

NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE FLORISSANT VALLEY : FLORISSANT FOSSIL BEDS NATIONAL MONUMENT ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT



Dr. Sally McBeth

In Collaboration with:

Jicarilla Apache Nation

Southern Ute Indian Tribe

Ute Mountain Ute Tribe

Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation

O'Meara Heritage Consulting, LLC

Final Report

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Final Report

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Cover Photo: Group shot near Visitor Center: Dr. Herb Meyer (FLFO Paleontologist), Conni O'Connor (FLFO Museum Technician), Mike Kelly (NPS signage consultant), Garrett Briggs (consultant, SUIT), Michelle Wheatley (FLFO former Superintendent), Sean O'Meara (ethnobotanist), Cassandra Atencio (consultant, SUIT), Clyde Vicenti (consultant, JAN), Dr. Sally McBeth (author), Liz Jennings (McBeth's undergraduate research assistant), 2018. Photo credit: Kyle Merinje.

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List of Acronyms

Culturally Modified Tree	CMT
Culturally Scarred Tree	CST
Ethnographic Overview and Assessment	EOA
Ethnographic Resources Inventory	ERI
Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument	FLFO
Integrated Collection Management System	ICMS
Jicarilla Apache Nation	JAN
National Park Service	NPS
National Register of Historic Places	NRHP
Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act	NAGPRA
Scope of Work	SOW
Southern Ute Indian Tribe	SUIT
Traditional Cultural Property	TCP
Traditional Ecological Knowledge	TEK
Tribal Historic Preservation Office	THPO
US Department of Agriculture	USDA
US Forest Service	USFS
University of Northern Colorado	UNC
Unmanned Aerial Vehicles	UAV
Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation	UIT
Ute Mountain Ute Tribe	UMUT

Acknowledgements

I thank the many Elders, scholars, tribal representatives, and consultants whose knowledge, generous assistance, and goodwill is represented in this report, and to those who will continue this work into the future. We see evidence of Native philosophies presented here as well as the reflection of spiritual bonds that link human beings with every aspect of the universe. Behind these words is the heartbeat of the people.

I appreciate the Native consultants revealing their strong sense of guardianship through recommendations on signage, interpretation, planning, and management (especially on fire mitigation). The past, as interpreted by Native American stakeholders, is critical to educating the public.

Additionally, I want to thank Sean O'Meara for designing this report, assisting on both field visitations, and contributing Ute and Jicarilla Apache ethnobotany reports in Appendices B and C; Liz Jennings (my undergraduate research assistant) for invaluable assistance in the field, for many long hours of transcribing, and for contributing her original tree research in Appendix E; to Marilyn Martorano for her Appendix D on "bent" trees; to Kyle Marinje and Lance Walker for their photographic skills; to Michelle Wheatley (former Superintendent at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument: FLFO) for her friendship, for inviting me to participate in this ethnography, and for her insightful comments on this manuscript; and to the current Superintendent, Therese Johnson, for her detailed reading. Dr. Herbert Meyer (FLFO Paleontologist), Conni O'Connor (FLFO Museum Technician), and Lance Walker (Field Assistant) also added valuable comments. My NPS project Technical Assistant, Rosemary Sucec, provided very useful direction and feedback on the content. Any errors, omissions, or inaccuracies remain entirely my own.

Prologue

Storytelling is not new to Anthropological methods; it is in many ways the basis of our discipline and distinguishes us from the other social sciences and humanities. Storytelling can address inequality, giving voice to those frequently disenfranchised from the hegemonic discourse. Rather than interpreting them, I intend to be a facilitator (not expert) of my Native collaborators' words. I hope that the changing role of Anthropology is exhibited in this Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument Ethnographic Overview. In my experience working with indigenous peoples, if there is one thing that I have learned it is to listen to stories. While they frequently take twists and turns from the births and deaths of loved ones, to tribal politics, and well beyond, I hear rhythms of the past mixed with cadences of the present when I follow the threads of these stories.

Indigenous researchers do, of course, question the value of the social sciences but also agree that there is much that can be gained from collaboration between indigenous and Anglo researchers (cf. e.g. Lambert 2014; Mertens, Cram, and Chilisa 2013 among many others). Consider the opening sentence of "The Journey Begins" in *Indigenous Pathways into Social Research: Voices of a New Generation* (Cram, Chilisa, and Mertens 2013, 11): "The ways of Indigenous research are as old as the hills and valleys, the mountains and seas, and the deserts and lakes that Indigenous people bind themselves to as their places of belonging." This lucid Native perspective exquisitely reflects the content and poignance of the quotes included in this narration which is designed to allow the Native perspective to be forefront.

Executive Summary

The National Park Service commissioned an Ethnographic Overview Assessment (EOA), which serves as a baseline cultural anthropological study of the Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument (FLFO; Figure 1) in 2017. However, due to a new presidential administration (# 45) the funding for this project was not secured until August 2017. This project documented traditional associations between distinct cultural communities and landscapes, places, and resources. In partnering with traditionally associated tribes and distinct cultural communities, I have identified and provided descriptions of resources and sites of cultural importance within FLFO, from the perspective of the associated groups themselves.

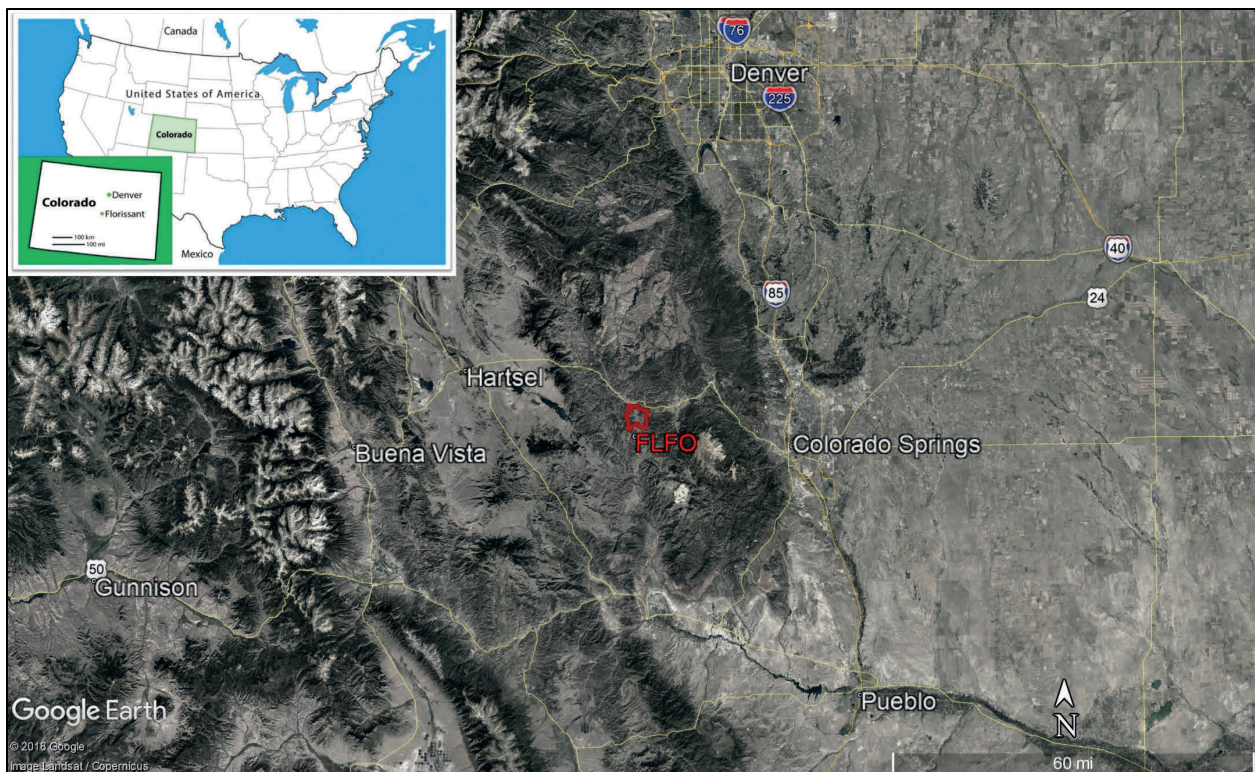


Figure 1: Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument Location. Map Credit: Basemap courtesy of Google Earth Pro, inset map by Conni O'Connor.

A key goal of this project was to provide baseline ethnographic documentation in a manner that is accessible to park staff and visitors, researchers and managers, interpreters, and educators. This is the first EOA conducted at FLFO. Ethnographic research is essential to preserve, manage, and interpret FLFO's cultural and natural resources in an effective, culturally informed manner. This project, in consultation with official tribal representatives chosen by their tribe to participate in this consultation, has identified and documented culturally significant resources that contribute to the development and implementation of culturally appropriate resource management strategies at FLFO. This EOA provides information so that park staff can make informed evaluations of requests for access to potential culturally significant plants, identify

ethnographic resources that require special treatment, and assess potential impacts on these resources.

This ethnographic research project addresses tribal recommendations in the development of a treatment plan relating to the protection of culturally significant park resources, fire management, and associated fuels reduction. Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument has a number of sensitive cultural resources, including culturally modified (peeled) trees, that have never been addressed or covered in a fire management or treatment plan.

The park has recently completed construction of a new Visitor Center (completed in 2012 and opened in 2013); wayside exhibits and the park film were also recently updated. Information from this study can be used to update other print and non-print interpretive materials. Non-sensitive information documented in this study will be used to update cultural information posted on the park's public website and the final products of this project will also be distributed to participating tribes for use in their own educational programs and resource management activities. This project yielded information necessary for park staff to adequately evaluate requests to collect culturally significant resources as permitted by new collection regulations.

The report is organized into nine chapters and includes appendices. Below is a brief description of each of the chapters.

Prologue and Executive Summary: Includes study overview and objectives from Scope of Work (SOW).

Chapter One: Introduction: The 19 tribes that were contacted (that is, those who make claim to study area) are listed in Appendix H. In the end, I consulted with Uintah & Ouray Ute Tribe (Utah), Southern Ute (Colorado), Ute Mountain Ute (Colorado), and Jicarilla Apache (New Mexico) due to their willingness to travel to the area as well as that the Florissant Valley is part of their ancestral homelands (historical records and oral histories indicate that they were not just occasional visitors, but seasonal occupants of the area). While a brief historical and cultural background on these four tribal groups is included, see also Appendix A for Literature Review. See also Appendices G and H for project letter invitation, questionnaire, and Informed Consent Form as required by the University of Northern Colorado's (UNC) Internal Review Board.

Chapter Two: Florissant and the Meanings of Landscape: An overview of definitions of landscape from the perspectives of geographers and anthropologists over the past 50 years is included, focusing on the Native American consultants' perspectives on landscape with elegant quotes from tribal representatives. The discussion about landscape is extended to include materials from Chapters Three, Four, Five, Six, and Seven.

Chapter Three: Fossil Resources: The importance of Eocene Epoch fossils to the area and possible Native American uses of fossils are incorporated. I have also included a Jicarilla Apache trickster story (Opler 1994 and Goddard 1911) that may be of relevance to petrified

sequoia stumps at Florissant. Quotes from Native Cultural Advisors on the importance of protecting (and not collecting) these materials which are a part of an indigenous peoples' homelands, enriches this section.

Chapter Four: Seasonal Round: This section is essential to understanding Native use of the land in the study area. The seasonal round was used by the Utes, Jicarilla Apache, and other tribes hunting and gathering in the area. Their subsistence strategies (transhumance plus profound and systematic knowledge of territory and Traditional Ecological Knowledge TEK) are thoroughly discussed and all relevant citations included. Appendices B and C include photographs of plants utilized by Ute and Jicarilla Apache that are listed as present at FLFO as these plants are also central to the understanding of the seasonal round.

Chapter Five: Native American Perspectives on Trees: The uses of peeled or Culturally Modified/Culturally Scarred Trees (CMT/CST) are covered, including nutritional values. Quotes from Native Cultural Advisors and evidence from past research emphasize the importance of CSTs and indicate that bent/prayer trees are not a part of Apache or Ute traditions. A brief paragraph on Pikes Peak Historical Society statement (Feb. 2019) discontinuing their research is included; the full text included in Appendix J.

Chapter Six: Florissant Archaeology Site Descriptions: The archaeological record at Florissant is limited. There are lithic scatters (rock debris from tool-making), surface find projectile points, about 20 peeled trees, and at least two unexcavated rock overhangs. The sites described are: 1) 5TL 19/306 that consists of nine scarred trees dated between 1800 and 1863; 2) 5TL IF 4132 or "Rockshelter Site;" 3) 5TL 411 or "the Cradleboard Site"; and 4) 5TL 3562 or "Spring Site and associated bent tree." Since CSTs are discussed in Chapter Five, I include detailed tribal perspectives on the functions (shelter, non-burial, other) of the rockshelter.

Chapter Seven: Landmarks and Sacred Sites: Pikes Peak, Garden of the Gods, Manitou Springs, and the so-called "Ute Trail Pass" (used by many tribes) are examined because they are in close proximity to Florissant and these locations came up regularly in consult interviews. Quotes from tribal representatives support the inclusion of these places in this report.

Chapter Eight: Cultural Traditions and Cosmologies: The Vision Quest and Sundance are examined briefly because they likely occurred in the study area. I have included intentionally vague statements (due to sensitivity of information) from Anna Cordova (City of Colorado Springs Lead Archaeologist) regarding vision questing at Garden of the Gods, as well as comments from staff of the USFS Pike and San Isabel National Forests who issue permits for a variety of "ceremonies" at Pikes Peak to tribal groups.

Chapter Nine: Native American Recommendations and Conclusions: This chapter consists of recommendations received from tribal representatives who participated in this study. Recommendations are organized by site and general theme.

1 | Introduction

The original sin from which this country was born was the taking of land from Native Americans. Unmoored from their traditions, there was a descent into a chaotic time. Juries of ancestral spirits must have looked down on this subsidence as spiritual knowledge was lost. In Florissant, potato (especially for seed) farming from approximately 1933-1950 altered the landscape and destroyed archaeological sites that might have provided insight into what an indigenous lifeway in this locale might have been like. Terraces and check dams (many of which were constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps around 1934 and can still be seen today within the Monument boundaries) are evidence of this intensive agriculture that has its own multicultural history. German POWs from the Normandy Invasion housed at Camp Carson (now Fort Carson; El Paso County just south of Colorado Springs) were used as laborers for a short time; additionally, lower quality potatoes were taken to the Japanese Internment Camp (Camp Amache) in Granada (Granada War Relocation Center) about 142 miles west of Pueblo, Colorado. The Florissant Valley provided seed potatoes for the San Luis Valley and other parts of the state (FLFO n.d. 1265, 1265-2, FLFO History) until the production of seed potatoes in Weld County exceeded that of Teller County and seed potato production declined.

Many tribes lay claim to and would have been at least part-time (seasonal) residents in what is today known as the Florissant Valley, moving to lower altitudes in the winter months. Howbert's first-hand observations of the area in and around Pikes Peak indicate that the Ute, Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Sioux, Jicarilla Apache, and Pawnee visited and hunted in the region (Howbert 1914, 2); contemporary scholars concur. Located as it is between two important physiographic regions of Colorado, the mountains and the plains, tribes of the area likely used the area for hunting (there are numerous lithic scatters in the Monument) and gathering in a seasonal round. Moving from the plains and lower foothills into the mountains when weather permitted, tribal groups likely used this area as a passageway rather than for long term occupation.

Methods

FLFO Staff provided me with a list of 19 tribes that the park considers culturally connected to FLFO and the larger area in and around Florissant; I contacted each tribe by email and phone call. The tribes are listed in Appendix H. Project methods included review and analysis of existing historical and ethnographic literature and archival documentation (Appendix A), and extensive fieldwork including participant observation and interviews with traditionally associated tribes and distinct cultural communities (Figure 2). Ethnographic interviews were recorded using handwritten notes and audio recordings, with transcriptions made of all recordings. All documentation generated by this generally no-collection (of contemporary artifacts) project will be catalogued in ICMS (Integrated Collection Management System) within one year of completion of the project. As per the tribes' request, all four tribal offices will also be provided unedited and edited copies of the interviews, as well as hard and soft copies of the

final report, which will also be available on the NPS and FLFO's website. The primary data gaps are in the archaeological record; FLFO does not have a resident archaeologist, and there are discrepancies in site numbers and even whether certain sites were ever given a site number or whether they were partially or fully, excavated; see especially Chapter Six. I am working to sort this out for future researchers at FLFO.



Figure 2: Group photograph near the FLFO Visitor Center: Dr. Herb Meyer (FLFO Paleontologist), Conni O'Connor (FLFO Museum Technician), Mike Kelly (NPS signage consultant), Garrett Briggs (consultant, SUIT), Michelle Wheatley (FLFO former Superintendent), Sean O'Meara (ethnobotanist), Cassandra Atencio (consultant, SUIT), Clyde Vicenti (consultant, JAN), Dr. Sally McBeth (author), Liz Jennings (McBeth's undergraduate research assistant), 2018. Photo credit: Kyle Merinje.

Project Team

Dr. Sally McBeth, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, University of Northern Colorado has 42 years' experience in working with Native people and teaching Native American Studies and served on this project as principle investigator and lead ethnographer.

Sean O'Meara, M.A., has been working on cultural resource studies for more than a decade and served on this project as a consulting ethnobotanist and graphic designer.

Elizabeth (Liz) Jennings, undergraduate Anthropology major at the University of Northern Colorado, was Dr. McBeth's undergraduate research assistant for this project. She received her B.A. in December 2019.

Record of Consultation

This study included one scoping visit, one ethnographic field visit, and a follow up visit to a tribal community. Given limited time and funding, I focus on the three Ute tribes and the Jicarilla Apache, not only because their ancestral homelands most closely align with this area in

Colorado (Teller and El Paso Counties), but also because these four tribes responded to my invitation to visit and consult with the National Park Service on this project. Minimal response on the part of other tribes was due in part to their distance from Florissant, Colorado. Additionally, this limited response can be understood taking into account the hundreds of requests for consultations from city, county, state, and federal agencies that the staff of the Native American Graves and Protection and Repatriation (NAGPRA) tribal offices receive annually. In spite of sending check-off questionnaires accompanied by self-addressed-stamped-envelopes to all identified tribes, and following up with e-mails and phone calls, I was only able to consult with these four tribes.

Scoping Visit

Prior to the start of this study, the Rocky Mountain Nature Conservancy funded a scoping visit to FLFO for tribal representatives (Table 1) from the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation (UIT) on July 26 and 27, 2017.

Table 1: Scoping Visit Participants – July 26 and 27, 2017

Ms. Michelle Wheatley	Superintendent, FLFO
Ms. Conni O'Connor	Museum Technician, FLFO
Mr. Brock Chapoose	Cultural Rights and Protection Field Technician and Tribal Representative; UIT
Ms. Betsy Chapoose	Cultural Rights and Protection Director, UIT
Dr. Sally McBeth	Principle Investigator, UNC
Mr. Sean O'Meara	Ethnobotanist, independent consultant
Mr. Lance Walker	Volunteer Field Assistant
Mr. Ian Hunter (1981-2017)	Undergraduate Research Assistant, UNC

Ethnographic Field Visit

On June 26th and June 27th, 2018, tribal representatives (Table 2) from the Southern Ute Indian Tribe (SUIT) and the Jicarilla Apache Nation (JAN) participated in a joint ethnographic field visit to FLFO.

Table 2: Ethnographic Field Visit Participants – June 26 and 27, 2018

Dr. Jeffery Blythe	Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO), JAN
Ms. Joanna Vigil	THPO Office Manager, JAN
Mr. Clyde Vicenti	Tribal Representative, JAN
Ms. Cassandra Atencio	NAGPRA Coordinator, SUIT
Mr. Garrett Briggs	NAGPRA Apprentice, SUIT
Mr. Alden Naranjo	SUIT elder (consulted via conference call on June 27, 2018)
Ms. Michelle Wheatley	Superintendent, FLFO
Ms. Conni O'Connor	Museum Technician, FLFO
Mr. Mike Kelly	Exhibition Consultant, Northern Arizona University

Table 2: Ethnographic Field Visit Participants – June 26 And 27, 2017 (Continued)

Dr. Sally McBeth	Principle Investigator, UNC
Mr. Sean O’Meara	Ethnobotanist, independent consultant
Mr. Kyle Marijne	Volunteer Field Assistant, UNC
Ms. Elizabeth (Liz) Jennings	Undergraduate Research Assistant, UNC

Visit to Tribal Community

On November 13, 2018, Dr. McBeth traveled to Towaoc, CO to present on the project and consult with the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe (UMUT). Mr. Terry Knight (Tribal Historic Preservation Officer [THPO], UMUT) and Nichole Shurack (THPO Office Manager, UMUT) were present.

Background to Participating Tribes

As previously stated, four tribes (Figure 3) participated in fieldwork for this study: Southern Ute Indian Tribe, Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, and the Jicarilla Apache Nation.

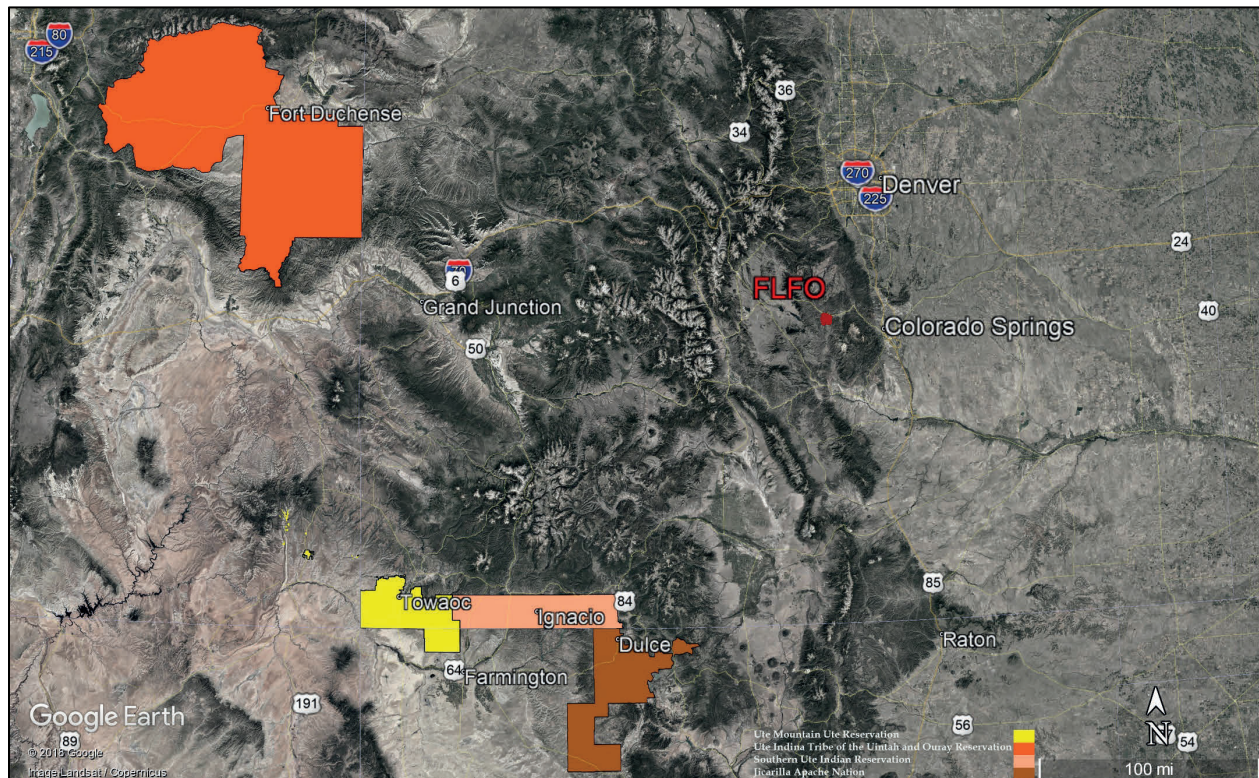


Figure 3: Present -day reservation locations of tribes participating in the FLFO EOA. Map Credit: Basemap courtesy of Google Earth Pro.

This ethnographic overview will not go into depth on the historical and/or cultural backgrounds of the tribes consulted in this process. Native people have hunted in this valley for the last 7,000 to 8,000 years, and so there is much archaeological and historical data that could be investigated. The interested reader can go to the scholarly literature on the Ute (e.g. Callaway, Janetski, and Stewart 1986; Jefferson, Delaney, and Thompson 1972; Simmons 2000; Wroth 2000), Jicarilla Apache (e.g. Gunnerson 1974; Opler 1983; Tiller 1983; Wilson 1964), or general Plains and Southwestern tribes (Cassells 1997; Crum 1996; Wedel 1961). Additionally, I do not mean to slight the importance of the November 1864 Sand Creek Massacre (Cheyenne and Arapaho) in our state, but I do not believe this tragic event is central to the history of the Florissant Valley.



Figure 4: Buckskin Charlie and wife Towee (Ute), 1880-1900. X 30477. Photo credit: Charles A. Nast. The Denver Public Library, Western History Collection.

The Ute (Southern Ute Indian Tribe, Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, Ute Indian Tribe of Uintah and Ouray Reservation)

The Ute people (Figure 4), living in the mountains and plains of Colorado were the study area's earliest occupants for whom there is any historical account (Figure 5). The earliest archaeological evidence of the Utes in the mountains of Colorado is about 1100 CE (Brunswick 2018), but they may have been here earlier. A Southern Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan or Shoshonean speaking people, they practiced a seasonal round subsistence pattern.

The Utah Uintah-Ouray Ute reservation was created in 1868 following the so-called Meeker Massacre of that same year and the Northern Ute bands of northwestern Colorado eventually were displaced from ancestral homelands in Colorado to Utah (cf. McBeth 2010).

The story of the Treaty of 1868, whereby all Ute Indians of Colorado and New Mexico were to be confined on reservations is complex. The details are not germane to this report except to say that it was created to consolidate all of the Ute bands currently residing in Colorado and New Mexico.

By the mid-1800s, demand for more land from settlers, corruption in local and federal governments, the discovery of gold, silver, and other heavy metals, broken promises and spirits, and anti-Indian hysteria created an edgy and fractious climate for Native people in the

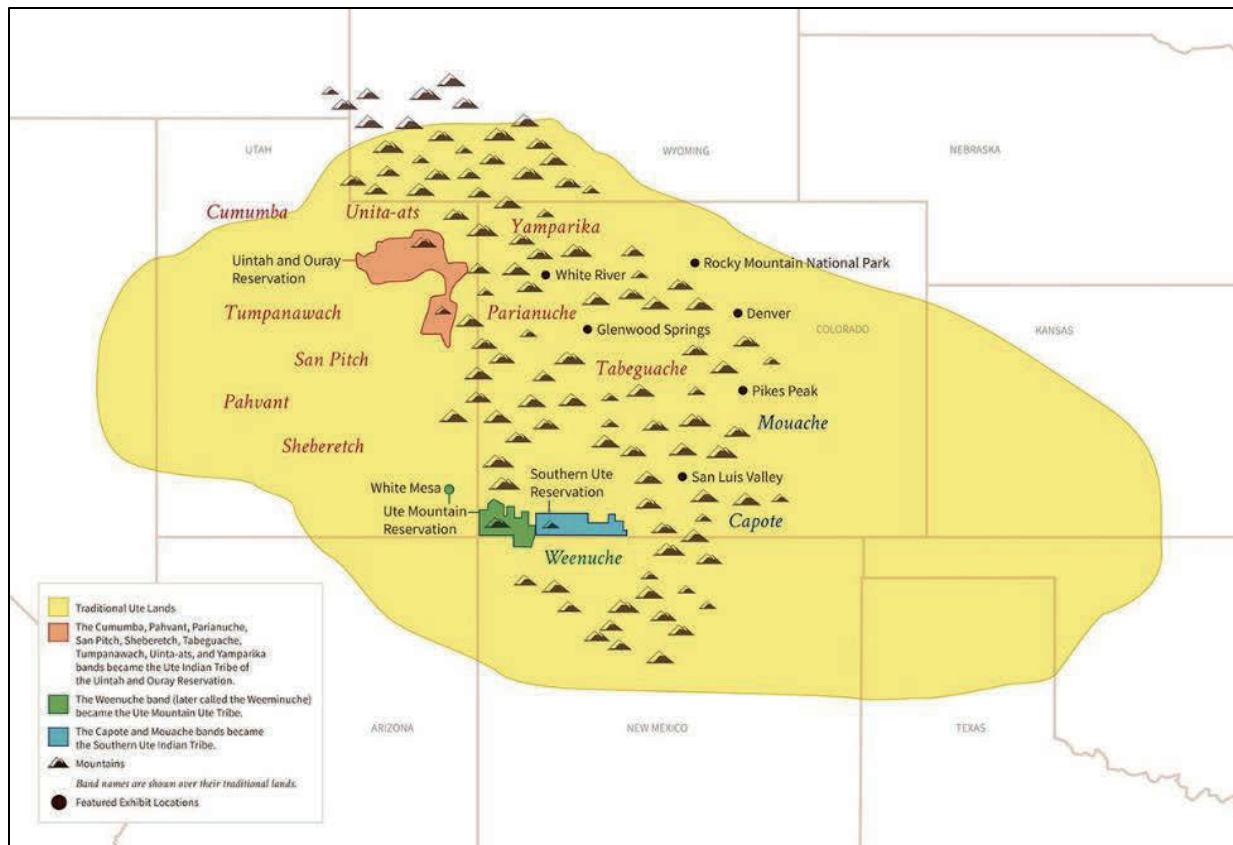


Figure 5: Map of Ute Ancestral Homelands. Map credit: History Colorado Exhibit “Written on the Land: Ute Voices, Ute History.”

state (cf. e.g. Hays 1997, 246-248). Simmons’ (2000, 131-239) detailed explanation of the eventual creation of two small reservations in the four-corners area of Colorado is a sadly familiar one.

