the Cedar City Paiutes are very much
aware of this distinction.

In Moccasin empathy is real, and that might be more
important than the proximity of many experts in sociology,
and all the other behavioral fields who are available in
Cedar City.

In summary it seems to me that the average citizen
of Cedar City, as represented in this study by the respondents
to the short questionnaire, are almost blissfully unaware of
the real problems of the "Indian Village." When they do
think about the local Paiutes, it is most often in terms of
"condescending hostility" which has been defined in Chapter VII as behavior which is very like that an adult would treat an obnoxious child, politely but with a good deal of resentment.

Cedar City Paiute Involvement

The Cedar City Paiutes are at least as prejudiced toward blacks and other races as are their Kaibab cousins. In addition it is not uncommon to hear them make prejudicial remarks about the Anglo community. The young, especially, seem to have stereotyped the "white guy" as the villain.

The Cedar City Paiutes do not actively participate in the U. S. political system any more than do the Kaibab-Paiutes. Of the forty-nine respondents old enough to vote, fifteen claim to have voted in the 1970 off-year election, and another eleven additional people claim to have voted in a past election. This is not probable. Twenty-three admit they have never voted.

The Cedar City Paiutes do not talk about current affairs very much; only twenty can remember talking about such things lately, which is fewer than in Kaibab. On the other hand while they seem to be less talkative as far as national affairs are concerned, they do talk about their personal problems with Anglos. Twenty-five have done so
recently as opposed to twenty-one in Kaibab.

The Cedar City Paiutes are a little more sure of themselves as far as sense of civic competence is concerned, but this is not surprising since they live in a town where civic systems are more noticeable and more sophisticated. The biggest difference between the Kaibab and Cedar City responses is with the question concerning trouble with the law. Forty, or sixty-six percent, in Cedar City, suggested some positive action of problem solving of some type, while only twenty-one in Kaibab, or only forty-four percent say the same thing. One of the important facts to note on this question is that many more people in the Cedar City community have a firm opinion on any given question in this section; there were no "no answers" or "don't knows."

While the Cedar City Paiutes might have had more experience with the questions on the civic competence scale, they are much less informed about politics in Cedar City. The responses are poor to such informational questions as, "Who is the mayor of Cedar City?," "How long has he been head?," "Who is the head of your band?," "Who is the governor of the state?," and "What is the county seat?." For example, thirteen answered all these questions correctly, sixteen missed one answer and fifteen missed two, two missed all of them.
The Cedar City Paiutes do not seem to be particularly close to or interested in other Native American cultures. Thirty-one felt closer to other Native Americans than other strangers. Nevertheless, they are aware that others have more government assistance, and they are less concerned about such things as natural resources. The main point here is that there are many more "don't knows" and "no answers" than in Kaibab. One third of the Cedar City Paiutes had not heard of the red power demonstration (twenty-two) while in Kaibab about one-seventh were uninformed. Of those who had the knowledge, fewer approved, eighteen approved while sixteen disapproved. This is about the same ratio as in Kaibab.

The self-image in Cedar City is much weaker than in Kaibab; in Cedar City eleven feel regularly mistreated by Native Americans from other cultures, while only one feels this way in Kaibab. The Cedar City Paiutes can name fewer Native American heroes than the Kaibabs. Only nineteen volunteered three great Native Americans in the past; in fact, twenty-five could not name any.

Only one man named local leaders among the greatest Native Americans, and these were actually Utes whom he claims as members of his own culture. The men that were named were usually people like Sitting Bull and Geronimo and others who have been publicized in movies. It appears
that the residents of the Cedar Indian Village know little about their heritage beyond the stereotypes they see on the screen. Their pride and knowledge of their general Native American roots are both limited and weak.

The Psychological Spirit of the Cedar City Paiutes

In contrast to the relatively hopeful spirit of the Kaibab village the Cedar City Paiute village gives one the strong impression that this ghetto is at least stagnated and is likely dying at a fairly rapid rate. The total of all the indexes on the general psychological characteristics index cannot prove anything, but it does point out the stark differences between the two closely related Paiute communities. In Cedar City, with a possible high score of 43 and a low of -22, the high for the village was 22, the low was a -6, and the average was 7.6.

A comparison of the two communities produces the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Score</th>
<th>Low Score</th>
<th>Average Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaibab</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar City</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The magnitude of the difference is staggering and the data continues in this direction. Another indicator is the individual Paiute image index. The average score for the Cedar City Paiutes was 1.9 with the high score of 11 and the low -5. (The total possible on this index was 11 and the low was -7.) In table form we have the following comparison:

**TABLE 5**

Comparison of Paiute Image Index Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Score</th>
<th>Low Score</th>
<th>Average Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaibab</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar City</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the striking difference is not in the spread between the most confident or most despondent Paiutes but rather what the more typical people feel in each village. Those in Kaibab obviously feel much better about themselves as Paiutes than do most people in the "Indian Village" of Cedar City.

There are several key questions in the questionnaire, the answers of which, when reduced to percentages, provide additional poignant examples in showing the gap in the psychological spirit of the two communities.
### TABLE 6

Indications of Psychological Differences Between Cedar City and Kaibab Paiutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>Agree Cedar City</th>
<th>Agree Kaibab</th>
<th>Disagree Cedar City</th>
<th>Disagree Kaibab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children should not be born</td>
<td>53% (32)</td>
<td>48% (21)</td>
<td>26% (27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions getting worse</td>
<td>57% (34)</td>
<td>33% (16)</td>
<td>24% (28)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No use voting</td>
<td>59% (35)</td>
<td>21% (10)</td>
<td>23% (20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know who to count on</td>
<td>63% (38)</td>
<td>52% (25)</td>
<td>19% (21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Racial Stereotype**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotype</th>
<th>Agree Cedar City</th>
<th>Agree Kaibab</th>
<th>Disagree Cedar City</th>
<th>Disagree Kaibab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites are all alike</td>
<td>37% (22)</td>
<td>15% (7)</td>
<td>37% (40)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians are all alike</td>
<td>35% (21)</td>
<td>10.4% (5)</td>
<td>38% (42)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People are all alike</td>
<td>40% (24)</td>
<td>35% (17)</td>
<td>36% (27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7
Indications of Psychological Differences Between Cedar City and Kaibab Paiutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whites Cedar City</th>
<th>Whites Kaibab City</th>
<th>Paiutes Cedar City</th>
<th>Paiutes Kaibab City</th>
<th>Same Cedar City</th>
<th>Same Kaibab City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who is smarter</td>
<td>35% (21)</td>
<td>8% (4)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who behaves better</td>
<td>10% (6)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is most dependable</td>
<td>23% (14)</td>
<td>12% (6)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is most happy</td>
<td>3% (2)</td>
<td>4% (2)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, then the Cedar City Paiutes are much more depressed as a group than the Kaibab Paiutes. They, as a community show very little spirit or resiliency. The fact that the majority do not want to bring children into the world may not be significant because, percentagewise almost as many people from Kaibab feel the same way, but all of their collective attitudes point in the same hopeless direction. Many more of them feel conditions are getting worse and they graphically act out this
belief daily. They also feel strongly that there is no use voting and no one to trust.

The Cedar City Paiutes are much more willing to accept racial stereotyping than are the Kaibab Paiutes and they have such a low opinion of themselves that they are not even ethnocentric in their judgments. When thirty-five percent of a deprived, disadvantaged community believes that they, as a group, are less intelligent than the dominant group, the fight for equality would seem to be a steeply uphill battle indeed.

One feeling comes out sharply from all the data; everything seems to point in the same direction. The Paiutes from Cedar City are consistently more despondent and unsure of themselves and their future or place in the world as Southern Paiutes than are their Kaibab neighbors. The psychological effects on a child that is brought up in such a spiritless environment must surely be devastating and at the root of it this must be the cause of the continuing problems in the Cedar City "Indian Village."

At the very least the results of this psychological spirit, or lack of it in Cedar City plus the social forces and historical relationships has produced an uneasy bicultural community with a prevailing sense of hostility on both sides. Once again the leaders must attempt to generate
power for their people as they strive for a more adequate and equal share of the control over their lives from within this environment of relative psychological spiritlessness. It is not surprising that the leaders in Cedar City reflect the general attitudes and outlooks of their Paiute brethren.

It seems to me that the single most important manifestation of the differences between the two Paiute case studies, relative deprivation and other external variables notwithstanding, lies in their vastly different collective psychological spirits. In other words, if by magic the collective spirit of the Cedar City Paiutes could be more like that of the Kaibab Paiutes, and nothing else were necessarily changed—as it the attitudes of the Anglos, the size of the neighboring population, the relationship toward the B.I.A. or anything else—I would conjecture that the Cedar City leadership would have developed to a greater extent and much more power and progress would now be tipping toward more equality for the Cedar City group. Such a contention would be very difficult to prove but nevertheless all observations and data do point out powerful and basic psychological differences in Kaibab and in Cedar City. Kaibab is collectively psychologically prepared for organization and increased responsibility, participation and power. The Cedar City Paiutes as a group just do not appear to
have this kind of readiness yet.

The Cedar City Paiute Leaders

It must be emphasized once again that there is no formal leadership among the Paiutes in Cedar City. Although there are several leaders serving in several different capacities, all have been pushed into leadership by the Anglos. The more traditional headmen of the two bands are the sons and grandsons of the "captains" who were selected by the early settlers long ago. The Mormon Church calls its leaders from among the most active church members, and the leaders in the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council are pushed forward by Anglos even though the only ones who vote for them are all local Paiutes.

The point is that there is no natural leadership development which is internal to the Cedar City Paiute community. Outstanding individuals are developed, but in their culture they would probably remain outstanding individuals and not become leaders unless pushed into it by those outside their culture. It may well be that today the way one becomes a leader it to do well enough to become noticed by the Anglos involved with Paiutes. One still does not step forward and admit that he wants to become a leader; it is improper. But once again instead
of all the Paiutes talking it over and selecting the best man, in Cedar City the Anglos "push" the best man forward and then encourage the Paiutes to take a vote and "select" their own leaders.

There are several fairly outstanding Paiutes from Cedar City who have moved away during the past few years. It may be that over the years these people left Cedar City because they wanted to develop personally. Since there was no place for a leader unless they were strong enough to develop a politically powerful organization on their own, they found bucking the tradition of their culture by stepping forward in the process a most discouraging task. It seems that these people, as potential leaders, moved away and became successful individuals in places like Las Vegas, or Salt Lake City, rather than attempt to overcome discrimination powerlessness and their cultural constraints on leadership and the contradictions they felt within themselves.

**Traditional Headmen**

The largest band in Cedar City is the Cedar Band. They are also the ones who were not terminated, and therefore they have several options open to them that the band does not have. First, they are thinking about--or at least
some of the Anglos are pushing them to think about--tracing
down the missing appropriations of 1899 and 1925 and
claiming at least both the principal and the interest.

The conditions in Cedar City result in such general
mistrust on the part of the Paiutes, and such pervasive
hostility, however, hidden, between the cultures, that any
leaders in the mold of the Kaibab leaders have either left
the community and moved elsewhere or have been destroyed
by the cultural inconsistencies and contradictions and are
now indistinguishable from those who were destroyed early
by the contradictions they faced. However, there are
Paiutes who are attempting to fill the gap. They have
been divided into three categories--the traditional, the
church-appointed, and those in the Cedar City Indian Com-
munity Development Council--and will be analyzed separately.

Their reasoning seems to be that the government
probably still owes them a reservation, and the Bureau of
Indian Affairs certainly owes them many back services and
most certainly much more activity and consideration in the
future. At any rate there is room for active leadership in
the Cedar Band.

Grant Pete. The present headman for the Cedar Band
is Grant Pete, grandson of Captain Pete who helped the
early Mormon settlers. He is forty-two years old, has
lived in Cedar City all of his life, and has been employed by the Union Pacific Railroad for many years. Grant is a titular leader. He rarely, if ever, initiates any action. His only function has been to act as a buffer, to be someone the Anglos come to when they want to talk to the Paiutes about something.

Grant Pete grew up in the typical Paiute fashion with little parental supervision in the way Anglos understand it. He dropped out of school early, before the sixth grade, and withdrew from most contact with the Anglo culture as much as possible. He married a Goshute woman whom he does not seem to like at all and they simply exist in a condition of mutual suspicion and hostility. With the exception of his steady job, he is very much a part of his culture.

Grant Pete has been the headman since 1965, when his father, Jimmy Pete, retired from "active life." Jimmy Pete died in March 1971. At the time of his death Jimmy Pate was still called the "chief" of the Indian Village by many of the townspeople of Cedar City.

Grant Pete is relatively interested in the council and does attend some meetings, but he also fears that the new council will result in "trouble" for the Paiutes. He is also on the Cedar Band Finance Committee and when the money arrives he will be under pressure from both the
Anglos and his own band to perform leadership function which will be very new to him.

On the psychological characteristics index Grant Pete scored 10, which is slightly above average for the Cedar City Paiutes, (7.6 is average). His political attitude index was 3, which is low for Cedar City Paiutes and is compared to 15 for Bill Tom, in Kaibab. His Paiute image was 5, which is far higher than average in Cedar City and somewhat above the average in Kaibab.

Grant Pete feels discriminated against. He believes that there is a lot of prejudice in Cedar City and his discrimination index shows it. He scored 2 on a scale of -6 to +6; this is one point lower than the average respondent in Kaibab, although it is higher than the average of .3 among the Cedar City Paiutes.

Clifford Jake. The headman for the small Indian Peaks band is Clifford Jake. He has had this position since 1953, but, again, he is just a titular leader as far as Anglo standards of leadership are concerned.

He is fifty-two years old and the leader of the traditionalists in Cedar City. He is also the local leader of the Native American Church, which gives him some status in many other Native American cultures. It is also rumored that he is a practicing old time "doctor," which means he
either uses shaman type cures or he sings ritualistic songs in an attempt to cure the ailment. He is personally very closed-mouth about such things, even though the writer and Clifford Jake are good friends. This is consistent with traditional Southern Paiute practices of not talking about those things which are most sacred to them.

Clifford Jake and his wife are also actively trying to preserve many of the old customs and particularly the Paiute language. In the past few months they have traveled to the University of Texas assisting a linguist there to preserve the language. Clifford is very proud of the part he is playing in this regard. He and his wife are almost the only residents of Cedar City who have been interviewed extensively as informants for several different anthropologists. He is also the only man in either case study that said he actively worked on Paiute handicrafts (leather).

Clifford completed the eighth grade and attended vocational school. He works fulltime for a local dentist managing his farm.

Clifford does not attend the council meetings, but he has actively supported their goals in the past. Clifford is becoming increasingly afraid of the recent developments in Cedar City Paiute politics. In fact, he has approached the traditional buffer, Scott Urie, and asked him if he couldn't stop the council before someone was hurt.
Clifford Jake and Grant Pete have become afraid of rapid development. They no longer know whom to trust or believe in, and they view the recent dissention and conflict, by-products of the new organizations, functions, and alliances, with great concern. The fact that the people of both cultures are talking to each other as never before alarms rather than encourages them.

Clifford has been somewhat bypassed by the developments of the past year. He was not voted onto the Finance Committee, and this is a source of some embarrassment to him. He reacts favorably to attempts at progress and is particularly excited by pan-Indian movements, although on the local level he is one individual who keeps the two bands apart.

His reason for not getting more involved in the affairs of the larger Cedar City Paiute community is always, "I am not from here," even though he moved in from the Indian Peaks Reservation when he was a young man. He has in many respects retired from active Paiute politics, explaining "I am out of it now."

Clifford scored 15 on the psychological characteristics index; which was the average for Kaibab and much higher than the 7.6 Cedar City average, 5 on the political attitudes and, 8 on the Paiute image index, which is over four times as high as the Cedar City average and indicates
again how proud he is of his "Indianness."

Clifford also says, and strongly, that the Anglo citizens of Cedar City are prejudiced. His discrimination index supports the conversations he has had with me because he scored 2 on this scale.

Clifford and his wife, Yetta, seem to have reared their children in a non-directive manner as described in Chapter VIII. Their behavior generally lacks consistency, and the children probably were never sure where they stood. But despite these shortcomings, Clifford and Yetta have a considerable amount of pride in themselves because they have each done a number of things they are justly proud of, and they seem to draw a sense of identity from these successes.

Observing some of their children, I believe that the combination of traditional childrearing behavior and occasional periods of activity and status have, in effect, intensified the contradictions for their children. The ones I know even slightly seem to be bright and active, but they never seem to accomplish anything meaningful. They have begun several courses of action that could lead them to better, more satisfying lives, only to drop out before they reach the goals they have set for themselves.

**Georgie George.** Another important traditional leader in the Cedar City Paiute culture is Georgie George,
the son of old Captain George from Kaibab. He has long been an influential moral leader for the Cedar City Paiutes.

Georgie has lived in Cedar City permanently since 1939 having left the Kaibab area several years before that, but he still identifies himself as a Kaibab band member and often speaks as if he were somewhat of an outsider in Cedar City. However, I have seen nothing but admiration toward him from any of the Cedar or Indian Peaks members.

Georgie George is a very active seventy-five year old, and until 1969 he was a fulltime employee of the railroad. Even now he keeps very active in many affairs, traveling a great deal to various Paiute concentrations almost weekly. He says he has to keep going at his age or he will drop dead. About the only sign of advancing age Georgie displays, either mentally or physically, is a loss of hearing. This means that in my interviews with him, I have received many interesting answers to questions I haven't asked but should have.

