

“TALKING ABOUT A SACREDNESS”

an Ethnographic Overview of Colorado National Monument



written in consultation with the Northern Ute
Sally McBeth, 2010

"TALKING ABOUT A SACREDNESS"
an Ethnographic Overview of Colorado National Monument

Written in Consultation with the Northern Ute

Sally McBeth, 2010

Cover Photo by Sally McBeth
Mounted Hunter and Bighorn Sheep; probable Ute Petroglyph
Colorado National Monument; 5ME 10C

Submitted to the National Park Service
Cooperative Agreement # H1200040001 (phases I and II) and H1200090004 (phase III)

© Sally McBeth, 2010

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The generosity of many Ute friends, whose willingness to share their stories, remembrances, and recollections with me cannot go unacknowledged. I treasure their rich and profound understandings of ancestral landscape shared with me over the past three years. These friends include, but are not limited to Northern Ute tribal members (alphabetically): Loya Arrum, Betsy Chapoose, Clifford Duncan, Kessley LaRose, Roland McCook, Venita Taveapont, and Helen Wash. Their advice and suggestions on the writing of this final report were invaluable.

Special thanks are due to Hank Schoch—without whose help I really would not have been able to complete (or even start) this project. His unflagging generosity in introducing me to the refulgent beauty and cultural complexity of Colorado National Monument cannot ever be adequately acknowledged. I treasure the memories of our hikes and ensuing discussions on politics, religion, and life.

The contributions of Michelle Wheatley (Chief of Interpretation and Education-COLM) also deserve a special recognition. Not only did she provide assistance throughout the duration of the project, but she has continued to build on the foundations of this project by establishing meaningful and consistent relationships with the Ute tribes.

The critical readings by my friends and colleagues, Sally Crum (USFS), Dave Fishell (Museum of the West), Dave Price (NPS-COLM), Hank Schoch (NPS-COLM), Alan McBeth, and Mark Stevens were very valuable. Likewise the advice and comments of federal-level NPS staff Cyd Martin, Dave Ruppert, and especially Tara Travis were invaluable. Thanks, all of you.

Former Colorado National Monument Superintendent Bruce Noble and Superintendent Joan Anzelmo provided tremendous support throughout the duration of the project. I also want to credit the "Colorado National Monument Review Team" (Briana Board, Pam Koenig, Lynn Mager, Lace Stevens, Michelle Wheatley, and Annie Williams) for critical readings and advice on the manuscript.

Thanks to UNC colleagues David Diggs (Geography) for the map. Elizabeth Buller (UNC-CERCA) is owed a special thanks for assistance with the Southwest Ecosystems chart as well as endless hours of formatting and holding my hand through all of the technological dilemmas I encountered.

Ethnobotanist Lynn Albers provided needed expertise on the plant section and Greeley historian Peggy Ford advised me on the complex nature of Nathan Meeker.

Carla Sanborn provided invaluable assistance with the transcribing of many of the tape-recorded interviews.

Wranglers Tam and Dana Graham of Graham Ranch in Delta, Colorado provided their horses and services free of charge for our trip to Black Ridge to examine the tree platform site. Other locals who assisted me in various ways were Max Stites, Michael Menard, and Yvonne Peterson.

Any errors or misrepresentations which remain are, of course, my own.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	List of Figures.....	iv
	Executive Summary.....	ix
I	Ethnographic Overview of Colorado National Monument: Purpose, Methods, and Thesis.....	1
II	Background on the Utes.....	4
	Introduction.....	4
	Why the Northern Ute.....	5
	Ute Band Structure.....	6
	Ute Culture: an Overview with a Focus on Colorado National Monument.....	7
	Ute Bear Dance.....	9
	Selected Sites in Colorado National Monument.....	13
	Devil's Kitchen Panel (5ME27).....	14
	Devil's Kitchen Pictograph (5ME26).....	15
	Large Animal with Rider (5ME10A).....	16
	Mounted Hunter and Bighorn Sheep; Skirted Figures (5ME10C).....	16
	Tree Platform Site: Black Ridge.....	18
III	Ute Subsistence Strategies: The Seasonal Round.....	21
	Elevations and Plant Seasonality.....	24
	Plants and Plant Use.....	28
	Ute Oral Traditions and Ceremonies Associated with Plant Collection.....	28
	Important Food Plants.....	30
	Women's Roles.....	30
	Piñon and Acorn.....	32
	Seed Harvest.....	33
	Berries.....	35
	Roots.....	36
	Cactus and Yucca.....	37
	Ponderosa Pine.....	38
	Medicinal Plants.....	39
	Bear Root.....	40
	Yarrow.....	41
	Sagebrush.....	42
	Juniper.....	42
	Cow Parsnip.....	43
	Indian Tobacco.....	44
	Other Medicinal Plants.....	44
	Utilitarian Uses of Plants.....	45
	Architectural Examples: Wickiups, Sweat Lodges, Menstrual Huts, and Tipis...45	
	Basket-Making.....	47
	Tanning Hides and Clothing.....	48
	Plant Use Conclusions.....	48
	Hunting.....	50
	Preparation.....	52
	Gender.....	52
	Hunting Rituals.....	52
IV	Earliest European Forays into the Area (1776-1869).....	53
	Dominguez-Escalante Expedition (1776).....	53
	John C. Frémont and Others (1850-1858).....	54
	John Wesley Powell (1867-1881).....	55

	Missionaries.....	56
V	Historical Incidents that Prompted Ute Removal (1828-1879).....	56
	Traders: Antoine Robidoux (1828-1844).....	56
	Settlers and Miners (1868).....	57
	Nathan Meeker and the White River Agency (1878-1879).....	58
	Los Pinos Agencies.....	63
VI	Removal (1880-1881).....	64
	Uncompahgre and White River Removal.....	70
VII	Post-Removal (1881-2009).....	72
	Ute Return to Colorado.....	72
	Historic Newspaper Accounts of Ute Return to Colorado Hunting Grounds.....	74
	Utes in Bitter Creek and Fruita Area.....	77
	Teller Institute.....	78
	Chipeta.....	80
	Jo-Jim and Josie.....	81
	Navajo Butchering Buffalo in Colorado National Monument.....	82
VIII	Concluding Remarks.....	82
IX	Recommendations.....	83
	Archaeological Survey.....	83
	Inventory of COLM Museum Archives.....	83
	Protection and Management.....	83
	Continuity.....	84
	Other Tribes.....	84
	Annual Ute Celebration.....	84
	Works Cited.....	85
	Appendix A	
	Index Summary of Consultations.....	97
	Appendix B	
	Archival Sources.....	103
	Appendix C	
	Copies of Letters to Tribes.....	104

LIST OF FIGURES

Cover

Ute Petroglyph in Lower Monument Canyon, Colorado National Monument. Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 1

Map of the Grand Valley including the Uncompahgre Plateau, Grand Mesa, Colorado National Monument and areas of significance to the Northern Ute in western Colorado. Map credit: David Diggs, Ph.D., Geography; University of Northern Colorado.

Figure 2

Map of Colorado National Monument. Map credit: David Ruppert, Ph.D., NPS.

Figure 3

Historic Ute Wickiup; home of Ta-vaputs; Utah 1873. Photo credit: Curtis Martin, Dominguez Anthropological Research Group.

Figure 4

Uncompahgre Brownware pottery found in Colorado National Monument. Photo credit: National Park Service; Annie Williams (COLM).

Figure 5

Men and women lined up for Ute Bear Dance, Uintah Reservation, ca.1900. Photo credit: Colorado Historical Society #10025450.

Figure 6

Petroglyph panel near Devil's Kitchen (5 ME 27). Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 7

Detail of above petroglyph (5 ME 27). Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 8

Clifford Duncan at pictograph near Devil's Kitchen picnic area (5ME 26). Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 9

Detail of above pictograph (5ME 26). Photo credit Sally McBeth.

Figure 10

Large animal with rider (5ME 10-A). Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 11

Sally McBeth photographing site 5ME 10-C. Photo credit: National Park Service; Michelle Wheatley (COLM).

Figure 12

Sally McBeth and Roland McCook at site 5ME 10-C. Photo credit: National Park Service; Michelle Wheatley (COLM).

Figure 13

Mounted hunter and bighorn sheep (5ME 10-C). Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 14

Skirted figures (5ME 10-C). Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 15

Colorado National Monument ranger on Black Ridge tree platform ca. 1950-60. Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 16

Tree platform showing juniper scaffolding elements. Photo credit: Hank Schoch.

Figure 17

Tree platform showing juniper bark mat. Photo credit: Hank Schoch.

Figure 18

Ute platform; ca. 1874; Uintah Valley. Photo credit: Colorado Historical Society #F-8-31.

Figure 19

Clifford Duncan and Betsy Champoose on Black Ridge; 2008. Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 20

Sunrise in Colorado National Monument. Photo credit: Hank Schoch.

Figure 21

Independence Monument in Colorado National Monument. Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 22

Ute girl, ca. 1870-1890. Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Robert G. Lewis., Z-2728.

Figure 23

Ute men of western slope of Colorado, 1876. Photo credit: Colorado Historical Society #5029.

Figure 24

Southwest Ecosystems. Modified from Arnberger 1952:7.

Figure 25

Northern Ute tribal members Helen Wash and Loya Arrum offering tobacco at plant harvest. Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 26

Ute mano and metate. Photo credit: Aline LaForge.

Figure 27

Northern Ute Plant Collectors (and friends). Kessley LaRose is front, left. Photo credit: Sally Crum.

Figure 28

Piñon pine tree. Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 29

Piñon pine cones. Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 30

Piñon pine nuts. Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 31

Basketry winnower, sumac or willow; Ute late 1800s. Field Museum, Chicago (FM 60973). Photo credit Wroth 2000:112.

Figure 32

Berry basket; sumac or willow, leather; Ute ca. 1880-1910; American Museum of Natural History (50.1/6952). Photo credit Wroth 2000:112.

Figure 33

Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 34

Utah serviceberry (*Amelanchier utahensis* or *ribes* spp??). Photo Credit: National Park Service.

Figure 35

Utah Juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 36

Sego lily (*Calochortus nuttallii*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 37

Tapertip onion (*Allium acuminatum*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 38

Indian potato (*Claytonia* spp.); harvested on the White River Plateau, 2008. Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 39

Prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia* spp.). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 40

Yucca (*Yucca harrimaniae*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 41

Scarred ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) on the Uncompahgre Plateau. Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 42

Big sage (*Artemisia tridentate*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 43

Greenleaf manzanita (*Arctostaphylos patula*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 44

Cliffrose (*Purshia mexicana*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 45

Wickiup remnant in Colorado National Monument. Photo credit: Hank Schoch.

Figure 46

Ute man, boy, and tipi (ca. 1860-1870). Photo credit: Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Morris W. Abbott, X-30586.

Figure 47

Basketry water jug; sumac or willow, pine pitch, leather; Ute late 1800s. Photo credit: Colorado Springs Pioneer Museum 1531. Wroth 2000:109.

Figure 48

Basketry fragment found in Colorado National Monument. Photo credit: National Park Service; Annie Williams (COLM).

Figure 49

Squawbush (*Rhus trilobata*). Photo credit: National Park Service.

Figure 50

Girl's cradleboard: willow, tanned hide, wood, glass beads; Ute ca. 1875-1900. National Museum of the American Indian (123173). Photo credit Wroth 2000:136.

Figure 51

Elk. Photo credit: William C. Hood.

Figure 52

Mule Deer. Photo credit: William C. Hood.

Figure 53

Desert Bighorn Sheep. Photo credit: William C. Hood.

Figure 54

Pronghorn/Antelope. Photo credit: William C. Hood.

Figure 55

Desert Cottontail. Photo credit: William C. Hood.

Figure 56

Antoine Robidoux Inscription; ANTOINE ROBIDOUX PASSÉ ICI LE 13 NOVEMBRE 1837 POUR ÉTABLIRE MAISON TRAITTE A RV LA VERT OU WIYTE (Antoine Robidoux passed here November 13, 1837 to establish a trading post on the Green or White River; some believe that the last word is WINTE which might translate to "Uintah"). This inscription is chiseled into the rock; it is likely that someone chalked the letters in the early 1960s. His inscription is written above an already existing shield; the time period of this shield has not been identified. The location of this inscription is in one of the canyons in the Bookcliffs of eastern Utah. Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 57

Nathan Cook Meeker, date unknown. Photo credit: City of Greeley Museums, Permanent Collection, AI-3146.

Figure 58

Helen Wash and Venita Taveapont at "Meeker Tree." Photo Credit: Sally McBeth.

Figure 59

Ute Encampment at Los Pinos Agency, 1874. Photo credit: Colorado Historical Society #3605.

Figure 60

Ute delegation in Washington, D.C. 1880. They are, left to right, seated Charlie Grote (Galota), Severo, Shavano, Utoke (Jocknick); the standing men are Otto Mears and Col. H. Page. Photo credit: Colorado Historical Society Negative No. F-7099).

Figure 61

The Utes Must Go; but don't forget to patronize the Pioneer Grocery of Colorado. Photo credit: Colorado Historical Society F-44, 197.

Figure 62

Uncomphgre Ute Indians leaving Colorado at Fort Crawford for their new reservation in Utah, August 1881. Photo credit: Colorado Historical Society F-5458; 10025996.

Figure 63

Freestanding wickiup from Western Colorado (Piceance Basin; site 5RB2624; Rader's Wickiup Village) made of juniper and pinyon poles. Photo credit: Curtis Martin, Domiguez Anthropological Research Group.

Figure 64

Ute Indians near Fruita, Colorado, date unknown. "Thirteen Ute Indians." Four identified as Chief Atchee (standing, center, white shirt with vest), Chief McCook (to the right of Atchee), Jimmy McCook (seated, white hat and shirt), Sasathe (standing, far right, dark hat and jacket). Copyrighted: Dean's Studio, Grand Junction, COLO. Photo credit: Lower Valley Heritage Center (Fruita, CO).

Figure 65

Teller Institute students (ca. 1886-1911). "This is an excursion from the Teller Institute at Grand Junction to the town of Carpenter or Book Cliff at the end of the track on the Book Cliff Railroad. The man is believed to be W.S. Phillips." Photo credit: Colorado Historical Society F-28, 225; 10026718.

Figure 66

Navajo woman butchering buffalo in Colorado National Monument, 1956. Photo credit: National Park Service.

Executive Summary

I Introduction and Background

This Ethnographic Overview of Colorado National Monument is a 2006 contracted study funded by the National Park Service. Colorado National Monument, established in 1911, is located in western Colorado near the Utah border in the Grand Valley. The 36 mile long Grand Valley is defined as the area in and around the confluence of the Colorado and Gunnison Rivers, near present day Grand Junction. The Project Overview in the Scope of Work (2006) states:

This scope of work addresses the need to conduct research to identify and document ethnographic resources within or near Colorado National Monument. Broadly described, the research project is designed to provide the Colorado National Monument with documentation of the *historic* and *cultural* relationships between sites (including natural and cultural resources within the area) and *contemporary* tribal communities (in particular, *Ute* tribal communities) that have historic affiliation with this region (2006:1; italics added).

Before agreeing to take on the research and writing of this report, I met with David Ruppert, Ph.D., National Park Service (NPS) Ethnographer and Assistant Director of the Office of Indian Affairs and American Culture. We met in Lakewood, Colorado on April 14, 2006 to discuss the Scope of Work for the Ethnographic Overview of Colorado National Monument. We addressed a number of issues including the identification of ethnographic or archaeological resources in Colorado National Monument, the problems that arise when a tribe's relationship with ancestral homelands is severed, and my experiences working (on a similar project) with the Ute and Arapaho in Rocky Mountain National Park.

As a cultural anthropologist, I knew that the identification of archaeological resources was beyond the area of my expertise. Indeed, ethnography is, by definition, a description of a living culture. I knew that what I hoped to create was a picture, not only of how the aboriginal inhabitants of the Grand Valley lived, but also I wanted this Ethnographic Overview to include reflections of their descendants, the Utes, on possible meanings that the landscape and its features might have had for ancestral Utes.

I also knew that retention of any extant connections by members of the Ute bands who had inhabited this landscape would be unlikely. They had been removed nearly 130 years ago and impressions of the landscape, the rock art, or other ethnographic features would most likely

have been lost. My experiences in inviting the Ute and Arapaho into Rocky Mountain National Park (McBeth 2007) led me to the conclusion that only the most naïve (which I clearly was) would posit that recollections specific to locales in Colorado National Monument would still exist. Indeed, every Ute who was invited into the Monument reminded and cautioned me that whenever a people are disenfranchised of their homeland, their sacred landscape, that *any* reflections *must* be interpreted in light of this removal.

Some Ute even questioned whether they should accept the invitation of the National Park Service to return to Colorado given the disingenuous perfidy of their 1881 removal. In the end, however, they determined that this return would be beneficial for elders and youth alike.

In my 30 years of experience working with Native consultants I have learned that this kind of project and requisite consultation have need of a certain approach—a certain reserve. The method requires patience and a willingness to take the time to establish rapport with a variety of individuals as well as to negotiate the political landscape of the participating tribal entities.

In discussing my concerns with Ruppert, we concluded that the direction that this ethnographic overview would take would be an examination of archival resources combined with inviting knowledgeable tribal members into the Monument to visit *known* archaeological sites, reflect on possible meanings, and revisit ancestral homelands. Since one of the directives in the Scope of Work was a “documentation of natural and cultural resources” I raised the question of whether an ethnobotany study might be useful to Colorado National Monument personnel. Through my work with the Ute in Rocky Mountain National Park I knew that an area of great interest to the Ute (especially women) was traditional perspectives on subsistence and medicinal plant use. We concluded that this kind of hands-on original research with Ute in the Grand Valley would have the potential to interject a decidedly twenty-first century Ute cultural viewpoint into this report.

II Revised Project Objectives

A second meeting took place at the Visitor’s Center in Colorado National Monument on June 12, 2006. In attendance were former Colorado National Monument Superintendent Bruce Noble, former Colorado National Monument Biological Technician, Lisa Claussen, and Tara Travis, National Park Service Ethnohistorian, and Key NPS Official for this project. Bruce Noble clarified what he believed were the most significant aspects of the Colorado National Monument

Ethnographic Overview. These were, first, re-establishing contacts with the Ute, especially the Northern Ute, whose connections with western Colorado are clearly documented. Indeed, the Scope of Work states,

Today, the Ute people who once inhabited the lands near the monument now live on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation (Ft. Duchesne, Utah). These Ute people were combined with a number of Ute bands originally from northern and central Utah and northern Colorado. *All are generally referred to as the Northern Ute* and operate under one tribal government (2006:3; italics added).

Noble said that the need for this type of study was reinforced in the General Management Planning Process by comments received from the Northern Ute. Second, would be to include an overview of the history of the Grand Valley with a focus on Northern Ute removal from the area in and around Colorado National Monument since the Monument is “within the lands originally set aside as part of the 1868 Colorado Ute Reservation Treaty” (2006:3).

Archival resources would be examined to see if any early recordings of the area had been documented. We knew, however, that no ethnographers had published any observations of the Natives who inhabited this area of western Colorado and eastern Utah area prior to the Utes’ removal, and so we were not optimistic that much ethnographic material would be forthcoming. It was also agreed at this time that a documentation of those archival resources examined (even if no information was forthcoming) would be valuable to future researchers.

Third, we all agreed that a variety of images should be included. These would include historic photos, as well as plant, animal, and site photos (with consultants if permission was granted).

I reminded those present that I am not an archaeologist and it was agreed that the identification of archaeological (especially Paleo-Indian [13,400 BP-6400 BCE], Archaic [6400 BCE-1 CE], and Fremont [542 CE-1300 CE]) resources would be not be a central component of this Ethnographic Overview. These cultures cannot be reliably identified as ancestral to the Ute (Reed and Metcalf 1999). Additionally, Noble assured me that Hank Schoch, former Colorado National Monument Chief Ranger, was familiar with the documented and undocumented archaeological sites in Colorado National Monument and would work with me as I familiarized myself with the terrain. Noble was transferred (and promoted) soon thereafter and so stepped down as Superintendent of Colorado National Monument in 2007.

Joan Anzelmo was appointed as the new Superintendent (2007) and on July 23, 2007 she and I met with Lisa Claussen to discuss the continuation of the project. We later drafted and sent letters of invitation to the Northern Ute, Southern Ute, and Ute Mountain Ute tribes (August 8, 2007; see Appendix D). We used the addresses provided by the web sites for each tribe, knowing that we needed to inform the tribal councils of our needs. I knew from past experience that it was unlikely that Neil Cloud, Southern Ute Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation (NAGPRA) Representative would be likely to visit the Monument. When invited to come into RMNP, he deferred to the Northern Ute Tribe. The Southern Ute Tribal Council did not respond to our invitation, nor did the Ute Mountain Ute.

I did visit briefly in person with Lynn Hartmann, assistant to Terry Knight who is the Ute Mountain Ute Cultural Resources Coordinator and NAGPRA liaison. She said that the Ute Mountain Ute might be interested in coming if time allowed, but that they typically deferred to the Northern Ute in the geographical locale of western and north-western Colorado. I did attempt to interview a number of Ute Mountain Ute women on their knowledge of traditional plant lore on September 15, 2007, but minimal information was forthcoming (see transcription of interview in Colorado National Monument archives).

III Summary of Research Results

I did not find any Colorado National Monument (or even Grand Valley) site-specific statements or information in the archival, historical, or ethnographic literature that I examined. Indeed, there were no ethnographers present in western Colorado or eastern Utah before 1881. No early diaries and/or letters were discovered; published and unpublished memoirs, recollections, and correspondence of settlers, agents, and the like that I examined contained no specific references to the area in and around Colorado National Monument.

Neither were any specific references forthcoming from the Native peoples who visited the Monument. That is, the features of the landscape did not evoke any origin narratives, band migration narratives, or other traditional histories that would conclusively connect the Northern Ute with Colorado National Monument. The archaeological record in the Monument, sparse as it is, stands as the primary documentation of a Ute presence there (cf. Stroh and Ewing 1964).

My own research and discussions with historians and anthropologists overwhelmingly conclude that the Uncompahgre and White River bands (Yamparika, Parianuche, Tabeguache) were the

primary historical inhabitants of the Grand Valley. This is not to say that other tribes and Ute bands did not, on occasion, move through or settle in this area. Indeed, the 1776 Dominguez-Escalante Expedition reported (but did not encounter) Yamparika Comanche north of the Colorado River (Warner 1995) and the Shoshone *may* have occupied the area around the Yampa River in northwest Colorado (Reed and Metcalf 1999:146).

What I accomplished in this overview are as follows. Part I is a general introduction to the purpose, methods, and thesis of the report. Part II includes an introduction to the Ute including notes on Ute band structure and culture. Included in this section are generalized interpretations of the last Ute Bear Dance held in Colorado in 1880 and of selected sites located within the boundaries of Colorado National Monument. These sites were selected because archaeologists who have examined them over the years have established that they appear to be Ute sites. These include 5ME26, 5ME27, 5ME10 A, B,C, and a tree platform site that was never mapped nor given a site number. Admittedly this is a small number of sites, but given the propensities of consultants (they were most interested in seeing those sites that were Ute) and limited time and resources, I believe that I have provided an overview of the perspectives of Northern Ute consultants given the 130 year interlude since their removal.

Part III examines Ute subsistence strategies (hunting and gathering) and includes twenty-first century Ute perspectives on subsistence, medicinal, and utilitarian plants based on three ethnobotany field trips to the Grand Valley and surrounding area in 2006, 2007, and 2008. This original research provides a lens through which to view the (frequently marginalized) reflections of Ute women as to the importance of plant use. This section was written in consultation with ethnobotanist, Lynn Albers.

Part IV is an overview of the earliest Euro-American intrusions into the Grand Valley to establish the groundwork for the Northern Ute claims to this territory. Parts V-VI provide an abbreviated account of the historical incidents that prompted Ute removal. These sections are included because they document the dispossession of the Uncompahgre and White River Utes from their treaty-guaranteed land base and because many Coloradoans are unfamiliar with the so-called "Meeker Massacre" and its effect on the aboriginal inhabitants of the Grand Valley. Since Colorado National Monument was established in 1911 by President William Taft (well after the removal of the Utes from Colorado in 1881) there are no extant treaties which the National Park Service is bound by, nor any legal findings which would otherwise affect Colorado National

Monument (Kappler 1904:990-996; Fay 1970). Colorado National Monument personnel should, however, be aware of why some Ute, especially the Northern Ute bands, frequently express a reluctance to "return" to Colorado.

Part VII examines "post-removal" Ute return to Colorado to hunt and gather; it is primarily based on early published accounts as well as historic newspaper accounts from 1882 to 1912. Interviews with early Grand Junction residents are also included here in order to include the stories of the last "traditional" Indians to inhabit the Grand Valley.

III Project Personnel

Sally McBeth, Ph.D. (1983; Washington State University) was the Principle Investigator for this project. She is a cultural anthropologist currently employed by the University of Northern Colorado where she has been since 1990. She has worked with the NPS since 2000 and has an extensive background in oral history collection (cf. e.g. McBeth 1983, 1998, 2003, 2007).

ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

Colorado National Monument

I Ethnographic Overview of Colorado National Monument: Purpose, Methods, and Thesis

Colorado National Monument is located in western Colorado near the town of Grand Junction. Near the border of Colorado and Utah, the Monument is found in the Grand Valley, a 36 mile long valley in and around the conjunction of the Colorado and Gunnison Rivers (fig. 1).

The Monument itself is 20,534 acres (32 square miles) in size and is a part of the greater Colorado Plateau (fig. 2). The magnificent scenery of Colorado National Monument is the result of geological processes including erosion, landslides, rock fall, and flash floods.

The purpose of this report is to conduct research and provide documentation on known ethnographic resources within or near Colorado National Monument. The research integrates the historic, cultural (ethnographic), and legal documentation with those perspectives provided by members of tribal communities that have historic affiliation with the area. Another purpose of this research is to identify culturally sensitive areas in order to develop

culturally appropriate resource management strategies for both natural and cultural resources. Indeed, Ute consultants have cautioned us not to disassociate the natural from the cultural; through a Ute lens the continuum is seamless (see pp. 4-8 for an introduction to Ute culture).

This end product provides a cultural, historical, and legal overview of Native



Figure 1: Map of the Grand Valley including the Uncompahgre Plateau, Grand Mesa, Colorado National Monument and areas of significance to the Northern Ute in western Colorado.

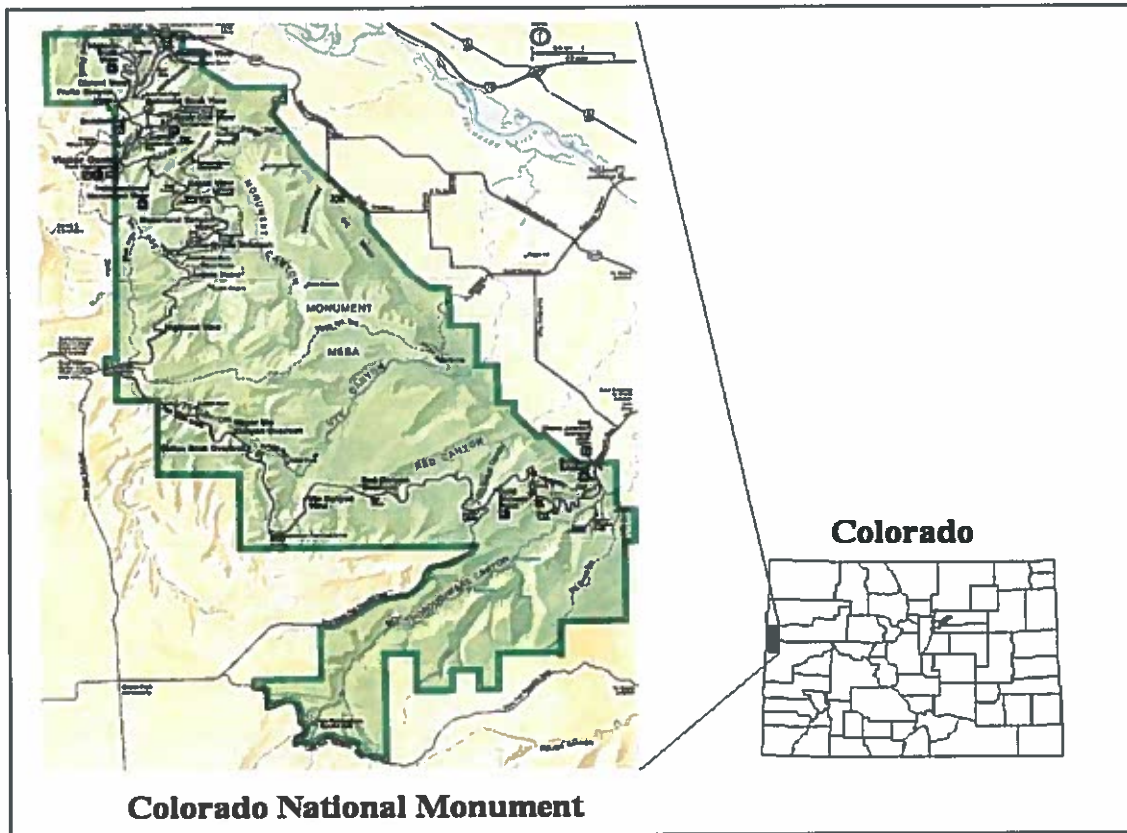


Figure 2: Map of the Colorado National Monument

American occupations in and around the Grand Valley. This report will be useful to cultural interpretation purposes and provides a succinct history of the Ute in the Grand Valley. Additionally, since the research incorporates Ute perspectives, the National Park Service is encouraged to retain rapport and positive working relationships with those tribal entities that claim the areas in and around Colorado National Monument as ancestral homeland. Only one of the Ute consultants [Clifford Duncan] had ever been to the Monument before. He was invited in 1992 by Judy

Cordova who was Superintendent of the Monument at that time. He went to the rock art sites at White Rocks and to Lower Monument Canyon; to my knowledge, no notes have been retained in the Monument's archives.

