

PERSPECTIVES ON UTE ETHNOHISTORY
IN WEST CENTRAL COLORADO

Prepared for

Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation,
Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, and Southern Ute Indian Tribe

and

Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office
Glenwood Springs, Grand Junction and Uncompahgre Field Offices

Purchase Order No. L07PX00794

Prepared by

Richard Ott, Project Coordinator, DARG

With contributions by

Betsy Chappoose, Director of Cultural Rights and Protection Department,
Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation,

Clifford Duncan, NAGPRA Consultant,
Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation

Terry G. Knight Sr., NAGPRA Liaison,
Ute Mountain Ute Tribe

and

Lynn Albers, Research Associate, DARG
Carol Patterson, Research Associate, DARG

Dominquez Archaeological Research Group, Inc. (DARG)

December 6, 2010

FINAL REPORT

(Edited for general release June, 2011)

Front Cover: Detail of a map of North America published in 1823 by James Wyld. Compiled from early nineteenth century surveys by Humboldt, Pike, Lewis and Clarke, MacKenzie, and other explorers, the map serves to illustrate then current Euroamerican perspectives on the Utes and their homelands in central and northwestern Colorado. (Wyld 1823).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	v
Preface.....	vi
Executive Summary	1
Introduction	4
Project Background	4
Project Area	5
Project Objectives	6
Participants	6
Project Milestones.....	7
Archival Research	15
Literature Review and Research Context.....	17
Ute Perspectives	18
Archaeological, Anthropological and Ethnohistorical Perspectives..	21
Cultural Resource Management Perspectives.....	33
Overview of Ute Ethnohistorical Themes.....	47
Ute Sites in the Project Area	64
Summary and Management Recommendations	65
References Cited	73
Selected Appendices	
Appendix E: Ethnobotanical Field Notes	E-1
Appendix F: Notes on Colorado Wickiup Project	F-1
Appendix G: Online Archival Sources.....	G-1

Figure 1: These scenes of Ute people in daily life reflect the time span on which this project was focused — that is, from the earliest written Euroamerican records of the study area to the present day.

(Top) Utes traveling west on the White River ca. 1900, at the place where Dominguez and Escalante, guided by a Ute, turned west on the same trail in 1776. Their pack horses were probably carrying deer hides harvested upriver, perhaps on Yellow Creek. The photograph was taken at the place where present Rangely Airport is located.

(Middle) A Ute couple, somewhere in eastern Utah, probably on Uintah and Ouray Reservations lands, early 1900s. (Uintah County Library Regional History Center)

(Bottom) Scene at the first Smoking River Pow Wow in Meeker, Colorado, July 2008.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From its outset this project was a collaborative effort of people engaged, so to speak, on the “front lines” in on-going efforts to preserve, study and understand Ute cultural connections that run deep in the lands of western Colorado. Many of the participants have dedicated years of professional endeavor toward this end, and they have experienced first-hand the ubiquitous and seemingly intractable difficulties of bridging cultural differences which can be traced back through nearly five hundred years of shared Ute and Euroamerican history. Nevertheless, those who joined this effort acknowledged the importance of helping to bridge these differences by working together on a more fundamental, personal level; recognizing that the land, and the future, connects us all.

Ute tribe representatives, Bureau of Land Management staff, and DARG support staff participating in the project included:

Representatives of the Ute tribes:

Betsy Chapoose, Director of Cultural Rights and Protection Department for the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation; Clifford Duncan, Ute Elder and NAGPRA Consultant, Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation; Terry Knight, NAGPRA Representative, Ute Mountain Ute Tribe; Lynn Hartman, Assistant to Terry Knight; and Neil Cloud, NAGPRA Representative, Southern Ute Tribe.

BLM Field Office Archaeologists:

Aline LaForge, GJFO; Cheryl Harrison, GSFO; and Glade Hadden, UFO.

BLM Field Office Managers:

Jamie Connell, GSFO; Catherine Robertson, GJFO; and Barbara Sharrow, UFO.

DARG Research Associates:

Richard Ott, Project Coordinator; Lynn Albers, Ethnobotany Studies; Carol Patterson, Rock Art Studies and Archival Research; Curtis Martin, Colorado Wickiup Project; and Carl Conner, President.

We gratefully acknowledge the helpful advice and shared experience of USFS archaeologist Sally Crum, who has worked diligently for years on building bridges with the Utes. We also extend our deep appreciation to Western Sky Investments LLC for their generous support in providing accommodations and facilities for the project’s general planning meeting at Gateway Canyons Resort.

“When people try to do something together, their attitude is the most important thing.”

— Clifford Duncan (2008)

We have crossed many bridges already. And the last bridge is this: that we are in same house, wearing the same clothes, talking the same language. We can't go back over the bridge. That's gone. But we can look back.

But then let's talk about something that we're trying to save today, that's going to make it to that next bridge. If we don't, we are going to destroy that too. So we're both going to be walking separate paths to that same bridge. Cause when that bridge collapses, we're both going to lose.

— Clifford Duncan (2003b)

PREFACE

In the Ute language there is no word for ethnohistory, archaeology, or anthropology.

In the English language countless reports, articles, books, government policies and even laws have been written about those things, with diverse and often conflicting ideas about what they mean, why they matter, and how they should inform our relationships with one another.

This project tried to operate in the middle ground of these strikingly different perspectives, seeking to identify mutual interests and shared values attached to the land and life of west central Colorado. Our hope was and is to participate in a meaningful and effective way in decisions that will shape those lands in the future

In our first planning meeting discussions Ute participants asked: Who are you? What are you trying to do? and Why are you doing this?

BLM participants asked: What are your “cultural heritage needs”? What areas should we work to protect from other uses? Why are those areas important to the Utes? How can we work together more effectively?

This report is a beginning attempt to answer those questions.



Figure 2: Members of the Ute treaty delegation in Washington, D.C. March 2, 1868 (Shindler 1868). These images are among the earliest photographs taken of Utes.

It was customary for Indians visiting Washington, invariably for the purpose of treaty negotiations and land cessation agreements, to be photographed for the Smithsonian Institution. Such images were often reproduced commercially and were widely popular in Europe and America, helping to reinforce stereotypic White attitudes towards Indians. Both imaginary and ideological, these attitudes in turn fed the polemics of America's nineteenth century "manifest destiny" to colonize, and Christianize, the West (Berkhofer 1978, Stedman 1986).

Left to right, top to bottom: Chippin (Always Riding); Nick-a-a-god (Green Leaf), White River (Yampa) Ute; Suriap, White River (Yampa) Ute, and Pe-ah (Black Tail Deer), Grand River Ute.

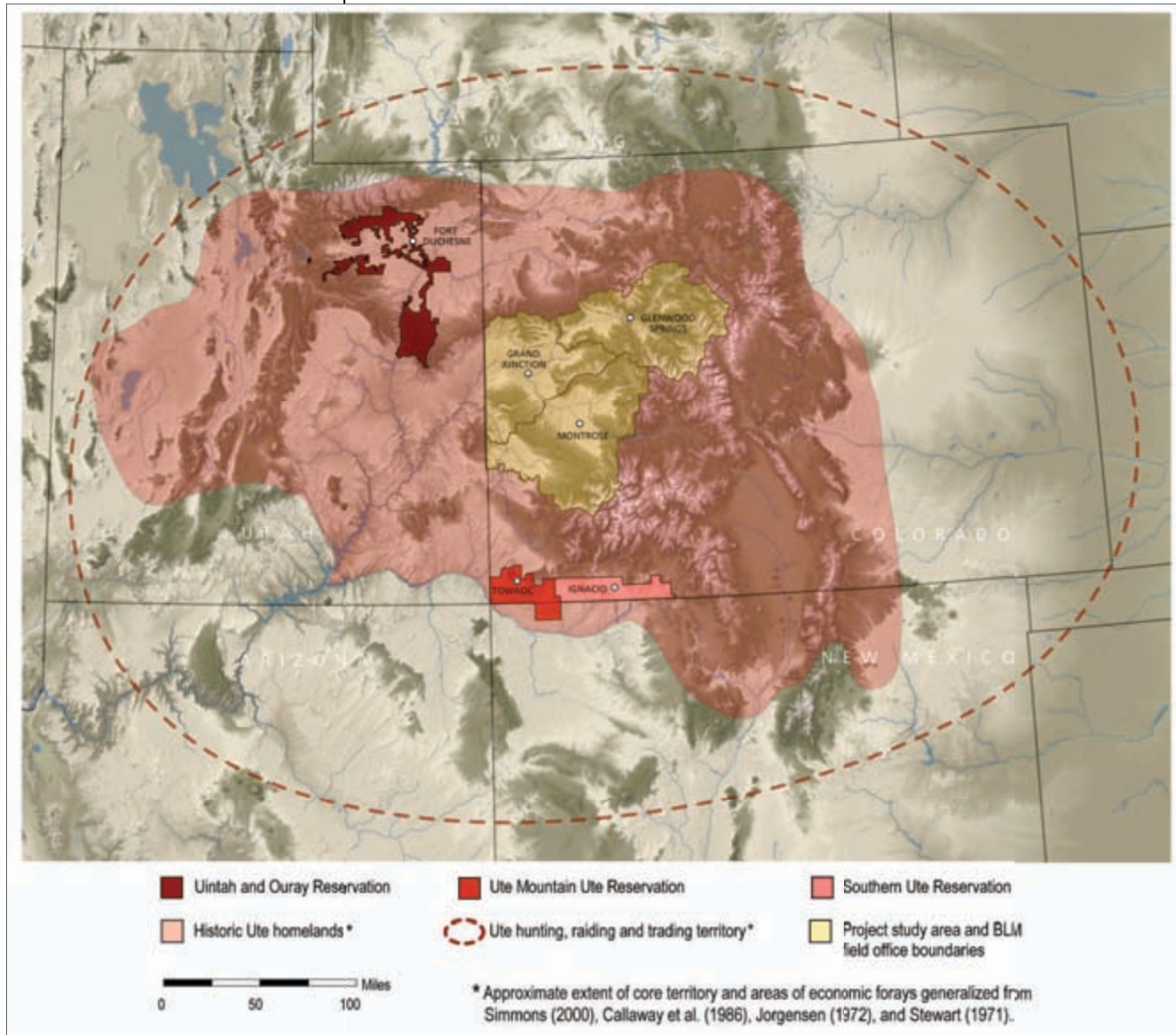


Figure 3: The project study area included BLM's Glenwood Springs, Grand Junction and Uncompahgre (Montrose) Field Offices. These administrative units are located entirely within the Utes' historical homelands.

The Glenwood Springs Field Office (GSFO) manages 559,849 surface acres in Garfield, Mesa, Eagle, Pitkin, Routt and Rio Blanco Counties. The Grand Junction Field Office (GJFO) manages 1,346,832 million surface acres in Mesa, Garfield, Montrose and Delta Counties, and the Uncompahgre Field Office (UFO), headquartered in Montrose, manages 926,655 surface acres in Montrose, Ouray, Delta, Gunnison, San Miguel and Mesa Counties (BLM 2009).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During 2008 the Bureau of Land Management's (BLM) Glenwood Springs (GSFO), Grand Junction (GJFO), and Uncompahgre (UFO) Field Offices in Colorado conducted a Ute Ethnohistory Project in collaboration with the three Ute Tribes that traditionally lived on lands within the field offices' administrative boundaries. The project brought together representatives of the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation (Northern Utes), the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, and the Southern Ute Indian Tribe with BLM field office cultural resource staff and managers.

The project was intended to support agency plans for future cultural resource management in the three participating BLM field offices by documenting current Ute heritage needs. Project activities included site visits by Ute tribal representatives and BLM staff on public lands managed by the BLM in each of the three field offices, and a review and synthesis of existing historical, ethnographic and archaeological data pertaining to Ute heritage in the study area. Dominquez Archaeological Research Group (DARG), a non-profit cultural resources research consortium headquartered in Grand Junction, provided research support, project coordination, and report preparation.

The project area, which comprises the three participating BLM field office administrative areas (Figure 3), has experienced rapidly increasing energy development and recreational impacts in the past decade. Although only approximately 15% of BLM-managed public land within the field offices' administrative boundaries has been inventoried for cultural resources, hundreds of archaeological sites have been recorded in the project area, a significant number of which are thought to be of Ute cultural affiliation (Figure 4). Most of the previous cultural program work in the project area was completed in compliance-driven response to potential direct impacts from identified projects. Systematic Native American consultation in the project area, on both a programmatic and project-specific basis, began only within the past decade. As a consequence, archaeological and ethnohistorical databases for the project area, though improving, lack sufficient depth and reliability to fully inform BLM planners regarding Ute cultural heritage concerns.

The Ute Ethnohistory Project was conceived as a long-term partnership and research project among the Ute Tribes, BLM, and professional cultural heritage specialists. The broad goals of the project are to identify areas and sites of cultural and religious importance to the Ute people, to preserve and protect Ute cultural heritage values that are embedded in public lands, and to encourage and support the Utes' traditional use of those lands.

A number of key themes relevant to the project goals were identified in the course of the project:

- Legal, social, scientific and religious points of view attach to cultural resources on public lands. Each of those perspectives must be considered, in good faith, in land management planning, policy and programs.
- The Utes' traditional and historical culture is based in nature and places deeply-held values on the living landscapes that were home to their ancestors. Their spiritual and emotional connections to their Colorado homelands remain strong, and are growing.

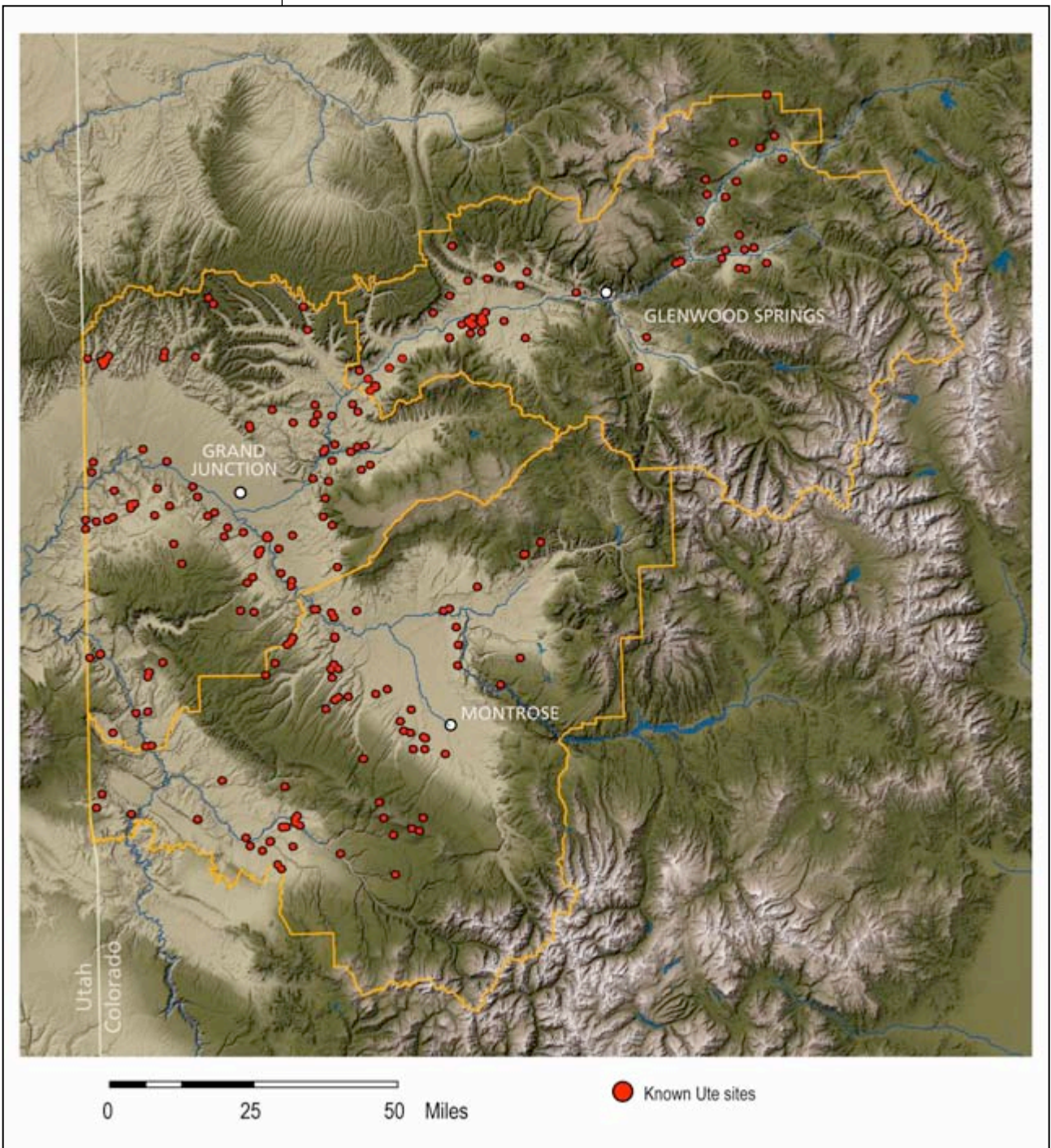


Figure 4: General locations of known Ute archaeological sites within the Glenwood Springs, Grand Junction and Uncompahgre Field Offices. Approximately 15% of BLM-managed public land within the field offices' administrative boundaries has been inventoried for cultural resources, mostly in response to Section 106 permitting activities. Sites shown are compiled from BLM, SHPO, and Colorado Wickiup Project datasets. Sites evaluated as having low integrity, low information potential, and tenuous cultural affiliation are not shown.

- Consultation and partnership with the Utes is vitally important to BLM's planning and cultural resources management decisions in its efforts to keep pace with increasing development and population pressures on public lands in the project area.
- Cultural programs that provide opportunities for Ute people — including elders, families and young people — to widely participate in and contribute to cultural resources research and preservation efforts are of immense benefit to all heritage stakeholders.
- Partnership and collaboration requires information parity. Much work is needed to improve information flow between tribal and agency cultural resources departments.
- Meaningful and effective tribal consultation, as well as informed land management decision-making, requires more than narrowly focused archaeological site information. Landscape-scale inventories, including environmental, ethnohistorical and ethnographic contexts, are generally lacking in the project area.
- Consultation processes are inconsistent across both tribal and agency cultural programs. Past efforts to clarify and improve communication and procedural protocols, including those undertaken in the course of this project, should be continued and expanded.
- A number of recent trends in cultural heritage preservation and cultural resources management, and within the disciplines of archaeology, anthropology and history, are beginning to address past short-comings in regard to Native American cultural and history. This project is a good beginning toward integrating and applying these new ways of understanding to the challenges of preserving and protecting Ute heritage on the public lands of Colorado.

This report examines these themes in some detail, looks at how they may apply to BLM's current and future planning activities, and recommends future actions that BLM can take to more fully integrate Ute heritage concerns into their cultural programs.

INTRODUCTION

Project background

The concept for a regional ethnohistoric overview began in early 2005 when archaeologists from the United States Forest Service (USFS), Bureau of Land Management (BLM), and National Park Service (NPS) met in a series of meetings to discuss the possibility of completing an interagency ethnohistory overview of the Ute in Western Colorado, expanding on a draft ethnohistory completed for the USFS-Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, Gunnison Forest Plan Revision to include the NPS Colorado National



Figure 5: Many historic Ute wickiup sites have been found throughout the study area. BLM and the Colorado Historical Fund have supported recent efforts by the Colorado Wickiup Project to record such sites before they disappear.

Monument and two adjacent BLM Field Offices where upcoming landscape level plans were scheduled. The BLM submitted a funding proposal to the Washington Office in May 2005 based on a partnership proposal but by 2006 the NPS had decided to move forward on their ethnographic overview separately and the overview plans were put on hold. At the same time the USFS Grand Mesa Ranger District and BLM Grand Junction Field Office archaeologists were working locally to create a more

meaningful relationship with the Ute Tribes and in June 2006 the first Ute Ethnobotany Project field workshop was held, bringing elders and students from the Northern Ute Tribe to visit heritage sites on federal and private land around the Grand Junction area. This hands-on project, first conceived of by the Northern Ute Cultural Rights and Protection Department Director, Mrs. Betsy Chapoose, continues to this day, holding two field workshops a year and the project was expanded in 2009 to include the creation of the Ute Learning Garden in partnership with the Northern Ute and Colorado State University Cooperative Extension Service.

The ethnohistory overview covering three BLM Field Offices was approved for funding in 2007. BLM managers and staff went before the three Ute Councils to present the project and ask for their commitment to the project by designating a project participant from their cultural staff who would come to meetings and field trips. Early on the challenge of travel distance, Colorado's terrain and unpredictable weather were recognized as

potential barriers to having all participants attend all meetings. A quorum was not met by the Northern Ute Business Committee February 26, 2007 but the results of the Ethnobotany project were presented and a comment by Mr. Arrowchis, Vice-Chairman present at that consultation, is very pertinent to the project. He said that projects like this "could create ties that were lost" and "bring closer involvement with our sister tribes". Because the quorum was not met follow-up letters were sent to the Business Committee later in 2007. Mr. Clifford Duncan discussed he and Mrs. Chapoose's participation in the project with the Chairman in September 2007 and Mr.

Cesspooch approved their participation. The project was presented to the Southern Ute Council May 30, 2007. Although the Chairman at the time, Mr. Clement Frost was present, a quorum was not met by the Council. Again follow-up letters were sent in the summer resulting in the commitment of Mr. Neil Cloud and Vice-Chairman Matthew Box to attend at least the initial planning meetings. The final Council meeting was with the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe on August 20, 2007, where a quorum was met. Mr. Terry Knight and Mrs. Lynn Hartman were designated as the representatives.



Figure 6: Members of the project workgroup walking along a section of historic Ute trail in Sinbad Valley during the GJFO field visits. The project study area encompasses hundreds of miles of trails used by the Utes' ancestors.

Project Area

The three participating BLM field offices are located entirely within Ute ancestral homelands (Figure 3), and contain significant numbers of prehistoric and historic archaeological sites (Figure 4). Many of these sites contain a wealth of information and are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, and many extant landscapes hold the potential for recognition as Ute traditional religious and cultural heritage areas.

The Glenwood Springs Field Office (GSFO) manages 559,849 surface acres in Garfield, Mesa, Eagle, Pitkin, Routt and Rio Blanco Counties. The Grand Junction Field Office (GJFO) manages 1,346,832 million surface acres in Mesa, Garfield, Montrose and Delta Counties, and the Uncompahgre Field Office (UFO), headquartered in Montrose, manages 926,655 surface

acres in Montrose, Ouray, Delta, Gunnison, San Miguel and Mesa Counties.

Project Objectives

The Ute Ethnohistory project was intended to meet data gathering and management action development for Resource Management Plans now in development in each of the three BLM field offices. The project was tasked with creating documentary materials, as well as synthesizing existing ethnographic and archaeological data, using a combination of historical and anthropological approaches, to study and describe Ute cultural processes in the study area.



Project goals included bringing Ute tribal members to lands managed by the BLM in the three field offices, to document the current heritage needs of the tribes in both narrative reports and maps, and to synthesize information that can be brought forward into the agency plans for future heritage resource management.

Figure 7: McInnis Canyons National Conservation Area and Black Ridge Wilderness, located within GJFO boundaries on the northern flanks of the Uncompahgre Plateau, include numerous Ute cultural resources, including sections of an important Ute trail, wickiup sites, rock art and seasonal camps, and ethnographic landscapes. The NCA lies immediately west of Colorado National Monument.

The project was also charged with providing management recommendations for addressing Native American Religious Concerns; proposing approaches for future agency-tribal projects; identifying opportunities for developing management strategies with Ute participants for managing for traditional uses, suggesting ways for conducting more meaningful consultation to protect Ute Heritage on BLM lands, and identifying other issues or concerns revealed in the course of the project.

Participants

The project variously included participation by BLM cultural resources staff, RMP staff and Field Office managers, along with cultural affairs representatives from each of the three Ute tribes. Additionally, research associates from Dominquez Archaeological Research Group (DARG) participated as appropriate at several levels including project coordination and logistics, research support, and report preparation. Individual participants are identified in the Acknowledgments section of the report (page v) and in the participant details listed in Appendix A.

Project Milestones

BLM staff began the project in late summer/fall 2007 with presentations to each of the three Ute Tribal Councils, explaining the goals and objectives of the project and requesting support for the project. On completion of these initial meetings, scheduling began for the first general planning meeting to discuss broad issues and set a specific agenda for the project.

Gateway Planning Meeting

The first general meeting was held in Gateway, Colorado on November 28, 2007. Representatives of all invited organizations were in attendance, with the exception of Southern Ute Tribe representatives who were unable to attend due to weather concerns. A complete list of attendees appears in Appendix A.

Discussions were wide-ranging and productive and addressed all of the main goals of the meeting. Areas of discussion included: review and clarification of the project scope of work; general discussion of Ute issues and concerns related to the project; information and procedural needs required by the Ute Tribes to participate in a meaningful way; BLM field office needs and goals for the project; goals and sources for archival literature research; preliminary scoping and planning for BLM field office visits during early Spring 2008, and identification of tasks necessary to prepare for and schedule field office visits and subsequent site visits.

General consensus was expressed by all participants regarding several broad goals and objectives for the project: 1) the project should be for the benefit of all Utes, not just certain tribes or bands; 2) the project should recognize that Ute culture is a living heritage, and cultural resource protection and preservation is a way to connect past and future; 3) the project should recognize that Ute cultural resources include not just archaeological sites, but also their relationship to land and natural resources; 4) the project should seek ways to include Ute young people working on the land together with Ute elders and families; and 5) the project should consider and fully explore all appropriate resource



Figure 8: A late spring snow, as seen on the way up Cottonwood Pass south of Glenwood Springs, greeted the project workgroup during site visits in GSFO in June, 2008. A portion of the itinerary included Ute heritage areas not previously visited by Ute consultants.

management designations in developing management recommendations for the project report.

It was recognized that the Ute Ethnohistory Project is primarily focused on the Resource Management Plan needs of the BLM field offices, which are largely concerned in fulfilling legal, government to government obligations and responsibilities in the revision of these land use planning level documents. All participants expressed their commitment in their professional capacity to the protection and preservation of cultural resources, and further acknowledged the importance of also trying to work

together on a more fundamental, personal level that might bridge differences between organizations and individual viewpoints.

Participants generally agreed that the project scope of work met the goals of the group and no new issues were identified that would require any major deviations from the planned work. Specific tasks and actions were agreed upon in order to move the project forward.



Figure 9: During site visits in GSFO, project members toured areas in Garfield County which are experiencing dramatic impacts from natural gas development activities.

Since 1999, drilling permits issued in the state have increased sixfold, and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has leased 5.2 million acres of federal land in Colorado for new energy exploration (NYT 2009).