Georgie's philosophy is this: "The old Indian ways are pretty good, but they didn't get us the things we wanted,... Life was pretty hard then... What we have to do is be like white men to get the things we want and be like Indians to be happy." This is how he has lived his life and it seems to have worked for him.
As a young man he worked hard supporting his parents, who were by then quite old. After their deaths he became a hobo and traveled all up and down the west coast in the 20's. He still talks about this period of his life as if it were a very eventful and educational span of years. It was probably during this time that he learned how to balance himself between the two cultures as well as he does. He still communicates well with both.

Georgie seems to be moderately in favor of the recent developments in Cedar City Paiute politics, but believes rather strongly that the key to change lies within individuals rather than organizations.

Georgie scored 12 on the psychological characteristics index, 7 on the political attitudes, 3 on the Paiute image and 2 on the discrimination index. He also believes that there is serious discrimination in Cedar City, but he further says that "Indians shouldn't let it bother them too much." He claims that the railroad was a very good place to work and his employees there gave him good retirement benefits, but they always paid him less than the other men on the section crew, and he never advanced.

Georgie George has solved his internal conflicts, judging from his behavior, and he has done so privately in that he believes each man must work things out for himself. He is happy, active, open and frankly honest, and because
of these qualities he is probably the most respected individual in both his Paiute community and in Cedar City, but he is not nor ever has been an active leader of others, except in the moral sense of the word.

Mormon Church Leaders

Franklin Benn. For many years Franklin Benn was the branch president of the Cedar City Indian Branch. He would have been a very interesting man to get to know well but he refuses to be a part of any interview, although he did answer the questionnaire. He told me, "I'm your friend but I don't talk to guys like you because you keep coming back for more and more and I have to start telling you things I don't know about." True to his word, he has been friendly to me and because of this I have learned several interesting things about him and his leadership.

Franklin is a massively obese man of thirty-seven, who was recently released from both his church position and his fulltime job on the railroad because of a serious heart condition. He attended less than six years of school, even though he has lived in Cedar City all of his life. He is extremely conservative politically and may well have been influenced by the conservative Anglo church leadership. He refuses to participate in any VISTA or council program, but
he was elected to serve as a member of the Cedar band finance committee.

Even though he no longer holds a position in the branch, he is one of the most active members and still is an active leader in the following sense: almost every meeting in the chapel finds some Anglo church worker telling the Paiutes in attendance the story of how they were originally cursed by God and how they will be blessed greatly once they become white and delightful. On at least two occasions I have heard Franklin say something in Paiute while the person was giving this type of lesson. I have been told by other Paiutes that he is saying "Don't believe it" to the congregation in their language.

Franklin also serves as a deputy sheriff and is therefore one of the "Indian police" for the village. He does not think that there is any important prejudice in Cedar City. During the few conversations I have been able to have with him, where I have asked him specific questions, his responses were not reliable because he immediately closes up and his "no" answers may have had a great number of meanings.

His psychological characteristics index is 16. He scored 7 on the political attitudes section, 3 on the Paiute image, and the maximum of 6 on the discrimination index, which supports his statements to me on the subject.
Franklin Benn seems to be very distressed by the contradictions he faces. He works, or at least used to work, very hard for the economic well-being of his family, but at the same time he constantly isolates himself from others. He is an obvious potential leader, and many of the Paiutes of Cedar City show considerable dismay because he refuses to take an active part in recent developments. As time goes on he seems to withdraw more and more.

He wants very much for his children "to amount to something," but in an attempt to help this happen, he has become very authoritarian, and his children have done anything but reacted favorably. His suspicious nature seems to be forcing him into a very thick shell.

Arthur Richards. Arthur Richards, the second Paiute Church leader, is presently in the presidency of the branch, he is also a member of the housing authority and is a sheriff's deputy. In addition, in the eyes of many Anglos, he is seen as the shining example for the members of the Paiute community because in 1969 he received national recognition as the top production worker in Coleman Company. Arthur is a quilter in the sleeping bag division in the Cedar City plant of that company.

Besides being an extremely hard worker, Arthur is a very traditional Paiute in his beliefs and life style.
It seems that he is surpassing the Anglos with his puritan work ethic while at the same time being more traditional than the oldest Southern Paiute. I think there are reasons for this life style that appeared to have answered the contradictions for Arthur and given him a great deal of personal integrity.

Arthur is the product of a brief union between a Southern Paiute woman and a white man. He is thrity-eight years old but looks younger because he is extremely healthy. He attended only four years of school and claims that most of those years were wasted because all he did was fight.

In fact Arthur developed into quite a successful boxer, by far the best and most famous among the Southern Paiutes of his age bracket. He fought professionally in Las Vegas and Salt Lake City and was able to compete with some fighters that later became famous.

He had very little formal family life as a youngster but was influenced strongly by two different men in his youth and as a young man. The first was Isacc Hunkup, an old Southern Paiute, who claims to have been present when the first Mormon wagons rolled into Southern Utah and by all accounts was very old when he died. From Isacc young Arthur acquired a deep belief in the traditional Southern Paiute view of the supernatural. He still practices, along with his wife, more of the old taboos than any other
Paiute of my acquaintance, including Theodore Drye and Clifford Jake. Arthur also knows a great deal about the history of the Mormon settlement and the pre-Mormon history of his culture according to their versions of those events.

The second influential man in his life was an old Mormon patriarch who lived in Wayne County, central Utah. Arthur lived in his home for about ten years and claims he would still be there if the man were still alive. The patriarch taught him the joy of hard work and seems to have strengthened his belief in an individualistic religion.

Arthur did not become a member of the Mormon Church until nine years ago. His orientation toward Mormonism is very individualistic and fits into the traditional mold of the "sacred-self" of the Southern Paiutes. The question of the "Lamanite curse" does not bother Arthur. He believes that the Indians are the chosen people. He bases this on old traditional legends that indicate to him that the Book of Mormon is true and that the Mormon Church has misconstrued the part about the Lamanites. He refuses to discuss the most sacred stories, (as do all the Southern Paiutes I have become close to). In any event he feels that the Southern Paiutes are the chosen people of the Lord and that in time the truth will be revealed to the Anglo Mormons, but for now the lips of the Paiutes and other Native Americans
must remain sealed.

It is apparent that Arthur has combined the teachings of these two men into a life style that reduces the contradictions in his own life. He has combined traditional beliefs with a superior Lamanite view of the church along with a protestant work ethic.

Recently a baby girl was born to the Richards, who strictly followed all the taboos concerning birth. His wife strictly avoided meat and animal products and cold water for a month before and after birth. Arthur avoided them for a week. With their first child they gave away everything of value to their neighbors. When one of their children was born in the winter, it was thrown out into the snow and rubbed so that it would grow up tough. Father and son still toughen themselves with snow several times each winter. With the most recent birth Arthur took the dried placenta cord, saved by the doctor who delivered the baby in the Iron County hospital, and climbed high into the hills to place the cord in the crock of a healthy young cedar tree. The belief is that the child will live as long as that tree.

When Arthur kills a deer he says he still cuts out the best part of the meat and throws it in the four directions of the compass to give thanks to the deer and for good luck on the next hunt. He says that he has often
taken his four-year-old son with him and has the boy drink the fresh blood so that he will grow strong.

Arthur believes that the Southern Paiutes' concept of land ownership has been misrepresented by the anthropologists. He maintains that the ownership of the springs and the valleys around them were traditionally very much like the Anglo concept in that the land was actually owned and the owner had exclusive rights on that land. It was proper for the owner to refuse anyone access to its resources. In this way his concept of history supports his life style even if it goes against the most reputable authorities on the Southern Paiutes.

Arthur believes the old Southern Paiute ways are best. The problem is that few live them anymore and they have replaced them with the worst of the Anglo culture. He thinks, for example, that the old way of marriage, in which the husband just moves in, works at least as well as the "church way." He says that the "whites teach sex dirty, it's all bad in English. In Paiute it is not dirty, it is talked about as it comes up." He continues: "In the old days kids looked up to their parents, now they lose interest in their folks. They are ashamed of them and being ashamed of them is more important to them than their customs."

He believes that leadership should be by example and not by telling people to do things. "People (Paiutes)
are just brought up not to speak for others; I think it is a good idea."

Arthur will only rarely direct others even in his church leadership position, and this may be the reason he is doubtful that the council will accomplish anything lasting; there are too many people telling each other what to do.

Arthur Richards scored 8 on the psychological characteristics index, which is only slightly above the average for Cedar City and about half the average for Kaibab and far below the Kaibab leadership. He scored 7 points on the political attitudes, a -1 on Paiute image and 2 on discrimination. Arthur believes that there is a great deal of discrimination among the people of Cedar City. Even though he has received national recognition for his work productivity, he says that because he is an Indian, the "white guys" resent his seniority, which gives him the first choice at overtime and protects him from layoffs.

The interesting thing to me about Arthur is that he forged out his own sense of identity and integrity with very little assistance from either the Paiute culture or the Anglo culture, in any organized way. With that beginning he has developed his own answers to a Paiute's hardest questions.

He spent his youth in fighting and running,
suspicious of those around him, and most of his experiences supported this distrust. Relatively late in his youth he came under the influence of two men described earlier and patterned his life after them to a great extent. His sense of identity came late, but then he got a late start. He is in control of his own life, and his positions on most issues are well thought out. He operates on the rational level and usually knows exactly why he acts as he does.

Arthur and his wife take a very active part in the raising of their children, and they attempt to establish consistent patterns and limits for them. The children have the advantage of having Georgie George for a grandfather, and he also takes an active part in their lives.

The Richards receive some pressure from other Cedar City Paiutes because their ways are quite different, but this pressure does not seem to be too great for them. In the final analysis Arthur seems to be respected for both his industry and his "Paiuteness."

A summary of Arthur Richards personal development indicates how difficult the task of adjustment is, even for those few who make it successfully. He now draws strength from several different sources. As has been indicated, he was first a successful boxer and is still the most effective deputy in the Indian Village and even helps on occasion with "outside" crimes. He joined the Mormon
church late, only a few years ago and only after he had resolved, for himself, some of the contradictions that bothered him. He seems to compensate for his values of work, which are very Anglosized, by being very "Paiute" in his personal life. In some ways he has values that are more Anglo that the Anglos; in other ways he is more Paiute in the traditional sense than the most traditional of the older men. With his answers to the intermittent reinforcement he received and the cultural contradictions he faces daily, he has become an independent man, concerned about his family rather than the larger Paiute community. He has done this by design, believing that the important changes among the Southern Paiutes must be accomplished in the home and family first of all.

Council Leaders

**Shirley Bowman.** The Chairman of the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council is Shirley Bowman. She is thirty-three years old and a native of Cedar City, although she is from the Indian Peaks band. She works full-time during the school year as a cook at the high school. With her income she supports her mother and father, her four children, and at least one grown brother. She has long been willing to speak out while other Cedar City
Paiutes hang back.

Shirley owns the best home in the "Indian Village", in fact, it is the only one with a septic tank and a hot water heater.

Shirley Bowman travels to workshops and seminars on Indian affairs in the state capital as often as her work permits. She is very much interested in learning from other cultures. In addition she believes in communications enough to feel that if the Cedar City Paiutes will unite and speak with one voice, they will receive all the assistance they need to accomplish their goals.

For several years she has been a workhorse in the village. She can be dependent on to go around and talk to all the people or cook the beans for the branch dinner or do any number of other tasks women often perform once they get a reputation for civic-minded dependability.

The transition from politically active woman to political leader has not yet been too difficult for her, partly because she still does so much of the actual leg work herself. She is still the workhorse, implementing what others have planned, even though she is conducting the planning meeting.

Shirley is a confident woman, and her psychological characteristics index shows it. She scored a 17 on the overall index, and an 11 on the political attitudes section.
Shirley sees discrimination not only from Anglos but also from other Native American cultures. She scored 1 on the Paiute image index and a 5 on the discrimination index. Here my opinion of her attitudes on prejudice differs sharply from the answers she gave on the questionnaire. I believe that this is because although she is constantly noticing people up town "looking at us like we were dirt" and talking about it in the council meetings, she is really not too bothered about it for herself; it just gives her something to fight against.

In short, Shirley Bowman is a strong and forceful woman who approaches her position as chairman of the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council as an individual workhorse more than a leader and coordinator.

Ida May Jake. The secretary-treasurer of the council is Ida May Jake, who was also one of the interviewers for the Cedar City case study. She is twenty years old and a high school graduate. She has also almost completed beauty school and an IBM equipment operator's course in Los Angeles. In both cases she dropped out in the final phases for reasons she herself cannot articulate very well. Apparently she realizes that completion of school will bring about new demands for change. Before that happens she stops the process and pulls back to her comfortable and
less threatening life.

As a young girl she grew up in Mesquite, Nevada, where she was a foster child in the Mormon Church's Indian Placement program. In high school she was a cheerleader and claims she had never faced real discrimination until she married and moved to Cedar City.

Since she is an accomplished typist, she writes and sends in news releases to the local newspaper after every council meeting. In addition she handles most of the growing correspondence for the council. She is very willing along with Shirley, to travel long distances to attend meetings of Indian affairs, to gather information, and to represent the Cedar City Paiute views to those gathered at those meetings.

Ida is the daughter-in-law of Clifford Jake and lives with his family. This combination makes the home a very important center of Cedar City Paiute opinion, and the attitudes of the Jake family carries considerable weight in the community.

Ida scored quite low in the psychological characteristics index, 9, although her score was above average for Cedar City. Her political attitudes score was 6, which might be understandable because of her age. She totaled 0 on the Paiute image index, which might be explained by the rapid move she has made from high school cheerleader living
in an Anglo home and community to Cedar City, where she felt discrimination for the first time. She scored 3 on the discrimination index.

Ida Jake is clearly a bright and talented woman, but she has not yet solved all her cultural contradictions, perhaps because she did not have to face them until recently.

Maynard Pete. Maynard Pete is the bright young man in the Cedar City Paiute colony. Everyone "wants a piece of him" because he shows so much potential for leadership at nineteen, in a community where few men show any at all. Maynard is two years younger than Merle Jake, his counterpart in Kaibab, but he seems much younger—or Merle seems older. Maynard is a big, solid college freshman at Southern Utah State College, who seems to wish he could be left alone for a few years while he completes college and finds himself. But he feels the need for his community to develop, and he is constantly interrupting his school life to agitate for change, be the master of ceremonies at some Native American function, or attend a distant seminar. He is presently the president-elect of the College Indian Club and a very active participant in the CCICDC as well as a serious student attempting to compete at college "with the kids who had a real high school education."
Maynard is an emotional man and feels very strongly the cultural contradictions he is facing. During the last few months he has become very intense and is afraid, along with several others, that he is going to "burn himself out" before he can contribute as a leader and before he learns to say "no" to things which place too much pressure on him.

Maynard Pete is the son of Grand Pete, the headman for the Cedar Band. His mother being Goshute, he spent most of his childhood on that reservation. He was strongly influenced by two traditional men; the first was his grand-father, Jimmy Pete, and the second was an old man on the Goshute reservation. Today one of the most difficult things Maynard makes himself do is speak before his elders (see the Preface of this study). He feels strongly that he is too young to be taking charge, but no one else will do it. He is right. Since he attended a boarding school in Nevada and has lived in Cedar City for only one and a half years, his aggressive, seemingly anti-social acts of leadership are deeply resented by many of the Paiute residents of Cedar City, particularly the members of the Indian Peaks band.

These feelings of resentment are intensified because Maynard continually speaks in abstract terms, using hypothetical examples to prove his point. His antagonists in the Paiute community do not understand what he is saying
and often get very angry with him.

Maynard feels this opposition but pushes on in spite of it. In his words: "The trouble here is that the majority rules and most people don't want to do anything." He is articulate in his speeches and he talks in short, unimbelished sentences. He has said, "Our poverty is a cycle and we must find a way to squeeze out of it, but does that mean one by one? Cedar City has two worlds and two gaps in communications, one each way."

He is not an angry young man by any modern standards, but he has agitated for several groups in Cedar City, and I believe this has been detrimental to him personally because he must force himself, with his somewhat artistic and sensitive nature, to act as an aggressive agitator. He was instrumental in forming the Indian Club at the high school and getting the members to develop a better Native American library. He has become a relatively powerful political force on his college campus because he is willing (though very much afraid) to confront the administration on a number of issues he feels are important. Maynard is an advocate of Red Power, but he admits that he knows very little about the movement. He believes in Pan-Indian action and Native American initiative and control of their own programs, with the assistance of Anglo agencies when the Native Americans request it. Maynard has several Pan-
Indian newspapers which are almost worn out from repeated readings.

He has almost no support from home; his mother is alcoholic and his father has withdrawn; Maynard suffers from the same withdrawal symptoms as Ida May Jake. During both semesters at college Maynard has had a crisis at the end of each term. He has remained at home sitting in a darkened house instead of attending his classes and tests. In both cases concerned faculty members have assisted him in completing his work and going on.

Maynard feels that it is very important to preserve the traditional Paiute customs in order to give the people a sense of identity and continuity, but he himself does not speak Paiute fluently and remembers very few of the customs he sees as so important.