The methods utilized in the writing of this report are standard for the discipline of anthropology. I began by reading a number of ethnographic overviews and related reports to familiarize myself with the kinds of materials that might be included in this oral history and cultural interpretation project

(e.g. Baker 1991; Brett 2002; Burns 2003; Hanson and Chirinos 1997, Nabokov and Loendorf 1994; 2004).

At the same time (August, 2007), Joan Anzelmo (Superintendent, Colorado National Monument) began contacting the tribal councils of each of the three Ute tribes I might be working with in order to preserve a government (Department of Interior, National Park Service) to government (Tribal Council) relationship—a procedure that is essential to the process of working with Native communities in the twenty-first century. Only the Northern Ute (of Utah) responded to our requests for visitation. There are three separate Ute tribes; neither the Ute Mountain Ute nor the Southern Ute, whose reservations are located in the four-corners area of Colorado, made contact with Superintendent Anzelmo or myself.

All tapes from tape-recorded interviews, transcriptions, and release forms are on file at Colorado National Monument. The list of consultants and dates of interviews (both tape-recorded and not) are listed in Appendix A, and those utilized in this report are in the References Cited section. My main archival sources were the Omer Stewart Collection housed in the Norton Library at the University of Colorado at Boulder, Colorado National Monument Archives and Collections in Grand Junction,

Western History Collection of the Denver Public Library, the Colorado Historical Society Archives in Denver, the Museum of the West in Grand Junction, Regional Archives of the Rocky Mountain Division in Denver, the Lower Valley Heritage Center in Fruita, the Congressional Serial Set, and historical (1880-1912) newspapers from western Colorado (see Appendix B).

I will talk about the Utes who lived here, what they ate, what they did, what the flora and fauna that surrounded them and infused their lives were like, and how they responded to non-Native intrusion and encroachment. This report examines Ute aboriginal occupations in and around Colorado National Monument as well as Native American spiritual, material, and historical concerns.

To that end, I begin with a background (II) on the Utes, including remnants of Ute traditions (1881 Bear Dance) and selected Ute perspectives on archaeological sites located within the boundaries of Colorado National Monument. This is followed by a detailed description of Ute subsistence patterns (III) that will encourage the reader to imagine what life in the Grand Valley was like for the Ute who lived there. A sequential examination of earliest European expeditions into the area from 1776-1869 (IV), historical incidents between 1868-1881

that led to the Utes' removal (V), the actual removal, 1880-1881 (VI), and post-removal, 1881-2009 (VII) are covered. Clearly the 2009 date is intended as a marker of the completion of the project; an even cursory exploration of twentieth and twenty-first century Ute culture (in Colorado and Utah) is beyond the scope of this overview. It is my intention that this Ethnographic Overview will provide a creative and comprehensive cultural history of Native American presence in the Grand Valley in spite of the paucity of ethnographic information available.

The archaeological record of Colorado National Monument also includes pre-Ute occupations beginning with the Paleo-Indian Era (13,400 BP-6400 BCE), Archaic Era (6400 BCE-1 CE), and Formative Era (400 BCE-1300CE [Fremont Tradition in CNM; 542 CE-1300 CE]). These cultures cannot be reliably identified as ancestral to the Ute (Reed and Metcalf 1999). Clearly, the 1963 survey of the Monument was superficial (Stroh and Ewing 1964). While I have thoroughly examined this document and related site forms, it is beyond the scope of this overview to relate proto-historic and historic cultures to those archaeological traditions present in Colorado National Monument. As discussed in the Recommendations (IX), a thorough

archaeological survey of Colorado National Monument needs to be scheduled.

II Background on the Utes

Introduction

It is not clear how long the Ute, highly mobile hunters and gatherers, have lived in western Colorado. They may have arrived from 500-800 years ago from the desert regions of California and Utah. Fremont culture ceased to exist in identifiable form around 1300 CE, but some Ute and a growing number of archaeologists believe that it is plausible that Fremont may have a Ute component, and may indeed be ancestral-Ute. Clearly additional archaeological survey and investigations need to be completed in order to establish the legitimacy of this claim.

While an understanding of the broader history of western Colorado and eastern Utah, including legal treaties and shifting reservation boundaries, is important to an ethnographic understanding of the area, my focus will be on the Grand Valley where Colorado National Monument is located.

We know the Ute lived here. There is, of course, the historical record.

Archaeologically, peeled trees, pole wickiups (fig. 3), and Uncompahgre Brownware ceramics (fig. 4) are also

considered reasonable, reliable indicators of a Ute presence wherever they occur (Buckles 1971; Elinoff 2002; Hill and Kane 1988; Martorano 1988; Reed 1988; Scott 1988). All are found in and around the Grand Valley; the distinctive [Ute] Uncompahgre Brownware pottery has been found in the tributary and adjacent canyon and mesa country (Reed and Metcalf 1999:155-158) as well as in Colorado National Monument.



Figure 3: Historic Ute wickiup



Figure 4: Uncompahgre Brownware ceramics from Colorado National Monument

Why the Northern Ute?

The Ute have a long prehistoric and historic affiliation with Colorado National Monument area and reflections provided by Northern Ute consultants firmly document this connection. Betsy Chapoose, Director of the Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection Office writes, "We the Northern Ute tribe consider the Glenwood Springs-Grand Junction areas of Colorado as being the heart of our aboriginal territories. In general our sister Tribes, Ute Mountain and Southern Ute, recognize this [domain] as well (Chapoose 2010). It is, therefore, the Northern Ute bands that will be privileged in this research.

Although other Ute bands and/or other tribes moved through the area, archaeological and ethnographic research suggests that the Northern Ute have the greatest proto-historic longevity in the area, and that few if any other tribes settled in the area for any length of time (Buckles 1971; Reed and Metcalf 1999:146). The two Ute bands generally referred to as the Northern Ute were named after the river drainages along which they lived. The Uncompahgre Ute ("slow moving [lake] red water") were the largest of the two bands (approximately 1100 members); their territory included the San Juan Mountains south to the Dolores River and into Utah. The White River (Grand River and Yampa) bands located in

Colorado's northern Rockies (North and Middle Park), also included people who lived in the Yampa and White River drainages, which extended into Wyoming (Decker 2004:8).

Northern Ute elder Clifford Duncan says of the Monument:

The setting is right. We are really talking about a sacredness. These rock formations were made in a sacred time; they are a gift from the spirit. And when you come here early in the morning before anyone else is here, when the light hits from the east, when they [Ute] want to connect with the spirits of this place, they would go to the bottom of the canyon to connect with the sacred in that way (Duncan 2008).

Betsy Chapoose, Director of the Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection Office, says,

We must try to understand the comprehensive picture of what this Monument is. We must look at all aspects, not just selected archaeological sites. Air, water, the plant communities, the animals, everything from the sky and high spires to the bottom of the canyon must be investigated as a whole sacred place. We do not distinguish between cultural and natural resources: they are all one in our view of this place. We [Ute] live our religion, and what the ancient Ute utilized and created here was an instrument of that religion. This is what we call home (Chapoose 2008).

Roland McCook, Northern Ute historian, says,

The beauty of this place would have been a part of Utes' everyday life. They would likely have used the prominent stone features as landmarks—places to meet or to pray (McCook 2008).

Long-time (non-Native American) Grand Junction resident Max Stites Jr. remarks, *I have always heard that the Monument was a sacred area to the Utes. It is awe-inspiring to us [non-Utes] and it just seems reasonable that it was to them as well (Stites 2007).*

Ute Band Structure

Understanding Ute band structure will assist interested readers in their comprehension of Ute occupations in and around the Grand Valley. I use the convention for Ute band names established in the Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians (Callaway et al. 1986). It is generally agreed that the Northern Ute bands of Colorado (pre-1881) are the:

- Yamparika (aka Yamparka [root eaters]) later called White River; named after the White River Agency near present-day Meeker, Colorado.
- Parianuche (aka Parianuc, Parusanuch, Grand River [elk people or people by the water]) most Parianuche later joined the White River band
- Tabeguache (aka Taviwach, Taviwac, Tabehuachis [people on the sunny side], later *Uncompahgre* [named after Uncompahgre Agency]); Ouray was the leader of the Uncompahgre. Some of the White River band members eventually joined the Uncompahgre band.

While there is general consensus on band names and locations, the circumstances surrounding the naming of the bands is complex. Band membership was fluid, intermarriage between members of different bands was common, and bands were assigned various labels by outsiders. As Ute ethnographer Omer Stewart points out in his unpublished work, there was much movement back and forth across what is today the Colorado-Utah border. He writes,

We should remember that there was a Ute Indian who had walked from central Utah, Utah Lake, into west central Colorado, in the vicinity of Grand Junction through the Uintah Valley and was visiting with the Indians in that area when Escalante arrived in 1776 (Stewart N.d. 594-4 [4]).

Additionally,

The band names in Colorado are obviously meaningless except in the very later period. Many Indians later identified, or who became White River, signed as Tabeguache in the 1863 Treaty. The Indians themselves moved from one part of Colorado to another, or if in the same area were known by different names at different times (Stewart N.d. 594-4 [27]).

Ute historian Simmons echoes Stewart's caveat, stating that Ute Indians were named according to the agency where they went to receive their rations "regardless of their previous band affiliations" (2000:131). Not surprisingly, band members went to different agencies to collect rations, optimizing their returns at a time when their

mistrust of the government and settlers was clearly justified (Simmons 2000:141,153). That said, it is my understanding that in the context of western Colorado, to attempt to distinguish between the White River and Uncompahgre bands is a difficult endeavor.

Ute elder Clifford Duncan also cautions us. He says, "It was white people who needed to distinguish by tribe or band—but many mistakes were made in the recording" (Duncan 2008).

Ute Culture: an Overview with a Focus on Colorado National Monument

The culture, ceremonial cycle, lifeways, and history of the Ute in western Colorado and eastern Utah have been well documented (cf. e.g. Burns 2003; Callaway et al. 1986; Duncan 2000; Jorgensen 1964; Smith 1974; Stewart 1974 a,b; Stewart 1942, 1966; Witherspoon 1993). Since my thesis is to introduce the reader to Ute culture, this brief introduction will provide an important preface.

Numic speakers, including the Utes, Southern Paiutes, Shoshonis, and Comanches, spoke related Uto-Aztecan languages. The speakers of the Ute language did not necessarily think of themselves as a tribe. Folks in different bands intermarried, recognized each other, and traded, but did not otherwise maintain a

larger tribal organization. Bands congregated for communal rabbit or antelope hunts, pine nut harvests, and the annual Bear Dance.

But while we may know quite a bit about the Northern Ute in general, when a small area near the confluence of the Gunnison and Colorado River is examined, the area in and around what is today Colorado National Monument, the specific representation of Ute presence becomes murky. The reason for the dearth of information is that the Ute were (essentially) pushed out of Colorado in 1881, and only a few ethnographic observations were recorded prior to this time. What this means is that there was a tremendous loss of Ute cultural knowledge that might have been associated with this area. Twenty-first century perspectives must concede that the memories of any traditions related to the Grand Valley and Uncompahgre Plateau are elusive and fragmentary. Tattered memories and mostly-erased histories are at the center of this investigation.

No ethnographic research was done in the area before the Northern Ute were removed to what eventually became known as the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in Utah. The following provides the locations, sources, and a preview of relevant data discovered about this geographic area. Indeed, except

for the writings of John Wesley Powell (who was not an ethnographer), the main source of data is from Anne Smith's fieldwork among the Northern Ute on the Uintah Ouray Reservation in the summers of 1936 and 1937. Her "admittedly thin" data was not published until 1974. Smith recalls that "it was difficult to secure ethnographic data from the Utes." She continues, "This is not surprising in light of the history of Ute-white relations for the previous hundred years" (Smith 1974:7-8).

It is not an easy task to make cultural sense of the art and artifacts left by the Ute (and other indigenous peoples) within the boundaries of Colorado National Monument. To integrate these into a coherent model is beyond the scope of this ethnographic overview. However, I will use the insights provided by Ute consultants (Chapoose, Duncan, LaRose, McCook, Taveapont, Wash, 2007-09) to investigate possible meanings and interpretations of this art, and these artifacts and sites. In the sections below, I will explore the Ute Bear Dance as recorded in the Grand Valley in 1880 (including twenty-first century Ute perspectives), selected Ute rock art sites located in Colorado National Monument, and a tree platform site, all of which were visited by Ute consultants between 2007-2009.

Ute Bear Dance

There are no recorded instances of the Ute ceremony known as the Bear Dance (or "mamakwanika," the back and forth dance) having been done within the boundaries of Colorado National Monument (fig. 5).



Figure 5: Ute Bear Dance ca. 1900

This is not to say that it didn't happen there. Indeed, Ute elder Clifford Duncan believes this gathering may well have occurred within the boundaries of the Monument (Duncan 2009). According to Smith (1974:220), the Bear Dance is an aboriginal dance of the Utes. The band decided who the leader for that spring would be and then he (there is no evidence that women were ever chosen as leaders) chose two assistants. Smith asserts, "All [informants] agreed that formerly it was the custom to have a man and a woman, each wearing a bearskin robe, to impersonate the male and female bear on the last day of the ceremony" (Smith 1974:220).

Smith goes on to say that the Bear Dance is primarily a social gathering and was held as the winter ended, welcoming the coming of spring. "The Bear Dance has always been the occasion for flirting and sexual experimentation. Many informants said their courtship began at a Bear Dance (Smith 1974:221-222). It was always followed by a feast on the last day; buffalo tongues were saved and eaten at a feast after the Bear Dance (Smith 1974:54). The Sun Dance was introduced to the Ute by the Shoshones around 1890 and the ethnographic record makes no mention of a Ute-sponsored Sun Dance until 1909 (Jorgensen 1972:20). Therefore that ceremony will not be covered in this report.

In the spring of 1881 the disillusioned and despondent Ute failed to hold their Bear Dance (Wilkinson 2000:317). Three versions of the Bear Dance are included here. The first, as recorded by "Prof. S. Richardson" in the Gunnison Review of 1880 (Richardson 1880:1) details the ethnocentric views prevalent among most non-Native people of the day; this 1880 description is probably the last of those recorded in Colorado before the Ute were forcibly removed. The second (Taveapont 2009a) provides a remarkable contrast with the newspaper account of the 1880s, coming as it does from a female tribal member whose understandings of the

ceremonial significance of the dance are informed by traditional knowledge as well as historical research. The third (Cloud 2002) provides yet another Ute version of this ceremony.

The setting of the 1880 Bear Dance was about one and one-half-miles north of the Los Pinos Agency (#2) in a piñon grove on the Uncompahgre River, near present-day Montrose. It was described as a four-day/night ceremony (this particular one was held in February) and was attended by about 1500 Ute and a small group of curious white "ladies" and men who arrived by horse-drawn carriage. The music was described as "dull monotonous" and the ending feast "served up in their rude way upon the same spot where their festivities are held." The descriptions of the dance itself are fascinating.

There were two long lines of dancers ballancing [sic] forward and back, swaying irregularly, but keeping perfect time and moving with ease and grace. All were gaily dressed; some gaudily and others tastefully. The male dancers all on one side—the west side of the floor facing east, while the females were in line on the east side facing west, and why thus placed I never learned. The movement seemed to be that the male line advanced the female line receded [sic], and vice-versa (Richardson 1880:1).

Professor Richardson goes on to explain that one young woman, a dancer, fell and

...seemed to fancy that her limbs were paralyzed and that she could not move. Washington, chief of ceremonies and presiding genius of the occasion slowly marched out from the orchestra over which he officiated with his music stick and drove off the evil spirit... (Richardson 1880:1).

Continuing, the Professor says,

The Ute women have but few privileges, but during this occasion their rule of etiquette was such that they really conducted the dance. When a dance was to commence, and it was so announced, a woman would cross over the floor, keeping time to the music and touch the best looking man, (that is in her estimation, for I never saw one except a dead one) and then return in the same manner to her position on the floor, while the invited gent would sit a minute or more to show her that he would take time to consider her invitation, and though they invariably acted thus, no one ever refused (Richardson1880:1).

Clearly, the above reference is to Sheridan's frequently quoted phrase, "The only good Indian is a dead one." What Professor Richardson does not understand is the deep spiritual significance of the Ute Bear Dance and that it is unique in that it is a women's choice courting-dance. Its origins are described in various ways. Venita Taveapont, Director of the Ute Northern Ute Language Program, says:

The Bear Dance started a long time ago, we don't know how far back; its origins are with the Ute people. We didn't borrow it from any other tribe; it is an original dance of the Ute people. The story goes that there were two hunters who were brothers and they

went hunting in the mountains. They traveled all day and one of them wanted to continue hunting, but the other wanted to rest. And so the one brother, while waiting for his brother to wake up from his nap, saw a bear way across the valley. The bear was going up to a tree and then back again, and the hunter wondered, "What is that bear doing?"

So he went closer and the bear was dancing back and forth up to the tree and back and was singing a song. The bear heard the young man approach, and he turned and asked, "What are you doing? Are you spying on me? Why are you looking at me?" A long time ago, in a 'magic time', the animals could talk. They understood what the people were saying and the people could understand them.

And the thought that came to this young hunter was that he could kill the bear and he wouldn't have to hunt any more (even though the Ute don't eat bear). The bear told the young man that he would teach him the song and dance in return for not killing him and that this would not only bring him success in hunting, but also that his people would be blessed. And so the bear taught him that song and he taught him that dance. And he told him to take it back to his people. The man went back to his brother and woke him up and told him what he had experienced and the brother told him that what had just happened was very powerful medicine. So he taught the Ute people the song and dance and they have been Bear Dancing ever since.

The dance used to take place in spring just after the bear emerged from hibernation. The sounds in the song and music are supposed to sound like the growling of the bear as well as thunder and lightning, that take place in the spring. In the old days we used bone or wood rasps; the drum was a

piece of rawhide that was stretched over a hole so that the sound would resonate. The Bear Dance is a four day dance of courtship and blessing. Everyone dresses up—you don't have to wear new clothes, but you want to make sure that your clothes are washed and ironed; wear moccasins; girls should wear skirts or dresses. Bathe yourself, braid your hair; make yourself presentable and clean before the Creator.

Before entering the Bear Dance corral, we put up a little pine tree or cedar tree, and that is a symbol of giving blessing. When you enter the corral and go past the tree, you should touch it and bless yourself. There was a leader who brought the dancers into the Bear Dance corral in a line, like a snake, weaving in and out, throughout the whole Bear Dance corral. The medicine man blessed all the dancers as well as the babies and the elders. Back when I was younger, we also did memorials for the people who had passed on—we had a mourning ritual that included crying; they don't do that anymore.

Where you sit also is important; the women sit on the south side and the men sit on the north side. The woman gets to choose who she wants to dance with, but she cannot dance with someone she is related to; you don't choose your own family members, relatives, or in-laws. If dancers fall, they are supposed to lie the way they fall—and when the dance chief, the medicine man, comes out to bless them, they stay still so that they will be whole again. Any kind of fall disturbs or shifts your persona and it takes you a little while to get back together. So they lie still so that when they get up, they will be all right—blessed and ready to dance again (Taveapont 2009a).

Clifford Duncan adds a little more detail to

the above. He says that in the past, the preparations for the dance began right after the first thunderstorm of the spring, and that the sound of the thunder is believed to be the noise made by the bear rolling over in his cave as his hibernation comes to an end. He says that when the first leaves appear on the trees and the grass begins to green, is when the Bear Dance would be held (Duncan 2009).

Southern Ute tribal member Neil Buck Cloud offers a somewhat different version of the Bear Dance:

There were two brothers who had a habit of going to the mountains; the mountains are high places where you can connect, peacefully, with the spiritual. These brothers were drawn to the high points, the highest mountains they could find. While they sat there for some time, looking down, they could see a bear den located just below where they sat and the bears were basking in the sun.

One day, the younger brother said, 'You know, one day I'm going to be down there with them bears. I have fallen in love with the she-bear down there.' The older brother thought he was kidding, the bear is a wild animal, but finally one day the younger brother said he would stay, after all, stating, 'We are really all the same, we are all created by the maker. But know that our people will accuse you of abandoning me; they will accuse you even of killing me. But wait three days and do not return until the fourth day.' So the younger brother stayed, and entered the den, and the older brother returned home. Indeed, he was interrogated and accused of killing his brother. They guarded him in

a tipi, and finally after three days, he told the village that he would take them to his brother.

He came up to the den from the south and called his brother's name as he had been directed. The brother emerged from the den, and he had hair all over his body and he told his people that the she-bear had given the tribe a dance. She told them to build a corral in the spring of the year that would be anchored to the east, since that is the direction that the sun rises. Cut notches in a stick and when you draw another piece of wood over it, it will growl like the bear. The dance also imitates the movements of a bear, moving back and forth and scratching on a tree, after hibernation. This is the Bear Dance. Maybe the younger brother was craving for love, but in return he was given a specific knowledge (Cloud 2002).

The following section examines selected petroglyph and pictograph sites as well as a tree platform site located in Colorado National Monument. These particular sites were chosen because they were likely of Ute origin, because they are complex enough to warrant analysis by Ute consultants, and because they were relatively accessible. I also showed photos of numerous other sites to Champoos, Duncan, and McCook asking if they were interested in visiting these sites; their response was that if they did not appear to be Ute sites, that their time would be better spent visiting those sites which were likely Ute.

Selected Sites in Colorado National Monument

As mentioned in my thesis, it is not an easy task to make cultural sense of the art and artifacts left by the Ute in Colorado National Monument. Therefore, selected Ute rock art sites located in Colorado National Monument as well as a tree platform site which were visited by Ute consultants between 2007-2009 will be discussed; their comments are included below. I have only investigated selected panels (with photos) of those likely Ute rock art sites which Northern Ute consultants chose to reflect on. I am aware that the term "rock art" has become controversial recently due to its association with "commercial art." I have asked a number of Northern Ute tribal members if the use of the term was offensive to them, and they responded in the negative, so I will use the term cautiously.

Rock art is notoriously difficult to interpret. How can any outsider, including members of the Ute tribe, attempt to get inside the head of the artist who produced the art? Northern Ute tribal member Roland McCook cautions the individual who would put forward one definitive interpretation of rock art.

We tend to embellish and romanticize Indian culture, and while we might want to go along with the interpretation of what an individual says a particular symbol means, we must be careful.

While it's pretty obvious that we have to examine the cultural traditions of a particular culture, the important thing is not to make it into something that perhaps it isn't (McCook 2008).

According to rock art specialist Sally Cole (Cole 1988:104), "A number of researchers have described and analyzed possible Ute rock art and have variously discussed it as to subject matter, techniques, formal traits, patination levels, and general chronology." The reader interested in the complexities of the above are referred to Buckles 1971 and Cole 1988 and 1990. There is general agreement among scholars that it is difficult to absolutely identify a particular motif or style as that belonging to a particular tribe.

The functions of rock art are also important to discuss. "Why did they do that?" and "What does it mean?" are clearly questions that visitors to Colorado National Monument or anyplace where there is rock art will ask. First, one must consider that it may be art for art's sake. That is, it is a part of the human condition to express oneself artistically and rock art is one extension of that expression. This manifestation could be symbolic or abstract (an element from a dream) or realistic (a horse, buffalo, or plant).

A second possibility is the recording of events that are important to a group. These events could be sacred (a vision quest, bear

dance, or healing ceremony) or secular (a hunt or raid). This recording of events could include artistic elements that are mnemonic devices meant to represent maps, calendars (e.g. solstice, equinox, important seasonal [flooding] or ceremonial [Bear Dance] schedules), myths, or other tallies.

A third possibility is that rock art may incorporate what is frequently called imitative or sympathetic magic. This means that if a figure on a horse, or with a special headdress or shield, is depicted as encountering a large herd of elk or bison, the picture itself will cause this encounter to occur.

A fourth possibility is that rock art is associated with places believed to be spiritually powerful. That is, the landscape is associated with the sacred and therefore various images, such as those associated with a myth or spiritual concern, are depicted there. Most archaeologists agree that rock art is found in and around ancient corridors of Native passage—that a statement, “We are here,” is being made on some level. One archaeologist has speculated on a possible connection to the sacred in Colorado National Monument. He suggests that in his experiences in walking the canyons of Colorado and Utah (including those in Colorado National Monument) there seems to be more rock art

at the entrances and exits than in the canyon interiors. Could this indicate a pause for a ritual? A prayer for a safe journey? A recognition of the entering into a sacred setting? (Slay 2008). While clearly hypothetical, these possibilities resonate with Native American perspectives on the sacred nature of the Monument as described earlier.

There are clearly many other possibilities. Perhaps the artist was a healer in a trance state, or maybe the entire area should be looked at as a “canvas” of sorts that needs to be sorted and analyzed for mythological or sacred structures or patterns. The question that needs an answer is whether or not the art was composed at one particular time or did various artists add components that can be understood as an integrated image?

DEVIL'S KITCHEN PANEL (5ME27)

The panel at Devil's Kitchen is a complex (probably Ute) petroglyph that most of the Utes who came into the Monument between 2007 and 2009 were not prepared to interpret (figs. 6-7). Betsy Chapoose, Clifford Duncan, Kessley LaRose, Roland McCook, Venita Taveapont, and Helen Wash all cautioned that it was likely that this panel was created over a long period of time, was probably added on to by folks passing through, and that the images might

represent motifs from different individuals of different Ute bands or even different tribes. Any visitor to this complex petroglyph will recognize the dilemma encountered by Chapoose, Duncan, LaRose, McCook, Taveapont, and Wash. Over how many years was this panel created? How many artists from how many bands or tribes added their motifs to it?



Figure 6: Petroglyph panel

Duncan says of this panel, "Maybe it's a story. It's a story—a family story. It might be a story about what a family was doing here; how many people were here and how many times they came to this place." He also said, "The bighorn sheep is swallowing that fellow—the animal is eating him and releasing that too. I don't know what that means except that it is likely some kind of a symbolic release of a spirit or essence that is known only to the person, perhaps a shaman, who created this particular image" (Duncan 2008).



Figure 7: Detail of petroglyph panel

Betsy Chapoose was especially concerned about the vandalism of the Devil's Kitchen rock art and the need for some signage at this very public site. Signage was placed near the panel in September 2009.

DEVIL'S KITCHEN PICTOGRAPH (5ME26)

This well-preserved red ochre pictograph is probably of Ute origin (figs. 8-9). Northern Ute tribal member McCook wondered if it might be a family or clan symbol (McCook 2008).



Figure 8: Duncan at Pictograph



Figure 9: Detail of Pictograph

Ute elder Duncan says,

It could be a sun symbol. If you divide the sun into half—like a reflection of two worlds: water and sunset. So you're looking at the top half of the sun, and the bottom half is in the water. Sometimes artists depicted both this world and the other world. The top one would be this world and the bottom would be the other world. If it's dealing with ceremonies, that is how it might be.

It could also be a shield—the sun symbol would be related to spiritual meanings whereas the shield would be one man's pattern. He would always draw that same design—that one man (Duncan 2008).

LARGE ANIMAL WITH RIDER (5ME10A)

One of the most enigmatic petroglyphs (located in Lower Monument Canyon) is a large (almost cow-like) animal with a human on its back (fig. 10).



Figure 10: Large animal with rider

Perhaps it was the intention of the artist to exaggerate the size of a “horse” but all who have seen this particular petroglyph agree that it does not look much like a horse. Betsy Chapoose jokingly labeled it “Ute on a rhinoceros.” Northern Ute Roland McCook remarked that when he was young (1940s) they would sometimes herd milk cows by riding on the back of a docile cow or steer. He also noted, however, that the terrain in Lower Monument Canyon was clearly not range land. He also wondered if a figure riding side-saddle is significant.

MOUNTED HUNTER AND BIG HORN SHEEP; SKIRTED FIGURES (5ME10C) (figs. 11-14).



Figure 11: Sally McBeth photographing site



Figure 12: Sally McBeth and Roland McCook at site



Figure 13: Mounted hunter and bighorn sheep

The figure of the mounted hunter and bighorn sheep is clearly an historic petroglyph. While the Utes were one of the first tribes to acquire the horse, perhaps as early as 1640 (Crum 1996:139-140), the horse was not readily available until the nineteenth century. This beautifully pecked petroglyph is likely a record of an event that was important to the Ute hunting in and around Colorado National Monument.

While it may not be the case that the skirted figures pictured here (in Lower Monument Canyon) are female (fig. 14) three Ute consultants (Chapoose, Duncan, McCook) believed that these two figures *might* be women in buckskin dresses. Clearly, they could also be killed "kachina-like" figures, males in ceremonial regalia (see fig. 23), or something yet entirely different.

Let us consider what it might mean if these were female figures, which are unusual in



Figure 14: Skirted figures

the rock art of Colorado and New Mexico. If we consider that there is power in iconographic images, then we need to ask the question, "How can female images be understood?" This would require a series of questions to elicit meaningful answers, but might include the following. Are these women (assuming they are women) significant in a spiritual sense? Are they gatherers of medicinal plants? Are they simply part of a recorded event at which women were present?

Is it possible that women themselves chiseled these images into the panel in Lower Monument Canyon; is there power in depicting themselves in the images that they create? If men pecked these images and if they are of women, is there a

message here? We will clearly never know the answers to these questions. It is nonetheless important to raise them. Feminist archaeologists have recently been questioning the normative roles of men and women as well as the politics of male and female roles in prehistoric contexts around the world (cf. e.g. Conkey 2001).