Ute representatives identified several specific, practical information needs required for their meaningful participation in the project, beginning with the need for clear, simple maps showing project study areas and focused cultural resource data points. DARG support staff was tasked with production coordination for such materials by BLM GIS and cultural resources staff.

A workgroup session focusing on archive and bibliographic research was tentatively scheduled with Ute Mountain Ute representatives and DARG support staff. Goals included scoping and planning for integrating meaningful archive research into the project, and to avoid duplication of past efforts.

DARG support staff was also tasked with budgeting, scheduling and other planning activities in support of field office visits. Consensus of the group was to arrange for visits to all three

field offices in a consolidated schedule to include Glenwood Springs, Grand Junction and Montrose over a two day period during early Spring 2008.

Field Office Meetings

Field Office Meetings for the Project were held at Glenwood Springs, Grand Junction and Uncompahgre Field Offices March 11-13, 2008. Representatives from the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, the Ute Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation, and the Southern Ute Tribe attended all three meetings with Bureau of Land Management personnel and project support staff from Dominquez Archaeological Research Group. A complete attendance list is attached in Appendix A.

Discussions at the meetings were productive and achieved targeted planning tasks. Ute heritage locations were reviewed using maps and documentary materials compiled by BLM and DARG staff. Discussions included summary overviews by DARG research associates in the fields of Ute ethnobotany, Ute wickiup studies, and Ute rock art.

Ute heritage sites and general areas of Ute cultural interest were identified in each field office. Scope and quality of maps and documentation prepared for the meetings were reviewed and standards for future information sharing were identified. Information gaps were identified and tasks were assigned for compiling and distributing documentation for follow-on planning tasks. Scheduling and logistics issues for subsequent field visits were discussed.

Scheduling windows were identified in Summer and early Fall 2008 for reconnaissance field trips in each field office for Ute and BLM representatives and support staff. Field trips were planned to tour specific areas and sites and to share information in context.

During field office reviews of Ute heritage locations, Neil Cloud, representative for the Southern Ute Tribe, expressed his



Figure 10: Site visits in the GSFO included a distant view of the Rifle Wickiup Village, the largest known wickiup site in the state.

A number of sites in the GSFO are located near rapidly growing population centers and BLM faces a difficult challenge managing sites near urban interfaces.

view that Ute heritage resources in the project area are not of direct cultural interest to members of the Southern Ute Tribe. Pending consultation with his tribal council and other tribal members, he felt that the Southern Utes were unlikely to participate in subsequent site visits. BLM staff were to consult with the Southern Ute Tribal Council in this regard.

At the conclusion of the meetings, Ute representatives suggested that a presentation on the results of the project to date be made to the Tri-Ute Meeting scheduled for June 2008 in

Towaoc, CO. BLM staff and Ute representatives planned to follow-up with their respective organizations in that regard.

Site Visits—Glenwood Springs Field Office (GSFO)

A field visit to Ute heritage areas in the GSFO was conducted for the Project June 10-12, 2008. Representatives from the Ute Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation participated with Bureau of Land Management staff and support staff from Dominguez Archaeological Research Group (DARG). Representatives from the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe were scheduled to participate,

but late-breaking schedule conflicts prevented their travel. The Southern Ute Tribe declined to participate. A complete participant list is attached in Appendix A.

Tribal representatives were provided with maps and other documentation of cultural resources within the GSFO, with supporting materials that provided context relevant to special BLM management areas of concern and areas of Native American concern.

Participants toured field office areas for two full days, June 10 and 11, traveling over 500 miles through the Lower Colorado, Roaring Fork, and Eagle sub-areas of the GSFO. A portion of the itinerary covered areas of Native American concern not previously visited by Ute representatives. BLM mitigation approaches were reviewed at sites, and broad mitigation strategies for preserving traditional cultural landscape values were discussed. The itinerary



Figure 11: Site visits in the UFO included this view of the south flanks of the Uncompahgre Plateau, above the San Miguel River canyon. Dominguez and Escalante's 1776 route led them through this area, where they encountered several groups of Utes.

A number of Ute seasonal camps, some with wickiups present, have been found near San Miguel Canyon near Norwood, where this scene was photographed. A wildfire burned about 800 acres in this same area in July 2009.

provided numerous opportunities for participants to observe and discuss ethnographically important plants in spring bloom. Future, follow-up programs for harvesting traditional plants by Ute tribal members were also discussed. The tour route primarily ranged from urban interface areas in river valleys, through riparian areas, pinyon-juniper woodlands, and Gambel Oak and mountain shrub lands. Plans for visiting higher elevation montane and aspen woodlands were canceled due to impassable roads resulting from persistent snowpack and spring melt.

On June 12 participants met at BLM offices in Glenwood Springs with the GSFO RMP project leader and the field office manager to discuss scheduling and process issues for incorporating concerns of the Ute Tribes into the GSFO and Kremmling Field Office (KFO) RMP/EIS. Ute participants expressed interest in including traditional Native American cultural landscape values in the subheadings and other structural language in the RMP. Also discussed was the possibility of using a risk-analysis model for cultural resource and Native American RMP/EIS alternative analysis.



Figure 12: Workgroup participants discuss rock art interpretation and protection in the UFO with Field Office Manager Barbara Sharrow during site visits in Paradox Valley, scene of intense uranium activities in recent years.

The relationship of the Kremmling Field Office (KFO) RMP to the BLM Ute Ethnohistory project was discussed. Ute participants expressed concerns regarding tribal input and consultation for the Kremmling portion of the RMP without the opportunity to visit KFO areas of Native American concern, and the need to consult with other Native American tribes who may have cultural interests in the KFO.

The following action items were agreed upon:

- GSFO staff were to continue to work with Ute representatives to develop recommendations for including traditional Native American cultural landscape values in the draft RMP. Due to RMP scheduling, specific recommendations needed to be submitted by late July 2008 to be included in the draft document.

BLM reported 10,730 new filings for uranium mining claims on the Western Slope in 2007. In 2006, 5,205 claims were filed for the uranium rich region (mostly in Montrose and Mesa counties). These numbers are up dramatically from the 120 claims filed in 2003 (Chakrabarty 2008).

- It was recommended that KFO staff explore possibilities for scheduling a field office visit for tribal representatives. Representatives from the Uintah & Ouray Ute Tribe indicated their availability for a KFO field visit September 15-19, 2008. That suggested activity was beyond the scope of the current BLM Ute Ethnohistory Project and would need to be conducted independently.



Figure 13: Site visits in the GJFO included a tour of areas near Gateway where a major tourist resort is being developed on private land. The scenic and recreational values present on surrounding public lands are attracting increasing numbers of visitors, and the need for cultural resource conservation and interpretation is growing as well.

- Maps and documentation prepared for this visit and a report of activities and discussions were to be delivered to Ute Mountain Ute tribal representatives who were unable to attend. A field visit to the GSFO by Ute Mountain Ute representatives was tentatively scheduled during the week of August 11-15, 2008, if needed.

- The next field visits were scheduled for August 19-20, 2008 in the Uncompahgre Field Office and September 8-10, 2008 in the Grand Junction Field Office.

Site Visits—Uncompahgre Field Office (UFO)

UFO staff arranged an extra-curricular site visit for members of the project workgroup during April 29-30, 2008. Funding for the event was not charged to the Ute Ethnohistory Project budget. Betsy Chapoose and Clifford Duncan from the Northern Utes participated, along with Terry Knight from Ute Mountain Utes. A number of BLM staff, including Barbara Sharrow, Field Office Manager, and several fire management staff members not directly affiliated with the Ethnohistory Project also participated. The itinerary for the visit included Ute heritage areas in the Norwood vicinity to observe Ute sites within a natural gas development and fuels reduction zone, as well as the Paradox Valley area which is experiencing dramatically increased uranium activity, including a proposed uranium mill.

The scheduled project field visit in the UFO was conducted August 19-20, 2008. Representatives from the Ute Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation participated with Bureau of Land Management staff and support staff from Dominquez Archaeological Research Group (DARG). Mr. Terry Knight, representative from the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe was scheduled to

attend, but an unexpected loss of a family member prevented his participation. The Southern Ute Tribe did not participate. A complete participant list is attached in Appendix A.

Participants toured field office areas for two full days viewing areas not previously visited by Ute representatives. On August 19 the group travelled via Escalante Canyon on the eastern flanks of the Uncompahgre Plateau to areas with wickiup sites and other Ute heritage resources. The group hiked to several wickiup sites in the Gunnison Gulch wickiup area, located within the boundaries of the proposed Dominguez-Escalante National Conservation Area and Dominguez Canyon Wilderness Area. Current archaeological and ethnohistorical research on wickiups in western Colorado was discussed during the visit to the Gunnison Gulch wickiups. Bad road conditions on Twentyfive Mesa prevented access to wickiup locales on Monitor Mesa, but an overview of the area was obtained. On August 20 participants travelled to the Dry Creek area and visited rock art sites and locales with plant species of Ute traditional use. The area is of special travel management concern and participants were given an overview of conditions and shown examples of impacts in locales containing archaeological resources.



Figure 14: During the GJFO site visit to the Battlement Mesa area south of Debeque, project members spotted a bear-scratched juniper adjacent to an early Ute site. Clifford Duncan remarked that it reminded him of the Ute story of the coyote's wig.

At the conclusion of field travel on August 20, participants met at BLM offices in Montrose for general discussion of the RMP process and topics of concern and interest to the Utes. Upcoming activities for the Ethnohistory Project were reviewed, and long-range ideas for continuing more meaningful consultation were discussed. The next field visit for the project was scheduled for September, 2008 in the Grand Junction Field Office.

Site Visits—Grand Junction Field Office (GJFO)

Ute heritage areas in the GSFO were conducted during September 9-11, 2008. Representatives from the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation and the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe participated with Bureau of Land Management staff and support staff from Dominquez Archaeological Research Group

(DARG). The Southern Ute Tribe did not participate. A complete participant list is attached in Appendix A.

Participants toured field office areas for two full days viewing areas not previously visited by Ute representatives. During the afternoon of September 9 the group visited pictograph sites and Ute heritage areas located along East Salt Creek in the Bookcliffs near Highway 139. The challenges of mitigating human disturbances on cultural resources located in proximity to roads and highways was discussed, as well as the inevitability of natural deterioration of rock art panels.

On September 10, during the morning, the group travelled to the Black Ridge area for an overview of the McInnis Canyons National Conservation Area and to view the Rattlesnake Arch trailhead on the Ute Trail which passes through the NCA. Participants then visited the Black Ridge Wickiup site and discussed its relationship in proximity to Colorado National Monument areas the Utes had previously visited as part of an earlier ethnobotany project. During the afternoon participants travelled to the southern field office boundary on the Dolores River to view rock art sites, then on to Sinbad Valley to view sections of a Ute Trail and a possible wickiup site at Black Springs. Ute participants expressed their interest in Ute trails and the importance of maintaining these heritage resources to keep them accessible and usable. Participants also noted the relative abundance in Sinbad Valley of plant resources which are used for traditional basketry, and discussed the challenges of private land access in areas such as Sinbad Valley.

During the morning on September 11 the group drove to the Sunnyside area on the western end of Battlement Mesa to view a wickiup site and other sites of interest along the Collbran pipeline project, and discussed the relationship of modern roads and historic trails. Participants met at BLM offices in Grand Junction during the afternoon for a brief close-out meeting with the GJFO field office manager and RMP project manager to discuss the RMP process and topics of concern and interest to the Utes. Forthcoming activities for the Ethnohistory Project were reviewed, and long-range possibilities for improving the tribal consultation process were discussed. The importance of conducting consultation meetings, on location in the field, was emphasized by the Utes.

No further field visits were conducted during the Ethnohistory Project.

Archival Research

This project attempted to extend the archival research conducted and reported in previous Ute ethnohistorical studies. Discussion at the general planning meeting in Gateway, and subsequently, centered primarily on the collections held by the Ute Mountain Ute tribe and new research data from DARG's Colorado Wickiup Project. A workgroup meeting with DARG associates and Ute Mountain Ute representatives was tentatively scheduled for early 2008, but weather and later on-going scheduling problems prevented that activity from occurring.

During the project, DARG research associate Carol Patterson began assisting Clifford Duncan with cataloging for his private archives, which include a wide variety of materials collected over many years. That work is continuing.

DARG is also currently preparing a complete set of results from the Colorado Wickiup Project, comprising five volumes to date, for distribution this fall to all the Ute Tribes as well as the BLM field offices. Future results will be similarly shared.

During the early stages of work on this project, DARG also reviewed and compared catalogs of archival materials held at the Denver Public Library's Western History Collections and the Colorado Historical Society in Denver, the Center of Southwest Studies at Fort Lewis College in Durango, and the Ute Indian Museum in Montrose.

The project also focused on digital historical archives, which have proliferated online in recent years as a multitude of public and university libraries, museums, historical societies, and other organizations — in this country and abroad — have launched on-going digitization programs for collections including historical government records, photographs, maps, scholarly books and journals, newspapers and other materials. Repeated surveys of a number of these online repositories indicated that many of them are regularly adding new materials. Opportunities for online research in both primary and secondary sources are likely to continue to expand in the future. A bibliography of online digital sources identified during research for this project, selected for particular relevance to Ute studies, is presented in Appendix E.

“In order to have a future, we have to have a past.”

— Terry Knight (2007)

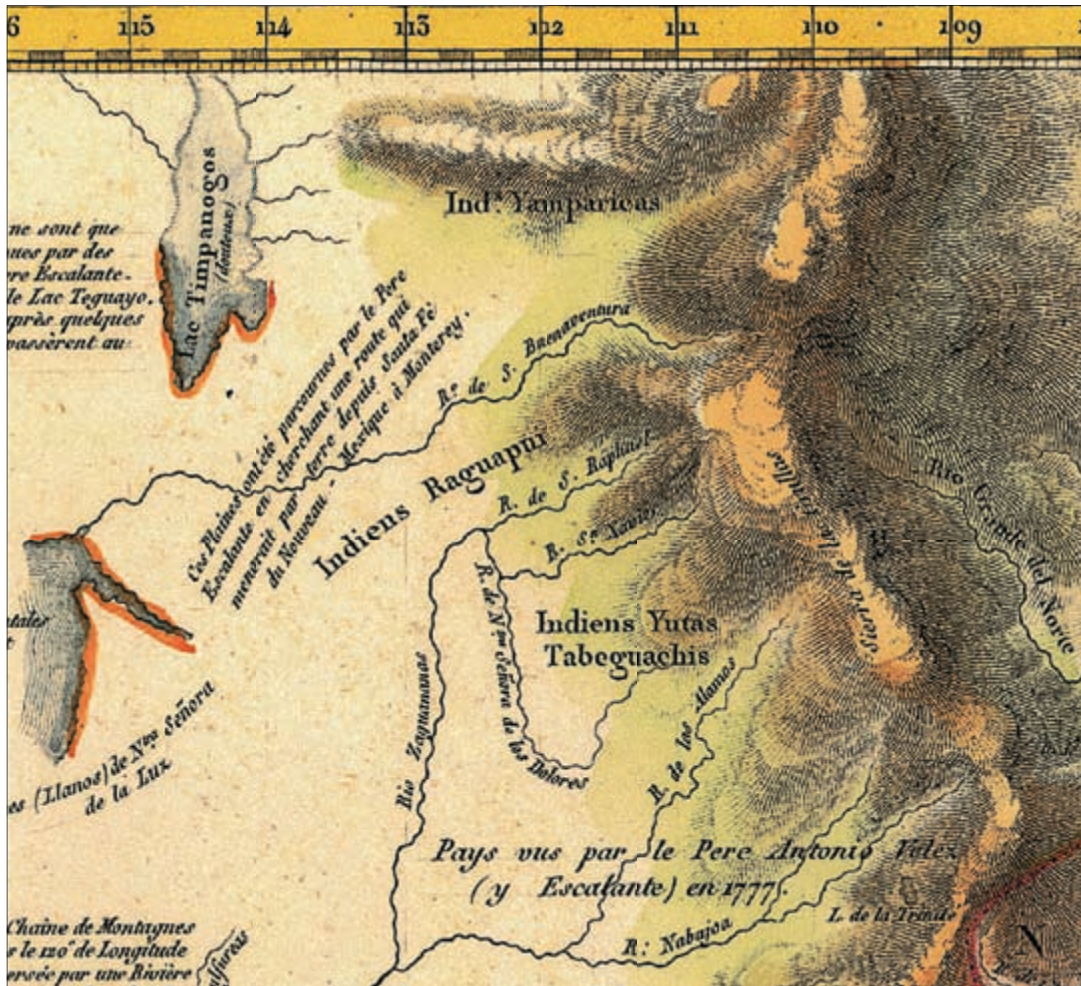


Figure 15: Detail of Alexander von Humboldt's *Map of the Kingdom of New Spain* first published in 1809 (Humboldt 1811). The area shown includes the project area. The Great Basin was the “least explored and most poorly understood” region of Spain’s northern frontier (Francaviglia 2005:41), and Humboldt’s map includes numerous geographic errors. Nevertheless, in this detail, Humboldt’s identifies the “Yamparica” and “Tabeguachi” Ute bands, which can be traced forward to the present day White River and Uncompahgre Bands of the Northern Utes, respectively. The “Raguapui” may be antecedent to the “Mowataviwatsiu” (Figure 33) or “Sabuagana” (Figures 35-36) bands, who also merged with one or both of the northern Colorado Ute bands (Baker et al., 2007 and Simmons, 2000).

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH CONTEXT

A primary goal of this project was to integrate Ute perspectives into the land management planning activities of the three BLM field offices comprising the study area, insofar as they relate to cultural resources management (CRM) and Ute heritage needs. Identifying a meaningful context within which to place those points of view was the chief objective of the project's literature review. This process required consideration not only of Ute perspectives, but also how and to what degree those perspectives variously contrast and conform to the legal, regulatory and policy frameworks under which BLM conducts its cultural resource management responsibilities.

Further, a significant majority of the cultural resources on BLM lands — over 90% nationally — are prehistoric Native American or archeological sites according to estimates by the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP 2006). In many respects, “cultural resources” and “archaeological sites” have come to be virtually synonymous in practice, at least on the western public lands that BLM manages, including those in our project study area. As one long-time CRM practitioner phrased it, “most people involved in Section 106 review are archeologists, who tend to mean ‘archeological site’ when they say ‘cultural resource,’ and who think of CRM as an endeavor in applied archeological research” (King 2004). There is rather more to say about this later.

Given these factors, the literature review for the project was approached from three angles of view: 1) Ute perspectives; 2) the social science perspectives of archaeology, anthropology, ethnohistory, and history; and 3) the cultural resources management perspectives of BLM and other public land management agencies, and historic preservation and cultural heritage communities.

One of our specific tasks stated in the scope of work (BLM 2007) was to “synthesize existing ethnographic or archaeological data (relevant to the study area), using a combination of historical



Figure 16: Unidentified Ute woman, ca. 1870-1890, posing for a studio portrait (DPL).

“Indian history is no mere curiosity or sideshow in the drama of the American past. The two remain interwoven.”

— Ned Blackhawk (2006:3)

and anthropological approaches”. In our review we included a look at some of the theoretical underpinnings of these disciplines in order to identify themes and issues of relevance to the broader integrative objectives of the project. Along the way we also attempted to historicize these themes to the degree necessary to point out relevant relationships to the other perspectives we discuss.

Discussions in this section focus on the broad contextual issues and themes outlined above. Discussion of specific ethnohistorical and archaeological information relevant to the study area and the objectives of this project follow later.

Ute perspectives

During the past decade or so a variety of materials have been published which explicitly approach Ute history and culture from a *Ute* perspective. Notable examples of such work include Forrest S. Cuch’s (2000) *A History of Utah’s American Indians*, William Wroth’s (2000) *Ute Indian Arts & Culture: From Prehistory to the New Millennium*, Fred Conetah’s (1982) *A History of the Northern Ute People*, and Clifford Duncan’s (n.d.) online essay, *The Northern Utes of Utah*. A recent television documentary, part of *A Native History of Utah*, produced in conjunction with the national PBS series *We Shall Remain* (Green 2009), features Northern Utes sharing some of their personal and tribal stories, and describing their deep emotional and spiritual connections to ancestral Colorado homelands.

Several recent ethnographic and ethnohistorical studies, conducted mainly for federal agencies responsible for public lands in Colorado, have also focused strongly on Ute perspectives. These include: *The Ute relationships to the lands of West Central Colorado: An ethnographic overview prepared for the U.S. Forest Service* (Burns 2004); *Native American Oral History and Cultural Interpretation in Rocky Mountain National Park* (McBeth 2007); *Ethnographic Assessment and Documentation of Rocky Mountain National Park* (Brett 2003); *Traditional Plant Use Study: Bent’s Old Fort National Historic Site and Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site* (Campbell 2007); and *The Ute Ethnobotany Project (2007)*.

The compilations edited by Cuch (2000) and Wroth (2000) include contributions by two of the Ute consultants who participated in this project. Clifford Duncan, Elder and NAGPRA Representative for the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, tells the story of “The Northern Utes of Utah” in Cuch (pp. 167-224). (He also appears in the PBS documentary video,

previously noted.) Terry G. Knight, Sr., Animas-LaPlata Project Cultural Resources and NAGPRA Liaison for the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, contributed his views on “Ute Leaders of the Past” in Wroth (pp. 21-25). Both volumes also include contributions from other writers — Indian and White — who point out ways of looking at Ute history that challenge a variety of “mainstream” concepts of who the Utes are and what their role has been in American history.

A consistent theme is evident in all these examples. Forrest Cuch (2000:xii), executive director of the Utah Division of Indian Affairs, summed it up this way:

For the most part, the histories of Utah’s American Indian tribes have not been considered a viable and integral part of the history of the state of Utah (and Colorado). They have been treated as addenda or commentary rather than official textbook documentary. To quote Will Numkena (Cuch’s predecessor as director of the Utah Division of Indian Affairs), ‘Non-Indian authors have traditionally been the writers of Indian history. Therefore, it is their perceptions, understandings and views reflected in those writings. The reader is given a one-sided perspective without presentation of the Indian experience.’ In other words, until this time, Indian history has been written by the conqueror, with little or no regard for those conquered.

The Utes are not alone in their call for a more balanced perspective on their tribal history. During the past several decades an “exponential expansion of Native American history offerings” has occurred in the history curriculums of American universities (Wunder 2007:603), and Indigenous challenges have stirred the waters within the domains of anthropology and archeology as well. One of the more notable examples of scholars working from this perspective is Ned Blackhawk, a Western Shoshone and Associate Professor of History and American Indian Studies at the University of Wisconsin. His (2006) *Violence Over the Land: Indians and*

Figure 17: Ute horsemen, photographed by H.S. Poley in 1899, as they crossed the Los Pinos River in LaPlata County. (Poley 1899).



Empires in the Early American West has won a number of ethnohistorical and historical literature awards, and in that work, as well as in several recent essays (2007a, 2007b), he has significantly raised the bar for anthropologists, ethnohistorians, archeologists and others who purport to know and understand Ute culture history. His perspective on the Utes, and their complex and adaptive relationships with Euroamericans during four hundred years of shared history, will undoubtedly make an important contribution to “reconciling the dispossession of millions (of Indigenous people) and the making of America (Blackhawk 2006:3).”



Figure 18: Utes in the Uintah Valley, photographed by J.K. Hillers of the Powell Expedition in 1873 or 1874. (Hillers 1873).

Archaeological, anthropological and ethnohistorical perspectives

Europeans first became aware of Ute territory when Spanish explorers pushed their frontier northward into New Mexico in the sixteenth century. The Utes were “apparently engaged in trade with the sedentary Indians of New Mexico long before the arrival of the Spanish” (Tyler, 1954:345). “Yutas,” as the Spanish came to call them, are mentioned repeatedly in early Spanish expedition and administrative records beginning as early as 1626 (Blackhawk, 2006:22), although such early references may have also included Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi groups because of their close language affiliation with the Utes (Tyler, 1954:345). It is clear, nevertheless, that Spanish explorers and colonists had knowledge of the Utes from the outset, and the Utes, in turn, had knowledge of the Spaniards’ presence in New Mexico.

In 1765 Juan María Antonio Rivera led the first two recorded expeditions into western Colorado. Journals from these forays, however, remain unpublished. In earlier years other New Mexicans had travelled as “far north as the Gunnison River and as far west as the Colorado River” (Sanchez, 1997:x) seeking trade with the Utes, but they left no known records. Following Rivera, in 1776, Fathers Dominguez and Escalante led an expedition from New Mexico that circumnavigated the Utes’ Colorado and Utah territories, retracing much of Rivera’s earlier western Colorado route (Figures 19, 20 and 32). The Dominguez and Escalante expedition produced the first known map of Colorado Ute territory and the expedition’s journal has provided a widely referenced documentary baseline of the Utes’ presence in eighteenth century western Colorado (Chavez and Warner, 1976; Bolton 1950).

The Spaniards who went north from Santa Fe to western Colorado were “generally unconcerned with the cultural landscapes through which they traveled.” Their agendas depended largely on their particular mission: “Missionaries proselytized; traders searched for hides, horses, and slaves; and armies and colonial authorities attempted to enforce imperial decrees.” The documentary records they created along the way, as a consequence, offer only a fragmented and partial beginning to Ute ethnohistory — although they are “littered” with “narrow but critical” details about the Utes and other Great Basin people they encountered. (Blackhawk 2006:19).



Figure 19: First page from the Dominguez-Escalante Journal and one of several manuscript map copies showing a portion of the expedition’s route (Library of Congress 2009).