Maynard scored a total of 14 on the psychological characteristics index. He scored 6 on the political attitudes index, 6 on the Paiute image index and 2 on the discrimination index. He feels strongly that there is discrimination in Cedar City—a type of discrimination that is not personal (which he thinks can be tolerated), but institutional discrimination, which he fears and is working against.

In summary, Maynard Pete is an aware and sensitive person who feels the cultural contradictions very keenly
and is hurt by them. He has not yet solved them for himself, but nevertheless he is forcing himself to drive forward, attempting tasks and exposing himself in ways that he himself believes he is not ready to handle.

Comparison of Kaibab and Cedar City Paiute Leaders

A comparison of the psychological characteristics index totals for both leadership groups whose personal outlines have been included in this chapter and in chapter XI on Kaibab Issues and Leaders, indicates a significant difference. In table form:

TABLE 8
Paiute Leadership Comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cedar City Leaders (average 12.6)</th>
<th>Kaibab Leaders (average 23.2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grant Pete</td>
<td>Bill Tom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford Jake</td>
<td>Merle Jake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgie George</td>
<td>Theodore Drye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin Benn</td>
<td>Gevene Savala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Richards</td>
<td>Vivienne Jake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirley Bowman</td>
<td>Alfred Drye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida Jake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maynard Pete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can readily be seen, the average score of the psychological characteristics index for the Cedar City leaders is roughly one-half the average of the Kaibab leaders. In fact, if the only Anglo-appointed leader in
Kaibab (Alfred Drye) was deleted, the average in Kaibab would be slightly more than double the Cedar City average. This comparison indicates the significant gap that exists between the personalities, level of adjustment, and mastery of the cultural contradictions of the leaders of the two Paiute communities.

It is also interesting to note that the average for the Cedar City leaders is below the average for the total population of the Kaibab Reservation, which is 15. Both sets of leaders are significantly above their followers. In Cedar City the leaders scored forty percent higher than their followers, while in Kaibab the leaders scored about thirty-five percent higher. These rough indexes seem to indicate that the leaders in Cedar City have moved further away in their attitudes from the general population than the leaders in Kaibab even though they have failed to reach any kind of success threshold to this date.

In summary, the leaders in the Cedar City Paiute community are definitely part of their environment. Although like the Kaibab Paiutes they score consistently higher than their followers, they are much lower as a group than the Kaibab leaders. Once again this indicates rather strongly the significant differences in the general psychological spirit in the two communities. In Kaibab
there is a feeling of hope and purpose and worth as a human being that is generally lacking in Cedar City and quite clearly this includes the leaders as well as the followers. This difference is caused by rather deep seated psychological differences between the two groups. There are many additional reasons for this phenomenon which will be covered in the next chapter. In this chapter it has been shown that the Cedar City leaders are not selected by their people in anything approaching the traditional way. There is no central power or legitimacy, and the leaders know it. The community life they must cope with is much more complicated for them to understand and vastly more difficult for them to interpret for their followers.

It seems to me that leadership in Cedar City is a much more difficult proposition than it is on the Kaibab Reservation. In attempting to solve both their own internal contradictions and those of their culture as a whole, the leaders have moved as far or farther from their cultural norm than the Kaibab leadership has, and the isolation and distrust is much more dangerous for them, given the conditions in Cedar City as opposed to those in the Arizona Strip. The resulting tensions have produced a very reluctant leadership class, if it can be called that, and the results have been less than satisfying to the leaders, the followers and the Anglo who are actively involved in the achievement of Paiute goals.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter XIII

1
Articles of Incorporation, Cedar City Indian Community Development Council, 13 August, 1970, p. 1.

2
_Ibid._, p. 2.

3
Recorded on tape by Mr. Dewey Ekstrom at a Cedar City Indian Community Development Council meeting March 31, 1971.
Chapter XIV

SOUTHERN PAIUTE LEADERSHIP TODAY

Having analyzed the Southern Paiute leadership in specific terms for both the Kaibab Paiutes and those located in Cedar City, we will now examine leadership in more generalized terms. Several factors have been very important thus far in this study and they will be further reviewed in this chapter. These factors include: collectivism, privatism, the demands of Paiute followership, the role of the Anglo-American in Paiute organizations, the cultural demands on Paiute leadership, and several tools commonly used by Paiute leaders which enable them to administer effectively without making many demands of their followers or holding many sanctions over them. Keys explaining how legitimacy is established, maintained, and expanded under present conditions will be isolated.

Much of the material included here has been presented in a different form earlier in this study. Whereas before the material was examined in case studies form, here the Cedar City and Kaibab examples will be analyzed together in relation to the important factors of leadership within the Southern Paiute culture. A serious effort has been made to view cultural values of leadership and expose those aspects of behavior that have been imposed by the Anglo-dominated society.
Aspects of Collectivism

In Cedar City almost all of the collective aspects of the traditional Southern Paiute life have been either weakened or have ceased to function in their traditional ways. Because of this political power vacuum and the absence of any real economic advantages to larger group action, the kin-and-clique groupings are the most important and have survived even though their traditional functions had withered greatly in importance over the years. At the present time these relationships in Cedar City are very strong, since until very recently there was nothing else more powerful in the "Indian Village."

While the small kin-and-clique family groups remain important as "collective" units, the larger Cedar City Paiute community is split into at least three major sub-groups; the Indian Peaks band, the Cedar band, and the "outsiders." The "outsiders" can be further divided into several meaningful subdivisions. There are the individuals from other Southern Paiute bands, those from cultures such as the Shoshone, Goshute and Ute who are at least linguistically related, and there are the Navajos who are not.

These factions within the Paiute community are institutionalized by the federal and state governments as well as by the individuals of the "Indian Village." The principal bureaucratically maintained organization is the administration of the aboriginal land funds acting through separate committees, rather than through one unified body.
The collective aspects of the modern Cedar City Paiute culture are further weakened because the community has no land or economic base which is held by them collectively. In the past the kin-and-clique groups and/or the bands felt they had an area that was "theirs," on which they made their living through cooperative group effort. This is no longer true in Cedar City.

In Kaibab, the kin-and-clique relationships appear to be just as strong as in Cedar City but in a different way because there has also developed a sense of collective enterprise and pride. On the Kaibab Reservation the population is divided into clear, extended family groupings such as the Jake and the Drye factions, and much of community society revolves around their arguments and range fights, and so forth. And, just as with the Cedar City Paiutes, much of the psychological strength of the individuals on the reservation comes from their membership in their kin-and-clique group.

The society of Kaibab is split into factions similar to the Cedar City Paiute colony. There are the members of the Kaibab band and there are those who are not members but are Southern Paiute. Then there are those residents who are originally from another culture. However, most of the economic strength and political power on the reservation comes from the larger group, the Kaibab "band," and if a Paiute can claim membership, he is part of the reservation's economic ventures. He can survive at a higher level than he
would likely be able to on his own because the Kaibab Paiutes function more as an economic and cultural unit.

Looking at the Southern Paiute culture and history, the reservation governing process of the Kaibab Paiutes is also very similar to the functioning of the old economic clusters. In the Paiute individual's eyes the environment is still a very risky place. As in the past, his best (for some time only) real chance for a satisfactory life, lies in membership and activity in his group. The group not only gives a sense of belonging to something more powerful, helpful and safer than life would be without it; in addition, it is a buffer or an insulation for the Kaibab Paiutes from the contradictions between their traditional society and the pressures of modern United States life. There is more than just the kin-and-clique groupings. The collectivity has become a more broadly defined entity; it is functioning more as a culture is designed to.

One of the major differences in Kaibab is that in many respects the leadership is drawn from among those who for some reason are somewhat outside the Kaibab culture. For example, Bill Tom was originally from Indian Peaks; Merle Jake's mother was also from there, and in addition he himself is married to a Hopi woman. Theodore Drye, and to an even greater extent the women on the council staff, have both been successful in Anglo society for years. The "outsiders" are in power and were put there with the consent of the
residents of the reservation. Their elected leadership is outside their normal society on several important counts: for the most part they live away from the reservation's population center either in Six-Mile Canyon or in Fredonia; they have had more experience in the form of schooling, military service or jobs than most, and have been successful at it; they are all not members of the dominant Mormon Church, while at the same time they are relatively friendly toward it. This gives the society a much more open and cosmopolitan spirit, even though factions and kin-and-clique infighting is still an important aspect of their society.

In contrast to Cedar City, the larger unit of the Kaibab group is institutionalized. The tribal council has the authority in political and economic matters, and the land base is held by the collective unit, not by any smaller faction. Even the ranges that the Dryes and the Jakes quarrel about are only leased to them and belong to the collective whole. The Tribal Council has already provided homes for most of the poorer residents of the reservation, has provided some jobs, and has real prospects of providing several more in the near future.

The Council is molding the Kaibab into an economic unit on the order of the traditional economic cluster in that the member can gain a satisfactory living through active membership in that group. Even though the Kaibab community is very small, it is still far larger than any traditional
Southern Paiute economic or political organization. In Anglo terms, as has been mentioned before, the reservation governing process is much like a municipality.

Thus, in Kaibab, all of the traditional collective aspects of power in Southern Paiute society have been strengthened and expanded by the combination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the government they imposed in the past as well as imaginative, progressive Kaibab Paiute leadership.

Aspects of Privatism

Conversely, for the Cedar City Paiutes, the "private" aspects of their culture are more important, at least relatively, because their collective power has withered greatly.

One of the central aspects of Southern Paiute "privatism" before the impact of European Cultures was felt by the Paiutes was the valued concept that no man took it upon himself to represent another. This non-representation of others has continued to be an important aspect of the Cedar City Paiute culture to the present. As has been shown many times throughout this study, the Southern Paiute is very reluctant to represent another for almost any reason. It is simply not proper for a Cedar City Paiute to walk up to another and say, as Anglos often do, "You weren't at the meeting, so I told them you would help with the fund-raising dinner because I knew you wanted to." It is not possible for
one Paiute to commit another to anything and remain within cultural norms. Such an act is anti-social even though representation of others may be somewhat more legitimate than it was one year ago in Cedar City, considering recent developments in the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council. But it still does not represent the residents of the Indian Village in individual matters. For example, in Cedar City when the individual operates in the "outside" community, he must represent himself. He must select his own doctor, approach the school officials, approach a police officer, or whatever, on his own. What this often means is that the individual approaches someone, usually Scott Urie, and asks for his assistance in the matter. In Cedar City the individual Paiute has a great many alternatives open to him when he looks for assistance in the community outside his culture, and this strengthens the autonomy (as well as the isolation) of the individual.

By way of contrast, in Kaibab the Southern Paiute concept of non-representation of others has evolved to the point where it is now more a convention of respect of the individual's right to make his own decisions and speak his own mind, rather than an inhibition on leadership. The language of non-representation is still much the same as in Cedar City in that it is very common to hear someone on the council say, "I can't speak for any one else," but then he will say, "But I can talk to them and I think we can work it out in the
following manner . . ."

As has been stated before, the individual's right to be exempt from any action of the leadership is carefully protected. With this done, the Kaibab council does not feel constrained because it doesn't know what everyone thinks on a given issue. It goes ahead and does what it thinks is best and gets the consent of the majority after the plans are well on their way to full development. There is undoubtedly some resentment at times, but such action is not considered an anti-social act.

Cultural Demands on Followership

In the past, before the impact of European cultures caused the Southern Paiute culture to change, not even a "big chief" forced anyone to do his bidding, not even to prevent or settle violent crimes. As the most accomplished in a given hunting activity, he could suggest with enough authority that his followers would usually comply with his directions. Even the biggest chief had no legitimate sanctions to use against those who did not want to follow him.

When traditionally one did not have to follow the acknowledged expert, it is not surprising that this practice continued to the present over a period of years when the leader became less and less of an expert of any kind of valuable economic function for the society. It is also not surprising
that under these conditions very few if any sanctions have been established to control the actions of rebellious individuals.

In the traditional society the culture demands that an individual, whether leader or follower, pull his share of the load. To do less than that consistently would certainly hurt the group's chances for survival in their harsh environment. This is one of the reasons why old people who were dying were abandoned.

When individual effort was so essential for the whole group, the Southern Paiutes were able to function with a bare minimum of sanctions. As the Cedar City colony evolved from resourceful hunters and gatherers to apathetic "part-time" laborers, individual efforts for the group effort became of little consequence, particularly in the realm of political or economic activities. Paiute followership has always been a very temporary thing usually based on the chance of economic rewards. This traditional attitude toward leadership has persisted, and in Cedar City, as these economic benefits have decreased and become almost non-existent, the demands for followership have withered away also.

The most important sanctions have been the more subtle psychological ones based on shame the individual felt from the group. The individual always gained much of his psychological strength from his membership in a group that also kept him alive and in contact with people he understood. Since the
culture began to take on its present distrustful aspects, the
kin-and-clique group has gained meaning for the individual
because it became a place of refuge. The Paiute culture
became a sort of insulation from the overpowering Anglo
society. Therefore, for psychological reasons more than any
other, the follower did not want to stray too far too often
from the group norm lest he expose himself to group sanctions
in the form of psychological pressures.

These sanctions are always subtle to the Anglo
observer; in fact, most of them are meaningless to him unless
he has explanations. For example, one of the very worst
insults (sanctions) a band member can receive from another
member is to have his shadow spat on. It is very likely that
an Anglo who witnessed the act would not be at all conscious
of its meaning. However, these are not leadership-controlled
sanctions.

In Cedar City because of the vacuum of power caused by
a general lack of any Paiute governing process or control and
the absence of a central agency like the Bureau of Indian
Affairs, the individual Paiutes in the Indian Village have
become used to representing themselves. They must choose
from a variety of groups and individuals to assist them in
coping with their problems. On all counts, the individual
must fend for himself. In this way the highly treasured
"privatism" of the traditional Southern Paiute culture has
been strengthened by default, and the follower has few
responsibilities of followership.

A considerable amount has been said about the power the individual has to refuse to follow, without censure, in the Southern Paiute culture. This is also true for the Kaibab Paiute but the customs have been modified. Because the group is functioning as a group, it can ostracize individuals from it in ways that a relatively non-functioning group such as Cedar City cannot.

If an individual uses his veto too often, he usually leaves the Kaibab reservation and moves to another location, often to an Anglo community. This practice is also based on tradition. As will be remembered, the traditional individual before the coming of the Anglos could legitimately move to another economic cluster if his personal relationships were poor or he had other problems. The individual is still able to do this, and some do so, but as the advantages of being part of the Kaibab society grow with their power and the collective approaches have real meaning, sanctions are not necessary.

In this regard the Kaibab Paiutes have more personal options than the Cedar City Paiutes because they could also select their own "outside" agency or Anglo friend to help them, and they occasionally do, but in addition they can use the staff of their own council, which they do even more often. When they do it on their own, it appears it is not so much that they are "going around" their leaders as it is a matter of
either habit or personal preference. The important point is that it is not a matter of necessity.

The Kaibab leader has only a few more legitimate sanctions available for use against his followers than his traditional predecessors had. He can only suggest and attempt to convince by using persuasive oratory techniques, much as a "big chief" did in the past. If an individual chooses to use his personal veto, there is little additional pressure the leader can bring to bear within his cultural framework. These persuasive powers are once again meaningful, however, because once again the chairman and other leaders are becoming the local experts at their tasks just as the "rabbit chief" was expert at his.

It would be naive to say that the Kaibab leadership did not have or use sanctions. The chairman could, if he so desired, withhold services from those who consistently opposed his programs or used their veto too often. There is very little indication, however, that much of this is taking place. The sanctions used most often continue to be the more subtle ones based on group pressure.

According to Bill Tom, "We usually don't have much problem with a new project because if someone is against it, it is usually because they don't understand. When this happens, the other people explain (it) to them and they usually go along with it." This can be construed as group pressure based on shame, but since the projects of the Kaibab have not
been very controversial, it is likely that not much pressure has had to be used. Few people anywhere would be opposed to new housing for very little rent or a community center which cost them nothing but labor.

As has been mentioned, there are undoubtedly many reasons why sanctions are not apparent. However, one of the major reasons is still that it is not proper to sanction an individual because of his independent action in the Southern Paiute culture.

The Paiutes of Kaibab follow their tribal council for other reasons as well. In Kaibab the tribal council and the chairman are recognized by the outside world as the legitimate spokesmen for the Kaibab Paiutes. It is now proper for the council and particularly the chairman to act as the middleman. When there is a death on the reservation, the chairman handles the details; when somebody wants to attend college or a boarding school, the chairman or a staff member handles the paperwork. When there is a dental problem or someone needs eye-glasses or a hearing aid, the health representative for the reservation takes care of it. These functions not only increase the options for the residents of the reservation, they also change the norms of followership.

Therefore, even though there are not many more demands placed on Kaibab followers than those of Cedar City, there are far greater rewards connected with being an active member of the Kaibab community. Just as in the past there were real
economic as well as social gains connected with participation in the communal rabbit or deer hunts, today there are both economic and social benefits which can be derived from activity and cooperation in council initiated enterprises. In this fashion it has become less necessary for the Tribal Council to make specific demands as it was traditionally because the advantages are once again usually obvious to most Kaibab-Paiutes.

Use of Anglos in Paiute Leadership

The Anglo culture helped to magnify the problems Paiute leaders faced because they could make very few demands of their followers. Historically many programs initiated by the U.S. Government seem in retrospect to have been designed to usurp the power of the Native American leaders by stripping the leader of his power to sanction a follower. In the case of Cedar City this was usually done by the church, not the Federal Government.