TREE PLATFORM SITE: BLACK RIDGE

According to Hank Schoch, former chief ranger of Colorado National Monument (from 1977-1994; and still volunteering in 2010), this unique site is situated on a broad bench below and to the east of the northern terminus of Black Ridge near the Monument's western boundary. It includes the remains of four tree platforms of indeterminate age and at least one small and simple feature consisting of two axe-cut logs leaning against a live juniper tree. This may or may not be a lean-to or wickiup-like structure. Northern Ute tribal members, Betsy Chapoose and Clifford Duncan (who visited the site in 2008) believe that the small structure is a remnant of a wickiup and that it might have been associated with the tree platforms. Wickiups are brush lodges (sometimes called timbered structures) that date to the historical period and are most often associated with the Utes (see fig. 3).

Schoch recalls finding an old topographic map in 1977 with a pointer labeled "Ute burial tree?" scribbled in the margin adjacent to the Black Ridge area. Additionally, he later found an undated (but possibly late 1950s early 1960s) color transparency showing a ranger perched on scaffolding woven into the branches of a standing pine tree (fig. 15).

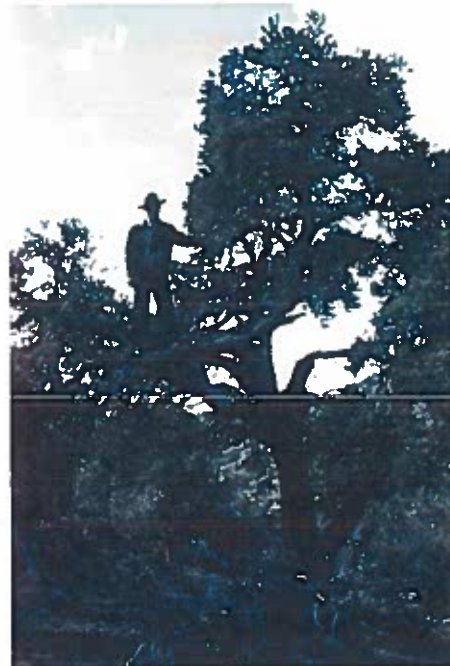


Figure 15: Ranger in tree platform

Although the site was known to at least two people (the ranger and the photographer), it is interesting that it was not included in the Stroh and Ewing 1963 inventory of cultural sites in the Monument (Stroh and Ewing 1964). It is not known why this site was not placed on the Monument's archaeological base map. In the late 1980s, Schoch was

successful in finding these trees. He says that all of the trees had toppled by that time, but that they still had scaffolding elements lodged in their branches. When the trees were standing, the scaffolds would have been about 10 feet above the ground. The trees at these sites invariably consisted of piñon pine trees with juniper poles used as scaffolding elements. A "mat" or "shroud" of juniper bark was also present at one of the tree platform sites (figs. 16-17).



Figure 16: Platform showing juniper scaffold elements

Interestingly, in Schoch's pursuit of discovering the meaning of this site, he had a chance encounter in the early 1990s with an elderly man who recalled seeing tree platforms on an upland in the Pollock Canyon drainage. This man had "cowboyed" in the area while in his teens, and so probably saw the platforms sometime around 1915-1920. He said that there were human remains wrapped in juniper bark and that local Indians were familiar with the identity of the corpse.



Figure 17: Platform showing juniper bark mat

Schoch took archaeologists to the site, and what has emerged is an interpretation that these structures are almost certainly of Ute origin and that they might have been "pre-burial" structures. Increasing contact with neighboring cultures may have inspired the Utes to adopt the Plains Indians' practice of placing the deceased on tree platforms. After the soft tissues had decomposed, the Utes would return later to gather and bundle the skeletal remains for traditional crevice burial. It is important to note that there was no evidence of bone fragments associated with the tree platforms and except for the juniper bark mat associated with one tree, no presence of grave goods.

In a 1976 interview, Don Roth (Roth 1976:4) corroborates that bark was used for burials. Born in 1905, Roth grew up in western Colorado and spent a lot of time with the Utes, both as a child and as an adult. In talking about a cave (no location is given; it is not in Colorado National Monument)

called Roth Cave, he says, "But they found the little baby wrapped in [a] cedar bark shroud in the one cave..."

The ethnographic record does provide that the Utes used tree platforms not only for food storage (Greubel 2002:10), but also for hunting blinds (fig. 18).



Figure 18: Ute platform; ca. 1874

This tree platform site, however, is located in an area that would not have been frequented by game. The shrouds also offer further evidence of a burial site. The most common form of Ute burial in the historic (pre-reservation) era is a crevice burial (Nickens 1984; 1988:37, Smith 1974:150-152). A physician at Los Pinos Agency (#1) around 1870 describes this practice:

The next duty falling to the lot of the squaws is that of placing the dead man on a horse and conducting the remains to the spot chosen for burial. This is in

the cleft of a rock and, so far as can be ascertained, it has always been customary among the Utes to select sepulchers of this character... it would appear that no superstitious ideas are held by this tribe with respect to the position in which the body is placed... [and] it is not unusual to find the remains of more than one Indian deposited in one grave. After the body has been received into the cleft, it is well covered with pieces of rock, to protect it against the ravages of wild animals (Yarrow 1881:127-128).

I believed it was important to have Northern Ute tribal members visit this site. On the morning of May 21, 2008, nine of us (Colorado National Monument personnel/volunteers Dave Price, Hank Schoch, and Annie Williams, wranglers Dana and Tam Graham, ethnobotanist, Lynn Albers, and Ute consultants, Clifford Duncan and Betsy Chapoose and I) piled into three vehicles, one of which was pulling a trailer with eight horses. The tree platform site is located approximately three miles up the ridge, and so it was necessary to utilize horses, especially for Ute elder Clifford Duncan (fig. 19).



Figure 19: Duncan and Chapoose on Black Ridge

Duncan and Chapoose rode elegantly and were in good spirits, despite the overcast day, partial-rain, and extremely high winds. We examined the remains of the four "scaffolds" which Duncan agreed were burials. He also believed that all four were related (perhaps spiritually) and should be interpreted collectively. He likened the space to a cemetery and reflected on the sacred nature of Colorado National Monument. After some discussion with Chapoose, Duncan asked us to gather around, remove our hats, and not take any photos. He explained, "I have to talk to the spirits of the ancestors in Ute—that is the language they will understand." He made a tobacco, food, and water offering and sang and prayed to the four directions in Ute for about 15 minutes.

I believe that one of the essential elements of ethnography is the listening to and telling of stories. In recounting this story, I must note that this is *my* story. I know that at least some of the others present at the Ute "burial" site did not feel what I felt, nor experience what I experienced. But even as I try to recollect my emotions, the hairs on the back of my hands stand on end. The mystery of what I witnessed was profound, and I believe I was feeling the connectedness of the universe, past, present, and future; even as my stubborn intellect was still intact.

Everything but Duncan and his voice had disappeared; the air was silent and still, but as Clifford prayed and sang the wind seemed to rise with his voice, and my skin tingled. Words do not adequately describe the feeling I had; the wind got more and more turbulent as Duncan prayed, and then subsided as he closed the song and prayer. Later Duncan said that he felt a "spiritual vibration" at the site; the "healing is in the silence" he reminded me. Later in the day I heard him humming a song under his breath, and when I inquired what he was singing, he replied, "This is the song that came to me on the hill—the wind brought it to me. Didn't you hear it? I need to repeat it so that I will not ever forget it."

Duncan was not concerned about the deterioration of the tree platform site. He said, "There would really be no way to preserve these anyway. The remains of those gone will not be forgotten." Clearly the site should be mapped, photographed, and added to the archaeological inventory of Colorado National Monument.

III Ute Subsistence Strategies: The Seasonal Round

Imagine the Grand Valley and the canyons and spires of the Monument as the Ute would have seen them (figs. 20-21).

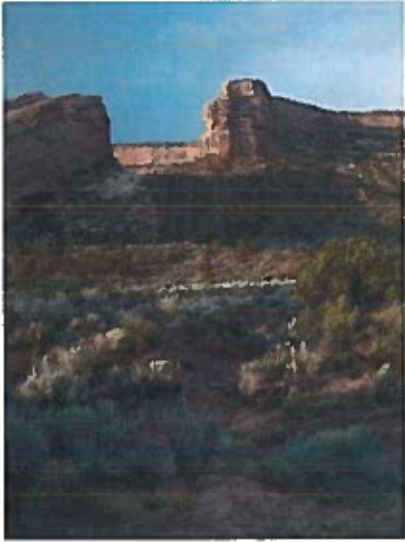


Figure 20: Sunrise in Colorado National Monument



Figure 22: Ute girl ca. 1870-1890



Figure 21: Independence Monument in Colorado National Monument

Imagine the Utes (figs. 22-23) who lived here; what they ate, what they did, what the flora and fauna that surrounded them and some Ute winter camps were likely located in the Monument. There are numerous overhangs in the canyons that would have provided the Utes with winter shelter. Indeed, most camps in the general area of the Grand Valley were in side-canyons, rockshelters, and overhangs which of course are present in Colorado National Monument.



Figure 23: Ute men, western Colorado, 1876

These areas would also have provided piñon and juniper for firewood and limited game. The ridges would have provided trails from the valley to the higher elevations with game available along the way. So, it would seem that the geography of Colorado National Monument (where water was

available) would have provided ideal camping areas for Ute (and pre-Ute cultures) for thousands of years (Crum 2010). Clearly the amount of lithic debitage in the boundaries of the Monument suggests that some hunting was done there, even though the Book Cliffs on the north side of the Valley would have provided a far more attractive hunting ground. But ground stone tools (manos, metates), projectile points, and lithic tool fragments found in the Monument indicate some aboriginal occupancy (Schoch 2010). Additionally, the Ute rock art panels (described earlier) of hunters, horses, sheep and deer clearly evidence recent Native occupations in the Monument. Without a thorough archaeological survey which would necessarily include some excavation and carbon dating, it is impossible to determine the extent of Ute occupation in Colorado National Monument.

The Utes practiced a flexible subsistence system sometimes called the seasonal round. Extended family groups (from 20-100 people) moved through known hunting and gathering grounds (several hundred square miles) on a seasonal basis, taking advantage of the plant and animal species available. The image of a group of Indians randomly and endlessly searching for foodstuffs in a semi-desert climate is far from the truth. Rather, the seasonal round is a

regular circuit in which the group moves from eco-zone to eco-zone (including, of course, the terrain in the Monument), harvesting and hunting the periodic abundance of flora and fauna. (cf. Buckles 1971; Callaway et al. 1986:337; Fowler and Fowler 1971:38-49 [Powell 1868-1880]; Goss 1972, 2000; Greubel 2002; Jorgensen 1964:186-187; Lewis 1994, N.d.; Opler 1940:124-125; Steward 1974 a,b; Stewart 1942).

This elegant adaptation required a profound and systematic knowledge of the territory, the plant and animal life, seasonal and annual fluctuations, as well as of preservation and storage techniques. It was a "*vertical buffet*, limited only by the seasons" (Simmons 2000:3). There is evidence that Ute leaders held lengthy discussions surrounding seasonal movements regarding housing, harvest, water, wintering, and other life sustaining issues (Witherspoon 1993:2). Cooperation and communication among and between bands was also indispensable. Ute leader Connor Chapoose (1905-1961) records that trade among bands and tribes was critical to alleviating shortages. He says, "They would trade back and forth and if there was more venison over there and less on this side, but if they had more berries on this side, they would trade. That's the only way they had to survive was to help one another"

(Chapoose as quoted in Witherspoon 1993:8). The speakers of the Ute language did not necessarily think of themselves as a tribe. Folks from different bands intermarried, recognized each other, and traded, but did not otherwise maintain a larger tribal organization. Bands may have occasionally congregated for communal rabbit or antelope hunts or pine nut harvests, and the annual spring Bear Dance.

The Utes (and other Great Basin tribes) were, essentially, sophisticated naturalists and dieticians, exploiting their environment through intelligent planning. Moving across the landscape kept the Ute in touch with their land base both materially and spiritually (Fowler 2000:91). Today this awareness is called Traditional Ecological Knowledge (or TEK). “The term *traditional ecological knowledge* came into widespread use only in the 1980s, but the practice of traditional ecological knowledge is as old as ancient hunter-gatherer cultures” (Berkes 1999:2; cf. e.g. Kawagley 2006).

In speaking of what he calls “the Southern Numa” (Paiute and Ute), John Wesley Powell, writing between 1868 and 1880, observes,

An Indian will never ask to what nation or tribe or body of people another Indian

belongs but to 'what land do you belong and how are you land-named?' Thus the very name of the Indian is his title deed to his home and thus it is that these Indians have contended so fiercely for the possession of the soil... (Powell MS 798 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:38; original italics).

Consider the significance of this late nineteenth century statement: “*What land do you belong and how are you land-named?*” Land and attachment to land, while guaranteed by treaty, required a custodian, a guardian. Powell continues, “His national pride and patriotism, his peace with other tribes, his home and livelihood for his family, all his interests, everything that is dear to him is associated with his country” (Powell MS 798 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:38; original italics).

Elevations and Plant Seasonality

A plethora of plants and animals were available on the western slope of Colorado in the areas of the Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre Plateau, and the Gunnison and Lower Colorado River (Grand Valley) drainage systems and surrounding area. While the environment was both harsh and abundant, women knew which grass seeds, berries, nuts, greens, and tubers were edible and when they should be harvested. Scholars disagree on whether limited corn

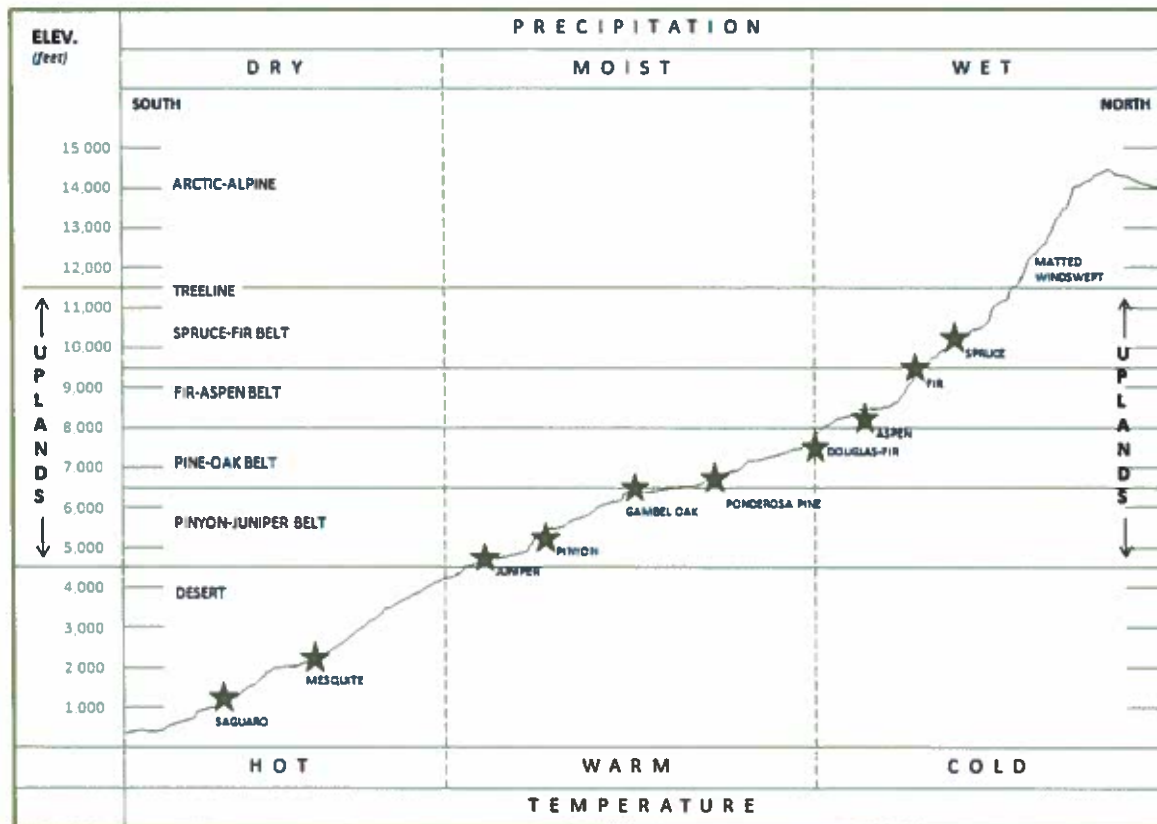


Figure 24: Southwest Ecosystems

cultivation was prehistoric or was an early contact adaptation. Not all Ute bands practiced corn, bean, and squash cultivation, but it is likely that various bands experimented with this practice. These flora resources probably were eaten when collected and also stored for winter use.

At lower desert scrub and river/riparian elevations (the lowest zone; see fig. 24) where there were wetlands fed by streams and rivers (Grand River, Gunnison, Uncompahgre, Dolores), the Utes utilized

sedges as well as numerous forbs (herbaceous flowering plants) and roots. Important sources of protein included fish (trout, sucker, white salmon/pike minnow) which could be eaten fresh, dried, or smoked for winter use; geese, ducks, bird eggs, beaver, muskrat, badgers, skunks, deer, and rabbit (Dees 2003; O'Neil 1993; Simmons 2000:3). The common plant name and both the *conventional* scientific name and that proposed by Weber and Wittman (2001) will be used in the following discussion.

Between the riparian zone and the piñon-juniper zone, at elevations of 4000-5000 feet (where there was adequate water), willows (*Salix* spp.), alders (*Alnus* spp.), cottonwoods (*Populus* spp.), chokecherries (*Prunus* spp. syn. *Padus* spp.), serviceberries (*Amelanchier* spp.), some bison, pronghorn, mule deer, sage grouse, and coyotes were available in addition to some of the above-named plants. Moist areas on the Uncompahgre Plateau, Grand Mesa, and the canyon bottoms of Colorado National Monument are home to these plant communities. On the mountain slopes, piñon pine (*Pinus edulis*), juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*, *J. scopulorum*, syn. *Sabina osteosperma*, *S. scopulorum*), ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), fir (*Abies* spp.), Douglas Fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), and spruce (*Picea* spp.) provided firewood, pine nuts, lodge poles, and wood for a variety of utilitarian items (Dees 2003; O'Neil 1993; Simmons 2000:3). Lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*), while not found in the Grand Valley area, was abundant on the west slope (including the Eagle County area) and would have been harvested and/or traded by the Ute for use as tipi poles.

At 5000-7000 feet, the piñon-juniper zone offers an especially rich diversity of plants and animals. The available edible plants include goosefoot also known as lamb's

quarters or wild spinach (*Chenopodium* spp.), prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia* spp.) — both fruit and pad were eaten—and wild onion (*Allium* spp.). Other important plants include fleshy taproots such as spring beauty (*Claytonia* spp.), sometimes known as Indian potato, and yampah, sometimes called wild carrot (*Perideridia gairdneri*). Three Ute plants are known as “Indian potatoes.” They are *Solanum jamesii*, found in the four corners area, *Claytonia* spp. and *Orogenia linearifolia*. The climate in the piñon-juniper zone tends to be a little warmer than the surrounding valley and canyon floors where cold settles, and therefore winter camps were often located in these areas.

Animals also sought these more moderate climates such as the flanks of Grand Mesa, the Uncompahgre Plateau, and the West Elk Mountains. In the post-horse era, cottonwood river bottoms with sufficient food and water for horses were popular camping areas. Hot springs (Glenwood Springs, Ouray, Pagosa Springs, and countless smaller springs) also attracted winter camps with opportunities for healing baths (O'Neil 1993; Simmons 2000:9-10).

In the pine-oak zone, at about 6500-8000 feet, numerous grass seeds, berries, and roots were and are available. Additionally, the Utes found that the rich cambium layer

underneath the bark of the ponderosa pines (*Pinus ponderosa*) was edible as were the acorns, the fruit of the oak (*Quercus gambelii*).

The fir-aspen zone, 8000 to 9500 feet, provided aspen sap (*Populus tremuloides*) to water-proof baskets, gooseberries and currants (*Ribes* spp.), serviceberry (*Amelanchier* spp.), wild raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*), wild rose (*Rosa woodsii*), squawbush (*Rhus trilobata*, syn. *Rhus avoniatica* ssp.), chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana* ssp. *melanocarpa* syn. *Padus virginiana*), Oregon (or mountain holly) grape (*Mahonia repens*), balsam root (*Balsamorhiza* spp.), biscuit root (*Lomatium dissectum*), sego lily or mariposa (*Calochortus* spp.), wild rye (*Elymus* spp.), pigweed (*Amarantush* spp.), and bee plant (*Cleome* spp.), among others (Dees 2003; O'Neil 1993). Deer, rabbit, antelope, mountain sheep, and an occasional bison were also available.

The sub-alpine spruce-fir zone, between 8000-10,000 feet, provided a number of berries including blueberry, bilberry, or huckleberry (*Vaccinium* spp.), strawberry (*Fragaria virginiana*), and currant (*Ribes* spp.). Also growing at this elevation is the edible glacier or avalanche lily (*Erythronium grandiflorum*). Deer, elk, mountain lions,

black bears, mountain sheep, fox, martens, and squirrel were abundant.

Venita Taveapont, Director of the Ute Culture and Language Program for the Northern Ute says of the seasonal round:

In June we came up to pick the wild potatoes and carrots, and in the fall we came to pick berries, pine nuts, willows for the baskets, and to collect the pine sap at the same time for our baskets. We use the pine nuts in soup as well as other foods.

In the fall we collected the willow and then dried it throughout the winter in order to start weaving around December or January. The willow would be dried out through a good part of the winter; when we wanted to use them, we would soak them in the water, and use them for baskets. We gathered the pine tree sap at the same time that we picked the pine nuts so that when we water-proofed our baskets we could use the pine sap by melting it and pouring it inside the basket; the women put a little rock ball to spread the sap around inside the basket to make it water-proof. In addition to the red willow, we also used the squaw bush as a basket making material; it's called eesh in Ute; we didn't make any baskets out of grass (Taveapont 2007).

Plants that are still gathered today are the spring beauty, currants, garlic, onions, carrots, water cress, chokecherries, raspberries, buffaloberries, and strawberries. Squawbush and red willow for baskets and young cotton wood saplings for shade houses are still collected. Pine pitch for baskets and pine nuts, and of course bear root and other medicinal plants are still used (Taveapont 2009b).

The Ute described the different elevations referred to above as Lower Earth (low valleys and canyons), Middle Earth (mountain valleys and parks, and foothills) and Upper Earth (high rocky ridges and peaks) (Goss 1972, 2000; Simmons 2000:9). Thus the important seasonal circuit and the Ute view of the world are seamless; respect for resources and the abundance provided by the Creator are reflected in their cosmology. Knowledge of the sacred geography of these levels and associated seasonal round were handed down from generation to generation by family members who remembered and predicted (based on seasonal and annual fluctuations) when harvesting and hunting would be plentiful. The peripatetic lifestyle of the Utes resulted in the creation of well-worn trails, sometimes marked by rock art, which was also an integral part of Ute geography and cosmology.

Plants and Plant Use

Ute Oral Traditions and Ceremonies Associated with Plant Collection

Ute oral traditions and ceremonies associated with the collection of plants were not forthcoming in any of the interviews or casual conversations associated with this project; likewise there is little detail in the ethnographic or ethnobotanical literature. It is probable that much of this information has been lost as Utes' traditional lifestyles have

been replaced with twentieth and twenty-first century convenience.

But even in the twenty-first century, the Ute world is sacramental and it is a world thoroughly impregnated with the energy, purpose, and sense of creative natural forces. In seeking an intimate unification with nature and the natural world, the Ute give gifts or offerings in and to locations where they believe their ancestors prayed or where plants were or are collected.

Southern Ute Bertha Grove says,

It's the same way when we go to gather plants [ask permission of the Grandfathers]. There's different times and seasons to gather them. Some you can gather early in the morning, some at midday, some in the afternoon, and maybe even the evening too. Some you gather at moonlight time, some in spring, some in summer, some in fall, some of the things we pick up in the winter, like cedar. We don't just go over there and start choppin' or pickin'. When we go, we take tobacco or whatever gift that I'm going to give them.... Once you've got your permission, you just take what you need. Never be greedy—that's one of the rules (Cowan 1995:167).

While the above is somewhat vague, we nonetheless learn that at one time there were rules about where and when plants could be collected as well as considerations concerning the need to give thanks to the plants for allowing humans to harvest them. Northern Ute tribal members left tobacco at numerous archaeological sites. Additionally, sweet

grass was burned as permission was requested of the spirits for Utes to reconnect to ancestral homelands and landscapes. Here Helen Wash and Loya Arrum (Northern Ute) offer tobacco at a plant gathering site (fig. 25).



Fig. 25: Offering tobacco

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute elder, discusses the importance of showing the proper respect for plants.

When we are looking for this spring beauty, Indian potato, my mother would tell us that when we get there that maybe they [spring beauty] won't be there. We ask, "Why not?" And she replied, "They move away." And the reason why they moved away was because we abused it. Maybe we didn't

do right, and they moved out of the area, and then we have to go look for it again. But those that abused it—they're not going to find it because it moved away to another area.

We have to treat a flower or a plant, even a tree, in that they have same spirit that we have. All things are connected with the spiritual. Offerings differ with tribes. When you take the northern tribes, they use tobacco; most of them use tobacco. In between there's sometimes a mix too; or you could use any plant really which you consider to be sacred like fruit, like dried buffaloberries. "Here's a sweets for the spirit." Or eagle feathers can be used as spiritual gifts. Give something that you cherish and put that there. So offerings remain that way, even to a plant. Those are earlier ways of doings things" (Duncan 2002a,b).

Duncan also reflects on the rituals associated with the collection of plants for medicine.

In collecting medicine from the mountains, I would know where they grow, and when I'm walking down this pathway, I have with me my Levi jacket, and I make this move toward that plant, but I don't look at that plant. And then as I go by I throw my jacket over it. And I go so far and then I come back. And I know which one it is and I pull it up and I talk to it and I say, "Well I am going to take you with me." And the spirit will stay there with that plant. The spirit is part of the plant.

A plant is a plant. And if the plant is just a plant, there's just a plant, but if you add a spirit to that, it becomes a medicine. But that has to be part of that, so that's what I'm getting when I cover that. I don't want that spirit to escape, like when I walk straight up to it and I pick it up, it takes off. The spirit takes off and I take that and go try to

plant it someplace and it's going to die because that spirit took off. So when I do transplanting of certain type of medicine I'm going to use, then I would cover that, then it's, "Okay, I'm going to take you over here." And okay now the spirit is in there. It's how I think. It's how I feel about what's around me (Duncan 2002a).

The spiritual life of plants is also discussed by Helen Wash, Northern Ute tribal member.

Wash reflects on her experience on Grand Mesa in an area near the Ute Trail:

I was thinking about that [Ute] trail up to the mountains. And just then, I saw this big aspen—I mean it was wide; I don't know if my arms could have gone around it completely, but it was huge, it was just wide, and I could see it from where I was sitting. So, I went up the hill to go see it, and when I was standing there, I just happened to look south.

Ohh, that hill side was just full of bear root. I thought, "Wow, this is so beautiful!" Before I came back down, I prayed, and I thanked the Creator for letting me see that, and to let me know that our ancestors came through here long ago and to show me that sight of bear root—it was so beautiful.

It reminded me of when I was little. My mother knew a lot about plants. She knew it from her relatives, her cousins, her mom, and her sisters. They all shared their knowledge of what plants do this and that for you. One day, she said, "Lets go up to the mountains, and let's get some plants for the winter, in case someone comes and asks for some medicine." So, we're up in the mountains, and I'm looking around like, "Gosh mom, there's nothing growing around here." She said, "You see that plant over there?" And I thought, "Well, there's just that one, so why don't we

just go?" She says, "No, no, just wait here."

She stood facing east and prayed. I didn't know all of what she was saying, but when she got through she said, "Okay, this plant right here. See it? We'll go over there and pick some." And, when I went over there, I just saw so many, I couldn't believe it. She said, "Don't take a lot of it," she reminded me, "just take as much as we'll need, and some to share with people we'll want to give it to."

She made me a believer of what plants can do for you, and that it adds beauty to the mountains, to the deserts—everything adds beauty. It's God's creation for us to enjoy, for us to take and share and to use as medicine or as food. For that I'm thankful, for my mother sharing that with me, and I'll probably always share that with people. We thank the Creator for all of that and we thank our ancestors for showing us the way. Even though they are no longer with us, their knowledge is passed down from generation to generation, to this generation—the now generation, the young people who came with us on this trip (Wash 2007b).

Important Food Plants

Women's Roles

It is important to consider the significance of Ute women's roles in food production, preparation, and preservation. Connor Chapoose says that "the women were always the busiest part of the whole life of our tribe" (Chapoose as quoted in Witherspoon 1993:15). They had to cure the meat using fire and circular drying racks. The fire served to dry the meat and keep

the flies away. Care had to be taken to make sure that the meat was sufficiently dried, as one piece that was not cured properly would mold and spoil the whole cache (Witherspoon 1993:14-15). While some food may have been eaten raw, others were cooked into soups and stews, roasted, or dried for later consumption. Seeds were ground on stone metates with manos to make a flour which could be made into a gruel or flat cakes (fig. 26).