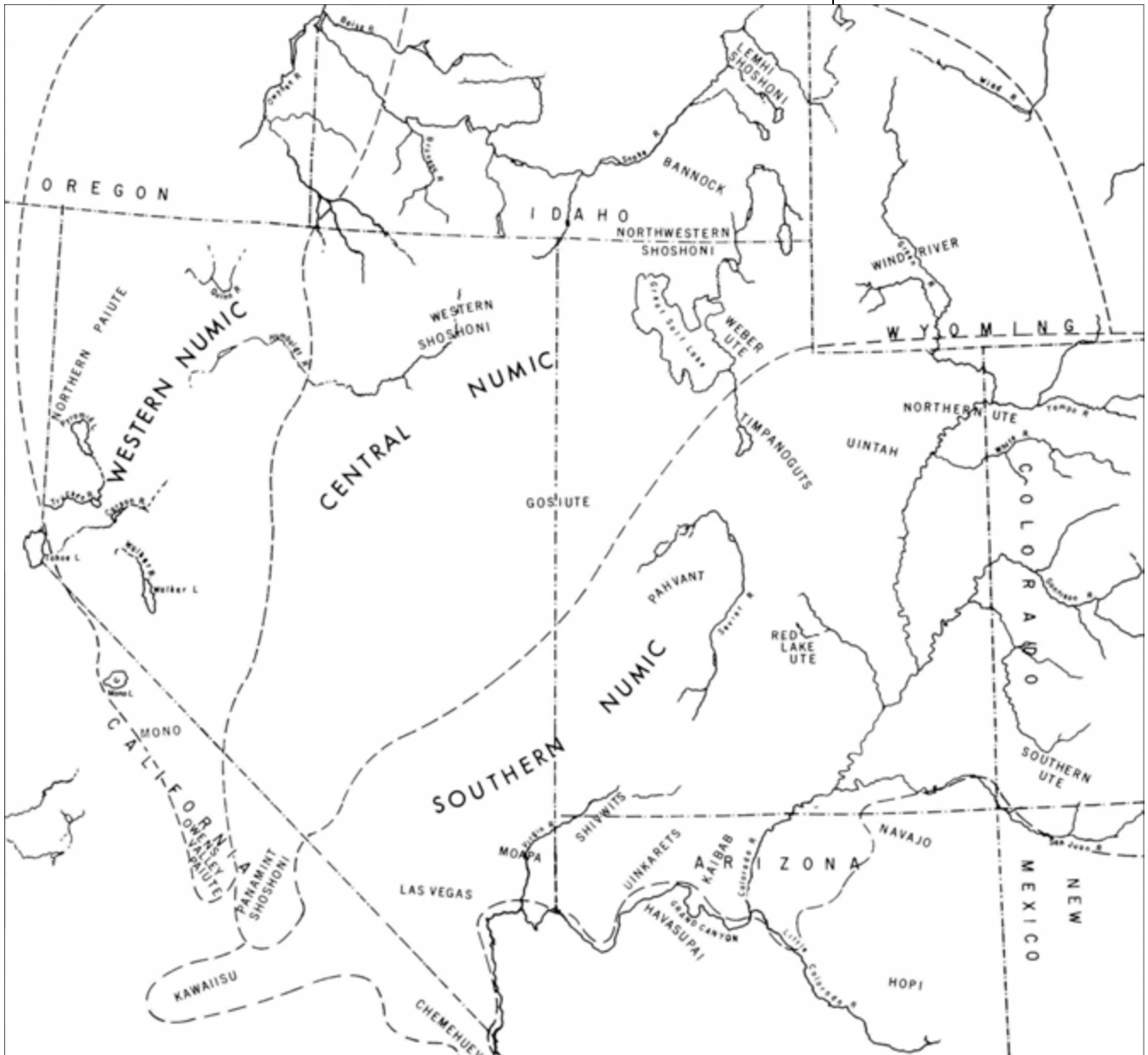


Figure 21: (Above) Location of Nomic tribes and linguistic groups as depicted by Fowler and Fowler (1971:6)

(Right) Numic is a member of the Uto-Aztec language family that extends from the Great Basin to Central America (Wroth 2000:53). Pre-contact distribution map from Mithun (1999).



Date of field work	Author(s)	Description
1866 - 1877	Edward Palmer (Palmer 1876, 1878; Heizer 1954, 1962; Fowler and Matley 1978)	Collected miscellaneous ethnographic data on the Northern Ute.
1868-1880	John Wesley Powell (Fowler and Fowler 1971; Fowler and Matley 1979)	Large corpus of work throughout the Great Basin, including linguistic and ethnographic data from the Northern Utes.
1900	Alfred Louis Kroeber (Kroeber 1901, 1908)	Brief ethnographic work with the Northern Ute.
1910	Edward Sapir (Sapir and Bright 1992)	Worked briefly with the Uintah Ute of Northern Utah.
Early 1900s	Ralph V. Chamberlin (Chamberlin 1909)	Collected materials on Ute ethnobiological nomenclature and toponyms.
1930s	Julian H. Steward (Steward 1938)	Basin-wide, long-range studies. Some Northern Ute material culture and mythology.
1937-1938	Omer Stewart (Stewart 1942)	Culture element distribution study, including Northern Ute informants.
Early 1950s	Gottfried Lang (1953, 1954)	Studies in psychological anthropology of the Northern Ute.
Began 1957-58	Joseph G. Jorgensen (1959, 1964, 1972)	Extended study of various facets of Northern Ute culture and society.

Table 1: Some of the main legacy sources for Northern Ute ethnography, from Fowler's (1980) overview of Great Basin anthropology and individual sources.

By the early nineteenth century, scientists — mostly surveyors and map-makers in service to Spanish, British, French and later American colonial interests — began to join European expeditions into the western interior of the country. In the beginning, many of the physiographic features they mapped, particularly the hydrography, were erroneously charted, yet they had no trouble laying their precise cartographic graticule on the landscape; projecting, in the process, the scientific and economic values of the European Enlightenment they perceived there. (Francaviglia 2005, Carter 1999). As with their predecessors, their interests in cultural landscapes were largely tangential to primary concerns: finding routes through “empty” lands and inventorying the natural resources that were the great attractors of European expansion. Explicit ethnographic work in western Colorado did not begin until the second half of the nineteenth century.



Figure 22: Ute camp, unknown location, probably eastern Utah, ca. 1870-1880 (Utah State History [USH] 2008).

In 1868, John Wesley Powell began his “pioneering” ethnographic fieldwork among the Indigenous peoples of the Great Basin and the Colorado Plateau, including the Utes in northwestern Colorado. Powell worked during the “formative period of American anthropology” and his linguistic and ethnographic observations of the Utes and other Great Basin groups led him to conclude (Fowler and Fowler 1971:5):

This desolate land is the home of a great family of tribes speaking different dialects or languages of the same stock. They call themselves Nu-mes, Nu-intz, Nu-mas, Nu-mos, Shi-ni-mos, Nunas, etc., all doubtless, variations of the same word. We will call them Nu-mas.

Powell’s term, now simply spelled “Numa,” was superseded in the first part of the twentieth century by Alfred Kroeber’s term “Plateau Shoshonean,” which he defined as a division of the Uto-Aztec stock. More recently there has been a return to Powell’s terminology and Numic tribes are generally thought of as divided into three groups (Figure 21) called “Western, Central and Southern Numic” (Fowler and Fowler 1971:5-6)

Powell’s nineteenth century ethnographic work was only one of his many objectives — which included recording accurate data on climate, soils, water, and mineral resources — but his agenda

did include “systematic statements about demography, Indian affairs, and recommendations toward the resolution of the ‘Indian Problem’ in the Numic area (Fowler and Fowler 1971). Powell’s

fieldwork began in the period following the Civil War when American expansion in the West began to pick up steam, and when the applied concept of “Indian Reservations” began to change things for the Utes in new significant ways (Blackhawk 2006:177). In 1874, in collaboration with George W. Ingalls, Powell produced the “first systematic survey of Great Basin Indian demography and political organization” and it continues to be a “baseline document for Great Basin aboriginal demography (Powell and Ingalls 1874; reprinted in Fowler and Fowler 1971:97-119).



Powell’s fieldwork between 1868 and 1880 focused in large part on Numic groups in the western and southern areas of the Great Basin, but he did spend time with some of the Northern Utes on the White River in Colorado and later in Utah on the Uintah Reservation. His linguistic collections include vocabularies from Northern Ute groups he identified as Tabuats, Yampaats, and

Uintah (Fowler and Fowler 1971). His fieldwork also included perhaps the earliest photographs taken of Utes in their daily lives and homelands, notably the work of J.K. Hillers (Figure 18).

Between 1880 and 1900 not much systematic ethnographic work was carried out in the Great Basin, although Alfred Louis Kroeber, one of the first to achieve the Doctor of Philosophy in American anthropology, conducted brief ethnographic work with the Northern Utes in 1900 (Fowler 1980). But ensuing years in the twentieth century saw several flourishes of ethnographic work in the Great Basin. In the 1930s, the University of California at Berkeley conducted a Culture Element Survey of Native Western American groups, with the immediate objective to “develop lists of comparable culture elements or traits” from more than 200 tribes in the West. The ultimate goal was “to develop sets of data which could be statistically manipulated in hopes of... determining cultural relationships between and among tribes.

Figure 23: (Top) White River (Yampa) Ute quilt made from antler, leather and metal rivets. Collection history unknown, ca. 1860-1880 (National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution [NMAI-SI], 2/3344).

(Above) Ute pipe bag made from buffalo hide, glass beads and sinew, collected in 1869 by John Wesley Powell (NMAI-SI, 24/4225).

Those for Great Basin groups each include several hundred "elements" or traits, with extensive annotation. Surveys of Great Basin groups were conducted principally by Julian Steward and by Omer Stewart who went on, respectively, to study sociopolitical organization (Steward 1938) and band organization (Stewart 1962).

Fowler (1980) has characterized work in the Great Basin in the first half of the twentieth century as "consonant with the tenets of the historicalist paradigm of American anthropology after 1900" and its effort "to 'reconstruct' the 'ethnographic present.' That is, to describe aboriginal cultures as they were, in effect, the day before initial White contact." He also points out that in the "eastern Great Basin-Plains transition area (including our study area), this approach was complicated by the fact that horses had spread to several Ute and Shoshoni groups long before any actual face-to-face White-Indian contact. In that area, the post-horse, pre-White cultures came to be baselines for the "ethnographic present."

New approaches developed within American anthropology by the 1950s (Fowler 1980), notably "psychological anthropology (then generally called 'culture and personality'), and medical anthropology." Fowler cites works by Scotch and Scotch (1963) and Lang (1953, 1954) as representative of this approach, and goes on to note "a shift to concerns with present-day communities, with problems of acculturation and those of ethnoscience" as reflected in works by Houghton (1973), Mordy (1966), Shimkin and Reid (1970), Lynch (1971, 1978), Hittman (1973), Fowler and Leland (1967), Goss (1972b), and Clemmer (1978).

In her (1969) bibliography of Great Basin Anthropology, Catherine Fowler lists 2000 references on archaeology, 1650 references to ethnohistorical sources, and over 2700 published and unpublished items on linguistics and ethnography. Don Fowler (1980), however, characterized this large body of work as having "serious gaps in knowledge of Great Basin aboriginal cultures and peoples," particularly with respect to Great Basin sociopolitical organization. Fowler also commented that "although the Great Basin is sometimes called a 'laboratory' for anthropology, such a designation may be overrated. In cultural anthropology, with one exception, no new ideas, concepts, or methods were produced in the 'laboratory' — rather, research was carried out within paradigmatic and methodological frameworks developed elsewhere. The exception is Steward's (1936, 1938, 1972) concept of cultural ecology, which developed out of his

Great Basin data and which has had wide applicability throughout the world (Murphy 1970).”

Julian Steward became recognized as one of the more prominent figures among Great Basin anthropologists and in 1996 the Great Basin Anthropological Conference organized a “Steward retrospective” symposium which acknowledged his influence on anthropology as a discipline as well as the extent to which his ideas shaped anthropological “definitions of who (Great) Basin people are and what we call them” (Clemmer et al. 1999;xvii). The symposium led to a recent appraisal and critique of Steward’s work and influence that place his ideas in a more contemporary perspective (Clemmer et al. 1999). In that volume James Goss’ contribution, *Yamparika — Shoshones, Comanches, or Utes — or Does It Matter?* (Chapter 6, pp. 74-85), is particularly relevant to questions surrounding the labels and designations that have been assigned by non-Indian scholars to the Utes and their Numic-speaking neighbors in the Great Basin. Goss concludes by saying, “We have better information from The (Numu) People themselves to begin the reinterpretation (of their history) from their point of view... The anthropological models have started at the wrong place and are upside down and backwards. We have a new generation of Basin anthropologists that now includes historians and cultural consultants that are members of the Numu community. Therefore, Basin anthropology can make a real new beginning and have a bright future” (Clemmer et al.:83).

Also in that volume, Ned Blackhawk (Chapter 13, pp. 203-219) notes the framework of colonial power relationships in which Stewart’s work was situated, a perspective that “placed virtually all anthropologists as unilaterally authoritative interpreters of Native American cultures.” Blackhawk (Clemmer et al.:218) concluded:

With his study of the Great Basin, Steward began an entire new field of anthropological study. His theory of cultural ecology paved the way for numerous other researchers and positioned Steward to dominate the study of the Great Basin as well as much of American anthropology for over a generation. However, this theory remains predicated on problematic assumptions about the nature of Great Basin society. Scholars who critique problems of ethnographic authority need to recognize not only how such representations serve to exclude and silence their objects of study, but also how these studies themselves can potentially shape the conditions in which native peoples must operate.

Steward's texts produced fixed, categorical understandings of the Great Basin Indians and reduced vibrant, resilient, and infinitely complex peoples to static, materially and ecologically determined generalizations. Such generalizations fundamentally obscure the innumerable ways in which these Indian peoples express and represent themselves. The meanings, beliefs, and values they give to themselves, their lands, and their histories never enter into Steward's works. Their philosophy, cosmology and hermeneutics are thus denied both contemporaneity and past as well as future existence. Interpreting how Steward accomplishes this does not warrant the same attention as what it is he silences. Although they are the subject of literally hundreds of sentences, the Great Basin Indians do not speak in Steward's texts.

In archaeology, much of the work in Colorado has been directed toward either Puebloan studies in the southwestern part of the state, or on Formative, Archaic and Paleoindian studies elsewhere in the state. A number of archaeologists working in western Colorado have commented on the dearth of Ute-focused studies (Baker 1995; Baker et al. 2007; Reed and Metcalf 1984; and Nickens 1988). That void has been filled in part, at least for the historical period, by the Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists (CCPA) with their *Colorado History: A Context for Historical Archaeology* (Church et al. 2007). In that volume, Steve Baker and his cohorts (Baker et al. 2007) have compiled a thorough synthesis of archaeological and ethnohistorical perspectives on the Utes, as well as other Tribes that played a role in Colorado history. Taken as a whole, and given the relative paucity of similar studies in the past, this volume is a valuable contribution to our baseline knowledge of historic Ute archaeology, particularly in light of the fact the Utes are the "only Indigenous people to reside within the state from prehistory into their Late Contact phase" (Baker et al. 2007:31). Baker summarizes the current state of Ute archaeology this way:

At the advent of routine cultural resource management (CRM) work in the 1970s, studies of the Ute archaeological context were very much still in their infancy. The only guidelines for investigators, other than those of the Huschers (Huscher and Huscher 1939a), were those of Bill Buckles (1968; 1971), and eventually Buckles and Buckles (1984). To date there have been few other guidelines to assist them, and there has been some considerable ongoing discussion about how to go about such work (Baker 1988, 1991, 1993, 1996, 2003b, 2004b,

2005a; Buckles 1988; Horn 1988, 1999; Nickens 1988; Reed 1984, 1988, 1994; Reed and Metcalf 1999; Reed and Gebauer 2004). This context document was expressly planned to provide such assistance to students and nonspecialists from the professional perspectives of historical archaeology and ethnohistory. For the Utes in particular this chapter is an attempt to answer Baker's (1995) and Nickens' calls (1988:4), as well as those made by Buckles (1971:218; 1988) and Jennings (1990), for Colorado's archaeologists to move Ute archaeology beyond the first halting steps attempted in 1988 at the first symposium on Eastern Ute archaeology (Nickens 1988) and allow it to take its rightful place alongside the better known prehistory of our state.



Figure 24: Aspen pole wickiup located on Glade Park in GJFO (Martin et al. 2006).

The Colorado Wickiup Project has compiled baseline data on more than 381 Colorado sites with more than 1000 aboriginal wooden features, including: wickiups, teepees, tripods and other small utilitarian structures, tree platforms, ramadas, hunting blinds, brush fences, and corrals. Most if not virtually all of these archaeological features are thought to be of Ute origin.

Dominquez Archaeological Research Group (DARG) launched its Colorado Wickiup Project in 2004 with the express intention of beginning to fill in some of the gaps Baker (Baker et al. 2007) described. The primary objective of the project's work so far has been to compile known information on (predominantly) Ute wickiup sites in Colorado, and to thoroughly document their wooden archaeological features and other surface evidence, before they disappear from natural and human causes (O'Neil et al. 2004; Martin and Conner 2007; Martin et al. 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2010; Martin and Ott 2007a, 2007b, 2009). To date, the

Colorado Wickiup Project has compiled baseline data on more than 381 Colorado sites with more than 1000 aboriginal wooden features, including: wickiups, teepees, tripods and other small utilitarian structures, tree platforms, ramadas, hunting blinds, brush fences, and corrals. Most if not virtually all of these archaeological features are thought to be of Ute origin. Planning efforts have been underway to expand the research design for the project to include a much broader and deeper framework of inquiry. DARG's participation in this ethnohistory project is a beginning step in that direction.

Moving beyond archaeology, the situation is somewhat better in regard to Ute ethnohistorical studies, at least with respect to the number and variety of materials that have been written. Extensive bibliographies by Omer Stewart (1971) and Lyman Tyler (1964) list several hundred primary and secondary sources for Ute studies, and a number of ethnographic studies have provided a baseline framework for describing Ute lifeways, notably including works by Powell (Fowler and Fowler 1970), Smith (1938, 1974),

Opler (1943, 1963, 1971), Stewart (1941, 1952, 1962, 1966a, 1973, 1976), and Goss (1961, 1972a, 1972b, 1999, 2000).

A number of recent historical works have contributed to our specific knowledge of Ute history and have added depth to our understanding of the ways tribal histories, including the Utes', have been misrepresented in the past. Virginia McConnell Simmons' (2000) *The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico* achieved a depth of detail not seen previously and provides tribal historians with a solid framework on which to build. Peter Drucker's (2004) *The Utes Must Go* adds a broadening political perspective on nineteenth century events that shaped both Ute and Colorado history, and Ned Blackhawk, in his (2006) *Violence Over the Land*, (described above) has added a significant new perspective on the Utes earliest relations with European colonizers and how the Utes, as active and adaptive agents, engaged in the complex economic, political and military dynamics that shaped the history of the American West.



Figure 25: Ute teepee in western Colorado. Photo taken by William Henry Jackson, probably in 1871 (DPL).

David Rich Lewis' (1994) *Neither Wolf Nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change* looks at the particular experiences of the Northern Utes under the weight of United States Indian Policy and its attempts to "civilize and assimilate Native Americans along agrarian lines." His work takes an interdisciplinary approach and provides both a succinct ethnographic overview of the Northern Utes as well as an historiographic analysis of cultural change during and after their removal from Colorado homelands to reservation lands in Utah. Lewis has also contributed a useful synthesis of recent trends in writing about American Indian history in his (2004) "Native Americans in the Nineteenth-Century American West."

Ethnohistory, once predominantly considered a "sub-branch of ethnology" or "sub-discipline of cultural anthropology" has been joined by increasing numbers of historians in recent decades, particularly "frontier historians and practitioners of the 'new' Social History" (Axtell 1979). As a result, ethnohistorical studies have been enriched by the integration of more diverse temporal, theoretical, and qualitative perspectives and practices than earlier works demonstrated. Recent trends in the broader domain of Native American history have also produced significant changes of perspective.

“If we are to understand the contemporary Indian we must first understand the historic Indian. That means giving him an historic voice — his own this time, not the ventriloquist’s.”

— Calvin Martin (1987:33)

A central issue confronting this project, as described in the Preface — i.e. the core differences that separate Ute and White perspectives — was addressed by Calvin Martin in his (1987) compilation of essays, *The American Indian and the Problem of History*. In his own contributions to that volume, he reaches the crux of the matter, pointing out how White historians have misrepresented and misunderstood the Indian side of the equation, as well as failing to recognize their own Euroamerican, ethnocentric bias:

European-Americans have in truth fashioned and imposed a new reality, a new thought pattern, a new perception on this continent which in many ways is the antithesis of the traditional mythic reality perceived by the Amerindian... The fact is there is a powerful, dual metaphysics — one Indian, one White — inherent in the writing of Indian-White history. To ignore the Indian thoughtworld is to continue writing about ourselves to ourselves. (pp. 32-33).

A number of Indigenous writers, equipped with the requisite academic credentials, have also begun to add their voices to the increasingly diverse perspectives surrounding Indigenous, tribal histories.

In addition to Ned Blackhawk, noted above, Linda Tuhiwai Smith has also emerged as a widely recognized and influential voice expressing Indigenous perspectives on European and American colonial histories. Smith is associate professor and director of the International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education at the University of Auckland. In the introduction to her (2006:1) book, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, she writes:

From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is known and distrustful. It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about research. The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples. It is a history that still

offends the deepest sense of our humanity... It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations. It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples' claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments...

This collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized.

Smith's book is aimed primarily toward Indigenous people who are now conducting their own scholarly research, but it also provides a framework for understanding the formation of knowledge — a key purpose of research — which will lead non-Indigenous researchers towards more ethically responsible, efficient, and appropriate research.

Cultural resource management perspectives

A significant degree of reassessment and reappraisal has also occurred in recent literature concerning cultural resource management. A recent publication by the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP 2006) comprised an assessment and needs analysis of CRM on Bureau of Land Management public lands, looking at a number of critical factors that shape the policy and actions of BLM with regard to cultural resources. Several recommendations from that study are of particular interest to our project:

- BLM needs to encourage NPS to establish a new way to nominate to the National Register typical prehistoric CR sites that occur on BLM lands. A landscape-scale “prehistory” category is needed that avoids the property-



Figure 26: Signers of Treaty of 1880. Left to Right: Galoto, Otto Mears (interpreter), Savero, Shavanoux, Col. H. Page, Jocknick. (UHS).



Figure 27: Utes and Indian agent Colonel Army, Uintah Reservation, 1867 (UHS).

by-property detailed analysis that is so labor intensive and costly.

- BLM should expand and strengthen tribal consultation so that culturally associated tribes are engaged at the earliest stages of land use planning and decision-making. A comprehensive study should be undertaken across the BLM lands to identify TCPs, before conflicting land uses are authorized.
- As an alternative funding mechanism for comprehensive landscape surveys of all public lands, BLM should seek, perhaps, to have a pool of funds donated by land use applicants, perhaps augmented by donations from gaming tribes, that would be used exclusively for landscape-scale, proactive CR surveys of the public lands, again with the goal of complete public land inventories, early identification of Traditional Cultural Properties, and of sites eligible for nomination to the National Register.

Another recent publication, from the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (NATHPO 2005), presented the results of a study to identify a best practices model for consultation between Federal Agencies and Tribes on Section 106 consultation. The project surveyed the consultation experiences of actual participants, and all Federal Preservation Officers and federally-recognized Tribes were contacted by the project and asked to identify successful consultations, the participants, and the aspects of the enterprise that they deemed led to a successful result. Their findings included:

- consultation must occur early in the project planning process,
- both sides must plan ahead for meetings and be informed of the project scope and effect prior to attempting consultation,
- the parties must engage in a dialogue predicated on mutual respect and understanding of the priorities of the other and the challenges that each face,
- having a THPO and an Agency Tribal Liaison involved in the process contributes to success,
- as does having adequate funding for Tribal parties to travel to meetings,
- and for Agency and Tribal participants to view the site together,
- reaching a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was rarely seen as the indicator of success,

- both Tribes and Agencies agreed that building relationships is the goal of a successful consultation and that funds and time spent in consultation reap ongoing benefits and efficiencies for future projects,
- although congenial personalities make consultation pleasant, the process is bigger than an individual interaction and can indeed be institutionalized and replicated over time.

Another publication appeared in our literature review that also speaks to the collaborative aspects of this project. In 2000 the BLM Tucson Field Office and the Sonoran Institute hosted a workshop to discuss the need for partnerships between public land managers and neighboring communities. *A Desktop Reference Guide to Collaborative, Community-Based Planning* (BLM-SI 2000) resulted from that effort and included “Seven Principles of Successful Collaboration:”

1. Build Lasting Relationships
2. Agree Upon the Legal Sideboards Early On
3. Encourage Diverse Participation and Communication
4. Work at an Appropriate Scale
5. Empower the Group
6. Share the Resources and the Rewards
7. Build Internal Support

The BLM Ute Ethnohistory project was in most respects a grass-roots or “from the ground up” effort. As noted in the Acknowledgements, most of the project participants have years of “front-line” experience in cultural resource management fieldwork and its associated follow-up activities. That experiential base of knowledge formed the foundation of our work together and, frankly, the publications just described were unknown to us throughout most of our work to this point. We are encouraged to see that many of our approaches, shared observations, and recommendations, which will be discussed later, conform in many important respects to the findings of these other efforts.

Our review of CRM literature also revealed sources of informative materials on some of the “nuts and bolts” issues that usually inform the identification, assessment and determination of eligibility of cultural resource sites and other properties. We have discussed in preceding sections how ethnocentric and academic biases have stymied meaningful integration of Ute perspectives into the CRM process, and we now turn to discussion of some factors that we believe have an undesirable impact on the ways Section 106 implementation has been missing the mark — relative

not only to Ute heritage concerns and perspectives, but for archaeologists as well. In brief, these concerns include:

- issues around NRHP definitions and criteria (NPS 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1998, 1999) for eligible properties, particularly as they relate to historical, cultural or ethnographic landscapes, in contrast to archaeological sites and districts;
- constraints imposed on field archaeologists by rigid site type categories, as defined by the OAHP database design; and
- significant and persistent data gaps that influence both the Utes' and archaeologists' ability to fulfill their responsibilities in Section 106 processes.

The first of these concerns, definitions and criteria for determining TCP eligibility, has been addressed recently by Thomas King, an anthropologist, and a leading consultant in cultural resources management in this country. He has been in heritage management for four decades and teaches numerous workshops on preservation of cultural and natural heritage. He has written a number of books (2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009) on the subject, was a former staff member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), and helped write some of the NRHP guidelines, including the *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (King and Parker 1998). He had this to say (King 2008b) regarding a discussion that took place at a recent NATHPO conference:

One of the sessions was put on by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The Council's representatives accurately noted that some federal agencies have trouble understanding what tribes are talking about when they insist on respect for the landforms and landscapes that figure in their cultural traditions. To remedy this problem, the Council staff suggested that tribes consider using the language and concepts employed by the landscape architects who have made cultural landscapes the latest fad in the National Park Service.

I'm all in favor of recognizing the importance of cultural landscapes, whatever you call them – though I think that calling a landscape “ethnographic” puts the wrong spin on its significance. Landscapes are often significant to communities; their significance to ethnographers is

“Also I think it is our responsibility to educate (non-Indians) on our history ... I really think a lot of people are ignorant about that. If you went to Colorado, some people would be surprised that there’s a Ute Tribe in Utah that was moved out of Colorado...”

— Betsy Chappoose (2003)

rather beside the point. At the same time, a lot of the concepts employed by NPS and its ilk in the evaluation of landscape strike me as overly architectural and insufficiently ethnographic. But for all that, the move toward greater recognition of landscapes as cultural phenomena is, I think, a very good thing.

But the question I asked the Council at the end of their session was this, more or less verbatim:

Why should a sovereign Indian tribe that wants the U.S. government to respect places important in the tribe’s history and culture have to document that significance using terms and concepts dreamed up by non-indigenous landscape architects?

