TWO NATIONS
one reservation

Adult Guide
**Written vs. oral**

Tribes traditionally pass down history through oral traditions while Euro-Americans place more trust in the written word.

**Horses & guns**

Nomadic pedestrian native culture is changed by innovations that transform travel, hunting, war, and relationships with others.

**Chasing gold & building railroads**

The government steadily favors prospectors, railroad builders, and homesteaders over tribal interests.

**Climate of fear & violence**

In 1824 the Bureau of Indian Affairs is added to the War Department, now the Department of Defense. Hostile attitudes toward dealings with Indians increase tensions as Euro-Americans move west.

**Assigned lands**

In 1848, a U.S. government official first mentions “colonies” for Indian tribes—separate places where natives would be taught farming and Christianity, and be protected from the perceived vices of white people.

**Broken treaties**

Treaties with other nations, including Indian nations, must be ratified once negotiated. Between 1778 and 1871, the government signs more than 600 treaties with Indian nations. Most were poorly enforced, broken, or remained unratified.
Expanding horizons: a look at how history shaped the Wind River Indian Reservation.

After arriving on the Eastern Seaboard of North America, Europeans gradually push westward. They bring cloth, metal goods, guns, and whiskey to trade for furs. These items soon transform Indian cultures by changing methods of hunting, war, and diplomacy even with other Indians. Spanish horses arrive in the 1500s and spread across the Plains—further transforming American Indian cultures by the mid-1700s. Nomadic people previously traveling on foot now have the tools to move farther more quickly, to hunt buffalo more easily, and to make war on each other in new ways.
1824: Bureau of Indian Affairs
Congress establishes the Bureau of Indian Affairs as part of the War Department—today this is known as the Department of Defense. Placement of the Indian Bureau in the War Department highlights belligerent attitudes toward American Indian tribes.

1840s: The Oregon Trail
Arapaho land is increasingly impacted by Oregon Trail travelers pursuing land and gold. By 1850, Northern Arapaho tribes are defending their land against encroaching white immigrants.

1851: Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851
Northern Plains tribes accept the concepts of permanent boundaries and allowing Oregon Trail travelers to pass through territories if they stay on the trail. The government agrees to compensate the natives for damage caused by travelers. The Arapaho agree to share land with the Cheyenne, including large parts of current-day southeast Wyoming, eastern Colorado, and western Kansas and Nebraska. Yearly compensation or annuity payments are promised for 50 years, but later, without tribal consent, the ratified treaty includes only 10 years of payments.

1858: Gold strikes bring invasion of Indian lands
Gold discovery in the heart of Cheyenne and Arapaho land brings thousands of immigrants (this time near Denver). Conflict increases between whites and native people. Divisions between northern and southern Arapaho bands intensify and force a split. Northern bands move north.
1861: Treaty of Fort Wise
Under intense governmental pressure, some Southern Cheyenne and Southern Arapaho sign a treaty to trade vast lands guaranteed them in 1851 for a much smaller reservation between the Arkansas River and Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado Territory. Later tribal members complain that only a few chiefs signed without understanding what they are signing. No Northern Arapaho signed this treaty.

1862: The Homestead Act
The law spurs white settlement in western territories and ensures future economic support for a transcontinental railroad. The act allows any family head who is a citizen or may become a citizen to pay a small fee and claim up to 160 free federal acres by living on the land continuously for five years. The act results in settlement of an area four times the size of Wyoming after more than 1.6 million claims are approved. Settlers inundate American Indian lands.

Even though the U.S. negotiates treaties, government representatives fail to enforce or honor them, favoring white expectations for expansion over protecting tribal rights and lands.
1862: Railroads
Before the secession of southern states in 1861 and 1862, a transcontinental railroad route couldn’t be agreed upon. The outbreak of the Civil War ended the debate. In July 1862, the Pacific Railway Act authorizing construction of the transcontinental railroad passes. Subsidizing the new Union Pacific and existing Central Pacific railroads, the act grants 10-square-mile sections of land for each mile of track laid. President Lincoln chooses a northern route following the Platte River across Nebraska.

Two years later, a second Pacific Railroad Act doubles the size of land grants, creating a checkerboard of odd-numbered sections for 20 miles on each side of the line. To raise capital for construction, railroads sell their own bonds using granted lands as collateral.

