Native American Oral History and Cultural Interpretation in Rocky Mountain National Park



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Native American Oral History

and

Cultural Interpretation

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Any publication of portions of this report should be vetted by the individuals whose words are excerpted here

Ask for the ancient paths
Where the good way is; and walk in it
And find rest for your souls
Jeremiah 6: 16

frontispiece: title: "Arapahoes Weensizeneet Arapahoe Boy"
Studio portrait of Weensizeneet, an Arapaho boy kneeling on an animal skin. He holds a revolver. He wears a fur pipe bandolier, metal armbands, and bead necklaces. Dated between 1890-1910. Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-32360.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Dr. Bob Brunswig, my colleague at UNC, whose August 2000 invitation to participate in a consultation with Dr. Jim Goss and Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, led to my involvement in this project. His support since then has been invaluable. The advice and assistance of Dr. Bill Butler, Rocky Mountain National Park Archaeologist, is also greatly appreciated. Not only was he instrumental in helping me to secure the grant monies to begin and complete this project, but he also provided relevant resources, citations, and optimistic insights.

Of course, this project would never have been successful without the Native peoples whose stories and memories unfold herein. They include (but are not limited to): Northern Ute Geneva Accawanna, Loya Arrum, Betsy Chapoose (Uintah-Ouray Cultural Rights and Protection Director), Robert Chapoose, Kathleen Chegup, Mariah Cuch (Uintah-Ouray Director of Media), Clifford Duncan, Alloin Myore, Venita Taveapont (Uintah-Ouray Director, Ute Language Program), and Helen Wash. Southern Ute consultants include Neil Buck Cloud, James Jefferson (Tribal Historian), and Alden Naranjo. Ute Mountain Ute Terry Knight (ALP Cultural Resources Contract Coordinator) and Lynn Hartmann (ALP Cultural Resources Contractor Administrator) and Northern Arapaho Howard Antelope, Robert Goggles, Merle Haas (Sky People Higher Education), Alonzo Moss (Language and Culture Committee), and Edward Willow are also acknowledged. The assistance of Northern Arapaho linguist, Andy Cowell and Ute linguist James Goss was invaluable.

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Photographs were provided with the assistance of Philip Panum (Special Western Collections Librarian, Denver Public Library), Derek Fortini (Curator of Collections and Exhibits, Estes Park Museum), and Tim Burchett (Rocky Mountain National Park Museum Curator). Mariah Cuch (Uintah-Ouray Media Director) also provided photographs.

Thanks are also in order to the reviewers of the draft of this manuscript: Bill Butler (RMNP Archaeologist), Sally Crum (Forest Service Archaeologist and Tribal Liaison at Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, and Gunnison National Forests), Alan McBeth (Proposal Writer, Policy Studies Inc., Denver), and Cheri Yost

(RMNP Continental Divide Research and Learning Center). Their suggestions and detailed recommendations greatly facilitated revision of the manuscript; it is a much better report for their suggestions, though any mistakes which may remain are, of course, my own.

Many people whose names do not appear in the text of this report have helped me throughout this project. They include: Roland McCook (Northern Ute), Edna Frost and Jim Jefferson (Southern Ute), Lynn Brittner (Director, Southern Ute Museum), Barbara Sutter (National Park Service Ethnographer), David Ruppert (National Park Service Ethnographer), Karen Wilde-Rogers (former Director of the Colorado Commission of Indian Affairs), Bill Kight (White River Forest Service Archaeologist), Mary Chapman (Uncompahgre Plateau Project) and Joe Kelley (Curator, Grand County Historical Society).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations iv

List of Photographs v

Introduction 1

I What Was Planned 2
II What Emerged 3

CHAPTER 1: Method 7

Chapter 2: Background 11

I Background on the Creation of National Parks 11
II Background on Tribes in and Around RMNP 13
A. Prehistory 13
B. Ethnohistory and History 14
1. Rocky Mountain Region 15
2. Ute 20
3. Arapaho 21
C. Ethnography 22
1. Ute 22
2. Arapaho 26
3. General 28

Chapter 3: Folklore and Traditional Narratives 31

I Introduction and Caveats 31
II Ute 34
III Arapaho 54
IV Ute and Arapaho: The Story of Grand Lake 80

Chapter 4: Mountains and Landscape 85

Chapter 5: Perspectives on Religion and the Spirit World 95

Chapter 6: Sites in Rocky Mountain National Park 109

I Lava Cliffs 109
II Trail Ridge Game Drive 129
III Stone Circles 132
IV Longs Peak 139
V Apache Fort 142
VI Wickiups 146
VII Old Man Mountain 147

Chapter 7: Trails, Rivers, Water 149

Chapter 8: Peeled Trees 161

Chapter 9: Plants 167

Chapter 10: Memory, Place, Community, Loss 175

Chapter 11: Management Issues 187

References Cited 191

Illustrations

Map of Colorado Tribal Territories, late 19th century viii
(from Colorado Commission of Indian Affairs)

Map of Ute Territory 23
(*from* Handbook of North American
Indians, 1986, Vol. 11; p.337)

Map of Arapaho Territory 27
(*from* Handbook of North American
Indians, 2001, Vol. 13, Pt. 2; p. 841)

Photographs ..... **ix-xxxvii**

Ute Man, Boy, and Tipi, ca. 1860-1870
Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Morris W. Abbott, X-30586

Northern Utes, Agents, and Interpreter, 1872
standing: J.S. Littlefield, agent at White River; Tab-u-cha-kat; Pak-ant; Catz; Uriah M. Curtis, interpreter. sitting: Wanzitz (Antelope); Major J.B. Thompson, special Indian agent; Han-ko.
Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-30633

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

Ute Indians, Denver, Colorado, 1885
Chief Severo and Utes
Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Charles A. Nast, X-30721

Band of Arapaho Warriors, ca. 1880-1920
Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-32347

Weensizeneet, Arapaho Boy, ca. 1890-1910
Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-32360

Arapaho Indians Visit Estes Park, 1914
left to right: Shep Husted, Sherman Sage, Gun Griswold, Tom Crispin, Oliver Toll; seated: David Hawkins.
Courtesy of the Rocky Mountain National Park Historic Photo File; Catalog #10-A; negative #1.

Arapaho Indians at Hondius Ranch, 1914
Eleanor James Hondius and children visit with Sherman Sage and Gun Griswold.

Tipi Ring, Thompson River, n.d.
Courtesy of the Rocky Mountain National Park Historic Photo File Catalog #10-A; negative #27
Courtesy of the Estes Park Museum; Accession # 1985.063

Ute Wickiup , East Riverside Drive, Estes Park, Colorado, before 1900
Courtesy of Estes Park Museum; Accession # 1986.007

Ute Indian "teepees" in North Park, ca. 1880-1910
Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-30351

An Eagle Trap, n.d.
Courtesy of the Rocky Mountain National Park Historic Photo File; Catalog # 11-Q-2-B; negative #1092

Trail Ridge Game Drive Site, 2002
Rocky Mountain National Park (5LR15), photo by S. McBeth.

Stone Circle at Glacier Gorge 2002
Rocky Mountain National Park (5LR3950), photo by S. McBeth

Lava Cliffs 2002
Prayer Circle Associated with Vision Quest Sites (5LR7095), Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth

Wickiup Remains, 2003
near Horseshoe Park, Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth.

Kawuneeche Valley, 2003
Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth

Northern Ute Clifford Duncan in Rocky Mountain National Park, 2002
photo by S. McBeth

Northern Ute: Betsy Chapoose and Clifford Duncan at Lava Cliffs, 2002
Rocky Mountain National Park (5LR7095), photo by S. McBeth

Ute Mountain Ute Terry Knight and Sally McBeth at Lava Cliffs, 2002
Rocky Mountain National Park (5LR7095), photo by B. Butler

Southern Ute Alden Naranjo at Trail Ridge Game Drive Hunting Blind, 2003
Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth

Northern Ute Women Collecting Plants in Wild Basin, 2004
Helen Wash and Loya Arrum collecting osha, praying, offering tobacco, Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth

Northern Ute at Ute Trail, 2004
Geneva Accawanna, Mariah Cuch, TJ Ridley, Alloin Myore, Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth.

Northern Ute Loya Arrum at Trail Ridge Game Drive Site, 2004
Rocky Mountain National Park (5LR15), photo by M. Cuch

Northern Ute Venita Taveapont in Wild Basin, 2004
(with Demi Chimburaf in back), Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth

Northern Ute in Rocky Mountain National Park, 2004:
back: TJ Ridley, middle: Mariah Cuch, Loya Arrum, Leanne Benton (botanist), Demi Chimburaf, Venita Taveapont, Sally McBeth (author), Helen Wash; seated: Kathleen Chegup, Alloin Myore, Betsy Chapoose, Geneva Accawanna, photo by Bill Butler

A. Cowell, Northern Arapaho A. Moss, S. McBeth at Old Man Mountain, 2003
Estes Park, Colorado, photo by J. Benedict

Northern Arapaho at Apache Fort, 2003
Alonzo Moss, Edward Willow, Robert Goggles, Howard Antelope, Beaver Meadows, Rocky Mountain National Park, phot by S. McBeth

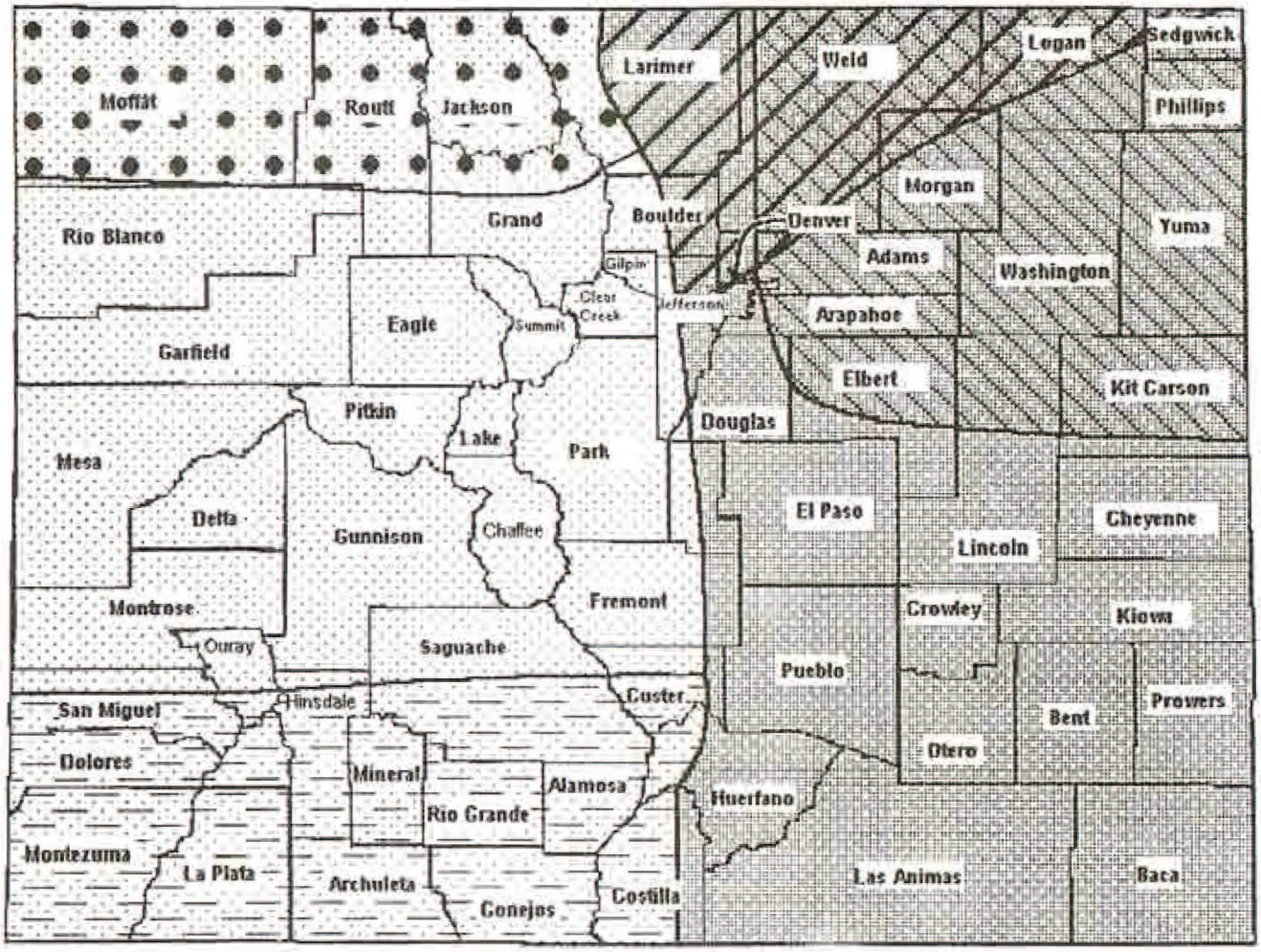
Northern Arapaho in Kawuneeche Valley, 2003
Back: Alonzo Moss, Andy Cowell (linguist), Merle Haas, front: Robert Goggles, Edward Willow, Howard Antelope, Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth

NOTE ON UTE LANGUAGE: I am not a linguist and so rendered a phonetic (IN CAPS) approximation of what I heard. According to Venita Taveapont, Director of the Uintah-Ouray Ute Language Program at Fort Duchesne, Utah, there is not one single accepted method of writing the Ute language. The method I devised is an approximation.

I requested assistance on writing some of the Ute words from Clifford Duncan, but I was unable to use his notations.

Estimated Tribal Territories in Colorado During the Late Nineteenth Century

Estimated Tribal Territories in Colorado During the Late Nineteenth Century



Ute

Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche

Pueblo Groups, Navajo, and Apache

Shoshone

Pawnee

Lakota

This map is designed to aid consultation efforts. The boundaries depicted are approximate only, and should not be interpreted as tribally-recognized use areas. Please note that this information is derived largely from observations gathered in the late 1800's. Tribal territories are dynamic by nature, and consultation should therefore be conducted accordingly.

**This map has been adapted by the Colorado Commision of Indian Affairs from a document developed by the Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.*



Ute Man, Boy, and Tipi, ca. 1860-1870
Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Morris W. Abbott, X-30586



Northern Utes, Agents, and Interpreter, 1872
standing: J.S. Littlefield, agent at White River; Tab-u-cha-kat; Pak-ant; Catz; Uriah M. Curtis, interpreter. sitting: Wanzitz (Antelope); Major J.B. Thompson, special Indian agent; Han-ko.
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Ute Indians, Denver, Colorado, 1885
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Arapaho Indians at Hondius Ranch, 1914
Eleanor James Hondius and children visit with Sherman Sage and Gun Griswold.
Courtesy of the Estes Park Museum; Accession # 1985.063



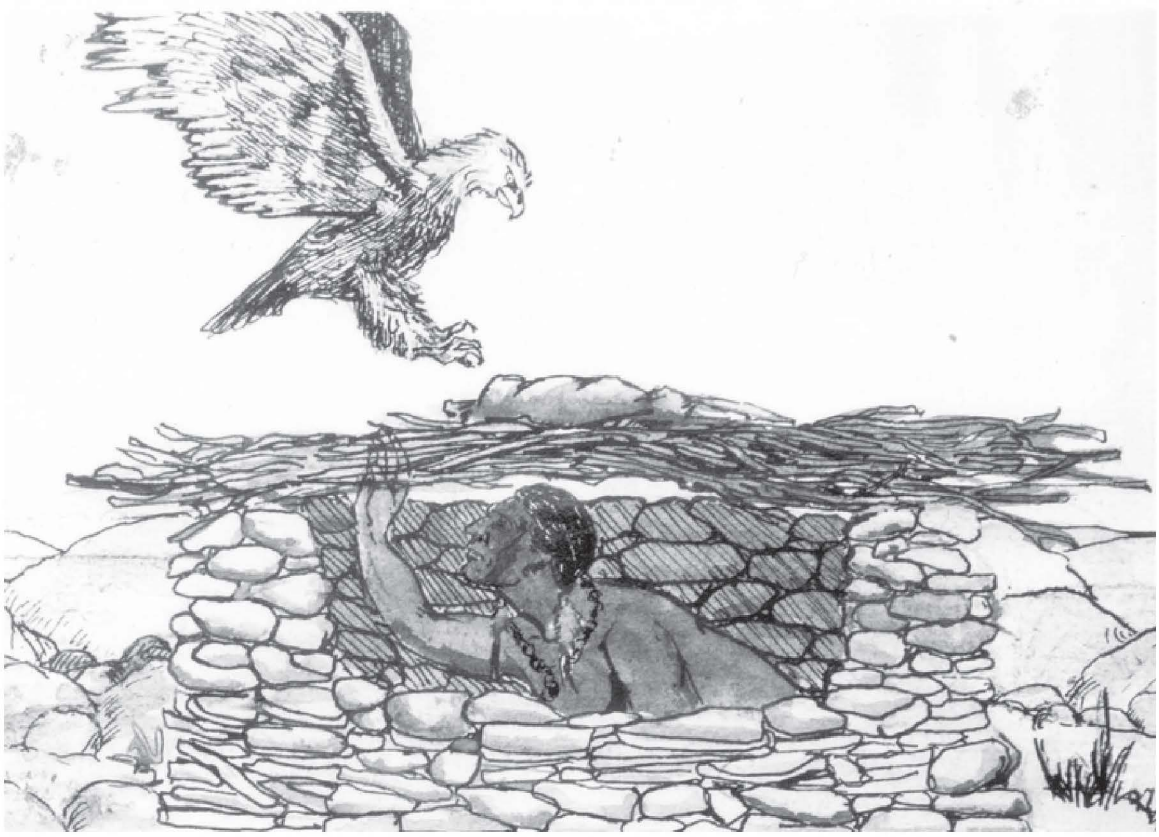
Tipi Ring, Thompson River, n.d.
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Ute Wickiup , East Riverside Drive, Estes Park, Colorado, before 1900
Courtesy of Estes Park Museum; Accession # 1986.007



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Rocky Mountain National Park (5LR15), photo by S. McBeth.



Stone Circle at Glacier Gorge 2002
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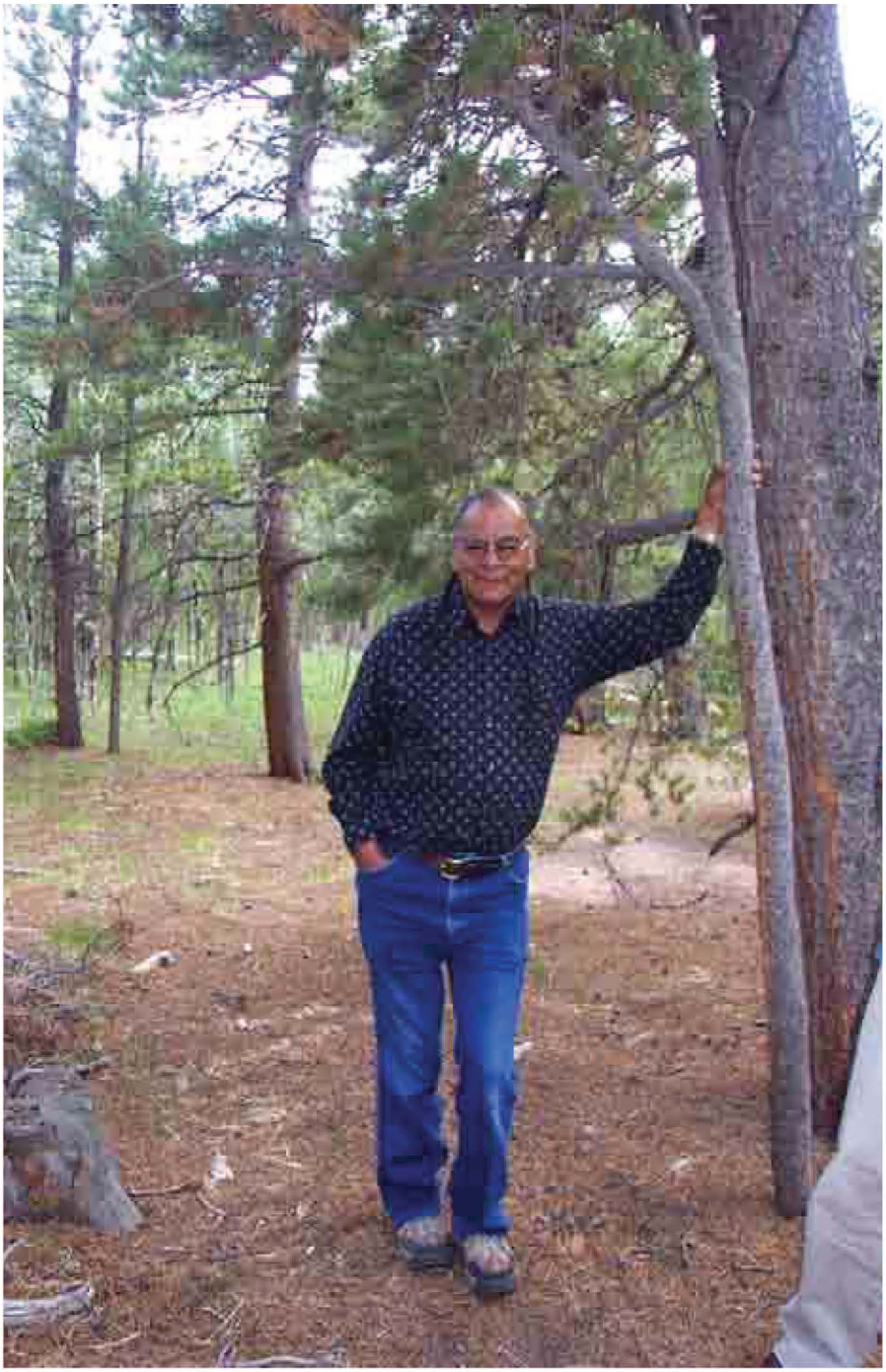
Lava Cliffs 2002
Prayer Circle Associated with Vision Quest Sites (5LR7095), Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth



Wickiup Remains, 2003
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Kawuneeche Valley, 2003
Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth



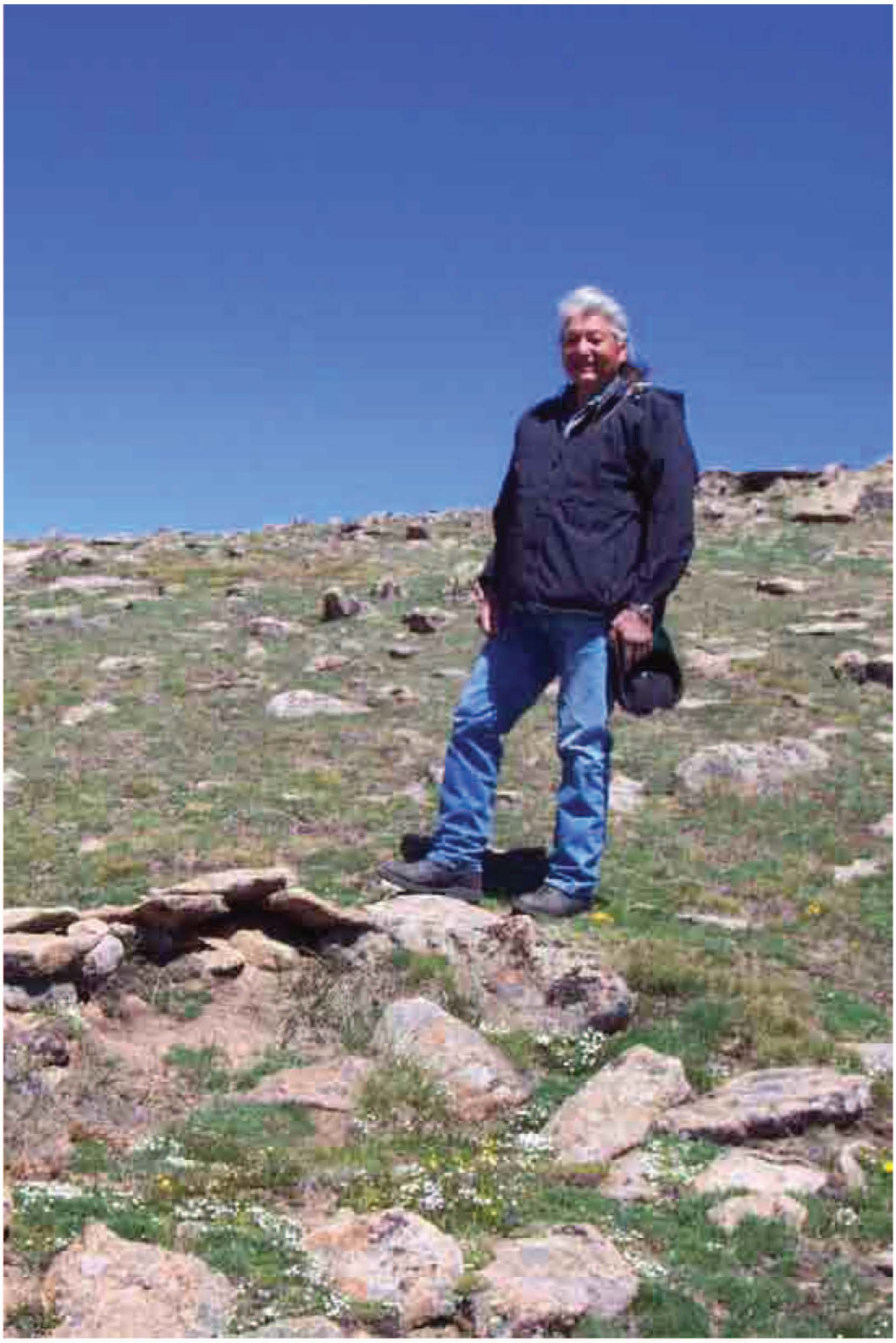
Northern Ute Clifford Duncan in Rocky Mountain National Park, 2002
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Northern Ute: Betsy Chapoose and Clifford Duncan at Lava Cliffs, 2002
Rocky Mountain National Park (5LR7095), photo by S. McBeth



Sally McBeth and Ute Mountain Ute Terry Knight at Lava Cliffs, 2002
Rocky Mountain National Park (5LR7095), photo by L. Hartmann; August 22, 2002.