...And, the (Council) was quick to point out, “our (the Council’s) regulations are pretty clear in saying they don’t have to.” ...I think that’s a very important but widely misunderstood fact. But if it’s true – if the regulations don’t demand any particular sort of eligibility documentation, then why in the world is the Council acting like documentation IS required and encouraging tribes to try another way of providing it? Particularly a way that involves terms and precepts developed by specialists without an iota of tribal expertise in and around the U.S. government? Why doesn’t the Council ... make it really, really clear to agencies that the regulations do NOT require that tribal cultural places be documented by ethnographers or anyone else, or at all...?

King, it should by now go without saying, is a self-styled “curmudgeon,” and he goes on, with equal relish, to kibitz Tribal representatives at the conference:

You’re sovereign governments, right? Then why should you have to prove the significance of your special places – be they landscapes, ancestral cemeteries and living sites, or big pointy rocks – to the United States government? Using methods that the United States Government approves? More to the point, perhaps, why do you let Washington get away with demanding such proof? France wouldn’t. Russia wouldn’t. The Republic of Kiribati wouldn’t. Why should you?

Instead, why don’t you adopt policies that say something like:

“We (name of Tribe) have the sovereign right to define what constitutes our cultural heritage, including what constitutes a place that is

significant as a part of that heritage. We decide such things based on our own beliefs and practices, and document such places to the extent and in the manner we determine to be correct and justified. We expect the U.S. government to consult with us about any action proposed or under consideration that may affect land, water, or air within, on, or over the territory used and occupied by our ancestors (See attached map). We further expect the U.S. government to treat as eligible for its National Register of Historic Places and as a significant cultural place any location, landscape, water body, or other area that we identify as culturally significant to our tribe, and consider it accordingly under its environmental, historic preservation, and religious freedom laws.”

And then focus your efforts on getting agencies to respect this policy, rather than on documenting your cultural places in ways that non-indigenous specialists – be they landscape architects, mainstream historians, archaeologists or U.S. government officials – want you to.

Not to put too fine a point on it – are you sovereigns, or are you not?

We quote King here, not to be provocative for the sake of it, but because he directly addresses questions many of us expressed during the course of our project. How, within the existing constraints of authority (which rests entirely within BLMs statutory purview and regulatory discretion) can we recognize, preserve and protect Ute heritage resources that they themselves deem important? (Not to mention growing numbers of archaeologists, anthropologists and ordinary citizens, who also think they are important: as will be discussed later.)

We recognize that King’s point of view cuts to the quick, so to speak. But even from a place more comfortably within the status quo framework surrounding CRM, other stakeholders and practitioners are pushing for inclusions of more permeable perspectives regarding landscape-scale cultural and heritage resources.

In recent years a multitude of books, papers and conferences have emerged around issues concerning cultural and heritage landscapes, and the often intangible cultural values that inhabit them. The scope of this work is global, and includes perspectives from heritage resource stakeholders on all scales: community-level citizen groups, non-governmental organizations, and governmental agencies.

“There are really three factors. The legal, the ecological and the spiritual. They are all aspects of the same thing. When you talk about cultural resources it’s not just the legal.”

— Clifford Duncan (2007)

David Harmon (2004), writing in the journal published by the George Wright Society (GWS) — an inter-disciplinary, cross-cultural research and education organization dedicated to the protection, preservation, and management of cultural and natural parks and reserves — summarized his views regarding *Intangible Values of Protected Areas: What Are They? Why Do They Matter?*

What are these values? The (World Commission on Protected Areas) task force has classified eleven major kinds, all of which spring from particular qualities of protected areas (list adapted from Putney 2003):

1. Recreational values, those qualities that interact with humans to restore, refresh, or create anew through stimulation and exercise of the mind, body, and soul (i.e., recreation).
2. Therapeutic values, those that create the potential for healing, and for enhancing physical and psychological well-being.
3. Spiritual values, those that inspire humans to relate with reverence to the sacredness of nature.
4. Cultural values, those that are ascribed to natural, cultural, and mixed sites by different social groups, traditions, beliefs, or value systems. These values, whether positive or negative, fulfill humankind’s need to understand, and connect in meaningful ways, to the environment of its origin and the rest of nature.
5. Identity values, those that link people to their landscape through myth, legend, or history.
6. Existence values, those that embody the satisfaction, symbolic importance, and even willingness to pay, derived from knowing that outstanding natural and cultural landscapes have been protected so that they exist as physical and conceptual spaces where forms of life and culture are valued.
7. Artistic values, those that inspire human imagination in creative expression.
8. Aesthetic values, those that carry an appreciation of the beauty found in nature.
9. Educational values, those that enlighten the careful observer with respect to humanity’s relationships with the natural environment, and by

extension, humanity's relationships with one another, thereby creating respect and understanding.

10. Scientific research and monitoring values, those that contribute to the function of natural areas as refuges, benchmarks, and baselines that provide scientists and interested individuals with relatively natural sites less influenced by human-induced change or conversion.

11. Peace values, those that contribute to the function of protected areas as a means of fostering regional peace and stability through cooperative management across international land or sea boundaries (transboundary protected areas), as "intercultural spaces" for the development of understanding between distinct cultures, or as places of "civic engagement" where difficult moral and political questions can be constructively addressed.

Lisa Prosper (2007), in another essay in the GWS journal wrote:

There are several reasons that can help to explain the cultural sector's emphasis on materiality in its approach to cultural landscapes as a form of heritage:

- First, the field of heritage conservation has traditionally been informed by a European preoccupation with artifacts, architecture, and ruins (Cleere 2001, Harvey 2001, Hardy 1988);
- Second, the problematic wedge often driven between "natural" and "cultural" in heritage conservation supports a conceptual paradigm that equates cultural heritage with tangible cultural artifacts or relics such as buildings and monuments, and equates natural heritage with their absence.
- Third, according to Carl Sauer's original definition of the term, a "cultural landscape" is "the material expression of the (seemingly unified) cultural group who live in [a specific] region" (Cresswell 2003). Sauer privileges vision

"Any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads"

— (Meinig 1979, in Eugster 2003:50)



Figure 28: Cultural resources hold many kinds of intangible values: emotional, aesthetic, psychological, artistic, religious and spiritual.

and visible forms as the primary way of identifying and studying cultural landscapes.

- Fourth, according to English and Lee (2003), Western scientific approaches to protected area management are often based on the notion that “if we can understand the physical properties and relationships of natural resources, we can manage them sustainably. The assumption lying behind this approach is that the values of these resources lie purely in their physical nature.

Charles W. Smythe, in his (2009) *The National Register Framework for Protecting Cultural Heritage Places*, looks at these issues from the view point of the National Register of Historic Places criteria (Smythe 2009:16-22):

...These TCP (Traditional Cultural Property) guidelines were developed in response to narrow interpretations of the NHPA (National Historic Preservation Act) by federal and state agencies, which put a primary emphasis on the “built” environment and did not adequately meet the need for documenting and considering the cultural significance of places in planning documents and administrative manuals. The need to prepare the guidelines was first articulated in a 1983 Department of the Interior (DOI) report entitled *Cultural Conservation*, which in turn was developed in response to 1980 amendments to the NHPA directing the DOI to study and recommend ways to “preserve, conserve and encourage the continuation of the diverse traditional prehistoric, historic, ethnic and folk cultural traditions that underlie and are a living expression of our American heritage” (Parker and King 1990:2, also see King 2003:21–44). The guidelines did not focus on the preservation of intangible cultural customs and traditions themselves, but instead situated the process within the framework of the National Register as the preservation of tangible cultural properties that have historical and ongoing significance to living communities, as evidenced in their traditional cultural practices, values, beliefs, and identity. In this way, a more inclusive and localized procedure to protect the diverse cultural resources of the country, extending beyond the nationally significant Euroamerican historic structures and landscapes that had been the focus of the National Register, was integrated into the process.

The guidelines describe a type of cultural significance for which properties may be eligible for inclusion in the National Register. A property with traditional cultural significance will be found eligible for the National Register because it is associated with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuity of the cultural identity of the community. This type of significance is grounded in the cultural patterns of thought and behavior of a living community, and refers specifically to the association between their cultural traditions and a historic property.

Bulletin 38 utilizes an abbreviated definition of culture as "the traditions, beliefs, practices, lifeways, arts, crafts and social institutions of any community." Although readers are cautioned that this is a "shorthand" definition, and are referred to a more in-depth definition provided in Appendix I, the bulletin unintentionally and through continued use gives the impression that culture can be equated to a list of traits (customs, practices, beliefs, etc.).

Culture is more than this, however. As presented in Appendix I, "Culture [is] a system of behavior, values, ideologies, and social arrangements. These features, in addition to tools and expressive elements such as graphic arts, help humans interpret their universe as well as deal with features of their environments, natural and social. Culture is learned, transmitted in a social context, and modifiable."

This more complex definition is important to understand and apply in relation to TCPs, since the people themselves, the community members, determine the cultural significance of the property in their own terms; they are the "definers" of significance. Furthermore, their expert knowledge about the site is the reason they are, by definition, consulting parties in relation to the identification and consideration of potential effects on the property. To identify whether a property may have traditional cultural significance, the agency will



Figure 29: Cultural resources cannot be defined by simplistic polemics of "cultural" vs. "natural" characteristics.

most likely need to conduct a detailed field study. A cultural anthropologist or other specialist with expertise in conducting ethnographic and ethnohistorical research, and preferably with knowledge of and experience with the cultural community or ethnic group for which the property is significant, would in most cases be the best qualified expert to carry out documentation research for TCPs.

Traditional cultural significance is simultaneously historical and contemporary, and continuing significance is critical, *whether or not the place has gone unused for a period of time* (emphasis added). Bulletin 38 provides additional guidance on the meaning of the term: "'Traditional' in this context refers to those beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice. The traditional cultural significance of a historic property, then, is significance derived from the role the property plays in the community's historically rooted beliefs, customs and practices."

...Another topic that has arisen is the nature of "boundary" around sacred spaces. In order to be identified and listed in the National Register, a property has to have a specified boundary. This has posed difficulties for Indian tribes, in particular, for which boundary lines around domains of thought and behavior, particularly with regard to spiritual matters (sacred sites), are not defined in Euroamerican terms.

...As groups such as Indian tribes seek the protections afforded through the National Register, the issue of making public what they regard as culturally privileged knowledge is a crucial one. Quite often the religious and spiritual practices of a tribe are maintained through the activities of specialists who hold, sustain, and preserve extensive and specialized information about the tribe's religious practices and beliefs. Documentation of such cultural domains requires the release of confidential and culturally sensitive information to outsiders, and also might mean that the information is subject to the Freedom of Information Act. While there are certain protections available to the National Register, this topic continues to be a concern to tribal groups.

...In considering which (National Register) criteria may apply to a TCP, it is crucial to interpret them from the cultural perspective and point of view of the group to which the property may have

traditional cultural significance. That is, the phrases “our history” and “our past” must be understood to refer to the group’s own view of themselves, their history, and their culture, which provides the context within which the traditional cultural significance will be evaluated. Bulletin 38 provides additional discussion of each of these criteria.

We note particularly Smythe’s comment that continuing significance is critical even if a “place has gone unused for a period of time.” In other words, the critical factor of continuity in cultural significance is not whether a traditional community has visited an area for traditional culture practices (within some wholly non-specific time frame), but that their traditional cultural practices have continuously relied on such traditional cultural values that may be inherent in a place. This is especially relevant for the White River and Uncompahgre Utes who were completely disenfranchised from their ancestral homelands in Colorado when they were removed to reservation lands in Utah some some three or four generations ago. The trauma experienced by the Utes in those events persists to the present day, and it has, in fact, been the chief reason the original Colorado Utes have not returned to their ancestral homelands more frequently and in greater numbers.

Loya Arrum, a Ute Elder and educator, spoke quite directly to this issue in July 2008 on the occasion of her return to Meeker, Colorado with other White River Utes for the first Smoking River Pow Wow, seen by many observers as a move toward reconciliation and healing of old wounds:

“Well, our people said don't tell, don't talk about this (removal of White River Utes). It was such a horrendous, had such a horrendous effect, physically, psychologically, on them. We’re still in that psychological trauma today. When I fear to drive off and come over into this valley, I have great fear of it. Although we knew our ancestors loved this land. And when they were taken out by gunpoint by the military they cried, out of this



Figure 30: The White River Utes returned to Meeker, Colorado in July 2009 for the first Smoking River Pow Wow. Events at the White River Indian Agency in 1879 led to the forced removal of the Northern Utes from their ancestral homelands to reservation lands in Utah. Many of the Utes attending the pow wow in Meeker had never been to Colorado before.

valley. They walked out crying. So that's what I feel when I come over here. I feel that loss and that hurt.

But, myself, I want to tell what happened here, and that, I guess, would mean that I have to come back here. And I'll do it for the children. And I guess we need to have a healing from this, and having a pow wow is not really a healing. It just says we're here. We're dancing." (Arum 2009)

Clifford Duncan, speaking at that same event, said:

"For hundreds of years our people have been here. The remains of my people are here. So that's why we find it's always a good feeling to come back home, to our homeland. So I want to say this to my ancestors. 'I did not forget you. We did not forget you. We returned. We're back here. Now, we're here.'"

These issues strike deep chords. The statements by Clifford and Loya certainly apply not just to the White River

homelands but to all the Colorado Ute territories, including the lands within the project area. While the CRM issues involved are complex (King 2009), the importance and the authenticity of the Utes' connection to their ancestral lands seems clear.

As noted previously, Section 106 processes in the past have been largely dependent on archaeological information. Unfortunately, the general lack of baseline data for Ute archaeology, also discussed previously, is likely to have negatively impacted recognition and recording of some types of Ute archaeological sites in the project area.

For example, most "isolated finds" and "open lithic" or "lithic scatter" sites are routinely discounted by archaeologists, agency staff, and Utes alike. But in view of the weak baseline data for Ute archaeology, a question is raised: how many, if any, isolated



Figure 31: This brush fence in northwestern Colorado, one example of many such features known to exist, has typically been identified as historic "Euroamerican" by field archaeologists, even though researchers working in other locations have shown evidence of aboriginal origin of similar features (Baily 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Keyser and Poetschat 2008; Loosle, 2007; Martin and Ott 2007).

finds and “non-diagnostic” sites might in fact be of Ute origin? Many Ute sites contain only sparse material assemblages (Baker et al., 2007) and any wickiups which may have at one time been present may have disappeared from natural deterioration (Simms et al., 2006), leaving scant surface evidence of the site’s original character. However, as more wickiup sites and other Ute sites are recorded and tested in the future, and baseline knowledge of Ute archaeology grows, such “ineligible” and “of no concern” sites, on reexamination and testing, may possibly yield significant archaeological information on both historic and prehistoric Ute culture.

Another potential gap in the Ute archaeological record relates to possible misattribution of brush fences and “horse trap” corrals, which have been found in the project area and surrounding regions (Figure 31). In Colorado, seemingly in contrast to Utah and Wyoming, these types of sites have routinely been characterized as “Euroamerican historic features.” However, evidence exists in the literature that these historic wooden structures may, in fact, be of Ute origin, at least in some cases (Baily 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Keyser and Poetschat 2008; Loosle, 2007; Martin and Ott 2007). Future consultation with the Utes, as well as additional archaeological work, will be needed to evaluate and possibly confirm the cultural origin of such wooden structures in the project area. Such structures, if they do prove to be Ute, could add significantly to our understanding of Ute horse culture and its spread northward from New Mexico during early contact years.

OVERVIEW OF UTE ETHNOHISTORICAL THEMES RELEVANT TO THE PROJECT AREA

The “only Indigenous people to reside within the state from prehistory into their Late Contact phase” were the Utes (Baker et al. 2007:31) and they play a central role in the culture history of northwestern Colorado.

The Utes, or “Nuuciyu” (Goss 1999:79), are a “culturally self-identifying group” (Lewis 1994:22) of people affiliated by shared language, lifeways, and history. The Ute language, a member of the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family, is “affiliated most closely with the Southern Paiute in the Colorado River drainage to the west, less closely with the Comanche and Northern Shoshone in the Plains and Plains-Plateau to the east and north respectively, and least closely to the Northern Paiute in the Great Basin area of western Nevada and Oregon” (Jorgensen

1965:9). Although there is disagreement regarding the earliest prehistory of Numic speakers, it is generally agreed that during the last thousand years they expanded from the southwest Great Basin to reach their historically known territory in Utah and western Colorado (Madsen and Rhode 1994). Brown ware ceramics and increasing numbers of Desert Side-notched and Cottonwood Triangular projectile points began to appear in the archaeological record of eastern Utah and western Colorado at approximately AD1100 (Reed 1994:196), and they may represent the earliest known prehistoric markers of Numic-speaking people in western Colorado. Nevertheless, archaeological evidence definitively establishing a prehistoric Ute presence in western Colorado has yet to be widely accepted.

David Rich Lewis (1994:30, 191), drawing on the work of fellow anthropologists Smith, Steward, Stewart, Jorgensen and others, summarizes Ute social organization as it may have existed in the Early Contact phase as follows:

Ute society centered around the extended bilateral family, and periodic congregation of related or affinal kindreds to form local residence groups of from twenty to one hundred persons. These groups frequently traced relations through the matriline and resided matrilocally, but membership was fluid and flexible enough to adjust to personal and local environmental realities. Local leaders were older men who, through persuasion, influence, and proven ability, achieved a level of consensus for their plans. Most groups recognized specialized leaders who directed specific activities (hunting, moving camp, dances, or raiding) and had little or no authority over the group in other matters.

Larger “band” organization was limited to periodic congregations for defense, for spring Bear dances, or for summer hunting or fishing camps. Such summer congregations especially around Utah Lake, could number a thousand people. Bands consisted of local residence groups linked by bilateral kinship networks and their common territorial range — specific features usually reflected in their band name. Local groups and even extended family groups remained relatively autonomous, because most bands lacked formal political organization. Local leaders in band councils (which could include women) decided necessary matters subject to community approval. Dominant groups often provided the most influential leaders — leaders who ultimately came to the attention of white officials looking to negotiate with a single “chief.” Ute bands recognized their larger group identity in custom,

language, and territory, and remained united through kinship, trade, and defense against common enemies, but there was no larger Ute “nation” with long-lasting political allegiances or tribal councils.

The identities and territorial ranges of Ute social groups have long been of interest to archaeologists, ethnohistorians and other parties with a stake in Ute history. The Utes were highly mobile in the historical period and the shifting synonymies and inconsistent spellings (Callaway et al. 1986:338, 364) used to describe their social groups in historical records reveal the complexity of this ethnohistorical theme. Literature on the theme reflects deeply divergent opinions spanning a range of conceptual, theoretical and practical issues. Goss (1999:77) goes so far as to raise the fundamental question of whether the very idea of “bands” as ascribed to the Utes and other “Numu People” is even usefully meaningful, or merely a “false model of reality” representing an artificial, ethnocentric construct. Nevertheless, practicing archaeologists and ethnohistorians faced with the task of evaluating sites and describing cultural histories continue, by default, to rely on commonly used “band” designations for Ute groups.

The regional setting of the project area is within the historic territories of the “Uncompahgre,” “White River,” and “Weenuche” Utes living today mostly on designated reservation lands in eastern Utah and southwestern Colorado (Figure 3). The Uncompahgre and White River appellations began to appear in documents in the 1860s (Baker et al, 2007:49) and were widely adopted after the U.S. government established agencies for the Utes on the Uncompahgre River south of Montrose in 1875 and on the White River near Meeker in 1868 (Burns 2004). The names persist today in the political structure of the Northern Utes (Constitution and By-laws of the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation 1937) and are widely used by contemporary Utes. The Weenuche (Weeminuche) were assigned to the Southern Ute Agency created in 1877 along with the Capote and Muache Bands. During the 1890s, the provisions of the General Allotment Act of 1887 were applied to the Southern Utes and the Weenuche were reassigned to an unallotted western portion of the Consolidated (Southern) Ute Reservation (Burns, 2004), now known as the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation. The Muache and Capote Bands elected to accept allotments in the eastern portion of the reservation, and that area is now known as the Southern Ute Reservation.

Ethnohistorical descriptions of the Indigenous people occupying central and northwestern Colorado prior to the 1860s

are sketchy, at best, and include shifting and inconsistent names for Ute subgroups (Jorgensen 1965; Callaway et al, 1986:338). The Uncompahgre and White River Bands were nineteenth century amalgamations of earlier Ute groups which had become increasingly mobile with the widespread adoption of equestrian lifeways during the Middle Contact period. During this time Eastern Utes expanded their territory “becoming important middlemen in the intertribal horse trade... [while clashing] more frequently with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Lakota, and Comanche” (Lewis 1994:30-31).

The full geographic extent of Ute territory at its apex (Figure 3) is generally considered to have reached from western Utah to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains in Colorado, and from northern New Mexico to the northernmost reaches of western Colorado (Callaway et al, 1986:337; Jorgensen 1965). Recent investigations (Keyser and Poetschat 2008) cite evidence — rock art, wickiups and brush fences — suggesting that the Utes ranged as far northward as Wyoming’s Upper Powder Springs Basin during the Late Contact phase. Jorgensen (1972) extends his ca. 1880 “Yamparka” Ute territory to the northern reaches of Colorado’s Sand Wash Basin, and ascribes lands beyond to the Wind River Shoshone. Baker and his colleagues (2007) appear to concur with Jorgensen, but only for the earliest contact phase years (Figure 33), arguing that the “Sabuagana” Utes encountered by Dominguez and Escalante in 1776 represented the northern limit of core Ute territory at that time (Figure 34). They (Baker et al. 2007) further ascribe the area north of the Sabuaganas as Eastern Shoshone, during ca. AD1540-1600 (Figure 33), and Comanche during the late eighteenth century (Figure 34).

No less than twelve (perhaps as many as thirteen or more) distinct names — many with widely varying spellings and multiple synonyms — for Ute “bands” appear in commonly cited ethnohistorical records. In his study of the Northern Utes, Jorgensen (1965:17) goes so far as to claim that “perhaps 70 or more variously named Ute ‘bands’ were reported between about 1634 — when Euro-Americans first began recording the names and locations of Ute bands — until the post 1860s — when all Utes were corralled onto reservations in Utah and Colorado.” Of primary interest for our purposes herein are the Ute groups that are likely to have occupied or frequented areas within the Colorado River drainage in the vicinity of Grand Mesa and Battlement Mesa, on the south, and the Roan Plateau, on the north. These have been variously identified as the Parianuche (Parusanuch), Grand River, Sabuagana, and Uncompahgre Bands. Figure 36 represents a relatively recent interpretation (Simmons

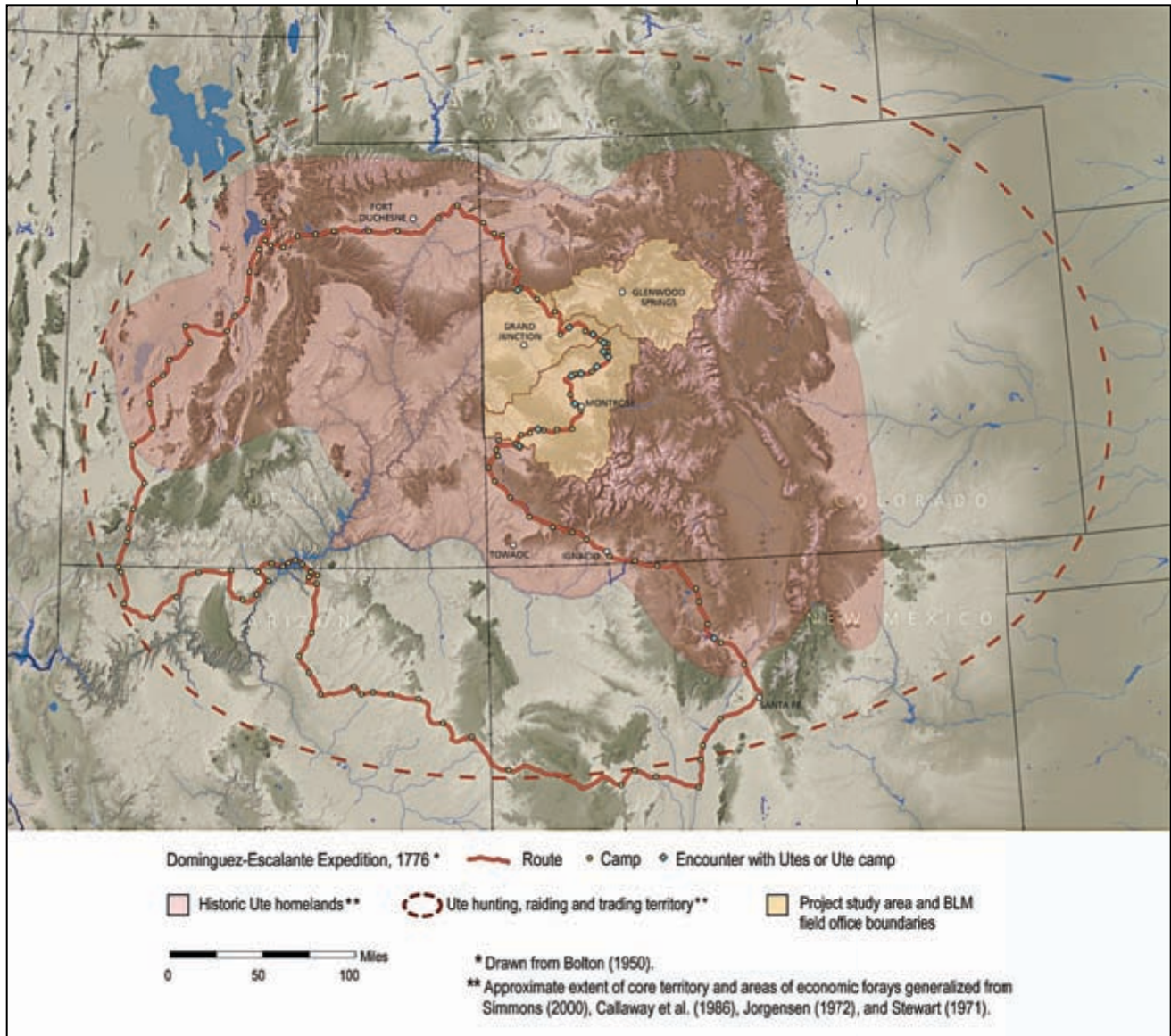


Figure 32: The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition circumnavigated a large portion of Ute territory in 1776.

2000:18) of the Ute ethnohistorical record showing the distribution of Ute bands, designated by commonly-used names, in the Early and Middle Contact phases. Another widely cited map (Callaway, 1986:337) is shown in Figure 35.