Figure 26: Ute mano and metate

Women did most of the butchering and cooking, either by roasting or by simmering food in water-proof baskets into which heated stones were dropped. Women collected the harvest of gathered food plants in excellently crafted coiled or twined baskets in a variety of sizes made from squawbush also known as skunkbush or three leaved sumac (*Rhus aromatica* ssp. *Rhus trilobata*, syn. *Rhus aromatic* ssp.), willow (*Salix* spp.), and red osier dogwood (*Cornus sericea* syn. *Swida sericea*) (Simmons 2000:26). Ute subsistence

activities "were largely individualistic and gender-specific, yet at peak times both sexes worked together. Men aided in the gathering of piñon nuts and women participated in fishing and animal drives" (Lewis 1994:27).

I did not discover any universal Ute food prohibitions, but some White River and Uncompahgre Ute did not eat porcupine, grasshoppers, locusts, horses, snakes, dog, wildcat, or fox (Smith 1974:47;58). Women had to take care of each other and observe dietary restrictions during pregnancy (Witherspoon 1993:15).

The Ute words listed in the next section are from plant lists collected by the Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection Department. Northern Ute employees Kessley LaRose (fig. 27), Venita Taveapont, and Helen Wash (now retired), have been collecting plant names from tribal elders and are continually adding to and finessing this list for their herbarium.



Figure 27: Northern Ute Plant Collectors

Piñon and Acorn

Large nutritious pine nuts were a prized food source among Colorado (as opposed to Utah) Utes. Pine nuts, however, are not wholly reliable since the piñon pine (*Pinus edulis*) [UTE: noodtoohuhch or noodtoohvuhch], generally produce a good crop only every few years (figs. 28-30).

Pinyon nut production is highly variable from year to year and place to place. Good years are called 'mast' years and both for acorns and pinyon nuts. I am sure the Indians carefully watched the flocking behavior of pinyon jays to lead them to good production areas each year. Hispanics do this even to this day" (SanMiguel 2009).

The nuts were gathered by women using long straight harvesting poles in the late fall. This was usually done after a freeze when the cones' bracts opened, and the women could gather seeds in large conical burden baskets.



Figure 28: Piñon pine tree

Writing between 1868 and 1880, John Wesley Powell describes the piñon harvest.



Figure 29: Piñon pine cones



Figure 30: Piñon pine nuts

In autumn when the nuts of the piñon pine are ripening, and before they have sufficiently matured to drop from the trees, the cones containing them are gathered and thrown in the fire, where they are left until the cones are somewhat charred, and the nuts partially roasted. They are then raked from the fire and separated from the charred chaff by picking them out with the fingers when they are ready for use.

In seasons when they are abundant, great stores are laid away, or cached, for the winter. Usually these nuts receive no further preparation, but sometimes they are slowly and thoroughly roasted in a manner which will hereafter be described in explaining the preparation of smaller seeds. The nuts thus roasted are ground and made into mush by boiling the meal in basket

jars heated with hot stones. Sometimes the meal is made into cakes and baked in the ashes. Perhaps no vegetable food is more highly prized than this (Powell MS 830 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:39).

Piñon nuts contain more than 3000 calories per pound, 20 amino acids, and are an excellent source of potassium. Ute also used the pitch to repair sandals and to waterproof the interiors of woven water jugs (Dunmire and Tierney 1997:124). *Pinus edulis* is found in Colorado National Monument

Acorns, generally from scrub oak (*Quercus gambelii*) are reported to have been eaten raw or roasted by the Ute Mountain Ute and Uncompahgre Ute (Fowler 2000:92). It is not clear to what extent acorns were eaten since they require a complex leaching process. Ute Mountain Ute also ground them on a metate into a flour for mush (Stewart 1942:250).

Seed Harvest

It is likely that Colorado Utes used fewer seeds than more western (Utah) bands, since meat resources were more abundant. (Henceforth, when I use the term Colorado Ute, I am doing so to distinguish between the differences in geography between the Utah Ute bands and the Colorado Ute bands). Seeds, however, were clearly utilized extensively. They could be ground

into cakes and dried, or ground into flour for mush or added to stews as a thickener. Seed products, stored in buckskin sacks, could be preserved for future use (Fowler 2000:93). The seeds from Indian ricegrass (*Oryzopsis hymenoides* syn. *Achnatherum hymenoides*), amaranth (*Amaranthus retroflexus*, *A. powellii*) and sunflowers (*Helianthus annuus*) [UTE: ahkoop] were nutritious, widely available, and could be easily stored.

Common lamb's quarters, (*Chenopodium* spp.) also known as goosefoot or wild spinach, and amaranth (*Amaranthus* spp.), also called pigweed, are represented by a number of different species in the goosefoot and amaranth families. Like spinach, the tender leaves could be eaten raw or cooked, and the seeds were nutritious. Archaeological research on processing hearths of the Fremont culture (500 – 1100 CE) in the Douglas Creek area (south of Rangely, Colorado and into the Canyon Pintado Historic District) may, by inference, be important to understanding Ute seed collection. The Fremont sites contain massive amounts of chenopod and amaranth seeds and the Fremont seem to preferentially use these seeds; they processed them where they grew, and then transported the seeds to their (not so distant) winter dwelling places.

Archaeological experiments suggest that an *average* return rate is about 4000 Kcal (kilocalorie, a unit of energy, which is equivalent to 1000 calories) per hour—which would rank them among the highest producing plant resources in the world! Clearly, “There is little doubt that any opportunistic forager would harvest chenopods and amaranth whenever they became available—the Utes being no exception” (Hadden 2008).

Powell (1868-1880) describes the labor intensive collection and preparation of seed gathering. “The seeds of a very great variety of weeds and grasses are used for food. They are collected chiefly by the women and children. For this purpose a large conical basket holding from two to three bushels is used; it is carried on the back with a strap over the head” (Powell MS 830 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:42).

Powell states that using a small fan, seeds are swept into a smaller hand-held two gallon basket, and then emptied into the larger basket. Sometimes when the seed-bearing plants are very bushy, the entire clump would be pulled up by the roots and beaten against the edge of the basket so that the seeds would fall in. It is important to note that twenty-first century Ute elders discourage this practice because it can kill

the plant. Powell goes on to say that a large basket can be filled in one to two hours. The seeds then have to be winnowed by tossing them into the air using a large shallow tray (fig. 31), and then roasted using the same technique, but with hot coals that the women kept in constant motion for about fifteen minutes so that neither the seeds nor the winnowing basket are burned.



Figure 31: Ute seed winnowing basket

Many swell and burst, a bit like popcorn, increasing the bulk. The seeds are then ground using a mano and metate.

“Sometimes a little child sits by and slowly feeds this mill with a little horn dipper, while the woman works away singing merrily...” The meal can be eaten as is, or cooked into a mush by placing it in a basket jar and adding water or broth and boiling it with hot stones. Less common is to make the meal

into a cake and bake it in the ashes (Powell MS 830 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:42).

Berries

Berry picking was primarily women's work (Witherspoon 1993:13) and Colorado Ute women made special coiled berry-picking baskets (fig. 32) that were suspended from the neck on the chest so that both hands were free.



Figure 32: Berry basket

This basket could also serve as a storage container; small containers kept the berries from crushing each other (Fowler 2000:93). There are a large number of berries available in western Colorado. They include chokecherries, (*Prunus virginiana* ssp. *melanocarpa* syn. *Padus virgiana*) [UTE: turnup] (fig. 33) elderberries (*Sambucus microbotrys*), buffaloberries (*Shepherdia canadensis* and *S. argentea*)



Figure 33: Chokecherry



Figure 34: Serviceberry

[UTE: ahkyp, ahkup, or agup], serviceberries (*Amelanchier* spp.) (fig. 34), gooseberries (*Ribes* spp.) or Oregon (or holly) grape, (*Mahonia repens*), huckleberries, blueberries, or bilberries (*Vaccinium* spp.) [UTE: toowump or patula] and strawberries (*Fragaria* spp.) [UTE: toovwees or twes] (Dees 2003; Fowler 2000:93; Smith 1974: 65; Callaway et al. 1986:338). Berries (rose hips) of the wild rose (*Rosa woodsii*) and juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*, *J. scopulorum*, *J. communis* syn. *Sabina osteosperma*, *S. scopulorum*) commonly called 'cedar' (cedar berries) are also roasted and ground and mixed into stews (fig. 35) (Fowler and Fowler 1971:46).



Figure 35: Juniper

Powell (1868-1880) said that the wild raspberry (*Rubus ideaus*), strawberry (*Fragaria* spp.), and buffaloberry (*Shepherdia* spp.) are gathered and eaten raw. Sometimes the juice is extracted to drink and the pulp is made into cakes or added to the dried seed meal (described above) and eaten as a paste or cooked as a mush (Fowler and Fowler 1971:42). Twentieth century Ute leader Connor Champoos agrees, "They [women] would take the berries and seeds from different plants like flowers or grasses that they would gather that had quite a bit of protein and make a soup by adding a little other flavoring or other little substitutes" (as quoted in Witherspoon 1993:14). Ute elders say that the fruit of the threeleaf sumac was also mixed with sugar as a tea for Sun Dancers.

Roots

Roots were dug by women with pointed digging sticks three and a half to four feet long. So prevalent was the use of this tool that many Great Basin and California tribes

were labeled (derogatorily) as "diggers." As with berries, the conditions in Colorado are favorable to root harvest, and Colorado Utes made considerable use of roots in their diet. Roots, dug from spring to fall, included sego or mariposa lily (*Calochortus gunnisonii*, *C. nuttallii*) (fig. 36), yellow pondlily (*Nuphar lutea* ssp. *polysepala*), yampah or Indian carrot (*Perideridia* spp.)



Figure 36: Sego lily

[UTE: yampuhch or yahpuhch], onion (*Allium geyeri*, *Allium acuminatum*) [UTE: kweechasahgooh, kwechusagoot, kwee cha see hooch, or soovweya] (fig. 37) and a variety of Indian potato (not present in the Monument) that some Ute call spring beauty (*Claytonia* spp.) [UTE: noowhchoonon or noogkachoon] (fig. 38).



Figure 37: Onion



Figure 38: Indian potato

The bulbs of another plant also called Indian potato (*Orogersia linearifolia*) were highly prized. Ute elders caution that when digging Indian potatoes (or onions or garlic), a stick (not a shovel) should be used and talking should be limited. Roots were eaten raw, dried for stews, or ground into flour for thickening stews (Dees 2003; Fowler 2000:94; Callaway et al. 1986:38; Smith 1974:64-65).

Sometimes roots were baked in an earth oven which was made by digging a hole about four feet deep. Large stones were placed in the bottom and a fire was built on top of them. The edible roots were placed between layers of damp grass and hot rocks, mounded over with dirt, and left to bake overnight (Smith 1974:64-65).

Cactus and Yucca

Prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia polyacantha*) [Ute: manivf] (fig. 39) produces edible fruit and the fruit and flowers of the yucca plant (*Yucca* spp.) [UTE: wisi] (fig. 40) were also

boiled or roasted (Fowler 2000:94). The root of the yucca was also pounded to make a shampoo.

Cattail (*Typha* spp.), yucca (*Yucca* spp.), and Indian paintbrush (*Castilleja* spp.) [UTE: uka-si-ti or changon-nuhn-nup] were used by the Ute as temper (Smith 1974:84-85;88). Temper (also called "grog") controls shrinkage and thermal shock when added to clay in the production of pottery.



Figure 39: Prickly pear cactus



Figure 40: Yucca

Ponderosa Pine

Scars that can still be seen today are evidence that the Ute peeled the outer bark of the ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) (fig. 41) to obtain the inner bark for its rich cambium layer, and for making poultices and tea. Peeled trees, also referred to as "culturally scarred trees" (CSTs), are one of the diagnostic features in Colorado of Ute presence (Brunswig 2005:88; De Ved and Loosle 2001; Martorano 1988; Scott 1988).



Fig. 41: Culturally scarred ponderosa pine

So important are culturally scarred trees that they are *protected* as traditional cultural properties. The closest CSTs to Colorado National Monument that are known and still extant are about six miles south near the

Mud Springs Campground on Bureau of Land Management land.

Ponderosa pines have two layers of cells just inside the outer bark that are the phloem and cambium. In the spring, the cambium layer divides, thus making removal of the outer bark relatively easy. The phloem is rich in carbohydrates and proteins, and was used by many tribes as a food source (Martorano 1988:5). The inner bark is highly nutritious and it is estimated that a pound contains as much calcium as nine glasses of milk; it is also slightly sweet. It was probably boiled, baked, or smoked before being eaten (Pasquale 2005: 5F).

John Wesley Powell says of the mucilaginous inner bark, "the material is very sweet and probably affords much nourishment, and this being a season when food is unusually scarce among the Indians they often resort to this store to eke out a scanty subsistence." He also notes that sometimes slabs of the bark are carried into camp (Powell MS 830 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:47). Most Utes disagree that the food was primarily used during times of scarcity. Venita Taveapont, Northern Ute, reflects on peeled trees and connection to ancestral landscape:

The strongest connection [to the current landscape in Colorado] from my perspective are the peeled trees. We

continued to use them in our healing until the last of the medicine people passed away in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Peeled trees are used for pneumonia and other illnesses; a tea is made from the inner layer. The presence of peeled trees in the landscape confirms my belief that we are still connected to the land. It just needs to be awakened (Taveapont 2004).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute,
says:

At certain times of the year, the old ladies get on their horses, and they go up into the mountains and they go on after sap, ponderosa pine sap. And this is back in about 1930s or 40s. Bee at a mee aye is a word that we would use. Bee at a mee aye. When you describe that word it means sweet or going after a sweet, that's what that word means. Bee at a mee aye means sugar or sweet. Mee aye means go after: so they're going after that, so they collect that and spend about a day, two days in the mountains, collecting. So then they come back [and they put it in] containers, baskets, willow baskets that they made, down there. Just pour that into that. It would be raw when they collect it. Later when they're coming back, after so many days, they probably dried that because it hardens up. But it's a taste of that sap that they're after—a sweet taste, but it has to be a certain time of the year. So they mix that with whatever meals they are going to have or they also preserve that in certain way to use later" (Duncan 2002a).

Betsy Champoos, Northern Ute, expands on the division of labor and peeling trees as women's work.

There are three ways that I know we would use these trees. One is to peel it and use it for possibly in making mats or

some other such items. Another one was to get the sugar out of the bark which they pulled off and they either pounded or boiled; only the women did that and they didn't do it in the presence of men—that was strictly a women's activity. The third way that was taught to me was in the longevity ceremony, and they used the tree in the way that promoted a long life [Betsy did not expand on this ceremonial use].

But those are really the only three things that I know that we used. I don't buy into the theory that its main use was in times of distress [only used during times of starvation]. I think that it was a supplement to the diet that was generally practiced. And I do know that even after the Utes were moved into Utah, that they were coming back to certain areas to do this, and it was the women that came back in" (Champoos 2002, 2004).

Medicinal Plants

The healing properties of plants, as understood by the Utes, needs to be considered. It is likely that much of the knowledge of Utes' medicinal use of plants has been lost. The Utes were pushed out of their western Colorado homelands in 1881 and confined on reservations in Utah and in the Four Corners area of Colorado. Whenever a tribal community is dispossessed of its territory and removed to a distant location, much traditional knowledge is lost. Subsequently tremendous cultural erasure was generated by assimilationist institutions such as boarding schools and missions, and simply due to Native American accommodation to

the twentieth and now twenty-first centuries (cf. Decker 2004; Emmitt 2000). It may also be the case that Ute elders are less willing to share this sensitive information, especially in a venue where it would be available to the public. As Helen Wash, Northern Ute tribal member, notes:

When people went to the spirit world, they took it [knowledge] with them—a lot of our traditional knowledge about Ute plants and their uses are gone. In the olden days we [Ute] had a larger vocabulary in our language for the various plants and their uses. As rations such as coffee, sugar, bacon, and flour were given to us, I think that many of our words for and uses of edible plants dwindled. The elders tell me, 'Don't forget the plants—they carried us through! We depended on those plants for eating, making bows, baskets, shoes, medicine—one day, if you are in a predicament, you won't starve or die of thirst if you remember these ways' (Wash 2007a).

The plants described below are the most common medicinal plants used by the Utes; to my knowledge this report does not contain sensitive information on the uses of medicinal plants.

Bear root (Ligusticum porteri) is also commonly called osha (also osha'), a Puebloan name, or chuchupate, a Tarahumara name. Both monikers have been borrowed by the Spanish and Anglo communities. Osha is a perennial growing above 7000 feet throughout the Rocky Mountain range and is a premiere medicinal

herb in the traditional folk medicine system of the Hispanic southwest. The Utes, as well as the Pueblo peoples and indigenous peoples of Mexico, probably taught the Spanish about the plant's properties during their extensive cultural exchanges. Osha has an antibacterial and antiviral substance in the root and was used by Indians and early pioneers to treat colds, flu, and upper respiratory infections. It is also sometimes referred to as Porter's loveage, Colorado cough root or Indian penicillin. It can be used internally (chewed and in teas and extractions) and topically (washes, baths, poultices, compresses, salves, liniments, medicinal herbal oils) for a myriad of concerns, centering mainly on the respiratory system, digestion, infections, wounds, and rheumatism. Osha's rich traditional uses also include spiritual protection and the warding off of evil.

A fascinating symbiotic relationship exists between this plant and the bear, with all bears appearing to universally practice the same behavior with the plant. Bears respond to the root of the herb a bit like cats do to catnip, although they also seem to be aware of its medicinal properties. They will eat it after hibernation and will chew the root into a watery paste and use it externally to cleanse their bodies. It possesses effective agents against bodily parasites. Bear root is part of the *Apiaceae* botanical family that

contains numerous edibles, culinary herbs, and medicinal plants including yampah, carrot, fennel, parsley, dill, cilantro/coriander, culinary lovage, angelica, and cow parsnip. This family also shares physical characteristics with two plants native to Colorado—water hemlock (*Cicuta douglasii*) and poison hemlock (*Conium maculatum*). The latter looks similar to bear root. Proper identification is critical; but since bear root is at risk, it should only be harvested by indigenous peoples collecting it for sacred or ceremonial purposes (Albers 2008; Curtin 1976; Kay 1996).

Yarrow (*Achillea lanulosa*) is a plant of many uses and many names including soldier's woundwort, staunch weed, nosebleed plant, milfoil, plumajillo, and pluma de la tierra (Spanish for 'little feather' and 'feather of the land' respectively; the plant's leaves have a feathery look). The Aztec also referred to yarrow using the Nahuatl word 'quetzal' meaning 'feather.' All parts of yarrow can be used medicinally, but the flower and leaf are most commonly used. Over 140 widely varying chemical constituents have been identified in the plant; yarrow's complex chemistry contributes to its legion of diverse applications. Azulene, an anti-inflammatory component of yarrow's volatile oil, is helpful in stabilizing membranes and is used for

edema, swellings, wounds, and burns. Botanic-oriented eclectic physicians of the 1800s and early 1900s, forerunners to modern medical doctors, used yarrow for serious lacerations which were accompanied by pain.

The Hispanic community uses plumajillo with wild mint (*Mentha arvensis*) and silversage (*Artemisia frigida*) as a tea in preparation for the "jumaso"—hot steam bath. The Aztecs used it as a partus aid during childbirth. The Zuni used it for fever and burns and the Paiute for sprains, rheumatism, and respiratory problems. To the Navajo, yarrow is one of the "life medicines." Ute elder Clifford Duncan has spoken of carrying powdered yarrow as a Ute first aid for wounds. Moerman mentions the Utes use of yarrow application for bruising and as a general cure-all (Albers 2008; Foster and Johnson 2006; Kay 1996; Moerman 1998).

Yarrow has been used by soldiers and warriors throughout history. Legend has it that during the Trojan War the Greek hero Achilles bound the wounds of his warriors with yarrow to staunch the flow of blood. This ancient testimony to the herb's astringent and antiseptic properties provides the etymology of yarrow's botanical name, *Achillea*. Ute leader Connor Champoos (Witherspoon 1993:31) mentions a plant

that grew in the mountains that was used by "medicine men" to stop bleeding. He calls this their "war medicine" and admits that while he has heard of this delicate plant, he has never seen it applied and does not know what plant it is. He says that it is likely that only certain individuals whose dreams or visions gave knowledge of it could use this plant in their healing. The healer would take a piece of flexible material that could pierce the skin and "would take small amounts [of the plant] and dust it on this piece of article to run through the wound and it would seal and at the same time it would help cure. Just one application." It is possible that this plant is yarrow (Albers 2008) since yarrow is a world-wide medicine embraced by numerous cultures throughout time and is one of the world's greatest healing plants.

Sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* syn. *Seriphidium tridentatum*;) [UTE: Sahwovf] (fig. 42) was and is used in sweat lodges; it is placed on the hot rocks and the smell is said to have medicinal and spiritual qualities (Smith 1974:43-44). Northern Ute tribal members acknowledge that it is also steeped as a tea for colds and used as a vapor treatment for chest ailments. When smoked or taken as tea, sagebrush helps relieve congestion and stuffiness. The leaves of the plant (many leaves are necessary) can be made into a mash by



Figure 42: Sagebrush

mixing them with hot water; this is then wrapped in a cloth and used as a poultice. It can be used for swelling if the skin isn't broken and should be changed every two days. Another sage plant (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) was rolled and used for sachets to keep clothing and other items smelling fresh.

Juniper is represented in Colorado by two native species, *Juniperus osteosperma* syn. *Sabina osteosperma* –sometimes known by the confusing name of red cedar— and *Juniperus scopulorum* syn. *Sabina scopulorum*, commonly known as Rocky Mountain juniper [UTE: wahup, wahuhp, or bawahup] (see fig. 35). *Juniperus osteosperma* is present in Colorado National Monument; the presence of *Juniperus scopularum* is unconfirmed. Cedar is a misnomer; Curtin states that there are no true cedars (*Cedrus* genus) in the United States (Curtin 1976). However, the popular name of cedar, in reference to

juniper trees, is here to stay. There is also a sharply needled juniper shrub, *Juniperus communis*, that is native to Colorado's mountain eco-system. There are approximately 50 species worldwide; junipers are used as medicines in many diverse cultures around the world. Juniper berries and leaves have been used by the Utes, Hopi, Navajo, Puebloans, and essentially all peoples who lived near any/all of these tribal peoples. Medicinally, juniper has been used for rheumatism, bone and body pain, childbirth and postpartum, digestion, blood purification, respiratory problems, urinary tract infections (though not recommended for kidney disease), and much more. Utes say that when steamed in a tea the needles are good for stemming the flow of menstrual blood, and of stopping excessive bleeding after a birth. The sprigs are also used for cleansing the palate and since Ute women must refrain from eating meat for one month after giving birth, they chew juniper sprigs to rinse their mouth before they can start eating meat again.

The juniper needle-leaf is high in vitamin C (as are all conifers). There is an historical event that points to Ojibwa knowledge of the medicinal properties of juniper. In the winter of 1535-36, Jacques Cartier was unwittingly caught on the shores of a frozen St. Lawrence River. Purportedly, an Ojibwa medical practitioner taught the explorers to

make a tea of the local juniper's needles, saving several of them from perishing of scurvy. Juniper has cross-cultural uses as an aromatic prophylactic and fumigant, and is also used for spiritual purification and protection. Additionally, it has also always been popular in non-Native culinary arts (Albers 2008; Elias 1989; Foster and Johnson 2006; Kay 1996).

Cow parsnip, (*Heracleum sphondylium*) is commonly called "yerba del oso" (herb of the bear) in traditional southwest Hispanic folk medicine. The seed or dried root is used for treatment of general digestive and nervous system concerns, as well as for rheumatic and arthritic pains. The Domínguez-Escalante Expedition made note that the Rio de las Paralyticas (River of the Paralytics; today Disappointment Creek) was so named because earlier travelers had found three Ute women with a type of paralysis camping there (Warner 1995:21). One scholar (Simmons 2000:38) queries whether these women may have been there soaking their arthritic joints in a bath of cow parsnip which would have grown profusely along the bank of the creek. The Paiute also used the root, making a poultice for rheumatism and a salve for sores; the Shoshone made a root decoction for coughs and colds. Cow parsnip is related to osha (*Ligusticum porteri*) and while bears seek out osha in the early spring, they forage for

cow parsnip in later spring. At times, cow parsnip apparently serves as a major subsistence for the bear (Albers 2008; Curtin 1976; Moerman 1998; Moore 1979).

Indian tobacco is a common name given to two different species. Greenleaf Manzanita (*Arctostaphylos patula*) also known as bearberry, kinnickinnick [also spelled kinnikinnick, kinnikinnik], or Indian tobacco [UTE: tahmahup or qwe'augeth't cahn up] (fig. 43) is anti-microbial and was used for a



Figure 43: Greenleaf Manzanita

number of different ailments. Ute elders say that it was used in a bath for chicken pox and that this treatment did not leave any scars. It was also used for infections, cuts, insect bites, and poison ivy as an anti-inflammatory. A true tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*), also called Indian tobacco, is found on Grand Mesa. It is used ceremonially and may have had some medicinal qualities. Kinnickinnick and bearberry can also refer to *Arctostaphylos*

uva-ursi, another Ute medicinal plant with anti-microbial properties. To add to the confusion, kinnickinnick translates (Algonquian; Chippewa and Cree) to mean "that which is mixed" (Foster and Johnson 2006:33). Barks, leaves, roots and other plant materials including Manzanita mentioned above (*Arctostaphylos patula*), the true tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*) and the bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*) could be combined to make a smokeable mixture.

Other Medicinal Plants

The Utes used many other plants for medicinal purposes. Ute elders say that the root of the Oregon grape, also known as holly grape or barberry (*Mahonia repens*), was used to treat minor diarrhea, gas, or stomach problems, arthritis, and skin infections. The resinous bud of the curly gumweed (*Grindelia* spp.) [UTE: ku at um sit a gwiw] was used to treat upper respiratory and urinary tract infections and the plant's root was used to treat diarrhea. The blue violet (*Viola adunca*) and yellow violet (*Viola nuttallii*) are multi-purpose medicinal plants used to treat a variety of infections and degenerative diseases.

Cliffrose (*Purshia mexicana*) (fig. 44) was used by a number of Native people including the Utes who used the antiseptic cambium (inner bark) as an eyewash.

Additionally the leaves were functional in treating skin problems and cleansing wounds because of their astringent qualities. Shredded bark from the Cliffrose was also used for matting, pillow stuffing, and cradleboard padding because it absorbed urine and likely prevented rash (Albers 2008; Dunmire and Tierney 1997:168-170).



Figure 44: Cliffrose

The ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) (see fig. 41) was also used in healing. If a healer had spiritual power from this tree, the bark would be peeled from the tree and the patient would be bound onto the opening so that the shaman could work in tandem with the power of the tree's spirit. Clifford Duncan, Ute elder, explains:

A medicine man, a shaman, will put a sick person against that [peeled ponderosa], they open that tree and they put that person against there and tie that person onto that tree. Once they do that they leave that person there for a while. You have to keep in mind that medicine men, shaman, never do things by themselves. There is no such a thing as a powerful man who can do things by himself. It's always with a song, it's always with words. They are talking to somebody outside themselves. So when I talk to a tree, I am talking to the spirit—I'm talking to a higher level. Rituals or ceremonies that we perform, actually have that—there's no person [healer] in this world that does it by himself' (Duncan 2002a).

Utilitarian Uses of Plants

Architectural Examples: Wickiups, Sweat Lodges, Menstrual Huts, and Tipis

Plants were not only used for food, medicine, and in ceremonies, but had many utilitarian uses as well. Wickiups are conical timbered lodges and when found in Colorado or eastern Utah are generally believed to be associated with the Ute (Brunswig 2005:131; Scott 1988). Wickiup sites in Colorado are associated with Ute occupation because they were found in traditional Ute territory and date to the historic Ute period. When Escalante came through what is today western Colorado, he describes the use of both brush shelters and hide covered tipis (Buckles 1971; Scott 1988; Smith 1974:33-34;36; Warner 1995). These brush shelters were constructed over a framework of three or four poles joined in

the center. They are mentioned here because juniper bark and/or various brush or grasses were used in their construction and because they are found in the boundaries of Colorado National Monument (fig. 45).



Figure 45: Wickiup remnant in Colorado National Monument

Wickiups can be of freestanding or lean-to construction, and are usually made of aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), tule (*Schoenoplectus acutus*), bulrush (*Scirpus* spp.), or juniper bark (*Juniperus osteosperma*, *J. scopulorum*, *J. communis* syn. *Sabina osteosperma*, *S. scopulorum*). Ute wickiups often contained an interior liner made of animal skin and later of canvas which provided warmth as well as water-proofing for the interior. Large winter wickiups could sleep 10-12 people; a hole for the fireplace was dug in the center under an opening in the roof, which was used as a smoke hole.

Sweat lodges, used by men and women in all Northern Ute groups, were made of willow (*Salix* spp.) and covered with a hide wrapping (Smith 1974:43). Menstrual huts, summer shades, and dams to catch fish also utilized brush and willow (Smith 1974:44-45;63). Tipis, covered with elk skin, utilized a frame of lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*) (fig. 46).



Figure 46: Ute tipi; 1860-1870

John Wesley Powell also notes that when the tipi is disassembled, the lodgepole pines were used for travois. "The dragging of these poles over the ground, especially when there are a number of camps moving at the same time, makes a very broad plain track. Such paths are traversed again and again, year after year, until they become well-worn trails and are known as 'lodge pole trails.'" Powell also notes that a "path which has been followed by his forefathers is sacred" (Powell MS 830 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:39). Pine was also the preferred firewood as juniper might pop

and set the shelter on fire; consequently, juniper firewood was stored and used outside the shelter (Smith 1974:36).