With the promise of a 20-million-acre portion of land, the Southern Ute (Mouache, Capote) reservation was established in 1873 (Jefferson, Delaney, and Thompson 1972, 29-44).

What are today known as the Ute Mountain Ute (Weeminuche) were moved to the western portion of the Southern Ute reservation in 1897, and it was not until 1906 that an agreement was made to create a separate Ute Mountain Ute reservation next to the Southern Utes’ land. Both were confined to small tracts of land which were eventually further eroded with the Allotment Act of 1887. As Alden Naranjo remarked, “We lost Colorado in less than 40 years” (Naranjo 2014).



Figure 6: Jicarilla woman, boy, and men, 1898. X-32842. Photo credit: F.A. Rinehart. The Denver Public Library, Western History Collection.

The Jicarilla Apache

The Jicarilla Apache (Figure 6) were the last American Indian tribe to be permanently settled on a reservation; this was in 1887, the same year that the Dawes Severalty Act was passed (Gunnerson 1974, 149; Tiller 1983, 452). The Apachean peoples had previously migrated into the Southwest between 1300-1500 CE (Tiller 1983, 440). According to historical references,

Apachean peoples were present in the eastern High Plains and mountains of

Colorado (Figure 7) in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Wedel 1961, 151). Archaeological evidence, however, suggests that they may have been in Colorado two to three centuries earlier (Brunswig 2012, 20).

The Jicarilla Apache generally retained friendly relations with the Ute and Pueblo and inter marriage between these tribes was frequent (Jefferson, Delaney, and Thompson 1972, 58-59). For example, noted Ute chief Ouray's mother was Jicarilla Apache. The principle home of the Jicarilla Apache was along the Rio Grande River in northern New Mexico, but they often went north of the Arkansas River and out into the Plains to hunt buffalo after the introduction of the horse. "The Jicarilla remained at the northeastern edge of Apachean territory in the Southwest and cautiously advanced toward the Plains, ultimately establishing themselves in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado" (Opler 1983, 385).

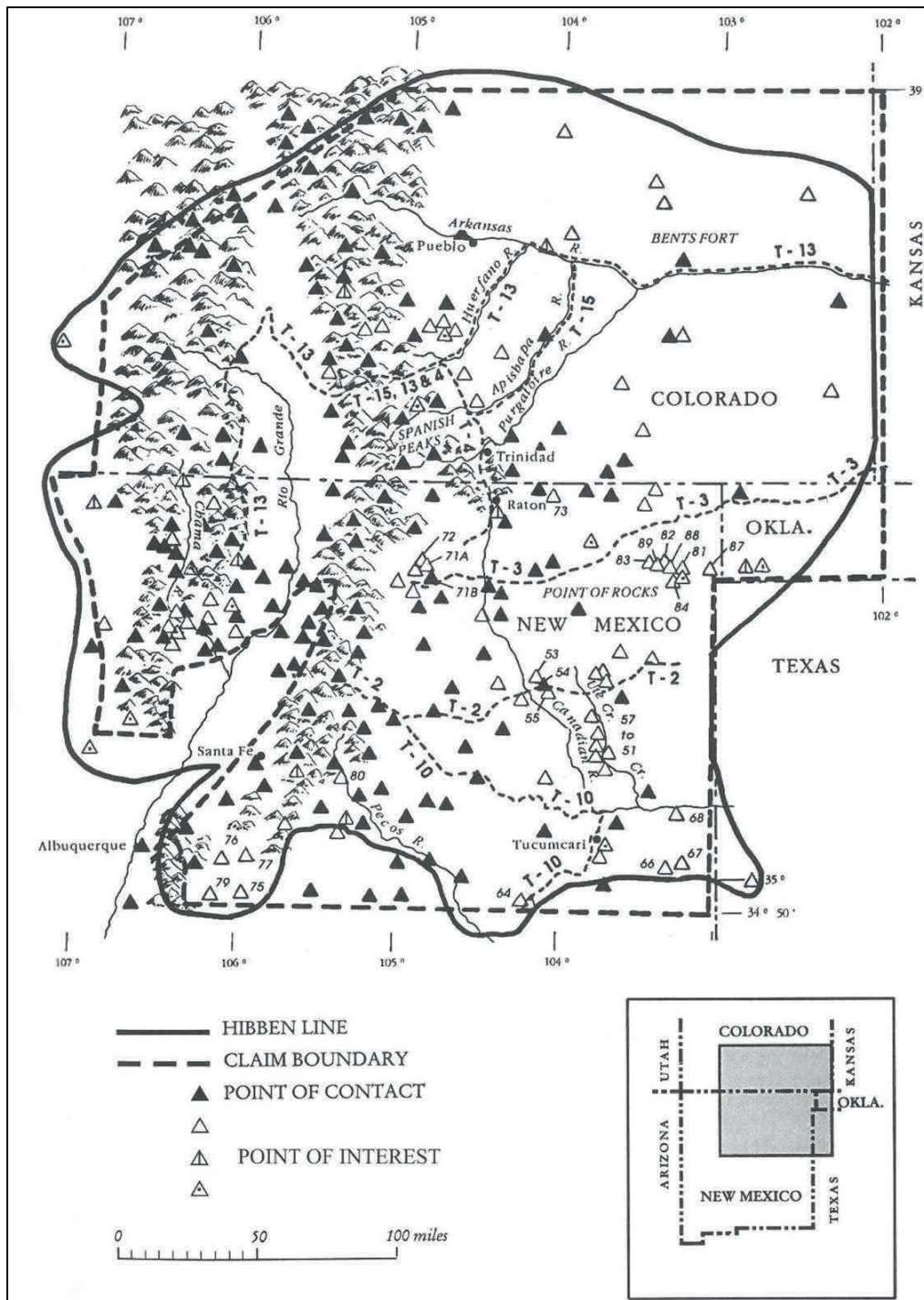


Figure 7: Jicarilla Apache Aboriginal Territory Identified during the Land Claims Commission (Source: Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO)

Chapter One Native American Recommendations

No specific tribal recommendations were provided for the content of Chapter One. See Chapter Nine for a complete list of tribal recommendations.

2 | Florissant and the Meanings of Landscape

The subject of archaeology is nothing other than this [enduring] imprint of the past inscribed in matter. Fundamentally, it is an investigation into archives of memory, which is what remains are
(Laurent Olivier 2011, xv; emphasis in original).

I begin with this quote because *archives of memory* are what I investigate as I recount the words of those folks who consider this valley ancestral homeland, and who have a special relationship to this landscape. Chapters Three (Fossil Resources), Four (Seasonal Round), and Five (Trees) address this landscape in detail.

The archaeology of landscapes (Figure 8 and Figure 9) and archaeology of memory are indistinguishable in the following elegant narration by Betsy Chapoose.

This is such a rich valley – this whole area is. Coming here into this valley – it’s so green and lush and who wouldn’t want to be here? This is a great area, kind of like a cultural grocery store. It is a very unique place, very special.

Ancestral Utes knew the territory way better than I do. You’re coming over high, tall, Rocky Mountains. And Colorado Springs is not that far away; they knew the seasonal rounds and how to survive as they moved through these areas in the safest way and when to move, and at what time. Although we didn’t have horses at certain times, our ancestors still knew how to move through these areas and how and when to harvest certain plants and hunt animals in specific areas (Chapoose 2017).



Figure 8: Florissant Valley with Pikes Peak in the background, 2019. Photo credit: Lance Walker.

Over the past nearly fifty years, anthropologists and geographers have examined landscape as a key archaeological construct. The emerging scholarship on landscape and the archaeology of place is theoretically and methodologically complex (cf. e.g. Basso 1996; Bowser and Zedeño 2009; Bradley 2000; Fisher and Feinman 2005; Harmansah 2014; Hicks, McAtackney, and Fairclough 2007; Olivier 2011; Shanks 2012), and while interesting, I do not delve into it here, as the words and thoughts articulated by Native consultants are both more revealing and comprehensible for the goals of this study.



Figure 9: Florissant Valley with remnants of berms, terraces, and check dams from potato agriculture, 1935-1950; 2019. Photo credit: Lance Walker.

I prefer to combine the wisdoms of Native elders and other scholars more in touch with Native sensitivities (e.g. Morphy 1995; Tilley 1994; Van Vlack 2012) and my own insights on working with Native peoples over the past 42 years. I believe that a spirit of place resides in the landscape, and that if properly enlightened one may learn to appreciate that spirit. As I visited with the Ute and Apache in 2017 and 2018, stories emerged that made the landscape come alive for me. Native lives were so devastatingly interrupted by gold-seeking Americans and Euro-American colonization, that it was surreal that this connection with the past is so real and so present today.

We were walking along the open valley near Grape Creek in the Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument in the shadow of Pikes Peak, accompanied by Betsy Chapoose and her adult son Brock (assistant to Chapoose). We came to a place where we could see the scars where Ponderosa pines had been peeled years ago to obtain the nutritiously rich cambium layer below (see Chapter 5).

Chapoose began to interpret the meaning of the landscape for us. In a place she had never been before, she pointed to and described trees similar to those she had seen before in Colorado and Utah – trees intentionally modified by humans to harvest the cambium for food, as well as its sap for a variety of purposes, the needles for tea and other medicinal remedies. This land had a history before European colonization; the decimation of a population due to introduced diseases and separation of children from their parents were common (e.g. Horne and McBeth 1998; McBeth 1983, 1984). Atencio echoes that Ute presence is a central part of the Florissant

story which should include why Ute communities no longer inhabit this area. She says, “It is important to understand this history, recognizing that for some it is only five generations or less since removal and that all of these histories are connected and expressed through the language in terms that are uniquely Ute” (Atencio 2018).

I, an Anglo anthropologist, learned about Ute and Apache ancestral past simply by moving through the landscape and listening to the memories of its previous owners and inhabitants. Limited as my understanding is, I stand changed. Dr. Shawn Wilson, a Cree Social Scientist, unequivocally states, “If research doesn’t change you as a person, then you haven’t done it right” (Wilson 2008, 135).

Ms. Chapoose’s interpretations of ancestral landscape include important questions such as if particular plant communities might be associated with particular kinds of archaeological sites? For example, would a pemmican-making station (pemmican is a high energy food: a concentration of melted fat, pounded meat [lean elk, deer, mountain sheep, bison] with chokecherry or currants) be found in areas where these plants grew or near a butchering site or hunting camp? The insightful question is full of possibilities even if the answer may not be proven through the science of archaeology. Ms. Chapoose’s lens on the landscape assists us in metaphorically excavating the complexities of place.

Clifford Duncan (1933-2014), an elder and official tribal representative from the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation served as a mentor and close friend to Ms. Chapoose for years and she shared some of his reflections on the landscape:

Cliff loved these landscapes. He’d see an area like this and he’d just walk around and say, “Did you hear that? Listen to the wind. Can you feel that?” He would say, “This is where language came from; this is where that song came from; these landscapes are our [Ute] personal and cultural heritage.” We are in Ute territory. We do not have migration stories – we did not move from somewhere else, we didn’t go anywhere. This is our homeland (Chapoose 2017; cf. Naranjo and Lujan 2000).

Cherokee researcher Polly Walker (2013, 301-02) notes the frequency of elders talking about the land as a person: singing, worrying about, and grieving for ancestral landscape.

Regarding ongoing struggles to maintain their presence in their traditional territory, Atencio (SUIT) stated,

We are still fighting for our footprints, our landscape, and to maintain our existence. We are still fighting for our kids to maintain their history, their identity. Our kids are disconnected from their identity, tied only to their reservation which is the last remnant. If they knew they have a history in these areas, they can have hope and strength to battle what’s getting to them. [...] Regardless of the fact that we were removed due to manifest destiny, we are still here, still connected, still advocating for our land (Atencio 2018).

Vicenti (JAN) added,

We are still here, we didn't own the land, we used it. The government helped remove us. They helped us to move out. We didn't start the fight, they did. They brought that to us. The Sioux went through the same thing. As soon as gold was discovered, the Army moved in and the same thing happened, they tried to remove them. A massacre for us and a victory for them (Vicenti 2018).

During the dual ethnographic consultation visit with the Southern Ute and Jicarilla Apache (June 2018), I also learned that Native communities are anchored to particular locales—like Pikes Peak—where assemblages of *shared* memories resulted in the beginnings of a complex understanding of the landscape. In *my* definition of landscape, the past and present fold into each other in dynamic and surprising ways.

When Chapoose talked about the Grape Creek Valley as a Ute grocery store, she captured the close connections between a people and their archaeological heritage, providing an insight into how people experience and understand their world and how landscapes in prehistory are intimate, affective, and emotionally charged.

Knowledge of place stems from human experiences; tribal descendants therefore experience and imagine the feelings and thoughts of their ancestors. Atencio commented on the *prehistory* and *history* of landscape:

Archaeologists say, "I have a site right here and I've got a site right here and I've got a site right here and I've got a site right there." And to them those are all four separate sites, when in reality it's all just one big site and they're connected to each other based on what's in here and what's out there, and what might be above it. That's how you get to know what something's about but ask me to tell you whether or not it's important without you bringing me out there first is, you know, asinine.

That's where this conversation and where getting to collaboration and getting into consultation should lead to first. Just like, "Hey, let's come out and let's go see these things that I have and then we can make this determination together and I can say, "Yes this is what and this is why." You write a little bit down, you know, not too much. Whatever, I see it, I look at it or I can say, yes this is important because it contains plants or, no, or it could be. I don't have a problem with you building your restoration thing here because it's going to help improve this, enhance this. It all depends on what that landscape looks like and what is out there.

To ask an Indian: "Well you guys say this is your land. Why'd you do that?" Well, yes, we do say that and yes, we go off like that [interpreting from what we have learned]. So maybe the one who gets to hear those five generations worth of stuff, those are the lucky people, because they get to hear the elders who have an innate knowledge. We're the ones who get to share in their tribal knowledge that they got together and we get to follow them. But, to get that [tribal knowledge] out there on that landscape, and to learn these things, is to be there, out there, in the present and then we start to see cultural patterns ourselves and build rapport with elders and anthropologists the more places we go.

Historically speaking, Atencio added,

You have soldier accounts and journals that talk about chasing Ute people over a dome [hill] and losing them. Well, they were so much a part of their landscape, you know? They knew already where to go in order to hide, to get lost from their enemies. And they [Ute] knew how to do those things, and so you hear about how we were such a mountain people, you know, we didn't fight so well on the Plains, but you wouldn't see another tribe chase us in the mountains because that was guerrilla warfare. It was all on them. You know? And so that was how we operated (Atencio 2018).

Chapter Two Native American Recommendations

No specific tribal recommendations were provided for the content of Chapter Two. See Chapter Nine for a complete list of tribal recommendations.

3 | Fossil Resources

*“High in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado, in the shadow of Pikes Peak, lies one of the world’s richest and most diverse records of past life”
(Herbert Meyer, 2003, 1).*

Four billion years ago, Earth was a lifeless place. Then some 3.5 to 4 billion years ago, microorganisms appeared. Hominin presence became apparent on the planet about 4 million years ago, and humans were present in southern Colorado about 12,000 years ago. Here begins the saga of our research area, the Florissant Valley of Colorado.

Dr. Herbert Meyer, Director of Paleontology at FLFO, begins in his book *The Fossils of Florissant*:

High in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado, in the shadow of Pikes Peak, lies one of the world’s richest and most diverse records of past life. Like an ancient time capsule, these fossils from a lake deposit at Florissant give scientists and visitors a glimpse of a long lost community that inhabited this region during the latest part of the Eocene Epoch 34 million years ago (Meyer 2003, 1).



**Figure 10: Southern Ute, Jicarilla Apache, and others at “Big [Redwood] Stump,” 2018.
Photo credit: Kyle Merinje.**

The Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument was established in 1969 to preserve this fossil rich area – the Florissant ecosystem of the Eocene – from real estate development; it comprises about 6,000 acres and is approximately 8,500 feet above sea level. The fossils, especially petrified tree stumps, leaves and insects, and a smaller number of vertebrates are of upmost importance due to their quality and quantity. Due to their sheer numbers and preservation, fossils had been over-collected since the turn of the century, but with the creation of the National Monument there was a concerted effort to protect the fossilized sequoia stumps (Figure 10) and associated plant and insect fossils (Leopold and Meyer 2012).

While none of the tribes that I consulted with knew if fossils were of specific importance to ancestral tribal members, they were nonetheless reluctant to state that fossils would never have been used by healers or others; Chapoose stated that there was not enough exact traditional knowledge to know if they had been used or not. However, Atencio and Naranjo stated that this knowledge was and is held by only certain people and they were not able to discuss it. Atencio said that petrified wood should be left alone and respected.



Figure 11: Petrified Wood fragments/shards, 2019. Photo credit: Lance Walker.

While it is not known if or that Native Americans in the area utilized (for a variety of reasons) the fossils here, they certainly must have been aware of them. It would seem that conspicuous fossils like the petrified stumps and numerous insect and plant fossils would have been of interest to the Native peoples hunting and gathering here. Some of the large petrified

sequoia stumps may have been buried beneath the surface, but others were visible when the earliest Euro-American visitors in the 1860s and 1870s reported them as being six to seven meters high; horizontal trees with attached limbs were also reported (Meyer 2003, 5-7). Additionally, shards of petrified wood (Figure 11) littered the surface as they do today and the indigenous peoples of the area were clearly aware of them.

Chapoose admitted, “I don’t know too much about fossils and their use by our tribe but I’m sure they were aware of those. I’m sure they were aware of many things that we don’t know of” (Chapoose 2017).

It is likely that the earliest fossil collectors and later paleontologists saw no evidence of the peoples who preceded them: Native Americans travelling through and camping in the valleys, hunting and gathering the abundant fauna and flora, and worshipping at hot springs, summits, and unusual rock formations along the (so-called) Ute Pass Trail (Highway 24). This valley was home to hunting and gathering peoples including Ute, Jicarilla Apache, and other Plains tribes passing through this rich environment living in close relation to the earth as stewards of their lands and leaving little trace of their journey.

Consultants for this project, Atencio and Vicenti, noted that both tourists and scientists were essentially collecting fossils which did not really belong to them, as they were a part of the landscape of the indigenous peoples who called this valley home (Figure 12).

Petrified tree trunks were sawed up and vandalized by tourists and relic hunters, and plant and insect fossils



Figure 12: Fossil Collection near Florissant, CO, 1902. Photo by Buckwalter. Accession number 90.156.195. History Colorado.

were over-collected (Meyer 2003, 5-7). Near a trail exhibit sign about early homesteader Charlotte Hill (1849-1930) who not only collected many important fossils and contributed to making Florissant a world-famous site, but also sold specimens to paleontologists, Atencio remarked,

This history lesson sends a mixed message for me. First you just talked about how, 'Don't pick it up; it is a fragile resource, and yet when you discuss paleontologist Charlotte Hill and her avocation, it seems like you're glorifying her for picking up fossils and making this a world-famous site, almost also excusing the behaviors of the early tourists (Atencio 2018).

Native American worldview prescribes that objects left on the land (whether human-made such as a projectile point or natural such as a fossil) belong to the Creator. Childs (2010), Colwell (2017), and others wrestle with similar archaeological dilemmas.

In answer to my question about his people's use of fossils, pragmatist Knight (who knew that only a few of the petrified trees at Florissant might have been good quality for flint-knapping) said,

Well, the Utes I think like anybody else, use whatever they could find, whatever is available, whatever works, you know. If the petrified wood is of the right quality, maybe they made projectile points, maybe scrapers. Where you go, where you migrate, where you camp, you have stones, rocks that you use for points, scrapers, and maybe sometimes you might find some trees there for the peeled bark as well; if you can't find chert or flint, but you have petrified trees that are strong enough, that could work. Whatever could be chipped could be worked, I think they used whatever they could find that could be worked. I would! If you come to a point or a place where you have petrified wood and it's hard enough and it could be chipped, worked, then yes. They would use that, yes! (Knight 2018).

Naranjo cautioned,

These [fossils] are old people things; leave them alone because you don't know anything about them. Some of those things might have been used by our shamans, our medicine men. Spiritual ways include information that cannot be given to anyone. These are areas still significant to us, not only because of the spirituality. We camped there and obtained knowledge from that place. Our people are buried there, we lived there, we hunted there (Naranjo 2018).

Mayor's fascinating book, *Fossil Legends of the First Americans* (2005) discusses the Utes' use of trilobites and other fossils for protective purposes (151-55), but none of these fossils are found in or around Florissant, Colorado. Mayor also documents that the Comanche, related linguistically to the Ute, collected chalky fossils for medicine which they ground to treat sprains and broken bones (195). There is more to be learned about Native American use of fossils; recent archaeological discoveries at Palenque (Mexico) suggest that Mayans collected fossils and brought them back to the city (Alvarado-Ortega, Cuevas-García, and Cantalice 2018; Newman 2016). One never knows what future archaeological investigations in and around El Paso and Teller Counties of Colorado will reveal.

The Jicarilla Apache have an interesting creation story about petrified wood (cf. Mayor 2005, 161-167). If myths take the form of ancestral beings (Morphy 1995, 193) and since I believe that myth is mapped onto the landscape then the Jicarilla Apache's story about Coyote, the trickster figure of Amerindian lore, bringing fire to his people, may have some relevance to Florissant.

In *Coyote Obtains Fire*, (Goddard 1911, 46-50; 208-09; Opler [1938] 1994, 269-72), we learn that "When this world was made the trees wouldn't burn. The people were living without fire. The trees had been fireproof and thus there was no fuel. Coyote got some dried cedar bark and shredded it and tied it around his tail to create a torch so that he could steal fire from the fireflies and children on the other side" [of the world] (Opler [1938] 1994, 270).



Figure 13: One of two of largest giant redwood stumps (by diameter; around four meters) in the world (in Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument), 2019. Photo credit: Lance Walker.

With the help of various animals, Coyote was able to touch his now burning tail to various trees so that they would now burn for fuel for the Jicarilla Apache people. “He meant to touch every kind of tree with his tail, but he missed one which was standing to the east. So, all wood but this one kind will burn.” According to Opler’s notes ([1938] 1994, 272) and Goddard’s informants (1911, 208-09) this is petrified wood. It is not too much of a stretch to imagine that while the Jicarilla Apache might not have been aware of the large buried petrified cedar stumps (Figure 13) at Florissant, they likely were cognizant of the petrified wood debitage observable on the surface (see Chapter 9 for tribal recommendations pertaining to fossils).

No specific tribal recommendations were provided for the content of this chapter. See chapter 9 for a complete list of tribal recommendations.

Chapter Three Native American Recommendations

The following recommendations regarding fossils were provided by tribal representatives over the course of this study. Additional recommendations can be found in Chapter 9.

1. The UIT noted that the trail exhibit sign that mentions Ute people is small and should be redone.
2. The “Lake Panel” should be updated. It contains a grammatical error.
3. The “Consequences of Collecting” top photograph should be grouped with the stump photos. The photograph of the valley should be captioned to explain where it is; the trail exhibit sign’s placement is misleading.

4. A panel should be added to explain why the dead snag tree is being protected and why the social trail to it had to be closed for safety concerns. This area should also be monitored for safety as the tree may continue to lose branches. This tree should have a monitoring plan and be included in the interpretative plan.
5. The “Ancient Forest Locked in Stone” panel should be moved to the beginning, so visitors know what trail they’re on and what is significant about it.
6. The “Charlotte Hill” panel appears to glorify the exploration and removal of the fossils. Tribal representatives felt that this is an important part of the history, however it should mention that it led to the removal of a tremendous amount of resources and artifacts.
7. Social (fossil) trails are problematic because they lead to places where people should not be going.
8. Tribal representatives recommended a pedestrian survey on the hill above the Lake Panel.
9. The new interpretative signage and exhibits should be part of formal consultation. Consultation needs to take place throughout the entire process starting with initial design and culminating in the actual completion and installation of the new material.

4 | Seasonal Round

*“Regardless of the fact that we were removed due to manifest destiny, we are still here, still connected, still advocating for our land”
(Cassandra Atencio, 2018).*

The Ute and Jicarilla Apache had similar subsistence patterns with the exception that the Jicarilla practiced limited agriculture (maize, melons, squash, beans) in historic times (17th to early 20th century) (Opler 1983, 370; Tiller 1983, 441). Both hunted antelope, deer, elk, mountain sheep, buffalo, deer, and smaller animals.

Ute, Jicarilla Apache, and Hunter-Gatherer Subsistence Strategies

Imagine the Florissant Valley and the summit of Pikes Peak as the indigenous tribes of the area would have seen them. Imagine the tribes who lived here; what they ate, what they did, what flora and fauna surrounded them. Seasonal camps were likely located in the Florissant Valley. As part-time residents of the areas in and around Teller and El Paso counties, occasional hunters and worshippers, and as travelers using the Ute Trail to move across Ute Pass (near the city of Divide on Highway 24), tribes used Florissant and the surrounding area for many things; the mountains and plains were clearly important parts of the Native peoples’ ecosystem. Insightfully, Jicarilla Apache Clyde Vicenti questions the name “Ute Trail/Pass” because many tribes (including the Apache) used these routes.

The town of Florissant (established 1870; 2010 population 104; elevation 8200 feet) is just five miles east of the South Platte River in Teller County and was named after Florissant, Missouri. It is frequently referred to as the Florissant Valley (8200 to 9000 feet) because it was formed from prehistoric lake beds. When the lava and mud flows from volcanic Mt. Guffey dammed a stream, Lake Florissant was created during the Eocene about 34 million years ago.

There are a few rock overhangs (Scott 1984, 2) in the boundaries of Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument that would have provided the Utes and other tribes with winter shelter. Indeed, most camps in the general area of the Florissant Valley would have been seasonal. According to Dominguez and Wunderlich (2009, 18), the upper montane forested areas of ponderosa pine has traditionally been interpreted as “a thoroughfare and opportunistic hunting grounds between the intermountain parks and the Plains rather than a locus for sustained occupation.”

While *transhumance* typically refers to a nomadic type of pastoralism where livestock are moved to higher and lower elevations, Benedict (1992) brilliantly expands the meaning to non-pastoral

hunter-gatherers, whose seasonal migrations from low altitude winter base camps to summer hunting grounds at higher elevations was common.

These areas would also have provided limited game and piñon and juniper for firewood. The ridges would have provided trails from the valley to the higher elevations with game available along the way. Seasonal migration would permit folks to move up the slopes in the summer months and down to the plains of eastern Colorado in winter. So it would seem that the geography of the Florissant Valley (where water was available) would have provided ideal camping areas for Ute (and pre-Ute cultures), Apache, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, Pawnee, and others for thousands of years. Clearly the amount of lithic debitage in the boundaries of Florissant suggests that some hunting was done there, even though the eastern Plains would have provided a far more attractive hunting ground, especially for buffalo. "Buffalo occurred everywhere in Colorado except the southwestern part of the state" (Callaway, Janetski, and Stewart 1986, 337). Ground stone tools, manos, metates, projectile points, and lithic tool fragments found in the Florissant Valley indicate a substantial aboriginal occupancy. Without a thorough archaeological survey, which would necessarily include some excavation and carbon dating, it is impossible to determine the exact extent of Ute (or other tribal) occupation in the area in and around Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument.