If a Cedar City Paiute wanted food, he could get it faster if he went to see the Mormon Ward Welfare Director than he would if he talked to his leader, who was himself powerless in his changed environment. While the traditional Paiute leader had not been a planner, he had been a problem solver. The Anglo institutions, whether they were the reservation agent or the Mormon Missionary, provided a better problem solver, and the individual could then always "go around" the
leader.

Thus the Anglo-American who worked with the Cedar City Paiutes became more than just a political and economic broker who represented the individuals who approached him to the Anglo society, a process that in itself was very degrading to the traditional Paiute. He also became the destroyer of the leader he had probably selected himself, possibly without knowing it. With this type of behavior going on, it is easy to see how a "hostile dependent" behavior pattern developed. These phenomena are still going on in Cedar City at the present time.

If a Paiute leader in Cedar City attempts to go to the various agencies and represent his people he is not only committing an anti-social act and one that might not be accepted by his followers, but he must also move all the way into the Anglo value system because there is no agency that consistently occupies the middle ground. There are no actors such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs that attempt to foster Paiute government and make it legitimate. For other Native American cultures the Bureau of Indian Affairs has become a sort of cultural non-combat area in that leaders can deal with them legitimately without becoming too suspect, as long as they don't do it too often. It is one thing to "needle" the Bureau on behalf of the group. It is quite another to go "uptown" and ask for things from several different agencies.

The Kaibab Paiutes use Anglos as resource personnel
much as people in larger society use bankers, lawyers and stockbrokers to extend the limits of their own knowledge. Bill Tom uses many people as experts that are hired for just that purpose, such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel and the men from Health, Education and Welfare and other agencies. But he has also on several occasions used one of these agencies to play off another or get one to expedite a project because he is suggesting that he will go to another source because "his people can't wait much longer."

This is certainly different from the relationship the Cedar City Paiutes have with their Anglo political leaders, who often act like "big brothers." The Kaibab Paiutes are, at least at times, exploiting and manipulating their Anglo resource people and using their political power in a very developed manner. In fact, the biggest single fear held by Bill Tom and the Indian Development District of Arizona is that their special relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs will be somehow altered. They use the word "terminated." As has been noted, this is one of the biggest fears of the Southern Paiute leaders and conversely one of the most persistent Anglo attitudes. There are many reasons why the Native Americans fear a resurgence of the termination movement. The most apparent reason is the results; witness the Utah Southern Paiutes. But another important reason is that the aggressive leader would no longer be able to play the Bureau of Indian Affairs off against other agencies.
Cultural Demands on Leadership

Given this cultural context, the demands on a Cedar City Paiute leader have been shown to be a massive burden. The leader must hear the almost voiceless cry of the people. They demand implicitly, because although their conditions require that someone step forward and take charge, they themselves don't ask for it. In addition they don't have to follow any leader by their set of cultural norms.

Leadership in Cedar City is very personalistic, perhaps even more so than in the past. An effective modern leader would probably need more forceful persuasive powers. All of his relations have to be face-to-face with his followers because he cannot represent them, and they could always go around him if they so desired. The concept of staff work and division of labor would have to be developed.

Leadership among the Paiutes is a role or position with a great chance of personal failure and little chance of thanks or fame. Aggressive leadership is considered particularly anti-social. The leader is the locus of blame in the Cedar City Paiute community, but the agencies, such as the church, often receive the credit for success, at least in Anglo society.

A leader most often is a person who reacts to and interprets the initiative of some Anglo "friend of the Indian" to his people. His role as a communicator is very important
and not particularly anti-social as long as he is reasonably anti-Anglo.

In the face of all these difficulties in the form of internal psychological pressures of the leader, the group norms, and institutional inconsistencies, how does a leader lead? The central question is: How do you lead when you can't make demands?

In Cedar City the leaders have simply reacted to Anglo initiative and acted as limited communicators and interpreters of their followers. Since the organization of the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council, a new form of leadership is developing. The new leaders make demands on their fellow leaders. These are the people who have solved some of the cultural contradictions in such a way as to see the necessity of adopting new values to go along with the new organizations.

Recently this relatively small body of people has begun to ask each other and the Anglos who are active in the council to perform specific tasks. Some of these tasks are of a permanent nature, such as reporting important proceedings to the local press. These actions are still conducted in face-to-face relationships because no one would presume to commit even another leader to an action when he was not physically present, no matter what his formal position in the council was.

This seems to be a relatively painless way to develop the habit of coordinated action. As the functions of the
council grow and other organizations such as the finance committees become active, important demands and representation will also grow, at least in limited and specific areas. Just as the rabbit chief commanded enough respect in his area of expertise to be able to gather followers in a very important group venture, so can the council or finance committees become accepted in their specific functions.

In Kaibab the demands of the people are also voiceless for the most part. But the Kaibab leader also has the example of the giant Navajo reservation to live up to. This is both a blessing and a curse. It is a blessing because the Navajo political and economic organizations and programs are a positive model to emulate. It is a burden because it is very difficult for a small political unit to do just that.

With a population of only approximately eighty individuals, leadership in the Kaibab Reservation is still very personalistic, following tradition, but it is also natural and practical. The staff work and positions are expanding as the programs grow and money becomes available to hire staff workers. This serves the additional function of establishing a leadership program. For the first time since the Mormon settlers moved into their area, the Kaibab Paiutes can select chairmen who are trained to perform the functions they will be called upon to serve as leaders. It will be possible for a young man with potential and interest to learn the tools and techniques of leadership in the Kaibab-B.I.A.-Arizona strip
environment as an assistant or staff member rather than having to step from the cattle herd or the military service into the top leadership position in a system he does not really understand.

There has been one smooth transfer of power already under the new concept of aggressive leadership, and this is a very important precedent to have established, although this is also traditional in the Southern Paiute culture. It will be interesting to see how the power fight that will come in time will be handled. If it follows cultural norms, there should be little trouble.

The top leadership position in the Kaibab group is one of great exposure. Although leadership roles have been to a great extent institutionalized, many of the functions are still anti-social according to cultural standards that have become outdated. A good example of this is the criticism Bill Tom receives because he does not work enough with his hands. It seems that this is a carryover from the days when the "deer chief" was the best deer hunter in the group. It is no longer possible for a modern chairman to be able to actually perform all the tasks he must coordinate; nevertheless the value seems to persist.

Although there is a great potential for failure in the Kaibab chairmanship as a locus for blame, there is also present the potential for greatness. Vernon Jake is known and respected throughout the Southern Paiute territory and
even among many Anglos on the Arizona Strip as a great man and leader. This is certain to make the risks for a young leader more worthwhile even in a culture where the value of fame and recognition are played down.

Probably the biggest job for the chairman and his staff is that of communication between the two cultures they deal with. Above all, the chairman must be able to convince the followers on his reservation that the acts he is performing are legitimate and for the betterment of the whole group. He must be able to make them understand the impersonal ways of the American political system, and he must be able to explain the inevitable bureaucratic delays without becoming identified with them.

On the other hand, he must be able to communicate with the Anglo agencies and political leaders. He should be able to compete for funds and attention. He should be able to "wheel and deal" with both the proposal and the funding of important projects. In the real sense of the word, a good and effective chairman should be an entrepreneur on behalf of his culture.

To perform both of these often conflicting roles takes a unique individual who has already answered the inherent contradictions within himself. The unusual thing is that there is a sizable handful of individuals in Kaibab who appear to have that potential.

After only a few years the Kaibab organizations have
developed a method of balancing the pressing needs of their reservation and the Anglo system of supplying those needs against the cultural constraints that limit the demands that can be made on the members of that culture. By adapting more closely to their traditional values the political organization that was imposed on them by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they have achieved legitimacy for themselves as the principal power on the reservation.

The Kaibab leaders, as well as those in Cedar City on occasion, use a kind of political judo to get around the spirit of apathy and suspicion that most Southern Paiutes live in. Much as in physical judo, in this political version the weight of the inertia is used to the advantage of the smaller and more nimble leadership to accomplish its goals for the general population.

For the Kaibab-Paiutes it usually works in the following way: Plans are well formulated and money is appropriated before much formalized communicating is done with the bulk of the people. Then they are confronted with a well-designed program with an already good chance of success in the near future. Their usually over-active distrust does not have a chance to develop, and the normally apathetic people acquiesce rather than exercise their valued and protected right to abstain. In this fashion, in Kaibab, few demands are explicitly made, but the projects continue, leadership functions, and a tradition of trust has begun.
A summary analysis shows that the Kaibab Reservation and the political organizations that have developed on it, along with the relationships that have been established with the Anglo-Americans of the area, provide all of the elements that seem to be the most important for development of any culture that is attempting to catch up, without losing its cultural identity. They have their own political organizations which are now based on structures that they themselves are comfortable with because they incorporate their traditional values as the Kaibab themselves have adjusted them. They are, for the most part, reasonably independent of the political and economic influence of the Anglos in the area. At the same time the Kaibab and Moccasin villages are mutually dependent for many things, predominantly psychological, but also for such things as the paved road and assistance in times of emergency in their isolated area. Simply stated, they have established reciprocal power relationships.

Furthermore, the Kaibab Paiutes can communicate with the outside world on their own. This can be in the form of education, agitation, or whatever they feel the situation calls for. They have gained some control of their environment and are no longer completely dependent on the paternalism of others, no matter how efficient or benevolent that paternalism might be.

In almost every case, these elements are missing in the case of the Cedar City Paiute community. There, a
beginning has been made, but much is yet to be done.

**How Do Paiute Leaders Lead?**

From the foregoing analysis of Southern Paiute leadership and the extensive review of the two case studies, several specific factors may be isolated which determine how effective Paiute leaders lead. Although their individual tactics differ widely, all seem to contain the following elements:

First, leaders have been able to solve many of their personal contradictions and develop the type of personalities which enable them to withstand the additional pressures they are subjected to as transitional leaders. In the process of developing their relatively strong identity they grow somewhat outside their own parent culture. Since this process is much easier if one is already outside that culture, it seems that most leaders grow out of a culturally deviant group of Southern Paiutes. Almost all have had different experiences such as living away from concentrations of Paiutes, relatively strong and consistent guidance in their youth, a more meaningful educational experience, marriage to someone equally outside the culture (often a non-Paiute) and lack of ties to the dominant religious beliefs. For some or all of these reasons these leaders feel less cultural constraints, particularly from their own culture but also from the Anglo-Americans as well.

Second, while outside the normal limits of accepted
cultural behavior, the effective leader is also very often a source of pride for the group, in part because he is competing successfully in the Anglo world and in part because he remains very "Paiute" in some of his behavior. Almost all of the effective Paiute leaders are very articulate advocates in preserving their culture's most distinctive aspects, even though they are the first to discard other aspects they judge to be unimportant or counter-productive. The personal solutions of the leaders become the models or stepping stones for the majority of their followers. At least in the Southern Paiute case the transitional leaders are literally advance men for the evolution of commonly held values. It seems their somewhat anti-social ideas, values, and behavior become the accepted norms over time.

Third, this cultural change is instigated through a peculiar set of leadership tools based on traditional values as they have evolved and in some cases been rendered archaic by the generations of Anglo-American domination. Here the leader must lead while attempting to avoid making significant demands of his followers. Demands within this framework are seldom explicit, and a feeling of group consensus is developed and nurtured whenever possible. A mode of operation in which the leader uses the weight and inertia of the apathetic population is used in this regard. Slowly, anti-social acts of leadership and illegitimate demands are successful, and attitudes are expanded to fit the new leadership's more power
oriented functions.

Fourth, most effective Paiute leaders are very accomplished communicators between the two cultures. They are usually the only individuals from either culture who can talk to almost anyone from either. Not only can they converse in both languages, in most cases, but as persons literally in between they seem to be able to understand the views of both.

Finally, as such brokers they reduce alienation by opening channels of communication and disarming both intra- and inter-group misunderstandings and suspicions. Through their activities, traditional and modern Paiute values are brought into new balance, and equally importantly, the reality of the Southern Paiute culture and the image the Anglo-Americans generally hold of it are brought into sharper focus.
Chapter XV

POWER TO THE PAIUTES: TOWARD A MORE COMPATIBLE
BICULTURAL COMMUNITY

The bicultural society in which the Southern Paiutes find themselves has proved to be a very disappointing and damaging one for them throughout the years. It is difficult for a small and powerless minority culture to survive and work with the powerful and domineering group to gain their share of the economic, social and psychological factors necessary to obtain "the good life," while at the same time not losing its standing as a separate and identifiable entity. In fact it may not be possible to separate what is truly a culturally based Southern Paiute trait from a trait that has been imposed by the dominant society since so many of the distinctive patterns of the Paiutes are determined by structural conditions of the larger society which are beyond their control and not the result of the socialization of a culture committed to a separate culturally designed behavior.

Relative Deprivation Compared

As was stated in the first chapter, degrees of poverty and wealth, development and underdevelopment, power and powerlessness, are relative and must be measured at a certain time and within a certain society. Definitions of poverty
obviously change with conditions, but the key is always inequality and perhaps the very best measurement of it is relative deprivation.

By almost any standard both the Kaibab Paiutes and those who live in Cedar City are more deprived and have less power in their relations with others than most of their Anglo neighbors. The deprivation goes even deeper than this, however. When the Kaibab and the Cedar City Paiutes are compared, the relative deprivation between them is the difference that stands out most sharply.

Even though they are from the same Native American culture and the nearby Anglo-American communities have the same religion and value systems, the results for the Paiutes are strikingly divergent. A quick survey of the variables points out how different these two closely tied Paiute communities' experiences have really been. At the core the difference has been in their power relationships. In every case the Kaibab Paiutes are more equal, more powerful and therefore less deprived within their local environment than the Cedar City Paiutes. Not only in the more obvious insufficiencies such as material wealth, occupational and educational experiences and political power, but also in the more subtle deprivations of the spirit and the psyche have Cedar City Paiutes been treated unequally.
The Kaibabs have had a long experience with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. However efficient or inefficient it has been, this bureau of the Federal Government is charged with the responsibility of administering a great many federal programs designed to help Native Americans. Since the Kaibab Paiutes have become aggressive in their own government, the Bureau has provided them with an abundance of technical and other resource people.

On the other hand, historically the Paiutes of Cedar City have been deprived of any effective assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and since they were terminated, either legally in the case of the Indian Peaks band or by default in the case of the Cedar band, they have had none at all. This has deprived them of all of the programs available to the Kaibab band, and their political power has been denied them in the most important agencies of Native American political life.

Location

This deprivation was carried on almost as near to the mainstream of American society as one can be in the area of the Southern Paiute, not in the relative isolation of the Arizona strip, which is one of the most remote areas of the United States today. While the Kaibab can develop with
relatively little comparison to the affluence of the larger society, the Paiutes of Cedar City can see one of the major highways in the west from their Village. They are part of the largest community in Southern Utah and their poverty and deprivation, which until a few years ago was no worse than that of the Kaibab, must be more apparent to them.

**Size**

While both populations are small, in Kaibab the Paiutes are in the majority of roughly two to one, and the Anglos are in the minority. Also, the reservation surrounds the Mormon village and in that sense dominates it.

In Cedar City the Paiutes are a very small and almost invisible minority to the dominating Anglo community. The Paiutes number about one hundred in a town of eight thousand. Instead of surrounding the Anglos, the "Indian Village" is nearly surrounded by them. Also they are surrounded by the most affluent symbols of that society, the golf course, parks and a section of relatively large, new homes.

**Political Organization**

In Kaibab the Paiutes are very well organized. They have surprisingly sophisticated government for a community of eighty. They have a government based on a combination of traditional values and procedures as well as an organizational
structure imposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This combination gives them most of the aspects of "equality," "capacity," and "differentiation" that are generally thought to be needed if a modern society is to be built. Their political power is a significant force in the area.

On the other hand, the local Anglo culture in Moccasin is organized on a less sophisticated level. Their form of government can be thought of as a holdover from the old 19th century Mormon theocracy. There is essentially only one dimension to the Anglo political power, the Mormon Church. The Anglo citizens choose to live this way and are relatively happy in their choice but in many ways their Paiute neighbors have a more sophisticated and modern type of political organization and power than they do.

In Cedar City almost the opposite is true. The Cedar City Paiutes are almost completely unorganized politically and therefore there is very little "equality," "capacity" or "differentiation." Before the Cedar City Indian Community Development Council was organized a few months ago and the crisis of federal funds arriving shortly forced the state to formally organize political and economic committees, the Cedar City Paiutes had only the non-functioning band headmen. Even though the council has made encouraging progress, it is still a very fragile political organization and the "development syndrome" is just beginning to be in evidence.

Though Cedar City has a traditional two-party system of
government, there are enough powerful factions and pressure
groups to make the American ideal of pluralism more of a
reality in Cedar City than in smaller Utah towns. As such,
Cedar City politics are subject to all the pressures and
dislocations of a much larger community. In this busy
climate the relatively powerless and voiceless Paiute political
organizations are not often noticed by the majority of the
citizens, however. Their deprivation is very noticeable to
the Paiutes.

**Economic Base**

The Kaibab Reservation is an adequate economic resource
base for the present Paiute population. In addition, with the
water rights and the tourist attractions of the area there is
probably a greater potential for growth on the reservation
than anywhere on the Arizona strip. If even some of the long-
range plans of the Kaibab council become a reality, the
reservation will provide very adequate employment for not only
the Paiutes but several Anglos as well.