Southern Ute Alden Naranjo at Trail Ridge Game Drive Hunting Blind, 2003
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Helen Wash and Loya Arrum collecting osha, praying, offering tobacco, Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth



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A. Cowell, Northern Arapaho A. Moss, S. McBeth at Old Man Mountain, 2003
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Northern Arapaho at Apache Fort, 2003
Alonzo Moss, Edward Willow, Robert Goggles, Howard Antelope, Beaver Meadows, Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth



Northern Arapaho in Kawuneeche Valley, 2003
Back: Alonzo Moss, Andy Cowell (linguist), Merle Haas, front: Robert Goggles, Edward Willow, Howard Antelope, Rocky Mountain National Park, photo by S. McBeth

INTRODUCTION

The following is not an ethnographic overview. The interested reader is referred to the 2002 report written by John Brett (contracted by the National Park Service) entitled: "Ethnographic Assessment and Documentation of Rocky Mountain National Park" (Brett 2002). In this overview, Brett provides data on the ethnographic history of the Rocky Mountain National Park (RMNP) region, established which American Indian groups were in RMNP, identifies specific physical, cultural, and spiritual resources within the Park region, and discusses legal, management, and consultative processes. I do not intend to repeat this material or history.

However, following Brett (2002) the materials presented here focus on the two major groups inhabiting, hunting, and praying in the area in and around Rocky Mountain National Park: the Ute and Arapaho. Both tribes still view these lands as a part of their cultural heritage. My concentration is on the Ute, whose connections to and history/prehistory in the area are of much greater depth than the Arapaho.

The following is technically not an ethnography, ethnohistory, or history. While ethnographic and historical materials (as well as standard references) are included, this report is intended to provide primarily original data that is of value for cultural interpretation in Rocky Mountain National Park.

I What Was Planned

The original design of this project was as an oral history. Indeed, in my proposal I stated that "Native Americans who retain the stories, recollections, and remembered traditions of their individual tribes and cultures are rapidly disappearing." And while I thought I might discover existing memories or stories about the region, it was clear from the beginning that recollections specific to locales within the Park and surrounding area did not exist. Indigenous peoples were separated from these homelands by the 1870s and the last recorded date of hunting and/or camping in and around the Park area was 1875.

How could any but the most naïve and romantic expect that Native histories could survive 125 years of absence of the native people from their homelands? Native removal from their Colorado homelands was combined with such assimilationist policies as confinement on reservations, conversion to Christianity, restriction to boarding schools, and the outlawing of most Native American ceremonies. The result was tremendous loss of cultural knowledge and traditions. I reasoned that creating alternative ways of constructing and understanding the past would have to be considered. Hence, the rediscovery of peripheral, marginal, and erased histories is at the center of this investigation.

I subsequently revised the parameters of the project so that knowledgeable members of the Ute and Arapaho tribes could be invited into the Park to visit archaeological sites, reflect on possible meanings, and revisit ancestral homelands.

A statement made by Mariah Cuch, Northern Ute tribal member during an August 2004 visit to the RMNP, is significant to this line of inquiry. She said, "I have this thing that place has memory. Sometimes people think that things are lost, you know, they're gone. But it's just there, waiting; it's just waiting to be remembered. I don't myself believe in past lives, but I believe that this all belongs to all of us. Like a moment—just a tiny little moment—and the land recognizes our presence here" (Cuch 2004).

It is the premise of this report that tattered memories and remembered stories can be used to recreate a picture of the Park's earliest use, and that buried understandings of the landscape may be triggered by visits to ancestral homelands. Clearly it must be remembered that these retrospectives are elusive and fragmentary; nonetheless they are valuable on many levels. It is difficult to make definitive statements about Indian use of the Park or to suggest that what is written here contains the whole story. From the perspective of the early 21st century, much cultural knowledge has been lost, but the materials contained in this report represent a beginning. I ask the reader to keep an open mind.

II What Emerged

This report is designed to provide original ethnographic detail on the very real connections to an ancestral homeland still held by Arapaho and the Ute American Indians. As such, the data relies heavily on oral traditions, shared memories of place, community, and loss. It also examines how culture is

inscribed onto the landscape in a real rather than imagined (or theoretical) fashion.

I have relied heavily on perspectives of place as shared with me by Native people whose presence in the Park sparked memories, thoughtful reflections, attitudes, and stories. This collection is intended, in part, to take Native American histories and stories out of the fringes and into the consciousness of visitors to Rocky Mountain National Park.

The manuscript is divided according to the themes which emerged over a five year period. Therefore, the design is not arbitrary and clearly is not intended to cover every area of Ute or Arapaho culture, but rather to investigate those areas which elicited responses by Native consultants.

I have chosen to retain the original voice of the Native consultants. Much of Native wisdom available to the public has been filtered through a non-Native lens, and I felt compelled not to duplicate this distortion. What this means is, first, that while the quotes used are minimally edited for clarity, they retain the meaning that the teller intended, even when that meaning may not be 100% clear to the reader (the spoken word is frequently less clear than the written). Second, it means that the organization of materials, while fairly straight forward, frequently contains materials that could have been placed in various chapters. Two examples of this will illustrate the problem: in Chapter 9 on *Plants*, Clifford Duncan discusses the sacred nature of plants, then moves into the related concept that rocks are sacred too. As editor, I made the choice to retain the flow of his comments on spiritual connection by not dissecting his thoughts into a

"plant" section and a "rock" section. Chapter 10, *Memory, Place, and Loss* could probably have been included in Chapter 4, *Mountain*s and *Landscape*, dealing as it does with place, but it seemed better suited to a separate chapter because of its emotional content. The discerning reader will want to examine the texts with care to better understand the interconnectedness of Native world view.

Chapter 1: METHOD

This manuscript is the result of five years of working with the National Park Service, with Rocky Mountain National Park Personnel, but most importantly with the Ute and Arapaho who were among the first inhabitants of this region. All invited "consultants" signed consent forms, and at their request, I have included their names in the text of the paper. *The reader should be aware, however, that any publication of portions of this report should be vetted by the individuals whose words are excerpted here.*

I began by reading a number of ethnographic overviews and related reports to familiarize myself with the kinds of materials that might be included in this oral history and cultural interpretation project (e.g. Baker 1991; Brett 2002; Burney and Lovejoy 1994; Burns 2003; Nabokov and Loendorf 1994; 2004; Norcini, Hieb, and Holman 2001).

At the same time, I began contacting the tribal councils of each of the four tribes I would be working with in order to preserve a government (Department of Interior, National Park Service) to government (Tribal Council) relationship— a procedure that is essential to the process of working with Native communities in the 21st century.

All interviews (540+ pages and associated notes) that I tape-recorded are on file in ten binders located in the Rocky Mountain National Park Museum Storage Facility; these include the original tapes, release forms, and

transcriptions [hard copy, floppy disk, and cd]. I held consultations with the following (listed chronologically):

- Clifford Duncan: No. Ute (November 11, 2000) in Glenwood Springs
- Clifford Duncan: No. Ute (March 6, 2002) "Traditional Ute Sense of Place" at UNC
- Clifford Duncan: No. Ute (March 7, 2002) at UNC
- Clifford Duncan and Betsy Chapoose: No. Ute (July 16-17, 2002) in RMNP
- Neil Buck Cloud: So. Ute (July 26, 2002) in Ignacio, CO
- Terry Knight: Ute Mt. Ute (August 22-23, 2002) in RMNP
- Bob Chapoose: No. Ute (January 10, 2003) in Ft. Duchesne, UT
- Dr. Jim Goss: Ute Linguist (June 20, 2003) in Durango, CO
- Alden Naranjo: So. Ute (July 7-8, 2003) in RMNP
- Northern Arapaho (August 5-6, 2003) in RMNP
- Northern Ute Women (August 10, 2004)

My main archival sources were the Western History Collection of the Denver Public Library, the Colorado Historical Society Archives, the Delaney Library at the Center for Southwest Studies at Fort Lewis College, the Grand Lake County Historical Society in Hot Sulphur Springs, and the Estes Park Area Historical Museum. While I spent hours combing through boxes of materials, the information I found related to the areas in and around Rocky Mountain National Park was quite limited and/or duplicated the ethnographic and ethnohistorical materials I was already familiar with.

This survey of the presence and roles of American Indians in Rocky Mountain National Park draws on historical, archaeological, and archival materials to recreate a picture of Indians in the Park. Most importantly, it includes a survey of American Indian voices and viewpoints.

All references cited with dates are listed in References Cited section; these include all tape-recorded interviews listed above and are will be available at the Rocky Mountain National Park Museum Storage Facility. References listed with a date followed by "personal communication" are from my fieldnotes, phone calls, letters, and/or email correspondence.

Chapter 2: BACKGROUND

I Background on the Creation of National Parks

When National Parks (including Rocky Mountain National Park) were created, most (but not all) were done so with an eye to reconstructing the landscape as natural and pristine, devoid of cultural usage. Established as natural refuges, the National Parks -would save and protect wilderness. This "created" layer of an uninhabited pristine landscape is part of the reason why so little is known of the Native occupations in and around Rocky Mountain National Park.

Mark Spence's 1999 publication *Dispossessing the Wilderness; Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Spence 1999) considers the history of Yellowstone, Glacier, and Yosemite National Parks. He reminds us that the national parks of the United States, which most Americans today regard as sublimely uninhabited wilderness areas, were once home to Native peoples who were dispossessed as the parks were created. He writes,

> Generations of preservationists, government officials, and park visitors have accepted and defended the uninhabited wilderness preserved in national parks as remnants of a priori Nature. Such a conception of wilderness forgets that native people shaped these environments for millennia and thus parks… are more representative of old fantasies about a continent awaiting 'discovery' than actual conditions at the time of Columbus's voyage or Lewis and Clark's adventure. For the most part, these romantic visions of primordial North America have contributed to a sort of widespread cultural myopia that allows late twentieth century Americans to ignore the fact that national parks enshrine recently dispossessed landscapes" (Spence 1999: 5).

Rocky Mountain National Park, one of the earliest parks created, was established in 1915 when Congress charged the National Park Service with both "conserving the scenery … and providing for the public enjoyment…" (Buchholotz 1983: xi). As the dreams of mining and farming began to diminish in the high countries of the west, National Parks arose as U.S. citizens realized that the frontier had closed. Twentieth century parks (those chosen for their natural beauty) needed to be devoid of human inhabitants—or at least devoid of human conflict. But clearly every Indian tribe was in conflict with the policies of the U.S. government.

Certainly it is fair to say that without the protection that the National Park Service provides, much of the wild landscape would have disappeared. However, the very erasure of Indian inhabitation of these wilderness areas remains problematical. The interested reader is also referred to *Who Owns Native Culture?* (Brown 2003), *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Burnham 2000), *American Indians and National Parks* (Keller and Turk 1998) as well as articles by Chase (one of the harshest critics of the National Park Service) 1986, 1987, 1991 and Cronon 1995. All of the above also include lengthy bibliographies on the polemics concerning the National Parks.

As permanent residents in the valleys, occasional hunters and worshippers in the high country, and as travelers using the "Ute Trail" to move across the Continental Divide, Indians clearly used Rocky Mountain National Park and its surrounding area. These were an important part of the Native

peoples' ecosystem. The native past of Rocky Mountain National Park, while largely obliterated, is being reconstructed. The on-going work of archaeologists such as Jim Benedict, Bill Butler, Bob Brunswig, Louise Elinoff, Tom Lux, and others is going a long way toward recovering this past.

II Background on Tribes in and around Rocky Mountain National Park

A. Prehistory

It is beyond the scope of this manuscript to assess the archaeological and linguistic evidence for the origins of the Numic (Uto-Aztecan) speakers in the Great Basin and surrounding areas. To date there is little consensus as to whether the Uto-Aztecan speakers had their origins in Mesoamerica or the American west (Wroth 2000). Some archaeologists and anthropologists posit that while the horticultural Ancestral Puebloan and Fremont were developing in Arizona and Utah, an older non-Pueblo Desert Archaic tradition, which was one of foraging, hunting animals and birds, fishing, and gathering seeds, nuts, roots and insects began spreading from the Great Basin in 1100-1400 C.E. (Bettinger 1994). Whether they have a Mesoamerican origin (Hill 2001) or archaic origins in the area (Fowler and Fowler 1969: 20-21; Reed 1988; Smith 1974: 16; Stewart 1966) the Ute themselves believe that they have been in the area for thousands of years, and that they may even have a connection to the Fremont culture (Duncan 2003: personal communication).

Suffice it to say that most archaeologists posit that the appearance of physical cultural traits including peeled trees (CST: culturally scarred trees),

branch wickiups, and pottery of the Uncompahgre Brownware type indicate a Ute presence in north-central Colorado and the Rocky Mountain National Park region beginning as early as 1000-1400 C.E. (Brunswig 2005: 88).

The earliest evidence of Uncompahgre Brownware pottery within the parameters of Rocky Mountain National Park dates to about 1610 C.E. (Brunswig 2005: 130). A note of interest on the survival of the ceramic tradition into the 20th century is revealed in Omer Stewart's 1937 work among the Northern Ute. Stewart notes that one of his White Rocks informants, Captain Prank, knew how to make pottery (both the coil method and the clay paddle method) having learned the craft from his mother (Howell 1998: 47-49).

With the recent completion of Robert Brunswig's report on Native American Archaeology in Rocky Mountain National Park (Brunswig 2005), a detailed description of more than 1,000 sites representing more than 11,000 years of Native occupations in RMNP is available. This, coupled with Louise Elinoff's Master's Thesis (Elinoff 2002), and other of Brunswig's and Butler's related reports on archaeological sites in Rocky Mountain National Park provide an extensive record of the Parks prehistory. The Arapaho do not have a prehistoric presence in the area. Archaeological descriptions and citations will be included in the specific themes as discussed in Chapter 6: Sites.

B. Ethnohistory and History

Ethnohistorical materials containing firsthand descriptions of the Ute at the time of contact provide important contributions to our growing understanding of

prehistoric patterns, but vary in terms of their reliability. The Dominguez-Escalante Journals (Bolton 1950; Warner 1995) are one of the first records of the Ute in what is today southern Colorado. Records left by mountain men provide scattered but useful data (cf. Callaway 1986: 367). Scholars agree that ethnohistorical information about the Ute prior to 1600 (or even 1750) is negligible.

1. Rocky Mountain Region

One of the first published documents of the "official" exploration of the Rocky Mountain National Park region comes from Major Stephen Harriman Long's brief tour into the area in June of **1820** (Fuller and Hafen 1957: 141-142; James 1823). Long commented on the large herds of bison as he followed the Platte River to the Rocky Mountains and into the foothills, but we learn nothing of the possible Ute occupation of the area in the first half of the nineteenth century. Dr. Edwin James, the expedition's botanist and geologist, recorded a detailed account of the Long tour. He mentions the first glimpse of the Rocky Mountains including Longs Peak (named for Major Long). James says of the western tribes (in general), "...although the shades of barbarism in which they are enveloped, uniformly exclude the light of civilization, yet it is not to be presumed that they are equally dark and malignant in all cases" (James 1823: Vol. 2, 376).

In **1841-42**, Father Pierre-Jean De Smet briefly describes what is likely a Colorado band of Utes. De Smet was a Belgian Jesuit missionary who set out for the Rocky Mountain region in 1840 to minister to the western tribes. He writes, "The country of the Utaws is situated to the east and south east of the

Shoshones, at the sources of the Rio Colorado. The population consists of about 4,000 souls. Mildness, affability, simplicity of manners, hospitality towards strangers, constant union among themselves, form the happy traits in their character. They subsist by hunting and fishing, and on fruits and roots (Thwaites 1906: 168).

Rufus B. Sage explored the front range in the autumn of **1843** and recorded the first descriptions of Estes Park (Hafen and Hafen 1956). Charles Frémont passed through Middle Park in **1844** where he met a large party of Arapaho and Sioux. He writes, "We had scarcely made our preparations when about 200 of them [Arapaho with about 20 Sioux] appeared on the verge of the bottom, mounted, painted, and armed for war. We planted the American flag between us; and a short parley ended in a truce, with something more than the usual amount of presents." Frémont moved quickly down to South Park (Jackson and Spence 1970: 714). Frémont does make note of Ute (or possibly Shoshone or Crow) Indians in the area around "Câche-a-la-Poudre" who attacked an Arapaho village in the vicinity (Jackson and Spence 1970: 451). Frémont also mentions inter-tribal warfare between the Ute and Arapaho somewhere in the vicinity of Pikes Peak (Jackson and Spence 1970: 718-719).

Shortly thereafter, the area was increasingly being visited by hunters, explorers, trappers, traders, and even tourists (Buchholtz 1983: 42). When gold was discovered in Colorado in 1858, the influx of so many people permanently altered the Colorado landscape. In **1860** Joel Estes came across the valley today known as Estes Park while on a hunting expedition. Believing the area

would be ideal for cattle ranching, he built two cabins and took possession of the valley. His son Milton records, "There were signs that Indians had been there for some time, for we found lodge poles in two different places, how long before we could not determine" (Estes 1939:5).

Enos Mills (the man at the center of the fight to create Rocky Mountain National Park) echoes Estes' thoughts on the absence of Indians in the area. He writes, "When Estes [Joel] first came to the Park [Estes Park in 1860], he saw lodge poles and other recent Indian signs, but so far as is known, there never was an Indian in the Park since the white man came. In the summer of 1860, in a gulch about one-half mile south of Mary's Lake, Milton Estes [Joel's 12 year old son] captured a black Indian pony. Straggling arrowheads have been found over the Park, and in the northwest of Moraine Park there used to be a tumbled stone collection that was spoken of as 'the ruins of an old Indian fort'" (Mills 1911 [1972]: 8). Today this is known as Apache Fort.

In **1864**, William Crawford journeyed through Middle Park and said of it, "No one dwells in it, save the Ute Indians who make it their hunting grounds, and the trappers, who visit it at the right seasons of the year. When we were there a band of Utes [White River and Grand River bands] had recently passed by on their way to the better hunting grounds of North Park" (Keller 1970: 60-61). It is clear from the ethnohistorical record that North Park and Middle Park (and therefore probably Rocky Mountain National Park) were part of Ute hunting and camping areas.

In **1868** Samuel Bowles writes that he saw an "encampment of six to eight hundred Ute Indians" (Bowles 1991 [1869]: 94) along the Grand River in Middle Park. He writes, "These Utes are a good deal higher grade of Indian than I had supposed. They are above the average of our Indian tribes in comeliness and intelligence" (1991: 100). Hot Sulphur Springs (Middle Park) was a favorite camping area of the Ute at least by the late 1860s (Cairns 1971: 43-44; Craig 1866; Pearson n.d).

T.D. Livingston of Rawlins, Wyoming and a settler in Middle Park writes, "in August **1878** a band of Ute Indians P (or Piah), R, Washington Capt Jack all bad Indians (in fact they are all bad I never saw a good Indian unless he was dead) went in the Planes So of Denver on a Buffalo Hunt they camped near a Ranch owned by the name of McClane they got in some trouble with McClane and killed him the Indians then left there and started back to the Wite River Reservation Colo" (Livingston 1934). In this same manuscript, Livingston makes reference to the Utes hunting in the Hot Sulphur Springs area as well as North Park and Middle Park. I'd like to think that these "bad Indians" might have traveled through what is today Rocky Mountain National Park on their way from Denver back to the White River reservation.

The **1881** correspondence of the so-called "Ute Commission" includes detailed information on the Utes' refusal to leave Colorado. The letters between the commissioners at the White River Agency, the Los Pinos Agency (both in Colorado), and the Uintah Valley Agency (in Utah) reveal the Utes' deep resentment of their removal to Utah. For example, in an August 24, 1881 letter to

to S.J. Kirkwood, Secretary of the Interior, from H.B. Meacham, Commissioner at the Uintah Agency, Meacham writes, "My opinion is that the White River Utes will generally return to White River [Colorado] for the hunting season and come back to Uintah [Utah] to winter. They understand the agreement and will gradually comply with its terms. It is unfortunate that we have not a strong military force available at this time" (Meacham 1881). In another letter from the "Ute correspondence 1881" collection at the Western History Collection at the Denver Public Library, J.J. Russell of the Ute Commission notes that the Utes "display considerable ingenuity in inventing and giving reasons why they should be permitted to remain in Colorado" (Russell 1881). Maybe some of these "ingenious" Utes found their way back to favorite hunting grounds or vision quest areas in the high altitudes in and around Rocky Mountain National Park.

Later explorers make little mention of Natives in the area, which does not mean that they were not hunting in the mountains; it simply means that there is a paucity of historic materials on the presence of Native peoples in the area in and around Rocky Mountain National Park.

Early histories such as *Early Days on the Western Slopes of Colorado* (Jocknick 1968), while making many references to the Ute (in Denver and at the White River Agency) provide little of importance to this report. C.W. Buchholtz' *Rocky Mountain National Park, A History* (1983) provides documentation of the history, founding, and subsequent development of Rocky Mountain National Park.

There are, of course, numerous histories of the Ute and Arapaho. The following section privileges the Ute tribe due to their longevity in the area. It must be noted that while these histories provide valuable information, there is little specific information for the area in and around Rocky Mountain National Park.

2. Ute

There are numerous book-length histories of the Ute. They include (chronologically), but are not limited to: *Ute People, An Historical Study* (Lyman and Denver 1970) *The Southern Utes; a Tribal History* (Jefferson, Delaney, and Thompson 1972), *A History of the Northern Ute People* (Conetah 1982), *People of the Shining Mountains: The Utes of Colorado* (Marsh 1982), *Utes; the Mountain People* (Pettit 1990), *Neither Wolf Nor Dog* (Lewis 1994: 7-70) [provides a fascinating look at the impact of agriculture, civilization, and American Indian Policy on the Northern Ute]; *The Ute Indians of Colorado in the Twentieth Century* (Young 1997) [focuses on the Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute], *Southern Ute Women; Autonomy and Assimilation on the Reservation, 1887-1934* (Osburn 1998), *A History of Utah's American Indians* (Cuch 2000), *The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico* (Simmons 2000), *Ordeal of Change; the Southern Utes and Their Neighbors* (Quintana 2004).

None of these histories make specific reference to Estes Park, Longs Peak, or Rocky Mountain National Park. So impressed was I by Simmon's (2000) research that I contacted her to ask if there were any references she had

come across concerning the Ute in and around Rocky Mountain National Park that were not mentioned in her book. She indicated that there were not.