The Utes and other tribes of the area practiced a flexible subsistence system sometimes called the seasonal round. Extended family groups (from 20-100 people) moved through known hunting and gathering grounds (several hundred square miles) on a seasonal basis, taking advantage of the plant and animal species available. The image of a group of people randomly and endlessly searching for foodstuffs is far from the truth. Rather, the seasonal round is a regular circuit in which the group moves from eco-zone to eco-zone (including, of course, the terrain in the Florissant Valley) harvesting and hunting the periodic abundance of flora and fauna. The Utes followed the same cycles, hunting, fishing, gathering, and camping in the same streams and valleys year after year (cf. Buckles 1971; Callaway, Janetski, and Stewart 1986, 337; Fowler and Fowler, eds. 1971, 38-49 [Powell 1868-1880]; Goss 1972, 2000; Greubel 2002; Jorgensen 1964, 186-187; Lewis 1994, n.d.; Opler 1940, 124-25; Smith 1974; Steward 1974 a,b; Stewart 1942, 1966).

This elegant adaptation required a profound and systematic knowledge of the territory, the plant and animal life, seasonal and annual fluctuations, as well as of preservation and storage techniques. It was a "*vertical buffet*, limited only by the seasons" (Simmons 2000, 3). There is evidence that Ute leaders held lengthy discussions surrounding seasonal movements regarding housing, harvest, water, wintering, and other life sustaining issues (Witherspoon 1993, 2). Cooperation and communication among and between bands (and possibly tribes) was also indispensable. The speakers of the Ute and Apache language did not necessarily think of themselves as tribes. Members of different bands intermarried, recognized each other, and traded, but did not otherwise maintain a larger tribal organization.

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

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

An Indian will never ask to what nation or tribe or body of people another Indian belongs but to 'what land do you belong and how are you land-named?' Thus the very name of the Indian is his title deed to his home and thus it is that these Indians have contended so fiercely for the possession of the soil... (Powell MS 798 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler, eds. 1971, 38; original emphasis).

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

Elevations, Fauna, and Plant Seasonality

An abundance of plants and animals were available on the front range of Colorado in our study area. While the environment was both harsh and abundant, women knew which grass seeds, berries, nuts, greens, and tubers were edible and when they should be harvested. These flora resources probably were eaten when collected and also stored for winter use (see Appendices B and C for list Ute and Jicarilla Apache traditional-use plants found at FLFO).

Animals also sought these more moderate climes such as the Grape Creek watershed, which is within the boundaries of the Monument. In the post-horse era, cottonwood river bottoms with sufficient food and water for horses were popular camping areas. Springs (Manitou Springs and countless smaller springs) also attracted winter camps with opportunities for healing baths and carbonated drinking water (Simmons 2000, 9-10).

In my earlier research in Colorado National Monument, Venita Taveapont (1950-2013), then Director of the Ute Culture and Language Program for the UIT said of the seasonal round:

In June we came up to pick the wild potatoes and carrots, and in the fall we came to pick berries, pine nuts, willows for the baskets, and to collect the pine sap at the same time for our baskets. We use the pine nuts in soup as well as other foods. In the fall we collected the willow and then dried it throughout the winter in order to start weaving around December or January. The willow would be dried out through a good part of the

winter; when we wanted to use them, we would soak them in the water, and use them for baskets. We gathered the pine tree sap at the same time that we picked the pine nuts so that when we water-proofed our baskets we could use the pine sap by melting it and pouring it inside the basket; the women put a little rock ball to spread the sap around inside the basket to make it water-proof. In addition to the red willow, we also used the squaw bush as a basket making material; it's called eesh in Ute; we didn't make any baskets out of grass.

Plants that are still gathered today are the spring beauty, currants, garlic, onions, carrots, water cress, chokecherries, raspberries, buffaloberries, and strawberries. Squawbush and red willow for baskets and young cotton wood saplings for shade houses are still collected. Pine pitch for baskets and pine nuts, and of course bear root and other medicinal plants are still used (Taveapont 2007 In McBeth 2010, 27).

Atencio (SUIT) added,

We were here seasonally. These plants aren't here the whole year you know? Your wild onions might come up in the spring; you might have a couple of these other plants that come up that you're going to pick and then they're gone and the game might take off and now they're going up higher and you're going to follow them (Atencio 2018).

The Ute described the different elevations referred to above as *Lower Earth* (low valleys and canyons), *Middle Earth* (mountain valleys and parks, and foothills) and *Upper Earth* (high rocky ridges and peaks) (Goss 1972, 2000; Simmons 2000, 9). Thus, the important seasonal circuit and the Ute view of the world are seamless; respect for resources and the abundance provided by the Creator are reflected in their cosmology. Knowledge of the sacred geography of these levels and associated seasonal round were handed down from generation to generation by family members who remembered and predicted (based on seasonal and annual fluctuations) when harvesting and hunting would be plentiful. The peripatetic lifestyle of the Utes resulted in the creation of well-worn trails (see Chapter 7: Landmarks and Sacred Sites) which was also an integral part of Ute geography and cosmology.

Chapter Four Native American Recommendations

No specific tribal recommendations were provided for the content of Chapter Four. See Chapter Nine for a complete list of tribal recommendations.

5 | Native American Perspectives on Trees

These trees have that ability to heal themselves and maybe that's a part of it; so maybe what you're taking is going to also heal yourself in that same way
(Cassandra Atencio, 2018).



Figure 14: Peeled Ponderosa Pine Tree (near Grape Creek) from a distance (5TL19/306), 2019. Photo credit: Lance Walker

Peeled Trees

Ponderosa pine trees (*Pinus ponderosa*) are the dominate woodland tree at FLFO. Some of these trees, at least 14, exhibit human-made scars dating between 1729-1894 (Dominguez and Wunderlich 2009, 159) that can still be seen today (Figure 14 and Figure 15). These scars are evidence that the Ute, Shoshone, Apache and probably other tribes were present in the Florissant Valley because these tribes peeled the outer bark to obtain the inner bark for its carbohydrate-rich cambium layer (used for thickening stews and the like) and for making poultices and tea. Peeled trees, also referred to as "culturally scarred trees" (CSTs) or "culturally modified trees" (CMTs) are one of the diagnostic features in Colorado of Native American [especially Ute and Jicarilla Apache] presence (Brunswig 2005, 88; De Ved and Loosle 2001; Martorano 1988). So important are culturally scarred trees that they have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) as Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs).

Ponderosa pines have two layers of cells just inside the outer bark that are the phloem and cambium. In the spring, the cambium layer divides, thus making removal of the outer bark relatively easy.

The cambium is a very thin layer of growing tissue that produces new cells that become either xylem, phloem, or more cambium. The phloem is rich in carbohydrates and was used by many tribes as a food source (Martorano 1988, 5). The inner bark is highly nutritious and it is estimated that a pound contains as much calcium as nine glasses of milk; specifically, for every 100 grams, it includes 1.00 gram of protein, 53.8 gram of moisture, .600 gram of fat, 12.3 gram of fiber, 30.5 g of carbohydrates and 131 calories (Martorano 2019); it is also slightly sweet and was probably boiled, baked, or smoked before being eaten.

As early as 1873, John Wesley Powell (1868-80) says of the mucilaginous inner bark, "the material is very sweet and probably affords much nourishment, and this being a season when food is unusually scarce among the Indians they often resort to this store to eke out a scanty subsistence." He also notes that sometimes slabs of the bark are carried into camp (Powell MS 830 as quoted in Fowler and Fowler 1971 eds., 47). Most Utes and Jicarilla Apache who consulted with us disagree that the food was primarily used during times of scarcity.

Atencio referred to CSTs as "Ute footprints" — that is that archaeological sites in Colorado where peeled trees are found would likely be associated with the Ute.

If you peel that cambium layer there, it was used for the sap and in soups and stuff like that. We'd turn it into a broth. I think the coolest thing about that was finding out that the level of nutrients would equal to nine glasses of milk.



**Figure 15: Same Peeled Tree close up (5TL19/306), 2019.
Photo credit: Lance Walker**

Atencio (SUIT) also adds,

How you approach something [trees to peel or plants to utilize]: you do it with respect and you come to ask for forgiveness and to tell the tree why I was doing it; you do not have to make a big show about your prayer and about what you're doing, but it's about that intent that's in your head and your heart while you're doing it. These trees have that ability to heal themselves and maybe that's a part of it; so maybe what you're taking is going to also heal yourself in that same way (Atencio 2018).

When we were in the field looking at peeled trees (Figure 16), Jicarilla Apache elder Clyde Vicenti chronicled the differences in the sexual division of labor between the two tribes, noting that among the Jicarilla, that either men or women could and would peel trees whereas Atencio (SUIT) and Chapoose (UIT) explained that it was primarily women's work (see Duncan and Chapoose below).



Figure 16: Vicente and Atencio at Grape Creek Peeled Tree (5TL19/306), 2018. Photo credit: Kyle Merinje.



Figure 17: Terry Knight, Ute Mountain Ute, Towaoc, CO, 2018. Photo credit: Sally McBeth.

Terry Knight (UMUT) (Figure 17) adds:

When my elders, my female cousins, were still alive, I told them about these peeled trees, mostly Ponderosa Pines. They said, "Oh, yeah, the sweet tree, and you get that, and you mix it in with your food, your meat, whatever and so that's what it was done for" (Knight 2018).

I use the words [collected from earlier research] of Northern Ute elders Taveapont (1950-2013) and Duncan (1933-2014) who have passed into the next realm to reaffirm the importance of culturally modified trees as well as to add detail to the above. Significantly, in this earlier research, a tradition of bent prayer trees never surfaced (except for Arrum in 2002, see below) even when the topic of the consult was the modification of trees by Native people.

Venita Taveapont (UIT) reflected on peeled trees and connection to ancestral landscape:

The strongest connection [to the current landscape in Colorado] from my perspective are the peeled trees. We continued to use them in our healing until the last of the medicine people passed away in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Peeled trees are used for pneumonia and other illnesses; a tea is made from the inner layer. The presence of

peeled trees in the landscape confirms my belief that we are still connected to the land. It just needs to be awakened (Taveapont 2004 In McBeth 2007: 162).

Clifford Duncan (UIT) said,

At certain times of the year, the old ladies get on their horses, and they go up into the mountains and they go on after sap, ponderosa pine sap. And this is back in about 1930s or 40s. Bee at a mee aye is a word that we would use. Bee at a mee aye. When you describe that word it means sweet or going after a sweet, that's what that word means. Bee at a mee aye means sugar or sweet. Mee aye means go after: so they're going after that, so they collect that and spend about a day, two days in the mountains, collecting. So then they come back [and they put it in] containers, baskets, willow baskets that they made, down there. Just pour that into that. It would be raw when they collect it. Later when they're coming back, after so many days, they probably dried that because it hardens up. But it's a taste of that sap that they're after – a sweet taste, but it has to be a certain time of the year. So they mix that with whatever meals they are going to have or they also preserve that in certain way to use later (Duncan 2002 In McBeth 2010, 39).

In 2002 and 2004 Betsy Chapoose (UIT) expanded on the sexual division of labor and peeling trees as women's work.

There are three ways that I know we would use these trees. One is to peel it and use it for possibly making mats or some other such items. Another one was to get the sugar out of the bark which they pulled off and they either pounded or boiled; only the women did that and they didn't do it in the presence of men – that was strictly a woman's activity. The third way that was taught to me was in the longevity ceremony, and they used the tree in the way that promoted a long life [Betsy did not expand on this ceremonial use].

But those are really the only three things that I know that we used. I don't buy into the theory that its main use was in times of distress [only used during times of starvation]. I think that it was a supplement to the diet that was generally practiced. And I do know that even after the Utes were moved into Utah, that they were coming back to certain areas to do this, and it was the women who came back in (Chapoose 2002, 2004 in McBeth 2010, 39).

Bent Trees

When I look back through my transcriptions from 2017 and 2018, it is impossible for me not to regret how much time was spent on the “prayer/bent” tree issue and controversy, not because it did not need to be addressed, but because the discussion took time away from a more valuable review of Native traditions in the Florissant Valley.



Figure 18: Naturally bent tree in town of Florissant, 2017. Photo Credit: Lance Walker.

“Bent/Prayer” trees (Figure 18) are unusually shaped trees ascribed to the Ute (and other tribes) as having been intentionally bent (and regularly tended) by Native Americans for ceremonial purposes.

In my years of searching, I have not found *any* references to the traditional use of Ute or Apache bent/prayer trees in the ethnographic or archaeological literature prior to 2004 (Watts 2004, 17-18). Watt uses LC (Loya Cesspooch Arrum) as her sole Native American consultant. My first encounter with the “bent tree” phenomenon was on a fieldtrip in 2002; Loya Arrum (1947-2014) and I were working with other Northern Ute youth and elders on an ethnobotany project on the Grand Mesa in Western Colorado. We were observing plants, taking notes, and collecting Osha when Loya Arrum showed us a “bent/prayer” tree.

Having worked with Arrum, Wash, Duncan, Taveapont, Chapoose (and others) for years, I questioned her about this tradition of which I had heard nothing of in my numerous years of

researching Numic traditions and teaching Native American Studies. Her response was, “Well this is a recently rediscovered Ute tradition.” I was skeptical then, as I am now.

Recently (since ca. 2000) books, articles, and the like on prayer trees, prophecy trees, vortex trees, story trees, and so forth have become ubiquitous. Unscientific, unscholarly, and disrespectful of Ute tribal wishes, I will not cite them here (see Appendix I and K for statements by the Colorado SHPO and the SUIT and UMUT regarding the controversy).

Betsy Chapoose (UIT) says,

We have no tradition of bent or prayer trees in our culture. I believe that all of the crooked trees that we have seen here are caused naturally; perhaps by snow load or genetics or animals or other factors (Chapoose 2017).

Due to a death in the family, Alden Naranjo (SUIT) was unable to join us in June of 2018 for the Florissant consultation. However, he agreed to a phone interview to discuss the bent tree issue.

I guess the way I’m looking at it, and the way that I’ve seen it, and the way this has happened before, concerning Native American spirituality, culture, and traditions is

that somebody comes up with an idea that has no connection to any tribal or cultural ritual setting. They start talking about these things and it becomes a reality in their mind. So, they pass it on, and maybe get a Native American to come be part of that group. "We have a Native American here who is representing a certain tribe and he or she is speaking on behalf of that tribe by saying that, for example, bent trees are a cultural tradition."

So, to me, that is not right. And it makes that Native person look bad, whatever his or her motives are. And if tribal leaders are saying, "You know this person doesn't speak for us" those outside of the tribe do not know how to proceed.

The only prayer trees that we have ever had is the Sundance center pole, a cottonwood tree, that we use for our Sundances, and also the peeled trees. So, when you say peeled trees, that's ours, that's the Utes usage of the peeled trees! But when you count 300 or more bent trees in an area and say they are Ute prayer trees, that is not our tradition, and it never was (Naranjo 2018).

Regarding Naranjo's statement about the "prayer trees," Vicenti agreed, stating that "what he [Alden Naranjo] is saying is true, those people are hungry for information and selling it (Vicenti 2018).

As we discussed "prayer" trees, Atencio introduced herself as the NAGPRA coordinator and tribal member with the Southern Ute Indian Tribe. She stated that there are close ties with Jicarilla Apaches, through people like Buckskin Charlie (a Southern Ute chief who succeeded Ouray whose father was Mouache band Ute and mother was Jicarilla Apache) and that those relationships still carry on. As far as the "Ute Prayer Tree" controversy, she stated:

It is time we all came together to put this [the bent/prayer tree issue] to rest. It's disheartening to see an Anglo person take advantage of an elder. We are big on compliance when it comes to federal mandates. I have an issue with the plant gathering rules and that we have to validate that our tribes were here. Tribes should not have to prove their existence in a place like this to get access to collect. The plant rule also misses other things like minerals, that are just as important. The National Park Service should have listened to the [Native American] work group, then there would not have been such an outcry (Atencio 2018).

Clyde Vicenti (JAN) noted that elders come to work on these projects, look around, but then the National Park Service does not share this information with the tribe. He would like to see these reports (they are available at tribal offices, but elders may not be aware of this) and share that information with the young people as well as with the elders unable to travel. He says,

As far as plants, plants move around and won't always be in the same place. There are also minerals in rocks and the elders know about salts, minerals, and other things that Anglos don't look at. Medicine from plants, rocks, 'living rocks;' non-Native people don't understand those things (Vicenti 2018).

Cassandra Atencio (SUIT) agreed that rocks and minerals are important and that the Ute were a mountain people who interacted with those things. She was apprehensive about coming here because of the controversy but then had an “ah hah” moment, asking herself,

Why would we need to bend trees? They were a part of our landscape and we knew where to go, where to hide; we knew our environment. And it would be offensive to go and warp a tree. Anywhere outside for a Ute person can be their church. What makes a place special isn't the plant, it's that your mother and grandmother and great grandmother went there. It's a combination of prayers and visitation by those generations that make a plant important. It's about where you are at and what you give back.

My grandma told me when you think about something that's bothering you, you should go out and put prayers into a rock. Then you wouldn't come back if you have that faith and belief, you wouldn't need to come back to that spot. Why would you want to tell someone about those special places? You don't go around and tell people about your area, if you did, then you would be inviting things into the site. That's an Anglo thing where you have to go to a place, a building, a church. That was from my Ute Grandma talking about the stage of life. That is from a tribal perspective (Atencio 2018).

Dr. Blythe, Jicarilla Apache Nation THPO, noted that what Atencio shared reflects transmission of knowledge from a tribal perspective. The way that knowledge is shared and passed down, whether with Jicarilla Apache, Ute, or other cultures, is that people are careful about sharing information and they will defer to their elders. Elders might describe a ceremony but not with sufficient detail for non-tribal members to go out and perform that ceremony. Thus, it seems unlikely that an elder would go into such detail with a non-tribal member in the case of the “Ute Prayer Trees.”

Importantly, Clyde Vicenti (JAN) noted that Jicarilla Apache don't talk about ceremonies with outsiders, only amongst each other, and they won't get into full details. He says,

Anglos will buy information and then share it out to the larger public. A lot of the younger generation today doesn't have a lot of information. They don't understand the spirituality aspect, we have a big church – the whole world. We knew our landscape so well that there would be no reason to bend a tree, and it would be offensive to the tree (Vicenti 2018).

Dr. Blythe noted that the controversy of cultural appropriation is part of a larger pattern, like the Boy Scouts who perform a version of the Crown Dance in La Junta, Colorado. Boy Scout troops also construct Ute wickiups at Fort Carson and the controversy around these practices are troubling to tribal members who question why non-tribal members believe they have the knowledge (and right) to decipher American Indian ceremonial practices.

Terry Knight (UMUT) adds:

Because there is so little diagnostic evidence of Ute presence, we simply did not leave much trace of having been somewhere. So, when this Ute prayer trees, bent prayer tree

issue comes up, people just get kind of crazy about it. “Oh, wow. Utes were here!” And you know, I’m not saying that someone might not have modified a tree, but it was just not a practice that was done by the Utes. Maybe one person may have modified a tree, according to certain processes and approaches to a living place, a living plant, or a sacred place [offerings, directions, ceremonies, and the like] which I do not want to share, with you.

In the case of trees hit by lightning [or other natural aberrations], nature did this, so therefore, you know, it’s there. We accept it as it is, but if we’re going to pray, make an offering, whatever, we’re going to go to that tree that is straight; the strong tree. We’re not going to go to something that’s deformed. You don’t do that. You use the regular tree that’s strong, that goes up 30 feet, 40 feet into the sky: the way it is supposed to be. That’s where we go. We don’t go to something that’s deformed. No, you don’t do that, but we accept it as it is, and we leave it alone. It’s just, just the way it is (Knight 2018).

On a panel: “New Threats to Cultural Resources: The Case of Ute Prayer Trees in Colorado and Disrespect to Native Cultures,” presented at the Colorado Preservation, Inc.’s Saving Places Conference in February 2019 in Denver, Cassandra Atencio (SUIT) stated, “Peeled trees are our footprint. We knew our landscapes well and did not need to bend trees to mark our landscape.”

In that same panel, City of Colorado Springs Certified Arborist and Forester Dennis Will says,

As a Certified Forester and Certified Arborist [employed by the City of Colorado Springs] with over 30 years of natural resource management along the Front Range, I believe that every so called “bent” tree that I have observed, especially in El Paso and Teller Counties, is likely a natural and not human modified phenomenon (Will 2019).

While the Comanche Nation officially recognizes a small number of trees that were modified by humans (in Texas) or consequently that an unusually shaped (by nature) tree *might* have been assigned spiritual or directional significance by Native people (Houser, Pelon, and Arteberry 2016), I am unwilling to see a bent/prayer tree in and around every corner or in every grove.

After the content of the panel at the conference (above) became known to members of the Pikes Peak Historical Society, a statement was fashioned. I include its full text in Appendix J. A few sentences are excerpted here: “Since current representatives of the Ute Nation have reversed earlier Ute positions on tree interpretation, we are taking the following actions to quiet your concerns.... We will remove or cover over panels from the Florissant kiosk that make mention of the Culturally Modified Trees... We are also removing continued discussion of prayer trees from our Museum displays and our website... Finally, we are discontinuing further documentation of trees which might have been culturally modified” (Pikes Peak Historical Society 2019). While I do not believe that the “bent/prayer” tree issue has been completely resolved, I applaud the Society for their willingness to move forward on this issue.

Chapter Five Native American Recommendations

The following recommendations regarding CMTs were provided by tribal representatives over the course of this study. Additional recommendations can be found in Chapter 9.

1. Government to government consultation between the UIT, SUI, and JAN and federal agencies is safeguard against non-Native people interpreting cultural resources on behalf of the UIT, SUI, and JAN. The UIT, SUI, and JAN does not permit non-Native people, or other tribes to interpret cultural resources or represent the UIT on their behalf.
2. The UIT, SUI, and JAN do not endorse the interpretation of trees identified as CMTs in the context of “Ute Prayer Trees.” At this time, the Cultural Rights Office does not believe that these trees are of Ute origin. Ute elder Clifford Duncan communicated to the rights office that he believed these “Prayer trees” were not of Ute origin.
3. The UIT, SUI, and JAN recommend that other tribes should be asked if they engaged in the practice of bending trees for cultural purposes.
4. From the UIT perspective, the term CMTs refer to trees that have been peeled.
5. The UIT state that the ongoing “Ute prayer tree” controversy does a disservice to government to government consultation and undermines legitimate efforts by Native American tribes to interpret, assess, and assign meaning to cultural and natural resources.
6. The SUI and JAN recommend that drafting a statement condemning this interpretation and have a joint review from all the associated tribes.
7. The SUI and JAN recommend updating the NPS Peeled Tree website.
8. The SUI and JAN recommend that the state remove the sign along the roadway labeled “The Gold Belt Tour” Roadside Exhibit.

6 | Florissant Archaeology Site Descriptions

To me it is crazy that we are always portrayed as stoic and without common sense. A lot of the modern towns are located along [river] confluences and we did that too. We possessed common sense and we adopted other traditions that we saw were useful (Cassandra Atencio, 2018).

Might sites in the Florissant Valley tell us about a world of spirits, the founding and origins of people, births, marriages and deaths, astronomy, calendars? So many of our sites appear on the surface to have little cultural significance (a few lithic scatters, rock overhangs, and numerous peeled trees) from a non-native's perspective. But if we could unearth their significance, might we unlock the secrets of the past, faithfully recounting the lives of the hunters and gatherers who lived in, worshipped in, and connected with the land in this elegant environment nestled between the plains and the mountains?

I have examined the photographic records of Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument archaeological finds (housed in Rocky Mountain National Park due to space limitations in Florissant). Not surprisingly, the record is scant; some of the artifact descriptions date back to 1975 and earlier. That said, there is little information from these artifacts that is central to this report except to substantiate that the Florissant Valley has indeed been used by hunters and gatherers for thousands of years. The artifacts date to the Archaic (two are identified as Plano) and later, but most are not dated and none identified by tribe. There are a few charcoal samples from a test trench at 5TL 112 (cave overhang) that seem to never have been dated (Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation 1975). There are approximately 40 (+/-) "arrowheads" (primarily made of chert and quartzite; one is obsidian), one mano, one biface, one chopper, one hammerstone, around five scrapers, as well as bags of assorted flakes and bone fragments; to my knowledge all are surface finds.

Richard Olsen is currently completing a 2017 to 2019 Site report focusing on the western periphery of the park; his archaeology report is forthcoming.

Site 5TL 19/306 Grape Creek CMTs and 5TL IF 4132 Rockshelter

The nine scarred trees at this site (5TL 19/306) have all been cored and dated between 1800-1863 suggesting that this grove of still-standing trees was utilized shortly before tribes were confined on reservations (Dominguez and Wunderlich 2009, 37).

Atencio noted that she sees a lot of CMTs that are located on slopes rather than in flat areas. At the first tree we visited she stated, "Here we are under the shade, you could do this (peel the trees) all morning." Atencio noted that new research has demonstrated how much calcium is in the nutrient rich sap and that the peeling of the trees happens at certain times of the year. She

noted that the trees were peeled in multiple seasons, and that the age of the tree is an important factor as is the fragrance of the tree. Not just any tree can be peeled and that for Utes, it was done by certain people, “It was one of our [women] chores while the men were out hunting, we would do this and give prayers. It wasn’t about making a big show.” Atencio declined to comment on which seasons the trees were peeled to avoid imitation by others; she noted that tribes may have differed on how the materials from the tree were used, how harvested, and by whom.

She said that second cuts were sometimes made to make cradle boards or saddles and that other parts of the tree are used too, such as the needles to make baskets and tea, and that the cones also have a use. The sap too was collected and chewed as a gum. Many of the uses reflect the tree’s own ability to heal itself with its sap.

Cassandra Atencio (SUIT) says,

Not everyone did it the same way and different groups had different methods. The person doing the peeling had to have a special knowledge of how to peel it in order to avoid killing it, and what prayers to make. They wouldn’t make a show of the process but rather approach the tree as a living being.

To me it is crazy that we are always portrayed as stoic and without common sense. A lot of the modern towns are located along [river] confluences and we did that too. We possessed common sense and we adopted other traditions that we saw were useful. As Utes we raided and traded and if I stole a girl from another tribe and adopted her, I would take on some of her customs because if I see something really useful, then I will adopt it. Archaeologists always put names on practices, like the Fremont culture, but the reality is we all adopted and adapted to other customs (Atencio 2018).

Rather than bending trees, Atencio stated that Ute people would follow natural landmarks, especially before the introduction of the horse. “People didn’t live in houses, they lived outside and that’s where you got your plants, food, medicine” (Atencio 2018). Regarding the use of trees for medicinal purposes, she adds,

Not everyone got the gift of being a medicine man. Not everyone was a medicine man or woman. You are given gifts by the Creator and then the old people would see something in you. Not everyone is meant to be a spiritual leader. A few people were given those gifts and it’s not up to you to say, “this is who I am” (Atencio 2018).

Atencio noted that Ute people, in particular the Mouache and Caputa bands created alliances at times with Jicarilla Apaches, Comanches, and others as needed. The Weenuchiu band allied with the Spanish and Apaches to track down and fight the Comanche leader Cuerno Verde, for whom Green Horn Mountain is named.

This site (5TL 19/306) and an associated rockshelter (5TL IF 4132) (Figure 19) up the slope were visited in 2017 by Chapoose and Chapoose (UIT) and in 2018 by Atencio and Briggs (SUIT),



Figure 19: Rockshelter entrance (5TL IF 4132), 2019. Photo credit: Lance Walker

Blythe and Vicenti (JAN); Knight (UMUT) viewed photos of the trees and rockshelter at this location.

The spirit of a place resides in landscape; here at Grape Creek, more than anywhere in Florissant, I felt flanked by unearthly spirits of the indigenous peoples of this valley and I revered their enigmatic integration in the Florissant Valley.