The earliest known records of European contact with Indigenous inhabitants in west-central Colorado are attributed to Juan Maria de Rivera, who explored parts of the region during two expeditions in 1765 (Sánchez 1997) reaching as far north as the Colorado River valley (Sánchez 1997; Vandebusch and Smith 1981:16; Simmons 2005:35; Husband 1984:IV-12). In the

following decade Fray Francisco Antanasio Dominguez and his junior partner Escalante traveled even farther north into Colorado, reaching the White River near the present town of Rangely in 1776, then west as far as central Utah (Figures 20 and 33).

The Dominguez-Escalante journal mentions various encounters with “Sabuagana Yutas” in the areas immediately north and south of the Colorado River near Grand Mesa and the Roan Plateau. The Uncompahgre Plateau, lying to the southwest, was referred to as “La Sierra de los Tabehuachis”, apparently named in reference to the “Tabehuachi” Utes inhabiting that area (Chavez and Warner 1976). Baker (2005, 2007) contends that the Sabuaganas — first recorded by Rivera in 1765 — were the same group that later came to be called the “Uncompahgres,” in reference to the Uncompahgre River, which the Utes called “Ancapagari” (Chavez and Warner 1976:29). He also presents a strong case for the view that the Uncompahgres, as they came to be known in the Late Contact Phase, were in fact an amalgamation of the earlier, and geographically distinct, Sabuagana and Tabeguache Bands (Baker 2005,2007).

Baker (2005) ascribes the home range of the Uncompahgre/ Sabuagana Band to “the north flank of the San Juan Mountains... (generally including) the area to the west of the Continental Divide in the headwaters of the Gunnison and Uncompahgre Rivers and south of the Colorado River... (and also including) the high Grand Mesa and the eastern portion of the Uncompahgre Plateau.” The original home territory of the Tabeguache Band, in Baker’s (2005) view, was to the west of the Uncompahgre Band, abutting the west side of the Uncompahgre Plateau, including the headwaters of the San Miguel and Dolores Rivers, and delimited on the west by the La Sal Mountains of Utah.

Utes groups inhabiting areas north of the Colorado River and west of the Continental Divide in the nineteenth century were variously described in historical records as the Parusanuch (Parianuche), Grand River, Yampa, and Uintah subgroups (Callaway et al. 1986:339; Baker 2005). The original core territory of the Uintahs is generally thought to have ranged from Utah Lake east through the Uinta Basin to the Tavaputs Plateau in the Green and Colorado River systems (Callaway et al. 1986:339), although some Uintahs may have affiliated with the White Rivers during the Late Contact agency years (Baker 2005), and Smith (1938) stated that “their hunting parties frequently followed the White River into Colorado.” The Yampas, also known as the Yampatikas or Yamparikas, were the northernmost of the Eastern Ute bands, inhabiting areas north of the White River, ranging from the Yampa

River drainage into southern Wyoming on the Little Snake River, eastward into Colorado's Middle and North Parks, and westward into the Uintah Basin (Simmons 2000:20).

The “exact relationships of the Parusanuch and Grand Rivers are not well understood at all and the ethnohistories of these subgroups have not been well summarized anywhere” (Baker 2005:2.9). Simmons (2000:20-21) suggests that the Parasanuch (Parianuche, Parianuc, Pahdteeahnnooch) — the “elk people” — were the same group identified in early records as the Sabuaganas, and were “later called the Grand River Utes... [whose] territory extended into eastern Utah and up the Colorado River (formerly called the Grand River) to their winter resort at Glenwood Springs, onto Grand Mesa and the Flattops, up the Roaring Fork... and into the mountains to the headwaters.” The views of Simmons and Baker with regard to the Sabuaganas' eventual Late Contact phase affiliations are obviously at odds, and the discrepancy serves to illustrate the difficulty of reconciling discontinuous ethnohistorical records in the search for a seamless, fine-grained culture history of the Utes.

In the decades following the Dominguez-Escalante expedition, until the 1820s, there were few direct incursions into west-central and northwestern Colorado by Euro-American interests. The Early Contact lifeways of the Eastern Utes, however, was increasingly transformed by the acquisition of horses and trade items introduced by the Spanish (Baker et al. 2007; Simmons 2005; Lewis 1994), and by the 1820s the Eastern Utes were widely enjoying an equestrian lifeway. Jorgensen (1972) describes them as “fine horsemen with vast herds of horses” living “parts of the springs and summers in large encampments of 200 or more lodges.” In his description of changes in Ute society sparked by the appearance of horses, Lewis (1994:30) notes their “accumulation of more material goods and ... an elaboration of Ute material culture”, adoption of certain Plains cultural traits, expansion of their territory as “noted [horse] raiders”, and their role as “important middlemen in the intertribal horse trade.”

The Utes, however, were not the only Indigenous people in the region who were adopting equestrian lifeways during this period. The Eastern Shoshones, mounted on horses, occupied lands north of the Utes in western Colorado and appear in the regional ethnohistories of the Yampa and Green Rivers (Jorgensen 1972; Baker et al 2007). The Comanches held similar status on the east, along with other plains groups — namely the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota. The Shoshones and Comanches, even though they share language affinities with the Utes, have distinct



Figure 33: The general cultural landscape in Colorado and surrounding regions, ca. A.D. 1540-1600 (Baker et al. 2007:35).

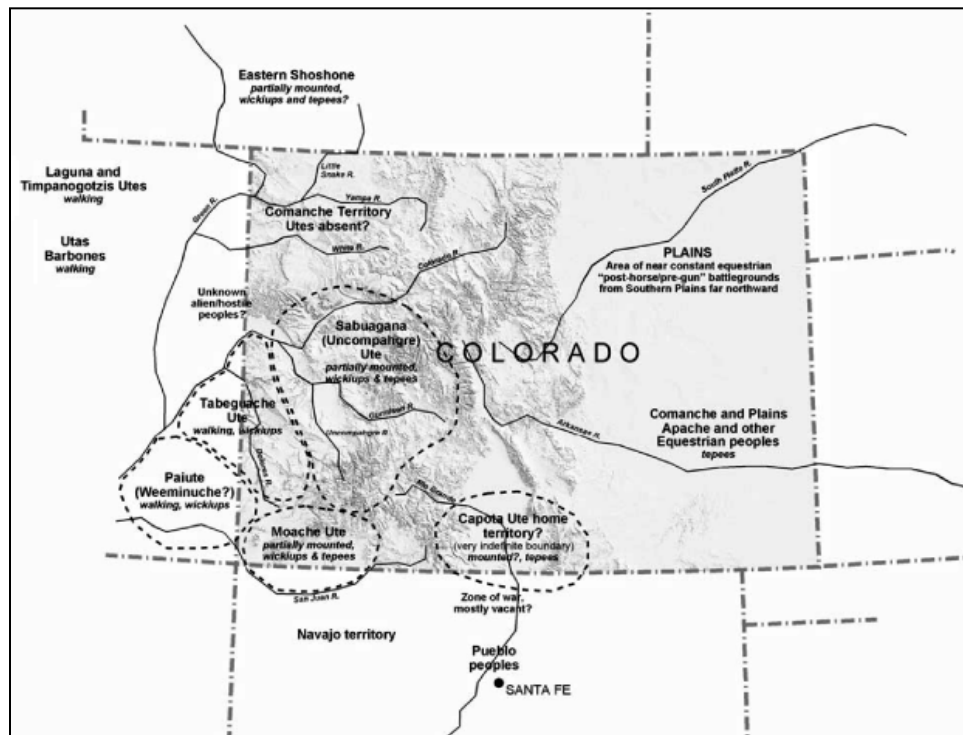


Figure 34: Map showing the “distribution of Native American peoples in the late eighteenth century and end of regional protohistory” (Baker et al. 2007:47).

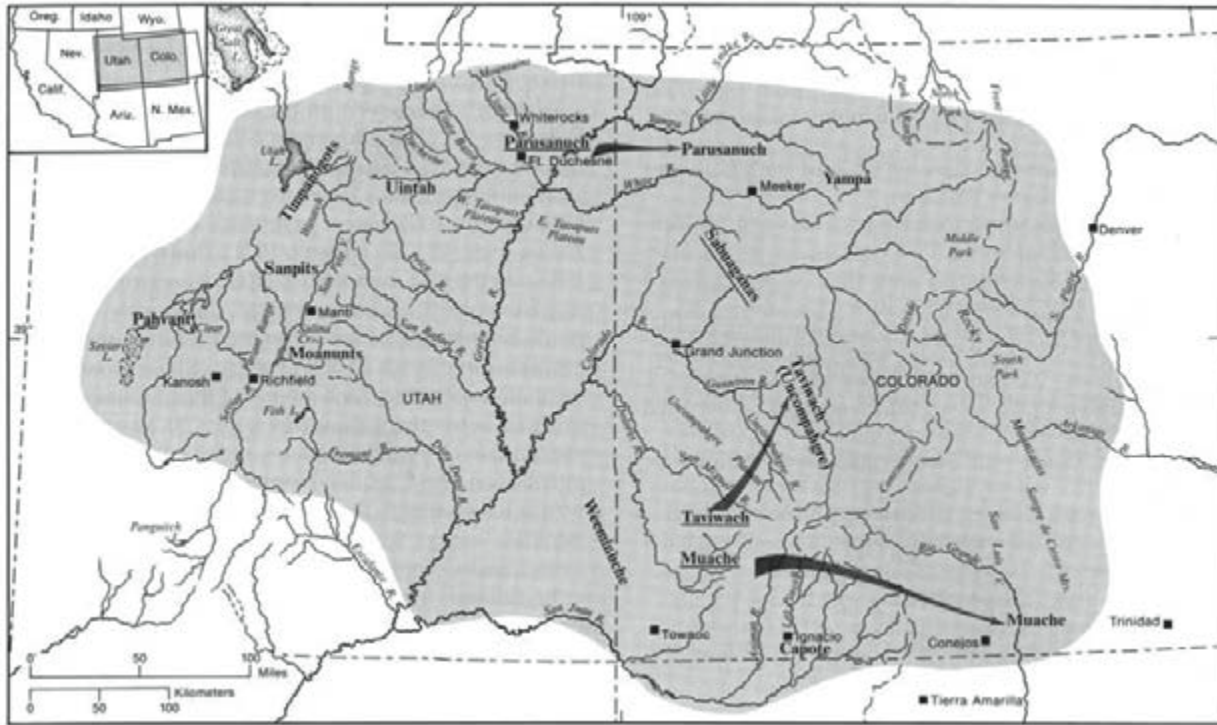


Figure 35: Early 19th century territory and modern town locations. Underlined band names are in approximate 18th century locations; those not underlined are pre-reservation (Callaway 1986:337).

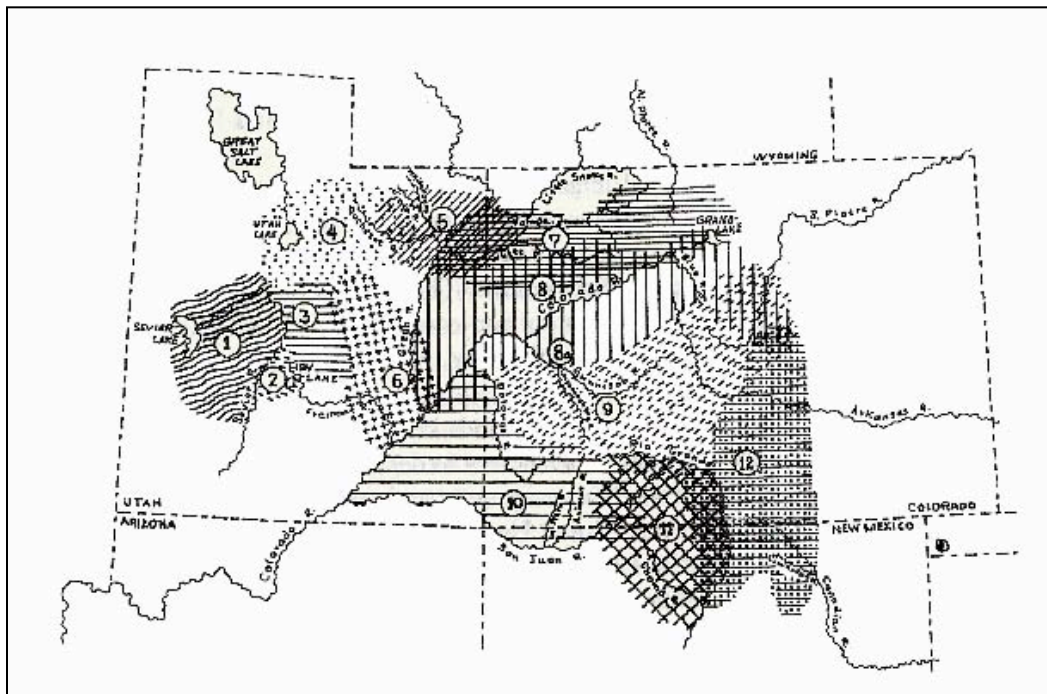


Figure 36: Distribution of Ute Indian bands: 1. Pahvant, 2. Moanunt, 3. Sanpits, 4. Timpanogots, 5. Uintah, 6. Seuvarits, 7. Yampa, 8. Parianuche, 8a. Sabuagana, 9. Tabeguache, 10. Weenuche, 11. Capote, 12. Muache (Simmons 2000:18).

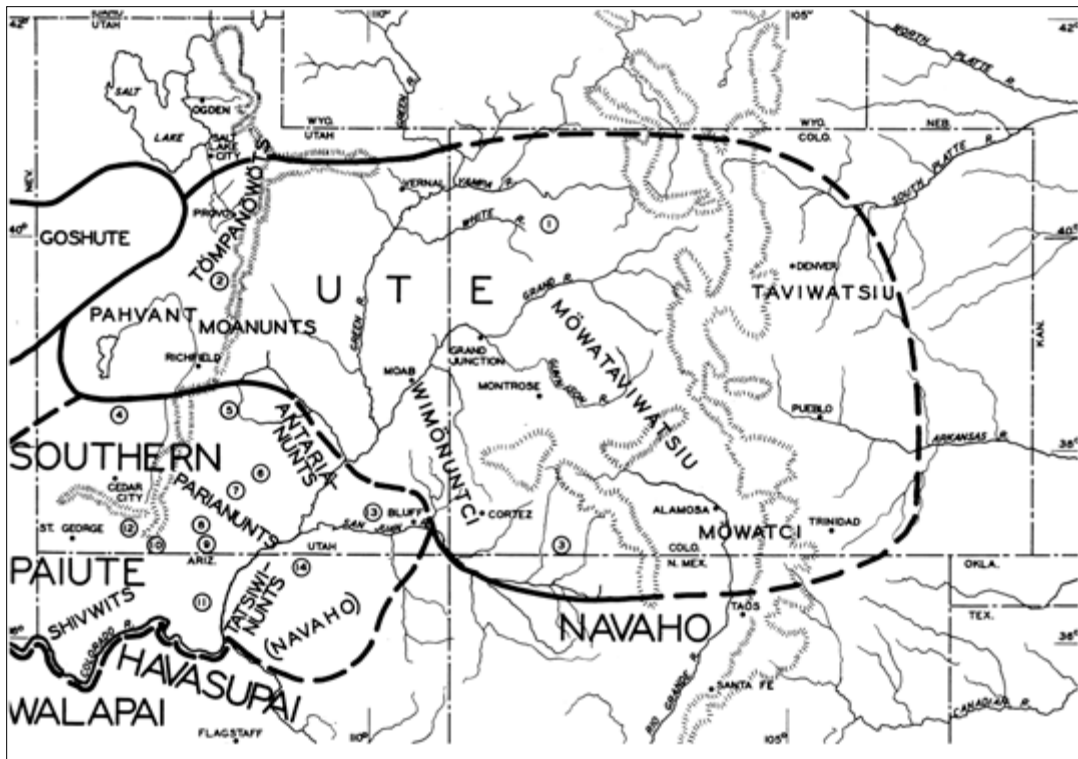
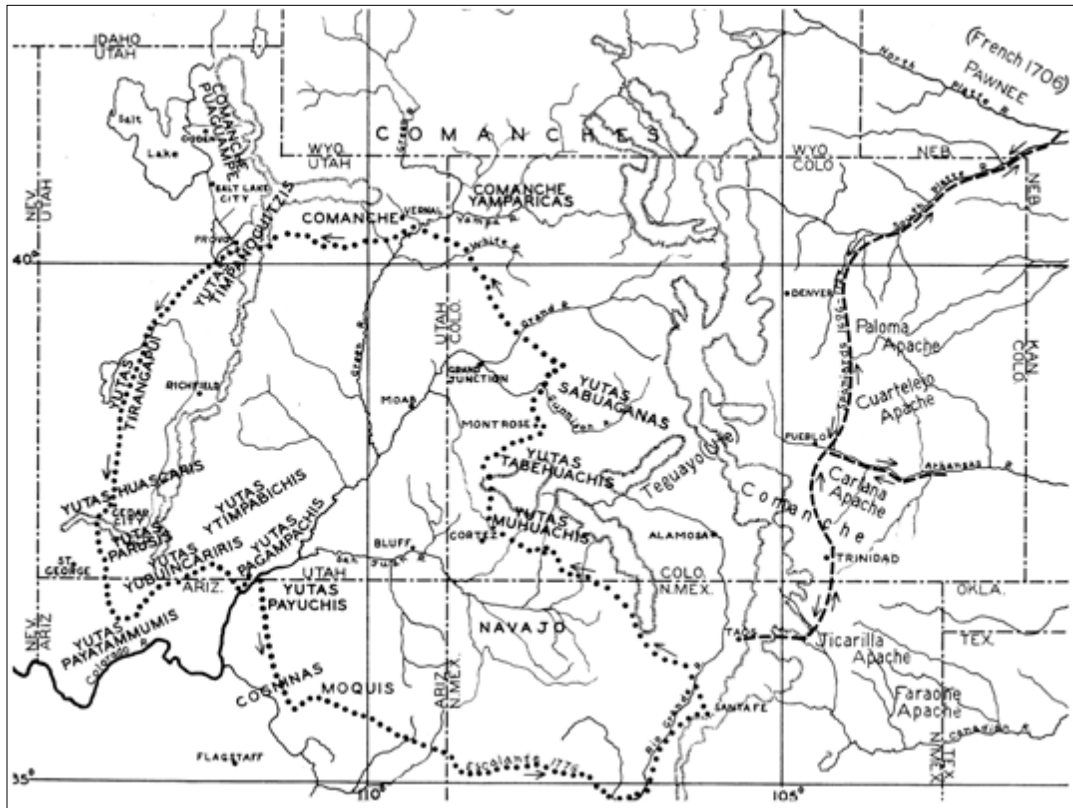


Figure 37: Distribution of Ute bands as surmised from (top) Dominguez and Escalante Expedition journal, route indicated by dotted line, and (above) interviews of Ute informants in 1938 (Stewart 1942).

ethnographic profiles, and their presence in northwestern Colorado is pointed to by both archaeological (Cole 1987) and ethnohistorical evidence (Hämäläinen 2008).

In northwestern Colorado, in historic periods, local ethnic groups appear to have shifted repeatedly in the Yampa and White River drainages. As shown in Figure 34, the northern boundary of Ute occupation in west central Colorado late in the eighteenth century probably did not reach beyond the local northern extent of the Colorado River drainage (Baker et al. 2007:46-49). This supposition, based largely on the Dominguez and Escalante journal from 1776 (Chavez and Warner 1976), is supported to some degree by several rock art panels — located in Canyon Pintado south of Rangely and in West Salt Creek Canyon north of Grand Junction — which exhibit characteristics of the “Plains Biographic Style.” Cole (1987:222-224) attributes this style of rock art — described as developing ca. AD 1750 (Keyser 1975, 1977, 1984) — to either Shoshone or Comanche groups.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century the fur trade rush (Figure 38) heralded the beginning of “revolutionary transformation” of Ute life (Husband 1984:IV-12). Trading posts and Euro-American trade goods became a part of the Ute landscape, and the American success in the Mexican War in 1848 marked the “beginning of the end for Ute sovereignty in the region” (Husband 1984:IV-12). In 1849, with the signing of the Calhoun Treaty by seven Ute bands, the Utes irretrievably entered the sweep of American political history and expansionist policies. Ute homelands in western Colorado were subsumed first by Utah Territory in 1851, then Colorado Territory in 1861, and finally by the State of Colorado in 1876. The treaty of 1849 was followed by a series of subsequent treaties, agreements and land cessions which constrained the Utes into ever smaller territories, and by the late 1870s the Eastern Utes were “among the last free roaming Native Americans in the United States” (Baker et al, 2007:74). Ute Reservation boundaries were repeatedly reduced during the period, as increasing numbers of Americans flooded into Colorado. Finally, in 1881, the White River and Uncompahgre Utes were forcibly removed to reservation lands in eastern Utah (Figure 39).

Ute history and ethnohistory for the Late Contact period have been enhanced in recent years by historical archaeological evidence from throughout western Colorado. The Colorado Wickiup Project (O’Neil et al. 2004; Martin and Conner 2007; Martin et al. 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2010; Martin and Ott 2007a, 2007b, 2009) has documented nearly fifty aboriginal

wooden feature sites in central and northwestern Colorado which are reliably dated to as late as 1915 (Figure 40). Despite the official “removal” of the Utes from their traditional northern Colorado homelands, they clearly continued to exert a presence in western Colorado well into the twentieth century. Some northern Utes may have remained in western Colorado (Stewart,

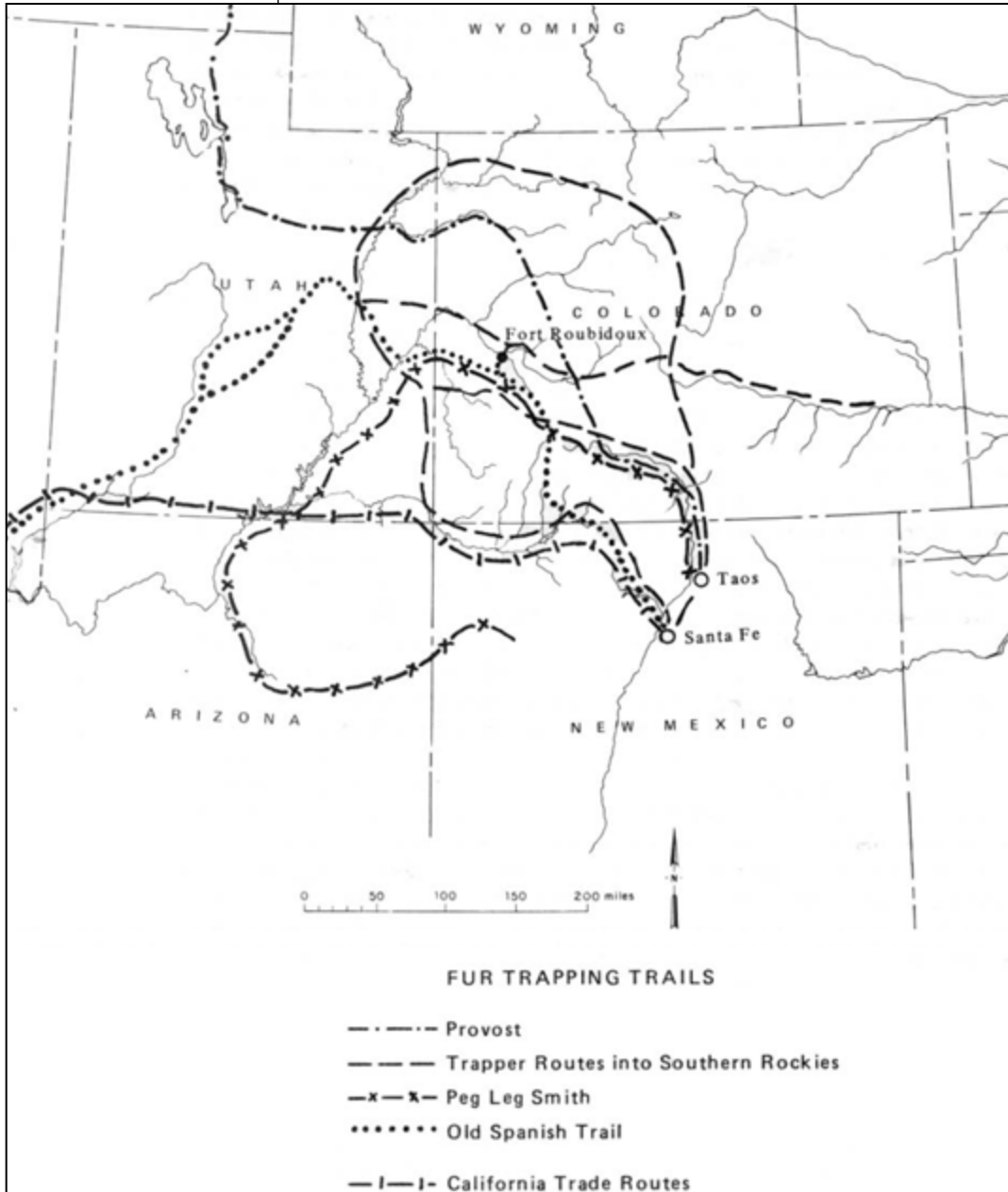


Figure 38: Many fur trappers trails in western Colorado followed historic Ute trails (O'Rourke 1980).