In Cedar City the Paiutes have absolutely no land base,
not even the land they live on. Although there are some
prospects for their acquiring the forty-one acres that make up
the "Indian Village," and the Cedar band certainly has a claim
to a reservation, these prospects will not likely materialize
soon.

If the Cedar City Paiutes made plans for tourist-
oriented businesses, they would be in competition with several established businesses of a similar nature in the same community, whereas the Kaibab Reservation has a National Monument located within it, and the borders of the reservation act to hold other potential business competitors several miles away.

**Housing**

The new Kaibab homes, where the majority of the people live, are at least as good as the homes of their Anglo neighbors. Because they don't have mature trees and landscaping surrounding them, the homes look a bit stark standing on the open sand; however, they are newer, larger, and better planned than many of the homes in Moccasin.

In Cedar City there is not one Paiute home that approaches the Kaibab homes; in fact, the Cedar City homes are shacks. All of the homes are substandard, and as has been mentioned before, many do not have such conveniences as running water, lawns, electricity, or adequate heating. In contrast and by comparison the homes of Cedar City are, on the average, much better and newer than the Moccasin homes.

**The Mormon Church**

In Kaibab the Mormon Paiutes are included in the church activities; in fact, most of those activities are held in the
old chapel near the new housing development even though there is a better chapel in Moccasin. When the two cultures were integrated in church activities, the Anglo ward name was dropped and the Paiute Branch name was adopted for all. The church membership is very consciously attempting to involve the Paiutes who want to be active in Church activities, and they seem to be doing a very good job of it.

The Moccasin Anglos have accepted the believer-non-believer definition of Nephites and Lamanites, and therefore there is little or no mention made of the subject in church meetings; the total ward are all simply "Mormons." There is no mention of the Paiutes becoming "white and delightful."

In Cedar City the Paiutes have their own separate chapel, which is a very pleasant building. They do not attend services "uptown" although they could do so theoretically. As a matter of fact the few families that live outside the boundaries of the "Indian Village" still attend the "Indian Branch." It is likely the only place where they would not feel isolated from their Paiute friends.

Most of the leadership positions of the Branch are filled by Anglos who are called to those positions from other wards in Cedar City. Recently the activity of the Mormon Paiutes has dropped, and they do not participate in larger church activities.

The definition of "Lamanite" that is generally accepted by the leadership of the Cedar Indian Branch is the racial one
that sees Lamanites as the offspring of the original cursed and darkened brothers of Nephi. Again the general Mormon population in Cedar City does not appear to be very aware of the Indian Branch or its special problems.

Summarizing these differences in relative deprivation; it seems that in Kaibab the Paiutes are reminded almost daily that all the nearby Anglos care about them and are friendly toward them. Daily they see the symbols of their band's power to affect its environment in the forms of the new roads, homes, tribal office building, and the on-going construction of their community center arts and crafts building. Their homes are at least as good as the homes of the Anglos and much newer. The church is the only important activity for the Anglos in Moccasin, and the Paiutes are included in all of those activities.

In Cedar City the Paiutes are reminded almost daily that the Anglos don't care about them and are not friendly toward them; as a group most do not even know them or speak to them. People do drive through their "Village" on the way to the golf course or ball park, but they generally do not associate with them on a personal basis. Daily the Paiutes in Cedar City see the symbols of their impotency and powerlessness. Sewer and water pipes lie beside half-dug trenches that were started in the fall of 1970 and then abandoned; their homes are shacks surrounded by a sea of mud in the winter and dust in the summer. Theirs are the only
dirt roads in a residential district within the city limits. Politically they are divided into two ineffectual bands with many additional factions. The Mormon church is only one of many valued Anglo activities. The Paiutes are excluded from all but the church activities and are segregated in those, both physically and theologically.

In Kaibab the Paiutes are part of the isolated Arizona Strip society. In Cedar City the Paiutes are surrounded by all the affluence of United States society but are definitely not part of it.

The differences in the relative deprivation of the two Southern Paiute population centers are staggering. These differences have also been observed in other contradictions, as noted throughout this study. The physical variables above are just the manifestation of those deeper cultural contradictions.

**Cultural Contradictions**

All of the themes in this study centering around the contradictions between the Southern Paiute and the Mormon/Anglo American cultures have been isolated in an arbitrary fashion. In real day-to-day living they are so interrelated that to change one of the contradictions would be to affect the whole system. For example, to change the Southern Paiute values concerning privatism or collectivism would, of course, affect the contradictions the leaders feel as they work between the
two cultures.

Nevertheless it seems valuable to continue to divide the total bicultural or plura-cultural system as an aid to conceptualizing the different aspects of the very complex overall problem.

Paiute Political Legitimacy

Generally, in both cases, the Southern Paiute individual does not regard forceful leadership to be legitimate. They feel their primary loyalty to and identity in their kin-and-clique groups. In fact, they generally feel lost outside the context of these groups.

By the same token the individual has a great amount of freedom within these groups. At a very young age, by Anglo-American standards, a boy becomes "his own man." There is no tradition of people telling others what to do, such as leading and directing and representing other people.

Within this general cultural framework there are significant differences between the two cases of Kaibab and Cedar City. In Kaibab an old feeling of group enterprise and economic cooperation has re-established itself, while in Cedar City, although this feeling might be in the process of being born, there is no general acceptance of the idea of community cooperation. The cultural value toward collectivism has deteriorated into a sort of collective alienation league and therefore is a reactive collectivism rather than a positive
factor in their society. While there is still this negative aspect in the Kaibab case (in fact it was probably a traditional aspect of the Southern Paiutes' culture). The positive aspects of this cultural trait are now more predominant.

Traditionally, the privatism of the Southern Paiute society was a productive part of its culture in that it provided for innovation and mobility and generally helped to make the Southern Paiutes able to adapt to their harsh environment which forced them to live in very small population clusters. In Kaibab, the traditional privatistic values have been adjusted while being protected and are now a workable part of the value system that complements much of their development efforts.

The Cedar City Paiutes have had their traditional privatism disintegrate until it no longer functions as a positive part of their value system. Instead their brand of privatism effectively blocks any community-wide attempts at development of collective political or economic action. Aggressive leadership in any form is simply not a well-established or socially acceptable behavior in Paiute Cedar City.

**Race Relations**

The two Southern Paiute communities live in the same general area. The Anglos they are surrounded by are of the same background, history, religion and experience. They have
the same general values, and one could expect them to have the same "image" of the Native American generally. But in the specific case of the local Paiutes that live near them, they have developed almost contradictory attitudes.

While the general behavior could be called "paternalistic" in both cases, in the Kaibab-Moccasin area this paternalism is both friendly and familiar to the Paiutes. It is not at all impersonal or remote to them and is therefore far less threatening. There is a great deal of empathy between the two cultures. In fact both groups seem to feel fairly strongly that this empathy is the key to their good relations at the present time and also the key to continued progress.

In Cedar City, although the Anglos started from the same paternalistic attitude base, the behavior of the general Anglo population in Cedar City has evolved into a remote, impersonal, and threatening relationship for the Paiutes. Instead of empathy on the part of the Anglos, their general attitude can best be called one of "condescending hostility."

On the Paiute side of the race relations issue, the Kaibab Paiutes have responded to the climate of mutual empathy by softening their hostile dependent attitude. Although they are still dependent on the local Moccasin people for many things, they also go to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, through their own leaders, and have other options open to them. While the dependency is still there, as a behavior pattern, much of the hostility has faded away. This is particularly
noticeable in their leadership.

In the Cedar City Paiute community the lack of mutual empathy on the general level has resulted in an intense level of hostile dependency. The Paiutes are dependent on the good graces of the Anglos for almost every facet of their lives, from the land they live on to the governmental services they must seek individually from several different agencies. In many if not most of the individual Cedar City Paiutes, hostile dependency is at a relatively advanced stage. They seem to resent those who attempt to help them the most. This in turn reinforces the condescending hostility on the part of the Anglos, and the general but hidden hostility on both sides becomes very subtle and sometimes overpowering.

**Personal Contradictions**

In both the Kaibab/Moccasin and Cedar City Paiutes, the cultural contradictions are, of course, very important factors in personal development. The Southern Paiute leader must first balance these contradictions for himself and develop his own integrity with respect to both cultures and then communicate with his followers and interpret and soften the contradictions for them. This process places a great deal of pressure on the leader because he must constantly make both personal choices and choices for his followers, and the tension caused by this inner balancing and interpreting is intense.
As has often been the case, and as has been noted in a great many studies of transitional leadership, the most effective leadership comes from that segment of the developing society that finds itself somewhat outside the more traditional mainstream of their culture and therefore feels less of this personal tension caused by the cultural contradictions.

In Kaibab almost all, if not all, of the leaders fall into this category. The complete tribal council is made up of people from this segment of Kaibab society in that they all display behavior that shows that they have moved considerably away from some of the old traditional values. In terms of education, living style, successful experiences on the outside, personal philosophy, and even distance from the Paiutes they lead. They have had the advantage of more consistent parental guidance and usually have also met others who have influenced their lives in special ways. Many are continuing to grow away from their Paiute culture by such actions as marrying into other cultures. At the same time they continue to value their "Paiuteness," perhaps to a greater degree than most Southern Paiutes. During recent years they have been able to communicate between their more traditional followers and the relatively receptive Anglo community and governmental agencies they come in contact with.

In the case of Cedar City, where the contradictions are much greater, this class of leadership is not present in strength. It is probable that the individuals who have
developed new values and could have served as leaders in transition have moved away to communities with better conditions rather than face the solid wall of contradictions and deprivations in Cedar City.

Thus the mainstream of Cedar City Paiute society remains very depressed and in a general state of "anomie" while the relatively weak leadership class is under intolerable pressure, both internally and from the larger Cedar City community and their own culture. It is not surprising that the most promising leaders tend to move elsewhere.

In many ways the leadership in these two Paiute communities is simply a reflection of the deeper psychological climate in the villages. The average resident of the Cedar City Indian Village is much more dispondent, suspicious of others and unsure of himself and his culture than is the average Kaibab Paiute.

Toward a Compatible Bicultural Community

Leadership in the Anglo context, which must be used if the individual leader is to function in the larger society where Anglos control the goods and services that make it possible for the present day Southern Paiute to survive, is an anti-social act by traditional Paiute standards. In addition, these traditional values have been reinforced by many years of inactive and non-functioning leaders and political organiza-
tions.

It is clear that these traditional values no longer serve a positive function in their present form. Where progress has been made by the Southern Paiutes, these values have changed, and the sequence seems to go something like the following: A leader sees the merit of a new idea, a new way of doing things, which in turn destroys, for him, at least some of the values of the old traditions and customs. As the leader with the new idea pushes for its adoption, he commits acts of anti-social behavior, and he either cannot take the social and internal pressures and retreats to the traditional behavior or escapes with his new idea and value system to Anglo society. But if he can stand the pressures, and the conditions are right, he is able to persevere until the new ideas and values are accepted and his leadership becomes socially acceptable.

This process not only involves the activity of a leader who is not as strongly culturally bound as his followers and who can adapt the new values to fit the new functions of their political system; it also involves the changing of the old traditions and values which the new ones replace. In that sense progress involves the destruction or decay of the traditional political system.

The transition of Paiute leadership from an anti-social act to leadership as a socially valuable act involves the decay or drastic alteration, if you will, of the existing political
system and values. Therefore, there is often a period of significant instability, since it is an attack on the status quo and is resisted by many of the traditional members of the society. For a bicultural environment the instability is magnified in the case of the Southern Paiutes. The traditional political system is largely non-functioning and even counter-productive, and therefore there is little "decay"; nevertheless there is considerable resistance to the changing of cherished values.

In Kaibab there has been much progress and a significant alteration of values, and therefore many cherished values have been changed. In Cedar City this process is just beginning under a crisis situation, and the outcome is still very much in question as to what values will change to fit the necessary functions and, if so, how much and at what cost.

These questions of the changing of cultural values raise further questions of the Southern Paiute culture or cultures themselves, questions the leadership has to ask itself daily: How viable is the Southern Paiute culture today? Can it provide a positive sense of "peoplehood" which will be helpful or useful for its very few members in the Southwestern United States of today? If the traditions of the Paiute culture, the spirit of its public institutions, and the collective reasoning, operating codes and mores become very similar to those of Anglo society, will theirs be a truly distinct culture?
Culture need not have much to do with the differences or size of two different ways of life. It is perfectly acceptable for the Southern Paiute culture to remain small and become more like the Anglo culture of their area as far as significant differences in life styles or values are concerned. If the Southern Paiutes' self-identification tells them they are different and their identity remains "Southern Paiute," then they will continue to be a viable culture.

Of course, identity is only one aspect of culture even though it seems to be the most important one for most purposes. Because so much of what it now "the Paiute life style" or way of life has been imposed on them by the powerful Anglo society it can be argued that the Southern Paiutes have ceased to function as a legitimate culture since they have essentially lost the power to consciously control their way of life. The key to a viable culture not only includes a sense of peoplehood, which the Southern Paiutes have, but also a degree of power which enables them to choose the rate of homogenization for themselves as well as the degree of separateness they will retain.

The position of this study has been that so long as the members of the society possess a sense of "peoplehood" that makes them conscious of a sense of identity, that indicates to them a distinctiveness from "outside others," they can be said to possess a culture. The strength of identification within the culture has always been the most important element
of an admittedly complex concept of "culture." That culture
can be a positive or negative force in their material life.
Much of this depends on their power to control at least some
of their relationships.

In the case of Cedar City the Paiute culture has in
many ways served as a roadblock to its potential leaders and
to its members in obtaining the things in life that they them-
selves desire. In Kaibab, through positive leadership, this
destructive side of the Southern Paiute culture has modified
over the past few years as the Kaibab Paiutes have adopted new
values, which are closer to Anglo values, to fit the functions
of their "tribal" council.

Moving closer to the Anglo culture has not destroyed
their feelings of "peoplehood"; on the contrary, it seems to
have made them stronger. Culture must be based for the most
part on self-definition. Time may make the material aspects
of Southern Paiute culture very nearly like those of the Anglo
culture surrounding them, but if they maintain and even
strengthen their sense of "peoplehood" in the process, their
culture will also be that much stronger. If Liechtenstein
can be said to have a culture and separate entity, then the
postage stamp-sized cultures of the Cedar City and Kaibab
Paiutes seem to be just as legitimate.

Much of the problem lies in the fact that many of the
people of the Anglo-American culture believe that the Native
American cultures in general and the Southern Paiute culture
specifically should "wither away." They are not only influenced by their image of the "vanishing American" but reinforced by their theological definition of "Lamanites" as a cursed people who must change greatly to progress. From their position of power they further impose restrictive structures and institutions on the Paiutes.

This is much less true for the citizens of Moccasin, but they seem to be the exception rather than the rule. For the majority of the Anglo citizens, particularly many Mormons, allowing the Southern Paiutes to remain a distinct culture with their blessings rather than their resistance will require a great deal of change in attitudes and values on their part. In my opinion this would be a positive change in the cultural climate of the area and for the dominant culture as well. Not only would it lessen the strain for the minority Southern Paiute culture as it reduces the contradictions between it and a more modern and satisfying way of life, but it would enrich the life of the whole area. Each way of life is uniquely creative and can help to adapt society to the ever-changing conditions. It is very likely that solutions to future problems can develop out of essentially Paiute life styles rather than strictly Anglo-American systems. This would require, however, a cessation of the almost constant refusal to accept any culture or subculture simply because it seems to violate the Anglo's values or to threaten their parochial interests. The dominant culture must cease to be paternalistic
and cease couching their explanations in familiar "father knows best" terms. These requirements are not easy to meet, as has been shown.

As real empathy is developed on a wide scale, many of the cherished values regarding the "American Indian" and at least some definitions of "Lamanite" would be altered greatly. On the part of the Anglos, as the political institutions and power of the Southern Paiutes grow into a closer balance with those of the Anglos, the status quo of the predominantly Anglo agencies must change. Their role will become more and more that of brokers and technicians and less and less that of "big brother" and moral father figure. This will require considerable change of the present system and the values that support that system.

In this regard the rapid mobilization of the Cedar City Paiutes during the last few months and the mobilization which will continue as the funds crisis develops, arc putting nearly as much strain on the Anglo organizations which work with the Paiutes, such as the Mormon branch leadership, as it is on the Paiutes themselves. The political organizations are growing much faster than is the capacity of both groups to handle that growth. The result, at least for the present, is the decay of the old status quo and frustration and political instability.

If the adaptive leaders from both cultures work more closely together, the functions of leadership, as far as the Cedar City Paiutes and the agencies which help them are
concerned, and the values behind them will come closer together and more understandable to those leaders. In this way the contradictions between the two cultures can be reduced much as they have been in the case of the Kaibab-Paiutes.

A word of caution should be added. The values and personalities of the two cultures cannot be expected to be changed overnight. The generations of hidden hostility would not melt away even if a perfectly designed program were initiated. The problems the bicultural community of Cedar City faces, and to a somewhat lesser extent the Kaibab-Moccasin community, are essentially people problems, not bureaucratic or program problems, and it often takes a great deal of time to change people. It has been shown that it seems to take a generation, or more likely two, to develop the secure personalities that are needed in order for a Souther Paiute individual to master the cultural contradictions that apply such pressure on him.