Basket-making

As mentioned previously, baskets were utilized in the harvesting of seeds, berries, and other gathered flora. Both coiling and twining techniques were used in construction, and the most common forms were the berry basket and the water jug, both in common use as late as 1936-37. Tightly coiled woven water containers (figs. 47-48) were covered on the interior with piñon pine (*Pinus edulis*) pitch to prevent them from leaking. Squawbush, also known as skunkbush and threelobe sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) [UTE: eesh] (fig. 49) and willow (*Salix* spp.), were the preferred materials for basket making (Smith 1974:90-94). Coiled basketry bowls were also used for eating, mixing, and serving meals (Fowler 2000:101). A burden basket, used for gathering seeds, also could be constructed of a frame of four pieces of willow (*Salix* spp.) covered with rawhide (Smith 1974:95).

Ute cradleboards (fig. 50) combine basketry, hide-working, and bead-working into a useful and beautiful form. A twined willow (*Salix* spp.) or snowberry (*Symphoricarpos* spp.) shade was added to protect the baby's face (Fowler 2000:100; Smith 1974:101-104).

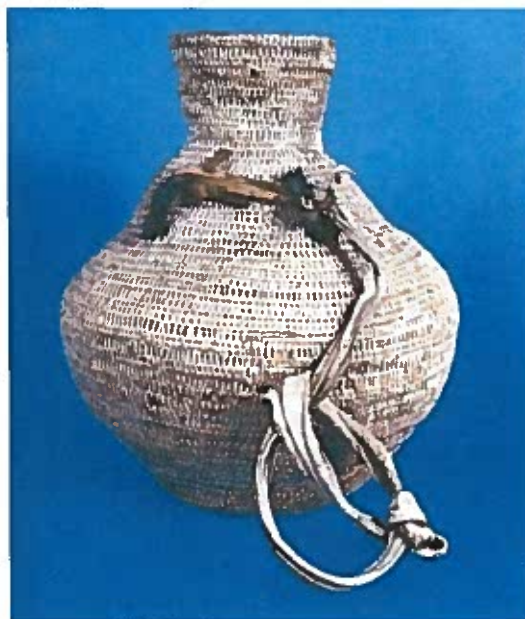


Fig. 47: Ute water jug



Figure 48: Basketry fragments from Colorado National Monument



Figure 49: Squawbush



Figure 50: Ute cradleboard

Tanning Hides and Clothing

Buckskins tanned by Ute women were prized as trade articles by other tribes and Spanish colonists. Connor Chapoose notes the use of sagebrush bark (*Artemisia tridentate* syn. *Seriphidium tridentatum*) in the hide tanning process. He says that women used a piece of bone to remove the hair, and used a combination of animal brains and bark on the hide. He explains that sagebrush bark is less brittle, stronger, and does not break down in water, "so that's why they preferred it, sagebrush bark" (Chapoose as quoted in Witherspoon 1993:12). Smith (1974:80-83) notes that it was juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*, *J. scopulorum*, syn. *Sabina osteosperma*, *S. scopulorum*) which was mixed with the

brains in the long and tedious process of tanning hides. Sapir's informants said that hides were frequently painted, using a variety of minerals *and* plants. Green was obtained from willow (*Salix* spp.) or cottonwood (*Populus* spp.) leaves while blue was made from the inedible berry of the berry bush (bear grub; *unknown species*) (Smith 1974:80-83).

Plant fiber clothing is typical of western Great Basin tribes, but few Colorado Ute people retained women's bark aprons, twined fiber robes, and yucca fiber sandals after leaving the Great Basin (Utah). Colorado Utes men's and women's clothing was made of deerskin, mountain sheep, antelope, elk, and bison hides (Fowler 2000:97).

Plant Use Conclusions

The ubiquitous nature of plants used by the Utes is exposed when one considers the thousands of useful items made from plant resources. In addition to the plant materials mentioned above, knots of wood were used for ladles and bowls, sleeping mats were made from willow, musical instruments such as the morache (notched stick, scraped with another stick or bone) were made of various woods, flutes were made of cedar, and drums utilized a wooden frame. Wooden bows were made of juniper, chokecherry, or serviceberry; arrows and fish spears were

made from serviceberry, squawbush, wild rose, and other berry woods. Cordage for nets and rope were made from rawhide, but also from bearberry (possibly *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*) and yucca.

Saddles, usually made by women, utilized a pine framework covered with rawhide. Pipe stems were made of hollow rush (*Juncus* spp.), elder, or wild rose. Smoking mixtures included wild tobaccos, various barks, and bearberry (Smith 1974:96-120).

Plant products were in ritual evidence from the cradle to the grave. Newborn babies were washed immediately after birth with yucca suds and then wrapped in a blanket made of soft sagebrush bark (Smith 1974:140). Frequently, the possessions of the recently dead were put in a juniper tree and the tree was burned (Smith 1974:150). It is likely that every ceremony from those associated with the menstrual hut, the sweat lodge, and the Sun Dance, to those associated with the birth of a child and death of a loved one utilized some kind of plant or tree product. The source of a shaman's power could be a tree or plant, and herbal remedies were used to treat various illnesses. Even the twin hero creators Wolf and Coyote in Ute mythology used "sticks" in the creation of the Utes; a published version is provided below.

In the days before the ancient times, only Sinawav [Wolf], the creator, and Coyote inhabited the earth. They had

come out of the light so long ago that no one remembered when or how. The earth was young and the time had not come to increase the people. Sinawav gave a bag of sticks to Coyote and said, "Carry these over the hills to the valleys beyond." He gave specific directions Coyote was to follow and told him what to do when he got there. "You must remember, this is a great responsibility. The bag must not be opened under any circumstances until you reach the sacred grounds," he told him. "What is this I carry?" asked Coyote.

"I will say no more. Now be about your task." Sinawav answered. Coyote was young and foolish, consumed with curiosity. "What is this I carry?" he kept asking himself. As soon as he was over the first hill and out of sight, he stopped. He was just going to peek in the bag. "That could hurt nothing," he thought. Just as he untied the bag and opened a small slit, they rushed for the opening. They were people. These people yelled and hollered in strange languages of all kinds. He tried to catch them and get them back into the bag. But they ran away in all directions. From how full the bag was after he had gotten it closed, he could tell there was only a fraction of what he had started out with. He went to the sacred valley and dumped them out there. There was a small number of these people. But those few ones were the Utes, the real Utes from around here. Coyote then returned and told Sinawav that he had completed the task.

Sinawav searched Coyotes face. "I know," Sinawav sighed. "You foolish thing. You do not know what a fearful thing you have done." Coyote finally confessed. "I tried to catch them. I was frightened. They spoke in strange tongues that I couldn't understand."

"Those you let escape will forever war with the chosen ones. They will be the

tribes which will always be a thorn in the sides of the Utes," said Sinawav. "The Utes, even though they are few in numbers, will be the mightiest and most valiant of heart." Sinawav then cursed Coyote, "You are an irresponsible meddler. From this time on, you are doomed to wander this earth on all fours as a night crawler" (Naranjo and Lujan 2000).

Hunting

Hunting in the Grand Valley including Colorado National Monument, is a more opportunistic endeavor than is plant gathering. Large game animals (all of these photographs were taken in the Monument) in the area include elk (fig. 51), mule deer (fig. 52), moose, desert bighorn sheep (fig. 53), pronghorn/antelope (fig. 54) (herds migrated from north to south in Colorado) and an occasional buffalo, which, while present in most of Colorado, were sparse in the southwestern part of the state (Callaway et al. 1986:340-342; Fowler 2000:94-95; Greuber 2002:2; Opler 1971:261-262; Stewart 1942:240-254). As mentioned earlier, buffalo tongues were saved and eaten at a feast after the Bear Dance (Smith 1974:54).



Figure 51: Elk



Figure 52: Mule deer



Figure 53: Desert Bighorn Sheep



Figure 54: Pronghorn

Small game included rabbits (snowshoe hare, jack, and cottontail) (fig. 55), prairie dogs, squirrel, gopher, beaver, badger, grouse, wild turkey, prairie chicken, and

sage grouse; various waterfowl and fish were also eaten (Callaway et al.; Stewart 1986:340-342; Fowler 2000:95; Smith 1974:46-64).



Figure 55: Cottontail

Gathering, hunting, and fishing sites were accessed communally. While fishing was less important (Duncan 2008; Smith 1974:61), the bands around Colorado and Green River drainages were reported to have used fish arrows, weirs, traps, and harpoons (Callaway et al. 1986:342). Ute informants were not sure if individual hooks and lines were used, but believed that jigs were likely used to catch fish (Duncan 2008; cf. Smith 1974:61).

Deer, elk, antelope, birds, and ground squirrels were individually stalked and hunted with bow and arrow or spears (Callaway et al. 1986:341; Stewart 1942:240-254). Antelope and bighorn sheep could be hunted individually or communally; the same was true for

waterfowl such as ducks and mud hens (American coot) (Callaway et al. 1986:341; Smith 1974:46-64). Indeed, spring subsistence activity probably included waterfowl egg gathering (Russell 1921:125).

Drives would also have been used for herd animals such as elk and pronghorn; animals were herded or otherwise forced into narrow areas or a V-shaped funnel and then ambushed (Callaway et al. 1986:341; Smith 1974:55; Stewart 1942:240-254).

Communal rabbit drives seem to be common to all bands (Callaway et al. 1986:341). Nets were used to capture sage grouse near springs (Smith 1974:58,60).

Other hunting techniques include smoking and/or digging animals out of their underground burrows, capturing deer in pits that were covered with brush, digging holes, and setting snares (Smith 1974:56).

Snowshoes were also used in the winter. "Sometimes a small group of hunters on snowshoes would stalk elk, killing them when the elk tired, floundering in deep snow" (Smith 1974:54). Indeed, Colorado Utes were labeled by early explorers as the "Switzers of America" for their hunting skills in mountain terrain (Dodge 1882:442).

Using archaeological data, one scholar hypothesizes that game populations in the area under consideration may have

declined after 1860 due to overhunting by both Native and non-Natives. This depletion may also be attributable to the increased use of firearms and horses. It is likely that a greater reliance on floral resources may have resulted (Greubel 2002:3).

Preparation

Meat was cut into thin strips and dried in the sun or smoked over a domed willow drying frame; it could also be pounded (to soften it) using a metate (flat stone) and pestle (Callaway et al. 1986:342; Smith 1974:48). Large cuts of meat could also be put on a fire to roast slowly (Smith 1974:48). Fish could be boiled and eaten fresh, or dried. Fish “were split down the middle, the backbones removed, and then laid across two poles to dry. The drying poles were raised from the ground so that the dogs would not get the fish. Fish were stored in round sacks shaped like flour sacks made of buckskin or elkskin” (Smith 1975:64).

Gender

While hunting and fishing were primarily male activities, it is likely that on occasion women participated in both of these enterprises. Roles are just that—roles—and not necessarily specific to biological sex, especially in small-scale societies. Women would have been identified as

someone’s parent, child, sibling, teacher, or the maker of baskets, the artist who created a petroglyph, the gatherer; perhaps even the hunter who shared in a kill (cf. Joyce 2008:65). In her work with the Northern Ute, Smith notes that if there were enough horses, women would accompany the hunters to help butcher the animals (Smith 54; 63).

Hunting Rituals

Just as with plant collection, it is likely that there were rituals (which have been lost) performed to improve chances for a successful hunt. Chapoose (Witherspoon 1993:110) states that bones were not fed to dogs which might eat them or chew them up. Instead, out of respect, the bones from the hunt might be thrown into the river so that the spirit of the animal would “form again” and return to give itself again so that the Ute might not go hungry. Reciprocity between the human world and the realm of animals was of great importance to the Ute as it was to most Native peoples. There were no soldiers to police the hunt (as there are in some Plains tribes) and meat was divided among the hunters (Smith 1974:54).

According to Smith’s Northern Ute consultants, they did not eat the meat of wildcat, mountain lion, fox, wolverine, weasel, wolf, coyote, or dog (Smith 1974

47; 58-59) nor did they consume reptiles (snake, lizard) (Callaway et al. 1986:341).

IV Earliest European Forays into the Area (1776-1869)

A brief examination of the earliest European observations of the Ute in and around the Grand Valley provides the first ethnographic glimpse of Ute culture.

Dominguez-Escalante Expedition (1776)

The diaries of the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition are available in recent translation (Warner 1995) and in an earlier explanatory version (Bolton 1950). Traveling in the summer of 1776 close to the Grand Valley, Franciscan missionary Fray Silvestre Vélez was the first European to record observations of the "Yuta" Indians in this area. He and Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez sought a route from Santa Fe (New Mexico) to Monterey (California). Hopi and Apache resistance blocked a more direct western route, so they moved north and west into present day Colorado and Utah.

While the Dominguez-Escalante expedition did not visit the confluence of the Gunnison (El Río de San Xavier or El Río de San Francisco Xavier) and Colorado (El Río Grande, El Río Grande de Cosninas, or El Río de San Rafael) Rivers, they were within about 15-30 miles of this area. Their

circular route, which followed an old trappers' trail, took them counter-clockwise beginning July 29, 1776 and ending January 2, 1777 in Santa Fe. They were in what is today Colorado from approximately August 8 to September 15 in 1776. Escalante's diary clearly notes the Yuta band division of Muhuaches in the south and Tabehuaches in the north. They observed the Uncompahgre, Gunnison, and Colorado Rivers (Warner 1995: 24-35), Grand Mesa, the Book Cliffs, Roan Creek and Roan Plateau (Bolton 1950: 52-54), and other geographical features of the area.

Traveling north from Santa Fe, they moved across the Uncompahgre Plateau and ended up near what is now Collbran (in Mesa County). They traveled north along the Uncompahgre River from Montrose (August 27, 1776) to Olathe (both in Montrose County), Hotchkiss, Paonia, and Bowie (Delta County) and then moved west and over Grand Mesa. While this expedition was one of the first in which the recorded observations were published, it clearly was not the first Spanish expedition into the area. Indeed, "the region east of the Colorado River and as far north as the Gunnison appears to have become fairly well known to Spanish traders of New Mexico" (Bolton 1950:7). Although the expedition did not reach California, the explorers did record some of the earliest

information on the Utes of western Colorado. For years, these Spanish traders had made it a practice to spend months with the "Yutas" to trade European products such as horses, blankets, flour, tobacco, knives, and glass beads for pelts, buckskin, dried meat, slaves, and other Native made goods such as dried manzanita berries (Husband 1984:1; Warner 1995:27).

We also learn of a fascinating component of Ute band flexibility and interrelationships. On August 28, 1776, Escalante found "some Indians of the Timpangotzis" (Power 1920:77) who were visiting with the Ute Indians living on the Gunnison River. Nearly a month later, on September 25, 1776, Escalante informs his reader that these "Yuta" Indians of the Timpangotzis band (today Tompanowotsnunts) were from Utah Lake which is about 40 miles from the Great Salt Lake (Warner 1995:71-72). This was more than 250 miles from their homes! These Indians were visitors only, and so from the very first Anglo observations we see not only the reality of long distance travel by the Ute, but also the possibilities of cultural transmission from central Utah into western and even central Colorado, including decidedly Plains Indian traits among the Ute Indians of central Utah (Stewart 1942:231). While Escalante does not provide many detailed observations of the Ute Indians in western Colorado, he has

this to say about the Utes near Utah Lake (five miles west of Provo).

Their dwellings are some sheds or little wattle huts of willow, out of which they have interestingly crafted baskets and other utensils for ordinary use. They are very poor as regards dress. The most becoming one they wear is a deerskin jacket and long leggings of the same. For cold seasons they wear blankets made of jackrabbit and cottontail rabbit furs. They employ the Yuta language.... They possess good features and most of them [sic] are fully bearded (Warner 1995:72).

John C. Frémont and Others (1850-1858)

Federal exploration of western Colorado began in earnest around 1850. John C. Frémont was in the area between 1843-1853. While he made three well-publicized treks through the area searching for negotiable mountain passes, he did not leave much ethnographic data on the Northern Ute. While in the Uncompahgre Valley (December, 1853) near today's Delta, the members of Frémont's party were enmeshed in an argument with the Utes in the area over trade goods. While bloodshed was averted, Frémont found it necessary to demonstrate the power of the Navy-issued Colt revolvers that his party carried (Chaffin 2002:424-427). Likewise, although Richens Lacy Wootens in 1852 [sheep driver], Lt. Edward Beale in 1853 [explorer], Captains John Gunnison [railroad surveyor] and Randolph Marcy in 1857-58 [recorded a disastrous winter] were in the

Grand Valley area, their recordings do not add much detail to the ethnographic record (Husband 1984).

John Wesley Powell (1867-1881)

Unlike most men or women of this time period, John Wesley Powell is known for his intellectual curiosity and open-mindedness regarding the Native peoples of the west. Between 1867 and 1881, Powell conducted an extensive research program in the American west; western Colorado and Utah were areas that he explored and observed. Although he came through the Grand Valley, he did not stop. Once again, early recorded observations of the area in and around Colorado National Monument are lacking. While the only strictly ethnographic trip he made was for a short period in the fall of 1880 among the Wintun, Paviotso, Northern Paiute, and Western Shoshoni, Powell did spend time among the Northern Ute in 1868-69. He was camped near Douglass' band of "Tabuat" Ute in northwestern Colorado. Douglass was implicated in the Meeker massacre at the White River Agency in 1879 and imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth in 1880 (Fowler and Fowler 1971:13-14).

Powell's observations of the northern Ute are somewhat random, but his perceptions of the Ute in general are revealing. He says, for example,

The greater part of the Indians' property is held in common... They own but little property at best, and the Indian has no word signifying rich or poor in its ordinary sense—that is having much or little property, but when an Indian says, "I am rich," he means "I have many friends," or "I am poor. I have but a few" (Powell MS 798 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1951: 37-38).

We learn from Powell that the wife of an aged chief (at the White River Agency) whose name was Tsauwiat (reputed to be more than 100 years old), was "an intelligent, talkative, and influential woman who enjoyed the unusual privilege of sitting in the council ring" (Darrah 1951:130). Rarely are we privileged to learn a woman's name, let alone that she was respected in men's circles. Powell also records that the members of the White River band were proud of their neatly tilled fields of wheat, turnips, beets, and potatoes but refused to live in houses due to evil spirits.

Additionally, Powell recorded what he perceived as barbaric methods of Northern Ute medical practices, which included placing live coals on the skin of the patient to raise large blisters, beating the patient with clubs, and cutting the skin with stone knives. All of these, according to Powell, were designed to exorcise evil spirits which caused illness (Worster 2001:288-89).

Ute leadership was flexible, and any man of influence could become a chief. Powell

(MSS 830 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler p. 50) says of western Colorado, "White River Ute, as they are known to the Indian Department, being those tribes which receive their annuities at the White River Agency, were, when I knew them in the winter of 1868 and 69, divided into three tribes. One tribe recognized *Co-lo-row* as their chief, another recognized *Tsok-wi-outs*, and the third Douglass."

Powell also provides detailed descriptions of means of subsistence which are included earlier in the section on seasonal round and subsistence.

Missionaries

There is very little information on the impact of missionaries on the Ute. The post-removal 1890 Census Reports (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1894) states, "No missionary work has been attempted among the Southern Utes" (1894:229). Interestingly, the unnamed author of this report adds, "They seem to have no creed or religious faith further than a belief in a great spirit and an evil spirit" (1894:229). This same report indicates that there was a minimal amount of conversion of the Northern Utes to the Mormon faith; "They called them 'Lamanites' and frequently took them to baptism into their church" (1894:596). The U.S. government was opposed to the hiring

of Mormons as Indian agents. This was because Mormon prejudice created very real problems for the reservation program in Utah, since the Utes refused to stay on their reservations when the agents were harsh, rigid, and unfriendly (Worster 2001:279).

V Historical Incidents that Prompted Ute Removal (1828-1879)

Traders: Antoine Robidoux (1828-1844)

American fur trappers appeared in western Colorado after 1800; the fur trade flourished from about 1824-1840 (Husband 1984). Antoine Robidoux built a number of trading posts in the area including Fort Uncompahgre on the Gunnison River near present-day Delta around 1828 and Fort Uintah also known as Fort Winty or Fort Robidoux in the Uinta Basin near present-day Whiterocks, Utah in 1832. Robidoux thus established an almost exclusive trade with the Utes (fig. 56) and was able to dominate the beaver fur trade and horse trade. He also engaged in the illegal exchange of guns and liquor, and there is good evidence that he may also have bought and sold Ute Indian women and children (Baker 1988:163; Barton 1996).

In 1844 Ute Indians destroyed Fort Uintah. Its demise was in part due to Robidoux's unfair trade practices and his willingness to

purchase captured Ute Indian women and children for prostitution and/or slavery.

There does not appear to have been consequences for the Utes who participated in the destruction (and possibly later burning) of the Fort. This incident is exemplary of the mounting tensions between the Utes and the increasing number of non-Natives arriving in the area (Bailey 1990; Barton 1996).

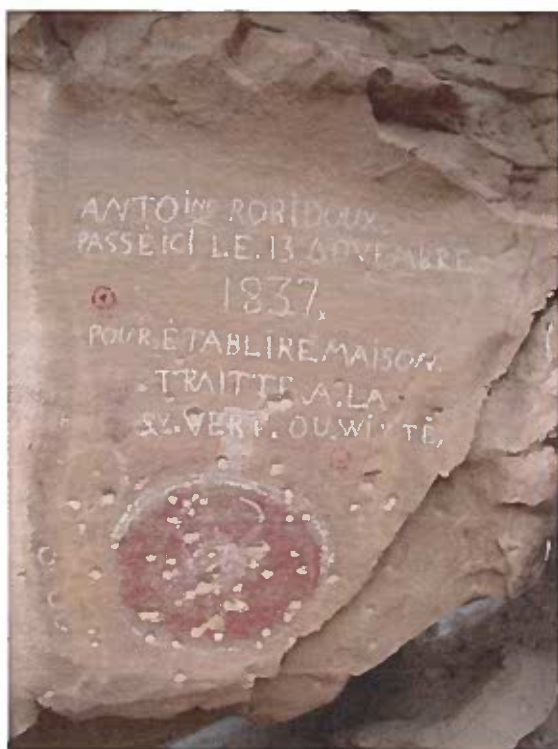


Figure 56: Robidoux Inscription

Settlers and Miners (1868)

By 1868, most of the Ute cultures were undergoing a period of rapid transition. As settlers and miners moved into the best areas of western Colorado, bands and

communities were dispossessed of their land and resources. Hunting grounds were fenced and plowed, and livestock turned onto valuable seed gathering areas. Piñon pine, a major high calorie food source for the Ute, was cut for firewood, fence posts, and mining timbers. Unrest and uprisings were inevitable; the most infamous in Colorado was the Meeker Incident.

The Colorado Ute and Utah Ute were divided culturally, especially after the Colorado Ute acquired horses by the late seventeenth century or earlier. The proximity of the southern and eastern Colorado Ute bands to mounted Plains Indians as well as the Spanish sources of horses was responsible for this acquisition (Stewart 1966:52-54). The horse quickly became a treasured and revolutionary possession as the Utes were now capable of traveling great distances in search of game and trade opportunities. Utes' passion for their horses and for hunting buffalo in the parks and plains of Colorado is well-documented (cf. eg. Barton 1996; FitzPatrick 2000; Jocknick 2004). It is also the case that Colorado Territory Utes were treated differently than Utah Utes by an accident of history. "Nine treaties and agreements were negotiated with the Colorado Ute, and six were ratified by the U.S. Senate and signed by the President. By contrast only one treaty was negotiated

between the United States treaty commission and the Utah Ute, and it was not ratified by Congress" (Stewart 1966:55). It is likely that in Colorado, ranchers and miners were putting more pressure on the government to dispossess the Ute of their large reservation than was the case in Utah.

Nathan Meeker and the White River Agency (1878-1879)

"A savage can have no notion of the value of knowing many things" (Nathan Meeker—April 7, 1879; U.S. Senate 1880 Ex Doc. No. 31:245)

Central to an understanding of the plight of the Utes in western Colorado is the tragedy at the White River Agency, often called the "Meeker Massacre." The White River Agency was a remote and isolated agency on the western slope in northern Colorado Territory, nearly 100 miles north of the Uncompahgre Valley. On September 29, 1879, Nathan Meeker (fig. 57), sixty-two year old newspaperman turned neophyte White River Indian Agent and founder of Greeley, Colorado (1870) was killed by a group of Utes who were fed up with his sanctimonious lack of respect for their culture. The Indians killed him for withholding provisions and annuities, and for compelling federal troops to trespass onto the Ute reservation, and forcing them to farm.

After the massacre, Meeker's wife (Arvilla), daughter (Josie), and three others were

abducted by a small group of White River Ute men. In the context of rage born of resentment and frustration, a flour barrel stave was driven through Meeker's throat so

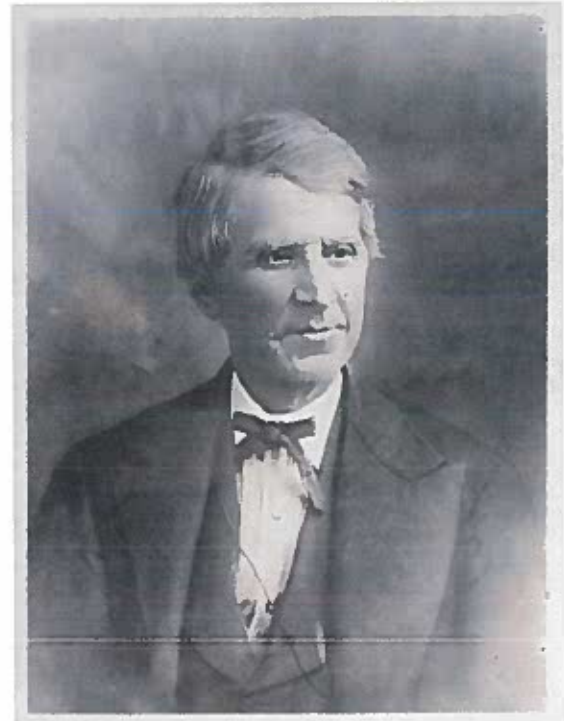


Figure 57: Nathan Meeker

that he could lie no more (Gulliford 2000: xvi; Sprague 1957:227-228). These incidents essentially sealed the fate of the Utes in Colorado. I have examined letters, reports, and newspaper articles at the Denver Public Library, Greeley Museum Archives, Colorado Historical Society, as well as numerous on-line sites. There is little information relevant to the ethnography of the Northern Ute that is not included in the numerous published histories of this incident (Becker and Smith 2003; Dawson

and Skiff 1980; Decker 2004; Duncan 2000; Emmitt 2000; FitzPatrick 2000; Jocknick 2004; McClellan 1979a,b; Miller 1997; Simmons 2000; Sprague 1957).

Prior to the Meeker Incident, in 1872, the estate of Horace Greeley was calling in debts, and Nathan Meeker's \$1000.00 was among them. He had borrowed money from the *New York Tribune* editor and stockholder to establish a newspaper (Greeley Tribune) in his utopian town at the confluence of the Platte and the Cache La Poudre Rivers in northern Colorado Territory. To pay his debts Nathan Meeker took an assignment as Indian agent to the White River Agency in 1878. The White River band (of approximately 700) was, perhaps more than any other band, determined to hold onto their Native ways of the horse and the hunt (Wilkinson 2000:306). As an Indian Agent, Meeker's euro-centric idealism was challenged in inconceivable ways.

To a large degree, this was because Meeker lacked any experience in working with Native peoples and had no diplomatic skills. Ute ethnographer Jorgensen says, "Meeker was about as perceptive as a mole" (Jorgensen 1964:105). Historian Marshall Sprague says, "He seemed to hunt ways to be obnoxious" (Sprague 1957:41). But Meeker believed that his position as

agent would relieve him of his financial woes—and, that what the Utes needed was the stability afforded by agriculture and, of course, the gift of civilization which ensued. His fanatical notions of reforming and civilizing the Utes are well documented (cf. Decker 2004; Jorgensen 1964:91-109) as are his beliefs that Indian self-sufficiency could only be acquired through agricultural practices. His belief in Indian inferiority was no different than that of most Anglos of the late nineteenth century. But because he was a journalist (reporter and contributing agricultural editor for the *New York Tribune* even after moving to Colorado Territory), they are articulated cogently and frequently. For example, millions of *New York Tribune* readers learned that, "The extension of a fine nervous system is impossible in the Indian, because he is without brain to originate and support it" (as quoted in Sprague 1957:18).

Meeker also articulated his ethnocentric concerns locally. In a letter dated August 11, 1879 to then-Commissioner of Indian Affairs R.B. Hayes, Meeker wrote:

What I want is sufficient military force to be sent hither to awe these savages, so that they will stay at home. When this shall be done, the Indians will be in a condition to improve, but now it is simply impossible, indeed I fear they are already so demoralized that years upon years will be required to make anything out of them" (as quoted in Miller 1997:9).

In Meeker's defense, we must recognize that in the ten-year time period from 1868-1878, that eight agents had preceded Meeker. The last agent before Meeker's arrival had allowed the Utes' annuity rations to sit in a warehouse in Rawlins, Wyoming for 18 months. One of the first things Meeker did was to distribute these rations and subsequent annuities on time. Additionally, Meeker's charge from the Department of the Interior was to acculturate the Utes by curtailing their nomadic lifestyle and teaching them to farm—a pastoral occupation non-threatening to the predominant Anglo culture.