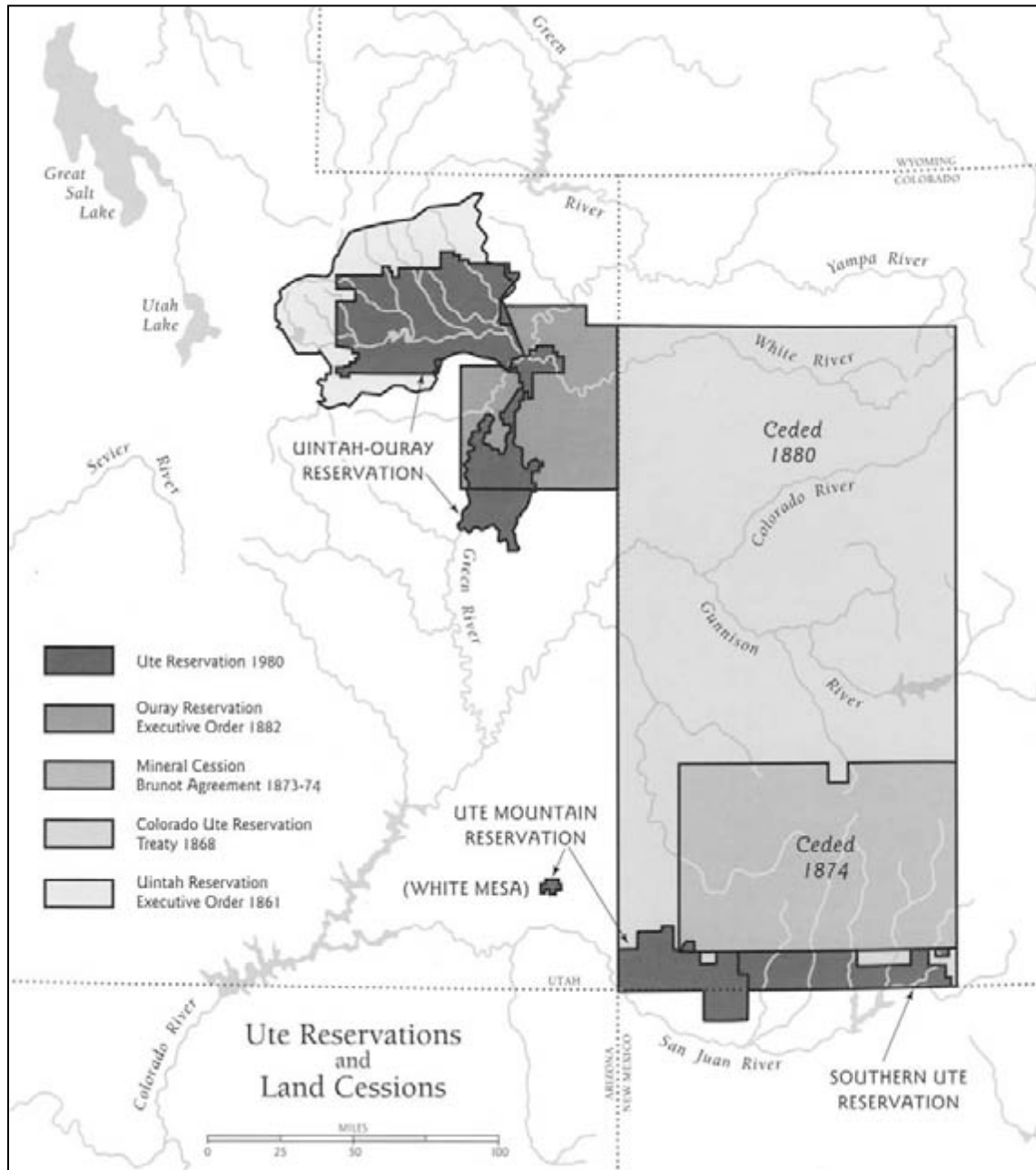


Figure 39: Progressive reductions in Ute territory occurred during the nineteenth century reservation period, resulting in the present Ute reservations (Wroth, 2000:2).

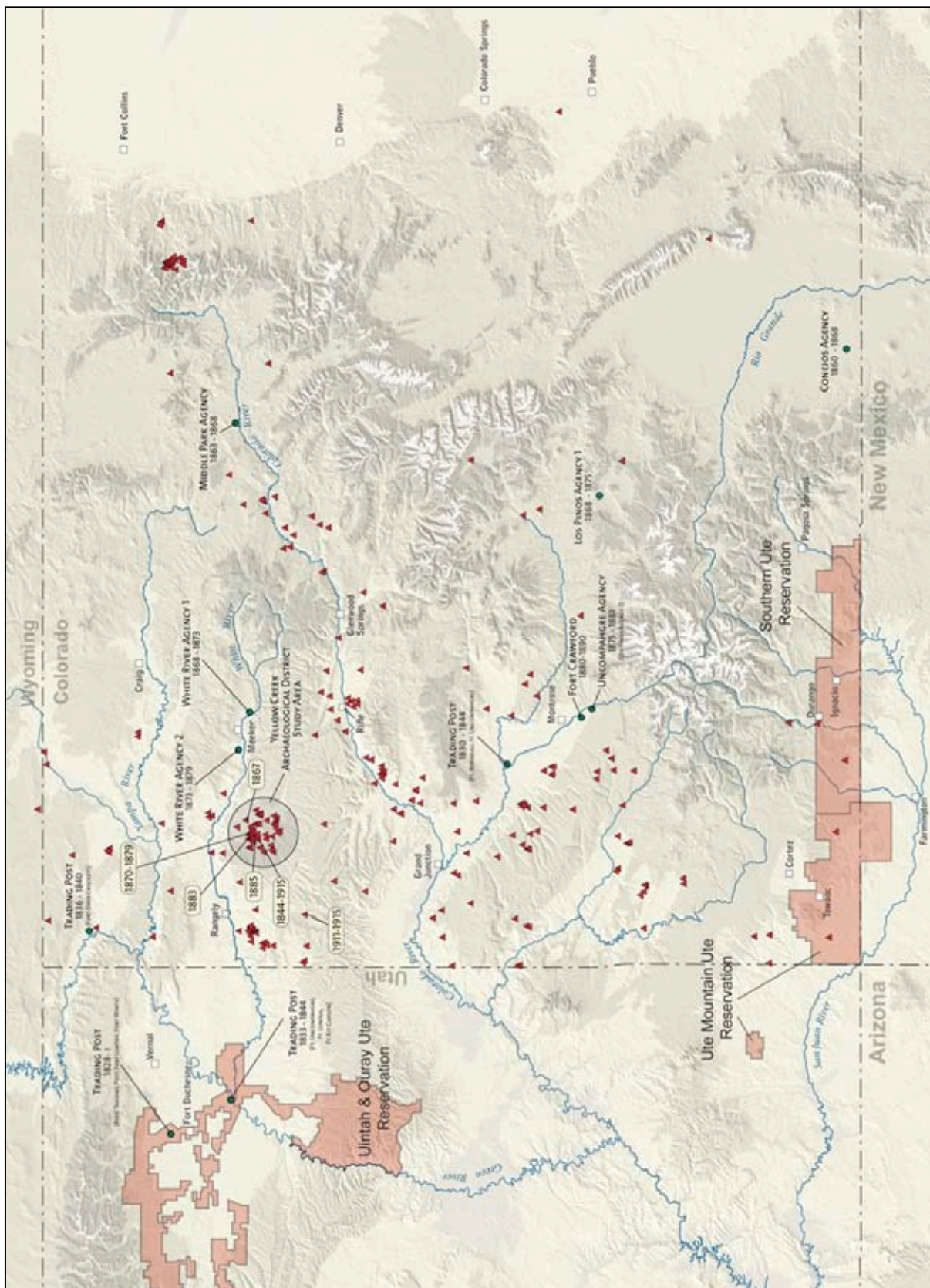


Figure 40: Distribution of selected ethnohistorical and historical archaeology locations for Eastern Ute homelands. Locations of trading posts and Ute agencies are indicated by green circles; known aboriginal wooden feature sites are indicated by red triangles; contemporary reservations are outlined and named (Martin and Ott 2008).

unpublished comments at the Symposium of the Archaeology of the Eastern Ute, Grand Junction, Colorado, 1988), off-reservation, after the 1881 expulsion. Utes are known to have been counted in the census records of various communities in the area (for example Collbran, Colorado) as late as the 1920s. Historical newspaper accounts describe almost annual Ute hunting forays into many areas of northwestern Colorado from 1881 to as late as 1909 (Martin et al., 2009).

The quality of baseline historical Ute archaeological data has begun to somewhat improve in recent years. The Colorado Wicketup Project (O’Neil et al. 2004; Martin and Conner 2007; Martin et al. 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2010; Martin and Ott 2007a, 2007b, 2009) has documented nearly fifty aboriginal wooden feature sites in central and northwestern Colorado — including sites located in the Yellow Creek and the Douglas Creek drainages which are reliably dated to as late as 1915 (Figure 40). Despite the official “removal” of the Utes from their traditional northern Colorado homelands in 1881, they clearly continued to exert a historical presence in western Colorado well into the twentieth century. Some northern Utes may have remained off-reservation in western Colorado after 1881 and Utes are known to have been counted in the census records of various communities in the area (for example Collbran, Colorado) as late as the 1920s (Martin et al. 2006:8; Martin and Ott 2009:92). Historical newspaper accounts describe almost annual Ute hunting forays into areas of northwestern Colorado from 1881 to as late as 1909 (Table 2). The Utes, of course, continue to hold deep emotional and spiritual connections to their ancestral homelands in Colorado (Green, 2009).

Table 2 (below and following): Examples of post-1881 historical newspaper reports of Ute activities in western Colorado (Colorado Historical Newspaper Collection).

Year	Description	Historical Source	Source Date
1881	Utes encamped “about 20 miles below the post” (Meeker Cantonment)	Fort Collins Courier	31 March, 1881
1883	Utes, lead by Colorow, continue to camp “on the White River and its tributaries” and declare “they will not live on the reservation.” White settlers petition Sec. of Interior to keep military in Meeker.	Montezuma Millrun	12 May, 1883

Year	Description	Historical Source	Source Date
1893	Utes hunting in Blue Mountain region and on the head of Snake River.	Aspen Weekly Times	11 November, 1893
1894	300 Ute deer hunters, reportedly "scattered over winter feeding grounds about forty miles east of Rangely."	The New Castle News	15 December, 1894
1896	Over 400 Northern Utes "in the White River country slaughtering deer and elk and defying county authorities." Governor threatens to send troops.	The Aspen Tribune	29 October, 1896
1896	Game wardens deter Utes from annual hunt. Utes were "found camped on water holes where wood, water and grazing were abundant." Game wardens visited water holes on Douglas, Yellow, Piceance, Box Elder and Willow Creeks, Three Springs on Blue Mountains, and other points on the Lower White River and the Blue Mountain country.	The Steamboat Pilot	25 November, 1896
1897	Utes killing game in Rio Blanco County.	The Steamboat Pilot	18 August, 1897
1897	"Great numbers" of Utes in White River and Bear (Yampa) River country for "annual hunt." Utes killed in gunfight with game wardens "seven miles below Maybell."	The Steamboat Pilot	27 October, 1897
1897	80 Utes hunting deer in Lily Park, west of Maybell on the Bear (Yampa) River. Eight Utes killed by game wardens in gunfight.	The New Castle News	5 November, 1897
1889	Utes seen at the head of Elk Creek, reportedly traveling to the "old hunting ground up near the head of White River."	San Luis Valley Courier	14 August, 1899
1899	300 Utes hunting deer on Yellow Creek "since the latter part of October." Estimated 2000 deer killed.	Aspen Weekly Times	25 November, 1899
1899	150 Utes encamped on Yellow Creek	The Steamboat Pilot	15 November, 1899

Year	Description	Historical Source	Source Date
1900	"Great numbers" of Utes making "usual fall raid on the game of Rio Blanco County."	The Steamboat Pilot	24 October, 1900
1900	"A large number of Utes passed Rangely... headed for Spring Creek and Yellow Creek... believed to be killing deer in that section... Two large bands encamped in Coyote Basin."	(Boise City) Idaho Daily Statesman	30 November, 1900
1907	79 Utes, in four parties, one led by Atchee and one by Johnny P.R., hunting in head of Douglas Creek and Cathedral Spires section. Game wardens order them back to Utah. 20 game wardens authorized to patrol White River country, including Douglas Creek and Blue Mountain.	The Yampa Leader	9 October, 1907
1909	100 Utes, divided into four bands led by Shavano, Atchee, McCook and Monk, camped in the "vicinity of Douglas Creek" for "annual hunt." Game warden persuades them to return to Ft. Duchesne.	The Routt County Sentinel	26 November, 1909

SUMMARY OF KNOWN UTE SITES AND HERITAGE AREAS IN THE PROJECT AREA

“The Utes consider the air, the water, the view, all those things, the whole environment, as cultural resources.”

— Betsy Chappoose (2007)

Data on known Ute sites and heritage areas in each of the field offices were prepared by BLM cultural resources staff and shared with participating Ute representatives during the course of the project. BLM archeologists in each field office directed searches in SHPO and BLMFO databases for their respective areas. Sites were selected based on confirmed or suspected Ute cultural affiliation, site type, impact risk assessment, and other management concerns. Information was prepared for presentation to Ute participants at field office planning meetings and for reference during field visits, including maps, site forms, photographs and other data on sites and cultural landscapes thought to be of Ute cultural affiliation and significance.

Within the project area a total of 372 recorded archaeological sites believed to be culturally affiliated with the Utes were initially identified. A generalized map of these resources is presented in Figure 4, above. Work is continuing in each field office on refining and clarifying these data, and improving methods for sharing and analyzing shared information. Regular on-going consultation with the Utes, for both research and compliance-driven projects, will be necessary to fully develop baseline datasets that allow for integration of archaeological, ethnographic and ethnohistorical information in a form that is equally meaningful to the Utes and Agency cultural staff and managers.

Site types

In general terms, site types identified by Ute representatives as having important cultural heritage values include:

- sacred sites and places
- burial and reburial sites
- “cultural landscapes”
- rock art sites
- wickiup sites (and associated wooden features)
- tipi pole sites
- tree platforms (associated, or not, with wickiups)
- temporary hunting camps
- seasonal campsites
- rock sheltered camps
- traditional plant gathering places
- vision circles
- cairns
- culturally scarred trees
- eagle traps

- game drives
- trails, and
- quarries.

This list has not been formalized in any sense, and is synthesized here only to indicate the range of site types that represent potentially important Ute heritage resources.

Throughout the project, Ute participants consistently stressed the importance of looking beyond narrowly defined “site boundaries” determined by a purely material or artifactual (archaeological) view of cultural resources. As Betsy Chappoose succinctly expressed it at the project’s general planning meeting, “The Utes consider the air, the water, the view, all those things, the whole environment, as cultural resources.” Similar landscape-scale perspectives were reiterated by Ute participants throughout the course of the project.

During several meetings and field trips, Clifford Duncan spoke at some length of the Utes’ religious and spiritual connections to places and sites. Such “feelings of place” are recognized within the frameworks of NEPA and NHPA (Koyiyumptewa and Colwell-Chanthaphonh, in press) as important qualities for identifying and evaluating “traditional cultural properties” (TCPs). Designation of areas as TCPs, however, carries the risk of increasing public pressure on areas. BLM has previously utilized ACEC designations to protect sensitive heritage areas, and project participants indicated general agreement in recommending this approach going forward. Discussions of how to integrate Ute traditional religious and spiritual concerns with agency processes in a more meaningful way are continuing.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The quality of Late Historic Ute archaeological data and ethnohistorical documentation within the project area has significantly improved in recent years. Moreover, based on recent reports from investigators leading currently active, long-term research projects within the region, it is likely that baseline contexts for Ute historical archaeology and ethnohistory will continue to improve as new sites are recorded, new synthetic studies are written, new interdisciplinary research projects are conducted, and more tribal consultation process improvements are adopted (personal communication, October 2010: Carl Conner, Curtis Martin, Clifford Duncan, Betsy Chappoose, Terry Knight).

Ute ethnohistorical perspectives are likely to be increasingly important in future research designs for historical archaeology; and analysis and evaluation of the full range of Ute archaeological sites and ethnographic landscapes for CRM purposes are likely to increase. Nevertheless, Ute perspectives on sacred and ethnographic landscapes have yet to be fully and practically integrated into cultural resource management frameworks.

In some important respects, baseline contexts for Ute historic archaeology and ethnohistory have improved beyond the design capacities of data models currently used by BLM and OAHP. Much of the new data now available to researchers and cultural resource managers have yet to be synthesized, and archaeological data continue to flow into CRM archives and out of easy reach of future researchers.

During the course of the project, as discussed above, a broad range of Ute issues and concerns that impact on BLM's planning and cultural resource management activities were examined. Key themes identified by participants are summarized below:

Foundational principles of collaboration

- Legal, social, scientific and religious points of view attach to cultural resources on public lands. Each of those perspectives must be considered, in good faith, in land management planning, policy and programs.
- The Utes' traditional and historical culture is based in nature and places deeply-held values on the still living landscapes that were home to their ancestors. Their spiritual and emotional connections to their Colorado homelands are still strong, and growing.
- Fragmented and compartmentalized archaeological data, such as that resulting from compliance projects, is not a sufficient baseline for evaluating Ute cultural heritage concerns on the public lands. Landscape-scale inventories which integrate ethnohistorical, ethnographic and archaeological information are needed, and these should be developed in on-going consultation and collaboration with the Utes.
- Partnership and collaboration requires information parity. Efficient flow of mutually meaningful information between tribal and agency cultural resources departments is critically important to all parties.
- Administrative protocols and communications must be consistent across agency and tribal domains for successful tribal consultation. All parties benefit from practical, efficient and mutually agreed upon administrative procedures.

Application of new models

- Programs that include Ute young people interacting on the land together with Ute elders and families are of great benefit in preserving Ute culture. The BLM-USFS Ute Ethnobotany Project is a worthy beginning in this direction and other similar projects and activities should be explored. A project focusing on Ute trails, for example, might lead to new approaches to recreation and travel management within BLM districts as well as acquiring new archaeological data.
- New models and methods in many of the disciplines that contribute to our shared understanding of the Ute's cultural heritage should be appropriately tested and applied. Approaches that emphasize Ute perspectives, collaborative methods of study, and environmental or ecological perspectives offer both scientific and cultural heritage preservation benefits.
- Exclusive reliance on a "site approach" to cultural resource management cannot adequately address Ute cultural heritage concerns. Landscape-scale inventories and regional context studies are needed for meaningful and efficient cultural resource consultation.

Consulting process improvements

- Consensus is needed on communication protocols among all parties. Differences in local office protocols and customs, within both the Ute and the BLM domains, need to be identified and resolved, perhaps with programmatic agreements. Practical and specific guidance is needed for phone, email and hard copy correspondence.
- The quality of shared information has significant impact on consultation outcomes. Site data, maps and other information, including descriptions of management concerns, need to be clear, relevant and presented with adequate context. Work should continue on development of GIS databases, and efforts made to coordinate and standardize database designs across field office boundaries. The Ute tribes should be consulted regarding information sharing protocols and standards as they develop, and the tribes should pursue development of their own GIS databases.
- Regular, face to face meetings between agency and tribal cultural program staff, conducted outside the normal course of Section 106 consultation activities, are important for furthering the underlying goals of this project. All parties should continue to seek additional funding and other partners to support future research and collaboration.
- Research field trips and site visits, like those conducted for this project, are valuable opportunities for deepening

working relationships and helping to broaden baseline knowledge of Ute heritage.

- New approaches to consultation should be considered. For example, field activities that include participation by both agency managers and tribal leaders, though difficult to arrange, might help to soften long-standing barriers that impede meaningful consultation and productive collaboration.

Recommendations for future ethnohistorical research

The following recommendations for future research have good potential for helping to fill current gaps in ethnohistorical and historical archaeological databases for the project area and surrounding regions, and for more fully integrating indigenous perspectives into cultural resource management processes.

- BLM should proactively initiate large block surveys and landscape scales inventories to improve the quality and scope of the baseline knowledge of Ute cultural resources in the project area. High quality, horizontally integrated databases will help to significantly increase the efficiency of tribal consultation projects.
- More high-level synthesis is needed within and across the scientific disciplines and cultural domains that associate with Ute history, cultural resources, and traditional culture. BLM should proactively support more frequent and meaningful Ute consultation and collaboration within both compliance processes and research programs.
- Until such time that consultation with the Ute tribes results in systematic and mutually agreed upon guidelines for identifying and evaluating Ute cultural and heritage resources, BLM should consider all of the site types listed above (p. 64) as potentially significant Ute heritage concerns.
- For the appropriate protection of Ute religious and sacred places, BLM should continue to consider and apply all available resource management designations and allocations allowed under legislative and executive mandates — such as ACECs and other specially designated “heritage areas,” for example.
- BLM should continue efforts begun in this project, and the on-going Ute Ethnobotany Project, to secure funding and participatory partners for collaborative Ute heritage research. Partner and for landscape-scale inventories and studies.
- BLM, in consultation with the Utes, should continue to develop place-based cultural research programs that actively engage and include Ute participants, including young people, families, and elders.

- BLM should continue its support for research projects and CRM programs that include active Native American participation. On-going programs based on well-planned and regularly scheduled activities are likely to yield the most significant results. Recent ethnohistorical projects conducted in collaboration with the Ute Tribes have included the active participation of significant numbers of tribal members working in the field with BLM cultural resource staff, research archaeologists, and ethnohistorians. Many of the recent improvements in Ute historical archaeology and ethnohistorical databases for the study area have resulted directly from such efforts. Archaeologists and resource managers have gained new perspectives from tribal participants on a range of Ute archaeological sites — notably including aboriginal wooden features and rock art, both of which are arguably the cultural resources most at-risk from natural and human causes. In turn, Ute connections to their historic territories have strengthened, and their active collaboration and information sharing with archaeologists and resource managers have revealed new avenues for future research initiatives that are likely to continue producing positive and significant results.
- Previous Native American consultation efforts in the study area have been conducted in large part with members of the Northern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute Tribes. However, historical and ethnohistorical records, as well as several rock art sites in the project area and surrounding regions, suggest that other Numic-speakers, notably Eastern Shoshone and Comanche groups, were probably present in the area during several historic time frames. BLM's future Native American consultation activities should be extended to include participants from these tribes.
- Temporal and geographic gaps in Ute ethnographic and ethnohistorical databases should be addressed through funding and support of projects focused on compilation of understudied historical Ute records in government and private archives, including archival materials in the collection of the Ute Tribes that may be available for study. Syntheses of pre-1850 ethnohistorical information on Utes inhabiting locales north of the Colorado River within the study area are particularly lacking. Related studies focusing on the movements and consolidations of Numic-speaking groups occupying the Little Snake, Yampa, and White River basins may be especially valuable.
- Efforts should be expanded to identify and record Native American trails and trail networks within the project area. Systematic study of such archaeological markers has the

potential to yield important insights into the distribution patterns of Ute archaeological sites, and could also extend basic knowledge of Ute spiritual beliefs and practices related to seasonal cycles of movement.

- New methods and conceptual frameworks for modeling cultural and cognitive landscapes using GIS-based spatial-statistical analysis techniques should be examined for potential applicability in the study area. For example, the preliminary conceptual model developed and tested by Diggs and Brunswig (2006a, 2006b) in Rocky Mountain National Park — using representations of elevation, viewsheds of known sacred landmarks, local relief, north facing slopes, and nearness to known prehistoric and early historic trails — applies a weights of evidence technique to model patterns of distribution for sacred sites and individual feature types. Importantly, their methodology involves ethnographic consultation with Native Americans for identifying sacred landmarks and for establishing the spiritual or religious aspects of certain archaeological and natural features. A similar method, appropriately adapted, may be productive if applied to ethnographic landscapes in the study area.
- Similarly, new protocols and approaches proposed by Native American cultural resource managers and organizations should be examined for applicability. One such approach has been proposed by the Hualapai Tribe for its monitoring program in the Colorado River Corridor in Arizona. It offers a theoretical perspective as well as a pragmatic framework for recording resources of traditional value. Based on principles of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), the Hualapai program emphasizes a holistic approach to cultural resource management, and its indigenous cultural knowledge base integrates broad spectrum of environmental, biological, and geological factors with traditional cultural and spiritual values (Jackson-Kelly, 2007). This model appears to be a good fit with traditionally important Ute cultural values, and has the potential for addressing some of the systemic conceptual differences that have limited the practical integration of Ute perspectives into CRM processes in the project area. The Hualapai TEK model, however, was developed within the context of the Glen Canyon Adaptive Management Program, and will need to be evaluated within the framework of BLM management programs.

- Several recently published studies (Bailey 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Loosle 2007; Keyser 2008) have presented evidence that historic brush fences and corrals found in association with wickiup sites in eastern Utah and southwestern Wyoming were constructed by Utes for managing the large herds of horses they were thought to have possessed in the Late Historic period. Similar animal control structures are known to exist in significant numbers throughout central and northwestern Colorado, including areas within the project area. A number of these Colorado sites contain associated wickiups, yet many, if not most, of the recorded brush fences and corrals have been identified in previous archaeological surveys as being of Euro-American origin. If in fact these wooden structures are of Ute origin, they contain potentially significant archaeological data that are likely to provide important new insights into equestrian Ute cultural practices. Such sites in the project area should be thoroughly investigated.



Figure 42: Utes participants toured portions of the newly designated Dominguez-Escalante National Conservation Area and Dominguez Canyon Wilderness, located on the eastern flank of the Uncompahgre Plateau. Many Ute cultural resources and heritage areas, including wickiup villages, rock art, seasonal camps, and ethnographic landscapes are located within the NCA, and Ute consultation will be important for cultural resources planning for the area.

*“Nothing is real until
it happens.”*

— Clifford Duncan (2007)

REFERENCES CITED

Arum, Loya

- 2009 Interview in "The Utes," in "We Shall Remain: A Native History of Utah." DVD, produced by Nancy Green, published by KUED, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

Axtell, James

- 1979 Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint. *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter, 1979), pp. 1-13. Duke University Press.

Bailey, Christina

- 2004 Preston Nutter. Ashley National Forest, USFS. Electronic document, <http://www.fs.fed.us/r4/ashley/heritage/histories/preston-nutter.pdf>. Accessed 01/15/09.
- 2005a Ute Corrals. Ashley National Forest, USFS. Electronic document, <http://www.fs.fed.us/r4/ashley/heritage/ethnography/ute-corrals.pdf>. Accessed 01/15/09.
- 2005b Ute Horse. Ashley National Forest, USFS. Electronic document, <http://www.fs.fed.us/r4/ashley/heritage/ethnography/ute-horse.pdf>. Accessed 01/15/09.

Baker, Steven G.

- 1988 Historic Ute Culture Change in West-Central Colorado. In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium*, edited by Paul R. Nickens, pp. 157-189. CCPA Occasional Paper No. 1. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver.
- 1991 The Uncompahgre Valley Historic Ute Project: First Interim Report and Executive Summary with Preliminary Excavation Reports on Chief Ouray's Homes at Montrose (5MN847) and Ouray (5OR965). Uncompahgre Valley Historic Ute Project, Report Series No.2. Prepared by Centuries Research, Inc., Montrose, Colorado. Prepared for the Colorado Historical Society, State Historical Fund, Denver, and the Montrose Youth and Community Foundation, Montrose, Colorado. Copies available from the Colorado Historical Society, State Historical Fund, Denver.
- 1993 Modeling for Eastern Ute Culture Change. Paper presented at the 1st Biennial Rocky Mountain Anthropological Conference, Jackson, Wyoming.
- 1995 Archaeological Disenfranchisement of the Colorado Utes. *Southwestern Lore* 61(3):1-9. Colorado Archaeological Society, Denver.
- 1996 Numic Archaeology on the Douglas Creek Arch, Rio Blanco County, Colorado: Ute Rancherías and the Broken Blade Wickiup Hamlet (5RB3182). Chandler Douglas Creek Arch Report Series, No. 79. Prepared by Centuries Research, Inc., Montrose, Colorado. Prepared for Chandler and Associates, Denver. Copies available from the Bureau of Land Management, White River Field Office, Meeker, Colorado.
- 2000a State Historic Register Nomination for the Chief Ouray Mountain, House and Spring Waters (5OR965). Prepared by Centuries Research, Inc., Montrose, Colorado. Prepared for the Wiesbaden Motel and Spa, Ouray, Colorado. Copies available from the Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver.
- 2003a Ethnohistorical Perspectives on the Tabeguache Band of O. Stewart's "Eastern Ute." Paper presented at the 6th Biennial Rocky Mountain Anthropological Conference, Estes Park, Colorado.