There are also a number of histories that focus on the incident at White River and what has come to be known as the Meeker Massacre (1879) and the Ute removal from Colorado. These include: *Massacre; the Tragedy at White River* (Sprague 1957), *The Last War Trail* (Emmitt 2000 [1954]), *The Ute War; A History of the White River Massacre* (Dawson and Skiff 1980), and the recent publication, *"The Utes Must Go"* (Decker 2004). Prior to the reservation era and the removal of the Yampa, Parianuc, and Tabeguache bands, the Ute remained sovereign and in control of over one-third of Colorado. This proved problematical for Colorado's elected officials because the Utes of western Colorado were generally peaceful. Nathan Meeker's appointment as agent at the White River agency and his disregard for the culture, beliefs, and traditions of the Northern Ute led to his murder in 1879. This "massacre" became the platform for Colorado's slogan, "The Utes Must Go." While these histories offer important information, especially on the bands who occupied the areas in and around Rocky Mountain National Park, they do not provide specific information about the area in question.

3. Arapaho

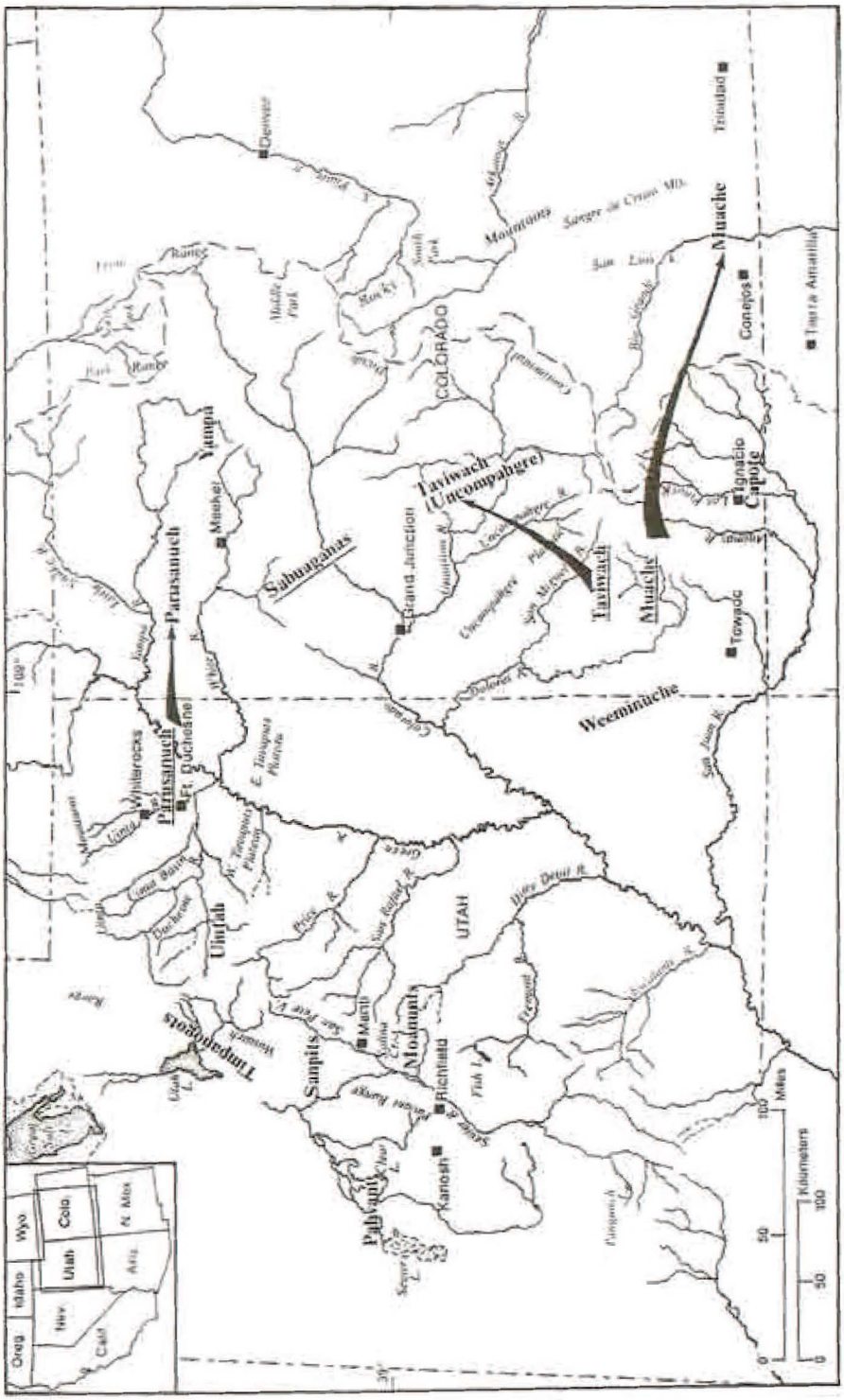
The Arapaho did not enter Colorado until about 1800. In July of 1914, the Colorado Mountain Club invited Arapaho tribal members Sherman Sage age 73, Gun Griswold age 63, and an interpreter, Tom Crispin, into the Park to gather

Indian place names, anticipating that such information would persuade Congress to establish Rocky Mountain National Park (Butler 2003: 44). Oliver Toll, members of the Colorado Mountain Club, Sage, Griswold, and Crispin rode horses on the six major trails used by the Arapaho in the mid-nineteenth century: Big, Childs or Ute, Dog, Deer, Warriors, and Arapaho Pass. Both Sage and Griswold had seasonally visited the Park when they were younger, and so remembered the Arapaho names of some specific locations in the Park. *Arapaho Names and Trails; a Report of a 1914 Pack Trip* (Toll 2003) is an invaluable document for Rocky Mountain National Park. One only wishes that the recollections of the Ute tribe whose history is of much greater depth might also have been collected. Other valuable Arapaho histories include *The Arapaho* (Fowler 1989) and *Arapaho Politics*; 1851-1978 (Fowler 1982).

C. Ethnography

1. Ute

The Utes are a Great Basin people linguistically related to their neighbors to the south, the Southern Paiute and the Chemehuevi. All three tribes speak the Ute language, a part of the Southern Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language. The Utes are the oldest continuous residents of the state of Colorado and occupied a vast domain of mountain, mesa, desert and high plains that stretched from the Great Basin across the Rocky Mountains to the western fringes of the Great Plains. The Ute, who call themselves "Nuche" (the People) have never been a unified tribe. Some scholars suggest that they are made up of seven



UTE: Early 19th century territory and modern town locations. Underlined names are in approximate 18th century locations; those not underlined are pre-reservation 19th century locations (copied from Callaway et al. 1986:337).

loosely constituted bands: the Uintah band occupied the Uintah Basin of Utah. The Yampa band (later combined with the Parianuc and were known as the White River band) lived in the vicinity of the Yampa River in northwestern Colorado. The Parianuc or Grand River band resided along the Colorado River (formerly known as the Grand River) in Colorado and Utah. The Tabeguache (later known as Uncompahgre) band inhabited the valleys of the Gunnison and Uncompahgre Rivers in western Colorado. The Weeminuche band roamed throughout the San Juan River drainage in the four corners area. The Capote band lived in the San Luis Valley and surrounding San Juan and Sangre de Cristo ranges, and the Moache band ranged across southern Colorado and northern new Mexico from the Sangre de Cristo Mountains east out onto the plains (Callaway, Janetski, and Stewart 1986, Jefferson, Delaney and Thompson 1972: vii-viii, Jocknick 1968, Young 1997: 16-17). It is the case that originally there may have been more than seven bands which were organized into more manageable groups by the U.S. government.

Today the term Northern Ute refers to the Utes residing on the Uintah-Ouray reservation in Utah and generally includes the Uintah, Yampa, Parianuc, and Tabeguache; the term Southern Ute refers to those living on the Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute reservations in Colorado and include the Weeminuche, Moache, and Capote bands (Duncan 2000).

While it is generally agreed that the Ute came from the Great Basin, they were first seen by Euro-Americans in northern New Mexico, Colorado and eastern Utah; it is not known how long they had been in these locales prior to the

mid-1700s. Archaeologists are quick to point out that it is nearly impossible to differentiate between Shoshonean peoples (Paiute, Ute, Shoshone) in the archaeological record since they all were dependent on seeds, nuts, roots, berries (gathered by women) and small and large game (rabbit, elk, buffalo) in communal hunts in which women may have participated at least some of the time. The Utes acquired horses from New Mexican Spanish camps in the seventeenth century, it is not known when they moved into nor how long they had been residing in the areas described above when first contacted by Spanish explorers.

The archaeological record supports that the Ute were living and hunting in Colorado's South, Middle, and North Parks from at least 1400 C.E. Numerous records provide information that small groups of Ute, especially from the Yampa band, camped and hunted in the Kawuneeche Valley (located on the west side of the Continental Divide in RMNP; headwaters of the Colorado River) as well as in South Park and Middle Park as late as 1875 (Elinoff 2002: 12).

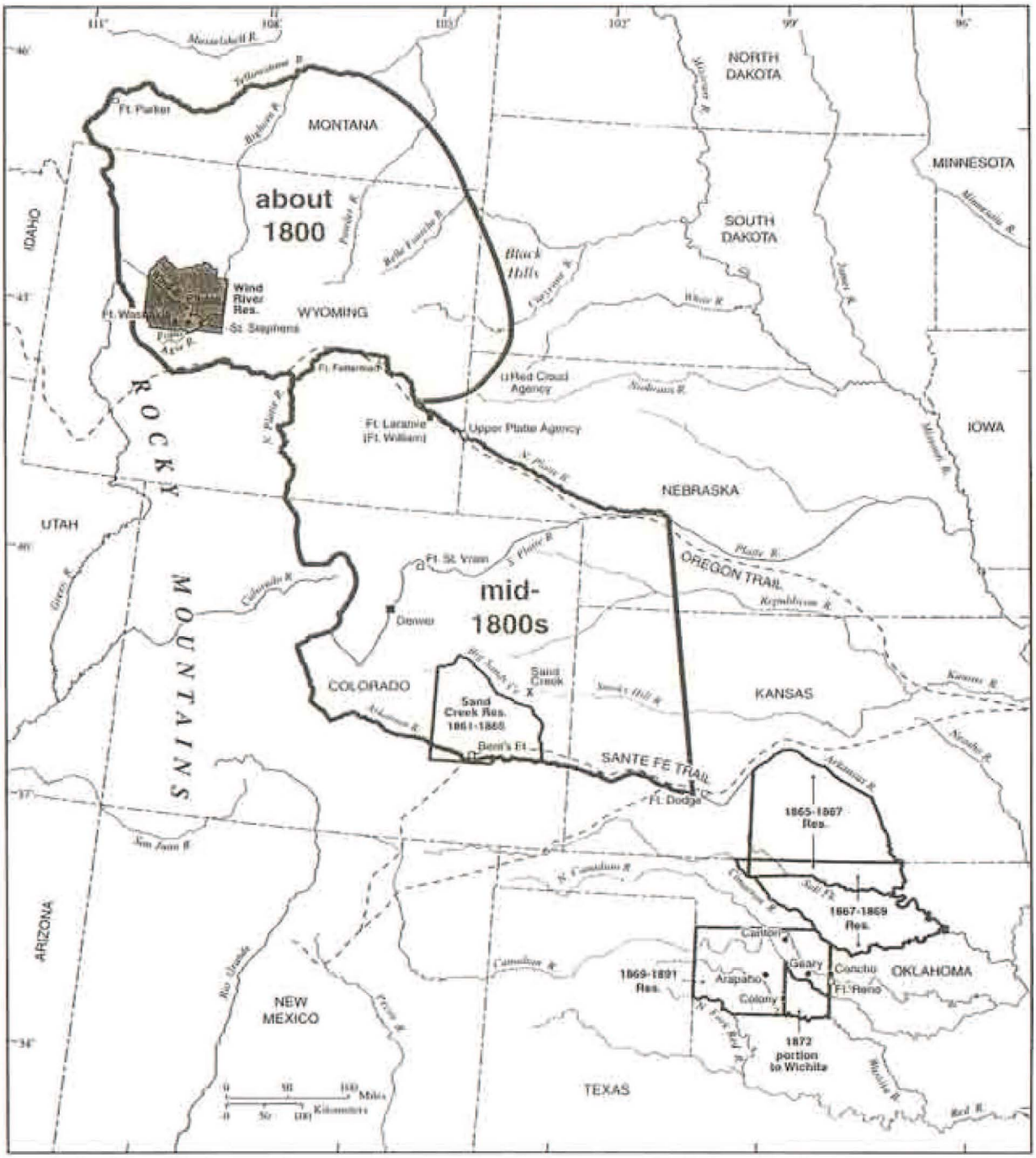
Many ethnographers have noted the recalcitrance of the Utes to reveal much of their culture or even history. For example, in Jorgensen's 1964 dissertation on the Northern Ute he writes, "The Northern Ute have long been known for their hostile attitudes towards whites and few have worked among them successfully" (Jorgensen 1964: xvi). The reflections of Northern Ute women in Chapter 10 supports this reluctance insisting that it is why so little is known about the Ute tribe.

Since this report is designed to assist a generalist in synthesizing the enormous amount of material available on the two tribes, the Ute and Arapaho, I would suggest that the most scholarly (and readable) essays available are those found in the (new) *Handbook of North American Indians* (Callaway et al.1986; Fowler 2001*)*. There is a fairly large body of cultural and ethnographic descriptions of the Ute and Arapaho, with a maddeningly small amount of data on the region in and around Rocky Mountain National Park.

"Ute", in Volume 11, Great Basin, by Callaway, Janetski and Stewart (1986) provides an excellent overview of the Ute as does Ethnohistorical Bibliography of the Ute Indians of Colorado (Stewart 1971). Those sources I have found most useful are cited throughout (and in references cited).

2. Arapaho

The Arapaho are a Great Lakes tribe who did not move into the northern Plains until around 1650 to 1700. They probably were present in what is today Colorado around 1700-1800 and so their presence is historic rather than prehistoric (Crum 1996: 198-201; Fowler 2001: 840). Their northernmost division, the Gros Ventres, broke away to form a separate tribe around this same time. Eventually, the Northern and Southern Arapaho bands separated. Spanish explorers make first mention of the Arapaho in 1795 under the name Caminanbiches living in western South Dakota and eastern Wyoming near their friends, the Kiowa (Truteau 1912: 31). They traded horses with the Missouri River villagers until the Sioux's entrance into the area disrupted their peace. By



ARAPAHO: about 1800, mid-19th century Arapaho and Cheyenne territory and reservations (copied from Fowler 2001:841)

about 1806 the Cheyenne and Arapaho had formed an alliance to counter the Sioux moving in from the east. By the 1840s the Sioux had control of the North Platte and by 1850 the Cheyenne and Arapaho were forced into the foothills of the Rockies (Eiken 1940, Fowler 2001: 840; 1982: 21-23).

The essay by Loretta Fowler in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, "Arapaho" is very useful; in it she discusses nineteenth century religion, ceremony, political organization, subsistence and technology, life cycle, kinship, history and the contemporary period. The best guide to the literature on the Arapaho is Salzmann 1988, a comprehensive indexed bibliography that includes published works, theses, dissertations, public documents, and archival and museum collections.

3. General

In 1933-34, Ralph Beals was hired by the Field Division of Education of the National Park Service to provide an outline of the ethnology of the region around Rocky Mountain National Park "for use in planning and preparing displays for Moraine Park Museum (Beals 1936: forward). The title, "Ethnology of Rocky Mountain National Park; the Ute and Arapaho," while enticing, is generic and not specific to Rocky Mountain National Park. One only would wish that Beals had been afforded the opportunity to collect memories and stories about the region from Ute and Arapaho elders still living at that time; he simply did not spend a long enough period of time with them to collect detailed accounts of their ancestral ways. As mentioned earlier, Brett was recently hired by the National

Park Service to produce an ethnographic overview of Rocky Mountain National Park; it is available from the library at RMNP (Brett 2002).

Chapter 3: FOLKLORE and TRADITIONAL NARRATIVES

I Introduction and Caveats

Oral traditions are the stories that people tell; they are commonly known and considered important enough to pass on to future generations. Clearly in an "oral history" project, one would expect to find stories about place. Indeed, some of the first questions I asked of Native consultants were if they were aware of any traditional or historical stories that might have taken place in or around Rocky Mountain National Park. Not surprisingly, very few were forthcoming. When tribes have been displaced from their ancestral homelands for decades, and relocated on remote reservations far from traditional territories, much traditional knowledge is lost.

Indeed, specificity of place is rarely a strong element, even among tribes who have not been displaced from their landscape. Since part of the intent of this report is to provide Park personnel with materials which might be used for cultural interpretation, this first section provides some stories, background, explanation, and bibliographic material. A cautionary note is that these stories are provided in English translation. Native grammars are highly verbal, relying on aspect, or the manner in which something is done, while English relies heavily on nouns and tenses. Essentially, the differences between American Indian languages and European ones is an emphasis on process in the Americas and on product in Europe. The Native emphasis on process makes oral traditions distinctive but also vulnerable to misunderstanding and misinterpretation by outsiders. A second caution is the question of "ownership" of the stories that

follow. Questions such as: when the information can be passed on (seasonal restrictions), to whom, and by whom, are questions central to issues of representation and authenticity. Currently these are unresolved issues, but ones that should be considered.

Native American oral traditions can, I believe, be read as maps of the cultures that create them. As such, they help the reader navigate through the cultural contours of the distant and more recent past. These narratives are complex constructions of social histories that should be understood in terms of the nature of the society in which they are told and retold. These stories explore fundamental truths about the importance of landscape and place and, as such, constitute an important expression of culture. Pawnee/Otoe author, Anna Lee Walters writes that she discovered two principle sequences of tribal history, "The first starts at the beginning and works its way toward the present. The second starts with the present and works its way back to the beginning" (Walters 1992: 77). Anthropologist Peter Nabokov (2002: 72) suggests that this metaphor encourages us to think about Indian oral traditions as corridors that allow for two-way traffic. That is, Indian oral traditions may contain knowledge or an understanding of "deep time" (the mythological past) that may be gleaned even when that tribe no linger resides in its original homelands. Oral traditions are not only believed to have developed in a particular location (even if it is not named), they hold a key to understanding Native worldviews.

Speaking of Apaches, anthropologist Keith Basso (1996: xv) suggests that "constructions of place reach deeply into other cultural spheres including

conceptions of wisdom, notions of morality, politeness and tact in forms of spoken discourse, and certain conventional ways of imaging and interpreting the [Apache] tribal past." Cultural mythology is mapped onto the landscape. The strong connection with the land is in evidence, even if the locations are no longer as precise as one might hope.

A plethora of recent publications (by Native and non-Native scholars) address the importance of considering different kinds of history; the narratives of which may contain implications of social practices; of subtle cultural data. The authors of these publications often ask that we read "beyond words" (Brown and Vibert 1996) in the texts and that we accept multiple understandings as we consider Indian tribal history, whether oral or written (cf. eg. Ambler 1995; Basso 1996; Brown and Vibert 1996; Deloria 1995; DeMallie 1993; Dongoske, Jenkins, and Ferguson 1993; Nabokov 2002; Ortiz 1995; Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Schneider 2001; Shoemaker 2002).

Native American storytelling is about retaining identity and heritage, linking generations and families; it is also about resistance and belief. The recounting of stories also raises questions about peripheral, marginal, and erased history and how "colonial and neocolonial powers manipulate the production of histories, encouraging certain forms of history while discouraging and even silencing others" (Schmidt and Patterson 1995: 4). Archaeologists (some cited above) are increasingly looking to the use of oral traditions to inform their work of reconstructing the past (cf. e.g. Anyon et al. 1997: 77-87; Elinoff 2002).

Stories, especially "distant time" stories, are told during the late fall and winter; some tribes even require that the most sacred stories be told and listened to only during the dark winter nights. Indeed, scholars of Native lore have found this to be an almost continent-wide rule. This may be due to the fact that some of the most powerful animals are hibernating; the telling of stories may hasten the coming of spring; some animals have gone south and therefore will not object to being talked about; or simply that there is more leisure time in the dark of winter (Abram 1996: 151). While this may have changed somewhat in the 20th and 21st centuries, it still may not be proper to tell these stories in summer.

The stories included in this section were selected because consultants told me that they might have some connection to the Ute or Arapaho occupations in and around Rocky Mountain National Park. Clearly, some are more specific than others. My understanding of the stories shared with me and included herein is preliminary, and may include inaccuracies. Nonetheless, it provides beginning answers to the questions raised above. I have included a section on ***Meaning*** for each story usually provided by the teller or collector. These vary in their usefulness.

II Ute

There are a few published editions and collections of Ute traditional stories. One of the earliest of these was collected from the Uintah Utes by Alfred Kroeber in 1900. The twelve stories make numerous references to mountains and canyons, elk and mountain sheep, and clearly *could* reflect a Colorado

mountain origin. However, as with most of the Ute folklore collections, the mountain environments are not specified.

Ute Traditional Narratives by T. Givón (Givón n.d. collected 1973-1985) is a second such collection gathered on the Southern Ute Reservation around Ignacio. It includes The Sinawav Cycle [which includes two Southern Ute versions of the Ute Creation Story told by Ralph Cloud (pp. 9-17) and Julius Cloud (pp. 17-25)]; The Coyote [Trickster] Cycle; The Anger and Vengeance Cycle; The Ceremonial Cycle; and the War Story. The Ceremonial Cycle includes a story called "The Origin of the Sundance" which is unusual in that it incorporates a suicidal young orphan, Jesus (disguised as an owl), and a very interesting parallel to the "afterlife" (here, heaven) in Rabbit's Fireball story (below). There is also a version of "The Origin of the Ute Bear Dance" told by Mollie Cloud (pp. 210-222) and "The Way the Bear-Dance Used to Be Done" told by Ralph Cloud (pp. 223-233). Since neither of the Bear Dance stories are specific to the Rocky Mountain National Park area, I have not included them here. I did include an abridged version of Neil Buck Cloud's telling of the Origin of the Bear Dance which was collected in the course of this project. Many of the stories in Givón's collection begin with the convention, "It was long ago, long time ago..." and end with "I've spoken," or "So that's what happened," or "That's as far as it is clear," or "This is all I can say" and similar concluding remarks.

After a careful reading of a third collection, *Ute Tales*, compiled by Anne Smith between 1936 and 1939 (Smith 1992), I have found only one story that names the Rocky Mountains specifically; it is recorded as told by Tecumseh

Murray and translated by Josephine LaRose; Smith notes that this story was "from father to son, from son to son, handed down to the present time. It is as follows:

HISTORY OF THE UTES
(Smith 1992: 174-175)

"The time of this story is when Christ was on earth and the Indians at that time spoke one language or were of one nation. They were camped east of the Rocky Mountains on the plains. The lodges could not be counted, there were so many of them. At this time the entire nation of Indians were out of meat, the women and children were crying, suffering from starvation. The elders were asked by the other people to go out and ask assistance from the Lord to help his people.

There were three of the elders that went out and there were nine that remained at the camps to keep faith with the people. They prayed the first day to the Father, without any results. The second day they prayed, without any results. The third day they were rewarded about the eighth or ninth hour. They received instructions from the voice that came out of a burning bush or mound. 'I am He who will give you meat if you will obey my rule or order. Go back to your camps and open a way from the setting of the sun to the rising of the sun. I am your Father and I feed my children. I will send you buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope. Get into line and those that like buffalo all get into line by themselves, and so on. Each family is to take one choice; one buffalo, one elk, two deer, or two antelope. If they take more than this, the meat will turn to worms and there will be a curse on the family that does it.'

The record shows that there were some that disobeyed, and the following morning their meat was turned to worms. The ones that disobeyed were taken out and stoned. They fought and quarreled and even their language became so confused that they couldn't understand each other" (Smith 1992: 174-175).

Meaning: Clifford Duncan (Duncan 2000, personal communication) says to be cautious of this story as should be evident to the reader. The Book of Mormon reveals that Christ came to live among the Indians sometime between his death and resurrection. There are also references to the Old and New Testament, the number three, and other Christian elements.

A fourth collection entitled *Stories of Our Ancestors: A Collection of Northern-Ute Indian Tales* was published by the Uintah-Ouray Tribe in 1974 and was illustrated by Clifford Duncan (Uintah-Ouray Tribe 1974). It is compiled from previously published stories collected by Kroeber, Powell, Mason, and Duke. It is divided into four categories: Cultural Continuity Tales, Cautionary Tales, Explanatory Tales, and Entertainment Tales. While many of the stories included make reference to the importance of mountains, thunder, eagle, and other high altitude phenomenon, none make any reference to a specific locale (Duncan 2005, personal communication).