After he moved the White River Agency 15 miles south (away from the mountains and hunting territory and into the Utes' horse pastureland) and plowed up fine horse pasturage and a race-horse track, some Utes fired a few rounds of ammunition over the heads of the men who were doing the plowing (Jorgensen 1964:106; Sprague 1957:174-175). Clearly, the situation at the White River Agency was in decline. Utes were complaining about Meeker to agents in Denver; worried parents in Greeley wanted their sons, who were employees at the remote agency, to return to a safer environment. Finally, medicine man Johnsen (aka Canalla) who Meeker had

counted on for support, pushed him against a hitching rail. Meeker had been plowing Johnson's land (and lying about it) and suggested Johnson should kill some of his ponies to make way for the needed agriculture (Sprague 1957:174-176; Wilkinson 2000:310).

Paranoid and alarmed, Meeker called in the U.S. cavalry.

I have been assaulted by a leading chief, Johnson, forced out of my own house and injured badly; but was rescued by employees. It is now revealed that Johnson originated all the trouble stated in letter of September 8th... Plowing stops; life of self, family, and employes [sic] not safe; want protection immediately; have asked Gov. Pitkin to confer with Gen. Pope (Manypenny 1880:425).

The telegram was sent to Commissioner Hayes in Washington, D.C. on September 11, 1879; Governor Pitkin and Senator Teller also received copies. The sending of this telegram clearly marked a change in Meeker's plans to bring the Ute to his way of thinking through patience and conviction of the superiority of western logic. Shortly thereafter the military illegally crossed onto Ute land. But this is not a simple story of Colonel Thornburgh's storming the reservation boundary. Letters carried by intermediaries between Meeker and Thornburgh confirm that Thornburgh questioned why Meeker was not seeking mediation as opposed to military

intervention (Miller 1997:33-34). Clearly Thornburgh was committed to avoid an armed confrontation with the Utes (Miller 1997:50; Sprague 1957:190-209). Captain Jack, a subchief of the White River Ute band was familiar with and had made lasting acquaintances with Thornburgh and even some of the soldiers in his troops (Miller 1997:36-37). According to oral history (Emmitt 2000:244) the story of Colonel Thornburgh's trespass onto the Ute reservation (although he had promised Chief Jack that he would not) —was construed as an act of war and treachery by the Ute, who had been planning for a possible skirmish by sending their women and children south (towards the Colorado River) and collecting ammunition (Sprague 1957:202-204). Thornburgh's unwise decision to move troops to Milk Creek (which was within the northern boundaries of the reservation) on September 28, 1879, has never been fully understood by historians (Miller 1997:42;145).

It is important to remember that the Ute clearly feared the cavalry. Each and every Ute man, woman, and child was familiar with another Colorado incident that occurred when Army Colonel Chivington's troops attacked a peaceful camp at Sand Creek, November 29, 1864, resulting in the deaths of more than 200 Cheyenne and Arapaho. The disrespectful and vulgar display of

bloody scalps and breasts at the Denver Opera House (Gulliford 2000:xviii) simply added insult to injury.

It is likely that lack of water, firewood, and grass for the troops' horses led to Thornburgh's fatal mistake of entering the border of the Ute reservation. But an alternative campsite which would *not* have required trespass onto Ute lands was only a mile away (Miller 1997:141-146). As soon as the soldiers crossed the Creek and onto the reservation, they were attacked and Chief Jack sent a courier galloping the 25 miles to the Agency to inform Chief Douglass that Thornburgh had broken his word. Douglass (Quinkent) was the oldest of the chiefs and nominal head of the White River band (Decker 2004:100). Initially accepting of Meeker, he grew tired of Meeker's arrogance and eventually eschewed the agricultural way of life; he was also believed to partly responsible for the kidnapping of Arvilla, Josephine Meeker, and Flora Price and her two children. Thornburgh was one of the first killed; in the next hour 10 more soldiers were killed and 20 wounded. They were held by Ute warriors in the Milk River hollow for five days until a reinforcement of Buffalo Soldiers from Middle Park arrived (Sprague 1976:96; Wilkinson 2000:315). Back at the White River Agency, Meeker and 10 other agency workers were killed

near the beginning of the Milk Creek battle. The consequent deaths of 37 Ute warriors, 13 soldiers (including Thornburgh) and over 300 animals (oxen, horse) were frightful, but it was the kidnapping of Meeker's wife, Arvilla, their daughter, Josephine, and Flora Ellen Price and her two children that sealed the fate of the Northern Ute bands. This kidnapping was a 23-day ordeal during which the remaining Meeker and Price families were taken to a secret camp across the Grand River on Grand Mesa (just south of today's town of Mesa). The Utes had perfected "their hellish schemes" (Haskell 1886:3).

Chief Ouray's negotiation of the release under the now-famous "Meeker Tree" (fig. 58) is recounted in detail in numerous histories (Dawson and Skiff 1980; Decker 2004; Emmett 2000; Miller 1997; Sprague 1957).



Figure 58: Meeker Tree

This story is abbreviated here—it is not the story of the Grand Valley—but the events of the days leading up to September 30, 1879 would have a lasting effect on the area in and around Colorado National Monument.

Meeker had sent his last payment to the Greeley estate the day before he was killed (Decker 2004:119). I often wonder if the circumstances had been different, would he have resigned as agent and returned to his beloved Union Colony? Clearly there are letters that suggest that his spirit was broken (cf. Decker 2004:112). All of the "what-ifs" will never answer the questions of why Meeker believed his life was in danger, or why Thornburgh crossed the reservation border, or why the Utes attacked—there must be a tragic "logic" in the sequence of events that I am unable to discern. As a resident of Greeley, I frequently contemplate the disastrous trajectory of Meeker's route to the White River Agency. I visit his adobe home on 9th Avenue and his grave at Linn Grove Cemetery—and I cannot fathom the sequence of events. Was it Meeker's penchant for drama, the latent effects of a scarred ego, or something less obvious?

Interestingly, the overwhelming aftermath of this event of September 29, 1879 was and *is* remembered as a conspiracy by the Utes. An article in the *Denver Daily News* of

Tuesday, November 4, 1879, clearly demonstrates that Ute of the late nineteenth century believed that Meeker's appointment to their Agency was no accident: "They [Indians, Ute] believe that Meeker had been instructed by the government to bring trouble about in order that the *people could get the land*" (italics added; *Denver Daily News* 1879). Ouray was among those who believed that Meeker was sent by the government to cause trouble (Decker 2004:157-58)

An emotional editorial in the 1880 (August 6) *New York Times* echoes the national distress expressed above:

Yet the best that can be said of this vaunted settlement of the Ute problem is that it has cunningly used the outbreak of a single band of Indians to despoil the whole tribe of their ancestral homes, in the alleged interests of peace for the future... Savage as was the massacre at the agency, there is little doubt that the unfortunate Meeker sacrificed his life and that of his employes [sic] through his indiscretion. He tried to run his agency plow on lands claimed by an Indian as grazing ground for his horses. Even if the Indian was wrong, the matter was trivial (Hays 1997:246-247).

Even in the early twenty-first century, I have discovered that many Utes from a number of tribal backgrounds believe that Meeker was sent to stir up trouble—Meeker's appointment as Indian Agent was a conspiracy against the Ute dreamed up by the U.S. government to make way for a

railroad across Colorado and to wrest the ranch and resource-rich land away from the rightful owners—the Ute.

Los Pinos Agencies

While the White River Agency is clearly central to an understanding of the removal of the Northern Utes in general, the Los Pinos Agencies #1 and #2 were also important to an understanding of the story of the ensuing removal of the Uncompahgre band.

Established in 1869, the first Los Pinos Agency (#1), also known as the Speer Agency, was located in a remote area (a few miles southwest of where CO Highway 114 crosses North Cochetopa Pass) that was not even in the Consolidated Ute Reservation boundaries. Its location was due to the proximity of timber and water, and it was hoped that it would be a conducive location for the Utes to take up ranching. In fact, there were so few Indians in the area that the location proved to be impractical (McCook 2009). In 1875 the agency was relocated to the Uncompahgre Plateau near present-day Montrose; it was called the Uncompahgre Agency (fig. 59), but was also commonly referred to as Los Pinos #2 (Hill 1974:48; Jocknick 2004:82). The area in and around the Los Pinos Agency was an important location to the Uncompahgre and other Utes who picked

up rations every Saturday (McClellan 1979b:618) and hunted in the area. (McClellan 1979b:645).



Figure 59: 1874 Ute Encampment at Los Pinos Agency

The Los Pinos Agency was the center for the disingenuous negotiations which eventually wrested the Grand Valley from the Ute. *The Gunnison Review* makes numerous reference to the Los Pinos Agency, for example, "Los Pinos, Colo., July 18 via Lake City July 19.—The Ute Commission is ready for business and are only waiting the arrival of the White River a Utes, who are expected here Tuesday night, hundred strong" (*Gunnison Review* 1880, July 24:1).

Again, on June 11, 1881

UNCOMPAHGRE UTES; They Gather in Full Force at Los Pinos Agency; Los Pinos Agency, Colo., May 29, 1881. Yesterday was a big day here. As already told you in my telegraphic dispatches, the big Chiefs of the Utes,

and a large number of Indians, squaws with their children and papooses, began to flock into the Agency as early as Friday noon, and by noon on Saturday, at the least calculation, the entire number of Indians who were here numbered fully 1,000 (Gunnison Review 1881, June 11:1).

VI Removal (1880-1881)

The Utes "are to become a nation of princes" (Gunnison Review, November 6 1880:1)

Almost every major conflict between Indians and white people in American history occurred over land and who should possess it. To Indian people, land which was held in common ownership was synonymous with existence: subsistence, shelter, food, beauty. The Ute's traditional place-oriented spirituality was clearly at odds with the Euro-American view of how land should be utilized. Systematic removal of American Indians from their homelands began in earnest after the War of 1812. After 1865, the federal government began forcing Indians onto reservations, in some cases for their own protection from the depredations of encroachment of immigrants clamoring for homesteads, ranches, mines, and farms. By the 1870s, almost all Indian tribes were penned in on reservations (Marino 1994).

In Colorado, the situation for the Utes in the 1850s and beyond was somewhat unique in the American West—the peaceful and

prosperous Utes had rights to a vast territory of over one-third of Colorado—roughly 16-20 million acres. This was called the Consolidated Ute Reservation and (supposedly) created one piece of land in Colorado for all Ute Indians of Colorado and New Mexico. Their rights were established by the 1868 treaty (sometimes called the Kit Carson Treaty) which has been called “the most favorable Indian treaty in the history of the country” (Wilkinson 2000:304); it was negotiated by multilingual statesman Ouray, named by the federal government in 1868 as spokesman for all Colorado Utes (Simmons 2000:131-133). There is evidence that the reservation boundaries were not respected by either native nor non-Native (Simmons 2000:133). Regardless, a series of subsequent treaties essentially voided Ouray’s success. Even the *Gunnison Review*, the local Gunnison newspaper (1880), reported on the status of broken treaties:

For two hundred years the government has been making treaties with the Indians, and history waits to record a single instance where the American republic has kept its faith with the red man. Every treaty yet made with the Indians has been a burning lie stamping itself upon the nation—a disgrace to the boasted civilization of a free people” (*Gunnison Review*, 1880, August 7:1)

While it is important to differentiate between the removal of the White River Ute and the Uncompahgre bands, the reader should

remember not only that Ouray was the “recognized” leader of all seven Ute bands (Wilkinson 2000:304), but also that band membership was flexible and fluid. Indeed, by 1880 about “a third of the seven hundred or so White River Utes had joined the Uncompahgres” (Decker 2004:178).

The story of Ute removal from Colorado is a complex one, especially as it relates to the Grand Valley. While many references suggest that there was a mass exodus to the Ouray Reservation in Utah, oral histories contradict these written sources. The federal government did force the (Uncompahgre) Ute en masse across the Grand [now Colorado] River, but their routes were not well-mapped and it is not clear how long they took to arrive at their destination. One thing for certain is that the Utes did not move to Utah never to return to Colorado—they did, often and regularly.

After the 1879 incident at the White River Agency, which most of the Uncompahgre Utes were not an integral part of, the Uncompahgre Utes were supposed to be moved to land at *or adjacent to* the junction of the Colorado and Gunnison Rivers where they would be given 40 (+) acre farms in the Grand Valley (U.S. Senate 1880:2; Ex. Doc. 114; Wyman 1933:24). The *adjacent to* clause is an important one to consider as will become clear later. Because of *their*

trepidations, the White River Utes would eventually be forced to resettle on the Uintah Reservation in Utah. Interior Secretary Schurz's Peace Commission also believed that individual allotments (incomprehensible to the Utes whose communal land ownership was all they knew) were the solution to the problems of large reservations.

The only objections raised was [sic] that pertaining to lands in severalty. The Indians prefer their lands in common as heretofore. To sever their tribal relations and settle down on 160 acres of land does not seem favorably entertained by a majority of the Uncompahgre Utes (Gunnison Review, 1880, July 31:1).

While the Uncompahgre band (most of whom recognized Ouray as their leader) was initially promised a reservation in Colorado at the confluence of the Colorado and the Gunnison Rivers, a series of miscommunications, pressure from the settlers in Grand Junction, possible bribes, and racism (among other factors) forced the Uncompahgre band, whose territory would have included the Grand Valley, out of the state boundaries. The Congressional Record states, "(T)he Uncompahgre Utes were to remove to and settle upon agricultural lands on Grand [now Colorado] River near the mouth of the Gunnison River in Colorado, if a sufficient quantity of agricultural land should be found there" (U.S. House of Representatives 1882:1;

Report No. 1304; U.S. Senate 1880:2; Ex. Doc. No. 114).

Ute Commissioners Otto Mears and John Bowman asserted that the area was unsuitable as a reservation because irrigation was an expensive proposition (expensive, that is, for the Utes). But white settlers recognized the potential for farming, and with Mears' own personal profits more important than the Utes' welfare, he became responsible for the selection of the site in Utah (Decker 2004:178-179). When asked (many years later) why he had deemed the Grand Valley "unsuitable" for the Uncompahgre reservation, he supposedly replied, "It was in my blood to want to see new furrows writhing from the plow ripping through the warm earth that had lain undisturbed since creation" (Kushner 1979:49). No lovers of the settled agricultural life—the Ute had to move on.

The motivations of Saguache entrepreneur and Ute Indian Commissioner Otto Mears are complex. While many distinguish him as a having a "lifelong record of fair dealing and integrity" (Sprague 1957: 341) as a friend to the Utes and interested in their safety, most claim that Mears came to the conclusion that the land around what is today Grand Junction would one day be very valuable to white settlers, so he colluded to remove the Ute Indians outside

the borders of Colorado. With Chairmen Meacham and Manypenny working in Washington (both of whom supposedly held that the treaty absolutely stipulated that the reservation be located at Grand Junction), Mears claimed that Utah Territory was indeed *adjacent to Colorado Territory*, and so convinced other officials of his reasoning.

Clearly the strategy of then-Governor Pitkin was clear—hold the entire Ute nation responsible for the Meeker “massacre” and thus provide the fervor to remove all Ute from Colorado Territory. And while the end of the Northern Utes’ presence in Colorado was clearly mapped out, the U.S. government still had to go through the motions so that no charge of impropriety could be leveled against it. A Ute delegation (Ouray, Shavano, Jack, Sowerwick, and others; fig. 60) went to Washington DC, arriving on January 11, 1880 (Sprague 1957:306). Accompanied by Otto Mears and Los Pinos Agent William Berry, the details of the new treaty were worked out. The White River Utes would be moved to the Uintah Agency in Utah; the Uncompahgre Utes would be moved to agricultural lands at or adjacent to the confluence of the Grand and Gunnison Rivers *if* enough land could be found there, and the Southern Utes would be moved south (to the Four Corners area) and their acreage cut by a third. Congress approved

the agreement on June 15, 1880, but stipulated that it had to be ratified by three-fourths of the adult male Utes (Fay 1970:30; McClellan 1979b:596; Decker 2000:171).



Figure 60: Ute delegation in Washington, D.C. 1880

Meanwhile, the Utes were (rightfully) concerned about what “adjacent” really meant. Fearing that it might *not* mean the lands on which they believed they had the right to reside, the Indian delegation withdrew their ratification of the treaty after Ouray’s death on August 24, 1880, (Buys 1993:14) and individual Utes refused to sign the agreement. There is debate as to whether Otto Mears bribed the Indians to sign the treaty. Ute scholar Omer Stewart unequivocally states that Otto Mears “took a chance with \$2,800 of his own money by making a \$2.00 cash gift to each Ute who signed to resettle peacefully on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation” (1966:56). Sidney Jocknick, whose book historian Simmons

(2000:137) describes as a "rather inaccurate but nevertheless useful firsthand description" also says that Col. George Manypenny, Chairman of the Ute Commission, personally informed him of the bribe (Jocknick 2004:216-217). Historian Marshall Sprague's exhaustive research on the topic leads him to believe that no such payments were made (1957:341). Ute historian Peter Decker takes the position that "the charge of bribery was never confirmed" because there are no records of it, but that there is "no compelling reason to doubt Jocknick's account provided to him by Manypenny" (Decker 2000:224). Many scholars report that when Chairman Manypenny learned of Mears' coercion, he refused to endorse the agreement.

While the Uncompahgres refused to move, they were told that they had no choice. Cash payments and annuities were promised in order to get the dispersed bands to move, but the payments were to be dispersed only after the Utes arrived in Utah (Decker 2004:178). Beginning on August 28, 1881, 1458 men, women, and children were forced out of the Grand Valley and sent on a 350 mile march to Utah (Decker 2004:186). Gradually, Utes from western Colorado were rounded up and moved out, while Colonel Ronald MacKenzie of the fourth cavalry held the settlers at bay (Jorgensen 1964:108; Parker

1929:134-135; Wilkinson 2000:318). Local legend purports that the first land claims in Grand Junction were made while the Utes could be seen leaving their promised valley (Underwood 1982:12). According to Lieutenant Parker of the 4th Cavalry, Troop A, in 1879 the military was assigned the task of holding the civilians at bay while the Northern Ute were forced out of the area (Parker 1929:135; Wyman 1933:25). Although Congress did not open the land until June 1882, homesteaders "followed hard" as the Ute withdrew to Utah (Sprague 1976:99).

The citizens in and around Grand Junction were anxious that the Ute leave the potentially rich agricultural and mining lands of the Grand Valley. "In anticipation of war with the Indians in the spring, preparations were made throughout the various frontier settlements. Gunnison City organized three companies of militia; Lake City and the city of Ouray also made ample preparations for self-protection" (Haskell 1886:4). Reports from the Department of the Interior admit the same saying, "it will be necessary to get them [the Ute] out of the way of the trouble that will inevitably result from contact with white settlers and mining prospectors" (U.S. Senate 1880:16; Ex. Doc. No. 31). As stated earlier, the Ute Commission "found that there was not the quantity of agricultural land which was required by the

agreement, and therefore sought for other lands in the Territory of Utah" (U.S. Senate 1882:1; Report No. 186). The Utes of western Colorado were forever banished to Utah Territory. "On the 28th day of August [1881] all of the Indians of this band [Uncompahgre] left their reservation in Colorado and moved to the place selected for them in Utah. About the same time the removal of the White River Utes to the Uintah Reservation, also in Utah, was effected" (U.S. Senate 1882:1; Report No. 186).

It would, however, be only partially correct to assert that the only reason the Utes were not provided a reservation on the Grand Valley and removed to Utah was due to the cupidity of white settlers. While Interior Secretary Schurz initially believed that the land at the confluence of the Colorado and Gunnison was remote enough for the Uncompahgre Utes' safety, he was conflicted due to the growing concern that if any Utes were allowed to remain in Colorado their lives would be endangered (Decker 2004:162-163; 172). There was a supposed agreement between the Department of the Interior and the Utes that the 12 White River Utes responsible for instigating the killing of Meeker, Thornburgh, and others and the kidnapping of the Meekers and Prices would be turned over to the authorities. Rations were

withheld (Decker 2004:174) to force the Utes to turn in the guilty members, but the strategy failed. Interior Secretary Schurz certified to Congress that the guilty members were either dead or had fled to Canada which he did to avoid a war that he believed would occur between angry settlers and the Utes. Schurz was convinced that allowing the Utes to remain in Colorado would be disastrous and he felt that he was saving the Ute tribe from certain annihilation if they were allowed to remain in Colorado Territory (Decker 2004:172).

The land was potentially valuable if it could be irrigated. The growing number of settlers in the Grand Valley knew this and did not want this remnant of the Ute Consolidated Reservation to be retained for the Ute. The Colorado Territory citizens pressured the United States government to find another reservation for the Ute and predicted bloodshed if the Northern Utes remained in western Colorado. The Congressional Record supports this position. Beginning in 1880, statements in the 46th Senate Congressional Record begin to demonstrate the "dangerous state of affairs" in Colorado (U.S. Senate 1880:1; Ex. Doc. 114, Part 2). Clearly, this risk emanated from the value of the land in the Grand Valley which settlers believed might be granted to the Ute—an error that would prove to have overwhelmingly unrewarding ramifications

for Grand Valley settlers, hopeful for Ute removal.

The late Ute reservation comprises about seven-eighths of Gunnison County, and contains about sixteen thousand square miles, more than the area of both Massachusetts and New Jersey. Several thousand square miles of the finest coal land is known to be within its boundaries. Large and valuable deposits of minerals have been discovered therein. Some of the richest gold and silver mines in the State are located within its limits, to which only a possessory title can now be obtained. Besides, it contains large tracts of fine grazing, agricultural, and timber lands. Its great natural resources have already attracted the attention of the people throughout the country, and men and capital from all parts of the Union are about to come to the new Eldorado" (U.S. Senate 1882:2; Mis. Doc. No. 63).

In fairness to agents who believed that the Utes were being treated with avarice, the reader is reminded that the Congressional Record documents numerous voices of those who plead the case of the Utes. For example, U.S. Indian Agent Wilson Stanley says, "Every Indian here is peaceable and has been" (U.S. Senate 1880:268; Ex. Doc. No. 31). And Department of Interior Secretary Schurz implores the government to reconsider: "[W]e have been acting in bad faith, merely desiring to deprive them [Utes] of their lands without consideration" (U.S. Senate 1880:1-2; Ex. Doc. 114, Part 2).

Uncompahgre and White River Removal

Throughout July and August of 1881 the Uncompahgre Utes were rounded up by the Fourth Cavalry (McClellan 1979b:645-648) and on August 22, 1881 they were told that they would be moving to the Green River (McClellan 1979b:648) in Utah. The Utes refused to go and the Interior Department turned them over to the military. No compromises were to be made.

In the latter part of August, orders were given to General McKenzie to remove the Indians to their new Reservation. He proceeded to accomplish his orders at once. He first disposed his troops to prevent the entrance of intruders until the Utes were removed and then sent for the chiefs to meet him at Cow Creek, on September 3rd, for a final "pow-wow." They came at the time appointed and were informed by the General that on the morrow they must start for their new home, or he would take from them "every gun and pony they possessed." They listened to his orders in silence, and sullenly retired. Soon after they returned and requested "more talk." This the general declined to give them. The next morning they therefore commenced their march to their new home, accompanied by the measured tread of the boys in blue, and thus was solved the problem of "the Utes must go" (Haskell 1886:5) (fig. 61).

General MacKenzie had two large boats. One was put in the Grand River (fig. 62) and the other in the Green River. "He gave orders that the Indians were to be safely put across with all their property and stock" (McClellan 1979b:650).



Figure 61: The Utes Must Go



Figure 62: Uncompahgre Ute leaving Colorado

While Indian Agent W.H. Berry accompanied the Uncompahgre band to their reservation in Utah (Becker and Smith 2003:163), the routes taken west and north by the Uncompahgre and those White River Utes who had joined them are not well documented. Detailed records of the removal cease after they were ferried across the Colorado River. Amateur historian Musser asserts that “the 350 mile long trek was begun on September 1, 1881, when about 1500 Indian men, women, and children moved out with their goods and animals.” She estimates that there were 10,000 cattle, sheep, and goat in addition to

about 8000 ponies (Musser 1986:18). One wonders if these large numbers are accurate, but historian Buys (1993:18) concurs.

As a side note, there is a herd of about 160 wild horses and burros in western Colorado most of which are located in the Little Book Cliffs refuge area. Some of the Little Book Cliffs wild horses trace their ancestry back to Ute Indian ponies, while most are descendants of horses that escaped from or were turned loose by ranchers and farmers (Felix 2007). It is likely that when the Ute Indians' livestock were ferried across the Colorado River, a remnant of the ponies that could not be rounded up, or for which there was not room on the ferries, remained behind and proliferated in the Book Cliffs, a reminder of the Utes' former presence in the area.

McCook (2008) says that the Uncompahgre Ute crossed where they could access the north side of the Grand [Colorado] River—north of the confluence with the Gunnison River. McCook speculates that the Utes could have moved all the way up Bitter Creek in Utah, and then jogged west to the confluence of the White and Green Rivers on what is today the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. He also suggests that his people may have crossed the Book Cliffs, moved through Hay Canyon, across Winter

Ridge, and then moved north up the Willow Creek drainage to the reservation.

Northern Ute tribal member Venita Taveapont (Taveapont 2007) considers that perhaps a number of routes were utilized, including north out of the Valley along what is today Highway 139 to Rangely and then west. I am of the opinion that the movement was a slow one, and that various family groups likely utilized different routes depending on availability of wildlife and grass for their horses and cattle. There is no evidence that there was a mass exodus of the Utes from the White River area. White River band members had dispersed through central and northern Colorado by 1880 (Decker 2000:182). It is likely that the White River band members who had not already joined the Uncompahgre drifted west to collect their rations, and then moved back to northwestern Colorado for hunting opportunities; it is possible that some never left.

Thus the Utes lost the land guaranteed to them by the 1868 treaty negotiated by Ouray. An unfortunate circumstance of history has allowed us to glimpse one of the most egregious and acquisitive acts perpetrated upon Native peoples. The terms of the Colorado agreement were designed to destroy the communal land ownership of the Ute. With bands owning

each of the reservations, allotment to individuals could be accomplished more easily (Sprague 1957:307). More importantly the agreement sent a message to all American Indians that their culture, belief system, and lifestyle would not be tolerated. Today the groups removed from Colorado live on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation where they are intermingled with a number of Ute bands originally from northern and central Utah.

VII Post-Removal (1881-2009)

Ute Return to Colorado

After the Uncompahgre and White River Utes were officially removed from Colorado (1881), they regularly drifted back into the western part of the state to hunt and trade. Interestingly, this return was anticipated by Alfred Meacham, the Commissioner responsible for the removal of the White River Utes. The Utes "will return to White River for the hunting season and come back to Uintah to winter and collect their rations" (as quoted in Decker 2004:185). Many writers have noted that the Uncompahgre and White River Utes returned to northwestern Colorado every fall, claiming that they had not abrogated the right to hunt on their old lands when they sold their land and agreed to move to the Uintah Reservation (e.g. Rockwell 1956:179, Decker 2004:184;191).

Colonel George Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1853-1857 and also a member of the Ute Commission states, "In the [1873 Brunot] agreement, it was stipulated that the Ute should be permitted to hunt on the land ceded to the government as long as the game lasted and the Indians were at peace with the white people" (Manypenny 1880:417). He goes on to say:

To say that there has been no violence or disorder among the Utes since they came under treaty relations, in 1868, would be to place them in moral conduct above any society in the United States. To say that they are remarkably orderly and pacific, is simply to do them justice (Manypenny 1880:420).

Despite numerous statements that, for example, "(T)he Indians are reported as having expressed themselves well pleased with the lands selected for them" (U.S. House of Representatives 1882:6; H. Report No. 1304), and, "they have been living peaceably and contentedly in their new homes in Utah" (U.S. Senate 1882:2; Mis. Doc. No. 63), there may be more honest accounts. One admits that "(T)he Uncompahgre and White River Indians, who have recently removed to Utah...are to some extent restless and dissatisfied (U.S. House of Representatives 1882:3; Report No. 1304; U.S. Senate 1882:2; Ex. Doc. No. 108).

According to the 1882 Report of the 47th Congress, "No claim is made by the Ute that

they still retain an interest in the lands of their former reservation..." (U.S. House of Representatives 1882:2; Report No. 1304). But clearly this is not the case. One wonders if the Ute were familiar with the "reserve rights" clause of most treaty negotiations which would legally have justified this return. This policy states that whatever an Indian nation has *not* given up in a treaty is assumed to have been retained or reserved. Newspaper accounts of the period suggest that the premise of both the Ute and the State of Colorado was that it was the Utes' legal right to return to ancestral homelands, since they had not given up hunting and gathering rights in Colorado. The December *Aspen Weekly Times* of 1893 reported:

Brigadier General McCook, commanding the Department of Colorado, said today that in accordance with the treaty between the United States and the Ute Indians, the Ute Indians own every head of deer, elk, and other animals in the mountain regions of the state relinquished to the public domain by the redskins. The treaty reads as follows, "The said United States shall permit the Ute Indians to hunt upon said lands as long as the game lasts and the Indians are at peace with the white people" (Aspen Weekly Times December 9, 1893:1).

Northern Ute historian and tribal member Roland McCook believes that the tribe not only had legal counsel in the late 1800s and early 1900, but also understood its rights. McCook asserts:

In Ute belief, they had never given up the hunting rights; they gave up the land but not the hunting rights because in their reasoning nobody owns the animals. The animals move wherever they want to so they cannot be owned. But they also reasoned that they had not expressly given up their hunting rights so in their way of thinking they had the right to come back (McCook 2008).

Indeed, the Utes continued to return to Colorado until well into the early twentieth century.

As early as November 1882, Colorow (one of the chiefs of the White River Utes) called on Major Drum of the 14th Infantry to ask permission to hunt on Piceance Creek (a tributary of the White River in Colorado), due to the scarcity of grass on their reservation. Major Drum granted Colorow's request as long as they behaved (McClellan 1979b:688). It was not until April of 1883 that the order to cut back on the military forces at the Cantonment on the White River was issued. Most of the troops had departed by the middle of that summer; the property would eventually be sold to settlers wishing to move into that part of the White River country (McClellan 1979b:689). The absence of a large military force of course made it easier for the Ute to return to their old hunting grounds.