While it may be possible to reduce the contradictions and thereby make this process easier through programmatic methods, at best it is likely to be several years before individual Paiutes have the positive and constant successful experiences that are so needed. The following recommendations are made with this rather lengthy time period in mind:

Predictions and Recommendations

Implicit in the foregoing paragraphs are many of the
important themes found in the literature on political development. There are no original thoughts concerning that body of theory to be found in this exploratory investigation of a small and remote Native American culture and the two case studies of leadership development within that culture. The experience of these cases does substantiate the claim that several prominent thinkers in the field of political development have maintained—that is, that development on any scale is a systems problem. No single issue or value can be the single key to change of this type; rather, all or most of the contradictions between the less developed culture and the model for development must be confronted simultaneously if there is to be rapid and fairly orderly growth. The whole broad spectrum of the cultural contradictions must be attacked in a coordinated effort if some equality in terms of power and control is to be gained.

The Kaibab experience points this out very clearly and in a positive way. Their tribal council is attacking a very broad range of problems, and they are demanding and receiving enlightened assistance from several sources, varying from the local Moccasin village to the distant Federal Government.

The fledgling Cedar City Indian Community Development Council is attempting to accomplish the same broad objectives in the face of much more serious relative deprivations. Whereas the Kaibab leaders and organizations are mature enough now to withstand such crisis situations as the arrival of
large amounts of Federal funds and even welcome them, the Cedar City Paiutes are not. It seems that the rapid development of political organizations to prepare for the crises that are overdue may even intensify those crises because of the heightened frustration on the parts of both the Paiutes and the Anglos. In both Paiute and Anglo cultures, the contradictions have been intensified in recent months, and the leadership functions and the values behind them have probably not developed sufficiently to cope with them yet.

Based on these assumptions and predictions, the following broad suggestions are recommended specifically for the Southern Paiute case, but I believe a similar course of action could be developed for almost any group that is a relatively powerless segment of a bicultural or plura-cultural political environment.

1. The political organizations should be Paiute in nature. At the present time in Cedar City the organizations are dominated by well-meaning Anglos, and while this might not be avoidable at the present time, a greater effort should be made by the active Anglos to identify the leaders and also the norms that both the leaders and followers conform to. The political structure must be meaningful to its Paiute members if the goals of both the Paiutes and the active Anglos are to be reached. If it is meaningless to the Paiutes to nominate and second according to Roberts' Rules of Order, then this practice should be abandoned. In the case of Cedar City's
Paiute population, since their traditional forms of government are forgotten, for the most part, new structures must be developed, but careful attention must be paid to the desires of the Paiutes rather than the ideals of the Anglos.

2. A civil rights clearing house ombudsman type committee should be established in Cedar City. The function of this committee should be to hear grievances and intercede, if need be, on a Paiute's behalf when his rights have not been honored and he cannot resolve his problem himself. This committee should be made up of distinguished individuals in the area, most of whom are already active in some way in Paiute affairs, but they should be outside the Council board of directors or the finance committees so there would be no conflict of interest.

3. A comprehensive education program for the Anglos should be offered on two levels. First, Paiute and general Native American history should be offered in the schools to inform all the students of the local public schools of the important contributions the Paiutes make to the area and the stable and rational way in which they lived as a culture before they were dislocated by the European cultures. This public school program should be augmented by a similar program aimed at making the average citizen and the active worker aware of the Southern Paiute culture, its history and its current conditions and goals. In addition, this program should present the Paiutes' perceptions of some of the
commonly held Anglo attitudes toward them. This educational effort might promote empathy between the two cultures.

4. The same type of education program should be developed for the local Paiutes. First, the Paiute students would be able to learn of their culture and history in the same classes in the public schools. However, this program would hopefully give the Paiute student much more. It should be designed to give the student an awareness of his historical origin, an ego identity, and a heritage with which he can relate, including real historical personalities with whom to identify. Once the Paiute had been taught that he is a person of worth in the Anglos' eyes, with a heritage of worth, he could also understand his economic-centered value system and the reasons behind his customs and traditions. Knowing the historical reasons for the traditional Paiute ways and understanding that many of the economic bases no longer exist, the Paiute student could more easily relinquish the outmoded values that remain and not feel overly threatened by doing so. In this way the cultural contradictions could be reduced, not intensified, by education.

In addition this would be a major step in giving the positive and consistent reinforcement that is so necessary to break down the suspicion that many Southern Paiutes seem to feel toward most of their fellow men.

5. The adult Paiutes need a similar core program in addition to a basic, remedial and skills technical educational program. The most important skills for the present time are
citizenship and civil rights tools, training in leadership and
decision making. Such programs are available, with trained
personnel from the Public Health Service, Bureau of Indian
Affairs and the Indian Services departments of universities
and colleges within the State of Utah.

6. The Paiutes desire to make their own decisions as a
minority group. To do this, one of the things they must have
in the United States system is control of their land. They
cannot qualify for many government mutual-help programs
designed by the United States Government, largely because they
do not control their own land at this time. The Mormon Church
should transfer title to the Paiute community so they can
qualify for the programs they themselves desire.

7. A grant should be sought for the Cedar City Indian
Community Development Council so that it could hire a full-time
executive director of its own choosing. Hopefully, this
person could be a qualified Southern Paiute leader, probably
from another area, perhaps even a past resident of the Cedar
City Indian Village, who did not feel all the cultural
constraints of the traditionalist but was nevertheless a
participant in their culture. There are several potential
sources for such a grant, such as the federal Government, or
large foundations. The executive director's duties would be
to continue to agitate and motivate the citizens of Cedar City
from both cultures, and to plan and coordinate the activities
of the Paiute community, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Utah
Division of Indian Affairs, and the many other agencies, into a well-planned and administered program for development.

8. The Council or any central organization that might develop from the Cedar City Paiute Community should have some power over its own budget. There is a great need for it to be independent, and the first criterion for that is that it should fund its own projects without approval of the power structure of the local area. In this regard it should also stay clear of the established political parties or other political groups. This is because the goals of the developing culture and the dominant culture are bound to differ at some point. The active Anglo-Americans, no matter how altruistic they might feel themselves to be, should not be able to take over the organization when tensions develop between the cultures.

9. Economic development, even on a limited scale, should be sought in earnest as soon as such projects can be planned. It seems that sufficient independence for the minority Paiute group in Cedar City (or anywhere) can come only when it has a measure of economic independence; then progress truly becomes self-generated.

The over-all goal of the Cedar City Paiute development program should be to encourage the development of the Cedar City Paiute's own initiative and innovation and rewarding it even at the risk of an untidy growth pattern or inharmonious relations. Paternalistic efforts should be played down and eventually eliminated altogether, because
ultimately they all relegate the Paiute to a secondary
position in his own life progress and he does not have the
responsibility for it or power over it. Paternalism fosters
hostility and is counter productive.

To be effective the political organizations of both
the Cedar City Paiutes and the Kaibab Paiutes must improve
their legitimacy in the eyes of their followers by broadening
the scope of what is legitimate political power; they must be
able to communicate with all of them and they must be able to
protect them from many of the severe stresses of transition of
their culture. They must replace distrust with trust. They
must also be able to communicate with the Anglo society,
particularly Indian-oriented Federal and State agencies. In
addition, these organizations must have access to the tools of
power, whether those tools be training, funds, or the ear of
important political figures. Lastly, the political organiza-
tions must be competent enough to compete in the ever more
complicated Native American political area for the somewhat
limited services of the Indian agencies, and they must have
continuing motivation to carry on in the face of the
competition, occasional failures, discouragements and setbacks,
and the ever-present cultural contradictions.

The purpose of this set of recommendations is to place
substantial new organizational, economic, social, educational
and political resources in the control of the Southern Paiutes.
Armed with these new resources and tools they will have the
power to act more equally with individuals and institutions in their bicultural communities. The result of this new power relationship between the Paiutes and their Anglo-American neighbors would be a sense of achievement of the same rewards and satisfactions already enjoyed by less disadvantaged citizens.

As has been stated several times, this purpose seems to be equally true for other disadvantaged and relatively powerless segments of the earth's population who are faced with the same unequal cultural interplay. The successful experience of some of the Southern Paiute leaders in generating power from a relatively powerless starting position can provide needed insight into this important problem generally.
Chapter XVI

CONCLUSIONS

If substantial organizational, economic, social, educational, and political resources were placed in the control of the "have nots," the disadvantaged, the unequal and relatively deprived of the world, the resultant equality would be very temporary unless harmony and stability prevailed.

If men are to remain civilized or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which the equality of conditions is increased.

The solution to satisfactory intercultural relations seems to center around a more equitable sharing between the "haves" and the "have nots," the powerful and the powerless, but it also seems that no single program or policy, however enforced, can guarantee stable sharing. This is probably because the art of sharing power is exactly that, an art and not a science.

Problems in the art of living together between the relatively powerful and the relatively powerless are twofold. For the powerless they must develop the power and organizations to gain some control and to hold what they gain from a very weak base. There are two generally accepted models for doing this, the first of which is accomplished essentially by a great leader, who out of his own experiences and his own solutions to the contradictions he sees in life is able to answer similar
questions for his followers and thus establish the new values needed for the new institutions.

The other model holds that charismatic leadership is not enough unless a substantial number of people in the disadvantaged group finds satisfaction in the new ways. This argument holds that through new skills the mass of people find psychological worth in new customs as opposed to traditional ones.

From the foregoing study it appears to me that both have been needed in the successful case and neither would likely be sufficient by itself in the unsuccessful one. A mixture is needed to establish the art of living together in the minority half of this complex problem.

Just as importantly, those with power must learn the art of living together if harmonious and equitable relations are to be maintained. It seems likely from this study and many others that this might well be the more difficult readjustment if a bicultural environment is to become or remain in any sense equal. Because the powerful are relatively comfortable with things the way they are.

Here again there are two major barriers to shared power. The first has to do with the attitude of the "father" toward the "child." This set of attitudes has to do with the old arguments about whether the "powerless" must be further "prepared," "civilized," or "are ready" for whatever they might be given. These frequently asked questions are posed in
arrogance. They suppose that imposing conformity on the majority's values is a reward in and of itself. In this paternalistic stance the powerless have little if anything to offer the relationship, and this seems to eliminate sharing and equality.

This also eliminates any feeling of responsibility of the powerful group for any of the disadvantages of those powerless to control their lives. The rationalization is one of blaming the poverty on the poor and the inequalities on those who are unequal. Paternalistic rationale on the part of the powerful segments of the world is plentiful, but no matter how well-meaning or expertly run, or harmonious, father-son relationships are not equally reciprocating ones. They are also not permanent ones unless the father is unwilling to give up a fair share of his power as time goes on. It seems this happens much more in actual biological father-son relationships than it does in those involving societies. Here more common results seem to involve hostility either open or hidden and, as in this study, it is common to find it open in the powerless and quite hidden in the powerful group.

Inability to accept a measure of the blame for the conditions of the powerless leads logically to the second aspect of the barriers to more equal sharing of power. It is very difficult for people to voluntarily give up their ability to control their relationships with others. It is one thing to admit that the Native Americans have been treated unfairly
in the past and quite another to surrender some of your personal advantages over them. When employment, educational opportunities, economics of trade or international gold flow are involved, nobody likes to relinquish a "fair advantage." Throughout the world new power relationships will likely necessitate deeper psychological adjustments on the part of the powerful, simply because they don't want to change while the powerless want change a great deal.

The unequal of the world are in pain, they want to change, many of the material things of the affluent world are understandably desirable to them, and they are willing and often eager to change. On the other hand, the powerful are comfortable for the most part; by this I mean there is not the same drive for change, especially if it is realized that cherished institutions, values and relationships must be altered if they are to share their affluence with the powerless. Instead of an acceptance that a major part of the change must come from within, the powerful feel that all the change will have to take place in the values and behavior patterns of the relatively powerless. When it is realized that cherished and privileged positions of prominence will be altered as more equitable power relationships are established, most of the "powerful" fight for the status quo with considerable vigor. On a world-wide scale, the majority are the powerless who will force some redistribution, and those who have held the power will be faced with significant
psychological adjustments which will fit the new intercultural power relationships and redistribution of wealth. Perhaps this is why there seem to be many more superficial missionary efforts and aid programs than there are real attempts to redistribute resources and power. It does not seem reasonable to expect individuals, cultures, or nations to remake themselves in fundamental ways by deliberate intention for both psychological and economic reasons.

For these reasons paternalistic attitudes and unequal rationalizations are likely to persist among the powerful, and disorganization and suffering is likely to persist among the powerless. The results are likely to be continued hostility and unsatisfactory cultural interplay for all those involved. These are major barriers on both sides and they constitute disturbing obstacles for change.

The question is then, in the face of these formidable barriers, how fast can the art of living together be developed? How quickly can social bonds between cultures be developed or repaired? And what can be done in the meanwhile in bicultural or plura-cultural societies?

From the lessons of the present study, one would expect the process to take several decades or generations. In the most successful case the powerless are just now reaching a state of equality with a very limited segment of the dominant culture and this after a fairly long history of cordial cultural interplay. In the less successful case the powerless
remain in the same state of despondency, disorganization and hostility that has been their lot for several generations and their "withering away" is predicted almost constantly, and not without reason.

Many other studies of similar cases of inequality, disorganization and poverty make recommendations in terms of many years and then show only very cautious optimism. It is likely that meaningful plura-cultural equality is a long way off and final solutions are a myth.

Meanwhile, however, there is some hope. The answer for the successful Paiutes in this study has been through a combination of individual transitional leaders who act as entrepreneurs for their culture, Anglo-Americans, either in agencies or as interested individuals, who make their resources and expertise available to those leaders, and organizations which bring these individuals together, protect their efforts and give them continuity.

The activities of all the individual actors in this process, Native or Anglo-American, can best be described as those of a political broker. Together they form a collective body who can tell the rest of the bicultural population what are the major issues and priorities, create a favorable atmosphere, and establish the most efficient techniques for reaching their goals; and perhaps, above all, mediate and placate during times of stress.

In the case of the relatively powerless, transitional
culture, the leaders softened the contradictions for their followers and bridged the gap between their culture and that of the dominant society, or at least between their culture and the brokers from the dominant group. They also legitimized new methods of operation and opened up new spheres of political power.

The brokers reaching out from the dominant culture toward the dominated one perform essentially the same role without having to overcome inter-cultural contradictions of the same magnitude. They provide communications links, establish an atmosphere, and are usually experts in areas valued by the leaders of the dominated culture. Such people are resources to be used while power, experience and know-how are developed by the powerless. They are being used, usually know it, and are happy in their role.

The goal in a readjustment in the power relationships in a bicultural society is a more equitable distribution of power. This means, according to the definition of democracy used in this study, the power relationships would be more or less reciprocal, that is, equally and evenly distributed. When they are successful, the brokers in this study displayed this type of reciprocal power relationships. Each had his area of expertise and communication skills and therefore at times had power over other brokers. At other times they, in turn, were dominated as they all moved toward their generally accepted goals.
While the old social and economic relationships and patterns of authority are disrupted by the efforts of the powerless to gain more power and equality, and while barriers are constructed within both cultures in the face of new forms of cultural interplay, there is real hope for a positive resolution because a group of political and cultural brokers have been able to establish tentative reciprocal power relationships and compatible inter-cultural interplay among themselves.

As time goes on it is reasonable to expect that the numbers of people who confront and master the cultural contradictions will grow and in time the no-man's-land now occupied by the brokers will become the bicultural norm.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter XVI


APPENDIX A: THE QUESTIONNAIRES
PAIUTE QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

I am one of the people from around here and in Cedar City who are helping the Center for International Studies in Boston, Massachusetts, study the Paiute Indians and the white people that live near them. We are helping with this study with the approval of the tribal council.

Now I would like to ask you some questions. First I would like to know something about you and your family.

Background Information and Demographic Data

1. What is your full name? _______________________

2. Who is head of this household? (Name) ______________

3. Complete mailing address: _______________________

4. Where were you brought up as a child?

   Cedar City ___  Shivwit Res. ___
   St. George ___  Moapa ___
   Kaibab ___  Richfield ___
   Kanosh ___  Other ___

5. How long have you lived in (name of community)? ______

6. What is the largest town or city you have lived in for at least three months? _______________________

7. What is the farthest place from here that you have been? _______________________

8. Marital status:  Married ___
   Single ___
   Divorced ___
   Widowed ___

9. How many children are there in this family?  What are their names, ages, and sex?

   Name  Age  Male  Female
   ______________________  __________  __________  __________
   ______________________  __________  __________  __________
10. What is your age? _____

11. How many grades of school did you finish?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Less than 6 years</th>
<th>9 - 11 years</th>
<th>Grad. from highschool</th>
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12. Have you had any schooling other than high school?

College ___ Vocational School ___ Military school ___

Other ___.

13. Were you ever in the armed services of the United States?

Yes ____ No ____. If yes, which branch? ________________

When did you serve? ________________

14. Where would you most like to live? (Name of city or location.) ________________________________

15. What is your occupation? What kind of work do you do?

Be specific. Railroad ___ Ranch work ___ Farm ___

Other ___.

16. Do you work for yourself? ____ for someone else ___, or for a company ___. Unemployed ___. Retired ___.

19. On the average, how many months a year do (did) you work full time? ____ How long at each? ___ Railroad ___

Ranch ___ Farm ___ Other ___.