Anthropology of the Numa; *John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North America, 1868-1880* (Fowler and Fowler 1971) also includes some Ute tales. While Powell spent time in May of 1867 in South Park, North Park, and Middle Park exploring the headwaters of the Grand [Colorado] River (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 3) and in the Rockies including Longs Peak in 1868, his ethnographic notes on the Northern Ute (Tabuat band) leave much to be desired, at least as concerns this specific project. In his myth collection, Powell separated the stylized songs and chants from the tales themselves, with no indication of their placement in the storied or ceremonial context. He also omitted nearly all scatological and sexual references in the tales, thus rendering some of the story plots unintelligible (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 19). [Interestingly, Omer Stewart notes that when asked to share some Ute stories with Northern Ute children in Ft. Duchesne in 1937. He writes, "but the stories of the Indians are so sexy I believe I will just tell of Indian history: (Howell

1998: 52)]. Powell annoyingly provides English summaries of plots as opposed to literal translations (Powell spoke passable Southern Paiute and Ute); two of these summaries relate specifically to the creation of the canyons and of the Colorado mountains and are included here in summary exactly as Powell wrote them. They reflect many of the themes and ideas as related in Duncan's similar version (which follows).

THE ORIGIN OF THE CANYONS OF THE COLORADO

Powell MS 794-a, No. 39

"Many years ago when wise and good men lived on the earth, the great Chief of all the Utes lost his beloved wife.

Day and night he grieved, and all his people were sad. Then Ta-vwoats (one of the dignitaries in the mythology) appeared to the chief and tried to comfort him, but his sorrow could not be allayed. So at last Ta-vwoats promised to take him to a country away to the southeast where he said his dead wife had gone and let him see how happy she was if he would agree to grieve no more on his return. So he promised. Then Tavwoats took his magical ball and rolled it before him, and as it rolled it rent the earth and mountains, and crushed the rocks and made a way for them to that beautiful land—a trail through the mountains which intervened between the home of the dead and the hunting grounds of the living. And following the ball, which was a rolling globe of fire, they came at last to the Spirit Land. Then the great Chief saw his wife and the blessed abode of the Spirits where all was plenty and all was joy, and he was glad.

Now when they returned Ta-vwoats enjoined upon the chief that he should never travel this trail during life, and that all his people should be warned not to walk therein. Yet still he feared they would attempt it so he rolled a river into the trail—a mad raging river into the gorge made by the globe of fire, which would overwhelm any who might seek to enter there" (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 76-77).

Meaning: Tavwoats means "small rabbit" in Ute. See also Duncan's explanation below.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS, VALLEYS, CAÑONS

Powell MSS 1795, No. 11; 794-a, No. 42

"Originally the surface of the earth was a smooth plain, but one day Shin-au-av told Kusav to place the latter's quiver at a short distance from where they stood that it might be used as a mark, at which he would shoot. Then Shin-au-av sent an arrow from his bow which struck the quiver, but glanced and plowed its way about the face of the earth in every conceivable direction, digging deep gorges and cañons, making valleys, plowing up mountains, hills, and rocks. In this way the water courses were determined and the hills and mountains made and huge broken rocks were scattered about the country.

Previous to this time the nation of people had lived in one community, 'They were all brothers and sisters,' but with the origin of surface relief, commenced the scattering of nations, for there was now a great diversity of country and each one chose for himself a special habitat. The eagle admired the crags and peaks and mountain summits and delighted in the fierce wind and roaring storm, and he said to his brethren, 'My house shall be in the cliffs.' The hawk (Kusav) loved the wild rocks, and he said, 'There will be my home.' And the badger said, 'I will make me a warm burrow in the ground.' And the wolf said, 'I will roam over the plains.' And the swallow said, 'I I will build my nest on the face of the rocks that overhang the waters.' And the grizzly bear said, 'I will live in caves.'

This story is also very long as told by the Indians, for a great many species of animals are introduced, each one choosing his home and giving the reasons.

When the people had thus separated they ceased to speak their ancient language, each one adopting a new one which has been handed down to his own descendants. From this time also they lost their wisdom because of their disagreements, and they slowly degenerated, and were changed to the forms in which they now appear.

By some, this change is said to have been gradual, and very slow, but others have told me that it was instantaneous, and that there was great wonder among the people, each seeing the changes of the other but not seeing his own transformation, and each one supposing that he spoke the original language and that the rest had lost it, and that this transition was the cause of their separation; while others make the change due to their quarrels and separation.

Sometimes the story is told as if it was a quarrel for the best homes on the new earth, by others this element of contention is not introduced. I have once heard this story referred to, to point a moral of an argument for harmony in council."

[In the field journal 9MS 1795, no.110 this story is titled "The Origin of the Utes" and Powell adds, "and when they had chosen they assumed the form of birds

and beasts. And their language was confounded. Game was created for Indians now. All other animals and birds were people before this.]

"They had to wait two years for food. The bat murmured and was cursed"] (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 77-78).

Meaning: Shin-au-av is the progenitor of the wolf nation.

RABBIT'S FIREBALL AND THE CREATION OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND COLORADO [GRAND] RIVER

(Northern Ute; Duncan 2002a; Version 1)

The following story was told at a presentation made by Clifford Duncan at the University of Northern Colorado on March 6, 2002. Duncan was invited on campus as a part of a lecture series on Mapping Identity. The recording, transcription, and clearance form are in Clifford Duncan File; 2000-2002.

"I will start by a story that was told to me many years ago. It's a time when the animals were creating the ways of this earth. The world was round, there were no mountains, there were no valleys, there were no rivers. Animals would gather and they would have their--whatever they were going to have, dances, because they treated each other like people. When we say animals we are actually talking about people also. There was this animal that felt real bad, one of his relatives had died so he never could get out of that, always felt bad. Cry and—so one day, the Rabbit who was father to the Wolf and the Coyote, talked to this man and he explained to the Rabbit everything about his life and why he felt the way he did. 'I wish that I could see that person again,' he would say. So eventually after several meetings, the Rabbit said, 'I'll do something about that for you. I'm going to help you. If you were there, if you saw the people, if you went to this next world, you would come back and you would feel better. I will take you there.' So the rabbit had this big ball of fire, a fireball—that was his power—he threw it up in the air and it spun around up in the sky, came back down and he caught it again. Then he said, 'Watch this, I'm going to throw this,' so he threw that and this ball was moving, it cut into the ground, lot of things were flying up in the air, valleys were created by that ball. It went on and on and on bouncing around here and there. Finally it returned again, and they were standing on top of a mountain. 'I will take you there now, you follow me.' So they went down this valley and all the way down these sharp turns here and there. Finally after so many days, they came to this place and they could see people there. The people were dancing, they were laughing. Then a person recognized one of them, said 'That's the one, that's my relative!' Now you see that, now you know that people here are happy, now we are going to go back and you are going to feel better.

They walked back again, following the same trail back up into the mountains. When they arrived at that point again, the Rabbit then gave instructions to the man, 'I do not want you to go back, I know you will try to do that. But I don't want you to do that, you stay here. You know how they are; you know what is going on. But in order for you not to go back, I'm going to do something, I'm going to cover that trail,' and through that, with that statement, he created rain. The water came out, start to flowing. Those rivers that are there now, we as Ute people would call the Grand River or the Colorado River as that was made by the Rabbit. It has a beginning. So when we look at that we say. 'Okay the trail is somewhere there. But the river is flowing from all directions too which means that it covered the trail and we do not know where that turn is, and that was the creation of the mountains. We as Indian people, then, we know that high points were created by the Rabbit. The Rabbit in our folklore or stories is the father to the Wolf and Coyote and they have these stories that are like that, and these mountains that we have actually give us that life which has a spiritual content that kept that power, you might say, because the animals were the ones that used that" (Duncan 2002a).

RABBIT'S FIREBALL AND THE CREATION OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND COLORADO [GRAND] RIVER

(Northern Ute; Duncan 2000b; Version 2)

The following story is another version of the above, told on an earlier date, November 11, 2000.

"Anyway, we were talking about the headwaters of the great river of Colorado. And all starts from way back there; but then I was talking about a person that was mourning over the loss of loved one. And this person could never get over that. Then it had to be at the beginning of a small stream, which eventually would flow into a larger stream and eventually becomes a big river. But it would have many rivers flowing into that, so you will never know where all these will be coming from. So that little Rabbit was the one that created that. And what he did was this, he talked to this man and he said, 'I will take you there to the land of beyond, where this [dead] person went.' But then he had a ball, a round ball which had flames—was a fireball as a power given to this little Rabbit. He threw that ball and he created this world, the valleys. Ball would slide into the ground and plow it up, bouncing here and there. And rocks and all the dirt were flying way down and back up again, bounce around, down again and bounce this way and that way—all over this area, this land. Bouncing, piling it up and it was all like the big jagged mountains were coming out and he made that. Then he got this ball returned back to him again, and he put that away.

He said, 'Now I will take you there.' He said, 'You follow me.' And he led this man down this valley, way down there, back this way, and back that way. Finally they come to this place, it was the land of the beyond, all things are different—now we're there. There's that person that left that world. And the man looked at

him—yes. But these people are happy with that little one, and it is happy with them too. 'Now, how do you feel?' He says, 'I feel better now that all things are good,' [Rabbit] says, 'Okay now we are going to return. I don't want you to see that.' So they went back, backtracked all the places they had went and finally came to that same spot again. And when they got there this Rabbit said this to this man, 'I know that deep down you are thinking that you can try to go back again because it's just the way people are, but watch.' And out of the sides of the mountain there, the springs began to break out and water begins to flow. He says, 'I am covering all those little trails we went on with the water, and you will never know which trail you took because in all these valleys there be always a stream and you don't [know] whether that was it; that way you can stay here on this earth.' And that is how we created these Rockies. Everything that's here, because it was a pathway to this person's desire to see one that's gone ahead into the other world, and that's how the Rockies were made. And that's why we have all these little streams flowing, eventually becoming a big river because it covers that. I think that was the story I was telling.

And that's it. So now we see the Rocky Mountains and the streams. Somewhere there is a trail. Perhaps the Indians were looking for that when they were moving around. High country summer, low country in the wintertime, in between but they eventually they conditioned themselves to that land and became part of that land which means that Indian people—you have this desire to become part of the land rather than be separate. You have to be part of whatever that you are going to enjoy in life. You cannot enjoy it by being on the other side—you have to be part of it. And that's the way Indian people are like that, they are outdoor people, and that's why they like that, and it fits them and they fit it. So it goes, Sally" (Duncan 2000b).

Meaning: "But that one story about the fireball actually is an old story, it's an old story which was told by people here in Meeker, those were the White Rivers. And that's where that story comes from" (Duncan 2005, personal communication). In questioning Duncan about the meaning of the above story, he explained (briefly) that it is human's desire to understand what happens after someone dies that led Rabbit to create the high mountains and Grand/Colorado River. He suggested that the connection between the sacred nature of high altitude landscapes and this version of their creation is significant. The grieving of humans/animals upon the loss of a loved one and coming to terms with understanding what happens when someone dies are emotional experiences that map themselves onto the landscape and create a sacred place.

In the story of Rabbit's creation of the mountains and rivers (perhaps the Rockies and the Colorado River), we learn that death is a normal part of the cycle of life—and that death is not the

end of life; members of the natural world should not expect to move between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Humans can mourn the death of a loved one, but must accept the finality of death. In learning this lesson, however, the Utes mountain homelands were created essentially because of one individual's desire to know what the next world was like (Duncan 2002, personal communication).

"The fireball is the power of fire and lightning; it may even be a volcano that created the mountains. Sometimes we see evidence of evolution in these stories, just as with the volcano, this story also provides evidence of the relationship between water (oceans, rivers) and the high country. Again, evolution: oceans are the source of all life. The animal "nations' were the conduits so that young children would be able to understand the stories more easily. Indians are closer to nature; nature is the teacher. These stories taught respect for animals; they help make the connection with nature through mythology. Eventually this leads to a connection with a spiritual power, a medicine. At first humans, men and women, lived and talked with animals; they got their power from animals. Early stories even include examples of humans married to animals. Humans learned from animals; they learned which plants to eat and which to avoid. Somehow we closed the door to our communication with animals. If you read all of the Ute stories, you'll pick up a Ute way of thinking" (Duncan 2005, personal communication).

MOUNTAIN SHEEP AND THE NORTH STAR
(Northern Ute; Duncan 2002a)

The following story was told at the presentation made by Clifford Duncan at the University of Northern Colorado on March 6, 2002. Duncan was invited on campus as a part of a lecture series on Mapping Identity. The recording, transcription, and clearance form are in Clifford Duncan File; 2000-2002.

"There was a sheep, a mountain sheep. NAH WATCH is the name of the mountain sheep: NAH WATCH. When we are talking about mountain sheep, the Utes, we say NAH WATCH; NAH WATCH had four boys, one could do many things, the others were very slow. One day the oldest one went into a cave, and while he was in the cave, the other three closed the door, they closed the entrance to the cave. The mountain is high--he can't get out. So the mountain sheep went round and round looking for an outlet. Way up on top, he could see a light coming through, and he went for that, and then he went to the top. There was a peak that went straight up and down. And when the others saw this up

there, this animal, the older brother, they wanted to get up there too. So they are going round and round. They can't find the entrance because they closed it up really good and it's concealed now. There's no way out, there is no way in, but they go round and round that mountain.

Later in our stories, they connected that with the North Star. The older brother is the one that sits way high and that is the North Star. It sits in one place while the other stars are going round and round that star. And that is a story that is handed down from one generation to the next. And we still carry that so when we are looking at the North Star we know that, that's not going to move. So when we do our ceremonies, when we do our prayers into our sweat lodges, the first stone that comes in, the hot stone that comes in the sweat lodge, is that North Star. We put that on the north side. This is where that sheep is, it's going to watch over us. And then you go to the four directions, the center is the earth. We follow those patterns of a story that is actually talking about animals, but yet on the other hand, it still has a meaning behind it. Those stories are still there.

When you see a panel where there is rock art, especially with the Fremont rock art, you find sheep. At certain times, the direction is going to go up, they are trying to get to that one up here, and sometimes you are going to find them going the opposite direction, so they are going two directions, they are trying to get up there, but it's talking about that star; so some of these sites are going to be considered very highly sacred. Sites that we have, especially in the high points, they are there not just to sit there, but it's going to be used again so that is why the high mountains are very sacred" (Duncan 2002a).

Meaning: Duncan explains the significance of the North Star and its connection to Mountain Sheep and the sacred nature of high places (like the Rocky Mountain high country) in the context of this story. The relationships of stories, sacred places, and stars are also apparent. Interestingly, he relates this story to a common motif in Fremont Rock Art, the mountain sheep. The jealousy of the three brothers is also used to deliver a moral: don't trap your brother in a mountain, he might become the North Star, and you will spend your life circling him (Duncan 2002, personal communication).

"The earth has a center, between the North and South Poles. The North Star is powerful; the sheep is Aries (April, Duncan's sign which is also associated with doing medicine work). This story is a matter of perception, that of the mountain sheep and the axis from head through backbone to earth and vice versa" (Duncan 2005, personal communication).

TWO BIRDS, THE MEDICINE MAN IN THE MOUNTAIN, THE HOLE IN THE SKY, AND STONE CIRCLES
(Northern Ute; Duncan 2000b)

The following story was tape-recorded in Glenwood Springs, CO on my first consult with Clifford Duncan on November 11, 2000.

"Last night we were talking about spirits; its wintertime now so I can go ahead and tell this story. In our custom, our ways of talking about stories, mythology, it's got to be only in wintertime, when the snow is on the ground. So we have snow. So I feel free. There was this bird, there was two birds—so one day this bird, one of them got sick and he told his brother, the other bird, that you must fetch the medicine man for me—get help for me. He said you must go high up into the mountains and find this person. So in order to save this brother, then this bird went on his way, days and days and days.

One day there was a cloud that was floating and there was a hole in the sky, and out of that hole there was a voice said, 'I know you were coming, but I want you to tell me your story.' And he told about his brother and when he got through, he sent him back home, said he must go back home but, 'You watch for the color in the sky—it's gonna be red or it's gonna be yellow. When you get close to home it's gonna light up, there's gonna be lightning, there'll be thunder rolling somewhere, that's my voice. When you see the yellow color flash across there, your brother is going to live, if you see the red, he's gonna die. That's how you will know. What your brother—if you see the yellow light, your brother will live but he must never lay down, he must always be on his feet standing." And that's what he said.

But the voice was coming from the hole in the sky, there was a hole in the sky. And the only way that you could see that was by going to the highest point on the mountain and looking up into the sky and that's where the hole is, there's a hole there. It's round, that's why they put the stones in the stone circle because it shoots to that hole and that's why you have those stone circles on top of that one hill, because that was connected to that. And that's the story, the spirit of that - the bird lived.

So those people that follow that story, mythology is not really an animal story, a bird story. But it's talking about actual happenings from their fore-fathers that's been handed down. It explains the origin of their power, the origin of their existence on this world, but they put animal characters in there to make it sound like it's an animal story, but its a real story" (Duncan 2000b).

Meaning: When I questioned Duncan about the meaning of the yellow color in the sky that he could never lay down he replied, "I think those have its own meaning like certain people they use Indian paint. Certain people use red then there's also yellow, black, and white paint. So this

would mean that maybe this person has the right to use yellow. Yellow has become a power color to a certain group of people, not all—they are not all the same—you got to recognize that. What may work for one tribe may not work for the other. What may be important in the way of sacred object to one tribe, to another tribe it may be nothing and vice versa. One has to understand that, that all tribes are not the same. And all things that one tribe could consider to be sacred may not be sacred to another group—that does not mean, that does not lower them. Again we're going to bring in this—their way isn't equal to mine, and mine's not equal to theirs. There's no such a thing. We've got to get away from this idea that one tribe is more powerful than the other—they are not. When it gets to spirituality, they all the same. And with that, that's got to be there too.

Like when I go to Europe, when I describe the Indian way of life to them, the first question will be, 'Do you still live in a tipi?' Not all Indians lived in tipis and when you describe certain things they'll picture in a way that I'm wearing a headdress made out of eagle feathers and riding a white horse and have a lance in my hand. I'm riding down the hill fast, that's an Indian for them. Not all Indians are that way. You know that. They're all different. Every one of those but we have centered Indians to be only like these people over here, somebody glorified that. We should put that away and look at all Indians as not being same. It's about that time. And do away with that heroic type of figures and look at the people as they really are. My mother and my father, they talk about different types of people, or tribes and they say, they call them DOOWIKIT means they were mean. Have no respect for others—they kill them. That word means DOOWIKIT—they don't care so they go and kill people. So later on they read about them, oh there was a big battle, they killed them, they honor those people. Yet to tribes that were living there they say no they were DOOWIKIT they had no respect for people (Duncan 2000b).

THE UTE CREATION STORY
(Northern Ute; Duncan 2000a)

This next common Ute origin story is included in two (published) versions. There is also another (less clear) version in Duncan file I (Duncan 2000b).

"The story of Sinauf, the god who was half man, half wolf, and his brothers Coyote and Wolf has been told many times in tipis and wickiups. According to Ute legend, these powerful animal-people kept the world in balance before humans were created. After Sinauf made people. Humans took responsibility to care for the world, and in time they created many stories of their predecessors. These stories became the basis of Ute history and culture and defined the relationship of the Ute Indians with all living elements, both spiritually and physically.

Most often stories were told during the winter months. As snow drifted in under the tipis through little gaps, children scrambled to cover the drafts. By the fire, sat the elder, the storyteller. His listeners sat in a circle bundled tightly in warm buffalo or rabbit robes, waiting eagerly for him to begin what could be a long night of stories. There were tales of acts of courage during summer's skirmishes and bravery during the fall hunts to be added to the tribe's oral history. But always, a favorite was the story of how the Nuche—the Utes—first came to be.

Far to the south Sinauf was preparing for a long journey to the north. He had made a bag, and in this bag he placed selected pieces of sticks—all different yet the same size. The bag was a magic bag. Once Sinauf put the sticks in the bag, they changed into people. As he put more and more sticks into the bag, the noise the people made inside grew louder, thus arousing the curiosity of the animals.

After filling his magic bag, Sinauf closed it and went to prepare for his journey. Among the animals, Coyote was the most curious. In fact, this particular brother of Sinauf was not only curious but contrary as well, opposing almost everything that created and often getting into trouble. When Coyote heard about Sinauf's magic bag full of stick people, he grew very curious. 'I want to see what those people look like,' he thought. With that, he made a little hole with his flint knife near the top of the bag and peeked in. He laughed at what he saw and heard, for the people were a strange new creation and had many languages and [sic] son[g]s.

When Sinauf finished his preparations and prayers, he was ready for the journey northward. He picked up the bag, threw it over his shoulder and headed for the *Una-u-quich*, the distant high mountains. From the tops of these mountains, Sinauf could see long distances across the plains to the east and north, and from there he planned to distribute the people throughout the world.

Sinauf was anxious to complete his journey, so he did not take time to eat and soon became very weak. Due to his weakness, he did not notice the bag getting lighter. For, through Coyote's hole in the top of the bag, the people had been jumping out, a few at a time. Those who jumped out created their families, bands, and tribes.

Finally reaching the *Una-u-quich*, Sinauf stopped. As he sat down he noticed the hole in the bag and how light it was. The only people left were those at the bottom of the bag. As he gently lifted them out he spoke to them and said, 'My children, I will call you Utikas and you shall roam these beautiful mountains. Be brave and strong.' Then he carefully put them in different places, singing a song as he did so. When he finished, he left them there and returned to his home in the south" (Duncan 2000: 167-168).

Meaning: Duncan told me that some bands believe that the preceding story took place in what is today called the Kawuneechee Valley: headwaters of the Colorado River, whereas other bands claim it takes place in a variety of other locations. He also said that Utes from around the Great Salt Lake area, and the Southern Utes use that same story (see Naranjo version below). Fred Conetah (1982:2) offers a shorter Northern Ute version not included here. The Ute sometimes call Sinauf the wise side of Coyote; this reveals a duality whereby Wolf-Coyote can be seen as flip sides of the same coin. Wolf is the wise side, and Coyote the foolish side (Goss 2003).

UTE CREATION NARRATIVE
(Southern Ute; Naranjo and Lujan 2000)

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

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

But those few ones were the Utes, the real Utes from around here. Coyote then returned and told Sinawav that he had completed the task.

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

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

Meaning: In the Ute Creation story, we are told that because of Coyote's curiosity, the Ute tribe is smaller than it was supposed to be, and that in this version, coyote is cursed. But the Ute are also named as mightiest and most valiant of heart, and coyote's power (as trickster) may not really be diminished. Sinawav, too, is an important figure. He has many forms including Wolf (older brother to Coyote), First Man, and great teacher of the Ute people.

UTE CAPTIVE RETURNS HOME TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS
(Northern Ute; Accawanna 2004)

This next story was told in a large group setting in Wild Basin, RMNP, on August 10, 2004 by Geneva Accawanna (Northern Ute).

"Okay, I told them about the story that my mother told me a long time ago, the Cheyenne captured one of our young, young girls; she was a little girl at the time. And they captured her and they took her back into Oklahoma and then when she was growing up, this old lady who was taking care of her had a rawhide rope and she [the Ute girl] would be tied up, just like a slave to this old lady. And [eventually] the old [woman] took to her and said that she was growing up and then she guess she was maybe about 11 years old I guess or maybe she might have been a little older [when she was captured].

[Eventually] she had a baby, and then the old lady, you know, she always talked to her about her people. They were from the mountains. She said, 'Your peoples from the mountains and you are a Ute.' You know, you have to [learn, and the lady] would always tell her about her people and then one day the old lady went and I guess she was making her some moccasins and then gave her three pairs of moccasins and then wrapped it up in the rawhide and then gave

her some meat, dried meat, and some bread, and berries and gave it to her in a pouch and said, 'Here take your little baby and then go home. We'll help you go home.' She said, 'I know your heart is [sad and you] want to go back home. Just follow the star, travel at night. Follow that star." And I guess that's the northern star. She said, 'Follow that star and only travel at night.'

And so she left and she walked and walked and then—and the old lady says, 'When you rest, rest on the hill or on a big rock and then that way you can see the Cheyenne, find out if they are chasing you. You'll know. Then when you're walking, put dried sage brush or something, put it behind you, a big sagebrush, so that your tracks will be covered and they can't find you.' So she did that, so she kept walking and then she would climb a big rock and then she would watch [for] those people looking for her.