The Florissant landscape and peeled trees (CMTs) are discussed earlier, so I will focus on the words and actions of Jicarilla Apache and Ute tribal representatives who visited the rockshelter. It is important to reiterate that these individuals are official representatives chosen by their tribe to participate in this consultation; they are not self-appointed tribal members.



Figure 20: O'Meara in Rockshelter (5TL IF 4132), 2017. Photo Credit: Lance Walker.

The rock overhang (Figure 20) and the opening to the shelter (5TL IF 4132) are not readily visible to a casual observer due to the presence of other large boulders immediately in front of it.

Between 2008 and 2009 researcher Dr. William Arbogast of the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs Anthropology Department submitted an "Archaeological Assessment Application" that was not funded that would have provided an

assessment of the site. Arbogast (2009) writes that the overhang is about 20 meters wide and 10 meters deep and the height of the opening is about three meters.

Arbogast said that the shelter exhibited evidence of use by native fauna: scat and bones were present on the surface (Arbogast 2009); he added that there was a bone on the surface that appeared to have been modified and he also urged the FLFO to analyze the site (Arbogast 2019). While there is dung (bovine, buffalo?) in a far corner of the shelter, to my knowledge, there are no longer older bones present. On September 3, 2019, FLFO funded the testing of the dung in this rockshelter (Stafford Research, LLC), but the results of this analysis are not yet available. Clearly it should be a high priority of FLFO to fund the testing, excavation, and analysis of such a potentially important site.

In 2017, when Chapoose visited the rockshelter she would not go in and asked her son Brock not to enter either. The rest of us did go into the shelter. To wit, Chapoose said,

I think that cave has been vandalized and some of the material has been removed, so I think it would be prudent to see what you have left in that cave. I think it would be prudent to do some test excavations in there. I don't see any problem with testing dung that's in there because I think it's already been molested. Having people in there [Florissant visitors have been in the cave] and maybe they do not know what they have done [but] there is a real violation of our past, and I do say violations because they are taking away from the original, intact purpose of this shelter.

It may have been a shelter or perhaps people processing stuff, or getting their animals: taking them in there and seeking shelter or maybe even doing other things. But I think that that this space has been violated and in order to preserve it we need to know what's left in there: that's really important. I don't know if this is the only shelter or is the only cave that you have, so I have no problem with you exploring in there and trying to see what else is available (Chapoose 2017).

When the Southern Ute and Jicarilla Apache visited the area, there was also a subdued atmosphere. At a number of the peeled trees (near Grape Creek) Vicenti took his water bottle, put some water on his hands and then spread it over the scar of the tree. At the rock shelter, Vicenti and Kelly went to the mouth of the cave (Figure 21 and Figure 22); Vicenti took tobacco and water with him and we all stayed back from entry for about 15 minutes; in silence we respected the presence of the ancestors. Additionally, Atencio requested that we not record some of the materials that she shared with the women who were present, adding a layered ordering to this landscape. Representatives of all four tribes suggested that shelter from the elements would have been the foremost use of this site and that it would not likely have been used for burials (cf. Nickens 1984; 1988).



Figure 21: Wheatley, Atencio, McBeth, Jennings at Rockshelter (5TL IF 4132), 2018. Photo credit: Kyle Merinje.

Atencio (SUIT) said,

Yeah, if you're going to disappear and hide you need to be where they ain't going to look for you, knowing where these shelters are located would be important; if you're thinking about where this tree [covering the entrance] is, it is very small but if there was other vegetation that was there, you could make a little fire. It would disperse through the leaves and others [enemy] would never know what you were doing [...] I think that this would be too big for a burial. I think this would be more for habitat; get you out of whatever element that you might be in or if it's raining here, and I don't know if there is seasonality, because you look at this, it could have been used in the spring of the year (Atencio 2018).



Figure 22: O'Connor, O'Meara, McBeth, Hunter in Rockshelter (5TL IF 4132), 2017. Photo credit: Lance Walker.

Terry Knight (UMUT) adds:

You know, I'm looking at the logical point of this. There's no scientific reason whatever, whatever, why this rockshelter would not have been used by Native people in the area. If it's cold or if it's raining like heck, and you got to find some place where you get in, out of the rain. And if there's a rock, whatever, becomes a shelter and so that's where you go to get in, out of the weather. If there is some firewood available, you get that and make a little fire and get warm. It's a simple thing. You go where there's shelter. There is no great mystery about it, none whatever. I'm sure that not only Ute people that were going through there would use that as a shelter. The Jicarilla Apache was through there so, you know, but I don't know what they would leave behind (Knight 2018).

In answer to my question if this kind of rock formation might have been used for burials [thus making it dangerous for habitation or shelter-seeking] Knight said,

I don't think so, no. If it's going to be a shelter for, to keep you out of the wind and, and, if I was going to bury somebody, I would bury them somewhere else, where it wouldn't be so accessible, so open. Maybe a smaller cave, or something, a crevice, whatever in the rock and that's why I wouldn't put him out here where it's going to be a campsite or a shelter; from what I understand, you don't use that as a burial because of the campsite; you find some other place that's more secluded (Knight 2018).

While this site is not a cave or rockshelter per se, Chapoose (and others, Arbogast 2009) recommend that it be tested, analyzed, and possibly excavated. Caves and related sites in the Great Plains might be interpreted as entrances to the underworld or provide connections with ancestors who originated from the underworld or the sky world. Caves might be the source of sacred minerals, paints, and crystals, associated with hunting and healing magic, as well as with the sacredness of human or animal fertility (Blakeslee 2012: 353-362). Scholars point out that caves are seldom used for burials (Blakeslee 2012: 354); Native scholars Atencio and Knight concur that the Florissant rockshelter was unlikely used as a burial site. I wonder if any signs of ceremonial use might be present and would warrant further investigation,

When tested, we might find that this rockshelter is similar to the Davis Rockshelter (5EP 986) (Dwelis, Wynn, and Kraus 1996) and/or the Lehman Cave Midden (5EL 112) (Lyons and Johnson 1994). The artifact assemblages at both of these Colorado sites indicate short-term camps with faunal remains suggesting secondary processing and grinding stones likely used for plant processing.

Site 5TL 411 “Cradleboard Site”



Figure 23: Vicenti, Briggs, Atencio at Cradleboard Site (5TL 411), 2018. Photo credit: Kyle Merinje.

The older ponderosa tree scar at this interesting site dates to about 1729 and the second scar dates between 1729-1745. While Chapoose questioned that this site may or may not be Ute because the tree scars appear to have been made with an axe, other Native consultants think this is likely a Ute or Apache CMT.

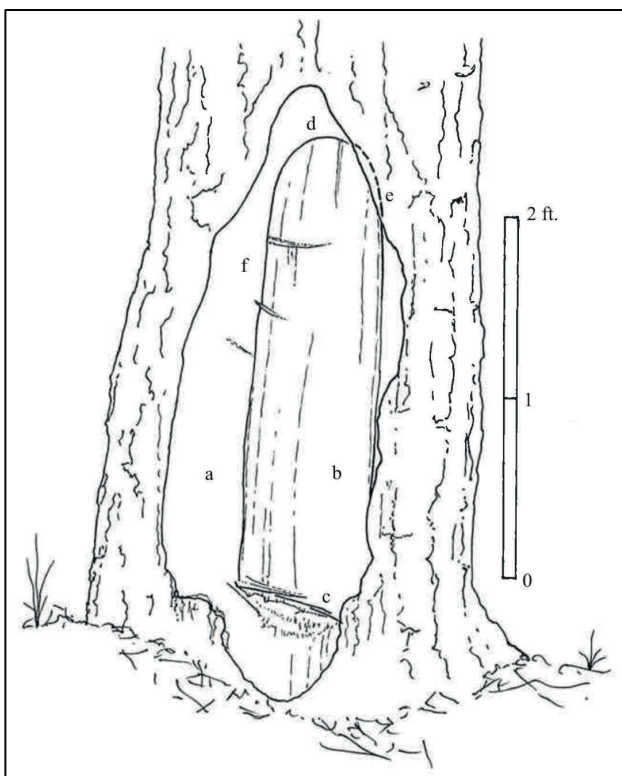


Figure 24: Cradleboard Site (5TL411) sketch.
Credit: Marilyn Martorano.



Figure 25: Ute Doll Cradleboard. Photo credit and collection of: Sally McBeth.

Martin (2016, 13-15) says that while it is difficult to pinpoint the exact time that trade goods made their way into Native cultures, among the Ute it may have begun as early as 1650 CE. Clearly by the early decades of the nineteenth century, the fur trade heralded a technological transformation which included needles, axes, cooking pots, and other useful items. The acquisition of horses (by early 1600s and later) and trade items introduced later by the Spanish (1776-1820) also brought many European goods into Colorado while dramatically transforming Native lifestyles.

Additionally, being at this tree (Figure 23) reminded Atencio of making a cradleboard (Figure 24 and Figure 25) for her grandson and wondering how the process used here in Florissant might have been similar to her own creation. She said,

There are two cuts, one on the left and another on the right. It was also hit by lightning. It could have been used for a cradleboard as the cut is deep. I think back in the old days cradleboards weren't as elaborate and as big as they are now. If you look at old photos of cradle boards and you look at the really really old ones, then you talk about Ute people, like the Ute people from Utah used that rabbit brush as more of the backing, so I think we used this and it had that big, high top, so back then it was more utilitarian to make it that size, just so you could have that baby and then put that hood over it.

And so, you can't tell for sure, but I would say that you had one or two uses for that as a plank of some sort. And the reason they did that was because, "Why kill the tree?" You already have an open source for it. But I think that's interesting. I think that's really cool because, I haven't seen one like that. I've only seen one and that was in Sand Dunes, but it was a lot smaller than that and it really looked more like for a saddle piece. This could be [for a] a cradle board because it's a lot bigger than the one I saw (Atencio 2018).

5TL 3562 Spring Site and Associated "Modified Tree"



Figure 26: Wheatley, O'Connor, Hunter, McBeth, Chapoose, and O'Meara at Bent tree (5TL 3562 BT1), 2017. Photo credit: Lance Walker.

This site (Figure 26) is described as two trees bent by "unknown processes" (Dominguez and Wunderlich 2009, 83) and is located near the Barksdale Picnic area in Florissant Fossils Beds National Monument. I focus here on BT 1 (Bent Tree 1), because it is well known and believed by some to be significant. Given the controversy of bent trees and the Pike Peak Historical Society's statement of February 2019 reluctantly

agreeing to discontinue their mapping and research on bent trees (see Appendix J), I will only briefly discuss this site.

While some have commented on this interestingly-shaped tri-tree, ethnobotanist O'Meara (and others who have seen photos of this tree) believe it was naturally shaped and not modified by humans. According to Dominguez and Wunderlich (2009, 83-86) Toby Wells lived just north of this site in the 1940s and 50s and was interviewed in the summer of 2008 as part of The Tree Project [note: footage from Summer of 2008 oral history project in Florissant is no longer available on-line; there is no explanation of why it is not available]. Wells stated that "an Indian granddaughter of a Ute Tribe" [sic] came to him looking for "significant things" in the early 1950s. Wells showed her the spring where his family obtained their drinking water and the unnamed Ute woman asked if there was an "indicator tree" that would show where the spring was. Wells showed her the tri-tree (5TL 3562, BT 1) where he had played as a child. This woman told Wells that "this was a directional tree to indicate that something significant was ahead." She also suggested that the tree may have been intentionally tied over and staked down when it was a small sapling. BT 1 was cored in 2008 and dated at 1894.

Chapoose (UIT) and Atencio (SUIT) who saw the tree stated that there would be no reason to intentionally create an indicator tree when it was very clear that a source of water is nearby. They admitted that the naturally caused and oddly but uniquely shaped tree may have been designated as a landmark *after* its natural creation.

Chapter Six Native American Recommendations

The following recommendations regarding specific archaeological sites at FLFO were provided by tribal representatives over the course of this study. Additional recommendations can be found in Chapter 9.

Site 5TL19/306 “CMTS” and 5TL IF 4132 “Rockshelter”

1. The UIT commented that the coring present on one of the CMTs at this site is excessive and has damaged the tree from a Ute perspective. No coring of CMTs should occur at FLFO.
2. The UIT recommends that this area should not be advertised to the public and there should be no development of public access to this area.
3. The UIT noted that this site appears to be heavily disturbed. Tribal representatives recommend test excavation units be placed in the rock shelter to determine if additional cultural material is present in order to determine appropriate preservation and protection strategies.
4. The SUIT request access to this site and associated plants.
5. The JAN request access to this site for cultural activities requiring privacy.

Fossilized Tree Trail

1. The UIT noted that the trail exhibit sign that mentions Ute people is small and should be redone.
2. The UIT recommend that signs detailing Ute ethnobotanical uses of plants and Ute names be added to illustrate Ute people’s ongoing connection and presence in the area and to FLFO.
3. The “Lake Panel” should be updated. It contains a spelling error.
4. The “Consequences of Collecting” top photograph should be grouped with the stump photos. The photograph of the valley should be captioned to explain where it is, the signs placement is misleading.
5. A panel should be added to explain why the dead snag tree is being protected and why the social trail to it had to be closed for safety concerns. This area should also be monitored for safety as the tree may continue to lose branches. This tree should have a monitoring plan and be included in the interpretative plan.
6. The “Ancient Forest Locked in Stone” panel should be moved to the beginning, so visitors know what trail they’re on and what is significant about it.

7. The “Charlotte Hill” panel appears to glorify the exploration and removal of the fossils. Tribal representatives felt that this is an important part of the history however it should mention that it led to the removal of a tremendous amount of resources and artifacts.
8. Social trails are problematic because they lead to places where people should not be going.
9. Tribal representatives recommended a pedestrian survey on the hill above the Lake Panel.
10. The new interpretative signage and exhibits should be part of formal consultation. Consultation needs to take place throughout the entire process starting with initial design and culminating in the actual completion and installation of the new material.

“Grandmother” or “Sister Tree”

1. The UIT recommend that this tree should not be cored or any way disturbed. While it is not a CMT, it is a magnificent large Ponderosa Pine. When Michelle Wheatley said that it been named the “Grandmother Tree” Chapoose suggested that “Sister Tree” might also be appropriate.
2. The UIT recommend that this area should not be advertised to the public and there should be no development of public access to this area.

7 | Landmarks and Sacred Sites

Over the course of thousands of years, Native Americans have discerned the various sacred sites which have power; that is to say, manifest energy and concern of the earth. Sometimes several tribes will have discovered the sacredness of a site and become aware of the proper ceremonies that must be performed there
(Vine Deloria and Richard Stoffle 1998, 26).

The following landmarks Pikes Peak, Manitou Springs, Garden of the Gods, so-called “Ute” Trail/Pass (Figure 27) described below fall into this multi-tribal interpretation and were likely of significance to a number of tribes in the area.

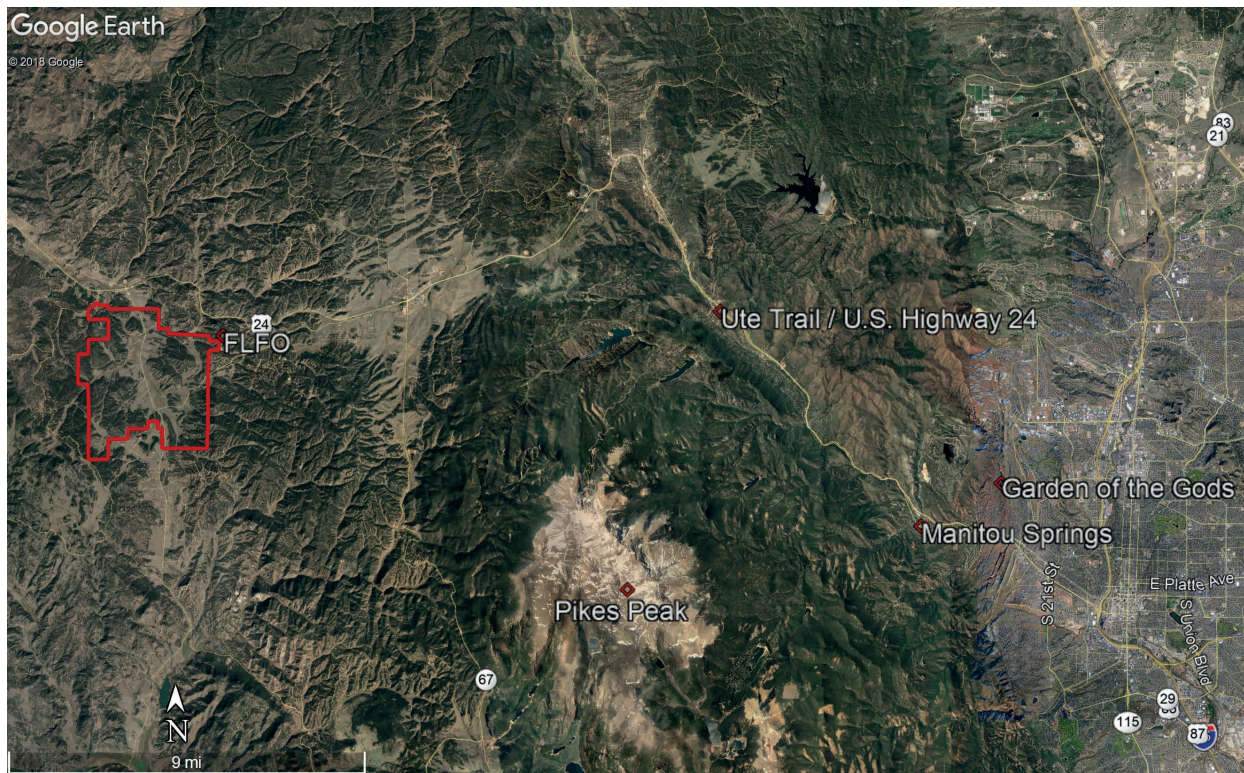


Figure 27: FLFO's location in relation to other regional landmarks. Map Credit: Basemap courtesy of Google Earth Pro.

These four locales are not well-documented in the ethnographic literature and were chosen to broaden the parameters of the project. I worked with the staff of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation to complete a spread sheet on the areas around Pikes Peak, Manitou Springs, and Garden of the Gods (Township 13S, Range 67W, Sections 27-34, Township 13S, Range 68W, Sections 25-36, Township 13S, Range 69W, Sections 25, 26, 35, 36, Township 14S,

Range 67W, Sections 3-10, 15-22, Township 14S, Range 68W, Sections 1-24, Township 14S, Range 69W, Sections 1, 2, 12, 13, 24). The search yielded only 18 (prehistoric/Native) sites most of which were lithic scatters except for the two mentioned below which are in the Garden of the Gods.



Figure 28: Pikes Peak, 2019. Photo credit: Lance Walker.

Pikes Peak

The road to the summit of Pikes Peak (Figure 28) is about 26.5 miles from Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument.

“Pikes Peak is a sacred mountain to modern (and likely prehistoric) Native peoples including the United tribes of Colorado and the Southern Ute tribe” (Ellwood 2010, 23; cf. Lennon and Mehls 1998). More than 40 tribes

claim that Pike Peak is part of their ancestral homeland (Goodman 2018, 6), but since it is difficult to establish these ties due to the paucity of ethnographic and archaeological evidence, Native oral histories are frequently ignored because they have not been corroborated by western researchers. Nonetheless, this majestic peak must have inspired Native reverence due to its imposing size; it can be seen well into the eastern and northern plains and western and southern mountains.

Pikes Peak, icon of Colorado and indeed the American West, lies on the eastern edge of the Rockies. The summit is 14,110 feet and views from the summit are awe-inspiring. “Common to all Plains tribes was the belief that certain geographical features had one or more spirits residing in within them or were landmarks where spirits came to earth” (Parks and Wedel 1985, 171). Such extraordinary natural scenes and high summits are ubiquitous in El Paso and Teller counties.

During this study, tribal representatives from the Jicarilla Apache and Southern Ute tribes described Pikes Peak as a safe zone. They agreed that as long as you could see it, you knew you were within reach of home, proximity to familiar tribal groups, and the like. The Ute call Pikes Peak *Tava Kaho* which means Sun Mountain and according to Goss it may be one of the most sacred mountains to the Utes. It was given this name because “it’s the furthest mountain east on the Front Range [of the Rockies *kava-avich*] and it’s the first one that the sun hits” (Goss 2000, 51).

Tribes still utilize the area. At the request of various tribes who still hold ancestral, spiritual, and cultural connections to Colorado, the USDA Forest Service has on multiple occasions provided opportunities, including permits, to practice and conduct ceremonies in the vicinity of Pikes Peak (or as known to the Southern Ute, “Sun Mountain”).

Betsy Chapoose (UIT) said,

Obviously, Pikes Peak is a high peak and I think it's important; when I was first working with Cliff, he said “You know you have to remember our ancestors lived their religion.” Everything they did, they did it with a purpose. They gave thanks for everything they collected, they gave thanks for everything they did. It wasn't like we have this easy life. We jump in our car, we go to the grocery store where we come and get our food and come back.

Our ancestors had to be grateful for what they had and how they were surviving. And they were also taught to have a person who led them too, because of the way they believed. They had people who would tell them it was time to move and it would be because of things you know? They were one with nature and so they had these subtle little clues and they have what you call shamans and really medicine man and I really do not like those terms, but those were terms that the dominant society relates to and that was how they moved!

That was how their movements were guided. And part of that has to do with how they were within those cultural landscapes. You know these seasonal rounds that they were moving to. So Pikes Peak plays into that part. There are certain things, you know, like you may go to church every Sunday, but for them their religion was everyday because that was how they survived. That was the way that they interacted. That's why you know, their management style had to include that belief because that's how they respected the landscape they were in and so these important land formations such as Pikes Peak play right into that (Chapoose 2017).

Atencio (SUIT) stated the following about Ute connections to Pikes Peak:

That's Sun Mountain or Tava'kahv, we call her Sun Mountain. That's because it's the first place that creator, the grandfather sun, hits in the morning and that's the last place that he hits when he goes to sleep. In our creation story, when creator was placing us on the mountain tops and around on the mountain ranges, he also placed us on Mount Blanca, so those two mountains are sacred to us. But the one thing about Pikes Peak is that for us, it was also a place marker; it was our landmark (Atencio 2018).

Naranjo (SUIT) explained,

Pikes Peak is at the center of our existence. The center of where we were at as we become close to Pikes Peak, or see Pikes Peak in the distance, we know that we are back in our, not a designated territory, but we knew that we were back home (Naranjo 2018).

Mr. Hanley Frost, Sr., Southern Ute Culture Education Coordinator, shared the following story. He says it was written by Buckskin Charlie (1840-1936) who lived in the area now known as

Colorado Springs (although there is a third person reference to Buckskin Charlie in the below); he also does not know what the Shankiva Dance was). It begins: “According to our elders...”

In our creation story Pikes Peak is the center of where the Mouache band of Utes were placed when Creator was placing people upon the earth. The aboriginal/ancestral homelands for the Mouache band of Utes was along the front range, South Park, and down along Northern New Mexico. The Mouache band of Utes and the Capota band of Utes known as the current Southern Ute tribe.

How the peak is situated, it is the first place that the sun hits when Grandfather Sun comes up in the morning and the last when he goes to sleep. When spring equinox came, we did our ceremony on top of Pike Peak there was no set date, just when the people thought it was time to go up on the mountain.

Seven falls Manitou Springs: where we got sacred water, we camped in that area and along the canyon going up to Woodland Park and the Ute Trail as it crossed over into South Park. The old Ute trail, highway [24] now located.

Camp Creek was a significant area for us, Garden of the Gods also ties us to Pikes Peak because of where it is located and we had ceremony/spiritual connections to the area. In 1912-1913 the Shankiva (unable to find out what this is/was) dance was held there. Chief Buckskin Charlie who was Mouache grew up in area.

There is a lot of history in and around the area that are of cultural significance, places that were of spiritual and ceremonial significance that we still hold even though we were removed from the area. It is with these ties to the Peak through our oral history and stories that are handed down about who we are that makes this area special. It is tied to our cultural identity; it is a part of what makes us who we are as Nùchiu (Charlie n.d., Frost 2019)

During the ethnographic fieldwork, Vicenti shared his view of Pikes Peak, and stated that Pikes Peak serves as a sacred site and a landmark, and when it disappeared from sight when out on the plains, it told Jicarilla people that they were outside of their home land boundaries. He also mentioned that some Apache ascribe to the metaphor that Pikes Peak “holds up the sky.” Regarding the Florissant Valley, Vicenti stated that Jicarilla Apache,

Still have ties to the area, that’s why we’re here [Florissant] today. I come up here and say my blessings and people are still making prayers to this area, this park. I’m a Jicarilla Apache. I used to own this land. This was my country. This is still my home. We go down there to Pikes Peak, same thing – (Vicenti 2018).

Vicenti went on to discuss Jicarilla Apache perspectives on prayer and the harvesting of plants and animals, “When we pick herbs, we give prayers even with the deer. We give prayers because [the deer] sacrificed his body so I can survive.” Vicenti also discussed his perspective that everything in the world is alive and at one time everything would talk with human beings. Eventually mankind obtained too much knowledge and so they [animals] stopped talking to us [humans]. But he was taught to still talk with plants and animals out of respect, to interact with trees and have respect for all things. This whole area is their church and one can sit down and

say prayers anywhere. He continues sharing with us that this area is part of the Jicarilla Apache homeland, including parts of Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico. Vicenti also talked about associations with Cave of the Winds and Garden of the Gods. Those places were also part of the original homeland, referred to as *ke'yah* (homeland). He also noted that Fort Garland and Fort Union were built to protect travelers along the Santa Fe and Old Spanish Trails. He added:

In the past, people would cache food along trails as they were being chased; the women and old people would spend their time gathering and the men would go out hunting. Families were all together and there were extended families living together as well. The Jicarilla had relations and interactions with the Taos, Picuris, and San Juan (Ohkay Owingeh) Pueblos, the Comanche, Pawnees, Kiowa and Kiowa Apache as well as with the Spanish. There was period of time when guns were banned by the Spanish and the Jicarilla suffered attacks by other tribes. Santa Fe, Taos, and Denver were big trading places and the Jicarilla were part of the slave trade along with the Navajos and Pawnees (Vicenti 2018).

Vicenti also discussed the Pueblo at El Cuartelejo (also known as El Cuartelejo), located in present-day Kansas and stated that people from Jemez Pueblo traveled with the Jicarilla Apache to establish the Jicarilla Apache towns. When the Spanish first encountered the Jicarilla on the Purgatory River in Colorado, they had adobe buildings and were farming. He continues that the name for the Jicarilla refers to a mica pottery; the Jicarilla mixed clay and mica to make micaceous pottery.

Interestingly, Pikes Peak is also a Lakota sacred place and is mentioned in *Black Elk Speaks* (Neihardt 1932). De Mallie's (1984: 98) stenographic notes suggest that "the grandfathers' cloud tipi was on Pikes Peak however the center of the world, to which Black Elk was taken afterwards, was Harney Peak in the Black Hills. Neihardt condensed the two locations into one and this confuses the two mountains in the vision. I am not aware that much is made of this in Lakota scholarship.

The Pawnee also regard Pikes Peak as sacred and it has three names, Matt Reed of the Pawnee Nation says,

Regarding the three names; each one refers to a separate locale. From reading through old oral histories, etc. I would say that the mountain itself is referred to as Tûs Pêh. The entirety of the front range would be Irâhkarihrârûta. Located on the mountain, and it's possible that they were referencing the entire mountain, is what we call an animal lodge called Paksuktu'. An animal lodge is similar to a Pawnee earthlodge but is a spot where animals would bring a Pawnee and teach them ceremonies, medicine, etc. So while anyone can travel to Tûs Pêh, only someone who was a good person and lived a good life could be brought to Paksuktu'. I hope this clarifies (Reed 2019).

What follows is a story of the *Birth of Pike's Peak* according to Jean Allard Jeancon (Jeancon 1904: F 23). It is one of ten Ute Indian stories told to Jeancon in 1904 and attributed to Buckskin

Charley [the spelling Charley is occasionally seen in the literature, but Charlie is more common] and Nanice, both of whom were Ute headmen, and Luke Snow (a Ute warrior). This version of the story is included in its entirety to provide the reader with the embellished turn-of-the-century literary style, and because it is the only story I am familiar with about the creation of Pikes Peak. It is attributed to Nanice and was recorded in 1904 at Ignacio, Colorado.