1863: The Bear River Massacre and Fort Bridger Treaty of 1863
In response to Shoshone raids along the transcontinental trails, a column of California cavalry under General Patrick Connor kills hundreds of Shoshone and Bannock at a village on Bear River (north of the Great Salt Lake). On July 2, Shoshone bands sign the Fort Bridger Treaty—defining Shoshone lands reflecting the bands’ traditional territories.

The massacre shows the U.S. will go to great lengths to make tribes comply with white demands for passage through Indian lands.
1864: Sand Creek Massacre
At peace with and under assumed U.S. government protection and without provocation, a village of 500 Cheyenne and Arapaho suffers an early morning attack by Colorado volunteer cavalry units. Commanded by Colonel John Chivington the group kills 150 mostly women, children, and elders. Afterward, soldiers mutilate many victims and display scalps and body parts at victory celebrations in Denver.

This military action is condemned by three separate congressional investigations. Chivington’s political aspirations are ruined and a sympathetic national conversation about the plight of America’s native people begins. The conversation leads to the creation of Indian reservations throughout the western U.S.

The Sand Creek Massacre is one of several regional events that traumatizes Plains Indian tribes and demonstrates the U.S. government and military authorities cannot be trusted to protect tribes that submit to its jurisdiction.

1866-68: Red Cloud’s War
Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho warriors attack U.S. Army and civilians along the Bozeman Trail, a route to new Montana goldfields running through the heart of Indian country. By late summer 1867, some Northern Arapaho look to separate themselves from the war to again receive government provisions promised to them by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851.

1867: Mining camps
A gold strike near South Pass, Wyoming, brings mining camps and treaty violations. Soon, thousands of whites occupy camps and gulches to the north and white farmers take Indian land to grow vegetables near the Wind River for the camps. Lakota warriors begin attacking the miners, and other tribes are blamed.

In October, Southern Arapaho tribes sign the Medicine Lodge Creek Treaty confining them to reservations in what is now Oklahoma.
1867: Attempts at peace
Congressional reports identify the main causes of conflict escalation between Indians and whites as loss of land and game by tribes, aggression by lawless whites trespassing on Indian land and the impacts from whiskey and disease on native people. A peace commission is assigned to make peace by concentrating Indians on reservations, because, according to the reports, overland transportation routes must be protected and defense is expensive. If the effort fails, the Army will use force on Indians who resist.

1868: Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868
Peace commissioners learn that Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho may be willing to make peace. Through Friday—the Northern Arapaho interpreter and band leader—the commission sends out an ultimatum: sign a treaty or no more provisions. On May 10, Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho meet the commissioners at Fort Laramie. Lands promised to all tribes in the 1851 Ft. Laramie Treaty are drastically reduced. Under the treaty, the Northern Arapaho reluctantly agree to three temporary options: settle with the Crow, the Lakota, or the Southern Cheyenne and receive a reservation later. All three options, eventually proved untenable.

Arapaho Chiefs Medicine Man, Black Bear, Little Wolf, Little Shield, and Sorrel Horse sign for the Northern Arapaho. The treaty holds tribes responsible for actions against whites, includes annuities for 30 years and money for schools and farm equipment. The Lakota receive a reservation in the western half of South Dakota. The Northern Arapaho are left to hope the government will find them a reservation of their own.

1868: Fort Bridger Treaty of 1868 and the Shoshone Reservation
On July 3, Eastern Shoshone and Bannock leaders sign a treaty creating the Shoshone Reservation in the Wind River Valley. The Bannock reservation to be is established later in Idaho.

Soon, Wyoming’s territorial governor begins pushing the Shoshone to abandon their nomadic lives, settle on the reservation, and give up the southern third of their reservation, already occupied by whites.
1870: Northern Arapaho are sent to the Shoshone Reservation

The Northern Arapaho continue to press for a reservation. Written records show Arapaho chiefs pursuing an arrangement with the Shoshone. They believe Chief Washakie might be willing to make a temporary accommodation for the Arapaho, even though the tribes are traditional enemies, because of his friendship with Arapaho Chief Friday.