Finally she got close to the mountains and then she said, 'So that's where my people are, the mountains.' And it was the Rocky Mountains and she kept going. And I guess she was up in the mountains and it was getting cold and then I think it was maybe in the spring, there was still snow up in the mountains. She was cold and she was getting tired and she found this cave, and she walked in there and there was a big fire burning in there, and she walked in and then she noticed this old man, he was laying there on a buffalo robe. He was laying there and he motioned her to come in. 'Come in,' he told her. 'Come out of the rain or the snow. Come in. Sit right there.' And it was inside the cave. He said, 'Sit down.' He said, 'Drink, there's water and there's food. Eat and drink and then rest. Go to sleep and rest.' He said, 'You're almost home. I know who you are.' He said, 'I know who you are, who your family is. They're down there. They've been looking for you since you were a little girl. They've been looking for you.'

She did what that old man told her to do. So she ate and she drank some water and she lay down and she went to sleep. She had to [hold] her little baby. And then the next morning she woke up and it was nice and sunny. She woke up and she looked up to thank the old man, you know, for sheltering her. She looked over and that old man that was laying there, she looked and he was nothing but a skeleton! But she'd rested and her stomach was full and she wasn't thirsty anymore so she walked out and then she went on her way and she came off a mountain.

And then she was getting tired again so she saw this road, I guess, it was a road, a wagon road and she didn't know what it was. So she just rested beside this road. And then I guess there was this rancher, it was a white rancher and his wife was riding a wagon along and they seen her laying there, and then they stopped and they told her, 'Get in.' They got her and they put her in the back of the wagon and they took her home. And then they fed her and they said, 'Who are you? What tribe are you from?' And she said, 'I come from this mountain. My people's here in this mountain.' They said, 'Oh, I know some Utes. Their camp is over there. I'll take you over there.'

So when she got better—I guess she got sick, so they nursed her back to health and then finally they took her to this camp. And then all the Utes, they recognized her. They knew who she was. They were so happy and that's how this lady came back from the Cheyennes and how they traveled. And she always told me, she says, 'You know, never be afraid of the dark 'cause that will help you. And then, 'Don't be afraid of people that will come in spirits, they'll help you. They know who are and where you're going and where you're from, who you're from.' Because with the Utes, you know, family is very important. And then we believe in the spirit, spiritual world; we're very spiritual. We believe in God, you know, God's around us. In English, God you call him God, but in Ute it's nature, I guess—he's all over! So always, you know, if you're Indian you can travel, you'll always be safe. People, elements will help you and even rain and snow, and you know you can control that. There was people in our tribe that could control the elements. And I just wanted to share [with] you that story about the young lady traveling" (Accawanna 2004).

Meaning: The meanings here are pretty obvious. The Utes have a connection to their environment, a love of home, and their mountain homelands. Trust the spirits, trust people (white, other tribes), don't be afraid.

UTE BEAR DANCE
(Southern Ute, Cloud 2002)

Neil Buck Cloud's Bear Dance Story is abridged below. We interviewed in Ignacio, CO July 26, 2002.

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

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

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

Meaning: In the Bear Dance Origin Story, we see the possibilities for both the separation and coming together of the animal world and the human world; we are taught the lesson that humans should not be in the mountains after the snow flies, but the end result is that the Ute are given a dance, from Bear, to celebrate her spirit and power. Goss (2000: 44-47; 2003) also reminds us that the Bear Dance must be done each spring to propitiate the mountain spirits before any traditional Ute would attempt to go up on a mountain trail. The mountains are dangerous in the winter and rituals must be completed. Bears' rules must be followed since they are guardians of mountain resources; some say that the first spring thunderstorms are the voice of bears in the mountains. The Utes have a sacred responsibility to approach high altitude areas and high trails in a sacred way. The traditional map of landscape is passed down to the younger generations through the annual Bear Dance and telling of the Bear Dance story.

SEXUAL THEMES IN UTE TRADITIONAL STORIES

Powell (Fowler and Fowler 1971: 19), Smith (1974: 257) and Stewart (Howell 1998: 52) make note of the abundance of references to sex and anal themes in Ute folklore. While none of these were forthcoming in the stories or interviews I collected (except for the veiled reference to the sexual relations between the she-bear and human man in Bear Dance story above), there is one theme, the frozen penis phenomenon, which I would not have thought much

about had I not encountered it twice. Geneva Accawanna, Northern Ute, shared the following story while at the Visitor's Center in Rocky Mountain National Park on August 11, 2004. The Wasatch Range is located in North-central Utah.

> "Brigham Young was exploring one winter with two Ute men. They were waiting on the top of a high peak for Brigham Young and one of them said, 'WA A SEE YA CHEN' which translates as 'My penis is freezing.' WA A means penis, SEE YA means cold or freezing, and CHEN means my. Brigham young overheard this discussion just as he was nearing the two men and asked, "Did you say Wasatch?" In delight, the men did not answer, and so he believed he had the Ute name for the mountain range: Wasatch" (Accawanna 2004, personal communication).

Goss (1972a: 12) records the Ute word for penis as wi?a=pi, so perhaps there is some linguistic truth to this story.

On October 24, 1937 (a Sunday) Omer Stewart recorded the following story in a letter to his wife, Lenore.

"Now let me tell you the star account I have received. Today Karoomp offered this supposedly true story, and said several old people had repeated it. It seems the old time Pagö Ute wore a minimum of clothing in the pre-white days. In fact, they often went absolutely nude even in winter. One terribly cold winter day a group of men were standing and jumping around a newly made fire when one man's penis snapped right off; it having been frozen stiff. The victim didn't realize his condition until one of the other men noticed the organ on the ground and picked it up. He asked whose it was, and the poor frost bitten fellow looked down at the spot his own propagator was supposed to be. Fortunately, the poor fellow didn't have to go through life sans joy; he bled to death as he thawed before the fire" (Howell 1998: 53).

III Arapaho

According to the Northern Arapaho informants who were in Rocky Mountain National Park, August 5-6, 2003 (especially Alonzo Moss), the following three *published* stories are believed to have taken place while the Arapaho were living in Colorado's high country. The Arapaho told abbreviated versions of each in Arapaho. WOHEI means "next topic, next stanza." It otherwise is used to mean okay, now, then, so well, yes, good, hello, goodby—a very open-ended Arapaho phrase. Heebe is "hello" between two men, and is much more restricted in use (Cowell 2006, personal communication)

NII'EHIIHO' "EAGLES"
(Moss 1993; Cowell and Moss 2005: 67-99).

Wohei! Another story from long ago when the Indian always lived like this, before they were rounded up and lived like we are living now. Arapaho always remembered the proper way. That's how it used to be. You just couldn't take anything for yourself, for any reason. These old men of the tribe used to warn their people.

Wohei! Here are theses eagles, eagles, those that are way up there. That's what they're called. You know them-they have white tail feathers.

Wohei! Here is this one man. These old men of the tribe had warned him, "You can only take those eagles, those young eagles, from their nests four times. If you pass that number then it is dangerous. It becomes dangerous. Something that is no good might fall upon you. Or you might get yourself into trouble with it." That is what these old men had said. That is the way they lived before. They believed that these eagles were held in high regard.

Wohei! There was this man who wanted to take these eagles down. He knew where they were. Wohei! Then he started to climb this mountain. He had already told it to those here- his grandfathers, his fathers. "Wohei! Grandfather! Wohei! Grandfather! I am going to go and take those eagles down again."

"How many times have you done this?"

"Four times now," he said

"Wohei! Wait! That's enough now. No one can pass that number. They can be taken down four times. Wohei! Let it be, now."

He had already taken them down four times. Wohei! He wanted to do that again and go past that number of four. This would be his fifth time.

Then the old men warned him. His grandfather told him, "No, don't do that."

Now, regardless, and in disregard, he started walking that way, and then he started to climb. This mountain here was very high. Finally, he made the climb up to the place where these eagles were, these young eagles.

Now he is going to take them down, but he has already taken them down four times. Now he will go past that- do it more- over do what he was told about taking these eagles.

Wohei! He made it to the top. And now with his robe here, he wanted to take them down again. Here they are! Somehow it happened these eagles have seen him from where they were. Then they flew down quickly and knocked him off. Accidentally, he landed right on top of this nest. It was high. Now they were flying down. They wanted to knock him off, but he held on tightly. How long was he there? It was a long time. Soon he became hungry.

Wohei! That's when these eagles flew back to where he was.

Wohei! That's when he began talking to these eagles.

"Wohei! You eagles. Try to have pity on me. I know what I have done. I have done wrong. I have done wrong. I did not listen. I did not listen to those old men. They were warning me. They were warning others. This was about taking eagles down. You are the ones," he told them. "So that you will have pity on me- you will pity me- I am not going to do that anymore. I won't do it. Even now I've had enough. That's enough! I have done enough for myself. I have done enough to myself. I will not take any more eagles down." That's what he was saying.

"Okay, we will have pity on you. We will have mercy for you. Wohei! Listen! We will have to warn you, too. Don't eat this. Don't eat it. Don't eat from there- where the sinew on the back is."

"Friend, don't eat it. Don't even eat a little bit of it. If you do that, if you eat it, then you will look like us. You will be like that. We will be ready. We will get ready for you. We will know about you right away. We will be watching you all along."

Wohei! That is how they warned him!

"It will happen if it is like that. And if you eat it accidentally, we will get ready for you. This, how we look, this is how it is. You will already- you will already look like us. You will be an eagle. Wohei! You will know whenever you eat it by mistake. You will know it right away. You will know it. Now, this woman you are living with, you will tell her about it so she won't cook it. So that she will cook you the other kind. But you are restricted from this kind. You will not, you will not eat it. Understand that! Explain it clearly to that woman you are living with so that she won't cook it for you. Make sure that she doesn't dare forget that. An that is how we are warning you, too. So it will be."

"Wohei! Get ready!" they told him. So then he got ready. "You must close your eyes, we are going to help you. You are going home. Now here are these- our, our legs. You will hold on to them. You must close your eyes tightly and we will tell you then you can open your eyes."

Then they flew away with him, away up high that way. I don't know for how long.

"Wohei! You can open you eyes now," they told him.

Then he opened his eyes and let go just in time as he hit the ground. Then he started reeling. Then they flew back up and he looked at them. And they were circling far away up above, until-until he couldn't see them.

Wohei! He started walking then. It was very far.

Wohei! Here they are! He came up these elk. He caught one and then got on it. Then this elk took him home. And it also talked to him. "I'm going to take you home." Wohei! This elk took him home in a good way. Far away. Finally, it brought him to where his people the Arapaho were living.

Wohei! Here was his home. They were camped in clusters like they used to be. Then he jumped off this elk and started waking to his home, far into the cluster of the camp. And his wife was there.

"Where did you go? Where have you been?"

"Yeah, remember there was a warning. I was warned about these eagles. And that is where I have come from. Here is this elk, he brought me back home. He just left from here now."

Wohei! That's when he told his wife, "Wait! Let's see, I am going to tell you something."

She said, "Wait! Eat!" she told him. Then he ate.

"Wohei! You must call my father and my grandfather."

"I am going to. "Wait!" She said, "Wait!" she told him. "I am going to look for wood. I am going to get ready, too."

Wohei! That's how he lived for sometime. He would just tell them stories. He would tell these old men, his father, again, another time, what he had done and how he made a mistake and how he got back home. Wohei! How he was warned.

Wohei! That's what he did. He told stories about how he lived way over on that mountain, when he lived in that nest which was very high. Wohei! That's when he told how he was warned by these eagles not to eat this.

"Whenever you eat it by mistake, those eagles will be ready. They will watch me closely. They will know it. That's how powerful eagles are."

Wohei! That is how he lived. He would go hunting, too.

Wohei! Now it was sometimes here that they killed a buffalo and brought it home. Then his wife cooked some for him. Wohei! Like when anyone is happy like this, she just put all the meat in to cook. And now this meat was all together, along with the part where the sinew is. She didn't know where the sinew was.

Wohei! Then his wife fed him. "Wohei! Here it is. Eat!" she said.

He was hungry because it was far to where they were hunting these elk, these buffalo. They brought a buffalo home. He ate it up now. He had already eaten too much. Then he remembers. After.

"Did you cook the part I was warned about?"

"Eii! I made a mistake," she told him. "I make a mistake."

"Well, let's see! Where are they? I have eaten them up already. I have eaten what I warned you about."

Wohei! Now he told his wife to fold these sides up.

"Fold the sides of this tepee up. Call all my relatives over—all my relatives—so that my relatives will come stand close around this tepee. So they can see it. Get ready! I will get ready now, too. You must tell these people here to look way up there and see. Whenever they see these eagles so that they will- they will know that they are coming for a man. You try to be ready, so they will be ready.

Then I will get ready, too. I will get ready. I will get ready for these eagles. I will join and be one of them because they have said it. Do not be afraid because it has to be like that- because of the way I did wrong. On account of what I ate by mistake- the thing that was forbidden, what I was warned about."

Wohei! He was going to sit down, so that's what he did. He sat there. So, here is the tepee. Inside the tepee the sides were rolled up. Okay, now all the people were watching. And now the front was open. Then he sat down. His wife was crying around because she had made a mistake.

Wohei! That's when it happened. Gee, it made a noise, like a person, from the sky above. The men here, outside, were cheering. They were hollering.

Wohei! There they are!

Wohei! Now they are flying around in a circle!

Wohei! Now here is this man- here is this man sitting there.

Wohei! Now it was just like smoke. He was wrapped with it. He was wrapped with this smoke like a blanket. When it was smoking, everything was smoking. Something from the smoke was forming inside. That's where he was.

Wohei! When this smoke was like it was cleared away, an eagle was sitting there. He stood up. He looked around, blinking his eyes. He had white tail feathers. Then he jumped out. After he got out he hollered like a whistle. The eagles whistled back. They were flying close now. Then the people separated, too. They all moved from this tepee where they were all standing.

Wohei! He started walking, then started jumping, then he flew away. Soon he was way up there flying around, too, towards those two eagles that were circling. He met them there. Together he flew around with them above. Everyone was watching on. They were all watching those eagles. Soon they were up where the clouds are. On past them-above.

Wohei! That's how it was. This man flew away. He mistakenly ate the sinew even though the eagles warned him not to. He ate what he was warned against- what he was warned against. He was told all this by these eagles before he became an eagle. He used to take the sinew out of his mouth. He would put it down. He would put it down and take more out.

Wohei! That's when he was wrapped with this smoke. It was like that after he took all the sinew out and put it down. Now that was it after he cleared all the sinew away. That's when he was formed into an eagle. That's it. That is what he was warned about.

Wohei! Now that is how he started to live with those eagles above where they are. This eagle said, "Watch for me. I will be here whenever it is cloudy. You will see my eyes blinking—my blinking eyes."

Wohei! That's how it came to be. When this person here blinking his eyes, then the thunder came with lightening. That's when.

"That is what you will know. That I am that eagle. I will be there above in the sky when it gets cloudy.

Thunderbird is what it is called. That is what they call it—the Thunderbird.

"I will be there – that is where I will be. It's not when it is raining steadily. It's where there is a Thunderbird Cloud, that is where I will be. I will make lightning when I blink my eyes. I will think back to the time that I used to be from here."

Wohei! That is the way with these stories. It's how these stories come about, way over there, further back to the Indian before us. How he lived with respect like when he received something in a sacred way. You didn't take anything sacred just to be taking it because you may be doing something wrong. Then you might get into trouble with something that is dangerous. That's just the way a person lived. A person just didn't take anything sacred or he didn't pass it on without reason.

Well, he walked a straight path. He didn't cross anyone's path. You didn't cross in front of an old man while he was smoking, either. You didn't cross in front of him until he was through smoking. Only then you could cross. That's how it was.

But right now it is really wild. Right now people are going every which way. But before, it wasn't like that. And now it is like this: our old men have left and taken with them all that is sacred. It is just like the old men have left us with a little bit of the sacred ways they owned. We know a little of these, but back there long ago those old men knew about everything. Like how it was to keep trying and survive. Others know about the night. Others know about the day. They all knew about something- all of them.

In whatever way they fasted, they would also ask for what they wanted. They would receive what they needed when they fasted. Four days, four nights- then they were also to doctor people.

"Wohei! What is it you are asking for?"

Wohei! Then they would tell.

Wohei! They would tell all those who wanted something about living a good life. A person would have to live right. They would have to help in every way for a

good life. That is what they would do. They would not take anything just to be taking it until when persons fasted.

Wohei! Then they would make altars with something where they fasted.

Wonei! That is what they did and how they lived because they lived with respect and ways like that. They would go a long way with medicine. They would go a long way. Whatever they would say, they said it along with everyone, blessing themselves with their talk.

Wohei! That is what I am saying to you, the students, so that you will listen. Tell these stories among yourselves, so that you may ask yourselves- let's see- how much you really believe. What will you think?

That is it. That is all I have to say to you" (Moss 1993; Cowell and Moss 2005: 67-99).

Meaning: A young man does wrong but is given a second chance; only when he does wrong again is he punished. There are numerous inversions in this story: 1) the young man decides to take eagles out of the nest, but falls into the nest; 2) usually eagle capture is accomplished by waiting in an underground pit below a baited trap, then grabbing the eagle by the legs and suffocating it in a blanket. In this narrative the man also grabs the eagles legs, but in this case it is in order to be transported by the eagle to the ground; 3) the man has a blanket with him which he never gets to use, but in the end is enveloped by smoke as if he were in a blanket; 4) after being helped by the eagles, the man is carried home by an elk whom he rides, whereas it is usually the hunter who carries the animal on his back; 5) the wife's failure to listen carefully to her husband echoes his failure to listen to the elders earlier. The double failure to listen leads to his final fate. Food restrictions, especially related to the receipt of superhuman powers, were a common phenomenon among the Arapaho. Smoke is a sign of the miraculous and magical (from Cowell and Moss 2005: 67-69).

I asked Alonzo Moss what the Arapaho would have done with eagles that they captured. Alonzo replied that the Arapaho raised eaglets, securing them with a rawhide tether. He also said that they are tough to raise. He said they raised them for their feathers and then usually let them go. Later, however, when they learned that white men killed them, they didn't always let them go.

On the occasion when they did kill them or find them dead, they would utilize the head, claws, and wings (Moss 2003, personal communication).

In the Arapaho Eagle story, a human who transgresses the rule of not taking more than four eaglets, is metamorphosed into an eagle, a mystical thunderbird; and thunder and lightning are created. The importance of following the proper tenets was expressed by the Arapaho in their summer 2003 visit to Rocky Mountain National Park. An abridged example is as follows.

A long story was told about the proper possession of medicines and how it should and should not be used. The story was told in Arapaho, so in response to my query: "Could you summarize that in English?" I was told: "Well, I don't know if I should" and then Howard Antelope Sr. continued (in English) "We were talking from the beginning from over there. We shouldn't talk about these things. That's what we said, these things are there. There's not respect; some would go right ahead and start talking about it. Unless if it's entirely necessary. So, I'm sorry on that part. I have my family to think about" (Antelope 2003). While the specifics were not detailed, the theme of the importance of what is proper behavior and what is not was taught to me both directly and indirectly; it is a common mythological motif for the Arapaho (Eagle Story) and Ute (Origin of Bear Dance Story).

Rocky Mountain National Park biologist, Jeff Connors, noted that there may be an ecological rationale to this eagle story. Eagles only breed for eight to twelve years; the female typically lays two eggs, but sometimes only one is hatched. Since eagles mate for life, Connors says that four eaglets might be around half of one eagle couples' breeding capacity, and so the warning to not take more than four is probably founded on ecological knowledge of eagle breeding patterns (Connors 2003, May 7, personal communication).

" 'HINONO'EI HONOH'OE' 'THE ARAPAHO BOY"'

(Moss 1995: 62-68; Cowell and Moss 2005: 289-311.)

Wohei! Now again, I'm going to tell you another story. You listen. Long ago – there. The way it was before. Let's see how they lived, those people who lived only in the tepee. They lived wild. The way I heard the old men tell it, these people were wild. Arapaho Indians. The way it is right now is really different.

Wohei! I am going to tell you a story about a young boy, a young child. A young boy, a small boy. He was about, say, eight years old or maybe seven years old. He wasn't grown up.

Wohei! The boy told them that the enemy [Ute] has – yes! – stolen horses from them. Well, there were seven of these boys that were brave, and they followed the enemy. They all had only these chasing horses. The chasing kind. The kind they rode were the horses that you chase with.

Wohei! That's when this young boy asked for a white horse. "I want one that is white. Grandfather, you could buy that for me. I am going along on a chase so that we may have something, too, because there are just two of us. We are poor. Understand, so that you may give me permission."

Wohei! Then, go on. I am going to fix you spiritually. I will bless you with medicine. I am going to ask these old men to come over so that they can smudge you, so that they will bless you with medicine," his grandfather told him.

Wohei! So that's what they did. That's when the old men came. Those old men blessed him with medicine so he wouldn't get hurt. He would know what to do because he wanted the white horse.

"Wohei! I am going along," he told his grandfather. That's when this young boy went along.

Wohei! He took the lead. He saw their tracks in the night just like he would see them in the daytime.

Wohei! That's when they started going – riding away, riding away – these boys that are going to follow the enemy who stole their horses. They went along that way, somewhere farther up the hill along that creek, that way to where there's a canyon. To that mountain, and then inside of the mountains. That way.

Then the boy signaled them to stop. They didn't talk, they just used sign language. They didn't talk. That's when the boy signaled to stop. Then they tied their horses there, close to the place. He knew where the enemy was, along with the horses. Now they are here, where the enemy has hidden the horses that they have stolen. He is in the middle of the brush.

The young boy told the men who were there. "I will be the one, I will be the one who will go capture. I will go, I will go to capture. I will go scalp him so that I will have something. I want the things that you have." He told these men here, "and my grandfather and I will have them, too. So that we may own these things, too, because we are poor. So that we will have horses."

Wohei! That's what he did. Wohei! Now they were truly close to the place where this enemy was, in the middle of the brush. In the middle of the brush. That's when – wohei! – that's when they were all close to this place. Quietly. They didn't make any noise while walking. It was done properly, deliberately.

Wohei! Then they were near.

Wohei! But they were not quite there yet!
The boy then asked another man who was with them, Wohei! You will lead me. You will lead me to this place where the enemy is. I will go capture him. I'm going to scalp him."

Wohei! "Okay, friend," he told him. "I really don't know about the night. I can't do it. If it were daytime I could help you, but I don't know about the night. Let's see, go ask another one here – go ask our friend."

Wohei, so the boy called for another man. "Wohei! Come this way Wohei! Friend. Wohei! Now you will lead me to this place where the enemy is, so that I will capture. So that I will scalp him."

"Heebe! Yes, friend, I really don't know about the night," he was told. "Let's see. You might as well go ask our other friend there – well, he might be able to help you. He might know about the night."

Oh! Oh! Then the boy went to the next man. Wohei! The only thing the man told him was Wohei! Now friend, I wish I could do it. I would be willing. I would have taken you there. I would have led you to the place where the enemy is."

Now the boy is on his fourth try. The man and the boy called out to yet another person.

"Do you know him?" asked the man.

"Yes, I know him," said the boy. Wohei! And he did.

The man said, "Wohei! Bluebird, you are the fourth one. See this young boy. He will be going to the enemy. Wohei. This way, my friend, come quickly." Wohei! Then Bluebird came.

"Wohei! Now you will lead me, you who are called Bluebird. Wohei! Birds are said to be powerful," said the boy.

"Heebe. Hello friend. Gee, I know that, but I don't know about the night. I don't know my grandson. Whenever it is day, that's when I will help you. Then I will."

The man then said, "Wohei! It might as well be someone else! Now, over there, we will call out to that man. Wohei! Friend Black Eagle, here is this young boy. He has something to ask you. Let's see. Wohei! Come this way, friend. Come quickly."

Wohei! The boy went to ask him. "Well, Black Eagle perhaps you will lead me. Here is that enemy, the one who stole the horses. I will go capture him."

"Yes, friend. I really don't know about this night."

And then the man said, "Wohei! Now it might as well be that other man, Powerful Hawk. Come this way," the man told the boy. "Wohei! This way."

Wohei! They walked over to Powerful Hawk.

"Wohei! Powerful Hawk! Will you take me to the enemy?"

"Wohei! Friend, you came to the right place. I know about the night. Hawk, Powerful Hawk is my name. That is why it is my name. I will lead you there. Wohei! Come on. It will be good. It is good you asked me. I will lead you there."

Wohei! Then they started walking slowly. It was as if they weren't heard. Now, when Powerful Hawk was really near the enemy, he said, "There he is. There he is sleeping. He is sleeping there. Get ready the thing you are going to capture with. Get it ready. And I am going to watch you closely because something might happen. Wohei! Get ready."

Then the boy crawled over there slowly. After he was close, Powerful Hawk said, "Wohei! Now, friend! Do it!"