- 2003b Historic Ute Archaeology: Interpreting the Last Hour Wickiup (5RB3236). *Southwestern Lore* 69(4):1-34.
- 2004 Utes, Other Utes, Horses and Guns: Ethnohistorical Perspectives on O. Stewart's Post-Contact "Eastern Ute." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Colorado Springs, Colorado.
- 2005 2002-2003 Old Agency Initiative of the Uncompahgre Valley Ute Project, Vol. II, Late Contact Phase Ute Ethnohistory and Archaeology in Association with the 2nd Los Pinos Indian Agency on the Uncompahgre (5OR139). Uncompahgre Valley Ute Project, Report No. 6. Prepared by Centuries Research, Inc., Montrose, Colorado. Prepared for the Colorado Historical Society, State Historical Fund, Denver, and the Montrose Youth and Community Foundation, Montrose, Colorado. Copies available from the Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver.
- Baker, Steven G., Richard F. Carrillo, and Carl D. Späth
- 2007 Chapter 2: Protohistoric and Historic Native Americans. In *Colorado History: A Context for Historical Archaeology*, Church, Minette C., Steven G. Baker, Bonnie J. Clark, Richard F. Carrillo, Honathon C. Horn, Carl D. Späth, David R. Guilfoyle, and E. Steve Cassells, Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver.
- Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr.
- 1978 *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Blackhawk, Ned
- 2006 *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Harvard University press.
- 2007a The Displacement of Violence: Ute Diplomacy and the Making of New Mexico's Eighteenth-Century Northern Borderlands, *Ethnohistory*, 54:723-755. American Society for Ethnohistory, Duke University Press.
- 2007b Swiftly Moving Currents: American Indian History and the Changing Complexity of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. *Ethnohistory* 54:4, p. 583. American Society for Ethnohistory.
- Bolton, Herbert E.
- 1950 Pageant in the Wilderness. *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, January, April, July, October, 1950, Numbers 1,2,3,4. Utah State Historical Society.
- Brett, John A.
- 2003 Ethnographic Assessment and Documentation of Rocky Mountain National Park. Electronic document, www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/romo/ethnography/brett.pdf, accessed March 12, 2009.
- Buckles, William G., and Nancy B. Buckles
- 1984 *Colorado Historical Archaeology Context*. Colorado Historical Society, Denver
- 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. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Buckles, William G.
- 1968 Archaeology in Colorado: Part III. Archaeology in Colorado: Historic Tribes. *Southwestern Lore* 34(3):53-67.

- 1971 The Uncompahgre Complex: Historic Ute Archaeology and Prehistoric Archaeology of the Uncompahgre Plateau in West Central Colorado. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- 1988 Discussion. In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium*, edited by Paul R. Nickens, pp. 218-232. CCPA Occasional Papers, No. 1. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver.
- Bureau of Land Management and Sonoran Institute (BLM-SI)
- 2000 *A Desktop Reference Guide to Collaborative, Community-Based Planning*. Electronid document, http://www.nps.gov/partnerships/elec_pub.htm, accessed September 12, 2009.
- Bureau of Land Management (BLM)
- 2009 Colorado Briefing Book. Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office. Electronic document, [http://www.blm.gov/pgdata/etc/medialib/blm/co/information/newsroom/2009.Par.71633.File.dat/Briefing Book 2009.pdf](http://www.blm.gov/pgdata/etc/medialib/blm/co/information/newsroom/2009.Par.71633.File.dat/Briefing%20Book%202009.pdf), accessed September 2009.
- 2007 Bureau of Land Management – Ute Ethnohistory Project. Scope of Work. Document on file at BLM Grand Junction Field Office.
- Burns, Sam
- 2004 The Ute relationships to the lands of West Central Colorado: An ethnographic overview prepared for the U.S. Forest Service. Office of Community Services, Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado. Electronic document, <http://swcenter.fortlewis.edu/inventory/UteLands.htm>, accessed January 6, 2009.
- Callaway, Donald G., Joel C. Janetski, and Omer C. Stewart
- 1986 Ute. In Great Basin, edited by Warren L. D'Azevedo, pp. 336-367. *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 11, William C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Campbell, Greg
- 2007 Traditional Plant Use Study: Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site and Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. Unpublished manuscript for the NPS National Historic Landmarks Program, Intermountain Region, and Rocky Mountain Cluster Parks.
- Carter, Edward C.
- 1999 *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930*. American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
- Chakrabarty, Gargi
- 2008 Mining claims soar on Colorado public lands. *Rocky Mountain News* 23 January. Electronic document, <http://www.rockymountainnews.com/news/2008/jan/23/mining-claims-soar-on-colo-public-lands/>, accessed August 18, 2009.
- Chamberlain, Ralph V.
- 1909 Some Plant Names of the Ute Indians. *American Anthropologist* 11(1):27-40.
- Chavez, Fray Angelico (translator), and Ted J. Warner (editor)
- 1976 *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*. Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah.

- Chapoose, Betsy
 2007 Comments at Ute Ethnohistory Project General Planning Meeting in Gateway, Colorado, November 28, 2007. This volume, Appendix B.
- 2004 In *The Ute relationships to the lands of West Central Colorado: An ethnographic overview* prepared for the U.S. Forest Service, by Sam Burns. Office of Community Services, Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado. Electronic document, <http://swcenter.fortlewis.edu/inventory/UteLands.htm>, accessed January 6, 2009.
- Church, Minette C., Steven G. Baker, Bonnie J. Clark, Richard F. Carrillo, Honathon C. Horn, Carl D. Späth, David R. Guilfoyle, and E. Steve Cassells
 2007 *Colorado History: A Context for Historical Archaeology*, Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver.
- Clemmer, Richard O.
 1978 Pine Nuts, Cattle and the Ely Chain: Rip- Off Resource Replacement vs. Homeostatic Equilibrium. *Ballena Press Publications in Archaeology, Ethnology and History* No. 11:61-76.
- Clemmer, Richard O., L. Daniel Myers, and Mary Elizabeth Rudden (eds.)
 1999 *Julian Steward & The Great Basin: The Making of an Anthropologist*. University of Utah Press.
- Cole, Sally
 1990 *Legacy on Stone: Rock Art of the Colorado Plateau and Four Corners Region*. Johnson Books.
- Colorado Historical Newspaper Collection
 n.d. Online database, <http://www.geocommunicator.gov/GeoComm/index.shtm>. Accessed 1/15/09.
- Colorado Preservation, Inc.
 2003 Endangered Places Program. Electronic document, http://www.apple.com/www.coloradopreservation.org/epp/sites/epp_03_04.html. Accessed 01/15/09.
- Conetah, Fred A.
 1982 *A History of the Northern Ute People*. Published by the Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe. University of Utah Printing Service, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Cuch, Forrest S. (ed.)
 2003 *A History of Utah's American Indians*. Utah State Division of Indian Affairs, Utah State Division of History, Salt Lake City.
- Denver Public Library (DPL)
 (n.d.) Western History and Genealogy: Digital Image Collection. Online database, <http://history.denverlibrary.org/images/index.html>. Accessed variously October 2008 - February 2009.
- Diggs, David M. and Robert H. Brunswig
 2006a Modeling Native American Sacred Sites in Rocky Mountain National Park. From Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual ESRI International User Conference, San Diego, California, August 5-8, 2006.
- 2006b Weights of Evidence Modeling in Archeology, Rocky Mountain National Park. From Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual ESRI International User Conference, San Diego, California, August 5-8, 2006.

Duncan, Clifford

- 2003a The Northern Utes. In *A History of Utah's American Indians*. Forrest S. Cuch ed. Pp. 167-224. Utah State Division of Indian Affairs, Utah State Division of History, Salt Lake City.
- 2003b An Ethnographic Conversation held with Sam Burns, tape-recorded at Clifford's home near Roosevelt, Utah, November 6, 2003. In *The Ute relationships to the lands of West Central Colorado: An ethnographic overview prepared for the U.S. Forest Service*. Office of Community Services, Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado. Electronic document, <http://swcenter.fortlewis.edu/inventory/UteLands.htm>, accessed January 6, 2009.
- 2007 Comments at Ute Ethnohistory Project General Planning Meeting in Gateway, Colorado, November 28, 2007. This volume, Appendix B.
- 2009 Interview in "The Utes," in "We Shall Remain: A Native History of Utah." DVD, produced by Nancy Green, published by KUED, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
- n.d. Chapter Five - The Northern Utes of Utah. In *Utah History to Go*. State of Utah. Electronic document, http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/the_history_of_utahs_american_indians/chapter5.html.

Eugster, J. Glenn

- 2003 Evolution of the Heritage Areas Movement. *The George Wright FORUM*. Volume 20, Number 2. The George Wright Society, Hancock, Michigan.

Fowler, Catherine S., comp.

- 1969 Great Basin Anthropology—a Bibliography. Reno; *University of Nevada Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences and Humanities* No. 5.

Fowler, Catherine S., and Joy Leland

- 1967 Some Northern Paiute Native Categories. *Ethnology* 6(4);381-403.

Fowler, Don D.

- 1980 History of Great Basin Anthropological Research, 1776-1979. In *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 8-36).

Fowler, Don D. and Catherine S. Fowler (eds.)

- 1971 *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North America 1868-1880*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.

Fowler, Don D., and John F. Matley

- 1978 The Palmer Collection from Southwestern Utah, 1875. *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* No. 99 (Miscellaneous Paper No. 20).
- 1979 Material Culture of the Numa: the John Wesley Powell Collection, 1867-1880. *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* No. 26.

Francaviglia, Richard V.

- 2005 *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History*. University of Nevada Press.

Goss, James A.

- 1961 *A Short Dictionary of the Southern Ute Language*. Ignacio, Colorado; Southern Ute Tribe.

- 1968 Culture-Historical Inference from Utaztekan Linguistic Evidence. *Occasional Papers of the Idaho State University Museum* No. 22:1-42.
- 1972a A Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Ecological Model. *University of Nevada Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences* No. 8:123-128, Reno, Nevada.
- 1972b Ute Lexical and Phonological Patterns. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in anthropology. University of Chicago
- 1999 The Yamparika-Shoshones, Comanches, or Utes--or Does it Matter? In *Julian Steward and the Great Basin: The Making of an Anthropologist*, edited by Richard O. Clemmer, L. Daniel Myers and Mary Elizabeth Rudden, pp. 74-84. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- 2000 Traditional Cosmology, Ecology, and Language of the Ute Indians In *Ute Indian Arts and Culture*. William Wroth, ed. Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center. pp. 27-52.
- Green, Nancy (Producer)
- 2009 The Utes, in *We Shall Remain: A Native History of Utah*. DVD published by KUED, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
- Harmon, David
- 2004 Intangible Values of Protected Areas: What Are They? Why Do They Matter? *The George Wright FORUM*. Volume 21, Number 2. The George Wright Society, Hancock, Michigan.
- Heizer, Robert F., ed.
- 1954 Notes on the Utah Utes by Edward Palmer, 1866-1877. *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* No. 17:1-8.
- 1962 Notes on the Utah Utes by Edward Palmer, 1866-1877. *Utah Archeology* 8(3);7-14.
- Hillers, John K.
- 1873 Photograph I.D. BAE GN 01535 06690500 from the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, Suitland, Maryland. Electronic reproduction, http://sirismm.si.edu/naa/baegn/gn_01535.jpg, accessed August 2009.
- Hittman, Michael
- 1973 Ghost Dances, Disillusionment and Opiate Addiction: an Ethnohistory of Smith and Mason Valley Paiutes. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in anthropology. University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
- Horn, Jonathon C.
- 1988 EuroAmerican Goods in the Material Culture of the Ute Prior to 1882. In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium*, edited by Paul R. Nickens, pp. 54-61. CCPA Occasional Paper No. 1. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver.
- 1999 Ute Material Culture during the Historic Period as Represented by Sites in the Montrose Area. Paper presented at the Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists Annual Meeting, 1999. Electronic document, http://www.alpinearchaeology.com/Horn1999_UteMaterialCulture.pdf.
- Houghton, Ruth M.
- 1973 Adaptive Strategies in an American Indian Reservation Community; the War on Poverty, 1965-1971. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Oregon, Eugene.

- Humboldt, Alexander von
 1809 Carte Generale Du Royaume De La Nouvelle Espagne. F. Schoell Paris. Electronic document, David Rumsey Collection, Pub List No. 0328.000, <http://www.davidrumsey.com>, accessed April 12, 2002.
- 1811 Carte du Mexique et des Pays Limitrophes Situes ou Nord et Est. F. Schoell, Paris. Electronic document, University of Texas at Arlington Library, Accession: 00217, <http://libraries.uta.edu/ccon/mapSearch.shtml>, accessed April 12, 2002.
- Husband, Michael B.
 1984 *Colorado Plateau Country Historic Context*. Colorado Historical Society, Denver.
- Huscher, Betty Holmes, and Harold A. Huscher
 1939a Unpublished Field Notes for 1939. Manuscripts on file, Colorado Museum of Natural History, Denver.
- Jackson-Kelly, Loretta
 2007 Traditional Hualapai Ecological Knowledge and the Monitoring Program for the Ecosystem in the Colorado River Corridor. Prepared for the Bureau of Reclamation Upper Colorado Regional Office, Salt Lake City, UT. Unpublished manuscript. Available at Hualapai Tribe, Department of Cultural Resources, Peach Springs, AZ.
- Jennings, Calvin
 1990 Review of Archaeology of the Eastern Ute, edited by Paul R. Nickens. CCPA Occasional Papers, No. 1. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver (1988). *American Antiquity* 55(4):861-862.
- Jorgensen, Joseph G.
 1959 The Functions of Ute Folklore. Unpublished M.A. thesis in anthropology. University of Utah, Salt Lake City.
- 1964 Ethnohistory and Acculturation of the Northern Ute. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in anthropology. Indiana University, Bloomington.
- 1972 *The Sun Dance Religion*. Power for the Powerless. Chicago; University of Chicago Press.
- Keyser, James B.
 1977 Writing-On-Stone: Rock Art on the Northwestern Plains. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* no.1, pp.15-80.
- 1987 A Lexicon for Historic Plains Indian Rock Art: Increasing Interpretive Potential. *Plains Anthropologist* vol.32, no.115, pp.43-71.
- Keyser, James B. and George Poetschat, eds.
 2005 *Warrior Art of Wyoming's Green River Basin. Biographic Petroglyphs along the Seekskadee*. Oregon Archaeological Society Publication No.15.
- 2008 *Ute Horse Raiders on the Powder Rim: Rock Art at Powder Wash, Wyoming*. Oregon Archaeological Society Publication #19, Portland.
- King, Thomas F. and Patricia L. Parker
 1998 National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties. Originally published 1990, revised 1992, 1998. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Washington, D.C.

King, Thomas F.

- 2000 *Federal Planning and Historic Places: The Section 106 Process*. AltaMira Press.
- 2002 *Thinking About Cultural Resource Management: Essays from the Edge*. AltaMira Press.
- 2003 *Places That Count, Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management*. AltaMira Press.
- 2005 *Doing Archaeology: A Cultural Resource Management Perspective*. Left Coast Press.
- 2007 *Saving Places that Matter: A Citizen's Guide to the National Historic Preservation Act*. Left Coast Press.
- 2008a *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice*. AltaMira Press.
- 2008b Tribal Sovereignty and the National Register of Historic Places. Electronic document, http://crmplus.blogspot.com/2008_09_01_archive.html, accessed February 7, 2009.
- 2009 *Our Unprotected Heritage: Whitewashing the Destruction of our Cultural and Natural Environment*. Left Coast Press.

Knight, Terry G., Sr.

- 2007 Comments at Ute Ethnohistory Project General Planning Meeting in Gateway, Colorado, November 28, 2007. This volume, Appendix B.

Koyiyumptewa, Stewart B., and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh

- In Press "The Past Is Now: Hopi Connections to Ancient Times and Places." In *Changing Histories, Landscapes, and Perspectives: The 20th Anniversary Southwest Symposium*, edited by Margaret C. Nelson and Colleen Strawhacker. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Kroeber, Alfred L.

- 1901 Ute Tales. *Journal of American Folklore* 14(55);252-285.
- 1908 Notes on the Ute Language. *American Anthropologist* 10(1);74-87.

Lang, Gottfried O.

- 1953 A Study in Culture Contact and Culture Change: the Whiterock Utes in Transition. *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* No. 15.
- 1954 The Ute Development Program; a Study of Culture Change in an Underdeveloped Area Within the United States. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca.

Lewis, David Rich

- 1994 *Neither Wolf Nor Dog*, Oxford University Press.
- 2004 Chapter Eight: Native Americans in the Nineteenth-Century American West. In *A Companion to the American West* by William Deverell (Ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.

Library of Congress (LOC)

- 2009 Rivers, Edens, Empires: Lewis & Clark and the Revealing of America. Electronic document, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/lewisandclark/lewis-before.html>, accessed September 11, 2009.

Loosle, Byron

- 2003 So Delicious They Ate the Bark Off the Trees. Ashley National Forest Heritage Publication. Electronic document, <http://www.fs.fed.us/r4/ashley/heritage/ethnography/so-delicious.pdf>.

- 2007 South Unit Cultural History Overview. Ashley National Forest. Electronic document, <http://www.fs.fed.us/r4/ashley/publications/>, accessed 01/26/09.
- Lynch, Robert N.
- 1971 Politics in a Northern Paiute Community. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in anthropology. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- 1978 Cowboys and Indians: an Ethnohistorical Portrait of Indian-White Relations on Ranches in Western Nevada. *Ballena Press Publications in Archaeology, Ethnology and History* No. 11:51-60.
- Madsen, David B. and David Rhode, (eds.)
- 1994 *Across the West: Human Population Movement and the Expansion of the Numa*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Martin, Calvin (ed.)
- 1987 *The American Indian and the Problem of History*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Martin, Curtis and Carl E. Conner
- 2007 A Class III Aboriginal Feature Inventory of Two Parcels in the Black Ridge Area of the McInnis Canyons National Conservation Area in Mesa County, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Bureau of Land Management Grand Junction Field Office.
- Martin, Curtis, Carl E. Conner, and Nicole Darnell
- 2005a The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume II: Gunnison Gulch Reconnaissance Survey in Mesa County, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office, Lakewood, Colorado.
- Martin, Curtis, Michael J. Brown and Carl E. Conner
- 2010 The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume V: Test Excavation of The Ute Hunters' Camp (5RB563) and the Documentation of Five Additional Aboriginal Wooden Feature Sites in Rio Blanco County, Colorado.
- Martin, Curtis and Richard Ott
- 2007a Sand Wash Wickiup Survey Phase I: A Class III Cultural Resources Inventory in Moffat County, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Bureau of Land Management Little Snake Field Office, Craig.
- 2007b The Little Snake Wickiup Revisits Project, Moffat County, Colorado. A series of unpublished site descriptions, Cultural Resource Reevaluation forms, and Aboriginal Wooden Features Component forms on file at the Bureau of Land Management Little Snake Field Office, Craig.
- 2009 The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume IV. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office, Lakewood, Colorado.
- Martin, Curtis, Richard Ott, and Nicole Darnell
- 2005b The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume I: Context, Data Assessment and Strategic Planning. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office, Lakewood, Colorado.

- 2006 The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume III: Recordation and Re-evaluation of Twelve Aboriginal Wooden Structure Sites in Eagle, Garfield, Mesa, and Rio Blanco Counties, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office, Lakewood, Colorado.
- 2007a Sand Wash Wickiup Survey Phase I: A Class III Cultural Resources Inventory in Moffat County, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Bureau of Land Management Little Snake Field Office, Craig.
- 2007b The Little Snake Wickiup Revisits Project, Moffat County, Colorado. A series of unpublished site descriptions, Cultural Resource Reevaluation forms, and Aboriginal Wooden Features Component forms on file at the Bureau of Land Management Little Snake Field Office, Craig.
- McBeth, Sally
- 2007 Native American Oral History and Cultural Interpretation in Rocky Mountain National Park. Prepared for the: National Park Service Rocky Mountain National Park Intermountain Region Department of the Interior.
- Meinig, D.W.
1979. The beholding eye: Ten versions of the same scene. In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*. D.W. Meinig and John Brinckerhoff Jackson, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mithun, Marianne
- 1999 *The languages of Native North America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mordy, Brooke D.
- 1966 A Conflict Over Right of Residence [Washo], Unpublished M.A. thesis in Sociology and Anthropology, University of Nevada, Reno.
- Murphy, Robert F.
- 1970 Basin Ethnography and Ecological Theory, In: *Languages and Cultures of Western North America, Essays in Honor of Sven S. Liljeblad*, E. H. Swanson, Jr., ed., pp. 152-171. Pocatello; Idaho State University Press
- National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (NATHPO)
- 2005 *Tribal Consultation: Best Practices In Historic Preservation*. National Park Service and National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers, Washington, DC.
- National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (NMAI-SI)
- Electronic documents, <http://americanindian.si.edu/searchcollections/home.aspx>, accessed September 10, 2009.
- National Park Service (NPS)
- 1993 Guidelines for Evaluation and Registering Historical Archaeological Sites and Districts. National Register Bulletin. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- 1995 Archaeology and the National Register. CRM, Vol. 18, No. 6, 1995 Supplement. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places.
- 1996 Revised Thematic Framework. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

- 1997a National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Washington, D.C.
- 1997b National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms, Part A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Washington, D.C.
- 1997c National Register Bulletin: Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places.
- 1998 National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties. By Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, originally published 1990, revised 1992, 1998. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Washington, D.C.
- 1999 National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms, Part B: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Washington, D.C.
- National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP)
- 2006 *Cultural Resources on the Bureau of Land Management Public Lands: An assessment and needs analysis*. National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, DC.
- Nickens, Paul R. (editor)
- 1988 *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium*. CCPA Occasional Papers, No. 1. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver.
- O'Neil, Brian, Carl E. Conner, Barbara J. Davenport, and Richard Ott
- 2004 Archaeological Assessment of the Rifle Wickiup Village-5GF308 in Garfield County, Colorado. Dominquez Archaeological Research Group, Grand Junction, Colorado. Ms on file at the Glenwood Springs BLM Field Office.
- O'Rourke, Paul M.
- 1980 *Frontier in Transition: A History of Southwestern Colorado*. Bureau of Land Management - Colorado, Cultural Resources Series Number Ten. Electronic document, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/blm/co/10/index.htm, accessed 12/016/08.
- Opler, Marvin K.
- 1943 The Origins of Comanche and Ute. In *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1943), pp. 155-158. Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the American Anthropological Association. Electronic document, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/662885>, accessed January 11, 2009.
- 1963 The Southern Ute of Colorado. In *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. Ralph Litton. Pp. 119-206. Peter Smith, Gloucester, Massachusetts.
- 1971 The Ute and Paiute Indians of the Great Basin Southern Rim. In *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*. Elenor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie eds. Pp. 257-288. Waveland Press, Prospect Height, Illinois.

- Palmer, Edward
 1876 Exploration of a Mound in Utah. *American Naturalist* 10(8);410-414.
- 1878 Cave Dwellings in Utah. Eleventh Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 2(2);269-272.
- Parker, Patricia L. and Thomas F. King
 1998 National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places.
- Pekka Hämäläinen
 2008 *The Comanche Empire*. Yale University Press.
- Poley, H.S.
 1899 Photograph, Call No. P-51, from Western History/Genealogy Dept., Denver Public Library. Electronic reproduction, <http://photoswest.org/cgi-bin/imager?00170051+P-51>, accessed May 2008.
- Prosper, Lisa
 2007 Wherein Lies the Heritage Value? Rethinking the Heritage Value of Cultural Landscapes from an Aboriginal Perspective. *The George Wright FORUM*. Volume 24, Number 2. The George Wright Society, Hancock, Michigan.
- Reed, Alan D.
 1984 *West Central Colorado Prehistoric Context*. Colorado Historical Society, Denver.
- 1988 Cultural Chronology. In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium*, edited by Paul R. Nickens, pp. 119-203. CCPA Occasional Papers, No. 1. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver.
- 1994 The Numic Occupation of Western Colorado and Eastern Utah During the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Periods. In *Across the West: Human Population Movement and the Expansion of the Numa*, edited by David B. Madsen and David Rhode, pp. 188-166. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Reed, Alan D. and Michael D. Metcalf
 1999 *Colorado Prehistory: A Context for the Northern Colorado River Basin*. Colorado Historical Society, Denver.
- Reed, Alan D. and Rachel Gebauer
 2004 A Research Design and Context for Prehistoric Cultural Resources in the Uncompahgre Plateau Archaeological Project's Study Area, Western Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at Uncompahgre Plateau Study Project, Montrose, Colorado.
- Sánchez, Joseph P.
 1997 *Explorers, Traders, and Slavers: Forging the Old Spanish Trail, 1678-1850*. University of Utah Press.
- Sapir, Edward
 1910a Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology. *Journal of American Folklore* 23(90); 455-472.
- 1910b Two Paiute Myths. *University of Pennsylvania Museum Journal* 1:15-18.

- 1913 Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study of Uto-Aztecan. 1. *Journal de la Societe des Americanistes de Paris*. 10:379-425; 11: 443-488.
- Sapir, Edward and William Bright
 1992 Southern Paiute and Ute: Linguistics and Ethnography. *Collected Works of Edward Sapir* v. 10, de Gruyter Mouton.
- Scotch, Norman A., and Freda L. Scotch
 1963 Social Factors in Hypertension among the Washo. *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* No. 67:69-76.
- Shimkin, Demkri B., and Russell M. Reid
 1970 Socio-Cultural Persistence Among Shoshoneans of the Carson River Basin (Nevada). In: *Languages and Cultures of Western North America*, Essays in Honor of Sven S. Liljeblad, E. H. Swanson, Jr., ed., pp. 172-200. Pocatello: Idaho State University Press.
- Shindler, A. Zeno
 1868 Photographic collections of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), Smithsonian Institution (SI). Electronic reproduction, <http://americanindian.si.edu/searchcollections/results.aspx?catids=4&cultxt=ute&src=1-1>, accessed August 4, 2009.
- Simmons, Virginia McConnell
 2000 *The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico*. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.
- Simms, Steve, Buck Benson, Landon Profaizer - Utah State University
 2006 Excavations at Two Wickiup Sites: Dugway Proving Ground and West Tavaputs Plateau: Why We Should Look for Structures at Lithic Scatters and Some Tips for Doing So. Paper presented at the Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, March 2006.
- Smith, Anne M. (Cooke)
 1938 In: *Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin*. Author(s): Willard Z. Park, Edgar E. Siskin, Anne M. Cooke, William T. Mulloy, Marvin K. Opler, Isabel T. Kelly. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 40, No. 4, Part 1 (Oct. - Dec., 1938), pp. 622 -638
- 1974 Ethnography of the Northern Utes. *Papers in Anthropology* No. 17. Museum of New Mexico, Albuquerque.
- Smith, Duane and Duane Vandebusch
 1981 *A Land Alone, Colorado's Western Slope*. Pruett Publishing Company.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai
 2006 *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People*. Originally published 1999. Palgrave, New York.
- Smythe, Charles W.
 1999 The National Register Framework for Protecting Cultural Heritage Places. In *The George Wright Forum: THE GWS Journal of Parks, Protected Areas & Cultural Sites*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 2009
- Stedman, Raymond William
 1986 *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture*. University of Oklahoma Press.