In October 1869, Territorial Governor Campbell and U.S. Army General Christopher Augur set up a meeting between Chief Washakie and Arapaho chiefs Medicine Man, Friday, and Sorrel Horse. When the Arapaho arrive, Washakie is away (which could indicate his doubts or even refusal to allow the Arapaho to move to Wind River).

In February 1870, Arapaho chiefs Medicine Man, Black Bear, Sorrel Horse, Little Wolf, and Knock Knee return for a second meeting. Arapaho oral tradition says Washakie agrees to a temporary settlement on the Shoshone Reservation because of his amicable relationship with Chief Friday.

Shoshone oral tradition says Washakie did not agree to allow the Northern Arapaho to settle temporarily on the Shoshone Reservation. The army escorts the Northern Arapaho and they begin arriving on the reservation in March 1870.

The newcomers are blamed for attacks on miners. On March 31, a mob of 250 vigilantes and some Shoshone, attack two Arapaho groups. About a dozen Arapaho are killed, including Chief Black Bear. Relations between the two tribes deteriorate, and the Arapaho begin leaving.

1871: No more treaties

Congress stops recognizing tribes as independent nations in a budget bill amendment. Future negotiation will consist of agreements. Although previous treaty obligations are to be honored, the elimination of traditional treaty-making processes undermines tribal identities as independent nations.
1872: Trout Creek Battle
Lakota, Cheyenne, and most likely some Arapaho warriors continue periodically raiding whites and Shoshones on Wind River. In 1872, a large raiding party attacks Shoshone camped on Trout Creek, near the Indian agency. The Shoshone know they are coming, however, and send women and children to safety in the Wind River Range foothills to the west. Then they dig rifle pits inside their tipis, roll up the bottom edges of the tipis, and shoot at approaching raiders from solid defensive positions—driving off the raiders.

This battle demonstrates the level of continuing hostility between enemy tribes and how the Shoshone are not entirely secure on their new reservation.

1874: Bates Creek Battle
In the summer, white cavalry troops and Eastern Shoshone warriors attack a Northern Arapaho village on Bates Creek, northeast of the Shoshone Reservation. The Northern Arapaho hold them off but lose many lodges and horses.

This further impoverishment of the Northern Arapaho is another step in a long slow journey that would eventually take the Northern Arapaho to the Shoshone Reservation permanently.

1877: A trip to Washington
Northern Arapaho leaders believe General Crook promised to help them get a reservation in Powder River country. They travel with a group of Lakota to Washington D.C., where Arapaho Chief Black Coal makes an eloquent plea for a reservation for his people. Instead, President Hayes approves a temporary location on the Sweetwater along the route to the Shoshone Reservation.
1878: Arapaho return to Shoshone Reservation and Fort Washakie

In March, the first group of Northern Arapaho under Black Coal’s leadership arrive on the Shoshone Reservation with an Army escort. By May, most of the Northern Arapaho—about 950 people—have arrived. Now both tribes—enemies only a few years before—struggle to subsist on short rations.

The Arapaho counter Shoshone efforts to remove them, both groups face government pressure to abandon their traditions, and the Shoshone are forced to share their reservation whether they agree or not.

In December, the U.S. government renames Camp Brown on the Shoshone Reservation Fort Washakie to honor the longtime Shoshone leader. It becomes the only military post named after an Indian chief.

*Government officials work to civilize the tribes for what they believe benefits the natives. Tribal cultures, language, religion, beliefs, traditions, and ways of life are not respected even as tribes cede land to the government.*
1887: Dawes General Allotment Act and its aftermath

On February 8, the Dawes Act is signed into law. Reservations are surveyed and lands classified as suitable for farming or grazing. Indian family heads qualify for individual allotments of 160 acres for farming, half that for single men—and the allotment doubles for grazing land. Indians who take allotments may become U.S. citizens. Land that remains unallotted can eventually be sold to whites.

White reformers see the act as positive, but argue its true intention is to get Indian land into the hands of white settlers. Tribal approval of amendments is not required. So, by 1938 (50 years later), Indian land decreases nationwide by about two-thirds—from 138 million to just 48 million acres. The rest ends up in the hands of whites for farming, ranching, mineral development, and other uses.