Long time ago when the earth was new and the sky always blue and the earth was like a happy hunting ground and it was always summer The Utes roamed every place. The trees furnished them fruits and the vines their berries and there was lots of game easy to get and everybody was happy and had plenty to eat and wear. Nobody felt hot in summer or cold in winter because there was only one season and that was not too hot or too cold; it was just right. There was no war or sickness because everybody obeyed the great He-She spirit. After while, however, there came some bad people, sort of bad ghosts or spirits. They were too weak to fight the Utes in the open, but poisoned their minds by deceit, longing and discontent. This they kept up for a long time until everybody was unhappy and began to fight each other. The Utes began to lie and steal and kill. They cursed the He-She and were very bad in every way. After while there was nothing but horror. Families were broken up. The Sun stopped shining and all the world was full of sorrow.

When the He-She saw all this, he was very mad. He stamped his feet and that made it rain and snow. When it was warm for a little while, the snow melted and water began to rise over some parts of the earth. The Ute became frightened and ran towards the western gate of Heaven. They carried stones and dirt and thought they could build another world to save them from the floods. The He-She saw that this was only selfishness and they were not sorry for being so bad, but only wanted a place where they could continue their wickedness and so he told them they couldn't bring their dirt and stones inside the western gate of heaven.

Soon the floods caught them; as they died they threw the handfuls of dirt and stone towards the He-She whom they had cursed. The mountain grew until they were all dead. It was so high it filled the hole in the sky and the sun couldn't shine through it. When the flood went away, it left the peak standing there casting. It's fast shadow all over the world. You call it Pikes Peak, but to us it stands as a lesson not to rebel against the good He-She spirit and tells us to be good and wait until it is our time to go to the Happy Hunting Ground. Sometimes when your heart is good and you stand in the right place, you can see the face of the great He-She spirit in the face of the mountain and the clouds for the hair, but only when your heart is right and you stand in the right place. I don't dare tell you just where that is, but maybe sometime it will show you. (Story by Nanice) (Jeancon 1904, FF23).

Born in Newport, Kentucky, Jean Allard Jeancon (1874 -1936) was a musician, ethnologist, and archaeologist. He studied in Dusseldorf, Germany, Paris, France, and in the 1890s he received a Doctor of Music degree from the National Conservancy of Music in New York City. He moved to Colorado Springs in 1895 where his interest in archaeology and ethnology began. In the Western History Collection at the Denver Public Library, the following stories are included: Creation of Man (FF23), Birth of Pikes Peak (FF24), The Boiling Springs (FF24), The Branded

Buffalo (FF25), The Columbine (FF26), Creation of the Garden of the Gods (FF27), The First Winter Came (FF28), Legend of Cameron's Cone (FF28), Ute Creation Story (FF30), Ute Version of the Flood (FF32). All were collected in Ignacio, Colorado in 1904.

I turned to my mentor and long-time friend, Dr. James Goss for advice on how to interpret this story and others. Unfamiliar with Jeancon's work with the Ute, he said that while the great He-She *may* have been two-spirited (cf. Jefferson, Delaney, and Thomson 1972: 64 on bisexuality), that more likely the notion of a genderless spirit was at the heart of this phenomenon. We both agreed that the language included in the above Jeancon excerpts was clearly not the precise words of either Buckskin Charlie, Nanice, or Luke Snow and should be scrutinized carefully.

Additionally, throughout Jeancon's collected stories, biblical themes (flood, grasshopper plague, punishment by a vengeful spirit, and the like) suggest to me that either Jeancon added these themes, that his informants were thoroughly influenced by the Old and New Testament, or that they (Buckskin Charley, Nanice, and Luke Snow) were impishly deceitful with Jeancon (or perhaps a combination of the three). I have seen nothing similar to these tales in Ute (or other) collections (e.g. Givón n.d.; Jefferson, Delaney, and Thompson 1972: 78-86, Smith 1992, Uintah-Ouray Tribe 1972), and caution the reader to consider the unusual language of these narratives.

Regarding archaeological investigations at Pikes Peak, in 1999 a nearly complete plain ceramic vessel was found on Pikes Peak. The Borman-Pikes Peak vessel (5EP 3496) was found at 9400 feet below the summit of Pikes Peak and is estimated to date from 1410-1470 CE. "The cultural group that produced this vessel may be associated with a pre-Dismal River group and with an earlier Athapaskan-Plains Apache group" (Ellwood 2010:1). The mountain location of this vessel suggests that the Athapaskan-Plains Apache were in the mountains at an earlier time than originally documented and were using the area seasonally or perhaps year-round. Ellwood believes it was placed in crevice where it might be found for later retrieval; pollen analysis reveals that in addition to sagebrush, amaranth, and rose, corn had been cooked in the vessel which is made from a granitic source (non-micaceous) (Ellwood 2010: 7-11). An unusual find, its significance remains enigmatic.



Figure 29: Garden of the Gods, 2019. Photo Credit: Lance Walker.



Figure 30: Moon Dance (Ute) in Garden of the Gods, 1911. P1314. Photo credit H.S. Poley. The Denver Public Library, Western History Collection.

Garden of the Gods

As with Pikes Peak, there is not much ethnographic documentation of the significance of Garden of the Gods (Figure 29) for the tribes in the area; it would seem likely that the landscape of this striking area would have been of spiritual importance to Native people, but the evidence is mostly anecdotal. Several photographs document Ute people at the Garden of Gods, in 1911 (Figure 30) and again in 1912 as part of a celebration of the “Old Ute Trail” (Stoffle et al 2008, 54-56) indicating ongoing Ute connections to the area after the reservation period. Garden of the Gods is 33 miles from the Florissant Valley.

In my search for archaeological sites at Garden of the Gods, most were small lithic scatters with only one site (5EP 2156), which might have been a “kill site.” But in

looking at the site report the density of lithics was low and the site was not given a high priority. There is, however, a rock art panel (5EP 2165) associated with piñon-juniper elevation near Camp Creek (Camp Creek runs through “Queens Canyon” and through the Garden of the Gods). In 1993, David Carey wrote, “This is the only surviving aboriginal rock art discovered in the Garden of the Gods thus far. It may be a late Ute copy of an earlier style, but it is in good shape. Keep it secret.” The panel has what appears to be a horizontal line with a small vertical

line bisecting it, a circle within a circle, a mountain sheep, a human figure, and a head or mask. There are no photos of this site in the site report (Carey 1993).

The city of Colorado Springs commissioned a “master plan” for the preservation and interpretation of Garden of the Gods that included Southern Ute consultation. I was not allowed access to this report.

Mark Owens, resource specialist at Peterson Air Force base, writes,

Certainly the prehistoric and historic aboriginal peoples that occupied the area around Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument were makers of pictographs and petroglyphs. The reason that there is no rock art imagery in and around the Florissant, in my opinion, is because the local geologic formations are not conducive to the placement or long-term preservation of rock art imagery. Granite is an extremely hard stone, 6 or more (depending on the amount of quartz in the material) on the Mohs hardness scale. Granite also fractures readily, especially when subjected to freeze-thaw action. So, I suspect that there is no painted or incised imagery in this part of Colorado because it was lost fairly quickly to natural processes. This hardness would have also made it difficult to produce the pecked dints that compose petroglyphs. Sandstone and shale, on the other hand, are softer stones that are conducive to the placement of pecked, painted, or incised imagery. The closest surficial exposures of sandstone and shale are down by Canon City or on Fort Carson (Arbogast 1993; Loendorf et al. 2017). It is not surprising that abundant rock art has been recorded in both places (Owens 2019).

South of the study area (Pueblo County), a rock art report on the Turkey Creek Rock Art District (Loendorf et al. 2017), might be of interest for future archaeological explorations.

Jeancon’s (1904) inclusion of a romanticized and heavily edited version of a story as “Told by Buckskin Charley” entitled “Creation of Garden of the Gods” is abbreviated below. It begins,

In the beautiful country at the foot of the peak (Pikes Peak) lived the favorite children of the great He-She spirit, and on top of the mountain was the west gate to the sky where the He-She could look and see all the world.” The typed entry goes on to explain that the great He-She spirit was angry and due to black magic “a lot of bad giants sneaked down from the north. They were taller than spruce trees and so heavy that they made the earth shake when they walked. With them came terrible animals that were even bigger than the giants.” They scared the Utes so badly that they pleaded to the great He-She for help. Shortly, “it scattered the most powerful magic and instantly all the giants and fierce animals turned to stone just as they stood there looking at the He-She. “They are worn by the wind and rain now, but you can still see a lot of them that haven’t changed very much. The white man calls it the Garden of the Gods, but they were not gods only bad spirits that wanted to steal our land and devour us. We call it the “Valley of Turning into Stone by Magic” (Jeancon 1904: FF27).

Manitou Springs

Tribal (Ute) ceremonial life was “rooted in particular places throughout their territory, namely in bodies of water, such as hot springs” (Denison 2017:19). Manitou Springs (Figure 31), in particular, was an important site to the tribes in the area; it is about 29 miles from Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument. In 1820, Dr. Edwin James, botanist and historian of Long’s expedition writes, “The water is beautifully transparent, has a sparkling appearance, the grateful taste and exhilarating effect of the most highly aerated artificial mineral water. In the bottom of the spring a great number of beads and other small articles of Indian adornment were found, having unquestionably been left there as a sacrifice or present to the springs, which are regarded with a sort of veneration by the savages” (Howbert 1914: 29-30). Other early visitors (Rufus B. Sage (1842), Lieut John C. Frémont (1843), and Lieut. George F. Ruxton (1847) also comment on the sacred nature of these springs (Daniels and McConnell 1964; Howbert 1914: 29-37).



Figure 31: Navajo Springs, Manitou Springs, CO, 1870. X-1666. Photo Credit: William Henry Jackson. The Denver Public Library, Western History Collection.

Jeancon (see above) includes “The Boiling Springs” (so named for the rumbling sound of escaping gas rather than the temperature) in his collection of tales collected from the Ute in 1904. He says that this particular story was collected from Luke Snow, an “old warrior.” In summary (given the precautions mentioned above) after the Ute did not prove their worthiness they were punished by drought, a plague of grasshoppers, and eventually there was no

available water. They confessed their transgressions to the great “He-She” who eventually sent a spirit to strike the ground (near “the peak”). After the fourth time that the ground was struck, the forthcoming water was sweet but lacked “life magic.” The “good spirit breathed the breath of life into the water and it began to sparkle and bubble, and those who drank it became well and strong.” Offerings were left by the Ute in thanks for the healing water. At the end of the narrative, Jeancon records: Note by JAB “When the Manitou Springs were first cleaned out, great quantities of bead, arrowheads, etc. were found in them” (Jeancon 1904: FF24).

In 1938, a journalist (Dudley 1938) from the Sunday Gazette and Telegraph cites F.W. Cragin’s ethnographic notes (see also Appendix A) and says,

The story of a convention at Manitou Springs, with attendees of more than 4,000, before a house had been built there, in Colorado Springs or old Colorado City, has come to light. It was a convention of Indians with trips thru the Garden of the Gods and up Pikes peak on the program. It was a romantic convention. Many inter-tribal marriages occurred.

It was the law of the convention there should be no fighting at the springs. The last tribes left one at a time, a day at least between departures so no conflict might occur (Dudley 1938).



Figure 32: Mounted Utes coming down the trail, 1912. P-133.
Photo Credit: H.S. Poley. The Denver Public Library, Western History Collection.

Ute Pass/Trail

The “Ute” Trail/Pass (a glacially carved natural trail which would have been used by many tribes) provided a route for animals (elk, buffalo, deer) as well as the Native people who hunted them. South Park, sometimes described as a hunter’s paradise, is a 1,000 square mile grassland basin located in the geographic center of the state.

Designated a National Heritage Area, it is just west of Florissant and roughly bounded on the east by the South Platte River and on the

west by the Arkansas River. The Ute Pass/Trail (Figure 32) passes within 1.5 miles of Florissant. As mentioned earlier, Clyde Vicenti (JAN) questions the name “Ute Trail/Pass” because many tribes (including the Jicarilla Apache) used these routes.

The Ute Pass/Trail in this part of Colorado is likely part of a much larger grid of trails that have been documented in the state. For example, the Ute Trail bisects Trail Ridge Road in Rocky Mountain National Park near the Continental Divide (Brunswig and Lux 2003; McConnell 1963). These trails provided a route from the Plains to the hunting grounds of South Park. The Ute Trail runs along the northwestern base of Pikes Peak and west to Ute Pass (Divide, Colorado; now Highway 24) and is an ancient trail used for centuries before it became a main route traveled by trappers to carry fur pelts between South Park and Bent’s Fort (McConnell 1963:14; Pettit 1979:4).

Charles Ricken, a rancher east of Woodland Park shares his memories of 1874 with USFS Ranger Cochran, Ricken states that he “saw parties of Indians coming and going along the road, the last of the free-roaming red men in the Pikes peak region” (Colorado Springs Gazette 1931).

Trails likely had both secular and sacred significance since they provide access to hunting grounds as well as sacred sites; they are not just roads between points but also provide a way across high mountain passes (e.g. Ute Pass near Divide, Colorado). While their importance to the Native people of the area is not well documented, further investigation may provide insights into the interconnections of Ute, Apache, and other tribes world view, linking the past with the present (cf. McBeth 2007:149-157).

Cave of the Winds (not to be confused with Wind Cave in South Dakota) is in the Pikes Peak area of Colorado; it is located near the Manitou Cliff Dwellings on Highway 24 just west of Colorado Springs. In an informal phone call from Vicenti (JAN) in November 2019, I was told that this site was important to the Jicarilla Apache (and possibly other tribes). At an elevation of 7000 feet, the caves are some of the highest in the world. This site offers another area for further investigation.

Chapter Seven Native American Recommendations

The following recommendations regarding a cultural landscape study were provided by tribal representatives over the course of this study. Additional recommendations can be found in Chapter 9.

1. The UIT, SUIT, and JAN recommend that associated tribes be asked about their understanding of the resources at FLFO including the botanical, animal, minerals, and knowledge of the fossils. The study should be designed to answer questions both that FLFO has but also that the tribes have. The need for collaboration is paramount.
2. The UIT note that a cultural landscape goes beyond the archaeology sites and encompasses all of the resources present including natural resources, viewsheds,

soundscapes, landscape features, wildlife and other elements. The archaeology sites were created and utilized because of the resources that were present.

3. UIT recommends FLFO conduct a cultural Landscape Study with traditionally associated tribes to provide holistic approach to all the resources at FLFO.
4. The UIT recommend that FLFO should manage its holdings as a cultural landscape, and take a comprehensive management approach to the whole area looking at the hydrology, plant communities, animal species, seasonal fluctuations that would impact those resources and humans' ability to live in the area. Start with the larger picture, then move into specific interpretation of sites.
5. The UIT, SUIT and JAN note that Pikes Peak is an important element to understanding the sites and resources at FLFO. According to Ms. Chapoose, the Ute people that lived here lived their religion every day. They did everything with a purpose and gave thanks for everything. They were grateful for what they had and they had people within their groups that told them when it was time to move from an area to the next. They knew the location of places along their seasonal routes.
6. The UIT recommend that additional consultation with UIT and other associated tribal communities may yield additional interpretations and cultural information concerning fossil.

8 | Cultural Traditions and Cosmologies

The importance of Native Ceremonies is difficult to establish in a particular locale unless substantiated by Native oral traditions, scholarly historical accounts, or early journalists recording witnessed events in early newspapers. In my research, I found none of the above, but believe it is likely that the Vision Quest and Sun Dance occurred in this study area. I add them here because Amerindian cosmologies are a part of the unrecorded (by western scholars) past that should be considered in an understanding of a sacred landscape.

Vision Quest

It is likely that the Ute and other tribes of the area (e.g. Cheyenne, Arapaho, Lakota, Comanche) celebrated Vision Quests in and around the higher elevations around the Florissant Valley (although the paucity of archaeological and ethnographic evidence is problematic). The Jicarilla Apache may not have practiced a vision quest per se and did not practice the Sundance.

A few possible (but inconclusive) vision quest sites may exist in the Colorado Springs area (Cordova 2019).

Vision quests are not particularly well documented among Native Americans, although Lame Deer's Lakota description is one that has been a favorite of my students for the past 42 years (Lame Deer and Erdoes 1994 [1972], 1-7).

There is a "basic life-force of the universe which flows through or is found in everything. Inherent in this concept is the idea of a guided mission or plan which directs the universe to proceed along certain lines... At the very deepest levels of religious knowledge, Native people do not, and as a rule will not, speculate on the basic functions of ultimate reality" (Deloria and Stoffle 1998, 20).

I would describe a vision quest as a spiritual "journey" taken by many Native people beginning at puberty and continuing through one's life. The purpose of a vision quest is to help people find their spirit guide (usually an animal, but sometimes an element such as thunder) and to connect them with the sacred world. During a vision quest, usually a solitary four-day ritual, individuals sing, fast, and pray to produce an altered state and thus generate visions of the sacred elements embedded in Native American world view. In addition to finding a spirit guide, individuals might also expect to receive healing powers, success in battle, as well as other blessings. After completing a vision quest, initiates might recount their experiences, dreams, and visions to an elder or medicine person for interpretation (cf. Deloria 1973, 202-204; Neihardt 1932; Deloria and Stoffle 1998, 24).

In her seminal (1922) article on the Plains Vision Quest, Ruth Benedict says that, "the approach to the vision was, or might always be, through isolation and self-mortification (Benedict 1922, 1). Diggs and Brunswig (2006) echo the above in their archaeological research suggesting that according to Ute elders, many vision quest sites are situated in highly remote locations where

lack of resources is fitting since one of the goals of the quest is physical exposure and abstaining from food and water for protracted periods of time.

Pikes Peak and the surrounding high country may have been a locale for a vision quest, but archaeological evidence is inconclusive. In numerous tribal collaborations and work with my University of Northern Colorado colleague, Robert Brunswig, archaeological evidence indicates that Plains tribes built oval or arc-shaped stone structures for use during vision quests that were frequently facing east. To my knowledge, none of these types of structures have been found in El Paso or Teller Counties.

As mentioned earlier, the USDA Forest Service has on multiple occasions provided opportunities, including permits, to practice and conduct ceremonies in the vicinity of Pikes Peak.

Sun Dance

For the Ute and other Plains Indians, spiritual ceremonies reached a high point in the summer with the celebration known as the Sun Dance. “The Sun Dance is generally believed to have been introduced to the Ute by about 1880 by the Wind River Shoshone” (Jones 1955, 239) and was sometimes held in the mountains (242-43). Jefferson, Delaney and Thompson (1972, 64) concur and add that as horses were introduced and the hunting of buffalo proliferated more tribal members could gather in one location. To my knowledge, there is no archaeological or ethnographic evidence of the Sun Dance celebration in the Florissant Valley, although it is likely that it was and perhaps is celebrated in the area.

The Sun Dance is thoroughly described in many sources (Jones 1955; Lame Deer and Erdoes 1994 [1972], 208-224; Erdoes 1972, 105-110; Jorgensen 1972) and since it is not central to this overview, it will not be covered in any depth here.

Chapter Eight Native American Recommendations

No specific tribal recommendations were provided for the content of Chapter Eight. See Chapter Nine for a complete list of tribal recommendations.

9 | Native American Recommendations and Conclusions

Chapter Nine is essential to this report because it is the only record that the National Park Service has of tribal recommendations to NPS and this document should be referenced in all future contact and consultations with FLFO. As the 21st century moves forward, it is important for park staff to engage in meaningful consultation and to take seriously the recommendations of consulting Native American tribes.

Site Specific Recommendations

Site 5TL19/306 "CMTS" and 5TL IF 4132 "Rockshelter"

1. The UIT commented that the coring present on one of the CMTs at this site is excessive and has damaged the tree from a Ute perspective. No coring of CMTs should occur at FLFO.
2. The UIT recommends that this area should not be advertised to the public and there should be no development of public access to this area.
3. The UIT noted that this site appears to be heavily disturbed. Tribal representatives recommend test excavation units be placed in the rock shelter to determine if additional cultural material is present in order to determine appropriate preservation and protection strategies.
4. The SUI request access to this site to other plants.
5. The JAN request access to this site for cultural activities requiring privacy.

Fossilized Tree Trail

1. The UIT noted that the trail exhibit sign that mentions Ute people, is small and should be redone.
2. The UIT recommend that signs detailing Ute ethnobotanical uses of plants and Ute names be added to illustrate Ute people's ongoing connection and presence in the area and to FLFO.
3. The "Lake Panel" should be updated. It contains a spelling error.
4. The "Consequences of Collecting" top photograph should be grouped with the stump photos. The photograph of the valley should be captioned to explain where it is, the signs placement is misleading.
5. A panel should be added to explain why the dead snag tree is being protected and why the social trail to it had to be closed for safety concerns. This area should also be monitored for safety as the tree may continue to lose branches. This tree should have a monitoring plan and be included in the interpretative plan.
6. The "Ancient Forest Locked in Stone" panel should be moved to the beginning, so visitors know what trail they're on and what is significant about it.

7. The “Charlotte Hill” panel appears to glorify the exploration and removal of the fossils. Tribal representatives felt that this is an important part of the history however it should mention that it led to the removal of a tremendous amount of resources and artifacts.
8. Social trails are problematic because they lead to places where people should not be going.
9. Tribal representatives recommended a pedestrian survey on the hill above the Lake Panel.
10. The new interpretative signage and exhibits should be part of formal consultation. Consultation needs to take place throughout the entire process starting with initial design and culminating in the actual completion and installation of the new material.

“Grandmother” or “Sister Tree”

1. The UIT recommend that this tree (Figure 33) should not be cored or any way disturbed. While it is not a CMT, it is a magnificent large Ponderosa Pine. When Michelle Wheatley said that it been named the “Grandmother Tree” Chapoose suggested that “Sister Tree” might also be appropriate.
2. The UIT recommend that this area should not be advertised to the public and there should be no development of public access to this area.

General Recommendations

Archaeological Resource Management

1. The UIT, SUIT, and JAN recommend that a complete archaeological survey should be conducted in consultation with associated tribes.
2. The UIT opposes the coring of CMTs.
3. UIT, SUIT, and JAN recommend that in situ preservation of artifacts is preferred. Collection of artifacts is not recommended.
4. The UIT recommend that Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) or drones are not used within the boundaries of FLFO.
5. The UIT recommend that herbicide not be applied in areas that tribal representatives have requested access to collect plants. UIT and JAN have requested to collect plants in



Figure 33: The Grandmother (or Sister) Tree in Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument. Photo Credit: Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument Photographic Archives.

the Grape Creek area at some future date (without being required to pay an entrance fee) and JAN requested that no public observation of any plant collection or blessing ceremonies be allowed. UIT suggested some plant signage in Ute and English in and around Visitor Center.

6. Arches National Monument is an example of a positive relationship between UIT and NPS for access to gather plant material.
7. The SUIIT noted that having relevant reports prior to fieldwork is important but that field visits are also essential and must take place before meaningful consultation can begin.

Culturally Modified Trees

1. Government to government consultation between the UIT, SUIIT, and JAN and federal agencies is safeguard against non-Native people interpreting cultural resources on behalf of the UIT, SUIIT, and JAN. The UIT, SUIIT, and JAN does not permit non-Native people, or other tribes to interpret cultural resources or represent the UIT on their behalf.
2. The UIT, SUIIT, and JAN does not endorse the interpretation of trees identified as CMTs in the context of "Ute Prayer Trees." At this time, the Cultural Rights Office does not believe that these trees are of Ute origin. Ute elder Clifford Duncan communicated to the rights office that he believed these "Prayer trees" were not of Ute origin.
3. The UIT, SUIIT, and JAN recommend that other tribes should be asked if they engaged in the practice of bending trees for cultural purposes.
4. From the UIT perspective, the term CMTs refer to trees that have been peeled.
5. The UIT state that the ongoing "Ute prayer tree" controversy does a disservice to government to government consultation and undermines legitimate efforts by Native American tribes to interpret, assess and assign meaning to cultural and natural resources.
6. The SUIIT and JAN recommend that drafting a statement condemning this interpretation and have a joint review from all the associated tribes.
7. The SUIIT and JAN recommend updating the NPS Peeled Tree website.
8. The SUIIT and JAN recommend that the state remove the sign along the roadway labeled "The Gold Belt Tour" Roadside Exhibit.

Requested Information

1. The UIT request an overlay map with multiple layers including archaeological sites, vegetation and satellite imagery.
2. The UIT, SUIIT, and JAN request reports on archaeological investigations at FLFO.
3. The UIT, SUIIT, and JAN request a plant species list for FLFO.
4. The SUIIT and JAN request updates on the new interpretative plan for FLFO.

Cultural Landscape Study

1. The UIT, SUIIT, and JAN recommend that associated tribes be asked about their understanding of the resources at FLFO including the botanical, animal, minerals, and knowledge of the fossils. The study should be designed to answer questions both that FLFO has but also that the tribes have. The need for collaboration is paramount.
2. The UIT note that a cultural landscape goes beyond the archaeology sites and encompasses all of the resources present including natural resources, viewsheds, soundscapes, landscape features, wildlife and other elements. The archaeology sites were created and utilized because of the resources that were present.
3. UIT recommends FLFO conduct a cultural Landscape Study with traditionally associated tribes to provide holistic approach to all the resources at FLFO.
4. The UIT recommend that FLFO should manage its holdings as a cultural landscape, and take a comprehensive management approach to the whole area looking at the hydrology, plant communities, animal species, seasonal fluctuations that would impact those resources and humans' ability to live in the area. Start with the larger picture, then move into specific interpretation of sites.
5. The UIT, SUIIT and JAN note that Pikes Peak is an important element to understanding the sites and resources at FLFO. According to Ms. Chapoose, the Ute people that lived here lived their religion every day. They did everything with a purpose and gave thanks for everything. They were grateful for what they had and they had people within their groups that told them when it was time to move from an area to the next. They knew the location of places along their seasonal routes.
6. The UIT recommend that additional consultation with UIT and other associated tribal communities may yield additional interpretations and cultural information concerning fossil.

Fire Management

1. The SUIIT, UIT and JAN recommend allowing fires caused by lightning strikes to burn out naturally, as they are a natural part of the landscape and fire suppression activities have changed the intensity and nature of wildfires. Manmade fires should be extinguished as soon as possible.
2. Fires caused by lightning strikes that threaten CMTs and other archaeological resources should be allowed to burn naturally.
3. Fuels reduction efforts by hand can be done at CMTs and other archaeological sites to reduce the fuel loads around those resources.
4. Prescribed burns are not recommended.
5. Fire retardant is not recommended.
6. A pedestrian survey is recommended after a wildfire.

7. The UIT generally recommend that fires caused naturally generally be allowed to burn through CMTs. Ms. Chapoose made the following statement about fire management and CMTs:

If there were a lightning strike and a fire was started and if it was going to damage a culturally scarred/peeled tree, that is to say that the fire was caused naturally, I would recommend just to let it burn. What I mean is that if the Monument has preventive measures of fire reduction before the fire starts, fine. I would prefer not to have any fire retardant put on them. But if the fire is not naturally caused, for example arson or a by a careless act (human cause), then obviously, they should be in some way protected but no fire retardant. Don't wrap them, don't do anything like that. Just take whatever measure you can by hand.

There are two distinctions: if it is arson, try to put it out, if it's a lightning strike, if there is a way to reduce that, then go ahead with that but otherwise let it burn.

I would prefer that you be a little more proactive so you do something, treatment, before fires, before you come into your fire season: fire reduction, whatever that means. Hand thinning only; no mechanical means should be used. Around the peeled trees, you're going to have to talk to another tribe about the bend, the medicine, the whatever kind of trees those are being called because in our culture we don't have those--you got that?

Native American Consultation

1. The UIT, SUI and JAN recommend maintaining ongoing communication with tribes regarding development of cultural landscape study, archaeological survey, fire management and other undertakings and developments at FLFO. Often a project is undertaken, tribes participate and then no follow up communication or ongoing consultation occurs.
2. The SUI and JAN request that an area be established for tribal youth/elder groups to camp at FLFO.
3. The SUI and JAN recommend that FLFO establish a Native American speaker series to bring Native American perspectives to the general public at the park.
4. The SUI recommends that tribal consultation work being undertaken at Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve serve as a model for consultation, and noted that the Ute STEM project is a model for youth/elder projects.
5. The SUI and JAN recommend that this and all studies involving Native Americans include specific benefits to tribes beyond the park's need for an EOA.
6. The SUI and JAN should be consulted with the development of FLFO's interpretative plan.