Wohei! That's when the boy hit the enemy. He just happened to hit him right in the middle where his hair was. Then he stuck the weapon he used to hit him into the ground. It was stuck in the ground.

Wohei! Now, then, the boy hollered and then Powerful Hawk said, "Wohei!"

Wohei! Then the others all ran in. Just then the boy had finished scalping the hair of the enemy. Now! Now! He has already captured him. He is done. The others had run in there, too. They also scalped. "'Oohei! – 'Oohei." And they said that after they scalped the enemy here. That's what they did to this enemy who stole the horses.

This boy here has already accomplished what he vowed to do. He is done. Wohei! Now he can hold this scalp up when he wants to. He tied the scalp of

the enemy here. Wohei! This was his first capture and that is why he tied it around his waist.

Wohei! Well, that's it. That's it. That is what this boy here had done. He had gone through with it. When he got home, it was announced what he had done. How he captured the enemy. And how the stolen horses were chased back.

Wohei! Then they had a dance. Wohei! Then they were all given horses, including a white saddle horse that was given to the young boy. It was a fast horse. Wohei! He could then be included in the chase. He was given chasing horses. Wohei! He was given what arrows he would use. He would now go along in hunting with the others. Everything was given to him because of what he had done. That is how he came to belong. He was included with the men. He was now one of those who were called men, even though he was just a small boy. That's where he now stood.

Wohei! Now he started to go along when they were chasing. He also now had chasing horses. Fast horses. Wohei! That is how he lived now. Wohei! That is how this young boy earned these things. That's how powerful he was. That is how he grew up with everything, even things used in fighting the enemy. That is how it was. He acquired many things, and that is how he grew up with these. He was useful. He had done a favor to his grandfather.

Wohei! In return his grandfather then gave him things like this tepee. Then that's how this young boy lived. Soon he grew up with all this. He was a very useful boy.

Wohei! You young boys, young children—you are students. Listen carefully. Here is this brave young boy. He bravely undertook what he had to do right away. Wohei! You students—in whatever you do—young boys, young girls—bravely undertake what you need to do right away. Take what you are being taught in the right way, take it in a sacred way. Know things sacredly. Walk in a sacred way. Take all these things first in the right way, in the sacred way. Shake each other's hand. Have respect for the old man. Whatever he is doing, don't walk in front of him. Don't run fast in front of him if he should be talking. If he is smoking, don't run in front of him. Take his hand in the right way or shake his hand, or maybe you might have something you may give to him. Do good things for the old people. And in return they may tell you something and reward you with something priceless, like a long life. Relationship, friendship—in the Arapaho way no one hates another, there is only love for each other. That is the Arapaho way. This boy loved everything, including all his people. And he had that respect for everything in their way of life. He even had respect for people—he was good to visitors and he gave them many good things.

Wohei! So now, you students will be able to do these things. You young boys be strong, so that your mind will be good, so you may talk the right way, say

good things. So that you may be able to say, "That's the right way." After you have finished speaking, you will be able to say, "Good!" (Moss 1995: 62-68; Cowell and Moss 2005: 289-311.)

Meaning: This story is a difficult one to follow; I am unfamiliar with Arapaho oral tradition and so cannot interpret the elements of darkness, power in stealing horses, and the like. Even Cowell (Cowell and Moss 2005: 289-90), does not elaborate on the meaning of the story. He says, "Paul Moss offers a story of a young boy who bravely seized things in order to help his elders and his tribe, and then urges the students [this story was told by Paul Moss to a group of high school Arapaho-language students in 1980] to whom he is talking to follow suit." The young boy will act *heetih* 'so that' four different positive things will occur; students are urged to be respectful to elders and to Arapaho tradition.

COO30' TIHNOOXEIHT – THE ENEMY TRAIL
(Cowell and Moss 2005).

The Enemy Trail [INTRODUCTION]

1 "[This is a story about] where the Arapahos lived long ago; [about] those mountains, these [mountains] where there are caves. I have seen how it is there where the Arapahos lived long ago, down along the river, at that … down south; at that place where it's high.
Wohei that was where the Arapahos stayed.
That was where there was a stream flowing down; down from on top [of the mountain].
That's where they were camped.
There are many streams [there], and the camp was always located close to them.
About it … I am going to tell a story [about that place there].

2 They were camped.
Customarily at those mountains, that is where they would stay, because … the place down here that is flat [just below the mountains]; at those mountains, near those mountains, where the waters were good, or because the hunting was good there.
They tied their horses up at various spots there [near the camp].
They made corrals for them with pine branches.

3 Wohei and this, this is where they were camping.

It was a clustered circular camp.

4 Wohei and in some way, in some way those [horses], customarily those horses would be guarded.
Some people tied them up.
Wohei others guarded them.
Wohei [from camp] they watched over them way out there away from camp.
From a high prominence, or like this, [from] a [high] place close by the mountains they would watch over them.

[THE HORSE THIEF]

5 Wohei then, here is the place where they are camping, well …
It seems like there's nothing unusual going on: they were just going about their business.
But somehow unexpectedly he came from I don't know where, this enemy showed up from someplace.
That's what I call him, an enemy.

6 Wohei people from other tribes – Utes or Navajos or those others from wherever – he was in that area.
He would come [to the camp] in a hidden, secretive manner.
He's going to fetch [steal] some of these horses back with him.
He's going to fetch them back quietly.
Customarily that was how the Indians had lived ever since long ago.
They did not walk noisily.
[A man must be] careful, or …

7 Wohei [an Arapaho] kept watch on the [animals] because [the enemies] might flush them: rabbits or eagles, eagles which [enemies] might flush out of there somehow.
[Enemies] would be discovered; it would be known that a person was there.
Wohei that's it: [an Arapaho] would keep watch [on the situation].

8 Wohei [the thief] looked over [the situation], wohei just slowly, cleanly, quietly.
Wohei he managed to get right up to the place where the horses were tied up.
He examined them all carefully to see which ones he'd use, which ones he was going to steal.
This [enemy] is going to steal some horses.
It was not far to that place on the other side of that mountain [where he had come from].
The plains come to a stop there like that, [but] a stream flows down here and that [stream], it splits the land [into a canyon] right there.
Wohei another [stream] like that flows on the other side of the mountain [as well].

9 Wohei that's it.

Wohei that was where [he was from] … I don't know how far he had walked.
Whoever he was, enemy, that was just what he was called, enemy.
Wohei.

10 Wohei it's really dark; those, the light in the sky, the moon: there was none.
It was very dark.
There was none.
It is very dark.

11 Wohei [the thief] got things prepared correctly.
He started by checking out the horses carefully, checking them out carefully,
so that eventually [the horses] would come to get accustomed to him,
so that eventually the horses would be accustomed to him
so that eventually they would know about him because …
[so that] he would come to be accustomed and they would come to be accustomed [to the fact] that he was there,
because he got them used used to the presence of a person.
He got these horses used to his presence.

12 Wohei here's the camp circle.
Customarily the Arapahos camped in a circle.

13 Wohei then he calculated how far along the night was using the stars.
[The Indians] used to calculate by the stars in the old days.
There were no clocks, only stars.
That was the only way one knew what time it was.
That's how an Indian, the Arapahos, knew it: there were no clocks.

14 Wohei once the time came when the horses were accustomed to him, then he knew it.
Wohei then slowly he led the horses along [away from the corral], properly, slowly.

15 Wohei then he led them here, to that place where he's leading them to: a hidden place close by, down there at the river;
like that, towards there in back of the camp, back there.
[He did] that slowly … he is being careful [about avoiding] breaking sticks or something like that, [avoiding that] the horses … or that those horses should snort to each other.
Should [a horse] whinny, that would not be good, that would not be good.
Once he was a little … he is leading them a little father along; he's leading them over there close by.

16 And then he mounted his saddle horse.
He led one of the others up the slope [alongside him].
The others followed two by two.

He will hold onto [their reins] tightly, very tightly.
Then he started trotting his horse there [farther away from the camp].
Soon faster, [he went] a little faster down there close to the river, along the mountains, (the ones I'm talking about, where there are openings, caves in the ground.)
And I saw that area in the mountains; [the caves] are located there.

17 Wohei that was when … the Arapahos had seen that, that place where it's windy,
That place where …
Wohei that's how it is.

18 Wohei [the horse thief] just decided to [steal the horses] for no reason, he just decided to do it and then …
Then again, a little slowly, quietly [he led them along] and then …
[He was quiet because] they might hear it.
They might hear him.
Then he just rode along.

19 Wohei then he rode along quietly.
Soon [he had ridden] quite a ways now.
Quite a ways [from the camp].

[THEFT DISCOVERED, AND ARAPAHO RESPONSE]

20 Wohei at that, that [place where the clustered camp circle was], those men who had been asked to watch over [the corral] came over to check up on things.
Occasionally they would check on those horses which were tied up.

21 Wohei then they saw it.
Wohei those other horses were not tied up in there.
They were not: gee!
Then they asked each other: "did you see anything? did you see anything?"
"No. Our horses have been stolen from us."

22 Wohei customarily it was done like this:
customarily everyone went to that chief's tipi, to those old men; to where the old men stayed.
That was the Arapaho custom: they stayed [in the chief's tipi].
They were the first ones to be asked about where medicines were located.

23 Wohei then people came over and these old men were consulted in the matter.
"What is your problem?" they are asked by these old men.
"What's your problem?"
"A theft has just occurred, our horses have been stolen from us.

Some enemy has stolen [our] horses."
Wohei.

24 Wohei here he is this one old man.
"You all go obtain one!";
Get him a white horse, a white horse."

25 Wohei then a white horse was sought.
It was led over there for him, for this old man.

26 Wohei then he blessed it, he blessed this horse.
Customarily that's what the Arapahos did.
Things would be ceremonially blessed; that's how they did things.
For no reason they didn't … they didn't just try doing things for no reason.
Customarily that's what they did so that … they would be truthful and sincere.
This horse that was going to be used was ceremonially blessed, the one that was going to follow the horse thief.
The horse thief was going to be searched for.

27 Wohei there's the horse.
Then it was brought over to the place where the old man was, to the place towards which the chief's tipi was facing, to the place where the old man was at.[9]

28 Wohei then he cedared; he blessed [the horse].
[The horse] was ceremonially blessed.
Wohei they attached feathers all over here: in its mane, wohei all over, around the eyes, wohei on its legs, all over.

29 Wohei then the old man as well, he was blessed.
He was ceremonially blessed.
He was blessed in the various ways.
That's what the old men did;
he was cedared.
He was cedared.
It might have been … [it was] not that juniper [incense], [but rather] that beaver [incense].
That was customarily what they used, that medicinal incense; that was it.

30 Wohei that's how it was: properly … now he had been made proper [for the mission].
He will follow [the horse thief]; now he's going to track him.

31 Wohei the time arrived when he was ready, the time came to depart.
And then the announcement was made through the camp:
"Walk to the back of the camp! don't get in the way!"
"You remain in your lodges." [said] the old man.[13]

Wohei as for the others: "you brave young men, get on your horses! you will come along.
All the brave young men, you will come along.
We will follow him, this enemy, the horse thief."

32 It's very dark.
Wherever it was where [the thief] had led the horses could not be seen.
[The horse thief] could not be seen.

33 Wohei here's the old man who had been blessed.
Then he got on the white horse, the white-colored horse he had.
Then he rode around, around the camp, around.
Four times: he did that until he reached the fourth time.
It was the fourth time.

34 Wohei wohei now, wohei then he saw the place where [the enemies] left tracks.
It's a very dark night.
Because he had received great power, well then [the old man] saw where they had left tracks.
A person couldn't see that, but this one because he had been blessed, [he could see].
Since he was ceremonially blessed, then he saw where [the thief] had led the horses through.
He was going to … track after that enemy there.

35 Wohei here are these young men who are going along, the ones who are following him.
They were all carrying arrows, wohei the things they used to scalp with, wohei knives.

36 Wohei then [he went] there [where the tracks led] slowly; he didn't ride quickly.
It is a very dark night; he rode along.
A long ways, they are riding a long ways along this mountain; over there: way away I don't know how far.

37 Wohei [they got to] the place I was talking about, here where they are, these caves, this land, this place where there are many cliffs, or dug out/excavated areas.
Bears stayed somewhere around there, or various things like that.
Others [would find] mountain lions there; typically [caves] were located there.
Wohei that's what he did.

38 Wohei they had already ridden so far that it was getting light.
It was getting light again now along the place where they were tracking.

They were tracking that [horse thief], this [horse thief].

39 Wohei right there was a stream, where it was flowing along.
[The enemies] had left tracks there.
At the time when it had gotten a little bit light, then they saw where he had led the horses along.
[They] slowly [followed the tracks] there; they couldn't [go too fast and alert the enemy].
Their horses [they were riding], they might be seen [by the enemy] on the lookout.
[They followed the tracks] right there, a ways farther along, up along the stream there, on both sides [of the stream].
The mountains were high all around there where the stream was flowing down.
It was high there on both sides, there up the slopes.
And that's where [caves] were located, where … where there were caves in the land.
And that's where [the cave the enemy was in] was located.
They didn't see [that cave] yet.

40 Wohei [they kept following the tracks] over there slowly and carefully.
Carefully … just … soon they dismounted.
They led the horses up there.
[They dismounted] across the river and kept a close watch on the horses [to keep them quiet].
Soon they apparently [found the tracks of the horses] which had been herded along [by the thief].
The horses had left fresh tracks which were still a little visible, [as well as] wohei the eagles, [note: eagle does not fit here; Moss may have meant enemy] [as well as] the one who had led the horses up here over the mountains, he had left tracks heading up there.
I don't know how far up there, up along the river there, on both sides here, here where the mountains are high on both sides.
Here's the stream flowing down from [the mountains].
Soon it was again kind of a burned area.
It was a long ways.

41 Wohei at the time when they could finally see [the stolen horses] a little bit, when [the leader] finally saw those horses tied up over there, then he motioned for them to stop, using sign language.
Wohei [they went] slowly;
he doesn't want to spook [the stolen horses].
"We will circle [our horses] over there.
Wohei we will bring [the horses] on over there.
We will circle them over there, nice and slow, slowly.
The other [stolen] horses here, they might whinny back and forth [to our horses]."

42 Wohei once they had moved closer to there, then they tied up the horses.
They were now even closer to those [stolen] horses which they were surveying, wohei those others over there.
They then ran on foot all the way up to [where the enemy was].
They are ready.
There's that place where … there where there are caves in the ground.
There are caves there, hollowed out, hollowed out, that's where [they went].

43 Wohei then they approached like this; they got ready like this.
They couldn't … they didn't want to speak or whistle and announce their presence.
They just used sign language with each other;
saying things from a distance.

44 Wohei that was how they told each other "now we're ready.
We're all ready. Wohei."

45 Wohei, here are these [stolen] horses that are tied up.
Now they led the [stolen] horses over there [away from where the enemy had left them].
They took them way away over there.

[THE ARAPAHOS VERSUS THE THIEF]

46 Wohei the [cave] I'm talking about was dark, really dark.
Maybe [the enemy] couldn't see them, or it wasn't clear to them what was going on inside where he was.
[One of them] stuck his head up right there to check things out.
Wohei sure enough there was a gunshot in his direction.
[The enemy] missed him; he missed him wohei.

47 Wohei there was one; there was one man.
He didn't know a lot about these things.
Wohei then he stuck his head up.
[He left it] up.
[The enemy] took aim towards him.
[The enemy] waited for him.
"Stick your head up someplace else!" the [leader] said to him.
He didn't [listen]; then he stuck his head up again [in the same place].

48 And now [the enemy] killed the one who didn't stick his head up someplace else.
He was only [supposed to] show his head the first time.
That was how he stuck his head out again and now [the enemy] has already [aimed];
he was [shot and] killed right here on top of his head.

49 That's it: [some of] these Indians, young men, young boys, they don't know a lot about sticking their heads up in a different place each time whenever they were attacking the enemy.
It would be [stuck up] at a different place [each time].
Those who were sticking their heads up wouldn't do it [the same place].
The movements were all different [each time].

50 Wohei that was [a remark] about how he stuck his head up again [in the same place].
[He] just [did it again], and now [the enemy] had already [aimed] and he was killed.
That's how it was; that was what [the young men] were warned about [by the leader].

51 Wohei then they surrounded the place, those others, those who had tied up [and stayed with] the horses.
Wohei then they all shot into the cave there, but ???.
Wohei, and he shot back in return.
Others … [shot with] arrows, arrows.
They didn't use … once in a while a gun [was used].

52 Wohei that's it. ???
"Wohei, wohei, might as well [keep trying]" they said.
The old man who was leading, that one who had followed the tracks [said]:

53 "Wait! wait!
Like this, well … gather wood! gather up some wood!
Gather up some wood!
Everybody [gather] sagebrush: we're going to fry him with it.
Outside here we'll light a fire, and then we'll push it in there.
We'll burn him up; we'll just fry him."
Wohei they're going to be waiting for him;
He's going to come out [of the cave] then, but he won't [be able to escape].

54 "Wohei might as well."
Then they gathered wood.
They gathered a lot of wood.
There was a big pile of it.
Wohei.

55 Wohei then they lit a fire, they lit a fire.
[They lit it] with flints; there were not any matches [back then].
[They would light fires] with flint rocks.
Where it was dry, with that dry grass they would light a fire.
It smoked.

That's how they lit a fire: with flints and rocks.
There were no matches.
They just started the fire.
Once [the tinder] was started on fire, it flamed up there.

56 Wohei once they had gotten the fire really well lit with lots of sagebrush, with big sagebrush, wohei [and then] willows, just all [kinds of wood was piled on].
Well now they said …
Wohei those pieces of wood, then they were dragged together and laid criss-cross.
They are going to push it close there [inside the cave entrance] there.

57 And now that [enemy] was screaming, the enemy, once he is getting burned.
He can't [escape].
Then once it was really burning [inside the cave], then he tried to come out, but they would kill him instantly [if he did that].

58 Wohei then they had a big fire going.
They had the place really set on fire.
That's what [the people who told me this story] said; they fried him.
It was as if they were frying [*hocoo3óó3i'*] this enemy [*cóó3o'*] until he was almost completely burned up.
He was almost completely burned up.
Wohei that's it.

[CONCLUSION – SUMMATION OF THE STORY]

59 That's it, here's this story about the men, the young men who were brave when they saw [that the horses had been stolen].
This is what they did, what they did to this enemy who stole the horses.
That's it: those enemy horse stealers, that's how it was with them.
Indians [come] from somewhere, maybe from the other side of the mountains there, those Navajos or those others;
[They come] from there on the other side of the mountains, from that place where they live, those Indians.
That's how it is.

60 Wohei that's how they fried this enemy, because these young guardsmen were brave.

61 Here's this old man who was powerful, when he tracked at night, when he was able to see where their tracks went.
It was like the place over there where their tracks were illuminated.
He saw where they were as if it was lit up.
The places where their tracks were illuminated.

That's it: how powerful those old time Arapahos were, when they were ceremonially blessed.
When a thing was ceremonially blessed, that's how it went.

62 Wohei that's how it was.
The various [young men] each captured their horses.

63 Wohei here are these young men who saw [that the horses had been stolen].
They herded all the horses back together again.
[The herd] was led back home again.

64 And [they] also [pursued] the enemy until he was burned to death.
He was burned to death.

65 [It happened] at that place over there, that place there, down there, there in the south, at that area on the other side of those mountains, where there are caves in the mountains.
[It was at those] mountains where bears or whatever kinds of animal live.
Mountain lions take shelter there, or …
People didn't camp there any longer [when I went there myself];
[but] long ago [where] that man [did this], I saw where it was.
The Arapahos also, they had seen those caves where it's windy.
Those Arapahos had seen that area where the wind appeared [from within the caves] when they lived there.
That's it.

66 Wohei that's it, this story about the old man, when he tracked [the horsethief], about when he was blessed like that.
You don't just … you don't just do things like that for no reason.
Sacred powers aren't just used for no reason; they use them …
Because that was how the Arapahos lived when they had been ceremonially blessed.
Whatever they did, it was done straight, anything that was really true, anything [an Arapaho] is going to do that is really true and meaningful;
that is how he will accomplish something, how a thing is carried through successfully.
That is how a fire will be lit.
People will be satisfied with things.
People's wishes will be fulfilled.

67 That's it: that was how the old man tracked [the thief].
He saw where the tracks were as if it was lit up.
When morning came, they found [the thief].

68 Wohei that was how the enemy was detected: he was found with various powers.

[The story is about] when the old man saw where that [enemy] man had made tracks [leading away] from here.
It was like they were lit up.
Night, it was a really late at night.
There was no sun: it was a really dark night.
It was really dark.
That's the way things were.
That's it, like that, that's how it was.
That's the story of this enemy, the one who had stolen horses.

69 Wohei that's it; here's the story: its from a long time ago.
[It's about] that place there way far away, that place down south, in the mountains, in a mountainous area, there where the Arapahos lived long ago;
That place where the Arapahos lived long ago.
That is where this story is from; there are [many] stories about long ago.
They did a thing cleanly.
They didn't just do things for no reason.
Only when they were blessed [would they proceed with] whatever they were doing.
Whatever they were doing, a person was blessed.
They did these things very carefully.

70 Wohei here are these boys who are going along.
They knew it, they knew [about those powers].
They believed in it.
They would all cedar together [before going]: that's it.
Wohei that's how it was: those were the various things that the Arapahos did, those were the ways they lived when …

71 Wohei that's how it was.
They got up close [to the enemy, using] these types [of powers and knowledge].
They recaptured their horses.

72 Wohei then again they herded animals together, led them all home;
Gee, it was a long way back home.
And they rode a long way along the mountains, a little closer … then this … they started riding from there back here.

73 Wohei that's it, this story.
Here's this old man, the one who was asked to do something.

74 Wohei that's how it was.
He knew it, he knew what he should do.
Then he was ceremonially blessed, he was blessed, he was smudged.
Well those boys were smudged along with him.
Wohei the horses were blessed: them too.

[CONCLUSION – GENERAL COMMENTARY]

75 Wohei that's how it is, this Arapaho life. They do things with respect, everything is done with respect. Things aren't just taken for no reason. Things are not done like that for no reason. A person must do whatever he has been asked to do in a proper way, or he captures things in a clean way: he does it in the best way like that. That's it: then we set off to do whatever is to be done. That is how … whatever a person is asked to do, he takes along those kinds [of things and powers]. Like for example, that for example … then he still … a little bit, at least some [of these things], the Arapahos still have a little bit. There is [still] at least some of that left. And in those times way back there, there were lots, there were lots [of things] that they knew how to do, when they thought in a sacred way. Or [those doing something important] used to be respected as sacred; in a sacred way, a proper way they would be ceremonially blessed; or their clothes, their bucksin clothes [would be ceremonially blessed]. Things were blessed; in those days they only thought about things in a clean and sacred way. They watched over the birds and animals only [in a sacred way]: that's it.

76 Wohei that's what I'm telling you, what I'm telling you about the ways the Arapahos lived. [This was] long ago, a long time ago in the past. There … from here over there, there down south, over there is the place where … the Arapahos lived, where they lived. Right here in the middle of that area is the city of Cheyenne. [From here we roamed] way down south to that place there, there along those mountains.[16] That's the place where the Arapahos stayed. Their land, the Arapahos' land, that was what they had been given [by God]. It was the Arapahos who owned it. [But] because the White Man tricked us [out of the land], well here, here is where we live now. Wohei that's how it is.

77 And down south as well is [another place] where we were chased to like that. We escaped … the Arapahos fled back up here [to Wyoming] and hid. Soon here … those soldiers chased us here, here is the place here, this place where the Shoshones make their living. Wohei like that.

78 Wohei that's it, this story about when … so that you all can think about it. A long time ago the Arapahos always spoke truthfully. Arapaho language was truthful, [as well as] Arapaho ceremonies. Arapaho performances of their ceremonies, the Arapaho language, [they were true]. That's how it was. Whatever was going to be done, a thing was blessed. You didn't just start up doing something quickly. You didn't cross in front of or interrupt things. Things were only arranged in the straight, proper order, things were only said straight and properly. That's how it was. Well … then they would cedar, then they would rub themselves after cedaring so that they would speak truthfully.

79 Wohei that's how it was. That's what all of my relatives said about things, that is how it must be; "that's how you will know things." The students must listen

to it. [They must listen to] all the people who know the Arapaho language. They still read it a little bit, but I don't know whether they [still really] speak it today. But I don't know. Yes, because they only read it; I don't read it myself. That's how it was: we grew up with the Arapaho language [in the home].