Dan Freeman (b. 1876), who lived with the Utes shortly after their removal to Ft. Duchesne, reports that the "Ute men used

to go back to their old stomping ground on the White River in Colorado to kill deer for their meat and buckskin for their clothes and moccasins. The deer were very plentiful in the White River country" (Freeman 1962: 3-4).

Early pioneer Val FitzPatrick also notes:

It might be thought that the confinement of the Utes on reservations would have put an end to their wanderings, hunting trips, gambling, and wars. Far from it. They had more forbidden hunting, did some even more reckless gambling, wandered farther than they had ever dreamed of, had a war that cost the whites far more than the Thomburgh-Meeker affair, and surpassed even Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce by having three armies hunting them (FitzPatrick 2000:96).

While the preceding remarks are somewhat of an exaggeration, it was not until after what FitzPatrick calls Colorow's War (1887) and the Buckskin War (1897)—skirmishes in reality—that the Ute were finally forced out of Northwest Colorado (FitzPatrick 2000:110-111).

Historic Newspaper Accounts of Ute Return to Colorado Hunting Grounds

Newspaper articles of this period also document the hostility of the settlers toward the returning Utes. While most of the Utes were not returning to the Grand Valley, but farther north where the hunting was better (Rockwell 1956:166-201), the perspectives

of the citizens of western Colorado, including the Grand Junction area, are revealing.

Dozens of newspaper accounts beginning as early as 1882 demonstrate the tensions between settlers and the Utes who were returning to Colorado. In Gunnison County,

The Utes, with the aid of their agents, are gobbling up all of the best land along the White River. All they have to do to hold the land under the law, is to put a "wickey-up" on the ground. The law should be repealed. If Mr. Lo is to be civilized, let him build a house" (White Pine Cone August 14, 1885:1).

"Mr. Lo" here refers to a phrase common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "Lo, the poor Indian." It is from Alexander Pope's (1688-1744) poem, *Essay on Man*; he writes,

*Lo, the poor Indian! Whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
His soul proud Science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk or milky way (Pope 1903:139).*

Archaeological work in the area confirms the existence of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century wickiups. The Colorado Wickiup Project has processed 23 tree ring samples from metal ax-cut poles. The dendrochronology method of dating has yielded dates from 1844 to 1915/1916 CE (fig. 63). "Furthermore, as demonstrated by the results of our dendrochronological

research, well over half of the Protohistoric sites (those with evidence of trade) that have produced accurate tree-ring dates were occupied during post-'removal' times; after 1881" (Martin and Ott 2009:92).



Figure 63: Leaning Wickiup, 1915-16

Racist and derogatory language is also common.

In consideration of such, we, the White river settlers rise to remark that in removing the red-handed devils from that section, that the government exterminate the unhealthy Utes of this State and especially the band that continues to prowl around this vicinity every summer. Heap pale face much tired of noble (?) red man (Rocky Mountain Sun October 2, 1886:4).

In August of 1887, the *Aspen Weekly Times* reported that there were 400 Utes at Meeker—a desperate appeal was made for sheriffs, militia, and citizens to respond to the emergency. It was later revealed that

this Ute scare was a hoax; nonetheless we learn that, "*In a moment a score of men announced their readiness to join him [Sheriff Kendall] and the names were being taken down as fast as they could be written*" (*Aspen Weekly Times*, August 20, 1887:2).

Over and over the citizens of western Colorado were reminded by local newspapers that the Utes were regularly returning to hunt, to round up "stray" horses, and generally make a nuisance of themselves. The 1887 August 27 *Aspen Weekly Times* reports,

The Indians have not committed any murders, but they scare the life out of women folks on the settlements by appearing in force at a ranch and compelling them to cook for them. They never go to a ranch when there are any men around (*Aspen Weekly Times*, August, 27 1887:4).

Utes are recorded as being in Rangely, Glenwood Springs, Aspen, and Fruita. They are accused of over-hunting and stealing horses. In 1891 the *Aspen Weekly Times* reports:

Governor Routt today received information from Routt County that the Utes have been off their reservation and roaming through Lily park and along the White and Yampa rivers, committing depredations and wantonly slaughtering game. It is estimated that during the past month they have killed fully 3000 deer, mostly does and fawns. The hides of the deer alone are taken, the meat being left on the ground to rot...If something is not promptly done to drive these greasy marauders back onto their reservation, the settlers promise to take

the matter into their own hands, and if they do, the government will be out a tribe of Indians (*Aspen Weekly Times*, November 14, 1891:3).

One cannot but question the validity of these statements. Indeed, one such case was falsely reported. The 1895 *Aspen Weekly Times* (November 23) reported that the Utes slaughtered 10,000 deer, and it was not until a year later that the newspaper finally revealed that these reports were "*fabrications pure and simple.*" The *Aspen Tribune* (November 6, 1896:1) suggests it may have been tourists who shot the animals "for fun" but one cannot but help speculate on the motives for writing such lies. A breed of rapacious settlers saw economic opportunities and Ute tenacity faded as their control over vast hunting grounds slipped away.

It is not until around 1897 that newspaper accounts (e.g. *Aspen Tribune*; August 14:1) report that Colorado game wardens threatened to arrest every Indian who was caught hunting off the reservation: the state of Colorado began to assert its rights. We learn that in 1898 (*Aspen Tribune* November 27:1) the federal government planned to purchase Utes' hunting rights in Colorado. "Each year bands of Utes would cross into Colorado from their Utah home and slaughter game. As this was in violation of the state game laws, much

friction was engendered." As late as 1912, the *Plateau Voice* (Collbran) (March 22, 1912:6) was still reporting that Utes continued to cross the border illegally. The message eventually became clear: this exercising of treaty rights would not be tolerated. Ute rights to hunt off the reservation were finally being terminated. And around 1916 when the homestead rush began and hundreds of new settlers moved in, the plentiful game of the area began to disappear (FitzPatrick 2000:134). The epic struggle between Natives who had legal rights to the land and non-Natives who were determined to abrogate those rights ended. The Utes failed despite their ingenuity in treaty-making and legal prowess.

Utes in Bitter Creek and Fruita Area

Another example of Utes remaining at or returning to the area comes from an area closer to the Grand Valley itself. Don Roth's father (who came to western Colorado in 1893) owned a ranch and a small store or commissary (in operation from about 1904-1907) which the Ute frequented when they were in the area around Fruita. Don Roth (1905-1992) remembers playing with Ute children when he was little, and says that Chipeta (Ouray's wife) gifted him with a Navajo blanket when he was an infant. His recollections are limited since he was only 10 when his family sold the ranch and moved into Grand Junction so that he and

his brother could attend school (Roth 1976). He records a number of anecdotal stories that the interested reader might pursue (Roth 1931:11-23)

There is an interesting series of photos of Ute Indians on exhibit in the lobby of Fruita City Hall that were taken (and copyrighted 1905) by Dean Studios of Grand Junction (fig. 64).



Figure 64: Ute Indians near Fruita, Colorado

What the photographer from Dean's Studios was doing in the area, or exactly why these "studio-like" photos were taken remains a mystery. The photos were donated by the Roth family to the Lower Valley Heritage Center (located in the same building) by the Roth family shortly after Roth's death in 1992. It is from Roth's interview that we learn that Utes were not only regularly returning to the Colorado-Utah border to hunt, but were also off the reservation in the area around Fruita in the early 1900s. Roth records,

As I understood, there were two Ute camps on Bitter Creek; McCook was the chief of one, and Colorow was chief of the other. My father had a high regard for the Indians' integrity. He said they never beat him out of a cent on credit which he extended in the store (Roth 1976).

Bitter Creek here refers to the small Bitter Creek located just across the Colorado border in Grand County, Utah, not to be confused with the larger Bitter Creek drainage area that begins around Baxter Pass (in Colorado) and meanders southwest and then northwest in Utah.

Roth further explains that "Some of the Ute Indians also had summer pasture" and even homes some ten miles west of Baxter Pass. He explains that this would have been in the Uintahs just about on the border line between Colorado and Utah (Roth 1931:23).

Roland McCook, whose ancestors are in the photos mentioned above, wonders if perhaps some of the members of the Uncompahgre band worked (perhaps part-time) for the narrow gauge railroad or were ranch hands in the area. Perhaps a photographer came across them and asked if he might photograph them. McCook points out that the Utes are not wearing the kinds of clothes that they would have if they were working as laborers, and that the Navajo Blanket becomes a prop as it is

draped over a wooden frame (McCook 2009).

A few Northern Utes who have seen these photos wonder whether some of the Indians pictured here were part of an anti-Ouray contingency which refused to be removed to the reservation in Utah. Were they Uncompahgre and/or White River Utes who were exiled or self-exiled to an area approximately 100 miles south of the Reservation because of discontent with what they perceived as Ouray's having sold them out and/or conflicts with the Utah Uintahs? Even though Ouray died before Ute removal, some believe that he essentially sold out his people in return for a \$1000/year salary and the benefits of a log home near Montrose (LaRose 2007).

An account of the greater Grand Valley area would not be complete without four stories about the last Indians who lived in the area: these include the mostly non-Ute who attended the Grand Junction Indian School, Ouray's wife, Chipeta, Jo-Jim and Josie, local Natives remembered by Collbran residents in the early twenty-first century, and finally a brief Navajo presence in Colorado National Monument in the 1950s.

Teller Institute

The Teller Institute also known as the Grand Junction Indian School, was established in

Grand Junction in 1885/1886, and remained open until 1911 (fig. 65). It was named after Henry Moore Teller (U.S. Senator from Colorado and Secretary of the Interior in the 1880s) who believed in the practice of boarding schools to civilize Indian children. These practices included physically removing Native children from the source of their culture, religion, and language. It was



Figure 65: Teller Institute students

widely believed the Indian way of life could easily be replaced with the 'primer and the hoe' (cf. McBeth 1984). Moore believed that the school would "materially aid in the civilization of the Utes" (Fishell 2004:18-19). Its goal was to educate Native American students following a decidedly Euro-American paradigm (MacKendrick 1993). Many sources, including interviews with early Grand Junction residents (located in the Archives of the Museum of the West), indicate that Ute elders refused to send their children "back" to Colorado, from where they had been so shamefully displaced.

Eventually the Institute gave up on trying to induce Ute students to attend the school. In hand-written jottings available at the Museum of the West we learn that:

Only a handful of Indians came to Teller Institute in 1887, tells how Ute Indians refusal to come & early superintendent had to almost drag the Indians in to the school... Tells story of superintendent Pring trying to get students from Uintah reservation, finally gave up on Utes; most of students were Apaches, Yumas, Mohaves came from Nevada and Arizona (MacKendrick 1978: Teller Institute, #0181).

In his published work on the school, MacKendrick writes,

To overcome the enrollment problem, recruitment activity came to be centered in New Mexico and Arizona. By 1893, Utes—the group the school had been established to serve—made up less than fourteen percent of the students at the Teller Institute while San Carlos Apaches made up thirty percent of the enrollment and Mojaves sixteen percent (MacKendrick 1993:10).

Grand Junction resident Jeanette Le Beau recalls being afraid of the Indians at the school. "I was always scared to death of Indians and I'd go and hide, leave my toys or whatever" when the Indians would go by on their way to the Teller Institute. "And then we kids used to go out, the teachers would take a bunch of us kids to the Indian school to see how they did their work and the things they made out there, their cultures, and we got acquainted with quite a few of the Indians. Then we were no longer afraid of them" (Le Beau 1976:8).

The nostalgia of the residents of the Grand Valley for the "Indian School Era" and their remembrances "of the time when the voices of Indian children rang out at the school" (MacKendrick 1993:34) stands out as a naïve portrait of the way they wished Indians were—child-like caricatures—rather than complex human beings caught in a web of lies, deceit, racism, and greed. The location of the old Grand Junction Indian School (2800 D Road in Grand Junction) is currently (2009) the Grand Junction Regional Center for Developmental Disabilities.

Chipeta

This same nostalgia is also true of the recollections of Chipeta in Grand Junction. Harriet Hamlin, long-time Grand Junction resident, remembered Chipeta's shopping expeditions in Grand Junction.

One good customer we used to have was Chipeta. They'd [Ute] come across country, 'course, most of the time they'd come on foot, and she'd [Chipeta] have five, six, seven girls with her. And of course, the girls would eye some of those other [women's] shoes, but Chipeta knew that those shoes wasn't for the girls because they did too much walkin'.

They'd argue with her once in a while but she'd set 'em down there, and I was finally the only one that could wait on her because she knew that I knew what she wanted. And I didn't let the cat out of the bag, I'd tell her this was a

girl's shoe when actually it was a boy's or men's shoe... Mostly...people were pretty nice to them [her]... Chipeta, she was welcome in anybody's home"
(Hamlin 1980:21-22)

Hamlin went on to discuss that Chipeta and company frequently came back through Grand Junction in the spring on their way back from frequent visits to Montrose, and on occasion would even camp at the fairgrounds in Grand Junction. This same interview suggests that when Chipeta and other Uncompahgre Utes returned to Grand Junction they did so by coming over Baxter Pass. It is possible that this is the same route that some of the Uncompahgre Utes took on their route west and north out of Colorado in 1881. Chipeta made regular return visits to Fruita and Grand Junction, to visit old homelands, shop; eventually she returned for health reasons.

In 1921 at age 78, Chipeta returned to Saint Mary's Hospital in Grand Junction for cataract surgery which was not successful. Chipeta died in 1924 of causes unrelated to the failed surgery. The story of Chipeta, like those of Sacagawea (1804-1806 interpreter to Lewis and Clark) and Pocahontas (c. 1595-1617; daughter of Powhatan) are of consequence because they are stories of Indian women who both cooperated with the advances of white society but also helped their people accommodate to civilization.

Jo-Jim and Josie

There is another "Indian" story that persists in the Plateau Valley, east of the Grand Valley, of an Indian Jo-Jim and his wife Josephine (Josie). These two, who were probably Utes, lived on Grove Creek on George McKelvie's ranch near Collbran sometime in the late nineteen-teens and 1920s. According to Max Stites, Jr.

"My understanding was that if Jo-Jim left Colorado as a youth (1881) he might have returned sometime later and would have been about 42 at the time of the incident that my dad remembered so clearly. They had a space for a garden and were also allowed to hunt in the area. According to oral tradition, they did not live in a tent or tipi, and had a campfire on the hill side, maybe they were in their 40s or 50s at the time (Stites 2007).

According to Maxwell R. Stites Sr. (b. 1915) (Stites 2007) and Dorothy Evans (b. 1910) (Evans 2007), Jo-Jim and Josie made buckskin moccasins, belts, beadwork, and "all kinds of Indian trinkets" which they sold around the area. They probably made their living selling goods in Collbran where they also shopped for those few goods they needed to purchase. They were, according to Evans, short in stature and wore their hair long and braided with red or turquoise cloths woven into their braids. They dressed in traditional Indian clothing, including moccasins, and were a part of the community.

There are a number of comical stories about Jo-Jim's temper, including one in which Max Stites (senior) was accused of hitting Josephine in the head with a rock when he was in the second grade (he was not the guilty party). Jo-Jim went after him saying, "Who hit my squaw with a rock? Me killum, me killum." Finding refuge in the schoolhouse, Max was fearful that Jo-Jim would hunt him down. The community was understandably upset, and a few months later, after pressure from McKelvie, Jo-Jim and Josie moved from the McKelvie ranch and settled near Cameo on the Colorado River. Tradition has it that both died in the Cameo area and were buried there in unmarked graves (Stites 2007).

Max Stites Jr. says, "His presence as a Ute in Colorado in the early 1920s was very unusual. My dad used to refer to his second grade incident as, "The Last Ute Uprising." No one seems to know whether Jo-Jim and Josie were remnants of the White River or Uncompahgre Utes who, perhaps, never even left the area, or whether they may have left Colorado for Utah in the 1880s, only to return to Colorado later in life.

Navajo Butchering Buffalo in Colorado National Monument

Lastly, there was a small bison herd in the Monument. It was established by John Otto, the Monument's founding father and first custodian. This herd existed and prospered from around 1928 to 1983, when they were finally shipped out; it was ultimately determined that the terrain and climate were simply too dry to support a healthy herd. In November of 1956 one of many herd reductions was held (fig. 66).



Figure 66: Navajo woman butchering buffalo, 1956

Park personnel used high-powered rifles to kill 12 of the herd. It is not clear why the Navajo (and not the Ute) were invited into the Monument to butcher the animals. According to witnesses, "old-time ceremonies based upon the act of hunting and dressing the buffalo" were held (Kania 1984:116)

How are Indians of the Teller Institute, Chipeta, Jo-Jim and Josie, combined with images of traditional Navajo butchering buffalo little more than curios of a past now gone? How are we to make twenty-first century sense of the native peoples in and around Colorado National Monument?

VIII Concluding Remarks

If we consider a chronology of the lenses used to discern who the Ute were, a pattern emerges. The earliest cultural descriptions of the Ute in western Colorado are derived from John Wesley Powell who spent time with the Ute between 1868 and 1880; they are overwhelmingly positive and likely reflect an accurate picture of the Ute before their presence in the area was perceived as a menace. Powell, for example, writes, "The popular idea of the Indian is that he is a savage and that he roams through the forest, across the plains and over the mountain like a wild beast. *Nothing is farther from the truth*" (emphasis added; Powell as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:37).

Shortly thereafter, Nathan Meeker writes, "The extension of a fine nervous system is impossible in the Indian, because he is without brain to originate and support it" (as quoted in Sprague 1957:18). The skewed perceptions of non-Natives become

negatively magnified as Ute presence threatens the notion of manifest destiny and the superiority of “civilized” ways. Through this monocle the Utes become little more than ignorant heathen savages who are incapable of recognizing the value of agriculture. Racist language in turn-of-the-century newspaper articles also reinforces the justification for Ute removal.

Finally, after the Ute have been fully dispossessed of their lands, their presence in the area is no longer a threat. Chipeta, Jo-Jim, and others are not intimidating. Indeed, they become curios, caricatures even, of their former sovereign and peaceful tribe. Perhaps today, in a nation that is more tolerant to cultural diversity than it was 100 years ago, visitors to Colorado National Monument and the Grand Valley can appreciate the re-emergence of a Ute presence and this recording of fragmentary traditional knowledge. As mentioned earlier, to Indian people, land which was held in common ownership was synonymous with existence: subsistence, shelter, food, beauty. The Ute’s traditional place-oriented spirituality was clearly at odds with the Euro-American view of how land should be utilized.

Hopefully, the initial re-connecting of the Northern Utes with their ancestral homelands in Colorado National Monument

and surrounding area will continue to contribute to a fuller and more holistic perspective of the complex world of the Northern Ute.

IX Recommendations

Archaeological Survey

A thorough survey (Systematic Archaeological Inventory Program: SAIP) of archaeological sites in Colorado National Monument (COLM) should be scheduled. This would include a re-examination and analyses of known sites in conjunction with a new survey. This survey would include twenty-first century theory and technology including but not limited to GPS mapping, database search, sacred landscape analyses, identification of TCPs, and the use of Native American consultants.

Inventory of COLM Museum Collections

An inventory of the museum collections should be done in conjunction with the above. It should include a computerized listing of provenance and dating of pottery, basketry, lithics, plant remains, and the like (if and when possible).

Protection and Management

Betsy Chapoose expressed concern with continued vandalism of rock art sites, especially the large panel at Devil’s Kitchen. Michelle Wheatley, Chief of Interpretation

and Education, responded immediately by posting signage at the site that reads, "PROTECT YOUR HERITAGE; ROCK ART IS IRREPLACEABLE; PLEASE TREAT WITH RESPECT; VANDALISM IS PUNISHABLE BY LAW; PLEASE REPORT VANDALISM AT 970-858-3617; EXT-360."

Native concerns of the protection of Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP's) should not only be taken seriously but the tribes should be made aware when rectification is made.

Clifford Duncan was not concerned about the deterioration of the scaffold tree site on Black Ridge, but did want the site to be photographed, mapped, and examined by professional archaeologists.

Continuity

It is important to retain rapport with Northern Ute tribal representatives. Regular, face-to-face meetings between COLM staff and Northern Ute tribal representatives should continue. Invite representatives into the Monument on an annual basis; funding should be requested to facilitate these consults and meetings.

Other Tribes

Continue to invite the Southern Ute Tribe (Ignacio, CO) and the Ute Mountain Ute

Tribe (Towaoc, CO) to visit COLM. Wheatley has already contacted them concerning input on exhibits and other consultations. This may require trips by COLM liaison (money and time permitting) to tribal headquarters to convince tribes of sincerity of request from COLM.

Annual Ute Celebration

Discuss possibility of an "Annual Ute Celebration" in COLM with representatives of the three tribes. Field trips/field activities and site visits are valuable and may deepen working relationships between the NPS and tribes. Encourage tribes to introduce their youth to the beauty of the Monument. Some of this could be done in conjunction with the ongoing "Ute Ethnobotany Learning Garden Project." The "garden" site is located in Mesa County at the Fairgrounds in Grand Junction. Curtis Swift, Colorado State University Extension, is the coordinator of this collaborative project which also includes the US Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.

WORKS CITED

Albers, Lynn

- 2008 Native Plant Resources at Ute Sacred and Cultural Sites in the Colorado National Monument. Unpublished report, May 20-22.

Arnberger, Leslie P.

- 1952 Flowers of the Southwest Mountains. Santa Fe: Southwestern Monuments Association Popular Series No. 7.

Aspen Weekly Times

- 1887 All Ready to March. Aspen Weekly Times, August 20: 2.
1887 Where Are the Utes? Aspen Weekly Times, August 27: 4.
1891 Utes Off the Reservation. Aspen Weekly Times, November 14: 3.
1893 Belong to the Utes; Game in Colorado at the Disposal of the Utes. Aspen Weekly Times, December 9: 1
1895 Removal of the Utes; Seven Hundred Removed from Routt County to Their Reservation; Slaughtered Ten Thousand Deer. Aspen Weekly Times, November 23: 1.
1896 Tourists Not Utes. Aspen Weekly Times, November 6: 1.
1897 After the Utes. Aspen Weekly Times, August 14: 1
1898 Another Promise. Aspen Weekly Times, November 27: 2.

Bailey, William McCrea

- 1990 Fort Uncompahgre. Silverton (CO): The Silverton Standard.

Baker, Steven G.

- 1988 Historic Ute Culture Change in West-Central Colorado. *In* Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium. Paul R. Nickens, ed. Pp. 157-189. Denver: Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists.
1991 The Uncompahgre Valley Historic Ute Project: First Interim Report and Executive Summary. Montrose (CO): Centuries Research.

Barton, John D.

- 1996 Buckskin Entrepreneur; Antoine Robidoux and the Fur trade of the Uinta Basin, 1824-1844. Vernal (UT): Oakfield Publishing Co.

Becker, Cynthia S. and P. David Smith

- 2003 Chipeta; Queen of the Utes. Montrose (CO): Western Reflections.

Berkes, Fikret

- 1999 Sacred Ecology. New York: Routledge.

Brett, John A.

- 2002 Ethnographic Assessment and Documentation of Rocky Mountain National Park. Denver: Rocky Mountain Region National Park Service.

Bolton, Herbert E.

- 1950 Pageant in the Wilderness; the Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society.

Brunswig, Robert H.

- 2005 Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Early Historic Native American Archaeology of Rocky Mountain National Park: Volume 1-Final Report of Systemwide Archaeological Inventory Program Investigations by the University of Northern Colorado (1998-2002). Denver: Rocky Mountain Region National Park Service.

Buckles, William G.

- 1971 The Uncompahgre Complex: Historic Ute Archaeology and Prehistoric Archaeology on the Uncompahgre Plateau in West Central Colorado. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology. University of Colorado, Boulder.

Burns, Sam

- 2003 The Utes of West Central Colorado, The Uncompahgre and White River Bands, An Ethnographic Overview. Prepared for the Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, and Gunnison National Forests. Durango, CO: Fort Lewis College.

Buys, Christian

- 1993 Fort Crawford: A Symbol of Transition. *Journal of the Western Slope* 8(2): 2-29.

Callaway, Donald, Joel Janetski, and Omer Stewart

- 1986 "Ute." *In Handbook of North American Indians, Great Basin, Volume 11.* Warren D'Azevedo, ed. William G. Sturtevant, general editor. Pp. 336-367. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Chaffin, Tom

- 2002 *Pathfinder; John Charles Frémont and the Course of American Empire.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Chapoose, Betsy

- 2002 Tape-recorded interview with author, July 17, Rocky Mountain National Park. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Rocky Mountain National Park.
2004 Tape-recorded interview with author, August 10, Rocky Mountain National Park. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Rocky Mountain National Park.
2008 Tape-recorded interview with author, May 22, Colorado National Monument. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Colorado National Monument.
2010 E-mail message to author, February 8.

Cloud, Neil Buck

- 2002 Tape-recorded interview with author, July 26, Ignacio, Colorado. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Rocky Mountain National Park.

Cole, Sally

- 1988 Ute Rock Art in Colorado. *In Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium.* Paul R. Nickens, ed. Pp. 102-143. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists Occasional Papers No. 1
1990 *Legacy on Stone; Rock Art of the Colorado Plateau and Four Corners Region.* Boulder: Johnson Books.

Conkey, Margaret

2001 Men and Women in Prehistory: An Archaeological Challenge. *In* Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective. C. Brettel and C. Sargent, eds. Pp. 61-69. Upper Saddle River (NJ): Prentice-Hall.

Cowan, Eliot

1995 Plant Spirit Medicine. Newberg (OR): Swan-Raven and Co.

Crum, Sally

1996 People of the Red Earth; American Indians of Colorado. Santa Fe: Ancient City Press.

2010 E-mail message to author, January 20. (Crum is US Forest Service Archaeologist/Tribal Liaison, Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, and Gunnison National Forests, Grand Junction, CO).

Curtin, L.S.M.

1976 Healing Herbs of the Upper Rio Grande. New York: Arno Press. [Original 1947].

Darrah, William Culp

1951 Powell of the Colorado. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Dawson, Thomas F. and F.J.V. Skiff

1980 The Ute War; a History of the White River Massacre. Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company. [Original 1879].

Decker, Peter R.

2004 "The Utes Must Go!" American Expansion and the Removal of a People. Golden (CO): Fulcrum.

Dees, Liesl

2003 Ute Ethnohistoric Research (Part II). *In* The Utes of West Central Colorado, The Uncompahgre and White River Bands, An Ethnographic Overview. Prepared for the Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, and Gunnison National Forests by Sam Burns. Durango, CO: Fort Lewis College.

Denver Daily News

1879 The Ute. November 4, Denver Daily News: 1

De Ved, Lawrence and Byron Loosle

2001 Culturally Modified Ponderosa Trees on the Ashley National Forest. Utah Archaeology 14 (1): 1-13.

Dodge, Richard I

1882 Our Wild Indians: Thirty-three Years' Personal Experience among the Red Men of the West. Hartford: A.D. Worthington.

Duncan, Clifford

2000 The Northern Utes of Utah. *In* A History of Utah's American Indians. Forrest S. Cuch, ed. Pp. 167-224. Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs/Utah State Division of History.

- 2002a Traditional Ute Sense of Place. Paper presented at the Mapping Identity Conference, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley; March 6. Videotape, release form, transcript on file at Rocky Mountain National Park.
- 2002b Tape-recorded interview with author, March 7, Greeley, Colorado. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Rocky Mountain National Park.
- 2008 Tape-recorded Interview with author, May 22, Colorado National Monument. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Colorado National Monument.
- 2009 Tape-recorded interview with author, July 8, Walden, Colorado. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Colorado National Monument.

Dunmire, William W. and Gail D. Tierney

- 1997 Wild Plants and Native Peoples of the Four Corners. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.

Elias, Thomas S.

- 1989 Field guide to North American Trees [Grolier's Field guide]. Danbury (CT): Grolier Book Clubs.

Elinoff, Louise

- 2002 Oral Tradition and the Archaeological Record: An Integral Partnership in Understanding Human Past of the Rocky Mountain National Park Region. M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology; University of Colorado at Denver.

Emmitt, Robert

- 2000 The Last War Trail; the Utes and the Settlement of Colorado. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. [Originally 1954].

Evans, Dorothy

- 2007 Tape-recorded interview with author, August 1, Grand Junction. Release form tape, transcript on file at Colorado National Monument.

Fay, George (assembled by)

- 1970 Land Cessions In Utah and Colorado by the Ute Indians, 1861-1899. University of Northern Colorado Museum of Anthropology Miscellaneous Series No. 13.

Felix, Marty

- 2007 Personal communication with author, July 26, Grand Junction; cf. www.wildhorseandburro.blm.gov.

Fishell, Dave

- 2004 "Materially Aid in the Civilization of the Utes": Grand Junction's Teller Institute. Pathways 2(1):18-21

FitzPatrick, Val

- 2000 Red Twilight; the Last Free Days of the Ute Indians. Yellow Cat Fats (UT): Yellow Cat.

Foster, Steven and Rebecca L. Johnson

- 2006 Desk Reference to Nature's Medicine. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society.