Native American Access

1. The UIT, SUI and JAN request access to gather plants at FLFO.
2. The SUI and JAN request access to bring youth and elders to FLFO

Fossil Resources

1. The UIT noted that the trail exhibit sign that mentions Ute people, is small and should be redone.
2. The “Lake Panel” should be updated. It contains a grammatical error.
3. The “Consequences of Collecting” top photograph should be grouped with the stump photos. The photograph of the valley should be captioned to explain where it is; the trail exhibit sign’s placement is misleading.
4. A panel should be added to explain why the dead snag tree is being protected and why the social trail to it had to be closed for safety concerns. This area should also be monitored for safety as the tree may continue to lose branches. This tree should have a monitoring plan and be included in the interpretative plan.
5. The “Ancient Forest Locked in Stone” panel should be moved to the beginning, so visitors know what trail they’re on and what is significant about it.
6. The “Charlotte Hill” panel appears to glorify the exploration and removal of the fossils. Tribal representatives felt that this is an important part of the history, however it should mention that it led to the removal of a tremendous amount of resources and artifacts.
7. Social (fossil) trails are problematic because they lead to places where people should not be going.
8. Tribal representatives recommended a pedestrian survey on the hill above the Lake Panel.
9. The new interpretative signage and exhibits should be part of formal consultation. Consultation needs to take place throughout the entire process starting with initial design and culminating in the actual completion and installation of the new material.

Conclusion

I believe there is an interaction between the ancestral past and the present which brightens when indigenous peoples visit the area. These insights can be shared with the public through intentional contacts designed by the National Park Service whereby Native people are invited into their ancestral homelands to consult, celebrate, and have creative input into the signage that describes their past connections to the landscape. Capturing the close connections between people, archaeological heritage, and the everyday lived environment is central to our story. When landscape is talked about in situ, near the Creek or the peeled tree or the petrified sequoia stumps, and by the indigenous folk whose ancestral territory is being discussed, the narrative unravels in relation to the place where the story is being told.

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Appendix A: Literature Review and Search - Sally McBeth, Ph.D.

APPENDIX

Literature Search and Review

Since I have worked with the three Ute tribes in the past (McBeth 2007, 2008, 2010), I was familiar with the historic, ethnographic, and related archaeological literature on the three Ute tribes (e.g. Buckles 1971; Callaway, Janetski, and Stewart 1986; Fowler and Fowler 1971; Goss 1972, 2000; Greubel 2002; Jefferson, Delaney and Thompson 1972; Jorgensen 1964; Martin 2016; Martarano 1988; Opler 1940; Simmons 2000; Smith 1974; Stewart 1974 a,b); Stewart 1966; Wedel 1961; Wroth 2000, among others).

Being less familiar with the Jicarilla Apache, I began with the Handbook of North American Indians Smithsonian Institution and used the excellent Opler (1983) and Tiller (1983) essays, eventually adding Gunnerson 1974 and Wilson 1964 to my literature review. Tiller laments that “there are few general works that cover Jicarilla Apache history” and “Ethnographic studies of the Jicarilla Apaches are as scarce as the historical studies” (1983:460).

I worked with reference librarian (Wendy Highby), government documents specialist (Mark Anderson) and archivist (Jay Trask) at the University of Northern Colorado sifting through information on the indigenous peoples of the Florissant Valley, very little significant data was forthcoming. Denver Public Library staff librarians: Alejandro (Alex) Hernandez (anthropologist) and James Jeffrey (historian) also assisted me in searches for materials specific to Teller and El Paso counties (Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument is in Teller County). The only material that we found (that I was unfamiliar with) were the Jeancón papers (1904). The History Colorado Website “Research and Learn” section also yielded minimal results.

The papers and research notes of Omer Stewart located in the archives at the University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries (Stewart n.d.) were also irrelevant to my study area.

The Colorado Council of Professional Anthropologists provided me access to their Context reports. I examined the Colorado Historic Archaeology Context, the Colorado Mountain Prehistoric Context, the Colorado Mountain Plains Prehistoric Context, the Colorado Mountains Historic Context, and the Colorado Plains Historic Context but there was nothing in these materials relevant to my needs. Reed’s 1999 Colorado Prehistory: A Context for the Northern Colorado River Basin provided some background information (Reed 1999).

Even when I expanded my research area to include Pikes Peak, Garden of the Gods, and Manitou Springs, very little was forthcoming. The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation did searches of archaeological sites in and around these three areas with disappointing results. Phone interviews with Cordova (2019), Owens (2019), and Arbogast (2019) proved the most useful, but the sensitive nature of sacred sites in the area need to be respected, and the archaeological information is vague at best.

The Hart Research Library at History Colorado, Huerfano Oral Histories looked promising. I spent a lot of time looking through them with little of relevance to my study. While the

“Indian section” of the Huerfano County Pioneer Interviews completed in 1933-34 by CWA (Colorado Works Administration personnel: Benton Canon and Louis B. Sporleder pp. 198-210) was interesting, anecdotally including accounts of Sand Creek (White Antelope, Cheyenne War Chief), Ouray, William Bent’s miraculous healing at the hands of an “Indian” doctor, but there was little of importance to Florissant area.

The Pioneer Museum, Colorado Springs (Leah Davis Witherspoon, curator) has some non-Native oral histories on the Ute Trail/Pass (collected by Francis Whittlemore Cragin). I went through all of these (they are on file at DPL) and there is no mention of Ute Trail and/or Pass.

The interviews with Native consultants Betsy Chapoose (2017), Cassandra Atencio (2018), Alden Naranjo (2018), Clyde Vicenti (2018), and Terry Knight (2018) provided the most relevant information because they could see and comment on the archaeological evidence of indigenous occupations in the Florissant Valley.

Appendix B: Preliminary Notes on Jicarilla Apache
Ethnobotanical Resources at Florissant Fossil Beds National
Monument – Sean O’Meara

APPENDIX: PRELIMINARY NOTES ON JICARILLA APACHE NATION ETHNOBOTANICAL RESOURCES AT FLORISSANT FOSSIL BEDS NATIONAL MONUMENT

The following is a preliminary list of Jicarilla Apache traditional use plants species currently recorded at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument (FLFO). Although the FLFO Ethnographic Overview and Assessment did not specifically focus on ethnobotanical resources, multiple plant species were observed during the EOA. This list containing 34 species, is derived from both those species observed during fieldwork, as well as those that have been noted by tribal representatives in previous studies (Kelley et al 2017; Kelley and O'Meara N.d, 2015, 2016; and Murov and Perlman 1998) as having cultural significance. Additional plants of cultural significance to the Jicarilla Apache are likely present at FLFO and this list should be viewed as an initial sampling.

Table 1: Jicarilla Apache traditional use plants found at FLFO



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Achillea millefolium*

Common Name: Yarrow

Jicarilla Apache Name: izeelizhi'i

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Allium cernuum*

Common Name: Nodding onion

Jicarilla Apache Name: tloshchini'i; baagee

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Antennaria parvifolia*

Common Name: Rocky Mountain pussytoes

Jicarilla Apache Name: noochilmijaa

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Rob Routledge, Sault College, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Artemisia campestris*

Common Name: Field sagewort

Jicarilla Apache Name: da' ła'eejiimi' ízee; sék'ech'íkái

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Gary A. Monroe, hosted by the USDA-NRCS PLANTS Database

Latin Name: *Artemisia cana*

Common Name: Silver sagebrush

Jicarilla Apache Name: me'igai'íí

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: I Schneider, hosted by the USDA-NRCS PLANTS Database

Latin Name: *Artemisia carruthii*

Common Name: Carruth's sage

Jicarilla Apache Name: hawóon

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Mary Ellen (Mel) Harte, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Artemisia frigida*

Common Name: Fringed sage

Jicarilla Apache Name: nach'eesch oshee;
tl'o dilbáii

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Mary Ellen (Mel) Harte, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Artemisia ludoviciana*

Common Name: Silver wormwood; big sagebrush

Jicarilla Apache Name: gotsóyéé me'igai'íí dilbáii

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: Ascomycota Family

Common Name: Lichen

Jicarilla Apache Name: tsé mes tl'i'i;
tsé dla; niigodládi

General Use(s): Utilitarian



Image Courtesy: Howard F. Schwartz, Colorado State University, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Bouteloua gracilis*

Common Name: Grama grass

Jicarilla Apache Name: N/A

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Castilleja integra*
 Common Name: Indian paint brush
 Jicarilla Apache Name: t'olich'i
 General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Cercocarpus montanus*
 Common Name: Mountain mahogany
 Jicarilla Apache Name: sitl'is
 General Use(s): Utilitarian



Image Courtesy: Jim Pisarowicz, NPS

Latin Name: *Chenopodium* spp.
 Common Name: Lamb's quarters
 Jicarilla Apache Name: miya'deeshichidéé;
 cháashzhiní
 General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Chrysothamnus* spp.; *Ericameria* spp.
 Common Name: Rabbitbrush
 Jicarilla Apache Name: ts'aimikáhiitsooi;
 ts'émikáhiitsooi
 General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Steve Dewey, Utah State University, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Cirsium* spp. (*C. scariosum* pictured)

Common Name: Thistle

Jicarilla Apache Name: Iyanee biwozhéé

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: John Cardina, The Ohio State University, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Equisetum arvense*

Common Name: Scouring-rush; horsetail

Jicarilla Apache Name: tl'óók'aa

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: James L. Reveal, Lady Bird Johnson Wildflower Center

Latin Name: *Eriogonum alatum*

Common Name: Winged buckwheat

Jicarilla Apache Name: Izee lich'ii

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Fragaria vesca*

Common Name: Woodland strawberry

Jicarilla Apache Name: dash'ji'

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Grindelia squarrosa*

Common Name: Curly cup gumweed

Jicarilla Apache Name: t'odit'i'i; ibe'lanee

General Use(s): Unspecified



UGA5096022

Image Courtesy: Mary Ellen (Mel) Harte, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Heterotheca villosa*

Common Name: Hairy golden aster

Jicarilla Apache Name: N/A

General Use(s): Unspecified



UGA1209060

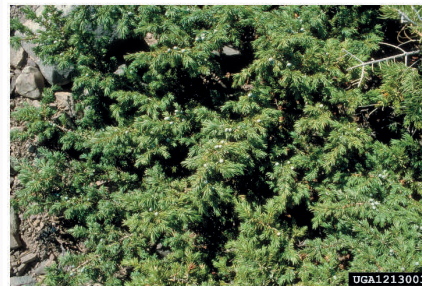
Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Ipomopsis aggregata*

Common Name: Scarlet gilia

Jicarilla Apache Name: ilómeest'ann

General Use(s): Medicinal



UGA1213003

Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Juniperus communis*

Common Name: Common Juniper

Jicarilla Apache Name: gah

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Tom DeGomez, University of Arizona, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Juniperus scopulorum*

Common Name: Rocky Mountain juniper

Jicarilla Apache Name: gah

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Karan A. Rawlins, University of Georgia, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Lemna minor*

Common Name: Duckweed

Jicarilla Apache Name: N/A

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Rob Routledge, Sault College, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Mentha arvensis*

Common Name: Wild mint

Jicarilla Apache Name: N/A

General Use(s): Food; Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Robert Vidéki, Doronicum Kft., Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Picea pungens*

Common Name: Colorado Blue Spruce

Jicarilla Apache Name: N/A

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Pinus ponderosa*

Common Name: Ponderosa pine

Jicarilla Apache Name: N/A

General Use(s): Food; Medicinal; Utilitarian



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Populus tremenoides*

Common Name: Quaking aspen

Jicarilla Apache Name: t'aanábaazé; t'anábaasé

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Joseph M. DiTomaso, University of California - Davis, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Portulaca oleracea*

Common Name: Purslane

Jicarilla Apache Name: N/A

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Prunus virginiana*

Common Name: Chokecherry

Jicarilla Apache Name: dzé mich'ili

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Ribes cereum*

Common Name: Wax currant

Jicarilla Apache Name: jonnsht'ezhee

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Ribes inerme*

Common Name: Whitestem gooseberry

Jicarilla Apache Name: N/A

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Salix* spp.

Common Name: Willow

Jicarilla Apache Name: k'ai

General Use(s): Basketry



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Yucca glauca*

Common Name: Soapweed yucca

Jicarilla Apache Name: ich'aáwosh; ich'anwosh

General Use(s): Food

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SEINet Portal Network

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Appendix C: Preliminary Notes on Ute Ethnobotanical Resources at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument – Sean O’Meara

APPENDIX: PRELIMINARY NOTES ON UTE ETHNOBOTANICAL RESOURCES AT FLORISSANT FOSSIL BEDS NATIONAL MONUMENT

The following is a preliminary list of Ute (Southern Ute Indian Tribe, Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray reservation and the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe) traditional use plants species currently recorded at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument (FLFO). Although the FLFO Ethnographic Overview and Assessment did not specifically focus on ethnobotanical resources, multiple plant species were observed during the EOA. This list containing 37 species, is derived from both those species observed during fieldwork, as well as those that have been noted by tribal representatives in previous studies (Chamberlin 1909; Chapoose 2012; Kelley et al 2017, Kelley and O'Meara N.d, 2015, 2016, McBeth 2008; Moerman 1998; O'Neil 1972; and Smith 1974) as having cultural significance. Additional plants of cultural significance to the Ute are likely present at FLFO and this list should be viewed as an initial sampling.

Table 1: Ute traditional use plants found at FLFO



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Achillea millefolium*

Common Name: Yarrow

Ute Name: i-am'-sī-ta-gwīv; quishee quish

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Agoseris* spp. (*A. glauca* pictured)

Common Name: Agoseris

Ute Name: añ-ka-pi-sa-wats

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Allium cernuum*

Common Name: Nodding onion

Ute Name: quee chesagoot

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Antennaria* spp. (*A. parvifolia* pictured)

Common Name: Pussytoes

Ute Name: tim'-pîn-tsau-ûv

General Use(s): Unspecified



© Al Schneider

Image Courtesy: Al Schneider, hosted by the USDA-NRCS PLANTS Database

Latin Name: *Arabis holboellii*

Common Name: Holboell's rockcress

Ute Name: qta'-ko-mav

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Steven Katovich, USDA Forest Service, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*

Common Name: Kinnikinnick; bear berry

Ute Name: tahmahupqwe' augeth't cahn up

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Mary Ellen (Mel) Harte, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Artemisia frigida*

Common Name: Fringed sage

Ute Name: N/A

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: Ascomycota Family

Common Name: Lichen

Ute Name: N/A

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Peter Dzik, Minnesota Department of Agriculture, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Carex* spp. (*C. pellita* pictured)

Common Name: Sedge

Ute Name: pi'-gwûts; pa'-gwûts

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Castilleja integra*

Common Name: Indian paint brush

Ute Name: uka-si-ti; ?uka-si=ti; changon-nuhu-nup

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Cercocarpus montanus*
 Common Name: Mountain mahogany
 Ute Name: tu-ahve
 General Use(s): Food; Medicinal; Utilitarian



Image Courtesy: Jim Pisarowicz, NPS

Latin Name: *Chenopodium* spp.
 Common Name: Lamb's quarters
 Ute Name: N/A
 General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Steve Dewey, Utah State University, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Cirsium* spp. (*C. scariosum* pictured)
 Common Name: Thistle
 Ute Name: N/A
 General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Cryptantha* spp. (*C. virgate* pictured)
 Common Name: Miner's candle
 Ute Name: yu'-bi-shad-ûmp
 General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Mary Ellen (Mel) Harte, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Draba* spp. (*D. aurea* pictured)

Common Name: Woodland draba

Ute Name: kus-pa-sen-di-ät

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Elymus* spp. (*E. trachycaulus* pictured)

Common Name: Wheatgrass

Ute Name: o-do-rüm-biv

General Use(s): Food

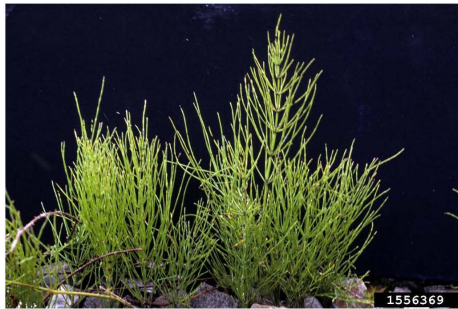


Image Courtesy: John Cardina, The Ohio State University, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Equisetum arvense*

Common Name: Scouring-rush; horsetail

Ute Name: to-tsi-; tu-ko-wüts; to-tsi-wats

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Mary Ellen (Mel) Harte, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Erigeron canus* (*E. eximius* pictured)

Common Name: Hoary fleabane

Ute Name: ?sa-güm-sĩ-ta-gwiv

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: James L. Reveal, Lady Bird Johnson Wildflower Center

Latin Name: *Eriogonum* spp. (*E. alatum* pictured)

Common Name: Buckwheat

Ute Name: k'sûm-sêd-au-ge-ëts

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Erysimum* spp. (*E. capitatum* pictured)

Common Name: Wallflower

Ute Name: sa'-go-a''-sînt

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Fragaria* spp. (*F. vesca* pictured)

Common Name: Woodland strawberry

Ute Name: toovwees; twes; tuwisi

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Grindelia squarrosa*

Common Name: Curly cup gumweed

Ute Name: ku-ats-ûm-sî-ta-gwîv; ku-at-um-si-ta-gwiw

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Gutierrezia* spp. (*G. sarothrae* pictured)

Common Name: Broom snakeweed

Ute Name: shpûmp

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Ipomopsis aggregata*

Common Name: Scarlet gilia

Ute Name: N/A

General Use(s): Utilitarian

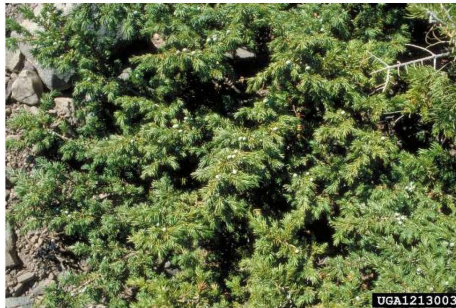


Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Juniperus communis*

Common Name: Common Juniper

Ute Name: wahup

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Tom DeGomez, University of Arizona, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Juniperus scopulorum*

Common Name: Rocky Mountain junier

Ute Name: wahup

General Use(s): Ceremonial; Food



Image Courtesy: Karan A. Rawlins, University of Georgia, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Lemna minor*
Common Name: Duckweed
Ute Name: N/A
General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Mary Ellen (Mel) Harte, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Lepidium* spp. (*L. alyssoides* pictured)
Common Name: Pepperweed
Ute Name: sau'-ga-mi-ants
General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Maianthemum racemosum*
Common Name: Feathery false lily of the valley
Ute Name: yo-gwo'-ta-ma-nûmp
General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Rob Routledge, Sault College, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Mentha arvensis*
Common Name: Wild mint
Ute Name: damount-up; kouerau-nap
General Use(s): Ceremonial



Image Courtesy: Tom DeGomez, University of Arizona, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Pinus flexilis*
Common Name: Limber pine
Ute Name: ah-gwoop
General Use(s): Utilitarian

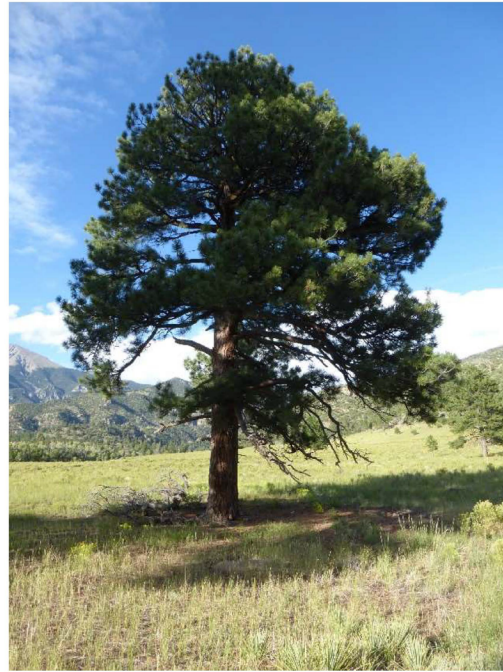


Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Pinus ponderosa*
Common Name: Ponderosa pine
Ute Name: uu-vweep
General Use(s): Food; Medicinal; Utilitarian



Image Courtesy: Rob Routledge, Sault College, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Potentilla anserina*; *Argentina anserina*
Common Name: Silverweed cinquefoil
Ute Name: qte'-āñ-g'iv
General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Paul Wray, Iowa State University, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Populus tremenoides*
Common Name: Quaking aspen
Ute Name: N/A
General Use(s): Food; Medicinal; Ceremonial



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Prunus virginiana*

Common Name: Chokecherry

Ute Name: durn-up; turnup; titatina=pi

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Paul Wray, Iowa State University, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Pseudotsuga menziesii*

Common Name: Douglas fir

Ute Name: N/A

General Use(s): Utilitarian



Image Courtesy: Harlan B. Herbert, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Ranunculus* spp. (*R. cymbalaria* pictured)

Common Name: Butter cup

Ute Name: pau-ûs-a-nau-ga-ant

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Ribes cereum*

Common Name: Wax currant

Ute Name: poogweep; poo gweep

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Ribes inerme*

Common Name: Whitestem gooseberry

Ute Name: seevergrayp; wah sou' poo woop;
sapatuu=pi

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Rosa woodsii*

Common Name: Wood's rose

Ute Name: añ-ga-si-ũñ-giv

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Rumex* spp. (*R. aquaticus* pictured)

Common Name: Dock

Ute Name: N/A

General Use(s): Food



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Salix* spp.

Common Name: Willow

Ute Name: aguu kannu; ka-nivh; auka ka-nivh

General Use(s): Basketry; Ceremonial; Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Dave Powell, USDA Forest Service (retired), Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Senecio* spp. (*S. spartioides* pictured)

Common Name: Groundsel

Ute Name: ko-ats-ěm-sĩ-ta-gwĩv

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Rob Routledge, Sault College, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Spiranthes* spp. (*S. romanzoffiana* pictured)

Common Name: Ladies tresses

Ute Name: N/A

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Charles T. Bryson, USDA Agricultural Research Service, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Taraxacum officinale*

Common Name: Common dandelion

Ute Name: mo-mũn' ti-ad-qsũp

General Use(s): Food

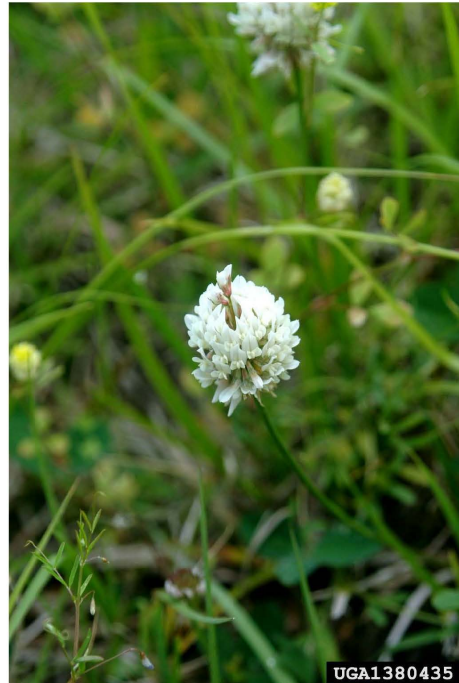


Image Courtesy: Chris Evans, University of Illinois, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Trifolium* spp. (*T. repens* pictured)

Common Name: Clover

Ute Name: pu-i'-tcũm-av

General Use(s): Unspecified



Image Courtesy: Steve Dewey, Utah State University, Bugwood.org

Latin Name: *Verbascum thapsus*

Common Name: Common mullein

Ute Name: teeyahumkuv

General Use(s): Medicinal



Image Courtesy: Sean O'Meara

Latin Name: *Yucca glauca*

Common Name: Soapweed yucca

Ute Name: wisi

General Use(s): Food; Utilitarian

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Appendix D: Fieldtrip Summary to Bent Trees in the Florissant Area, Colorado – Marilyn Martorano, RPA, May 2018

Summary of the fieldtrip to visit bent trees in the Florissant area, Colorado

May 22, 2018

By Marilyn Martorano, RPA

Participants: Dr. Sally McBeth, UNC; Elizabeth (Liz) Jennings, UNC Undergraduate Assistant; Marilyn A. Martorano, Martorano Consultants LLC; Andy Weinzapfel (Tree Chair, Pikes Peak Historical Society [PPHS]); Susan Weinzapfel; Celinda Kaelin; John Rakowski (PPHS President), and several additional persons.

Fieldtrip: The trip began at the PPHS museum in Florissant, Colorado where everyone met and was introduced. A video was viewed inside of the museum showing Loya (Cesspooch) Arrum, now-deceased Ute tribal member, discussing her views on a bent tree that was visited during the fieldtrip (see below). The bent trees visited during the day are discussed below in the order that they were seen:

Tree 1 (portion of a dead tree located on the grounds of PPHS Museum): This is a section of a Ponderosa pine tree that was moved from its original location and reportedly placed on the museum grounds in a similar orientation to its original location. It was pointed out by Mr. Weinzapfel that the upper bend “points to Crystal Peak.”

Notes: I did not see any physical evidence that this tree section had been culturally altered.



Tree 1, PPHS Museum, Florissant.

Tree 2: This is the tree that Loya (Cesspooch) Arrum discussed in the video shown at the museum. It is a ponderosa pine tree located adjacent to a dirt road. This tree exhibits a slight bend about 7' from the ground and also an area where a portion of the bark is missing on the trunk below the bend.

Notes: The described tie down marks on this tree appear to be natural crowding of the outer bark where the tree trunk is bending upward. If the tree had been bent as a sapling, any evidence of a tie down would almost certainly never be visible on an older tree such as this one. Due to the limited regrowth of the tree wood and bark at the edge of the scarred area on the trunk (see below), it appears likely that this scar was created in the recent past, perhaps damaged during road construction or maintenance, or by some type of vehicle/equipment. The tree may have been scarred and pushed over at an angle by heavy machinery or a vehicle and then the upper trunk began growing upward again. I saw no evidence that this tree was culturally altered, except perhaps by machinery/equipment or a vehicle.



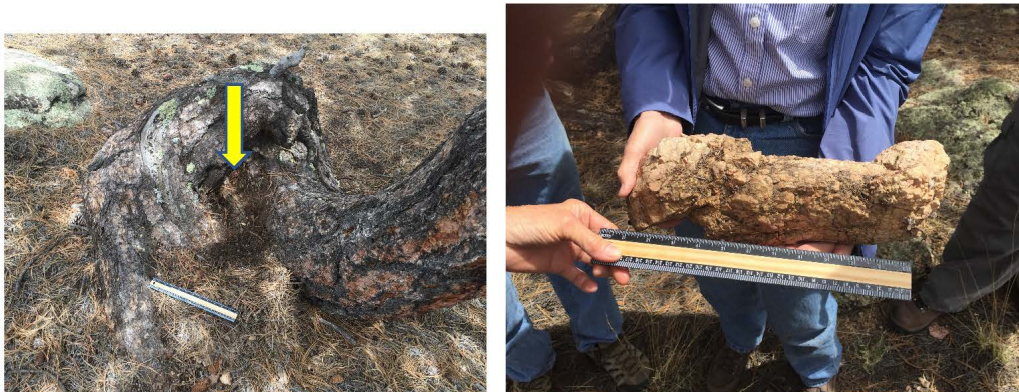
Tree 2 overview showing scar on the trunk.

Tree 3 (Wagon Tongue Cluster), P28/176 location SW of Florissant: This tree and others nearby are located near a currently-occupied house on a high, rocky outcrop. The P28/176 tree is a ponderosa pine with a wide, twisted base. A rock, described as “phallic-shaped,” was reportedly found by the sons of the property owners. It was uncovered for viewing during our visit by Celinda Kaelin.

Notes: I saw no evidence that any of these trees were culturally altered and the described “phallic-shaped stone” had no cultural alterations and appeared to be a natural rock.



Tree 3 (P28/176) overview on the left. Another nearby undocumented tree on the right (located adjacent to the house)



Tree 3 base where the rock shown on the right was removed. The yellow arrow on the left shows the location where the rock was removed during our fieldtrip. Scale is 12 inches.