*This Act traps tribes in poverty while weakening their social and political traditions and tribal relationships to the land.*

With passage of the Dawes Act, the Northern Arapaho understand immediately this could be a route to full ownership and guaranteed rights to their own lands and with it a secure status on the Shoshone Reservation. The Shoshone, however, reject the idea. They look for some way to sell the Arapaho-occupied half of the reservation to the government or to simply divide the reservation in half and be compensated for it.

The Arapaho understand the Shoshone position and continue to hope General Crook will help them find their own reservation on the Tongue or Powder River. When Crook unexpectedly dies in 1890, these hopes die as well. Afterward, both tribes begin to bend to government pressure to sell off reservation land.
1891: Selling land to make ends meet
The tribes meet with a government commission to negotiate. Arapaho leaders see land sales to get money and services, as well as government recognition that they have a right to live where they are. Shoshone leaders directly challenge the Arapaho right to even be at the meeting, let alone to live in the valley. Both tribes now enter extremely difficult times.

Plagued by malnutrition and bad sanitation practices resulting partly from newly sedentary lives, the American Indians fall victim to diphtheria, influenza, measles, and other diseases. Needing money to buy food, they agree to sell 1.2 million acres north and east of the Big Wind River—leaving them only 900,000 acres. In the wake of reports from local whites that the tribes were not selling enough of their land, Congress refuses to approve the agreement. In 1893, the Indian Bureau pushes for them to sell 1.6 million acres. Both tribes refuse.

1896: Coveted hot springs
Local whites want to develop a magnificent hot spring downstream from the mouth of Wind River Canyon into a resort. On April 21, just under 60% of the 457 adult men in both tribes sign the springs away in what would become Thermopolis. In return, whites agree to pay up front in cash and cattle, with the rest to come in five annual installments. Rations under the 1868 treaty are extended five more years, but the later cash-and-cattle payments never come.

Equally important, participation in the sale gives the Northern Arapaho unofficial, but semi-permanent status they have not enjoyed before on the Shoshone Reservation—a status still without legal basis. The Fort Bridger Treaty of 1868 guarantees the Eastern Shoshone exclusive rights to Shoshone reservation lands, and though the Arapaho don’t have their own reservation, the government—out of expediency—deals with both tribes as equal partners.
1900: Chief Washakie’s death and 1.5 million acres lost
After Chief Washakie passes away on February 10, Indian Bureau superintendents on the Shoshone Reservation continue to have meetings with leaders of both tribes to discuss rations, land cessions, leases, and more.

In April 1904, the tribes agree to cede 1.5 million acres north of Big Wind River that they have been told will bring them more than $1 million in revenue. They are left with 800,000 acres south of the river.

The tribes feel they need money more than land. Many leaders are ready to sign. However, Lone Bear—now Northern Arapaho head council chief—argues the land is worth twice the offered price. After Lone Bear is called away, a large majority of Shoshone men and a small minority of Arapaho men vote for the proposal. Still, it constitutes a majority of all men on the reservation, so Congress amends and approves the agreement on March 3, 1905.

1924: Citizenship granted
On June 2, Congress passes the Indian Citizenship Act—granting citizenship to all American Indians born in the U.S.

1928: Unfairly equal
The Eastern Shoshone sue the government for violating the Fort Bridger Treaty of 1868, under which the Shoshone gave up a 44-million-acre reservation for exclusive rights to a 3.2-million-acre reservation on the Wind River. But without Shoshone approval, the Indian Bureau allowed the Arapaho to permanently settle on the reservation in 1878.

From this point on, the government unofficially (the Shoshone argue, illegally) treated both tribes as equal resource beneficiaries, with the Arapaho sharing Shoshone payments from the land cessions of 1896 and 1905, and in opportunities for individual reservation land allotments.
1934: Indian Reorganization Act
During the second year of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal, a reform-minded Congress passes the Indian Reorganization Act, which aims for more nationwide tribal autonomy. It calls for better Indian land and resource preservation, establishes a credit system and vocational education for Indians, and allows tribes to incorporate and form businesses.

Tribal lands are no longer allotted to individuals; instead, all reservation land is held in government trust for the benefit of existing and future generations of tribal populations. All tribal constitutions require approval by the Department of Interior and its Indian Bureau. The new law allows tribes a year to choose by majority vote whether to accept these changes. Both the Northern Arapaho and the Eastern Shoshone reject them.