80 Wohei that's how it was. I've said enough now about this enemy. You must remember it, you must tell it to your grandchildren and your children. Our grandfathers [told us the story about] that enemy long ago; about the ways that the Arapahos lived; that's how it was.

81 Wohei like that, that's what I have to say to you.
Wohei, now [the story is over].
That's how it was" (Cowell and Moss 2005).

Meaning: In Cowell and Moss's 2005 publication, *Hinóno'éinoo 3ítoono; Arapaho Historical Traditions* (Cowell and Moss 2005: 211-249), Cowell provides the following explanation of "The Enemy Trail." He states, "This account was related at some point in the 1980s, and was recorded on videotape. It was told in a tribal, public building, to a small audience of Arapahos, at least some of whom understood Arapaho. The narrative is somewhat similar to 'The Arapaho Boy,' as it focuses on theft and recovery of horses. However, it goes into much greater ethnographic detail about how horses were guarded and how they were stolen, and also about the tracking and defeat of the enemy. Moss takes an unusual amount of time to describe the setting as well—the mountains, canyons, streams, caves, high cliffs and so forth. Among all the stories in the collection, this one makes the most use of the natural locale to set a general mood of drama and danger for the events.

The exact location of the events is unknown. In another narrative, Moss refers to the 'wind caves' as being located near Walsenburg, Colorado. This 'river down south' which he refers to is the Arkansas River, and the setting for the events here is clearly along one of the mountain tributaries of the Arkansas, in south-central Colorado. There is a 'Wind Cave' tourist area in the mountains west of Colorado Springs.

One important reason for relating this account was to emphasize that the Arapahos' territory had once extended well south in Colorado. The details of the account (references to the presence of bears and mountain lions, use of the area to find medicines) serve to emphasize that the Arapahos had detailed knowledge of, and thus a strong claim to, areas around and south of

the Arkansas. Moss notes on several occasions that the Arapahos had already seen the area of the caves where the horse thief escapes to, and also says that he was taken to the area himself at some point in his life.

Stylistically, the narrative uses formal narrative devices such as the special past tense *hé'ih-* and the quotative *hee3oohók* on some occasions, but very irregularly. The narrative is clearly a historic account from the nineteenth century, and is treated largely as straight history from a stylistic perspective. It is perhaps notable that when Moss describes superhuman elements, such as the fact that the tracks of the enemy appeared illuminated due to the sacred powers of the old man, he uses *hé'ih-* more regularly. As with most of the narratives, the concluding remarks show the looser 'digression and return' style. We [Cowell and Moss] have italicized the words which serve to highlight the beginning of new strophes throughout the story, and used double slashes to indicate long pauses (Cowell and Moss 2005: 211-212).

IV Ute and Arapaho: The Story of Grand Lake

In a *Quick History of Grand Lake* author Michael Geary writes, "The exact origins of the name 'Grand Lake' are a little vague. The Ute Indians who once wandered its shores called it *Ungarpakareter,* or Red Lake, probably because its cold deep waters often glow with a crimson hue in the canted light of the Colorado sunset. Legend has it that the Utes also referred to the lake as 'Spirit Lake' although confusion still exists over the exact source of this name. The Arapaho Indians, mortal enemies of the Utes in both legend and reality, had a number of names for the lake including Ahbanthnaach (Big Lake) and Batannaach (Holy or Spirit Lake). The Arapaho reference to 'Spirit Lake' came from an ancient myth about an enormous spiritual buffalo that the Arapahos

believed lived beneath the surface of the lake" (Geary 1999: viii). Geary does not cite the source of the above information, although the Arapaho names are (essentially) taken from Arapaho Names and Trails (Toll 2003: 27).

The popular Grand Lake Story is one that is difficult to authenticate, as are many oral (or written from oral) narratives. Folklorist Richard Dorson differentiates "fakelore" from folklore (Dorson 1971: 247), and it is possible that the story of the battle between the Ute and Arapaho at Grand Lake on the far side of the Park never occurred, or was first written but never passed down as oral tradition. Buchholtz writes that "tangible evidence and reliable accounts of these battles" do not exist, and while there might be "important elements of truth" in this story, that it might simply be wishful thinking on the part of settlers who hoped that the Ute would not return (Buchholtz 1983: 24). He also holds that the story may even have been crafted by early entrepreneurs hoping to lure tourists, visitors, or potential summer residents into the area by creating tales of "Indian spirits" for their romantic edification (Buchholtz 2002, August 2, personal communication).

Buchholtz's published version of the story is as follows.

"A story often repeated tells of a band of Utes peacefully camping at Grand Lake. Some Arapaho warriors with their Cheyenne allies crossed Willow Creek [Forest Canyon] Pass with an eye toward mischief. Ute scouts failed to spot the invaders and a surprise attack resulted. During the raging battle that followed, an effort was made to protect women and children by putting them upon a makeshift raft and sending it out upon the lake. As the fighting continued no one seemed to notice that a strong wind began blowing, ripping the raft apart, and drowning all of the women and children. The Utes won their battle, drove the attackers away, but then realized that they had lost their families. From that point forward, it was said, the Utes avoided Grand Lake because it was haunted by the spirits of those who had died there" (Buchholtz 1983: 22-24).

A longer version of the story is also available in Geary (1999: 6-9) who adds elements of phantom ghosts appearing in the mists that rise above the lake, of shrieks and moans of the dead echoing in the winter twilight, and of Grand Lake's trout red-colored flesh from the blood of the deceased Indians.

Meaning: Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on Grand Lake

"The Arapaho attacked a Ute camp on the banks of Grand Lake. In an attempt to escape the more numerous Arapaho, the Ute crafted a raft on which they put women and children and sent it out into the Lake. A sudden storm comes up, or perhaps an Arapaho medicine man had the power to cause the storm. The raft overturns, and all on it perish in the Lake. It is believed that their spirits still inhabit the very deep waters of Grand Lake, and that on occasion the cries of the Utes can be heard" (Duncan 2000, August 23, personal communication).

"Grand Lake, I think, is more like it's new in a way—something that with the creation of the mountains compared to Appalachian Mountains. I think those two mountain ranges, you take the Rockies along with it, we still have the pockets, but now these are the glaciers that created that. Then in the years of, or people living in that Rockies, the Rivers flow more like a guideline or a trail that were forming there, and then lead it to the head of the river. And then since the Grand River, the Colorado River, Grand Lake, all come from this one source, so that was the source of power and that's what gives you life. And that's why they regarded it as being one of the sacred places—the spiritual aspects of water, or life itself after they were here, for so many thousands of years. The serpent, again, appears in there.

When I was up in the caves east of Glenwood Springs, after you come out of that Canyon there is a cave on the south side there. We refer to it as being a paint cave. And you walk up and on the foot end there is a pictograph of horses, men on horses. And over here there's a jagged line—that's a serpent. And then the serpent is known as BPAH GWUH WINEM. And BPAH GWUH WINEM has the appearance of a giant lizard a salamander-type, but it's long, it's big. And they were attached to the powers that change the weather: rain, snow, whatever they want to do, they're the ones that control that. And they live in the water, so that water contains

certain spirits that the Indian people would use. But they live up here someplace and they go down. And that would be Grand Lake, so that was one thing that was there too, but we don't talk about that too much. We just leave it as a source of power for the older medicine men.

And that's why we would say that Grand Lake is sacred. And there are other stories attached with that. People have been killed there; people down there have wondered whether there was battle with the Utes or with the Arapaho. Yet they may have been swallowed by the serpent, too. It's a continuation of stories; one story continues into another story" (Duncan 2002b).

Chapter 4: MOUNTAINS and LANDSCAPE

Traditional Native peoples typically perceive their world as a complex interconnection between the physical and the spiritual. The relationship of essentially nomadic groups to a space and the associated material items, alterations to landscape, and related phenomenon is difficult to grasp. It may be impossible for an outsider to the culture to create a comprehensive framework to explain the interconnectedness of a Native world view. Nonetheless, we must consider tribes' distinctive historical experience with the land, their thoughts on reestablishing contact with a part of their ancestral territory, and be willing to ask questions such as what makes a location or site sacred. Native Americans intimate knowledge of and connection to particular landscapes, in this case the Rocky Mountains, is evidenced in the following. Reconnection with these "mountain landscapes," excerpted from interviews, is the focus of Chapter 4.

The quotes included in this chapter were selected from interviews with knowledgeable elders. They reflect the importance of the mountains and high altitude landscape and as such might be used to interpret their cultural significance in Rocky Mountain National Park. They are included with only minimal editing.

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on Ute as Mountain People

"Utes were what they call 'Mountain People.' They're not like the Plains Indians; they're not like the Southwestern people, or people from the Great Basin. They were a group of people that were in the mountains and you don't

have that anywhere else, and they adapted themselves to the mountains, so everything that they did was there, and that's where we've been, and we've been there for a long time. (Duncan 2002c)

"We call the high Rockies UNY YOO WEECH, which means something like "flows one way" or "they all sit in a row." There are certain formations in these high places. Coyote and Wolf would meet at a place between where the sun rises and the sun sets, that is, the mountains. The bear went out into the Plains, and from where he went, the rivers flowed to the east. We have a song for the east, but not for west, not for other side" [would not elaborate when asked to clarify meaning of above] (Duncan 2002, personal communication).

Neil Cloud, Southern Ute, on Ute as Mountain People

"The invisible barrier, I keep telling you that the altitude is the invisible barrier! Our enemy tribes could not catch us when we went up into the mountains" (Cloud 2002).

Jim Goss, Ute linguist, on Ute as Mountain People

"They [Ute] had the traditional pattern of moving over the landscape seasonally so they would be up in the high country in the summer time and down in sheltered valleys, the lower country, river basins and so on in the wintertime for their winter camps. It wasn't appropriate obviously here in Colorado to be up in the mountain parks in the wintertime. Another term I use is 'appropriate,' in their way of life they were appropriately adapted to the seasons and they moved

appropriately. I think all of us if we had our choice would like to be up in a mountain resort in the summer time and down in a warm place in the winter time. Their tradition also gave them the rules, the rules for this. That is they spent winters in camps in the low country. The Utes, probably their oldest ceremony, is the Bear Dance. The Bear Dance was held in the spring, around the first day of spring. I guess that would be in March traditionally. They held it when they heard the first spring thunder in the mountains.

Anyhow according to their tradition the bear gave them the Bear Dance ceremony. According to that tradition a long time ago a Ute man stayed up in the mountains until after the autumn equinox, after the snow started. Of course that was inappropriate. They were supposed to come down out of the mountains before the snow started and be on their way headed down to winter camp. They were supposed to be gathering piñon nuts and going off to the Plains to hunt buffalo. So the bear caught this man who was up there after the snow flew and forced him to [come into her cave]. She took him into winter hibernation with her, to stay with her. And in the spring she let him out and told him to go back and tell his people not to come to the mountains until they have this ceremony in the spring, that she taught him how to do—this Bear Dance.

So the Utes do the Bear Dance every spring as propitiation to the bear who is the spirit in charge of the uplands, that is especially the oak and the piñon uplands like they have around here and on up into the high mountains. So it was inappropriate for the Ute to go up into the mountains before they had [performed] the Bear Dance, and it was inappropriate for them to stay up in the mountains

when the pine nuts were getting ripe in the fall and they should be coming back down. They should be winter camping after they made the piñon harvest and their buffalo hunt and so on and they had plenty of food stored for the winter. Well the mountain men followed the same pattern you know, they went out and did their trapping in the summer and in the winter they would hole-up and that's what the Utes did. They had Brown's Hole and Jackson's Hole and so on. Those are places where the mountain men holed up just like the Indians do, just like the bears do! You're being a bear, you're hibernating, you're holing up in the winter. So the Utes to a certain extent followed bear. They holed up, or semi-hibernating stayed in one place.

The Utes often called themselves Bear People, some even say bear clan. So again this is a sacred mandate of how the people would distribute themselves seasonally over the landscape. As a result they were never too intensive in any one spot on the landscape, they kept moving from one place to another. Now the places they moved to were mandated by their traditions, this was a sacred circuit through their territory. I get exasperated when I read another anthropologist or historians say, 'Well these people wandered over the plains, or these people wandered around their territory.' They weren't wandering—they knew exactly where they were in different seasons" (Goss 2003).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on getting the landscape to know you

"There are certain people that are involved in ceremonies; their journey, like when they are traveling, is really for a purpose, a spiritual teaching. A friend of mine, we talked about that. This friend of mine, he mentioned that he uses

tobacco so, he smokes tobacco to the four directions. Upon leaving his home, then he has to make four stops. He plans it in a way that is equal to a certain pattern so he stops every once in a while and he makes that offering again. The offering can be just like putting certain objects on the ground, or maybe tobacco—whatever he wants to give. In the old days, maybe they had offerings more like small miniature arrowheads, so they would put those there. Arrows that were small were used by medicine men to drive away evil forces. They could use that to cut away from a person the evil that actually attached itself to a person. And then that creates sicknesses or bad feelings, so he cut that with that. Those kinds of offerings were put there. So that every so many miles, whatever, so many days; may be it's going to take four days. So the fourth one [offering] would be made at the destination. And that's the way they did that. So like now, I would do that too. Maybe for a round trip I would do that only twice. One way, then back again; so that makes it four.

That was the way of our ancestors was to also get acquainted with the land and a new place, like a trail that you've never been on before. For the first time it's going to be really tiring because you go up a hill, because the land itself does not know you. The surroundings, everything that's there, trees, plants, animals, they do not recognize you. So you're not a part of that. So you make an offering. You go on and you do that and the next time you go through there they [the landscape] will know you. That was one of their teachings, too. Indian people throughout the western hemisphere, I think they all have that. If a person is walking through a thick grove of trees and he hear a lot of bears, then when he

comes to circle, the birds stop singing. It's not because of you being there, it's that you are bringing a spirit that they don't [know]; they're not afraid of what happens. So they stop singing. So the idea with that—you walk through that without making them stop. And that's how you get recognized or feel that you are welcomed by nature. That's because it's the nature, it's birds, it's how the wind blows through the trees and you become part of it; a part of that, but we're not looking at that today because we are people, again, we're over all of that; we control everything. But in those days you know we are part of that and all things are equal, to each other and then that's the reason why they would do that" (Duncan 2002b).

Along the same lines, Duncan discusses related issues (November 2000).

"And a simple way to describe that would be this other way: If you took all things away and I just stood there and you took away the mountains, its going to affect my thinking because I disappear with it. You are what you see. You are what you hear. You are what you feel. And the sooner you appreciate it the better you will be: because without it you are only yourself. You will find that you yourself do not hold everything that is spiritual, that it takes more than you to create that and put that back. So God has made everything in a way that it too provides for you—it's a matter of balancing your thinking, your feeling about the world. So if you could interpret that in a way that you might—even a person that does not understand the spiritual way in a way Native Americans do, we have to write it in a way that beauty is somewhat based on the beholder.

Then God is that way too. Creation is that way too like all things around us. That is why Indian people, like if you get on a high point way up on top of

mountain you have your sacred circles. The prayers will start before sunrise—way before the first light comes across the horizon to the east and the prayers will move. It'll start from the simplest creation, his birth into this world, and goes on and on and on and touches onto his relatives, touching onto creation of everything that is around him as the light comes on, and then when the light comes, the first light shoots out from top of the sun, it shoots a red light out over you and hits the mountain top, you will now recognize or feel that you have been using the world around you as an altar—it became an altar as you are praying. But you will notice that this alter has a movement, it's alive; it moves. The birds begin to fly, the animals began to move, and the clouds shift here and there, the rain falls, and the wind comes over the mountains and blows into your face; you know you are right in the midst of the creation and that is your altar. That's why people that were doing shaman work or those that were doing vision quest would sit on a high point and they would feel that the world has become an altar. Everything was sacred to them. Sacred means like it brings within you that will connect you with what is out here that creates; that which brings together" (Duncan 2000).

Terry Knight, Ute Mountain Ute, on Mountains and Spirits

"Well, I guess—put in this way, the mountain people, the mountains have everything we need food, shelter, medicine and, water. So you stay associated with it. When the time you go down—depending on how severe winter—go down into the low lands. Of course you always have that food and shelter but going to the lowlands and as the climate gets warmer toward spring you start coming

back up and all the way back up to the top. It depends on how hot you get and as it gets colder you start going back down. And you know, different families, different bands have different areas—different migration routes that they use—but that's the mountains. And I think that at some time and point, maybe thousands of years ago, that we may have been lowlands people. But if we were here during the time that the ice age and whenever things started melting and the ice was receding and the lowlands became lakes and marshes the people moved to the highlands—became highlands people, became mountain people because of the ground conditions in the lowlands. So they stayed in the mountains and they adapted to the mountains and they found that the mountains had everything that they wanted: food, shelter, medicine, water. And so they could live in these mountains.

There are spirits everywhere, you know, mountains, lowlands. But I think they came to understand the mountain spirits. And the mountain spirits became their guardian. And so when you do that others become pretty much an adversary because [that's] just the way things are—everything's not in harmony and cooperative. And if there were other bands, say, other groups—especially later on, if they were coming and they would have a different guardian spirit. Maybe the woodlands forest or whatever as far as obtaining that spiritual guidance, I think that they became comfortable with the mountains and over years, living here in the mountains they came to understand it and use it as their own. And then the spirits, like people, came to recognize the Ute people and accept them their way" (Knight 2002).

Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute, on mountains and RMNP

"I find that the site and the place here in Estes Park has been not only as a place where I find different things that was either revealing or giving me some ideas of why this place was so significant to a lot of the Native Americans that was around this area. One of them being it's an area that's isolated, not according to our standards of today of isolation, but isolated enough for Native Americans to come up here and gather medicinal plants, edible plants, do some hunting, do some ceremonial gathering, and also to acknowledge a lot of the ancestral people or families that may have had a significant impact on them. And the other thing is it could be a crossroad of different people coming and going across the mountain here to the parks and…either heading toward South Park, Middle Park, North Park or in through that area not only to find edible plants on the other side but also to find medicinal plants on this side and that side and on top of the mountain here.

And besides that they have a feeling that, according to my opinion, is that a lot of times they had a good perception of what this place is—has a lot of energy here. Energy from the spirits that are the guardians of this area here—the mountains here and the peaks here that certain people have had opportunity to explore a little bit more. So I figure that things are working toward a deeper understanding of this area here. And I think that the Native American people that have come here have explained similar understanding that maybe similar expressions of why they were here, why their people were here, and why they should continue to be here. And I think also that we may have the opportunity to

either explore more or come back and bring our elders to look at some of the sites so they can have a better understanding—maybe remember some of the stories that have been told to them in the past by their elders. Hopefully this will give a broader view and understanding of why this place was so significant in our ancestral lives of our people.

They lived here maybe six, seven, eight months out of the year. Not moving off to lower elevations to continue their lives but that was their life…everyday was their life—with nature, with the spirit, with their guardians, or whatever you want to call them. That was their life—that was how they understood things. We don't understand that today because we don't live it like they did" (Naranjo 2003).

Bob Chapoose, Northern Ute, on landscape

"We map our culture onto the land. The high plateaus on the mountains—they hold something for us. If you look for it, you can find it" (Chapoose 2003, personal communication).

Howard Antelope, Northern Arapaho, on the power of mountains

"We left a lot of our powers in Colorado—the old men didn't pass the knowledge on. When we lived in Colorado, we had more power and knowledge than we do now in Wyoming" (Antelope 2003).

Chapter 5: PERSPECTIVES ON RELIGION AND THE SPIRIT WORLD
(including Little People, Thunder, and Lightning)

Jorgensen (1964: 36) points out that Ute religion "was dominated by shamans and a patently individualistic flavor" and that shamanistic practices took precedence over group activities. The Bear Dance was the only yearly traditional group ritual. The reflections provided by Ute consultants support this statement. Each "practitioner" (Duncan, Knight, Naranjo) who visited the Park interpreted the various sacred sites that we looked at through what I would call a shamanistic lens. Jorgensen points out that since shamanism was the dominant feature of Ute religion and since shamans performed their skills to heal the sick, lead collective hunts, and often direct the movements of groups, their practices were not highly formalized. Religion, from a Ute perspective, was a very comprehensive phenomenon. This holistic approach is embodied repeatedly in the extracted quotes that follow. The Ute, like many North American Indian tribes, conceived of supernatural power as a diffuse impersonal force which pervaded the universe. Called PUWA in Ute, it was used by PUWARAT or shamans who could be either men or women (Jorgensen 1964; Densmore 1922: 127-130).

Shamans received their supernatural power through dreams (Densmore 1922: 128; Lowie 1924: 291-292; Opler 1940: 140; Opler 1959; Opler 1971) or from seeking powers through vision questing (cf. Duncan 2002c, Knight 2002, Naranjo 2003). Herbal cures as well as supernatural curing techniques were passed from one generation of shamans to another (Jorgensen 1964: 39).

Rituals relating to birth, death, and coming of age were not believed to be particularly important, at least in the historic period (Jorgensen 1964: 41).

An overview of Ute cosmology and belief systems is available in the published literature; the work of Jim Goss, Marvin Opler, Anne Smith, and Joseph Jorgensen are useful. In the area of cosmology and belief, a good beginning source would be "Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Ecological Model" (Goss 1972b: 123-128) and "Traditional Cosmology, Ecology and Language of the Ute Indians" (Goss 2000: 27-52). Both of these articles are included in the Jim Goss file. To summarize briefly, Goss says that the earth is divided into three levels: the Upper Earth which includes mountain tops, ranges, divides, and ridges. Center Earth is made up of mountain slopes and alluvial fans, and the Lower Earth includes the plains, desert, and valley floor. When the two remaining Ute categories, The Sky and The Underworld are added, a five-level cosmological construct is the result and is at the center of Ute world view. The Ute also associate animal clans or "bosses" each with its own domain, and each of these also relates to a complex system of the ecology, the time of the year when certain areas are what Goss calls "appropriate" locations to be, and the like.

Numerous descriptions of the Ute Bear Dance (cf.eg. Jorgensen 1964: 51-60; Lowie 1924: 299-302; Steward 1938) and Ute Sun Dance (Jorgensen 1972) are available. The Bear Dance theme appears minimally in the materials presented herein. The Sun Dance ceremony is a later introduction (1890-1900) and it did not arise as a theme relevant to the traditions surrounding Rocky Mountain National Park; it will not be covered here.

The topic of "Little People" came up in numerous interviews conducted during the course of this research. Many ethnographers who have worked with the Ute have described the power associated with what Duncan and Myore (below) refer to as TOO GOO or TOO KOO. Smith's informants told her that these dwarfs were believed to be the greatest source of power for all Ute, men and women, shaman and layperson. "Anyone having the /pituku=pi/ as a source of power could cure any illness, including those exhibiting soul loss and those caused by ghosts" (Smith 1974: 155). They are described as being about two feet tall, and usually dressed in green. They live underground and their habitations can be located by looking for traces of smoke coming out of a hole in the ground. Jorgensen refers to the Little People as tukuf and his informants substantiate that they were strong sources of power who could be called on in times of need, but which also maintained considerable autonomy. "They can be good or bad, different or indifferent" (1964: 345). Offerings of beads, ribbons, food, and the like should be left for them to help insure their good will. While powerful, the "Little People" can also be mischievous, either because they are asked to be so, or of their own accord.

An example of this occurred in August 2004 when a group of Northern Ute women were in RMNP consulting on Native plant use. While we were parked along the side of Trail Ridge Road, and after we had hiked up to the game drive, we returned to the vans, only to find that the keys to one of the vans were lost. We did not know whether someone had dropped them on the trail, or whether they had accidentally been locked in the car. After more than an hour of

searching, we determined that they had to be in the van, and so we called by radio to a lock smith in Estes Park. The delay cost almost three hours and $100.00, but provided the opportunity to take small groups to the Ute Trail (where parking is limited). Reflecting afterwards, the group determined that it must have been "the little people" who were responsible for the missing keys, ensuring that the Utes had the opportunity to walk on the trail named after their tribe. In an email apologizing for the error, I was told, "the ancestors didn't want us to leave right away, they wanted us to stay for a little bit longer. That's why the little people hid Venita's keys" (Taveapont 2004, personal communication).

The quotes included in this chapter were selected from interviews with knowledgeable elders. They reflect the importance of religion and the spirit world and as such might be used to interpret their cultural significance in Rocky Mountain National Park. They are included with only minimal editing.