Tree 4 (and other nearby trees - Guffey Cluster): Tree 4 is a twisted ponderosa pine tree located on a hillside. Above that tree are two additional trees, one tree with bark removed from the trunk and another described bent tree.

Notes: Tree 4 appears to be a naturally-bent tree. There was no visible evidence that it was culturally shaped. Similar to Tree 2, the described tie down marks are very likely due to the various angles of growth of the branches and tree trunk and not evidence of historic cultural shaping. Based on viewing the original top of the tree (to the left in the photo below) it appears that this tree was most likely struck by lightning, and severely damaged and bent over by the impact, but was able to continue growing even though the trunk was damaged, twisted and bent over. Tree 4 is physically very similar to a dead ponderosa pine tree observed in the foothills near Boulder, Colorado; however, this latter tree was killed by the lightning strike (see photo on page 5).



Tree 4 overview.



Base of Tree 4. Scale is 12 inches.



Ponderosa pine tree near Boulder, Colorado that was struck and killed by lightning. It is very similar in overall shape to Tree 4, except that Tree 4 was not killed and continued to grow.



Ponderosa pine tree located upslope from Tree 4; it exhibits a scar on the trunk. This scar appears to have been created many years ago based on the regrowth of the bark and wood adjacent to the scar edge (note the difference between the regrowth on this tree and the probable recent scar on Tree 2). No ax cuts are visible on the scar but the overall shape and height above the ground are similar to other trees that have been peeled to obtain inner and/or outer bark, and/or bark-related substances such as pitch. Scale is 12 inches.



Another ponderosa pine tree near the previous tree with the scar. This tree is growing slightly at an angle but there is no evidence that the tree was culturally altered.

Summary: During my 40+ years of experience conducting archaeological surveys in the forests of Colorado and the western U.S., I have seen many, many twisted and bent trees of all ages including many different tree species at a variety of elevations, but I have never seen any evidence that would verify that a bent or twisted tree had been culturally-altered to create a particular shape. I don't believe that any of the trees visited during this fieldtrip exhibit any scientifically-verifiable characteristics to support a claim that they were culturally-altered or intentionally-shaped/bent historically by Native Americans.

This interpretation is based on several lines of evidence: 1) lack of any verifiable physical evidence of cultural bending or shaping, 2) lack of any ethnographic evidence supporting the idea that Native Americans or any other ethnic group historically bent trees in Colorado, 3) lack of historical documentation or historical sightings of the bending of trees by Native Americans in Colorado, 4) information shared by a number professional foresters and natural resource specialists who state that these types of twisted/bent trees are the result of natural causes such as snow load, tree fall, wind damage, lightning damage, natural pathogens, etc., and, 5) most importantly, the fact that officially-designated tribal representatives from all three Ute tribes disavow a cultural tradition of bending trees in Colorado. These representatives officially speak for the entire tribe(s) and are not simply an individual Ute tribal member speaking from a personal viewpoint.

It is also erroneous, disrespectful, and simply wrong in my view for any of us to state that we know and can assign what the meaning, purpose, or function of a particular tree is/was (e.g., stating that a particular tree is a "prayer," "medicine," "spirit," "grandfather," "vortex," or "marker" tree), or to assign ethnic affiliation to any tree, even to peeled trees which have been scientifically and tribally-validated as legitimate cultural-modified trees by officially-designated tribal representatives.

Appendix E: An Undergraduate Explores the World of Tribal
Consultation and Culturally Modified Trees - Elizabeth Jennings,
2019

An Undergraduate Explores the World of Tribal Consultation and Culturally Modified Trees

Elizabeth Jennings

2019

In fall of 2017, during my second year at University of Northern Colorado, Dr. McBeth approached me about being her undergraduate research assistant on a National Park Service Ethnographic Overview Assessment grant at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument. This work included transcription of interviews with tribal members and acting as her field assistant. In 2017 and 2018 I transcribed audio files from Dr. McBeth's first tribal consultation, of which I was not an active participant. In doing so, I learned a lot about the ideas of culturally modified trees and cultural landscape.

I was present at the tribal consultation with the Southern Ute and Jicarilla Apache in June 2018, where Culturally Modified Trees once again came up as a topic of interest. During this consultation it became apparent where the Ute and Apache people stood on the issue of "bent" trees, also known as "prayer trees." Representatives from the Southern Ute and Jicarilla Apache repeatedly expressed their belief that bent trees were not part of their cultural traditions. By listening to tribal perspectives on this topic, I grew increasingly interested into why bent tree stories arose and how actual Culturally Modified Trees are being confused with these seemingly normal anomalies.

During the first day of consultation (June 26, 2018), we visited a variety of sites where peeled Culturally Modified Trees were present; all the tribal representatives unanimously agreed they were legitimate. Here, Cassandra Atencio (Southern Ute) and Clyde Vicenti (Jicarilla Apache tribal representative and elder) discussed some of the uses of the peeled trees. These uses varied from medicine, and food from the cambium, to gum from the pitch. Their insights were enlightening. On the second day (June 27, 2018), Atencio mentioned the possibility that some of the peeled trees were created to make cradle boards as she had done for her grandson.

Participating in this project, specifically my involvement in the consultation, was the pinnacle of my undergraduate career. As a student who aspires to work in museums, tribal consultation is critical and will be an active part of my career. The conversations I had with participants in the consultation also spurred an interest of mine into Culturally Modified Trees and how they are used cross culturally.

The History of Ute Prayer Trees in Colorado

To preface this research, it's important to define a Culturally Modified Tree. For the purposes of this research, a Culturally Modified Tree (hereafter CMT) is a living cultural artifact. CMTs are trees, still standing, that are believed by Native peoples, arborists, anthropologists, and other experts to have been intentionally modified by humans for food, medicine, or on occasion another utilitarian purpose. CMTs exist globally, however the most debated areas of their existence are in North America. In this review of the literature, I examine the scholarship on the topic and assert that there are clear examples for what is or is not a CMT under the aforementioned definition.

It is widely accepted that CMTs exist in the form of peeled bark (scarred) trees, however the controversy exists as to whether or not “bent trees” are true CMTs. In the field, I was shown a number of these bent trees. Some only have one bend, whereas others are more complex and have fallen backwards on themselves multiple times. These bent trees are sometimes referred to as Ute Prayer Trees in the context of the western U.S. While on consultation in summer 2018, the Southern Ute tribal representatives made it quite clear that they didn't believe bent trees were part of their cultural tradition. One of my favorite quotes came from Cassandra Atencio, the NAGPRA coordinator of the Southern Ute tribe. She said, “We were such a mountain people that it would be offensive to actually do something to mother nature and do something to a tree- to make it warped

like that, and the amount of time to go back to those same places is unrealistic.”¹ It is important to note that in all my research, and discussions with all the tribal representatives I have met, there are no historical accounts of Native Americans bending trees intentionally.

According to Goodman, the proliferation of Ute Prayer Trees in the Florissant area of Colorado was led by several non-Native community members.² A key figure worth mentioning is John Anderson. Anderson claims expert knowledge on Ute Prayer Trees but is not a Native American himself. Anderson has several educational programs where individuals pay to attend guided bent tree tours or lectures. The tribal representatives and Goodman denounce his actions and research.³ The Southern Ute tribe has also publicly denounced this phenomenon of bent trees, as have other Ute tribes.⁴ A collective statement was released by History Colorado regarding Ute Prayer Trees. In this statement, all three Ute tribes disavow bent trees as being part of their cultural tradition.⁵ Goodman supports this by stating, “the trees do not appear in recorded oral histories or their [the tribe’s] ethnographic record.”⁶ While it is not likely that bent trees were created by Ute people, it is important to note that the Ute and other tribes did use trees in other ways, particularly as food. Since the Ute people are at the center of this dispute, I begin by explaining their usage of peeled bark trees, which is accepted as part of their culture history.

¹ Atencio, Cassandra 2018. Tape-recorded interview with author June 27, 2018. Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument. Consent form, audio-tape, and unedited/ edited transcript on file at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument and the Southern Ute Tribe, Ignacio CO.

² Nathan Goodman. “When Forever Comes, We Will Be Here: Cultural Management and Indigenous Peoples of the Pikes Peak.” *Indigenous Policy Journal* 29, no. 1 (2018): 17

³ Ibid, 17.

⁴ Ibid, 18.

⁵ *Statement Regarding Ute Prayer Trees*. History Colorado. (2016): 1.

⁶ Nathan Goodman. “When Forever Comes, We Will Be Here: Cultural Management and Indigenous Peoples of the Pikes Peak.” *Indigenous Policy Journal* 29, no. 1 (2018): 18

North American CMTs

The Ute people used trees in many different ways. The bark of pine trees in particular is used for many things, including food and cultural resources.⁷ One example is the Ute use of pitch from the Ponderosa pines to create glue.⁸ This was used in many ways, including, “to glue rawhide to horses’ hooves to protect them from rocky terrain.”⁹ Another example of peeled tree utilization is in use of cambium. Cambium is a delicate layer of plant tissue between the inner bark and the wood of a tree.¹⁰ Some North American populations used cambium bark as a sweetener in World War I during the sugar shortage.¹¹ In addition to these examples, the main purpose of peeled trees was to harvest the cambium layer for food, perhaps in times of food shortage.¹² This is true globally and among other Native American Tribes. It is known that the Zuni,¹³ Apache,¹⁴ various tribes in Montana,¹⁵ the Wintu¹⁶ and others used cambium as a food source. Through micro analysis of the nutrients in the cambium of Scots pine (a European variant) it was discovered that the nutritional value in the cambium was quite dense, largely due to the high carbohydrate content.¹⁷ Interestingly, the fat content was significantly lower in Lodgepole pines from North

⁷Lars Östlund, Lisa Ahlberg, and Olle Zackrisson. “Bark-Peeling, Food Stress and Tree Spirits – The Use of Pine Inner Bark for Food in Scandinavia and North America.” *Journal of Ethnobiology* 29, no. 1 (2009): 98-99

⁸ Laurel Anderton, and Michael Kuhns. “Native American Uses of Utah Forest Trees.” *Utah State University*. (2012): 6.

⁹ Ibid, 6.

¹⁰ 1. Encyclopedia Britannica Online, s.v. “Cambium” accessed Nov. 25, 2018,

¹¹ Lars Östlund, Lisa Ahlberg, and Olle Zackrisson. “Bark-Peeling, Food Stress and Tree Spirits – The Use of Pine Inner Bark for Food in Scandinavia and North America.” *Journal of Ethnobiology* 29, no. 1 (2009): 100

¹² Ibid; 98-99.

The reading describes the usage of cambium in the Rocky Mountains, however this is a known area for Ute people.

¹³Ronald H. Towner, and Stacy K. Galassini. “Cambium-Peeled Trees in the Zuni Mountains, New Mexico.” *Kiva* 78, no. 2 (2013): 7

¹⁴ Thomas W. Swetnam, Peeled Ponderosa Pine Trees: A Record of Inner Bark Utilization.” *Journal of Ethnology*. 4, no. 2 (1984): 179.

¹⁵ Ibid, 177-190.

¹⁶ Marilyn Martorano, . *Scarred Ponderosa Pine Trees Reflecting Cultural Utilization of Bark*. (PhD diss.. Colorado State University, 1981): 6

¹⁷ Anna-Maria Rautio, Gudrun Norstedt, and Lars Östlund. “Nutritional Content of Scots Pine Inner Bark in Northern Fennoscandia: Nutritional Content of Scots Pine Inner Bark and Ethnographic Context of its use in Northern Fennoscandia.” *Economic Botany* 67, no. 4 (2013): 370.

America, but the protein content was higher than that of the Scots pine.¹⁸ The high nutritional value of cambium may explain why it was favored as a food source by some cultures.

Between different cultural groups, there is a distinction for why the cambium was eaten. Even among three Apache bands, the Mescalero, the Chiricahua, and the Jicarilla, differences in usage occur. The Mescalero and the Chiricahua predominantly used the cambium from Ponderosa pines when food was scarce, whereas the Jicarilla used cambium even in times of guaranteed food security.¹⁹ This could imply that cambium was more desired in some cultures than others, or that the taste was preferred, it is however, hard to speculate without more ethnohistoric data. There is also evidence that the Apache people inadvertently created fire scarred trees while modifying the landscape.²⁰ As such, fire scarred trees are not considered true CMTs.²¹

Other tribes also have specific unique for CMTs within their own culture. For example, The Ojibwe marked trees with symbols akin to hieroglyphics to mark territory or family ties.²² This would typically appear on birch bark.²³ Supporting evidence for this theory is circumstantial, due to the nature of pigmented designs as well as the average lifespan of the birch tree itself. For other tribes, the pitch from trees had many different uses, such as medicine, water tight sealant, and an aid to help children sleep.²⁴ The needles, branches and bark also have cultural significance.

¹⁸ Anna-Maria Rautio, Gudrun Norstedt, and Lars Östlund. "Nutritional Content of Scots Pine Inner Bark in Northern Fennoscandia: Nutritional Content of Scots Pine Inner Bark and Ethnographic Context of its use in Northern Fennoscandia." *Economic Botany* 67, no. 4 (2013): 370.

¹⁹ Thomas W. Swetnam, "Peeled Ponderosa Pine Trees: A Record of Inner Bark Utilization." *J. Ethnol.* 4, no. 2 (1984): 179.

²⁰ Margot Kaye, and Thomas W. Swetnam. "An Assessment of Fire, Climate, and Apache History in the Sacramento Mountains, NM." *Physical Geography* vol. 20 no. 4 (1999):305-308.

²¹ Ibid, 307-308.

²² Joan M Vastokas. "Ojibwa Pictography: The Origins of Writing and the Rise of Social Complexity." *Ontario Archaeology* 4, no. 75 (2003): 3-4.

²³ Ibid, 7.

²⁴ Laurel Anderton, and Michael Kuhns. "Native American Uses of Utah Forest Trees." *Utah State University*. (2012): 6.

For example, the Hopi, “attached needles to prayer sticks to bring cold weather.”²⁵ Additionally the Shoshone peeled trees which Lewis and Clark documented in their journals.²⁶

The Comanche placed tally marks either with paint or by etching designs into the tree as they traveled so that those trailing behind would know others had been through the area.²⁷ The Choctaw marked trees with family symbologies to state territorial boundaries. These markings were mirrored on the tribal members’ bodies.²⁸ Similarly, there is evidence suggesting tribes in California were carving Arborglyphs. An Arborglyph is a tree carving depicting specific images.²⁹ One example from California shows a zoomorphic (or anthropomorphic) figure, now believed to be connected to Ursa Major and perhaps a Chumash [California tribe] understanding of astronomical changes.³⁰ The Arborglyph is said to resemble the shape of Ursa Major, the significance of which is reflected in the oral traditions of the Chumash.³¹ This Arborglyph was carved into a tree located outside a burned down homestead in San Luis Obispo County.³²

In Montana’s South Fork Valley of the Bob Marshall Wilderness, there is another large cluster of CMTs. The CMTs are all peeled, scarred trees.³³ The results of a study conducted in this area showed that peeled trees tended to be clustered together, with a few scattered sites, similar to the site patterns in Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument. The majority of the peeled trees

²⁵ Laurel Anderton, and Michael Kuhns. “Native American Uses of Utah Forest Trees.” *Utah State University*. (2012): 6.

²⁶ White, Thain, “Scarred Trees in Western Montana.” *Montana State University Anthropology and Sociology Papers* no. 7 (1954): 1.

²⁷ Nicholas C. Kawa., Bradley Painter, and Cailin E. Murray. “Trail Trees: Living Artifacts (Vivifacts) of Eastern North America.” *Ethnobiology Letters* 6, no. 1 (2015): 183

²⁸ *Ibid*, 183

²⁹ Rex W. Saint Onge, John R. Johnson, and Joseph R. Talaugon. “Archaeoastronomical Implications of a Northern Chumash Arborglyph.” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 29, no. 1 (2009): 1

³⁰ *Ibid*, 30-33.

³¹ *Ibid*, 30- 35.

³² *Ibid*, 30.

³³ Lars Östlund, Bob Keane, Steve Arno and Rikard Andersson, “Culturally Scarred Trees in the Bob Marshall Wilderness, Montana, USA- Interpreting Native American Historical Forest Use in a Wilderness Area”. *Natural Areas Journal* 25, no 4. (2005): 315-317.

from this site dated between the 17th and 19th centuries, with an increase between 1851-1875.³⁴ The oldest peeled CMT found in North America was possibly identified by this team. It dates to approximately 1665.³⁵ Ethnographic evidence supports this, indicating that CMTs were created in Montana well before the 19th century.³⁶

It is important to note the utilitarian use of cedar trees by tribes of the Pacific Northwest. Mobley and Eldridge note that cedar was used as a type of fiber for clothing and other products, as well as basket manufacture in the northwest.³⁷ Additionally, Kwakiutl and Nootka harvested cedar bark in this area.³⁸ Spruce, Hemlock, Lodgepole pine, Ponderosa pine, and some deciduous species were peeled for cambium, which would be used as food as in other areas.³⁹ Some species of Spruce and Hemlock also served medicinal purposes, and the wood of nearly all species were used for various cultural products, including utensils.⁴⁰ Spruce pitch was useful for waterproofing and as an adhesive.⁴¹ These examples demonstrate the wide array of practical applications for CMTs in daily life of the Northwest.

Canadian CMTs

The use of CMTs extended far beyond the boundaries of the United States. In Canada, the use of CMTs is relatively well studied and understood. The culturally scarred trees from the Pacific coast of Oregon to the southeastern edge of Alaska primarily consist of cedar, hemlock,

³⁴ Lars Östlund, Bob Keane, Steve Arno and Rikard Andersson, "Culturally Scarred Trees in the Bob Marshall Wilderness, Montana, USA- Interpreting Native American Historical Forest Use in a Wilderness Area". *Natural Areas Journal* 25, no 4. (2005): 319-320.

³⁵ Ibid, 320.

³⁶ White, Thain, "Scarred Trees in Western Montana." *Montana State University Anthropology and Sociology Papers* no. 7 (1954): 1-16.

³⁷ Charles M Mobley and Morley Eldridge. "Culturally Modified Trees in the Pacific Northwest." *Arctic Anthropology* 29, no. 2 (1992): 91-92.

³⁸ Ibid, 94.

³⁹ Ibid, 94.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 94-95.

⁴¹ Ibid, 95

spruce, and pine. In many cases, researchers were able to corroborate this usage with ethnographic records of cultural practices.⁴² Although many of the trees were peeled to be used as a food source, other trees were used as medicines or materials for other cultural manufactured goods.⁴³ For example, the Bella Coola First Nations People of British Columbia used pitch from Lodgepole pines as a medicine.⁴⁴ Some research suggests that a spike of CMTs between 1779-1787 in this area is correlated to a legendary war between the Tlingit in Alaska and the Tsimshian in British Columbia.⁴⁵ Oral history suggests that after the last battle, some Tsimshian women went to Ship Island and collected plentiful amounts of bark for food. This was later corroborated with scientific analysis of CMTs at Ship Island, showing an influx at the theoretical time of war.⁴⁶

Beyond North America

Australian CMTs

In Australia, CMTs are created as honey was harvested, while still maintaining the life of the tree.⁴⁷ “Sugarbag” honey was accessed by cutting an aperture into a tree where a hive of stingless bees were present. The honey, or wax could then be collected through the opening.⁴⁸ This was not only a food resource, but a culturally significant and ritualistic resource to the aboriginal people.⁴⁹ The CMTs created for purpose of these “sugarbags” are the most numerous

⁴² Morley Eldridge. “Significance Assessment of Culturally Modified Trees- Final Report.” Prepared for *Vancouver Forest Region and CMT Standards Steering Committee* (1997): 91-94.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 94-95.

⁴⁴ Marilyn Martorano. *Scarred Ponderosa Pine Trees Reflecting Cultural Utilization of Bark*. (PhD diss.. Colorado State University, 1981):8.

⁴⁵ Charles M Mobley,., and Michael Lewis. “Tree-ring analysis of traditional native bark-stripping at Ship Island, Southeast Alaska, USA.” *Veget Hist Archaeobot* (2009):261

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 263.

⁴⁷ Morrison M, Shepard E. “The archaeology of culturally modified trees: Indigenous economic diversification within colonial intercultural settings in Cape York Peninsula, northeastern Australia.” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 38, no. 2. (2013): 144.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 143-144.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 143.

archaeological features of the Cape York Peninsula region.⁵⁰ In Southern Queensland Australia, it is noted that aboriginal people peeled trees to create artifacts; unfortunately, many of these have not survived in the archaeological record.⁵¹

European CMTs

In Europe, the Sami of Northern Finland have continued to use the cambium level of Scots Pine as a food source and have peeled the trees to harvest it.⁵² This is backed by archaeological and ethnographic data.⁵³ Scots pine can live up to 500 years, leaving some peeled bark evidence remains from the medieval period.⁵⁴ While a great deal of emphasis is placed on the use of peeled trees as food in Europe, only 61% of peeled bark trees were used for food, and 39% were used for other cultural products.⁵⁵ There is significant data suggesting CMTs were used as trail blazes in this European context.⁵⁶ Cambium was not simply a means to prevent starvation among the Sami, since they harvested the cambium of Scots pine in the spring when food was plentiful. This is mirrored in North America, where it is speculated that Ponderosa pines were harvested in the

⁵⁰ Morrison M, Shepard E. "The archaeology of culturally modified trees: Indigenous economic diversification within colonial intercultural settings in Cape York Peninsula, northeastern Australia." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 38, no. 2. (2013): 144.

⁵¹ Greg Carver. "An Examination of Indigenous Australian Culturally Modified Trees in South Australia". *Australian Archaeology* no. 54 (2002): 63

⁵² Ingela Bergman, and Lars Östlund, and Olle Zackrisson. "The Use of Plants as Regular Food in Ancient Subarctic Economies: A Case Study Based on Sami Use of Scots Pine Innerbark." *Arctic Anthropology* 41, no. 1 (2004): 3.

⁵³ Andersson Rikard, Historical. *Land Use Information from Culturally Modified Trees*. (PhD diss.. Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, 2005): 1.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 3.

⁵⁵ Ingela Bergman, and Lars Östlund, and Olle Zackrisson. "The Use of Plants as Regular Food in Ancient Subarctic Economies: A Case Study Based on Sami Use of Scots Pine Innerbark." *Arctic Anthropology* 41, no. 1 (2004): 4.

⁵⁶ Lars Östlund, Tysk Steffan Ericsson, Olle Zackrisson, Rikard Andersson. "Trees of the Past Sami Forest Use: An Ecological Study of Culturally Modified Trees." *Scand J. For. Res.* (2003): 83.

spring months.⁵⁷ Although the Sami are not believed to have bent trees, some Sami people may have used scarred CMTs as trail or property markers.⁵⁸

There is brief mention of CMTs in Turkey.⁵⁹ Similar to the other cultures discussed, this practice in Turkey made use of the cambium level as a food source.⁶⁰ However, this practice has only been recorded in recent ethnographic history,⁶¹ and evidence of this practice only existed between the years 1950-1956.⁶² Without further data, it is difficult to discern if this was a widely practiced cultural tradition, or isolated in recent use. Additionally, there is more evidence of CMTs being created in Turkey to produce medicine.⁶³ This involved extracting pitch from living coniferous trees.⁶⁴ The bark was be removed to extract the pitch, sometimes to the point of killing the tree.⁶⁵ At times, baskets or other cultural products were formed from strips of a living tree.⁶⁶

The Bent Tree Argument

Aside from the CMTs proven to be created intentionally by cultural groups, there is a proliferation of bent tree stories. However, these bent trees are not CMTs in the eyes of professional archaeologists, ethnographers, and tribal members. By all indications they were naturally bent, however many non-native individuals now argue for the preservation of bent trees, also known as “Ute Prayer Trees.” According to John Anderson there are five types of Prayer Tress. There are Trail Marker Trees, Medicine Trees, Burial Trees, Story Trees and Prophecy

⁵⁷ Lars Östlund, Lisa Ahlberg, and Olle Zackrisson. “Bark-Peeling, Food Stress and Tree Spirits – The Use of Pine Inner Bark for Food in Scandinavia and North America.” *Journal of Ethnobiology* 29, no. 1 (2009): 102.

⁵⁸ Lars Östlund, Olle Zackrisson, and Greger Hörnberg. “Trees on the Border between Nature and Culture: Culturally Modified Trees in Boreal Sweden.” *Environmental History* 7, no. 1 (2002):

⁵⁹ Turner, Nancy F., Yilmaz Ari, Fikret Berkes et al., “Cultural Management of Living Trees: An International Perspective.” *Journal of Ethnobiology* vol 29, no.2 (2009): 241.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 241

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 241.

⁶² *Ibid*, 241.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 249.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 249.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 249.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 255.

Trees, all of which are disavowed by Colorado and New Mexico tribal members.⁶⁷ Trail Marker trees are said to be directional tools used by Native Americans and indicators of significant areas, with some being related to ritual practice.⁶⁸ Trail Marker Trees are claimed all across the continental U.S. In the eastern woodland area, some proponents speculate the various meanings of the bent trees, saying they pointed to resources or perhaps provided a message.⁶⁹ I believe that this is all conjecture, and that there is no significant scientific data that supports these theories. Any meaning given to these trees should only be taken as truth if it is stated by sanctioned tribal representatives, who can speak on behalf of the tribe as a whole.

Bent tree stories extend far beyond the Ute people. Other research suggests Comanches may have bent trees to demarcate resources.⁷⁰ Some researchers state that CMTs in Michigan were not usually made for the purpose of obtaining food at all. Instead, they assert that the trees were bent to indicate resources, or to tell stories.⁷¹ These bent tree researchers also state, “the precise methods employed were never historically documented.” Despite lacking historical documentation, a number of hypotheses have been proposed.⁷² This quote illuminates my point: That in my investigations, I have discovered no historical accounts of Native Americans bending trees intentionally. The proposed methods for how bent trees were created are all hypothetical and to the best of my knowledge there is not a clear, logical, culturally supported case of intentional

⁶⁷ John, Anderson, “Ute Indian Prayer Trees of the Pikes Peak Region. Colorado Springs.” *Old Colorado City Historical Society* (2015): 45

⁶⁸ Timothy A. Schuler, “Searching for a Sign: The Battle to Document and Save Old Trees that May Have Once Marked Native American Trails.” *Landscape Architecture Magazine* (Nov. 2016):139.

⁶⁹ Nicholas C Kawa, Bradley Painter, and Cailin E. Murray. “Trail Trees: Living Artifacts (Vivifacts) of Eastern North America.” *Ethnobiology Letters* 6, no. 1 (2015): 185

⁷⁰ Gelo, Daniel J. “Comanche Land and Ever Has Been”: A Native Geography of the Nineteenth-Century Comancheria.” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 103, no. 3 (2000): 306

⁷¹ Carolyn Harwood, and Alex K. Ruuska. “The Personhood of Trees: Living Artifacts in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.” *Time and Mind* 6, no. 2 (2013):140-146.

⁷² Nicholas C Kawa, Bradley Painter, and Cailin E. Murray. “Trail Trees: Living Artifacts (Vivifacts) of Eastern North America.” *Ethnobiology Letters* 6, no. 1 (2015):185.

tree bending in the United States and nearly all bent trees are simply the product of natural environmental changes.

Scientific Explanation

There are a number of naturally occurring reasons why a tree might bend. Snow load is one of several potential causes of naturally bent trees. The weight of snow on a young sapling can weigh down the body of the plant and cause it to bend as it develops.⁷³ Once the snow melts, the plant will continue to grow prototropically (towards the sun), but will likely still retain some degree of bend.⁷⁴ Light, water, gravity and other natural forces can also affect the directionality of plant growth.⁷⁵ As time progresses, the bends tend to diminish, but are usually not eliminated. In the context of Colorado, various professionals including arborists, archaeologists and foresters have said that the bent trees are likely caused by natural phenomenon. This is expressed repeatedly in Dr. McBeth's report for the Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument.

CMTs are not limited to one specific area or culture, they are global. In regard to so called "Prayer Trees," I do not hold that they are true CMTs, and instead that there are scientific explanations for how such anomalies appear naturally. Cassandra Atencio, the NAGPRA coordinator of the Southern Ute tribe has said, "The only prayer tree we have is a Sundance pole, and those two little trees that we have for the bear dance." In saying this, she is denouncing bent trees as part of the Ute cultural tradition. The Ute and Jicarilla Apache accept the idea that peeled trees are part of their cultural tradition, however they do not accept bent tree theories. This tribal perspective is critical in understanding the true extent of CMTs in North America.