Steward, Julian H.

- 1936 The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands. In: *Essays in Anthropology Presented to Alfred L. Kroeber*, R. H. Lowie, ed., pp. 331-350. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1938 Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups. *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin No. 120, Washington, D.C.
- 1972 *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution*. Originally published 1955, Illini Books Edition, University of Illinois Press, Chicago.

Stewart, Omer C.

- 1941 The Southern Ute Peyote Cult. *American Anthropologist*. 43(1941):303-308.
- 1942 Culture Element Distributions, XVIII: Ute-Southern Paiute, *University of California Anthropological Records*. 6(4):231-356.
- 1952 Escalante and the Ute. *Southwestern Lore* XVIII(3):47-51.
- 1955 Forest and Grass Burning in the Mountains West. *Southwestern Lore* XXI(1):3-9. 567 Stewart, Omer C.
- 1962 Ute Bands: Early Historical References. *Southwestern Lore*, 28:2, p.31. Colorado Archaeological Society.
- 1966a Ute Indians: Before and After White Contact. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34:38-61.
- 1966b Tribal Distributions and Boundaries in the Great Basin. In *The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin: 1964*, edited by Warren L. D'Azevedo, Wilbur A. Davis, Don D. Fowler and Wayne Suttles. Desert Research Institute Technical Report Series, Social Sciences and Humanities Publications No.1, Reno, Nevada.
- 1971 Ethnohistorical Bibliography of the Ute Indians of Colorado. Series: *University of Colorado Studies: Series in anthropology*, no. 18. University of Colorado Press, Boulder.
- 1973 Ethnography of the Eastern Ute. Manuscript on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- 1976 Ethnography of the Western Ute. Manuscript on file, Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Tyler, Samuel Lyman

- 1954 The Spaniard and the Ute. *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, January, 1954, Number 1, pp 343-363. Utah State Historical Society.
- 1964 *The Ute people: A Bibliographical Checklist*, Samuel Lyman Tyler A publication of the Institute of American Indian Studies, Brigham Young University.

Uintah County Library (UCL)

- 2004 Regional History Collection. Electronic reproduction, <http://205.123.71.5/HistoryPhotos.html>.

Utah State History (USH)

- 2008 People of Utah Photograph Collection. Photo No. C-239, P. 1, Box 9. Photo by J.K. Hillers of the Powell Expedition, 1873 and/or 1874. Credit to Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. Neg. no. 1535. Electronic reproduction, http://history.utah.gov/research_and_collections/photos/peoples.html, accessed July 15, 2009.

Ute Ethnobotany Project

- 2007 Unpublished project workbook. Sponsored by a partnership between the Ute Indian Tribe; Southern Ute Indian Tribe; Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribe; BLM Grand Junction Field Office; Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre and Gunnison National Forests; Museum of Western Colorado; Colorado Council on the Arts; and Mesa State College. Manuscript on file at Bureau of Land Management, Grand Junction Field Office.

Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation

- 1937 Constitution and By-laws of the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. Electronic document, <http://www.narf.org/nill/Constitutions/uteconst/uteconsttoc.htm>, accessed 12/05/08.

Wroth, William, ed.

- 2000 *Ute Indian Arts & Culture: From Prehistory to the New Millenium*. Taylor Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, Colorado Springs.

Wunder, John R.

- 2007 Native American History, Ethnohistory, and Context. In *Ethnohistory* 54:4, American Society for Ethnohistory, Duke University Press.

Wyld, James

- 1823 Map of North America from 20 to 80 Degrees North Latitude... James Wyld, Charing Cross, England. Electronic document, David Rumsey Collection, Pub List No. 4087.000, <http://www.davidrumsey.com>, accessed April 12, 2002.

APPENDIX E: ETHNOBOTANCIAL FIELD NOTES

Prepared by Lynn Albers, DARG Research Associate

The following botanical notations resulted from ad hoc field observations and discussions with Ute consultants. Most specific epithets have not been verified. Species reported, however, have been previously documented in the visited areas. Scientific nomenclature is noted only with each plant's initial common name notation.

Glenwood Springs Field Office (GSFO)

Various sites in the GSFO were visited by project participants in June 2008. Several sites, including a significant Ute wickiup village, were located in ancient pinyon pine (*Pinus edulis*) and juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma* syn. *Sabina osteosperma*) forest. A variety of special Ute features located throughout the Glenwood BLM district, were also constructed from pinyon pine, juniper and Rocky Mountain juniper (*Juniperus scopulorum* syn. *Sabina scopulorum*). Clifford Duncan noted that aspen (*Populus tremuloides*) and lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*) were sometimes used as construction materials for wickiups. Cheryl Harrison noted that King Mountain and Black Mountain supported the only two significant lodgepole communities in the GSFO.

Significant amounts of maravilla, also known as wild four o'clock (*Mirabilis* sp.) were noted at site 5GF303, a wickiup village thought to have been a fall/winter hunting camp. The Nyctaginaceae species was most likely *M. multiflora* or *M. glandulosa*, but possibly *M. oxybaphoides*. Clifford Duncan mentioned the following Ute plant names (approximated phonetic spellings are given):

<i>sub-eee'</i>	flower
<i>kub-sub-eee'</i>	red flower
<i>sab-wuwf</i>	sagebrush
<i>shur'-vwap</i>	tree
<i>wup</i>	juniper
<i>pab-wup</i>	pinyon pine
<i>turn-up</i>	chokecherry
<i>ish</i>	three-leaf sumac
<i>tdoo-wimp'</i>	serviceberry
<i>ga-soo</i>	hawthorne

Clifford also mentioned that tanning hides with juniper smoke created a black/dark color and pinyon pine smoke created a yellow hide. He noted that using brains (deer?) created a white tanned hide. While crossing Cottonwood Pass (Missouri Heights to Gypsum), we discussed a traditional education center to teach about Ute (and Colorado native) plants, plant processing, traditional uses and so forth. Ute Cultural Rights & Protection director Betsy Champoos and Clifford noted the need for buffalo berry (*Shepherdia argentea* and *S. canadensis*) and chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana* ssp. *melanocarpa* syn. *Padus virginiana* ssp. *melanocarpa*) seed for the reservation, as well as a need to protect those plants for cultural uses.

It was noted that Prince Creek Road had healthy and fairly bountiful serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*) and chokecherry stands. Betsy discussed bringing the Northern Ute women Elders to an accessible place (which Prince Creek Road is) to collect berries and basket-making materials.

Uncompahgre Field Office (UFO)

Several canyonlands sites were visited in the UFO August 19-20, 2008, including locations in the Roubideau Creek/Canyon, Potter Creek, Dry Creek, and Cushman Creek areas. There was discussion regarding Ute wickiup villages being located at “mid-mesa” - being the safest and most protected place in that local environment. Rock art located in relation to these wickiup sites was also discussed.

Clifford and Betsy commented that areas of important cultural significance to the Utes were living, fluid and always moving — both spiritually and physically — as reflected in the relationship a particular place may have with animals, plants and people. Both Ute representatives were clearly distressed at Colorado canyonlands west of Montrose, where “extreme crawler” recreational vehicles had severely impacted the ancient pinyon-juniper woodland. There was discussion of the disturbed area’s close proximity to rock art and the probable destruction of Ute cultural sites.

Native plant resources at the Montrose district sites were abundant. A few plant genera observed included: Indian ricegrass (*Achnatherum hymenoides* syn. *Oryzopsis hymenoides*), spreading dogbane (*Apocynum androsaemifolium*), big sagebrush (probably *Artemisia tridentata* syn. *Seriphidium tridentatum*), silversage (*Artemisia frigida*), sagewort (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), saltbush (*Atriplex* sp.), rabbitbrush (*Chrysothamnus* sp.), wild licorice (*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*), gumweed (*Grindelia squarrosa*), snakeweed (*Gutierrezia microcephala* or *G. sarothrae*), golden aster (*Heterotheca villosa*), juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*), winterfat (*Krascheninnikovia lanata* syn. *Eurotia lanata* syn. *Ceratoides lanata*), wolfberry (*Lycium pallidum*), maravilla, prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia polyacantha*), western wheatgrass (*Pascopyrum smithii* syn. *Agropyron smithii*), pinyon pine, broadleaf cottonwood (*Populus deltoides*), wild rose (*Rosa woodsii*), three-leaf sumac (*Rhus aromatica* ssp. *trilobata*), greasewood (*Sarcobatus vermiculatus*), willow (*Salix* sp.), perky sue (*Tetrandeum ivesiana*), and yucca (*Yucca harrimaniae*).

Some alien plant communities were observed in visited areas, including: wienerleaf (*Halogeton glomeratus*), ironweed (*Kochia americana* or *Bassia* sp.) and tamarisk (*Tamarix parviflora* or *T. ramosissima*). Nitrogen-fixing non-native ruderal legumes, alfalfa (*Medicago sativa*), white melilot (*Melilotus albus*) and yellow melilot clovers (*Melilotus officinale*), were also present.

Grand Junction Field Office (GJFO)

Sites at various locations in the GJFO were visited September 9-11, 2008. Native plants observed in the Black Ridge, Douglas Creek and Baxter Pass areas included: sand verbena (*Abronia elliptica* or *A. nana*), Indian ricegrass, wild onion (*Allium acuminatum*), 2 species of serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia* & *A. utahensis*), sagebrush, saltbush, 2 species of mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus intricatus* & *C. montanus*), rabbitbrush, cryptanth (*Cryptantha* sp. or possibly *Oreocarya* sp.), fleabane (*Erigeron* sp.), gumweed, sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*), needle-and-thread grass (*Hesperostipa comata* syn. *Stipa comata*), golden aster (*Heterotheca* sp.), winterfat, juniper (*Juniperus osteosperma*), prickly pear cactus, pinyon pine, bitterbrush (*Purshia tridentata* or *P. stansburiana*), scarlet globemallow (*Sphaeralcea coccinea*), and yucca.

The group visited a pictograph site in a drainage south of Gateway, and found it to be surrounded by a diverse plant community, including: sagewort, sagebrush, saltbush, netleaf hackberry (*Celtis reticulata*), rabbitbrush, single-leaf ash (*Fraxinus anomala*), snakeweed, golden eye/sunspots (*Heliomeris multiflora*), golden aster (*Heterothecca* sp.), Indian ricegrass, scarlet globemallow, maravilla, prince's plume (*Stanleya pinnata*), pinyon pine, bitterbrush, three-leaf sumac, and willow. Some Brassicaceae annuals were found, as well as ground cherry (*Physalis* spp. - tentatively *P. virginiana*), which Weber says is a possible alien. Dunmire and Tierney report that groundcherry fruits have been eaten by indigenous peoples in the Four Corners region for "at least 1100 years."

Clifford Duncan and Terry Knight noted some traditional Ute plant uses: snakeweed was "good for cleansing"; buffaloberries were cached and eaten in winter; and three-leaf sumac berry infusion was ingested before the Sun Dance Ceremony. Clifford also mentioned that he had talked with Cheyenne elders about the gathering of a water plant tuber, used for food. This was most likely yellow pondlily (*Nuphar lutea*). A few Ute plant names were mentioned by Clifford and Terry. (approximate phonetic spellings are given):

<i>kab-pee'</i>	ephedra (Ute tea, Mormon tea, Navajo tea, cowboy coffee)
<i>ab-koo-p'</i>	buffaloberry
<i>ish</i>	three-leaf sumac
<i>too-k-pee'</i>	coffee
<i>dab-goos'</i>	wild turnip

Local ranchers John and Inelle Littlejohn (and their son, Logan), met us in Sinbad Valley, where we visited several potential culturally significant sites, including a spring and a section of a former Ute trail. Plant life was fairly abundant in the area, with a few additional native species being observed, including: fireweed (*Chamerion danielsii* syn. *Epilobium angustifolium*), virgin's bower (*Clematis ligusticifolia*), yellow bee plant (*Cleome lutea*), fleabane (*Erigeron* spp.), Scarlet gilia (*Ipomopsis* spp.), watercress (*Naturtium officinale*), locoweed (*Oxytropis* spp.), gambell oak (*Quercus gambelii*), watercress, greasewood (*Sarcobatus vermiculatus*), and cattail (*Typha* spp.).

Other previously mentioned native species present in Sinbad Valley included: silversage, rabbitbrush, sunflower, juniper, Indian rice-grass, ground cherry, pinyon pine, wild rose, willow, and yucca. A buckbean-looking plant (*Menyanthes trifoliata*) was noted, but the eco-system was not congruent. Also observed was the alien invasive species Russian-thistle (*Salsola* spp.), as well as non-native burdock (*Arctium minus*) and a very healthy "wild" apricot tree (*Prunus armeniaca* or related species), probably planted by early settlers.

Sinbad Valley also had an abundance of three-leaf sumac and looked to be an excellent potential berry and basket-material gathering place for the Ute women Elders. Aline, Alyssa, Betsy and Lynn discussed this possibility, noting the need to secure land-owner permissions.

Old growth juniper woodlands were visited in the Battlement Mesa - Sunnyside area. A large and long-lived juniper at one site was mentioned as a possible council tree by DARG archeologists, based on the significant amount of lithics surrounding it. Clifford Duncan was in general agreement with that determination. A pinyon pine council tree site was also noted. Roan Plateau, and the "Winterflats" bench area to the west, could be viewed across the Colorado River Valley. Its use as

a Ute encampment, was discussed. Terry discoursed regarding Ute camp tripods and cobble usage. A tree with fresh bear claw sharpening activity was observed. Clifford remarked that it reminded him of the Ute story of the coyote's wig (see Figure 14, above). A Ute taboo toward lightning-struck trees was also mentioned.

A rock art site at the Bridgeport crossing on the Gunnison River was visited. One petroglyph figure stimulated discussion of a possible "tree of life" motif. Area native plants observed in the area included: greasewood, broadleaf cottonwoods, saltbush, rabbitbrush, three-leaf sumac, big sagebrush, prince's plume, needle-and-thread grass, snakeweed, prickly pear cactus, and a large, unidentified but probably alien grass.

Sources

Brown, Deni

2001 The Herb Society of America New Encyclopedia of Herbs & Their Uses. Originally published 1995. Dorling Kindersley Ltd., New York.

Carter, Jack L.

2006 Trees & Shrubs of Colorado. Mimbres Publishing, Silver City, NM.

Dunmire, William W. & Gail D. Tierney

1995 Wild Plants of the Pueblo Province - Exploring Ancient and Enduring Uses. Museum of NM Press, Santa Fe.

Shaw, Robert B.

2008 Grasses of Colorado. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Weber, William A. & Ronald C. Wittman

2001 Colorado Flora - Western Slope. 3rd ed., originally published 1990. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Welsh, Stanley L., Atwood, Goodrich & Higgins

2003 A Utah Flora. 3rd ed., originally published 1987. BYU Print Services, Provo.

APPENDIX F: NOTES ON COLORADO WICKIUP PROJECT

Colorado Wickiup Project Background

More than three hundred archaeological sites containing nearly eight hundred aboriginal wooden structures and features are known to exist in Colorado. These ephemeral cultural resources are “regarded as among Colorado's rarest and most fragile Native American sites” (Baker et al 2007:104). Generally attributed to the Utes, they represent the cultural heritage of the only indigenous people to reside within Colorado from prehistory to the present (Baker et al 2007:29). Unfortunately, a preponderance of such sites and features have yet to be fully documented and they are increasingly threatened by decay and disintegration from natural processes, and destruction by human actions, particularly in areas of rapid energy development and population growth.

Dominquez Archaeological Research Group, Inc. (DARG), with partial funding from the Colorado State Historical Fund and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), initiated the Colorado Wickiup Project (CWP) in 2003. The primary objective of the on-going project is to mitigate the threat to Colorado's aboriginal wooden structures to the extent possible by thoroughly recording all known wooden feature sites, collecting materials for chronometric analysis, and conducting extensive data recovery – including excavation – of significant sites. Long-range goals of the project include the development of a dedicated aboriginal wooden structure knowledge base and facilitation of collaborative research and education through information sharing and professional and public outreach.

Funding for the Colorado Wickiup Project has been provided by Colorado Historical Society's State Historical Fund, Bureau of Land Management Colorado Office, and private contributors. The project, begun in the fall of 2003, has achieved the following results:

Rifle Wickiup Village Assessment. In the fall of 2003 and spring of 2004, DARG conducted an archaeological assessment of the Rifle Wickiup Village, site 5GF308, located near Rifle, Colorado. This site is the largest known wickiup site in the state of Colorado, with 80 wooden structures now recorded. It was initially, and minimally, recorded in 1973 with additional recording done in 1982, 1986, and 1996. Illegal wood cutting activities damaged the site in 1985 and 3-5 structures were destroyed. None of the early field work had ever been formally reported to BLM and OAHP. DARG's assessment project conducted comprehensive site mapping and documentation of the wickiups and other wooden structures, and in the course of that work began to develop plans for the Colorado Wickiup Project (O'Neil et al. 2004).

Phase I of the CWP, conducted during 2004 and 2005, consisted of a review and assessment of existing knowledge regarding aboriginal wooden structures located in Colorado, and the development of an archaeological context and a strategic plan for future investigations. Results were published in 2005 as *The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume I: Context, Data Assessment and Strategic Planning* (Martin, Ott, and Darnell 2005).

Phase II of the project, also conducted during 2004 and 2005, comprised the first in a series of planned field investigations. The Phase II survey recorded a dense occurrence of varied and well-

preserved wooden structures in the Gunnison Gulch area of Mesa County. A total of 29 wooden features were recorded, including 21 wickiups, a brush corral, an apparent windbreak, a culturally scarred juniper, a limbed tree (apparent wickiup pole production site), a juniper pole cache, and several leaner-pole utility features. The project also served as a pilot test for proposed recording protocols, including an extensively re-designed wooden structure component form, GPS mapping, plan and elevation view drawings of significant structures, comprehensive photography, metal detection, collection of significant surface artifacts, and sampling of materials for chronometric analysis. Results were published in 2005 as *The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume II: Cultural Resources Class II Reconnaissance Inventory for the Gunnison Gulch Area of Mesa County, Colorado* (Martin, Conner, and Darnell 2005).

Phase III of the CWP recorded and compiled data from a total of twelve sites in west central and northwest Colorado during 2005 and 2006. A total of 81 wooden structures and other wooden features were documented, ranging in scope from single wickiups and tree platforms to a village containing 43 wooden features. Several new types of wooden features were identified during this study, as were some newly recognized patterns within known structure types, including: low tree platforms, axe-split/shaped "boards", a storage "shelf", and a number of wickiups with integrated "utility" poles. As a result of these findings, recording protocols were refined during the course of field work and the Aboriginal Wooden Feature Component Form was adapted to facilitate recording of these new data types. Selected collections were made of dendrochronological, radiometric, and macrobotanical samples and five tree ring samples, one carbon sample, and two flotation samples were submitted to outside laboratories for analysis. Results of Phase III activities were published in 2006 as *The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume III: Recordation and Re-evaluation of Twelve Aboriginal Wooden Structure Sites in Eagle, Garfield, Mesa, and Rio Blanco Counties, Colorado* (Martin, Ott, and Darnell 2006).

Phase IV activities of the Colorado Wickiup Project, conducted in 2007-2008, focused primarily on BLM administered lands in Rio Blanco County, Colorado in a region of the northern Piceance Basin within the Yellow Creek drainage. The area includes 44 previously recorded wickiup sites containing at least 114 aboriginal wooden features. Of these sites, 15 were documented as a part of the Phase IV project and 70 aboriginal wooden features were recorded.

The Yellow Creek Study Area, and the greater Piceance Basin generally, are being impacted by increasing energy development activities including construction of well pads, access roads, pipelines, and processing facilities for both natural gas and oil shale. Major oil shale research and development projects are underway in southern portions of the study area, with plans to construct man-camp housing for several hundred workers. Phase IV activities included a baseline assessment of the Yellow Creek Study Area's potential eligibility for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as an archaeological district, multiple property, or other designation.

Additional Colorado Wickiup Project activities in 2007 included a Class III survey for the Bureau of Land Management Little Snake Field Office (BLM-LSFO) involving 670 acres in the South Sand Wash area of Moffat County (Martin and Ott 2007a). The survey was conducted in an area proposed for designation as an OHV use-area. Two newly identified sites containing possible aboriginal wooden features were recorded during the survey. Previously recorded and partially excavated Sand Wash Wickiup Site (5MF2631) was re-visited during the survey and several new

aboriginal wooden features, including a wickiup, were located. Additional fieldwork was conducted by DARG in Moffat County for BLM-LSFO during the fall of 2007 (Martin and Ott 2007b) and four aboriginal wooden feature sites were re-visited and recorded to CWP standards. Several other aboriginal wooden feature sites were recorded in 2007 in the Black Ridge Area in Mesa County and in the Colorado River drainage in Garfield and Mesa Counties.

Phase IV activities also raised new research questions regarding historic brush fences and corrals widely recorded in western Colorado. Wooden features of these types have typically been interpreted in the course of CRM surveys throughout the region as historic Euro-American animal control features. However, recent studies (Bailey 2005a, Keyser 2008 and James D. Keyser by personal communication 2007) hypothesize possible Ute cultural affiliation, at least for such features located in association with wickiup sites and other Ute diagnostics. Sites documented by the Colorado Wickiup Project in South Sand Wash (5MF2631, 5MF6404.1 and 5MF6408), the Yellow Creek Study Area (5RB129 and 5RB5624), and Gunnison Gulch (5ME14260) include wickiup camps located in proximity to brush fences and corrals. Future DARG studies will re-examine these wooden animal control features with respect to possible Ute origins. Results of the Phase IV activities were published in 2009 as *The Colorado Wickiup Project Volume IV* (Martin and Ott 2009).

Phase V of the CWP began in 2008. Field work is now complete and lab work and report preparation is in progress. Phase V continued documenting and evaluating aboriginal wooden feature sites in the Yellow Creek Study Area, including the recordation of four known but incompletely documented features on site 5RB53, Duck Creek Wickiup Village, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Additional activities included a revisit at site 5RB2624, Rader's Wickiup Village, to collect ceramic sherds at a known locality for the purpose of thermoluminescent dating, and data collection and recording on four previously recorded but not fully documented sites, and conducting test excavations on site 5RB563, the Ute Hunters' Camp.

Phase VI activities began in 2009 and will continue during spring 2010. This phase of the project will expand our research focus to a wider geographic area; extending from the extreme northwest corner of Colorado through the west central portion of the state, and into the central Rocky Mountains. The project will fully document a selection of exceptionally well-preserved standing wickiup, tipi, and ramada structures. One of the sites, 5DT222, was originally recorded in the 1970s and the others are structures and sites that have been drawn to the attention of the project by individuals from the general public and professional archaeologists.

Future research directions for the Colorado Wickiup Project will continue to focus on comprehensive site and feature documentation of known, but poorly recorded sites; test excavations at selected sites; and integration of project results with broader research activities on Ute lifeways being planned by DARG, including: consultation and information sharing with the Ute tribes, ethnohistorical studies, landscape-scale studies of wickiup camp locales, and regional syntheses.

Colorado Wikiup Project References

Martin, Curtis and Richard Ott

- 2009 The Colorado Wikiup Project Volume IV — Part I: Recordation and Re-evaluation of Twenty-seven Aboriginal Wooden Feature Sites in Garfield, Mesa, Moffat and Rio Blanco Counties, Colorado — Part II: Ute Culture History and an Assessment of NRHP Eligibility for the Yellow Creek Archaeological District. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office, Lakewood, Colorado.

Martin, Curtis and Carl E. Conner

- 2007 A Class III Aboriginal Feature Inventory of Two Parcels in the Black Ridge Area of the McInnis Canyons National Conservation Area in Mesa County, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Grand Junction Field Office.

Martin, Curtis and Richard Ott

- 2007a Sand Wash Wikiup Survey Phase I: A Class III Cultural Resources Inventory in Moffat County, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Bureau of Land Management Little Snake Field Office and the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver.
- 2007b The Little Snake Wikiup Revisits Project, Moffat County, Colorado. A series of unpublished site descriptions, Cultural Resource Reevaluation forms, and Aboriginal Wooden Features Component forms on file at the Bureau of Land Management Little Snake Field Office, Craig and the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver.

Martin, Curtis, Carl E. Conner, and Nicole Darnell

- 2005 The Colorado Wikiup Project Volume II: Cultural Resources Class II Reconnaissance Inventory for the Gunnison Gulch Area of Mesa County, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office, Lakewood, Colorado.

Martin, Curtis, Richard Ott, and Nicole Darnell

- 2006 The Colorado Wikiup Project Volume III: Recordation and Re-evaluation of Twelve Aboriginal Wooden Structure Sites in Eagle, Garfield, Mesa, and Rio Blanco Counties, Colorado. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office, Lakewood, Colorado.
- 2005 The Colorado Wikiup Project Volume I: Context, Data Assessment and Strategic Planning. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, and the Bureau of Land Management Colorado State Office, Lakewood, Colorado.

O'Neil, Brian, Carl E. Conner, Barbara J. Davenport, and Richard Ott

- 2004 Archaeological Assessment of the Rifle Wikiup Village-5GF308 in Garfield County, Colorado. Dominquez Archaeological Research Group, Grand Junction, Colorado. Ms on file at the Glenwood Springs BLM Field Office.

APPENDIX G: ONLINE ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Brigham Young University C.R. Savage Collection:

<http://www.lib.byu.edu/dlib/savage/>

Brigham Young University Digital Collections:

<http://www.lib.byu.edu/digital/>

Colorado Historic Newspaper Collection:

<http://www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org>

David Rumsey Map Collection:

<http://www.davidrumsey.com/>

Denver Public Library Western History Collection:

<http://history.denverlibrary.org/images/index.html>

Internet Archive:

<http://www.archive.org/details/texts>

Google Books:

<http://books.google.com/>

Library of Congress Maps:

<http://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/>

Mountain West Digital Library:

<http://mwdl.org/>

University of Texas Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection:

<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/>

University of Alabama Historical Map Collection:

<http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/index.html>