At least in part, their vote reflects deep distrust of the government and its Indian Bureau. Tribal members feel the government breaks virtually all treaties and agreements with both tribes. They are especially skeptical of placing large sums of tribal money in government trust. Also, the so-called self-determination offered by the government does not seem genuine if every detail of any new tribal structure requires bureau approval.

1937: Wind River Indian Reservation
The U.S. Supreme Court finally rules in the Shoshone’s favor on the question of the Northern Arapaho presence on the Shoshone Reservation. The ruling allows for financial compensation to the Shoshone, but also rules they must recognize the Northern Arapaho right to live on the reservation that has been home to the Arapaho 61 years at that point. The reservation’s name is officially changed to the Wind River Indian Reservation. Congress approves settlement details in a separate law on July 27, 1939. The Shoshone receive $4.2 million in compensation for 61 years of Northern Arapaho presence, $1 million of which is set aside to buy back land within reservation boundaries.
1939: Tribal Ownership
U.S. Government authority to sell Indian lands to settlers is canceled. All unsold lands are restored to full tribal ownership and reservation status.

1940: 1.25 million acres returned
In April, the Interior secretary orders 1.25 million acres ceded to the government in 1905, but not yet in private hands, be returned to joint tribal ownership.

1947: Income from natural resources
Congress passes legislation allowing a trial period for unrestricted distribution to tribal members of joint tribal income from oil, mineral, and grazing leases on trust lands. Regular per-capita payments from tribal income are distributed to enrolled Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho tribal members. This arrangement becomes permanent in 1959.

1953: Riverton mineral rights
The U.S. government settles with the tribes for past trespassing and for lands within the Riverton Reclamation Project. In 1958, Congress restores tribal ownership of minerals within the Riverton Reclamation Project.
1955: Indian Claims Commission
The Northern and Southern Arapaho and Northern and Southern Cheyenne bring action before the Indian Claims Commission against the U.S. for not fully compensating them for land taken that had been guaranteed in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851.

1961: Payment settlements
Due to government violations of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, the Indian Claims Commission grants the Northern and Southern Arapaho and Northern and Southern Cheyenne a sum of $23.5 million, $5.08 million of which is for the Northern Arapaho.

The government, however, successfully claims that it is owed $1.58 million of that amount to offset payments to compensate the Shoshone for the first 61 years of Arapaho presence on the Shoshone Reservation. The funds remaining provide for per-capita payments to Northern Arapaho tribal members of $124 per month for a year.

Many Northern Arapaho believe, therefore, that they paid twice for the right to live on the Wind River Indian Reservation. The first, in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, when they gave up 49 million acres promised to them in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 in exchange for a reservation of their own that they never received. The second, with the $1.38 million government offset taken from the claims commission funds as reimbursement for payments made to the Eastern Shoshone under the 1939 settlement from U.S. vs the Shoshone tribe.
1975: Tribally-run programs
Congress passes the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which giving tribes responsibility to administer Indian health and human services programs.

1978: Religious freedom
Congress passes the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, a joint resolution which protects and preserves Indian religious rights, including access to sacred sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and freedom to worship via ceremonies and traditional rites. It provides constitutionally guaranteed freedoms not previously afforded to American Indians.

1988: Gaming revenue
Congress passes the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. Its objectives are to promote tribal self-sufficiency, create procedures and standards for the National Indian Gaming Commission, and ensure the tribes remain primary beneficiaries of reservation gaming revenues.
1992: Chief Washakie Trail
The Wyoming Department of Transportation establishes the Chief Washakie Trail from Rawlins to the Wind River Indian Reservation as a memorial to the well-known and greatly respected Eastern Shoshone chief.

2006: Sand Creek Massacre Trail
Members of the Tribal Relations Committee of the Wyoming State Legislature sponsor a resolution to designate the Sand Creek Massacre Memorial Trail. The trail represents a modern-day link between the massacre site in southeastern Colorado and the current Northern Arapaho home of the Northern Arapaho people.

2017: Learning from the past
On March 8, the Wyoming State Legislature passes a bill requiring public school social studies standards to include the cultural heritage, history, and contemporary contributions of American Indians. They also require the Wyoming Department of Education to work with the tribes to develop the curriculum.
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