⁷³ Wyman Schmidt and Jack A. Schmidt. "Recovery of Snow-Bent Young Western Larch USDA." *Forest Service General Technical Report* INT-54 (1979): 1

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 10.

⁷⁵ Regina Bailey. "Understanding Plant Tropisms." *ThoughtCo*. (February 28, 2018): web.

Appendix F: National Park Service Project Letter Invitation and Questionnaire – Michelle Wheatley



United States Department of the Interior
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument
15807 Teller County Road 1
Florissant, CO 80816



October 12, 2017

Subject: FLFO Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

To the Honorable Roy B. Brown

Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument will begin an **Ethnographic Overview** beginning this 2018 field season: May-September 2018 and extending into May-September 2019. As the Superintendent of this Monument, I would like to invite you and/or a tribal member to participate in this two-year project. The purpose of these types of studies is to document traditional associations between tribes and the landscape and resources of this area. We anticipate that most tribal visits would occur in 2018 and 2019.

Florissant is located in a high mountain valley 35 miles west of Colorado Springs, Colorado and was established as a national monument in 1969. Beneath the monument's 5998 acres of montane forests and meadows lies one of the richest fossil deposits (primarily insect and leaf) in the world (few surface finds still exist as Florissant became a popular tourist destination and the fossils and petrified wood were over-collected by fossil hunters before 1920).

Archaeological evidence includes culturally modified trees, lithic scatters, and other materials.

Such a study would provide baseline data that does not currently exist to aid Florissant Fossil Beds in our deliberations related to requests for resource uses, as well as ensure that resources are managed in a sensitive and culturally-informed manner.

Such a study is of benefit to the Northern Arapaho Tribe, as well. It will help the monument understand our unique historical and on-going association with the Native peoples who passed through or lived in this area. We need your help to understand the medicinal plants, the food plants, and the animals that are important to your way of life. We share a mutual interest in cultural preservation: tribes desire that certain traditions survive, and the NPS want to assist in such preservation as part of our mandate to preserve cultural resources.

Sally McBeth, a cultural anthropologist at the University of Northern Colorado will be following up with a phone call, letter, and email. To help us gauge your interest, please fill out the attached questionnaire and mail it back to me in the self-addressed envelope.

I will look forward to welcoming you to Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument.

Sincerely,

Michelle Wheatley
Superintendent
Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument
Michelle_wheatley@nps.gov
(719) 748-3253 x 101

cc: Yufna Soldier Wolf

Tribal Questionnaire
Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument
October 12, 2017

Please return in the self-addressed envelope

Tribe Northern Arapaho Tribe PO Box 396 Fort Washaki, WY 82514

_____ We are interested in learning more about this project, please contact our NAGPRA/THPO office.

_____ We believe we are too far from this location to have had much interaction with this landscape.

_____ We cannot travel to Colorado but would like to meet with the ethnographer at our tribal offices if the budget allows.

_____ We cannot travel to Colorado but have archival or other materials that might be relevant to the area in and around Florissant, CO.

_____ Other?

Appendix G: Sample Informed Consent Form - University of Northern Colorado



CONSENT FORM FOR HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Project Title: **Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument
Ethnographic Overview Assessment (EOA)**

Researcher: Dr. Sally McBeth, Anthropology
Phone: 970-576-1644
Email: sally.mcbeth@unco.edu

The purpose of this project is to gather and preserve evidence about Native American traditions and occupations in and around the area of Florissant Fossil Beds in Teller County, Colorado. An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (EOA) is a baseline cultural anthropological study which aims to document traditional associations between distinct cultural communities and landscapes, places, or resources. This project will identify and document culturally significant resources and contribute to the development and implementation of culturally appropriate resource management strategies at Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument. Estimated time in the field is one-to-two eight-hour days.

Digital recordings, transcripts, and photos will belong to the National Park Service and will be housed at Florissant National Monument. Additionally, all edited and unedited transcripts will belong to tribal entities and will be housed at tribal offices. These will be provided to the tribes by Sally McBeth, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern Colorado, at the end of the project. The edited material will be made available for anthropological, historical, and other academic research and publications. By signing below you are giving permission to use your photos and interview materials.

Notes/Other Stipulations

Participants will be invited to view the final Ethnographic Overview and findings of this research, and comment or make corrections. Participants will not be anonymous. *By participating, you are giving your consent for us to publish your name, recordings of your voice, transcripts of your words, and your images in any forum that this research is presented.*

Potential risks of participating in this project are minimal. You will only be asked to engage in conversation about your knowledge of ancestral homelands and suggestions for future educational and professional presentations. An indirect benefit of the research is that the knowledge of participants will help the NPS improve management strategies. However,

individuals whose anonymity needs to be guarded for any reason should be aware that *your identity can be easily discovered in the presentation materials along with your general location*. Individuals in witness protection programs or who are being sought for malicious reasons should not participate in this study.

You will be paid a consulting fee from the Department of Interior, National Park Service Grant # P17ACO1407 according to the National Park Service Intermountain Region Tribal Consultation Guidelines. This document was sent to all tribal offices in the Intermountain Region and fees for professional services are based on "zones" which are determined by distance from tribal headquarters to Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument in Florissant, Colorado. Additionally, whether the tribal representative is paid by the tribal government is also part of the equation for payment for professional services. A signed W-9 form is required and will be provided to tribal representatives at the time of consult. Fees cannot be paid if this form is not completed.

Participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate in this study and if you begin participation you may still decide to stop and withdraw at any time. Your decision will be respected and will not result in loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Having read the above and having had an opportunity to ask any questions, please sign below if you would like to participate in this research. A copy of this form will be given to you to retain for future reference. If you have any concerns about your selection or treatment as a research participant, please contact the Office of Research, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-1910. ATTN: Sherry May.

Please check each box below to indicate that you give consent:

☐ I give consent for recordings of this interview, in part or in whole, to be used in academic presentations or on public display.

☐ I give consent for any photographs taken during this interview and any actual artifacts that I voluntarily loan or give to the researchers to be used in academic presentations or on public display.

☐ I understand that my identity is not protected and can be easily discovered through the display of photographs and recordings used in presenting this research.

Collaborator's Signature

Date

Collaborator's Printed Name

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

Appendix H: List of Native American Tribes Contacted for Study Participation – Sally McBeth, Ph.D.

Tribes	Location	Contact Title Name	Address	Phone Number	Email Address	CV Distance from Florissant, Colorado	Zone	Consultation Payment
Northern Arapaho	Wind River, Wyoming	Chairman Roy B Brown	PO Box 396 Fort Washakie, WY 82514	307-332-6120	roy.brown@northernarapaho.org	466 miles	C	\$800
Arapaho & Sioux Tribes	Fort Peck, Montana	NATHPO Director, Velma Seldner Wolf	PO Box 396 Fort Washakie, WY 82514	307-856-1628 (o) or 307-840-0837 @	velma@nathpo.net			
		Chairman Floyd Azare	501 Medicine Bear Rd PO Box 1027 Poplar, MT 59255	(406)768-2914	floyd@rocktribes.net	908 miles	D	\$1,000
		Director Darrell Yousef	PO Box 1027 Poplar, MT 59255	(406)768-2982	darrell@rocktribes.net			
		Joe Big Medicine	PO Box 21 Longvale, OK 73555	405-421-5600	bigmedicine@tribes.org	528 miles	D	\$1,000
Cheyenne & Arapaho	Longvale, Oklahoma	Chairman Matthew Komaty	PO Box 389 Carnegie, OK 73015	580-654-3932	komaty@tribes.org	599 miles	D	\$1,000
		Assistant THPO, Ivy Smith	PO Box 50 Carnegie, OK 73015	405-320-3932	ivy@tribesadmnistrators.org			
Cornucopia	Lawton, Oklahoma	Chairman William Nelson	PO Box 908 Lawton, OK 73502	580-492-3240	william@cornucopia.org	636 miles	D	\$1,000
Northern Cheyenne	Lame Deer, Montana	President L. Lee Kilbuck	SW D Avenue, Suite 8 Lawton, OK 73502	580-595-9950	mkilbuck@cornucopia.org	607 miles	D	\$1,000
Southern Cheyenne	Gordito, Oklahoma	Director Tanna Limpy	PO Box 128 Lame Deer, MT 59043	406-477-6284	tanna.limpy@chevymountain.com	637 miles	D	\$1,000
		Governor Eddie Hamilton	PO Box 38, Gordito, OK 73022	405-422-7714	eddie@tribes.org			
Navajo Nation	Window Rock, Arizona	President Russell Begay	PO Box 7440 Window Rock, AZ 86515	928-871-7000	russellbegay@navajo.nm.gov	444 miles	C	\$800
		Cult. Spec, Timothy Begay	PO Box 145 Concho, OK 73022	405-422-7714	timothy_begay@yahoo.com	624 miles	D	\$1,200
Ojibwa Ojibwegish	San Juan, New Mexico	Preservation Officer John Guiz	PO Box 1099 San Juan, NM 87566	505-852-4400	john.guiz@ohkay.org	472 miles	C	\$800
		Governor Kurt Riley	PO Box 1592 San Juan, NM 87566	505-852-4400 4227	kurt.riley@ohkay.org			
Pueblo of Acoma	Acoma, New Mexico	Director Hitt Pags, Damien Garcia	PO Box 309 Acoma, NM 87334	505-552-3171 (o) or 505-564-3474 @	hitt@puebloofacoma.org	383 miles	C	\$800
Pueblo of Cochiti	Cochiti, New Mexico	Governor Eugene Herrera	PO Box 70 Cochiti, NM 87072	505-465-2244	eherreza@puebloofcochiti.org	282 miles	C	\$800
Pueblo of San Ildefonso	Santa Fe, New Mexico	Governor James R. Mountain	02 Tunjo Po Santa Fe, NM 87506	505-465-2273	mountain@sanpueblo.org	269 miles	C	\$800
Pueblo of Santa Clara	Espanola, New Mexico	NAAGPRA contact Timothy Martinez	PO Box 580 Espanola, NM 87532	505-455-4139 4139 (o) or 505-470-9566 @	timartinez@sanpueblo.org	251 miles	C	\$800
Pueblo of Taos	Taos, New Mexico	Free Officer, Ben Chavaria	PO Box 580 Espanola, NM 87532	505-753-7380	benchavaria@santafarapueblo.org	264 miles	C	\$800
		Chairman, Clement Frost	356 Quivry Drive PO Box 737, Ignacio, CO 81137	970-563-0100	cliffrost@southerntribes.org	332 miles	C	\$800
Ute Mt. Ute Tribe	Towaoc, Colorado	Chairman Harold Cahair	PO Box 737 Ignacio, CO 81137	970-563-0100 2257	harold@tribesmountain.org	332 miles	C	\$800
		NAAGPRA Rep, Terry Knight Sr.	PO Box 468 Towaoc, CO 81334	970-564-5727	tknight@tribesmountain.org			
Ute Indian Tribe of the Uninah & Quivry Res	Fort Duchesne, Utah	Chairman Shaun Chappose	PO Box 190 Fort Duchesne, UT 84026	435-722-5141	shaun@tribes.com	364 miles	C	\$800
		NAAGPRA Rep, Beesy Chappose	PO Box 190 Fort Duchesne, UT 84026	435-725-4826	betsy@tribes.com			
White Mesa Ute	Blanding, Utah	Governor Val Farnesh	PO Box 7096 Blanding, UT 84511	435-728-3397	val.farnesh@ahluw.org	397 miles	C	\$800
Zuni Tribe	Zuni, New Mexico	Acting Director Dr. Kurt Dongoske	PO Box 339 Zuni, NM 87327	505-782-4814 or Window 928-289-9259	kdongoske@zuni-nm.gov	554 miles	D	\$1,000

Appendix I: Statement Regarding Ute Prayer Trees – Holly
Norton, Office of the State Archaeologist, History Colorado,
December 2018



Statement Regarding Ute Prayer Trees

Office of the State Archaeologist

15 December 2016

There has been a lot of activity recently in Colorado around identifying Culturally Modified Trees, or CMTs. Culturally Modified Trees are trees that have been intentionally modified by humans for a number of reasons. While there are categories of CMTs that are recognized as intentionally modified in Colorado, including peeled trees and arboglyphs, there is one category of CMT that has become increasingly popular as a subject of study and public lectures- the so-called Ute Prayer Tree, often identified as a tree with a bent limb and erroneously associated with Ute spiritual practices.

The concept of the Ute Prayer tree has been unequivocally denounced by designated cultural representatives from the three Ute tribes- Mr. Terry Knight, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Ute Mountain Ute; Mr. Alden Narajno and Ms. Cassandra Narajno, Cultural Preservation Specialists and NAGPRA Representatives for the Southern Ute; and Ms. Betsy Chapoose, the Ute Indian Tribe Cultural Rights and Protection Director for the Uintah and Ouray Ute. There are no oral histories of cultural practices that provide any evidence for "prayer trees" in the Ute traditions. There is also no scientific evidence to support the claims that these trees have important cultural associations. In fact, recent studies have indicated that some of these identified trees are only a handful of decades old.

The public should be wary of individuals claiming to be able identify these types of artifacts, especially if they charge a fee for their services or public lectures. Legitimately credentialed archaeologists who work in the State of Colorado will be able to produce a state permit for archaeological investigations from the Office of the State Archaeologist. The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation also maintains a publicly available list of archaeologists and archaeological firms in the state that can be found here: http://www.historycolorado.org/sites/default/files/files/OAHP/crforms_edumat/pdfs/1502.pdf

History Colorado Center, 1200 Broadway, Denver, CO 80203

Appendix J: Pikes Peak Historical Society Statement on Culturally Modified Trees – John Rakowski, March 2018



PIKES PEAK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
P.O. Box 823
Florissant, CO 80816

719-748-8259

www.PikesPeakHSMuseum.org

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 Dr. Holly Norton

Colorado State Archaeologist -History Colorado Center
 1200 Broadway
 Denver, Colorado 80203

March 18, 2019

Subject: Culturally Modified Trees

Ladies and gentlemen,

The Pikes Peak Historical Society was recently made aware that we were a focus of the CPI panel discussion on Culturally Modified Trees at your Denver conference. The governor of Colorado was in attendance, as were about 800 students, archaeologists, anthropologists and other professionals. We were not notified of this panel beforehand, nor were we invited to have a voice in refuting the allegations against us. We feel that this was a breach of professional ethics.

PPHS became involved in the CMT/bent tree or "prayer tree" issue when a local Florissant area road expansion project was jeopardizing deformed trees that local residents thought were Ute trail markers. In an effort to preserve history, much as we would attempt to preserve any other historic item or site, our President at the time inquired of the Northern Ute tribal government whether these bent trees had a Ute origin and might have historical significance. Clifford Duncan and later Loya Cesspooch Arrum, both Northern Ute cultural liaison representatives, came to advise us.

Clifford Duncan directed PPHS to protect these bent trees as carriers of their Ute ancestor prayers, replacing the older ineffective concept of leaving them to hide in plain sight. This request was later reinforced by Loya Arrum. The information about "prayer trees" and their involvement was clearly stated by PPHS many times in public, unchallenged by Utes, anthropologists, and foresters, from 2000 until Duncan's and Arrum's deaths in 2014. We have previously shared a compelling 2008 video of Loya Arrum at one of these trees she considers sacred, using the words "prayer" or "praying" 6 times, and "altar" once during that recorded video available at <http://www.pikespeakhsmuseum.org/loya-arrum/>. We have also shared "save the trees" letters by her and her students.

At the CPI conference, PPHS was lumped in with other individuals and historical societies and scorned for selling books about CMT's and particularly "prayer" trees to make profits. PPHS has not and does not sell any of these books. Other individuals have been writing books and giving lectures or even visiting properties to identify culturally modified trees and

receiving money for those efforts. PPHS has invested considerable volunteer time and money over almost twenty years to urge landowners to preserve trees that might be of cultural and historical importance. PPHS was incorrectly grouped with other organizations or individuals seeking monetary gain by validating trees or advocating school classes about “prayer” trees. To the contrary, PPHS in 2001 established an endowment fund to assist Utes to journey to this ancestral homeland to do ceremony at these trees. This fund and PPHS grant efforts covered travel, food and lodging for the return of Northern Utes for fifteen years. We have current signed statements from some Utes attesting they participated in these ceremonies during the visits.

We received feedback from one concerned CPI participant that a verbal suggestion from another attendee was made at the session to cut down the PPHS Goldbelt Byway kiosk in Florissant. After obtaining an audio recording of speakers, it was clear this threat may have been a result of the repeated mentioning of PPHS, conflating our work with every bad deed done by other groups who are not mentioned by name. As required by law, the wording of the Florissant kiosk was reviewed and approved by the BLM, Utes, and many other First Nations before installation. The presence of Northern Ute Tribal Chair McCook with Utes performing ceremony at the dedication of the kiosk is implicit evidence of their approval.

We heard a recorded statement made by Cassandra Atencio who said she is representing the consolidated Ute Nation Governments who may soon issue official statement(s) that they recognize only peeled bark trees as being historic Ute culturally modified trees and that all other trees are stated to not be involved with Ute history.

Since current representatives of the Ute Nation have reversed earlier Ute positions on tree interpretation, we are taking the following actions to quiet your concerns. Our auditors have clarified that the Florissant kiosk is the private property of PPHS. We will remove or cover over panels from the Florissant kiosk that make mention of the Culturally Modified Trees after appropriate correspondence with CDOT and Gold Belt National Scenic Byway. We are also removing continued discussion of prayer trees from our Museum displays and our website, except for an explanation of why we are doing so. Finally, we are discontinuing further documentation of trees which might have been culturally modified.

The bond of trust between the Pikes Peak Historical Society and the Ute Nation, now in collaboration with CPI, has been broken after more than twenty years. While it is very painful for the Pikes Peak Historical Society to take these actions, we feel that our reputation has suffered damage because of your actions and those of the Ute Nation. This is a cautionary tale for any Museum or other organization which follows preservation directives from changing First Nation or other government entities.

John Rakowski
President PPHS and PPHS Board of Directors

Cc: Cassandra Atencio
Anna Cordova
Susan Johnson
Marilyn Matorano
Sally McBeth
Holly Norton
Dennis Will

Superintendent Florissant Fossil Beds National
Monument
Northern Ute Tribal Chairman
Southern Ute Tribal Chairman
Mountain Ute Nation
Coalition of Pike Peak Historic Museums
Governor Jared Polis

Appendix K: Official Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute
Statement: Addressing the False Cultural Connection of Bent
Trees to Traditional Practices of the Ute Nation- Alden Naranjo
(SUIT), Hanley Frost, Sr. (SUIT), Terry Knight (UMUT), June 2019

**Official Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute Statement: Addressing
the False Cultural Connection of Bent Trees to Traditional Practices
of the Ute Nation**

June 2019



Dear Federal, State, and Local Governments, Public, and all other interested parties:

This statement is the official position of The Southern Ute Indian Tribe and the Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribe of the Ute Nation—regarding “Bent Trees” within the heartland of our aboriginal territory and ancestral hunting-grounds in the State of Colorado. While other Tribes may have conducted these types of practices, the practice of bending trees is not part of the customary cultural traditions of Ute people, past or present, who comprise the Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribes.

Bent Trees have also been classified as “Spirit Trees”, “Ute Prayer Trees”, “Burial Trees”, “Trail Marker Trees”, “Ceremonial Trees”, and “Vortex Trees”, among other classifications. These trees have been falsely attributed to the Ute Nations’ general cultural practices. The aboriginal and ancestral territory of the Ute Nation includes the entire state of Colorado, the northern reaches of New Mexico, the northern reaches of Arizona, the entire state of Utah, the southern portion Wyoming that lies south of the Platt River, the western reaches of Kansas, and the western portion of the Oklahoma and Texas panhandle.

Some individuals, claiming to possess Ute cultural knowledge, have incorrectly asserted that Ute people purposefully bent trees for cultural purposes. According to tribal elders, tribal historians, spiritual leaders, and traditional practitioners from the Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribes agree this is not a known Ute practice within our oral tradition; nor is it practiced today.

As a matter of record, we provided the following statements from several Ute Nation Tribal Elders, who are identified to speak on the behalf of Ute culture:

Mr. Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute Tribal Elder, oral and cultural historian, and President of Native American Church of the Southern Ute Indian Reservation:

Before I address matters about Ute History and culture, I was taught by my elders that it is important to start out by addressing which bands were in the location(s) that were going to be discussed. It is important to acknowledge which bands lived in what areas, due to slight cultural differences among bands, which resulted from intermarrying. Additionally, due to the social organization of the Ute peoples, family specific traditions also exist. Therefore, the cultural traditions of the Ute Nation cannot be generalized.

“Bent trees” identified in the aboriginal territory and traditional hunting-grounds of the Mouache and Capote bands (of today’s Southern Ute Indian Tribe) were not purposefully bent by Ute peoples. The aboriginal territory and traditional hunting-grounds of the Mouache and Capote bands of Ute, in today’s context, is best understood as encompassing today’s geographic areas of: The Front Range, Royal Gorge, and San Luis Valley. More specifically, the aboriginal territory and traditional hunting-grounds of the Mouache and Capote bands of Utes were essentially the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, including: the areas as far north-eastern as Colorado-Wyoming-Oklahoma border, as far east as the Colorado-Oklahoma-Texas panhandle border, and south into northern New Mexico to Tucumcari. The Capote homelands extended south into the Jemez Mountains, where they wintered with the Jemez people. It was Jemez Pueblo who gave the Capote band their name.

As a practitioner of my spirituality and as a cultural representative designated by the Southern Ute Indian Tribal Council, my statement about the so-called “bent trees” is based on oral history passed down to me by tribal elders, past and present, who possess the oral history of our people’s history and who are traditional spiritual practitioners of our faith and lifeways, descendent from both the Mouache and Capote bands of Utes.

I have been active in my tribal community all my life and raised in our traditional ways. As such, tribal elders have never told me about our ancestors, from the Mouache and Capote bands of Ute, purposefully bending trees for wayfinding or cultural purposes. The ancestors of the Southern Ute, who have lived here since time immemorial, never needed to physically bend trees for navigation purposes.

The ancestors of the Southern Ute people were mountain people and knew their landscape well. Our ancestors used the mountains, the stars, rivers, creeks, and other land marks to navigate our aboriginal territory and traditional hunting-grounds. From generation-to-generation, our orienteering skills were passed down from elders to the youth.

Our Capote and Mouache ancestors never bent trees for cultural purposes. Several years back, we began to get notified about people identifying bent trees and associating them to the Ute peoples, as a part of our cultural practices. My elders never told me about our

people bending trees for spiritual or cultural purposes. Therefore, we as Southern Utes, the descendants of the Capote and Mouache, do not have the practice of bent trees in our faith or lifeways. From my understanding, the Mouache and Capote bands of Ute do not have bent trees for any particular purpose, such as “Spirit Trees”, “Ute Prayer Trees”, “Burial Trees”, “Ceremonial Trees”, or “Vortex Trees”.

The Southern Ute Indian Tribe has only one type of culturally modified tree and one tree that is associated with prayers. The only culturally modified tree, which is not physically bent, is a Peeled Tree. As Utes, the only tree that would be peeled would be ponderosa pine and occasionally aspen.

Our Mouache and Capote ancestors and tribal members today peel trees for various purposes. The traditional peeling of trees, however, is only done by specific people in our community and at a specific time of the year. Peeled Trees, known as culturally modified trees, are found throughout the Ute Nations aboriginal territory and traditional hunting-grounds.

The only tree that we would closely associate with prayers among the Mouache and Capote ancestors and descendants is the center pole for Sun Dance. The center pole for Sundance is made from a Cottonwood Tree. Therefore, these are the only trees that we treat as culturally significant and connected to our spiritual lifeways, neither of them are physically bent.

I want to stress that individual Ute families may have their own traditions associated with physically bending and or making prayers to trees. However, one cannot simply generalize all Ute people and identify those trees as “Ute Prayer Trees” or ascribe other names to them and say that they are associated to Ute traditional customs in general. If specific families carried or continue to carry out these practices, they may speak on behalf of their family’s practice, but not on behalf of all Ute people.

I want to re-state that the three sister tribes of the Ute Nation choose people to represent and speak on Tribal cultural matters, related to the bands that now comprise today’s federally recognized Ute Indian Tribes. If the public and others want to know about the Ute History and Culture, contact the specific tribal offices that possess the knowledge to speak on matters associated with our people, our history, and lifeways.

The Cultural Preservation Department for the Southern Ute Indian Tribe can be reached at (970) 563-2983.

Respectfully,

 5/13/19
Mr. Alden Naranjo Date

Southern Ute Tribal Elder,

Oral and Cultural Historian,

and President of Native American Church of

the Southern Ute Indian Reservation

Respectfully,

 4-8-19
Mr. Hanley Frost, Sr. Date

Education Coordinator-Culture Preservation Department,

Tribal Elder, and Sundance Chief

Mr. Terry Knight, Tribal Elder, oral and cultural historian, Bear Dance Chief and past Sundance Chief of the Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribe, states:

The Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribe is one of the three sovereign governments that comprise the Ute Nation. As a spiritual leader and the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, I was chosen by the elders of our Tribal Community to take care of specific cultural and public responsibilities, such as educational outreach and preservation of the culture, history, and language of the Weeminuche Band. I have been taught many things by my elders, throughout my life, about our ancestors and I have never heard of the Ute people bending trees for any purpose. Like our sister tribes, however, specific people in our community did and continue to peel trees for various purposes.

Those identifying and spreading information about bent trees and associating them to Ute traditions are not designated tribal representatives for the Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribe. It is important to inform the public that the practice of bending trees was and is not a customary tradition of the Weeminuchu Band. After learning about bent trees

being associated with Ute people, I spoke to knowledgeable elders to get a consensus from the community. None of these community members were able to identify the practice of bending trees as a traditional cultural practice of the Weeminuche Band.

Our ancestors did not need to bend trees to remind them where they were on the landscape during seasonal migrations nor did we modify trees to mark burials. We maintain an intimate connection to our landscape since we have been here since time immemorial and our elders possessed great knowledge of the landscape due to our seasonal migrations. Further, traditionally, we never marked where our loved ones were buried.

Those who are perpetuating the idea of bent trees being associated with our ancestors can speak on the behalf of their own family traditions but are not delegated the responsibility of addressing cultural concerns on the behalf of the Ute Nation. It is inaccurate to associate these practices with Ute people in general and to identify them as Prayer Trees, Burial Trees, etc. If this was a pan-Ute cultural tradition, knowledgeable elders in our communities would possess information about this practice. Further, if this was a Ute tradition, only a spiritual person would possess this knowledge and would not likely share it with non-community members and or charge a fee for identifying these cultural resources.

I want to take this moment to restate that we have three cultural preservation departments that have employees, within the three tribes of the Ute Nation, that are selected on the behalf of their community to answer or identify people in the community that can provide information to anthropologists, researchers, historians, or members of the public.

The Ute Mountain Tribal Historic Preservation Office can be reached at (970) 564-5731.

Respectfully,

Mr. Terry Knight, Date

Ute Mountain Tribal Elder,
Oral and Cultural Historian,
Bear Dance Chief and
past Sundance Chief

The two Ute Indian Tribal Governments want to clarify that the individuals cited above were sanctioned by their sovereign governments to officially speak on the behalf of the cultural matters. While those who espouse and further the misidentification of "Bent Trees" are not sanctioned to speak on cultural matters in official Tribal capacity associated with the two Ute Indian Tribes, they can speak on the behalf of their family traditions.

We would like to take this opportunity to inform agencies, institutions, and or citizens who are wanting to access information about Ute Lifeways and History, to enter consultation regarding proposed projects, schedule cultural events/performances, or engage in educational outreach to contact the *Southern Ute Indian Tribe Cultural Preservation Department*, 77 CR 517, P.O. Box 737 #88, Ignacio, Co and (970) 563-2984; and the *Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribe*, P.O. Box 468, Towaoc, CO 81334 and (970) 564-5731.

Respectfully,


Mrs. Christine Sage, 5-13-19
Date

Chairman, Southern Ute Indian Tribe


Mr. Harold Cuthair, 5/31/19
Date

Chairman, Ute Mountain Ute Indian Tribe



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