20. Do you ever work part time, that is just a few hours a day or for a few days at a time? If yes, please explain:

What ________________ How often ________________

How much is the pay ________________

21. How many months, all together, have you worked in the past year? ________________

23. Do you know how to do handicrafts? Yes ____ No ____

If yes, which ones:

How much time do you thi-k you spend a year doing them? ________________ How much money do you get for working at your handicrafts? ________________ If you made more money at it, would you like to do more? Yes ____ No ____ Are you teaching others? Yes ____ No ____.

All Respondents

24. What band do you belong to? ________________

25. What tribe or band did your mother belong to? ________________
26. What tribe or band did your father belong to? ________

27. Did any of your ancestors come from other tribes or races? If yes, what are these? ______________________

28. Do you speak Paiute? Yes ___ No ___ If yes, how well? Fluently ___ Only slowly ___ Some words only ___.

29. Is Paiute spoken in your home? Yes ___ No ___ If yes, how often? Daily ___ Only at special times ___ When certain people come to visit ___. Who speaks it? Old people ___ Everyone ___.

31. Do you belong to any of these religions?

Mormon
Protestant
Catholic
Native American Church
Other
None, but believe in a God
Do not believe in a God

32. Do all your family members belong to the same religion? Yes ___ No ___. If no, which religions do they belong to? ______________________

33. Are you a member of the immediate family of this household? Yes ___ No ___.

If yes to Question No.33: (If no, go to Question No.37)

Husband ___ Wife ___ Grandparent ___ Child ___.

34. Do you ever have any other people living with you in your home? Yes ___ No ___. If yes, who are they(names)?

Relationship ___________ How long have they lived with you? ______________________

35. Why do they live here? ______________________

36. How often do they live here with you? (times a year) ___ How long do they usually stay? Why do they leave? ___

If no to Question No.33:

37. What relation are you to the family? _________
38. Why are you living with them? __________________________

39. How long have you lived with them? __________________________

40. How often do you visit them? __________________________

41. How long do you plan to stay with them? __________________________

42. In the past year, how often have you traveled to visit friends or relatives in the following places?

St. George Kaibab Las Vegas Kanosh
Richfield Moapa Salt Lake Flagstaff
Other ______

Now I would like to ask you some questions about politics and the conditions around here. Some of the questions might be difficult, so take your time answering them; we are not in a hurry.

Political Information Scale

43. Who is the Mayor of the white community? __________

44. Who is the Chairman (or Head) of your band? __________

45. How long has he been Chairman (or Head)? __________

46. Who is the Governor of this State now? __________

47. What is the county seat of this county? __________

Political Participation Scale

48. When you talk with your friends, do you ever talk about the big problems that face the United States or the world? Yes No. If yes, would you tell me what problem you talked about last?

49. Who do you talk to most about serious problems that face the Indian people here? Family People you work with Indian Leaders Whites Government Officials Church Leaders No one Others ______
Do you ever talk about your problem with any white people? Yes ___ No ___. If yes, when was the last time _____. Were they personal problems or public problems? ___

Do you ever talk about your problems with church leaders? Yes ___ No ___. If yes, when was the last time? _____. Were they personal problems? ____ Or public problems? ___

Have you ever voted? Yes ___ No ___. If yes, when was the last time? ___

Sense of Civic Competence Index

Now I am going to ask you to imagine what you would do if you found the following things happening to you.

First, let's imagine you have a child going to a school that was on a busy street. One day an Indian child is hit by a car. You think that somebody should be put there to help the children. Do you think you would do anything about it? Yes ___ No ___. Do you think anything could be done about it by you or your friends? Yes ___ No ___.

Who (or who else) do you think could do something about it? ______ What is his position? ______ What do you think he would do? ______

Now let's say you have a close friend who gets into trouble with the police. You feel he hasn't done anything wrong. Would you try to do anything about it? Yes ___ No ___.

Would you talk to anyone about it? Yes ___ No ___. If yes, who is that? ______ Position: ______

What do you think he would do? ______

What if you aren't treated right at some store. Would you do anything about it? Yes ___ No ___. Or would you figure there wasn't much you could do? Yes ___ No ___.
Attitude Toward Change Scale

Answer these next questions "Yes" if you pretty much agree with them and "No" if you don't agree with them. Think about how Indian people do things.

58. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.  Yes ___  No ___.

59. If something grows up over a long time, there will always be much wisdom in it.  Yes ___  No ___.

60. It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.  Yes ___  No ___.

61. We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.  Yes ___  No ___.

62. A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years.  Yes ___  No ___.

63. In spite of what some people say, the condition of the average Indian is getting worse, not better.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.

64. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.

65. Sometimes I think people ought not to bring children into the world, the way things look for the future.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.

66. There's not much use in people like me voting because all the candidates are usually against what I want.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.

67. Almost all the white people around here are prejudiced against Indians.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.

68. In spite of what some people say, when Indians are arrested around here, they do receive fair treatment.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.

69. I have seen so much unfairness to Indians that I don't believe you can ever change the attitudes of white people around here.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.

70. The Indian does have a change to make something of himself.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.

71. All white people are alike.  Agree ___  Disagree ___.
77. All Indians are alike. Agree ___ Disagree ___.

78. All people are pretty much alike. Agree ___ Disagree ___.

Racial Stereotype Index

79. On the whole, do you think white people are smarter than Indians, Indians are smarter than white people, or that they are about the same? White smarter ___ Indians smarter ___ Same ___.

80. In general, do you think white people behave better than Indians, Indians behave better than white people, or that they are about the same? Whites better ___ Indians better ___ Same ___.

81. By and large, do you think white people are more dependable than Indians, Indians are more dependable than white people, or that they are about the same? Whites more ___ Indians more ___ Same ___.

82. On the whole, do you think white people live happier, fuller lives, Indians live happier, fuller lives, or they are about the same? Whites happier ___ Indians happier ___ Same ___.

Indian Identification

83. Who would you say are the three Indian People who have the most say about the way things are run here?

________________________ What does he do? ____________________
________________________ What does he do? ____________________
________________________ What does he do? ____________________

86. Do you think you would be better off if you lived in another Paiute Indian village? By that I mean happier or have a better job. Yes ___ No ___. If yes, which village is that? ____________________________ Why? ____________________________

87. Some people say the most important things for Indians to get around here is more education; others say something like better jobs or better housing are the most important right now. What do you think? Why? ____________________________
88. In your opinion, who is the non-Indian from around here who has done the most for your band? 

89. What has he done for the Indian people? 

90. How long has he helped the Indian people? 

91. In your opinion, does he make any mistakes in the way he greets or helps Indian people? (if needed) I mean, should he help in other ways more, or stop doing something? 

92. Can you think of any other people who help Indian people? (If yes, repeat sub-questions.) 

93. Who were the people most responsible for the new (homes, road, council building in Kaibab, water and sewage system, Community Development Corporation in Cedar City)? 
   (1) __________________________ (2) __________________________ 
   (3) __________________________ 

94. Are there any plans for future development here at (location)? Yes ____ No ____. What are they? ____
   When do you think that project will be completed? ____

95. Who do you think is most responsible for those future plans? 

96. What do you want to do with your land settlement (or claim) money if you get it in the next few months? ____
   How much do you think that will cost? ______________________
   What else will you do with your money? ______________________

97. What is your opinion about the committee that was picked to help administer the claims money? 

98. What don't you like about all the plans that are being made around here? ______________________
   How should they be different? ______________________

99. Do you think the Indian youths respect the Indian leaders as much as the adults do? Yes ____ No ____.
100. Do you think the Indian youths respect the white leaders as much as the adults do? Yes ___ No ___.

101. Have you ever heard about the Red Power demonstrations? That is, things like the take-over of Alcatraz. Yes ___ No ___. If yes, what are your feelings about such things? Approve ___ Disapprove ___.

102. Why do you suppose people decide to join such demonstrations? (Probe) Any other reasons? ____________

103. What would be a good thing to happen to the Indians in (name of community)? ____________

104. How would it happen? ____________

105. What is another good thing that should happen? ____________

106. How would it happen? ____________

107. What is another good thing that should happen? ____________

108. Who or what would cause it to happen? ____________

109. What would be a good thing for the government to do for the Indians in (name of the community)? ____________

110. Who or what would cause it to happen? ____________

**CANTRIL'S SELF-ANCHORING SCALE**

1. (a) All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about what really matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the best possible light, what would your life look like then, if you are to be happy? Take your time in answering. Such things aren't easy to put into words. ____________
1. (b) Now imagine the contrary. What are your fears and worries about the future? If you imagine your future in the worst possible light, what would your life look like then?

2. (a) (Hand respondent card showing ladder.) Here is a picture of a ladder. Let's suppose the top of the ladder (pointing) represents the best possible life for you as you have just described it; and the bottom (pointing) represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder (moving finger rapidly up and down ladder) do you feel you personally stand on at the present time?

2. (b) Where on the ladder would you say you stood five years ago?

2. (c) Just as your best guess, on which step of the ladder do you think you will be five years from now?

(Put the ladder card away and continue questions.)

3. (a) Now what are your wishes and hopes for the future of our (band)? If you picture the future of the (band) in the best possible light, how would things look, let us say, about ten years from now?

3. (b) And what about your fears and worries for the future of our band? If you picture the future of the band in the worst possible light, how would things look about ten years from now?

(Hand respondent card again.)

4. (a) Looking at the ladder again, suppose the top represents the very best situation for our band, and the bottom the very worst situation for our band, where would you put the band on the ladder (moving finger rapidly up and down ladder) at the present time?

4. (b) Where would you say (name of band) was five years ago?

4. (c) Just as your best guess, on which step of the ladder do you think (our band) will be about five years from now?
6. (a) Looking at the ladder again, suppose the top represents the very best situation for our country; the bottom the very worst situation for our country. Where would you put (name of country) on the ladder (moving finger rapidly up and down ladder) at the present time?

6. (b) Where would you say the U.S.A. was five years ago?

6. (c) Just as your best guess, on which step of the ladder do you think our country will be about five years from now?

This is the last section of questions. Please think of your answers carefully.

111. What are the three most important things your parents gave to you as a child? (1) __________________________
(2) __________________________ (3) __________________________

112. If you were given a large amount of money to spend, how would you spend it? __________________________
How much money do you think that would take? __________________________

113. If you could have had any occupation you wanted, what would you have been? __________________________ How much training would that take? __________________________

114. In your opinion, what is the major difference between Indians and the rest of the people around here? __________________________

115. What things are better about the Indian people than the others? (1) __________________________ (2) __________________________
(3) __________________________ (4) __________________________

116. What things are worse about the Indian people than the others? (1) __________________________ (2) __________________________
(3) __________________________ (4) __________________________

117. What are the main differences between these tribes and the Paiutes? (in your opinion)

Navajo
Hopi
Ute
Others
118. What economic opportunities do these tribes have that are different from the Paiute's opportunities?

119. In your opinion who are the best national leaders in the United States today? (1) (2) (3) 

120. How should a good Indian leader treat his people? 

What things should he do for them?

121. In your opinion, who were the greatest Indian leaders in the past, in history? (1) (2) (3)

122. How much interest would you say you have in how Indians as a whole are getting along in this country? Say in California? A good deal of interest ___ Some interest ___ Not much interest ___

123. How do Indians from other tribes treat Paiutes?

124. In your opinion, would you call yourself a member of the upper class ___ middle class ___ working class ___ lower class ___ something else ___ (Indian class ___). An Indian is not a member of these classes ___

125. Some Indians we talk to feel they have a lot in common with Indians from other tribes, others say no. How about you? Would you say you feel closer to Indians than to other strangers? Not much closer than to any other strangers?

126. And now would you tell me how much income your family made altogether during the last year (1970)? I mean before taxes, including the income of everyone in the family. (Hand respondent a card with the following information.) Just call off the letter on this card in front of the correct amount.

a. Under $1,000 f. $5,000 - $5,999  
b. $1,000 - $1,999  g. $6,000 - $6,999  
c. $2,000 - $2,999  h. $7,000 - $7,999  
d. $3,000 - $3,999  i. $8,000 - $8,999  
e. $4,000 - $4,999  j. $10,000 and over
QUESTIONS FOR KAIBAB-PAIUTES ONLY

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the recent joining of the Indians and the whites in this Stake. Particularly in your Ward.

All in all, how has it worked out so far?  Good __
Bad __.
(if good) Do you think there are any special reasons why it is working well here? ______________________
Is the plan working in the rest of the Stake?
Yes ___ No ___.
Why? ______________________________________
Do you think it would be a good program to be adopted by the whole Church?  Yes ___ No ___. Why? ___

___________________________
Do you foresee any major problems coming up in the future?  Yes ___ No ___. What are they? __________

___________________________
What is the biggest problem your Ward has had with this new program? _______________________
Why did it happen? ________________________
QUESTIONS FOR CEDAR CITY PAIUTES ONLY

What do you think about the Indians in Cedar City buying this Church land with their claims money? ________________________________

Would you buy your lot? Yes ___ No ___ (if yes) How much would you be willing to pay? ___ Why? ________________________________
(if no) Would you buy it if the Church sold it for only one dollar each lot or some such small amount? Yes ___ No ___. Why? ________________________________

Do you think the Cedar City Indian Community should buy the land or think about buying it? Yes ___ No ___.

Do you think the Cedar City Indian Community should take some of their claims money and go in all together on some business or something like some other tribes have? Yes ___ No ___. (if yes) What would that be? ________________________________
(if no) Why not? ________________________________

How much money do you think that would cost? ________________________________

What do you think about the Vista workers? Approval ___ Neutral ___ Disapproval ___. Which Vista program do you think is best?

Pre-school ___ Educational Council ___
Tutoring ___ Other ___

What do you think about the Mormon Church? Approval ___ Neutral ___ Disapproval ___. Which Church program do you think is best?

Welfare ___ Sunday Meetings ___
Sports ___ M.I.A. ___
Relief Society ___ Other ___

What do you think about the Cedar City Indian Corporation? Approval ___ Neutral ___ Disapproval ___. Which Corporation project do you think is best? ________________________________
Finding out about the land? ________________________________
Other? ________________________________

Do you approve or disapprove of the way things are going for your children in school? Yes ___ No ___. What would you like to see happen to make things better? ________________________________

What do you think about the Native American Church? Approval ___ Neutral ___ Disapproval ___. Why? ________________________________
INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

Name of Interviewer ____________________________________________

Date of Interview _____________________________________________

Time Interview began: ________

ended: ________

Any interruptions? Yes ___ No ___

Reasons: ___________________________________________________

How did the respondent react to the Interview?

Was very interested _____

Polite ______

Cool ______

Not interested _____

How did the respondent respond to the questions?

Easily understood the questions _____

Had only a little trouble _____

Had quite a bit of trouble _____

Many questions had to be explained _____

Conducted the interview in Paiute _____

Does the respondent know any interesting true stories, etc.,
that would be good to tape? Yes ___ No ___.

If yes, what about? ____________________________________________

Additional Comments: ________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________
WHITE QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

I would like to ask you some questions. First I would like to know something about you and your family.

Background Information and Demographic Data

1. What is your full name? __________________________________________

2. Are you the head of the household? Yes ___ No ___

3. Complete address: _______________________________________________

4. How long have you lived in Moccasin? ____________________________

5. Where were you brought up as a child? ____________________________

6. What religion do you belong to? ___________________________________

7. What office do you hold? _________________________________________
   What offices have you held? _______________________________________

8. What is the largest town or city you have lived in for at least three months? ____________________________

9. What is the farthest place from here that you have been? ____________________________

10. Marital status. Married ___
    Single ___
    Divorced ___
    Widowed ___

11. How many children are there in this family? What are their names, ages and sex?

   Name        Age        Sex
   ____________________________
   ____________________________
   ____________________________

12. What is your age? ___
13. How many grades of school did you finish?

Less than 6 years _____ High School Grad. _____
Grade School _____ Some College _____
6 - 9 years _____ Grad. from College _____
6 - 11 years _____ Grad. School _____

14. Have you had any schooling other than high school;
   Vocational School _____ Military School _____ Other _____

15. Were you ever in the armed services of the United States?
   If yes, Which Branch? _____ When did you serve _____

16. What is your occupation? What kind of work do you do?
   Be specific. ______________________________________

23. What are the disadvantages to living in Moccasin? _____

24. What are the advantages? ______________________________________

25. Taking the advantages into consideration, do you think
   Moccasin is a better than average place to live and
   raise a family? Yes ____ No ____. Why? ______________________

26. If you could live and work anywhere, where would you like
   to live? ______________________ Why? ______________________

Now I would like to ask you some questions about politics
and the conditions around here. Some of the questions might
be difficult so take your time answering them, we are not in a
hurry.

Political Information Scale

27. Who is the Chairman of the Kaibab-Paiutes? __________

28. How long has he been Chairman? ______________________

Political Participation Scale

29. When you talk with your friends, do you ever talk about
   the big problems that face the United States or the
   world? Yes ____ No ____. (if yes) Would you tell me
   what problem you talked about last? ______________________
30. Who do you talk to most about serious problems that face the people here? Family ___ People you work with ___
Indian people ___ Friends ___ Government Officials ___
Church leaders ___ No one ___ Others ___

31. Do you ever talk about your problems with any Indian people? Yes ___ No ___. (if yes) When was the last time? 
Were they personal problems, or public problems? 