- Fowler, Don and Catherine Fowler, eds.
 1971 *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North America, 1868-1880*. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, No. 14. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Fowler, Catherine
 2000 *Great Basin Affiliations of the Ute People of Colorado* *In Ute Indian Arts and Culture*. William Wroth, ed. Pp. 89-106. Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center.
- Freeman, Dan. A. (the letters of)
 1962 *Four Years with the Utes*. Edited and published by W.M. Morrison. Waco (TX): Waco Village Press.
- Goss, James
 1972 *A Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Ecological Model*. *In Great Basin Cultural Ecology*. Don Fowler, ed. Pp. 123-128. Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences #8.
 2000 *Traditional Cosmology, Ecology and Language of the Ute Indians*. *In Ute Indian Arts and Culture*. William Wroth, ed. Pp. 27-52. Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center.
- Greubel, Rand A.
 2002 *A Closer Look at Eastern Ute Subsistence*. *Southwestern Lore* 68(3):1-16.
- Gulliford, Andrew
 2000 *Introduction*. *In The Last War Trail*. Robert Emmitt, author. Pp. xi-xxix. Boulder: University Press of Colorado
- Gunnison Review
 1880 *The Ute Commission (Los Pinos, July 18)*. *Gunnison Review*, July 24: 1.
 1880 *The Ute Commission (Los Pinos, July 22)*. *Gunnison Review*, July 31 :1
 1880 *The Utes (Los Pinos, July 29)*. *Gunnison Review*, August 7: 1.
 1880 *The Ute Reservation*. *Gunnison Review*, November 6: 1.
 1881 *Uncompahgre Utes (Los Pinos, May 29)*. *Gunnison Review*, June 11: 1
- Hadden, Glade
 2008 E-mail message to author, February 4. (Hadden is Bureau of Land Management Archaeologist, Uncompahgre Field Office, Montrose, CO).
- Hamilin, Harriet
 1980 *Interview with Harriet Hamlin by Glenn McFall, April 7, Mesa County Oral History Project #0342*. Courtesy of Loyd Files Research Library; Museum of the West, Grand Junction, Colorado.
- Hanson, Jeffery R. and Sally Chirinos
 1997 *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming. Cultural Resource Selections; Intermountain Region, National Park Service*. No. 9.

- Haskell, Charles W.
1886 *History of Mesa County: History and Business Directory of Mesa County, CO.* Edited and published by the Mesa County Democrat. Grand Junction, CO.
- Hays, Robert G.
1997 *Race at Bay; New York Times Editorials on "the Indian Problem," 1860-1900.* Pp. 246-248. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Hill, David V. and Allen E. Kane
1988 *Characterizations of Ute Occupations and Ceramics from Southwestern Colorado.* In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium.* Paul R. Nickens, ed. Pp. 62-78. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists Occasional Papers No. 1.
- Hill, Edward E.
1974 *The Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880: Historical Sketches.* New York: Clearwater Publishing.
- Husband, Michael B.
1984 *Colorado Plateau Country Historic Context.* Denver: State Historical Society of Colorado.
- Jocknick, Sidney
2004, *Early Days on the Western Slope.* Montrose, CO: Western Reflections Publishing Company. [Originally 1913].
- Jorgensen, Joseph G.
1964 *The Ethnohistory and Acculturation of the Northern Ute.* Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University.
1972 *The Sun Dance Religion; Power for the Powerless.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Joyce, Rosemary A.
2008 *Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives; Sex, Gender and Archaeology.* New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Kania, Alan
1984 *John Otto of Colorado National Monument.* Boulder: Roberts Rinehart.
- Kappler, Charles, J. LL. M.
1904 *Laws and treaties; Indian Affairs; Volume II (Treaties).* Washington DC: Government Printing Office.
- Kawagley, Angayuqaq Oscar
2006 *A Yupiaq Worldview; a Pathway to Ecology and Spirit.* Long Grove (IL): Waveland Press.
- Kay, Margarita Artschwager
1996 *Healing with Plants in the American West.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

- Kushner, Ervan F.
1979 *Otto Mears: His Life and Times*. Frederick (CO): Jende-Hagan.
- LaRose, Kessley
2007 Personal Communication with author, September 15, Grand Junction.
- LeBeau, Jeanette
1976 Interview with Jeanette Le Beau by Sally Crum, Mesa County Oral History Project #OH 0096. Courtesy of Loyd Files Research Library; Museum of the West, Grand Junction, Colorado.
- Lewis, David Rich
1994 *Neither Wolf nor Dog*. New York: Oxford University Press.
N.d. *Ute Indians*. Ute History to Go. Electronic document,
http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/america_indians/uteindians.html
- MacKendrick, Donald A.
1978 Interview with Donald MacKendrick. Tape Index OH 0181. Courtesy of Loyd Files Research Library; Museum of the West, Grand Junction, Colorado.
1993 *Cesspools, Alkali and White Lily Soap: The Grand Junction Indian School, 1886- 1911*. *Journal of the Western Slope* 8 (3):1-41.
- Manypenny, George W.
1880 *Our Indian Wards*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Co.
- Marino, Cesare
1994 *Reservations*. In *Native America in the Twentieth Century; an Encyclopedia*. Mary Davis, ed. Pp. 544-556. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Martin, Curtis and Richard Ott
2009 *The Colorado Wickiup Project; Volume IV: Recordation and Re-evaluation of Twenty-seven Aboriginal Wooden Features Sites in Garfield, Mesa, Moffat, and Rio Blanco Counties, Colorado*. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Colorado State Office of the Bureau of Land Management, Denver.
- Martorano, Marilyn A.
1988 *Culturally Peeled Trees and Ute Indians in Colorado*. In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium*. Paul R. Nickens, ed. Pp. 5-21. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists Occasional Papers No. 1.
- McBeth, Sally
1983 *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians*. Washington DC: University Press of America.
1984 *The Primer and the Hoe*. *Natural History Magazine* 93(8):4-12.
1998 *Essie's Story; the Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Indian*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
2003 *Memory, History, and Contested Pasts: Re-imagining Sacagawea/Sacajawea*. *American Indian and Culture and Research Journal* 27(1):1-32
2007 *Native American Oral History and Cultural Interpretation in Rocky Mountain National Park*. Electronic document,
http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/romo/mcbeth/oral_history.pdf

McClellan, Val J.

1979a *This Is Our Land; Volume 1.* Jamestown (OH): Western Publishers.

1979b *This Is Our Land; Volume 2.* Jamestown (OH): Western Publishers.

McCook, Orvid R.

2008 Tape-recorded interview with author, July 9, Colorado National Monument. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Colorado National Monument.

2009 Personal communication with author, June 18, Delta, Colorado.

Miller, Mark E.

1997 *Hollow Victory; the White River Expedition of 1879 and the Battle of Milk Creek.* Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Moerman, Daniel E.

1998 *Native American Ethnobotany.* Portland (OR): Timber Press.

Moore, Michael

1979 *Medicinal Plants of the Mountain West.* Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press.

Musser, Eda Baker (compiled by)

1986 *Trails and Trials.* Delta (CO): Mrs. Kelso Musser.

Nabakov, Peter and Lawrence Loendorf

1994 *Every Morning of the World: Ethnographic Resources Study, Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area.* Denver: Rocky Mountain Region National Park Service.

2004 *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Naranjo, Alden and Monica Lujan

2000 *The Ute Creation Story.* In *Ute Indian Arts and Culture.* W. Wroth, ed. Pp. 7-8. Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center.

Nickens, Paul R.

1984 *An Overview of Ethnographical and Archaeological Data for Ute Burial Practices.* In *A Nineteenth Century Ute Burial from Northeastern Utah.* Richard E. Fike and H. Blaine Phillips II. eds. Pp. 93-131. Cultural Resource Series No. 16; Utah State Office of the Bureau of Land Management.

1988 *Archaeological Evidence for Eastern Ute Mortuary Practice.* In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium.* Paul R. Nickens, ed. Pp. 5-21. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists Occasional Papers No. 1.

O'Neil, Brian

1993 *The Archaeology of the Grand Junction Resource Area. A Class I Overview.* Prepared for the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management Grand Junction Resource District; July 1993.

Opler, Marvin

1940 *The Southern Ute of Colorado.* In *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes.* Ralph Linton, ed. Pp. 119-206. New York: D. Appleton-Century.

1971 The Ute and Paiute Indians of the Great Basin Southern Rim. *In* North American Indians in Historical Perspective; Leacock, Eleanor B. and Nancy O. Lurie, eds. Pp 257-288. New York: Random House.

Parker, James

1929 The Ute Campaign. *In* The old army; memories, 1872-1918. Philadelphia: Dorance & Co.

Pasquale, Cynthia

2005 Trees that Tell Stories. Denver Post, August 8: 1F, 5F.

Plateau Voice

1912 Indians Kill Elk and Deer. Plateau Voice, March 22: 6.

Pope, Alexander

1903 The Complete Poetical Works of Alexander Pope. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Power, Jessie Hazel

1920 The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition into the Great Basin, 1776-1777. Master's thesis, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley.

Reed, Alan

1988 Ute Cultural Chronology. *In* Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium. Paul R. Nickens, ed. Pp. 79-101. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists Occasional Papers No. 1.

Reed, Alan and Michael Metcalf

1999 Colorado Prehistory: A Context for the Northern Colorado River Basin. Denver: Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists.

Richardson, Prof. S.

1880 Ute Bear Dance. Gunnison Review, July 10: 1.

Rockwell, Wilson

1956 The Utes; a Forgotten People. Denver: Sage Books.

Rocky Mountain Sun

1886 Pray's Ferry. Rocky Mountain Sun, October 2: 4.

Roth, Don

1931 Ute Indians. *In* Echoes of a Dream. Written, edited, and compiled by Earlynne Barcus, Irma Harrison, and the Lower Valley Heritage Group. Pp. 11-23. Fruita (CO): Fruita Triangle.

1976 Interview with Don and Mary Roth by Sally Crum. Mesa County Oral History Project #OH 0018. Courtesy of Loyd Files Research Library, Museum of the West, Grand Junction, Colorado.

Russell, Osborne

1921 Journal of a Trapper, or Nine years in the Rocky Mountains, 1834-1843; second edition. Boise (ID): Syms-York.

SanMiguel, George

2009 E-mail message to Tara Travis forwarded to author, October 20. [SanMiguel is Chief of Natural Resources, Mesa Verde National Park].

Schoch, Hank

2010 E-mail message to author, February 6. (Schoch is former Chief Ranger, Colorado National Monument).

Scope of Work, Colorado National Monument

2006 National Park Service internal document.

Scott, Douglas

1988 Conical Timbered Lodges in Colorado or Wickiups in the Woods. *In* Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium. Paul Nickens, ed. Pp. 45-53. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists Occasional Papers No. 1.

Slay, John

2008 E-mail message to author, July 7.

Simmons, Virginia McConnell

2000 The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Smith, Anne M.

1974 Ethnography of the Northern Ute. Museum of New Mexico Papers in Anthropology No. 17. Santa Fe.

Sprague, Marshall

1957 Massacre; the Tragedy at White River. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Steward, Julian H.

1974a Ute Indians I; Aboriginal and Historical Groups of the Ute Indians of Utah. New York: Garland.

1974b Native Components of the White River Ute Indians. Supplement to Aboriginal and Historic Groups of Ute Indians of Utah. Docket No. 44, 45. Def. Ex. 12-A in Ute Indians I; Aboriginal and Historical Groups of the Ute Indians of Utah. New York: Garland.

Stewart, Omer C.

1942 Culture Element Distributions: XVIII; Ute-Southern Paiute. Anthropological Records Volume 6:4. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1966 Ute Indians: Before and After White Contact. Utah Historical Quarterly 34(1):38-61.

N.d. Ute 45 Notes OCS, Omer Call Stewart Collection, Box 594-4 [27], Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.

Stites, Max Jr.

2007 Personal communication with author, July 30, Grand Junction, Colorado.

Stroh, George Jr. and George H. Ewing

- 1964 Archaeological Survey of Colorado National Monument, 1963. In accordance with the Memorandum of Agreement 14-10-0232-782 between the National Park Service and the University of Colorado. Report on file at Colorado National Monument, Grand Junction.

Taveapont, Venita

- 2004 Tape-recorded interview with author, August 10, Rocky Mountain National Park. Release form, transcript, tape on file at Rocky Mountain National Park.
- 2007 Tape-recorded interview with author, September 14, Uncompahgre Plateau. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Colorado National Monument.
- 2009a Tape-recorded interview with author, June 23, Ft. Duchesne, Utah. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Colorado National Monument.
- 2009b E-mail message to author, December 20.

Underwood, Kathleen Hill

- 1982 Town Building on the Frontier: Grand Junction, Colorado, 1880-1900. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles.

United States Department of the Interior, Census Office

- 1894 Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed. Eleventh Census, 1890. Colorado (Pp. 224-229) and Utah (Pp. 595-601). Washington DC: Government Printing Office.

United States House of Representatives

- 1882 47th Congress, 1st Session. Uncompahgre and White River Ute Indians. (Report No. 1304). Washington DC: Government Printing Office. (Serial Set 2069).

United States Senate

- 1880 46th Congress, 2nd Session. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior (Ex. Doc. No. 31). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. (Serial Set 1882).
- 1880 46th Congress, 2nd Session. Message from the President of the United States (Ex. Doc. No. 114). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. (Serial Set 1885).
- 1880 46th Congress, 2nd Session. Message from the President of the United States (Exec Doc. No. 114, Part 2). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. (Serial Set 1885-II).
- 1882 47th Congress, 1st Session. Committee of a Mass Meeting Held at Gunnison, Colo. (Mis. Doc. No. 63). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. (Serial Set 1993).
- 1882 8th Congress, 1st Session. Report [To accompany bill S. 698.] (Report No. 186). Washington: Government Printing Office. (Serial Set 2004).
- 1882 47th Congress, 1st Session. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior. (Ex Doc. No. 108). Washington: Government Printing Office. (Serial Set 1990).

Warner, Ted, editor

- 1995 The Dominguez-Escalante journal; their expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776. Translated by Angelico Chavez. Written by Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. Provo (UT): Brigham Young University Press.

Wash, Helen

- 2007a Interview with author, July 25, Ute Senior Center, Ft. Duchesne, Utah.
- 2007b Tape-recorded interview with author, September 14, Uncompahgre Plateau. Release form, tape, transcript on file at Colorado National Monument.

Weber, William A. and Ronald C. Wittmann

2001 Colorado Flora – Western Slope. 3rd edition. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

White Pine Cone

1885 The Utes, White Pine Cone, August 14:1. White Pine, Gunnison County.

Wilkinson, Charles

2000 The Betrayal of Jack. *In* The Last War Trail, Robert Emmitt. Author. Pp. 297-320.
Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Witherspoon, Y.T., ed.

1993 Conversations with Connor Champoos, a Leader of the Ute Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. Recorded in 1960. University of Oregon Anthropological Papers #47. Eugene: University of Oregon.

Worster, Donald

2001 A River Running West; the Life of John Wesley Powell. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wyman, Walker D.

1933 A Preface to the Settlement of Grand Junction; the Uncompahgre Utes Go West. Colorado Magazine 10(1).

Yarrow, H. C.

1881 A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians. First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Pp. 87-203. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

APPENDIX A

Index Summary of Consultations: Native American, Archival, and Informational

All release forms for Native consultants, tapes, and transcriptions are on file at Colorado National Monument.

April 14, 2006

Pre-meeting re: COLM Overview: NPS Complex: Lakewood, CO

David Ruppert, Assistant Director, Office of Indian Affairs and American Culture, NPS

June 12, 2006

COLM: Initial Meeting re: COLM Ethnographic Overview

Lisa Claussen, Resource Specialist, COLM

Bruce Noble, then-Superintendent, COLM

Tara Travis, NPS Ethnohistorian, Key NPS Official for COLM Ethnographic Overview Project

June 12-13, 2006

Ethnobotany Component: COLM, Uncompahgre Plateau, Mud Springs

Betsy Chappoose, Director, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection

Kessley LaRose, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection

Marjorie Tarashutz, Northern Ute tribal member

Ty-anne Tarashutz, Northern Ute tribal member

Venita Taveapont, Coordinator, Northern Ute Language Program

Estelle Welsh, Northern Ute tribal member

Note: portions of the ethnobotany component were done in collaboration with the US Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.

February-April, 2007

Omer Call Stewart Collections, CU Norton Library

David Hayes, Archivist

Western History Collection, Denver Public Library, Denver, CO

Worked with numerous archivists

Stephen H. Hart Library; Colorado Historical Society, Denver CO

Barbara Dey, Reference Librarian

National Archives: Regional Archives of the Rocky Mountain Division

Laurie Cox-Paulson, Archivist

March 13 & 16, 2007

COLM field visits to rock art sites: Hardy (archaic), Devil's Kitchen (Ute), White Rocks (Fremont; one possible Ute), Lower Monument Canyon (Ute), Centipede Site (archaic)

Lisa Claussen, Resource Specialist, COLM

Dave Price, then-Chief of Resource Management, COLM

Hank Schoch, former Chief Ranger, volunteer, COLM

Note: Schoch showed me photos of a pictograph of a red ochre likeness of a man on a horse leading another horse. This pictograph was buried by a rock fall. I showed the photo of this feature to Betsy

Chapoose, Clifford Duncan, and Roland McCook, they all said that they thought the pictograph was probably Ute but did not comment further.

March 14, 2007

Introductory Meetings with Museum of the West personnel

Dave Fishell, author, historian
Michael Menard, Archivist

March 15, 2007

COLM Museum Collections

Lisa Claussen, Resource Specialist, COLM

May 10, 2007

COLM site visits: CCC [Civilian Conservation Corps] Camp Trail Site, Kodel's Canyon

Hank Schoch, former Chief Ranger, volunteer, COLM

Note: Neither of these sites (CCC, Kodel's) have been given site numbers. There are six possible sites at the CCC Camp Trail area: 4 stone-rings (around trees) and 2 mounds with rocks on top. They are unmapped and located around the periphery of a grassy clearing below Black Ridge. Adrienne Anderson, Ph.D. (retired Regional Archaeologist, NPS, Rocky Mountain Region) told Schoch that one of the mounds looked like a burial; Kevin Black, Ph.D. (Asst. State Archaeologist, CO State Historic Preservation Office) also believes they may be aboriginal. Forest Frost, Ph.D. (Regional Archaeologist, NPS, Rocky Mountain Region) believes they are historical, possible CCC created rock piles. Most archaeologists conclude that the corral in Kodel's canyon is historic (i.e. not Ute).

When I showed photos of these features to Betsy Chapoose, Clifford Duncan, and Roland McCook, they all said they were unfamiliar with features that looked like these; they were not inclined to visit either location.

May 12-13, 2007

Ft. Duchesne, UT, Northern Ute Tribal Office Complex: Northern Ute Bear Dance and Pow Wow

Introductory meetings with:

Geneva Accawanna, Northern Ute tribal member
Loya Arrum, Northern Ute tribal member
CJ Brafford, Director, Ute Museum, Montrose, CO
Betsy Chapoose, Director, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection
Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute Cultural Resource Consultant
Roland McCook, Northern Ute Historian and Cultural Consultant
Alloin Myore, Northern Ute tribal member
Marjorie Taraschutz, Northern Ute tribal member
Venita Taveapont, Coordinator, Northern Ute Language Program

July 23, 2007

COLM

Joan Anzelmo, Superintendent, COLM
Lisa Claussen, Resource Specialist, COLM

July 24, 2007

Ft. Duchesne, UT, Northern Ute Tribal Offices

Meetings with personnel re: COLM visit

Betsy Chapoose, Director, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection
Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute Cultural Resource Consultant

July 25, 2007

Ft. Duchesne, UT, Northern Ute Tribal Office Complex, Ute Senior Center

Helen Wash, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection, retired; interview on Ute plant use

July 25-27, 2007

COLM Visitor's Center and Lower Valley Heritage Center, Fruita, CO

Roland McCook, Northern Ute Historian and Cultural Consultant

July 26, 2007

Grand Junction, CO

Marty Felix, BLM Volunteer (BLM National Wild Horse and Burro Program)

July 27, 2007

Museum of the West, Grand Junction, CO

Joyce Hofman, Oral History Specialist

July 29, 2007

Robidoux Inscription Pictograph Site

Dave Fishell, Museum of the West, author and historian

July 30, 2007

Grand Junction, CO

Max Stites; Grand Junction resident, Jim-Jo and Josie story

July 31, 2007

Lower Valley Heritage Center, Fruita, CO

Yvonne Peterson, Director

August 1, 2007

Grand Junction, CO

Dorothy Evans, 96 year-old Grand Junction resident; interview on Jim-Jo and Josie story

September 14-15, 2007

Ethnobotany Component: Old Salt Lake Wagon Road, Grand Mesa, COLM

Kerry Cesspooch, Ute Bulletin, staff

Venita Taveapont, Coordinator, Northern Ute Language Program

Kessley La Rose, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection

Helen Wash, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection, retired

4 Northern Ute students

September 15, 2007

Delta Pow Wow; Ute Mountain Ute Elder Tent

Interviews with Ute Mountain Ute women on plants at Lynn Hartmann's invitation

Note: I asked Lynn Hartmann (assistant to Terry Knight, NAGPRA Liaison for Ute Mountain Ute Tribe), if she and Terry were interested in visiting the Monument, her reply was that they would if and when they had time, but that they generally "defer to the Northern Ute" for locations in the area in and around COLM. See transcription of these interviews in COLM.

January 2, 2008

Rifle, CO

Lynn Albers, ethnobotanist; consult on ethnobotany component of project

May 20, 2008:

COLM: Devil's Kitchen Pictograph and Petroglyph, Lower Monument Canyon Petroglyphs

Betsy Chapoose, Director, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute Cultural Resource Consultant

Lynn Albers, ethnobotanist

Dave Price, then Chief of Resource Management

Hank Schoch, former Chief Ranger, volunteer, COLM

May 21, 2008

COLM: Black Ridge Trail Tree Scaffold Site

Betsy Chapoose, Director, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute Cultural Resource Consultant

Lynn Albers, ethnobotanist

Dave Price, then Chief of Resource Management

Hank Schoch, former Chief Ranger, volunteer, COLM

Tam and Dina Graham, Wranglers

Annie Williams, Park Ranger, COLM

May 22, 2008

COLM: De-briefing

Lynn Albers, ethnobotanist

Betsy Chapoose, Director, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute Cultural Resource Consultant

Dave Price, then Chief of Resource Management, COLM

Hank Schoch, former Chief Ranger, volunteer, COLM

Michelle Wheatley, Chief of Interpretation and Education, COLM

June 18-19, 2008

COLM: Ethnobotany component: Riparian areas in Grand Valley/Uncompahgre Plateau, COLM

Kessley LaRose, Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection

Rick Chapoose, Northern Ute tribal member

4 Northern Ute students

June 20, 2008

COLM: Feedback on COLM Ethnographic Overview outline, COLM

Hank Schoch, former Chief Ranger, volunteer, COLM

Michelle Wheatley, Chief of Interpretation and Education, COLM

July 8, 2008

Museum of the West

Emma McCreary, Oral History Specialist

July 9, 2008

COLM: Devil's Kitchen Petroglyph and Pictograph Sites, Lower Monument Canyon, White Rocks and de-briefing

Roland McCook, Northern Ute Historian and Cultural Consultant

Michelle Wheatley, Chief of Interpretation and Education

Dave Price, then Chief of Resource Management
Hank Schoch, former Chief Ranger, volunteer, COLM

Note: Roland McCook had no comment on the White Rocks red ochre pictograph zoomorph (deer?) except to say that it might be Ute. Schoch noted that when Clifford Duncan visited the White Rocks site in 1992, that he made offerings. No other notes have been retained that I am aware of and he declined to visit the site in 2008. His eyesight is quite poor and he had difficulty seeing even the rock art at Devil's Kitchen.

June 18, 2009

separate meetings on final writing of report with
Michelle Wheatley, Cultural Interpretation, COLM Visitor Center
Roland McCook, Northern Ute Historian and Cultural Consultant in Delta, CO

June 23, 2009

Ft. Duchesne, UT; Northern Ute Tribal Complex
Venita Taveapont, Coordinator, Northern Ute language Program; interview on Bear Dance
Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute Cultural Resource Consultant; general discussion on COLM project

July 8, 2009

Walden, Colorado
Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute Cultural Resource Consultant; interview on Bear Dance traditions

July 23, 2009

COLM
Photography day in Monument

September 17, 2009

COLM
Meeting with Interpretive Staff from Harper's Ferry (Justin Radford, Michael Lacome) and from subcontractors from Formation" (Steven State, Lisa Burnt). This initial meeting was for the planning of the new COLM exhibit space.

October, 2009

COLM
Supplied Lisa Burnt with images from the report for possible use in the Ute portion of the new exhibit.

October 5, 2009

First Draft of COLM Ethnographic Overview and requests for comments by mid-November was sent to Northern Ute: Betsy Chappoose, Clifford Duncan (portions), Roland McCook (portions), Helen Wash (portions), Loya Arrum (portions), and Venita Taveapont (portions).

Copies (cd and hard) were also sent to Michelle Wheatley (for distribution to COLM staff), Tara Travis, David Ruppert, Cyd Martin, Sally Crum, Dave Fishell, Dave Price, Hank Schoch, and Lynn Albers.

February 26, 2010

Second Draft of COLM Ethnographic Overview sent to COLM personnel.

March 10, 2010

Second Draft of COLM Ethnographic Overview approved by COLM personnel.

APPENDIX B

Archival Sources

The archival Sources utilized were: Census Records; Department of the Interior (Report on Indians Taxed and not Taxed in the United States; Eleventh Census (1890); City of Greeley Museums (Greeley, CO); Colorado's Historic Newspaper Collection (on-line); Colorado National Monument; Archives and Collections (Fruita, CO); Colorado State Historical Society (Denver, Colorado); Congressional Serial Set; Senate and House records; Lower Valley Heritage Center (Fruita, CO); Museum of the West (Grand Junction); National Archives: Regional Archives of the Rocky Mountain Division (Lakewood, CO); National Archives (Washington, D.C.) on-line; Omer Stewart Collection (Norton Library, University of Colorado at Boulder); Western History Collection (Denver Public Library)

I also made numerous phone calls and emails to historians, archivists, and anthropologists whose expertise includes the Ute and related Great Basin tribes since so little was forthcoming from the above. I followed every lead, but little data was forthcoming. These experts include: Sam Burns, historian, Ft. Lewis College; Richard Clemmer, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Denver; Abott Fay, History Professor Emeritus, Mesa State, Grand Junction, Colorado; James Goss, Anthropology Professor Emeritus, Texas Tech University, Lubbock Texas; David Rich Lewis, Professor of History, Utah State University; Floyd O'Neil, Director Emeritus, American West Center, Salt Lake City, Utah.

APPENDIX C

Copies of Letters to Tribes



United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Colorado National Monument
Fruita, Colorado 81521



IN REPLY REFER TO

A 1823 (COLM)

August 8, 2007

Curtis Cesspooch, Tribal Chairman
Ute Indian Tribe
P.O. Box 190
Fort Duchesne, Utah 84026

Dear Mr. Cesspooch:

Greetings from Colorado National Monument. I am writing to advise you that Colorado National Monument is beginning an Ethnographic Overview that will include a cultural, historical, and legal review of the literature in and around the Grand Junction, Colorado area combined with archaeological visitations by Native Americans to Colorado National Monument.

We have begun working through your Cultural Rights and Protection Agency, but since I am the monument's new superintendent and your tribal council is new, I wanted to introduce myself and let you know about our ethnographic project.

The time frame for this project is 2007-2010. Sally McBeth, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern Colorado, has been hired to coordinate, research, and write the final report.

We welcome any input that the council or tribal members might be willing to share. I look forward to working with the Ute Indian Tribe during my tenure as superintendent of Colorado National Monument.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,


Joan Anzelmo
Superintendent

cc: Betsy Chappoose
Sally McBeth

TAKE PRIDE[®]
IN AMERICA 



United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Colorado National Monument
Fruita, Colorado 81521



IN REPLY REFER TO
A3823 (COLM)

August 8, 2007

Clement Frost, Tribal Chairman
Southern Ute Indian Tribe
P.O. Box 737
Ignacio, CO 81137

Dear Mr. Frost:


Greetings from Colorado National Monument. This letter is to inform you that Colorado National Monument is beginning an Ethnographic Overview that will include a cultural, historical, and legal review of the literature in and around the Grand Junction, Colorado area combined with archaeological visitations by Native Americans to Colorado National Monument.

The time frame for this project is 2007-2010. Sally McBeth, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern Colorado, has been hired to coordinate, research, and write the final report.

While historical evidence suggests that the Northern Ute bands were the predominant groups in our locale, I wanted to inform you of the project and inquire if any members of your tribe would like to be included in the consultations.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,


Joan Anzelino
Superintendent

cc: Sally McBeth

TAKE PRIDE
IN AMERICA 



United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Colorado National Monument
Fruita, Colorado 81521



IN REPLY REFER TO
A3823 (COLM)

August 8, 2007

Chairman Manuel Heart
Ute Mountain Ute Tribe
P.O. Box JJ
Towaoc, CO 81334

Dear Mr. Heart:

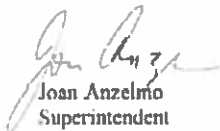
Greetings from Colorado National Monument. This letter is to inform you that Colorado National Monument is beginning an Ethnographic Overview that will include a cultural, historical, and legal review of the literature in and around the Grand Junction, Colorado area combined with archaeological visitations by Native Americans to Colorado National Monument.

The time frame for this project is 2007-2010. Sally McBeth, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern Colorado, has been hired to coordinate, research, and write the final report.

While historical evidence suggests that the Northern Ute bands were the predominant groups in our locale, I wanted to inform you of the project and inquire if any members of your tribe would like to be included in the consultations.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,


Joan Anzelmo
Superintendent

cc: Sally McBeth

TAKE PRIDE
IN AMERICA 