32. Have you ever voted? Yes ___ No ___. (if yes) When was the last time? 

33. Do you belong to any of these groups or groups like these?
Lions ___ Elks ___ Kiwanis ___
Org. ___ Others ___ No. Arizona Development ___

34. Have you held any leadership positions in such organizations or government? Yes ___ No ___. (if yes)
What? 
When? 

Attitude Toward Change Scale

Answer these next questions "Yes" if you pretty much agree with them, and "No" if you don't agree with them.

35. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse? Yes ___ No ___.

36. If something grows up over a long time, there will always be much wisdom in it? Yes ___ No ___.

37. It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about? Yes ___ No ___.

38. We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did? Yes ___ No ___.

39. A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years? Yes ___ No ___.

Indian Identification

40. Who would you say are the three Indian people who have the most to say about the way things are run here?

_________________________________________________________________________
What does he do?

_________________________________________________________________________
What does he do?

_________________________________________________________________________
What does he do?
42. Some people say the most important things for Indians to get around here is more education; others say something like better jobs or better housing are the most important right now. What do you think? Why? 

43. In your opinion, who is the non-Indian around here who has done the most for the Kaibab-Paiute Tribe? 

44. What has he done for the Indian people? 

46. In your opinion, does he make any mistakes in the way he treats or helps Indian people? (if needed) I mean should he help in other ways more or stop doing something? 

47. Can you think of any other people who help Indian people? (If yes, repeat sub-questions.) 

48. Who were the people most responsible for the new (homes, road, council building in Kaibab)? (1) (2) (3) 

49. Are there any plans for the future at the reservation? What are they? When do you think that project will be completed? 

50. Do you think the Indian youths respect the Indian leaders as much as the adults do? Yes ___ No ___. 

51. Do you think the Indian youths respect the white leaders as much as the adults do? Yes ___ No ___. 

52. Have you ever heard about the Red Power demonstrations? That is, things like the take-over of Alcatraz. Yes ___ No ___. (If yes) What are your feelings about such things? Approve ___ Disapprove ___. 

53. Why do you suppose people decide to join such demonstrations? (Probe) Any other reasons? 

54. What would be a good thing to happen to the Indians here?
55. How would it happen?

56. What is another good thing that should happen?

57. How would it happen?

58. What is another good thing that should happen?

59. Who or what would cause it to happen?

60. What would be a good thing for the white people to do for the Indians here?

61. Who or what would cause it to happen?

62. What would be another good thing?

63. How would it happen?

64. What would be another good thing to happen?

65. Who or what would cause it to happen?

This is the last section of questions. Please think of your answers carefully.

66. What are the three most important things your parents gave to you as a child? (1) (2) (3)

67. In your opinion, what is the major difference between Indians and the rest of the people around here?

68. What things are better about the Indian People than the others? (1) (2) (3)
69. What things are worse about the Indian people than the others? 
   (1) ___________________________ (2) ___________________________ (3) ___________________________

70. What are the main differences between other tribes and the Paiutes? (In your opinion.) ___________________________

71. In your opinion, who are the best national leaders in the United States today? (1) _________ (2) _________ (3) ______________

72. What qualities do they have that make them good leaders? Would those qualities allow them to be good Indian leader. Yes ___ No ___. Why? ___________________________

73. What qualities of leadership should a good Indian leader have today? (1) _______________ (2) _______________ (3) _______________

74. In your opinion, who were the greatest Indian leaders in the past in history? (1) ___________ (2) ___________ (3) _______________

75. Would you call yourself a member of the upper class ____ middle class ____ working class ____ lower class ____ something else ____.

77. And now would you tell me how much income your family made altogether during the last year (1970)? I mean before taxes, including the income of everyone in the family. (Hand respondent a card with the following information.) Just call off the letter on this card in front of the correct amount.

   a. under $5,000  
   b. $5,000 - $5,999  
   c. $6,000 - $6,999  
   d. $7,000 - $7,999  
   e. $8,000 - $8,999  
   f. $9,000 - $9,999  
   g. $10,000 - $10,999  
   h. $11,000 - $11,999  
   i. $12,000 - $12,999  
   j. over $13,000

78. What do you see the future of the Arizona strip to be?  
   very good ___  a little worse ___  
   a little better ___  poor ___  
   about the same ___
79. Do you think the primitive nature of the area should be preserved or that industry, roads, power lines, etc., should be built? .................................................................

Why? ............................................................................................................
QUESTIONS FOR MOCASSIN RESPONDENTS ONLY

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the recent joining of the Indians and the whites in this Stake. Particularly in your Ward.

All in all, how has it worked out so far?  Good ___
Bad ___.
(if good) Do you think there are any special reasons why it is working well here? ______________________
Is the plan working in the rest of the Stake?
Yes ___ No ___.
Why? ________________________________
Do you think it would be a good program to be adopted by the whole Church?  Yes ___ No ___ Why? __________

______________________________

Do you foresee any major problems coming up in the future?  Yes ___ No ___.  What are they? __________

______________________________

What is the biggest problem your Ward has had with this new program? ________________________________
Why did it happen? ________________________________
QUESTIONS FOR ALL CEDAR CITY ANGLOS

What do you think about the Indians in Cedar City buying this Church land with their claims money? ________________

Do you think the Cedar City Indian Community should buy the land or think about buying it? Yes ____ No ____

Do you think the Cedar City Indian Community should take some of their claims money and go in all together on some business or something like some other tribes have? Yes ____ No ____
(If yes) What would that be? ________________
How much money do you think that would cost? ________________
(If no) Why not? ________________

What do you think about the Vista workers. Approve ____ Neutral ____ Disapprove ____
Which Vista program do you think is best?

Pre-School ____ Educational Council ____
Tutoring ____ Other ____

What do you think about the Mormon Church? Approve ____
Neutral ____ Disapprove ____. Which Church Program do you think is best?

Welfare ____ Sunday Meetings ____
Sports ____ M.I.A. ____
Relief Society ____ Other ____

What do you think about the Cedar City Indian Corporation? Approve ____ Neutral ____ Disapprove ____. Which Corporation project do you think is best? ________________
Finding out about the land? ________________
Other? ________________

What do you think about the Native American Church? Approve ____ Neutral ____ Disapprove ____. Why? ________________
QUESTIONS FOR CEDAR CITY ANGLO MORMONS

(Questions 88-91 for Mormons only.)

88. As you may know, the Kanab Stake has recently combined the white wards and the Indian branches into an integrated church system with no special programs or separate branches for the Indians. What is your opinion of this system as opposed to the system in Cedar Stake and elsewhere in the church? __________

89. Do you think the church as a whole should move to a system like the Kanab Stake has now? Yes ____ No ____ When? _______ Why or why not? _____________________________

90. What are the strengths in a separate Indian Branch? _____________________________

91. What are the weaknesses in a separate Indian Branch? _____________________________

92. By and large, do you think owning the Indian village land makes the L.D.S. Church's religious goals for the Indians harder or easier? Harder ____ Easier ____. Explain: _____________________________

93. Over the years, throughout history, what is the single biggest mistake in policy the people of the United States have made concerning the Indian peoples? _____________________________

99. Do you feel that the townspeople in general, or any specific group or agency, should be doing something with the Indians? Yes ____ No ____ What? _____________________________
INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

Name of Interviewer

Date of Interview

Time Interview began: ______
        ended: ______

Any Interruptions?   Yes ___ No ___
        Reasons: __________________________

How did the respondent react to the Interview?

Was very interested   ___
        Polite   ___
        Cool    ___
        Not interested   ___

How did the respondent respond to the questions?

Easily understood the questions   ___
        Had only a little trouble   ___
        Had quite a bit of trouble   ___
        Many questions had to be explained   ___

Does the respondent know any interesting true stories, etc.,
        that would be good to tape?   Yes ___ No ___.

        (If yes) What about? __________________________

Additional Comments: __________________________

        __________________________
        __________________________
        __________________________
CEDAR CITY WHITE QUESTIONNAIRE

(short form)

1. Name ____________________ 2. Occupation ____________

3. Spouse's Name ____________________ 4. Occupation ____________

5. How long have you lived in Cedar City? ________________

6. Religion ________________ 7. Age ________________

8. How much schooling did you finish?

Grade school ___ Some college ___ Grad school ___
Junior H.S. ___ College ___ Vocational ___
High School ___ Some grad school ___ school ___

9. List the organizations you belong to and are active in, including church positions, clubs, civic organizations and governmental committees. Include any offices you now hold.

1. ____________________ 2. ____________________
3. ____________________ 4. ____________________

10. What tribe of Indians live in Cedar City? ________________

11. What two bands within this tribe are located in Cedar City and who are the chairmen of those bands?

Band ____________________ Chairman: ____________________
Band ____________________ Chairman: ____________________

12. Who owns the land where the Indian Village is located?

U.S. Government ___ Bureau of Indian Affairs ___
State ___ L.D.S. Church ___
City ___ Indians themselves ___

13. Have you ever belonged to any organizations that were designed primarily to help Indians? Yes ___ No ___.
If yes, describe briefly ___________________________
14. Have you ever had a personal conversation with an Indian from the village? Yes ☐ No ☐ (if yes) Once only? ☐ A few times only in life? ☐ Several times a year? ☐ Many times (on a regular basis)? ☐

15. In your opinion, who is the non-Indian from around here who has done the most for the Cedar City Indians?

16. The Indians in Cedar City have a special relationship with the U.S. Government which originated in the 1950's. Do you know what that relationship is? Yes ☐ No ☐ Explain ____________________________________________

17. Do the Cedar City Indians have any prospects for economic growth in the near future that you are aware of? Yes ☐ No ☐. Explanation: __________________________________________

18. In your opinion, what is the major difference between Indians and the rest of the people around here? ____________

19. In your opinion, who were the greatest Indian leaders in U.S. history? 1. ____________ 2. ____________ 3. ____________

20. Have you ever had any personal experiences with Indians from other tribes? Yes ☐ No ☐. If yes:

LDS placement ☐ Military experience ☐
School experiences ☐ Work experiences ☐
In hometown as child ☐ Church experience ☐
Friends of my children ☐ Other ☐

Explain: ____________________________________________

21. What would be a good thing to happen to the Indians here? ____________________________________________

22. Who or what would cause it to happen? ____________________________________________

23. What would be a good thing for the white people to do for the Indians? ____________________________________________

24. Who or what would cause it to happen? ____________________________________________
25. In your opinion, what is the single biggest mistake made concerning the Indians?

26. Do your children have any Indian friends? Yes ___ No ___. If yes:
   close friends
   associates at school only ___
   rare association ___

27. What things are better about the Indians than about other people? 1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___

28. What things are worse about the Indians than about other people? 1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___

29. What has been your most common contact with Indians? Describe briefly:
   See as strangers on street: ___
   Occupational activities: ___
   Domestic employee: ___
   Occasional meetings in social situation: ___
   Meet as friends: ___
   Other ___

30. Additional comments: ___
General Psychological Characteristics Possible score: high 26
low -9

Political Participation Index

48. (Question) When you talk with your friends, do you ever
talk about the big problems that face the United States
or the world?

Numerical score

1. Yes
0. No

50. Do you ever talk about your problems with any White
people?

Numerical score

1. Yes
0. No

52. Have you ever voted?

Numerical score

2. Yes, often
1. Yes, once or a few times
0. No

Sense of Civic Competence Index

53. Now I am going to ask you to imagine what you would do if
you found the following things happening to you.

First, let's imagine you have a child going to a school
that was on a busy street. One day an Indian child is
hit by a car. You think that somebody should be put
there to help the children. Do you think you would do
anything about it?

54. Who (or who else) do you think could do something about
it? What do you think he would do?

55. Now let's say you have a close friend who gets into
trouble with the police. You feel he hasn't done any-
thing wrong. Would you try to do anything about it?
56. Would you talk to anyone about it? What do you think he would do?

57. What if you aren't treated right at some store. Would you do anything about it?

Numerical score

6. three distinct, specific reasonable actions
4. three non-specific actions
2. one or two non-specific actions
1. attempt to answer at least one
0. no actions

Attitude Toward Change Scale (agree or disagree)

58. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.

59. If something grows up over a long time, there will always be much wisdom in it.

60. It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.

61. We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.

62. A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years.

Numerical score

5. disagree with five
4. disagree with four
3. disagree with three
2. disagree with two
1. disagree with one
0. disagree with none
View of the World Index

69. These days a person doesn’t really know whom he can count on.

Numerical score

1. disagree
-1. agree

70. Sometimes I think people ought not to bring children into the world, the way things look for the future.

Numerical score

1. disagree
-1. agree

Racial Stereotype

79. On the whole, do you think white people are smarter than Indians, Indians are smarter than white people, or that they are about the same? Whites smarter ____
Indians smarter ____ Same ____.

80. In general, do you think white people behave better than Indians, Indians behave better than white people, or that they are about the same? Whites better ____
Indians better ____ Same ____.

81. By and large, do you think white people are more dependable than Indians, Indians are more dependable than white people, or that they are about the same? Whites more ____ Indians more ____ Same ____.

82. On the whole, do you think white people live happier, fuller lives, Indians live happier, fuller lives, they are about the same? Whites happier ____
Indians happier ____ Same ____.

Numerical score

4. Indians better on four
3. Indians better on three
2. Indians better on two
1. Indians better on one
0. all the same
-1. whites better on one
-2. whites better on two
-3. whites better on three
-4. whites better on four
86. Do you think you would be better off if you lived in another Paiute Indian village?

   Numerical score

   1. Feel good in present village
   0. Don't know, no answer
   -1. Name another village

Political Awareness Index

83. Who would you say are the three Indian People who have the most say about the way things are run here?

93. Who were the people most responsible for the new (homes, road, council building in Kaibah, water and sewage system, Community Development Corporation in Cedar City)?
   (1) ___________________ (2) ___________________
   (3) ___________________

94. Are there any plans for future development here at (location)? Yes ___ No ___ What are they? ______

   When do you think that project will be completed? ______

95. Who do you think is most responsible for those future plans?

96. What do you want to do with your land settlement (or claims) money if you get it in the next few months?

   How much do you think that will cost? _______________
   What else will you do with your money? _______________

97. What is your opinion about the committee that was picked to help administer the claims money? _______________

98. What don't you like about all the plans that are being made around here? _______________

   How should they be different? ____________________

   Numerical score

   2. knew a great deal
   1. generally know village activities
   0. generally don't know village activities
101. Have you ever heard about the Red Power demonstrations? Do you approve or disapprove?

Numerical score
2. yes, approve
1. yes, no answer
0. don't know, no answer
-1. yes, disapprove
12. no, never heard of them

114. In your opinion, what is the major difference between Indians and the rest of the people around here?

Numerical score
3. named something better about Paiutes
1. Paiutes discriminated against
   color, language
   no difference
0. DK, NA neutral answer
-2. named something better about whites
-3. named something worse about Paiutes

115. What things are better about the Indian people than the others?

Numerical score
3. listed three aspects better
2. listed two aspects better
1. listed one aspect better
   none
   same
   no difference
-2. nothing better
   DK
   NA

121. In your opinion, who were the greatest Indian leaders in the past, in history? (1) __________________________
     (2) __________________________

Numerical score
3. listed three
2. listed two
1. listed one
-1. DK, NA

Add one extra point if they mention a Paiute leader.

122. How much interest would you say you have in how Indians as a whole are getting along in this country? Say in California? A good deal of interest ____
Some interest ____ Not much interest ____.

Numerical score

1. Interested in other
   Indians
0. Not interested

123. How do Indians from other tribes treat Paiutes?

Numerical score

1. Paiutes treated o.k.
0. don't know, no answer
-1. Paiutes treated poorly

**Discrimination Index**

Possible score: high 6
low -6

68. In spite of what some people say, the condition of the average Indian is getting worse, not better.
   Agree ____ Disagree ____.

71. There's not much use in people like me voting because all the candidates are usually against what I want.
   Agree ____ Disagree ____.

72. Almost all the white people around here are prejudiced against Indians. Agree ____ Disagree ____.

73. In spite of what some people say, when Indians are arrested around here they do receive fair treatment.
   Agree ____ Disagree ____.

74. I have seen so much unfairness to Indians that I don't believe you can ever change the attitudes of white people around here. Agree ____ Disagree ____.
75. The Indian does have a chance to make something of himself. Agree ___ Disagree ____.

For each of the six questions above:

Numerical score

1. agree
0. DK, NA
-1. disagree

Possible Score: Total Index, high 43
                low -22
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BIOGRAPHY

Douglas Charles Braithwaite was born in Heber Utah December 5, 1939. He attended public schools in Ithaca, New York, Provo, and Cedar City, Utah, graduating from Cedar City High School in 1958.

He earned a B.S. degree from Utah State University in 1962 with a major in Political Science, a minor in Economics and a commission in the United States Marine Corps (active duty 1962-1965).

In 1966, he earned an M.A. degree from Brigham Young University in Political Science, Thesis title: "Reform and Civic Action Programs in South Vietnam."

The next year was spent conducting field research in Vietnam for Simulmatics Corporation. Braithwaite was Co-author with Worchel, Jackson, McWhirter and Popkin of Socio-Psychological Study of Regional and Popular Forces in Vietnam.

He entered Massachusetts Institute of Technology Political Science Department in 1967 and passed general examinations in May 1969.