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on land and religion

"It's a way of life. Religion is a way of life. Native American way of looking at religion, so-called religion. It's actually just a way of life and you can take it back so many generations. So that needs to be; more has to be written about that: How it is a way of life. The public has to be educated on that very thing; that this was a way of life. Then they can start; they're looking at it like it's just a church. But it's not really just a church. It's not just a religion. It's a way of life. Because out of that comes your medicinal plants, your edible plants, treatment of animals, how you respect animals, how you respect the weather, the whole thing is in a package, and that's what a way of life is. Tied to each one is a spiritual

connection as to what actually was in between a man and the object. That's the way I look at it" (Duncan 2002c).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on Little People (mountain spirits)

"One thing we don't talk too much about is like many Indian people call them Little People. Little People they live in the earth. They may be a spiritual force; it may be a spiritual existence underneath the ground. And then sometime they'll appear in a body just like ours. And they live in certain areas. So when you get acquainted with that spirit, then you give that spirit certain things. They know you. And if I go to the mountains I have to get acquainted with them, then I'm to give them what I am. And then in return, that's when I do prayers or songs or ceremonies; I then would ask them to help me, and they would become my helpers. So in the high country, up in the mountains, are the homeland of these Little People. And they lived in caves or you can see black markings on the narrows like the straight-up cliffs. These are like that they've been carved, the slope created that marking. And we'd say that's where they live. Or when we get to a land that's new; never been there—then we walk carefully not to disturb them. We always ask for forgiveness if we do something wrong or maybe this is where they gather, so we make offering too. Like when I'm with a group, I'll have tobacco and reach in my pocket for it. Nobody would notice that. So they were very important to the Indian people.

And I don't think it's really tied in with one group like Plains Indian because you find that in the Great Basin area. It's all over. I talked to a lady from northern Alaska—and she was asking me about that. She said, "Do you believe

in that?" And I said, "Yeah, we believe that." On the north edge of Alaska there are various locations where the Little People live. So these people also have that same story. It could be like the Native American throughout the western hemisphere one end to the other have that same thing. It's that live parts of spirit that gives power. And those that did the vision quest up on high levels were actually making a contact with that spirit, and that's why you have those circles there. And then we don't get into discussions over that, what that is. We just say, "Well that's where the powers of the vision quest [are]." But we're not talking about this other thing.

Then sometimes my father would explain to us: they will shoot you with an arrow, and it's an invisible arrow, but you will have pain. And thereafter you're going to have pain; it'll hurt because you know you did something or you got too close to that. So if you can remember where it happened, you must go back to that place and make an offering, and then he'll take it back out. That's what they used to tell us.

So nowadays, since we have almost every part of the country taken up in a way of developments, these spirits have drew away from that place and looked for a different place; so [we may be] looking for where they moved to, where they may be. And then most of them are going to be at the high, highest points in the mountains. And that's why it's interesting too because here about certain things in certain areas where nobody's really been, perhaps that's where they're at. So you're naturally taking care of the people, the spiritual people, too. So when I talk to the spirit, I call their name: TOO-GOO. I don't know the meaning of that;

it's just a name. Clifford, Bill, just like that. And it's kind of like a friendly way of saying hello or getting acquainted. We used to have those on the reservation but they moved away because there's always traffic and it's very busy. I think they moved away elsewhere. I think that's one reason why we have these circles cleared circles on lava cliffs): they lived inside of that. And some of the stories are going to read like: Indian people originated from within the mountains; the Utes came out of a cave—they talk about Utes coming out of a cave, and then going all over the world. It may be talking about a spirit that's given to them by those that lived in there" (Duncan 2002c).

"I think to all tribes, they [Little People] exist, as a person. And then, when I'm talking to a Comanche medicine man and he starts talking about this little person. He will tell me that he lives there: the one that he's acquainted with. [They are not exclusively associated with high altitude areas] because they all are scattered, and I think that depends on the tribe, too, as to where they are located. [For the Ute, Little People are equated with Mountain Spirits.] So like they were here [Lava Cliffs] and they're the ones that we're following. And then they have control of the weather also. Everything that is here—how it's going to be, and how the weather's going to be. They control that" (Duncan 2002b).

Alloin Myore, Northern Ute, on Little People

"We call Little People TOO KOO(PT). They just look like little people; some are well kempt and others are more slovenly. They are the spirits who live, especially, in the mountains, but also near rivers and sources of water. They are

the spirits that you see at the side of your vision, you know, when you catch something, a movement, out of the corner of your eye, but then it's gone? Those are the Little People. You should never try to trap them or catch one. Leave them matches and food so they won't go hungry" (Myore 2004, personal communication).

Mariah Cuch, Northern Ute, on Little People

"I have heard of people who claim to have seen the little pony footprints of the Little People, so they have tiny animals, too" (Cuch 2004; personal communication).

Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute, on Little People (mountain spirits)

"You know, part to our story is related to tales that we have of this mountain legend. Sometimes they [Little People] go around and they make these rock piles, sometimes they go around and take them down also, you know. We have these stories about [the Little People]. It's one of those places you don't know what's under these rocks. I've been seeing some movement around, you know, just thinking about [them]. Certain [Little] People like certain areas and others like others. This area because of the location or down in the parks or down southwest a lot of canyons—canyon walls. That's the same story that they have, along the Rio Grande down by the Big Bend (inaudible) this kind of territory to it but at a lower level.

Well this reminds me—standing here reminds me. You see the movements that go along that rock wall, so you see some movements [out of the corner of your eye]. [Some people] see them. They see them every once in awhile, some movement. [They are described as] short and small and that's about it. Clothing sometimes—clothing—some have buckskin clothing, you know, some don't. Some are thin, some are fat, some squat. Some have long hair some are bald. You look at some of them they're just like you and me good looking and ugly. They're little small people—they're maybe two feet, maybe shorter than that, maybe a little [taller]. They're just our leprechauns; I guess you could call them.

They're the spirits of the mountain. So you have the spirits of the mountain and you have the spirits of the valleys, of the canyons, of the rivers—you have all these spirits that are there. Most of them are small. We have some of them that are huge—every once and awhile they seem to [be responsible for features in the landscape like] that marker going down there going on top of Pikes Peak" (Naranjo 2003).

Terry Knight, Ute Mountain Ute, on lightning and guardians

"I have connection here [Lava Cliffs—thunder and clouds are rolling in]. I could be standing over there in the lightning storm and lightning strike me. I don't know if I'd die or whatever, but it would probably feel good, absorb it. I'm standing here absorbing a lot of stuff. So when I get back home, when I get into my sweat lodge, then that energy will come out, you will see. 'Cause a similar thing happened on that medicine wheel [possibly he is referring to the Bighorn

Medicine Wheel in Wyoming]. I went to a Native American Church peyote ceremony that weekend. Man that thing just like I was buzzing and flying and whatever. And I was wondering what the hell was going with me that I was losing it. And then finally the spirit came and he says, "Remember that thing that was on the mountain?" He said, "That's what's affecting you—the natural power with the biological power from the peyote." He said, "There's not quite balanced inside of you. After you drink water, the sacred water [you'll be balanced]. And that's what happened, after midnight it balanced out but I could still feel the energy. And some of my friends and relatives that were there, you know, they understand things and they could feel that, and so, "What's wrong! What's wrong with you what have you been up—where did you go now?" (Knight 2002).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on lightning

"And another thing that I'm looking at now, today, is this that the people up here, what we call the rain people, these are the storms, like lightning and all of that, they control everything here too. And then, but when there's a certain type of a change in the weather, and there's lightning coming in, they know where it's going to hit, and they have high respect for that place. And then like if it's a place like where we were this morning [Trail Ridge game drive], if there's iron in the rocks, then it draws that. And then it becomes like a sacred place to them. So you know they make the offerings to that, they find that to be true. Even today, if people want to, saw (?) a cairn sitting up on a high point, with a circle around it, and several small cairns, it could also do the same thing. It could bring this lightning into that because they are talking to that. And then these medicine

men, they are actually receiving, like you receive spiritual enlargement [enlightenment?], power, or whatever you want to call it, from that. And that's why they were important. And then mythology, Indian stories talk about how the bird went to the person that was in the sky and it was high up in the mountains, and there was a hole in the sky, and through there came a voice as to how he was going to heal the brother to this bird, so that story goes on and on; that's one of the old stories (Duncan 2002c).

Duncan on Lightning (and other untouchables) Note: lightning appears to be very individualistic, Duncan's guardians advise him not to touch things hit by lightning.

"Some of the old ways, I'm looking at how ceremonies were performed just here [RMNP]. That is why I do not want to touch a rock that has been hit by a lightning. I don't do that. Or I don't go where there's a fire was created by lightning hitting a tree and splitting that—I don't touch that tree. In reality, too, from earlier teaching, I as an Indian person am not allowed to touch human bones. I cannot touch that. So I have to do a certain ritual in order to touch that, and that's how we are. But to an archaeologist, that's different, because that's what you work with. So you know, you study that. But those that are coming from this other side—that's why some Indian people say, "I'm afraid. I don't want to do that" because they have that teaching that's still with them. That's why they say that. It's not disrespectful to others, but it's just a teaching that is doing that. So we still have that. So that could be part of the understanding one may need to know about how to treat objects that was prehistory. Or even petroglyphs, pictographs, you don't just walk up to it and touch it, you have to make an offering for that, or you have to pray, talk, and that's just the way that we handle

that. That's why we stress, "Just don't touch that." So, because of that, archaeologists will tell you not to touch that because it's damaging to the wall, and it deteriorates that; I think , that's good too" (Duncan 2002c)

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on guardians and medicine ways and Little People

"One of my uncles, he's a medicine man, doctor, true doctor; before he died I paid visit with him and we was sitting down talking and he started talking about that serpent or the snake. And he was talking about rattlesnakes and large size rattlesnakes and he started talking about himself and how he does things and why he did that. And then he said, "I was one time cornered by a rattlesnake and then I couldn't go round, I couldn't get away so I got a stick and I grabbed it. I grabbed it around the head, and while I was holding that it wound itself around my arm and I could feel that power, and I put it on the other hand and it did the same thing. And I took it and I put it around my middle, back in front, and I had it right here, and I could feel that; it said, that's where it came from and then later I turned it loose and it went away. Then afterwards is when I began to change because it was a transfer of power of that serpent that snake that made me what I am. And he told me that story so there's a source of power or some medicine men or doctors that they take it from that and others are getting it from the Little People. And there are others that are getting it from birds or even the smallest insect, too. It so happens that journeys, spiritual journeys, into another world" (Duncan 2002c).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on eagles

"And then like how she [Betsy Chapoose] was saying, eagle feathers, bone whistles that are made out of eagle parts, women never touch that. Even the children are not allowed to touch that because it's a connection between a man and the power of that eagle. A spiritual power of an eagle is so great that it can also create damages. So the man has to take care of that, see, that was his duty. So that's how we differ. And then in my younger days, I'd go to town, Roosevelt. Man usually were up front, and his wife is back two or three paces with the children, and that's how they were! Man always lead. Man goes into the store first and then the woman and the kids follow. And that's how they were. Today it is different: ladies before gentlemen. And so that's how they are today. So the whole thing is reversed" (Duncan 2002c

Chapter 6: SITES in ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

"So in teaching people about the Park it has to be [that] the importance of the land comes first. Our responsibility as people would be to the land, the land itself. The main responsibility is to preserve that and recognize that God created all of that and we should leave it as is. Giving credit to nature and to its dreamer that it was all put together by nature and took billions and billions of years to create. It would take only fifteen seconds to destroy all things—maybe less than that. In a split second to completely destroy that, and that's why it's our responsibility to take care of that; that is number one. Then we talk about people—we'll talk about their ways. The bottom line is this: If we can avoid things to go against each other, we have accomplished something.

But the whole idea would be this: that we are all going to hold hands and do it together. And it is going to be all the same. It's going to make one big complete circle. Try to reach out to those people who don't understand, don't know anything about what's going on, even though we are trying to teach them, rather than to get after them, feel sorry for them and pray for them. The sacredness of the land, the holiness of the land is what is going to do the work. Man, an Indian person, has to do a ritual to bring all things back together, so we need to have rituals as part of the program that's going to be on Rocky Mountain National Park; we will bring Indians together and we will have a big ceremony. And that's going to be the center of the whole thing—a ceremony of appreciation and everything will come to light (Duncan 2000).

One of the interpretations of the Rocky Mountain National Park is that in the past, it was used as a place for high spiritual connection, simply because of its high altitude (Duncan 2005 personal communication).

The quotes included in this chapter were selected from interviews with knowledgeable elders who visited Lava Cliffs, Trail Ridge Game Drive, Stone Circles, Longs Peak, Apache Fort, Wickiup remains, and Old Man Mountain. They are included with only minimal editing.

I Lava Cliffs

The concept of "landscape" is significant in ethnographic and archaeological investigation, description, and analysis. It is important to "see" a geographic area as more than a collection of resources; visualizing the connections between the people who inhabited a place, the plants that may have been collected, the economic uses, the archaeological remains, as well as the symbolic and sacred components allows one to begin to comprehend the

integration of a Native American cultural site. Combining the unique cultural views of land that are born out of Native American experiences, a cultural sense of homeland, and how Native peoples define their territories as landscapes emerges as a cultural, physical, and spiritual system. Even when individuals have never visited a particular area, they still retain a connection to and sense of ancestral territory.

The archaeological site complex known as "Lava Cliffs" (5LR7095) has been documented by Brunswig and crew (Brunswig 2003). According to Brunswig there are eleven feature types which are likely to have Native American origins. These include various sizes of cairns, fasting beds or vision quest features, circular stone arrangements, small rectangular to square stone walls, "altar" stones where stones are stacked so as to create a small chamber or niche for offerings, rock alignments that may have been used as game drives or as equinox or solstice markers, cleared circular areas, and stone crescent walls (2003:18-37). Cassells (2002: 4) estimates on the basis of lichenometric dating that the cairns fall within the range of 810 to 900 C.E. Bach conducted a floral inventory and ethnographic analysis of Native American plant use at this site and tentatively concluded that there was no indication that Native peoples transplanted species for "ritual, medicinal, or food purposes" (2002: 12). Still, Ute elders' knowledge of botanical specimens should be sought as further investigations are undertaken. Also of importance is that of the *specificity* of who would seek a vision at Lava Cliffs was raised by both Duncan and Knight. That

is, that perhaps only medicine people, healers, or spiritual people would vision quest at Lava Cliffs.

In the summer of 2000, Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, and Jim Goss, were hired by Bob Brunswig and Bill Butler to look at a variety of archaeological sites within the Park boundaries. Their report contains useful information on the complex of sites at Lava Cliffs (Duncan and Goss 2000: 7-8). That material is not duplicated here, but is available in both Goss and Duncan files.

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on Lava Cliffs

"There are several ways that you can look at the site. One is a vision quest site(s) and the other one may be connected with the spiritual leaders or spiritual doctors who [were] may have been actually buried here. That might be another thing too: showing the connection between the universe and the earth. So there's what: three things going on here. So to label that as a TCP (Traditional Cultural Property) would be like; it's a sacred area. If I was to be the one to determine how to manage that I would say to keep people out. But you know you have a lot other things that you have to think about, so to have a better control of people.

So to a Native American the same thing would happen. You really don't need any features at any time to say that this is a sacred place, if that's where you feel that. If that's where they've got the connection with what's up above. So you've got all three that way. And especially those that are like away from Native Americans—it takes more than a book to teach us. It takes a way of life because it's another level of spirituality—to connect with the spirits; you cannot

teach that it has to be imbedded in that person through ceremonies. The gap is between the new-agers and the Native American. They can do everything that the Native American did—even sing the song, speak the language, but that connection is missing because that belongs to [us] and it selects the people to be there. You don't just say, 'Hey, I want to be that.' The older ones that lived here knew that. I don't think all Indian people, Native American people, came here. I think only those that were selected people could come here, those on a higher level, these were the medicine man, so-called medicine man or spiritual people. And they're the ones that could determine what was here. The part that's spiritual, I'm not going to talk about it. But I would say it's a sacred area in a way that there's death, there's birth, and also connection of earth with universe, all in one, here. That's the way I would describe that" (Duncan 2002c).

The following paragraph conflicts with what was stated above.

"We could have a little flier that is written up by one of your staff members that's a good writer talk about spirituality, how sites are considered to be sacred by Native Americans. Native Americans' viewpoint as to what is sacred. And say, 'Well, here it is.' And then they could read that, say, okay, 'Read that.' And then when you say Native Americans in the area—you're taking in a lot of people: Arapaho, Shoshone, Sioux, Cheyenne, Utes that are still here. This was considered to be of a higher value or a higher level of spirituality, and explain that, without getting into rituals too much, and I think that would be good and then have pictures of area and what not to bother. And in there say 'Don't touch. Avoid touching or picking up objects, or adding onto existing cairns. I think you could try it that way"' (Duncan 2002b).

In response to questions about why people might take "patients" to such a high place to heal them, or go to Lava Cliffs to obtain the power to heal.

"Well, I think that the higher level was for more advanced [shamans], or it may have been that, if you've been there [to obtain healing power], you can have it down here too. It's the same group that is utilizing this one at the lower elevation. When they use it [healing power] down here it may have been that that's as far as you are going to go. So, you do your work there, whereas for some people may have used that to doctor sick ones and bring them there, instead of going way up on top. And so they bring them there and that was it" (Duncan 2002b).

Clifford Duncan is examining the circular areas seemingly "cleared" of rocks (cf. Brunswig 2003: 33) Vision Quest Sites at Lava Cliffs

"These are vision quest, I'll call them vision quest sites because they're a cleared area. There's a good and bad: there's a bad spirit and a good spirit. So you enclose, or put into the center the good. So you drive the bad away and the way to do that would be to form a circle. You put those stones in a circle. And then with a certain type of ritual known only to that person, and those that do that kind of doctoring, then it becomes a sacred ground. You pray for that, you talk for that, you do rituals for that. And then they will then have it, then once they go out of that then it becomes a normal thing again. It's just there. I cannot use that because that's used by a different person—because that person will do it. If I want to do that then I will create my own. I do not want to disturb anything that's been done. Lot of people like, they talk about seven generations of people or maybe four generations of people—like a spiritual doctor will pray for his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, and their children, and so that goes

down so many generations. So if this circle was for seven generations to come, sometime later there would be people that come here that are tied into that seven generation, the seventh one would come here and do the same for the next seven generations, so that's why it may appear that it's been used before and it's of no use anymore. For people that come here will then use that over again, and that becomes that same again. So, these are considered to be sacred to those people, and it's a matter of respecting it rather than just saying, "Well, you're going to be like that. I cannot be like that." But I'll respect it. That's the way I look at it" (Duncan 2002c).

In response to question (from Brunswig) about whether cairn building was an individual or group activity, Duncan responds.

"The way that, interpreting a spiritual connection to a place would mean that only one person is doing that. And then the Utes are very strict about some of the objects that they had in their medicine bundle. No child touches that. Like a man possessing the spiritual powers of this, or spiritual doctoring, then might have a medicine bundle. I will keep it where it's going to be safe, and no woman ever touches that, or a child, until I am ready to give that to that person, whomever I'm going to give that to. So cairns, being that it's sacred instruction or connection with the spirit then that had to be done by one person because you don't want anything to feed into that. And then like one person setting their mind to this do not want any interference from outside. And the community put together a cairn or something sacred would not really be among the Utes because they're taking care of their sacred items differently" (Duncan 2002c).

In response to question (from Butler) on differences between conical cairns and flat ones, Duncan responds.

"There is a difference. It depends on the base too, how wide the base is. If it's not flat, but narrow; just straight up, something else too. Sometimes I think these sites are geared to animals. One would be like a tall cairn to appear like there was a man there. So the animal would shy away from that. And the other one would be like a cairn, the flat one would be like a (ward?) to the Indian person, because they do that symbolically to tie in to the other side or a trail, or it could be both. It's a matter of the location, as to where it's located. Higher up or down a ways from the top. It's visible from another point across the valley. Then they may be used for a sense of direction as to either there's a trail or there may be a spiritual work that is connected with that. And the earlier groups of people are a little different than us. And these markers have more meaning than the way we look at it today. That's why we're so wrapped up in it—modern world in a way that it degrades or we degrade ourself by not paying attention to that. We [Indian people] do research, more in depth research, with feelings of Native Americans. Periods before the Europeans arrived. What was the pattern of that movement, migration to areas associated with plants; what plants were there that they were gathering? And then also, animals that were there, say, pre-European days. It may be that other animals were there besides elk, sheep. That might be part of that too. To me as an Indian person, I'm concerned with the problem that's everywhere, and that's losing our traditional ways" (Duncan 2002c).

In response to Brunswig's question regarding the inhabitation of special places by specific spirits; hollows where possibly special offerings were placed. "Does that make sense?"

"Yes it does. The tribes up north, the medicine men, they make offerings. If they have a feast, before they themselves eat, they give some of that food and they take it outside of their tipis away from the crowd and then they put that down and the reason for that is that the spirits got to eat first, before you do. So you have a special place where you put that. If you have flat rock, or it can be just a place where it's clear; and that's where you put that. Like around home (unclear) we have the same pattern. So, before we have these ceremonial foods, or before anyone eats, we have to take some of that, and take it outside… We have a person that does that. In certain places there'd be a natural formation where you don't need to build a cairn to hold it, a pocket. These natural shelters they're used in that matter. (Unclear). And that becomes a sacred place. It sounds to me that maybe cairns were created to leave offerings, too. If there's not a pocket, okay, this is where it's going to be. So the people that are around here; when they make offering they're going to get to that" (Duncan 2002c).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on Vision Questing at Lava Cliffs

"When you connect, or when you talk about a vision quest, people always look at vision quest as being like obtaining power, spiritual power, they don't look at it as being like a renewal of life on earth, so, a vision quest, the way that I would describe that would be like a renewing or like a person that does spiritual doctoring connecting with the earth move down into the earth, and at the same time connect with the upper level into the light, into the universe. All things then

coming to that person again and that renews that person. And then the person can go back to whatever they were doing. And then, like if they were doctoring people, then they can go back to that again. If they spent so many days here, that part is only to him. Like connecting to a spirit that is here, like moving around and we can't see that, not really" (Duncan 2002c).

Betsy Chapoose, Northern Ute, on possibility of burials at Lava Cliffs

"Burial sites where they're put higher or on a plateau, higher up and most of the time they're overlooking something, or faced on the edge of that. So, yeah. On the reservation when they moved us into the Bitter Creek area on the southern extension of our reservation, there were a number of places that were on bluffs like this. And the burials overlooked the river and they're all facing east. So yeah, it's very very typical [place for burials]" (Chapoose 2002).

In response to my question that it seems like a long way to bring people for burials.

"But like Cliff was saying it may have been reserved for special, certain people, so, it wasn't everybody that they were bringing up so it was not—that may have been part of that. I know that the Uintah band were in Sanacrin (?) in the Provo area in Utah, that they would take their dead up high if they died in the winter and bury them sitting up and they would just put them in rock because the ground was too hard and then in the spring when it was warmer they would go pick them up and then rebury them in a permanent location. So that's been told, and that was part of Black Hawk's, that they anticipated going back if they had died in the winter. And that the area they buried them in was quite similar, really rocky like this" (Chapoose 2002).

Author's Note: Archaeologists and ethnographers note that "crevice" burials were common. In her Ethnography of the Northern Utes collected 1936-37, Smith states emphatically, "Burial was in rock crevices" (Smith 1974: 150). The research of Nickens (1984, 1988) and Butler (2001) corroborate that this was a common practice, but not the only means of internment.

Venita Taveapont, Northern Ute, on cairns

"I don't know [precisely], but I think they are markers, maps, calendars. Some say that a cairn with so many stones piled on it means that in the seasonal round, the quest for subsistence, that it *may* mean that you are so many days away from a significant resource" (Taveapont 2004; personal communication).

Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute, on Lava Cliffs

"You've got a lot of rock built up in front of you but there's no fire pits—unless you get a fire going right in the middle of it and then you're sitting right on top of it. And I don't think there's any fire up there, I don't see any evidence-kind of burnt rocks; they might have [come] up here and did maybe a one day fast. Or maybe one day, one night without having to build a fire or that could have been used for that also. Cuz' it faces generally east over here.

Some people have an idea the harder and rougher it is for them that they get a stronger vision. And those that go and experience the canyon or the lakes, the rivers, on top of mountains or wherever where it's nice—they have a feeling that they'll get that up here sometimes they feel you know the rougher the ground

is, the terrain is, they have a stronger vision come to them. This could be a vision quest site but it also could be a lookout post. You know where the trail comes up by coming back over here they can see down the canyon here [see] who's moving around down there. And that's kind of the start of where people start to come into the area. The Ute people have lookout where (inaudible) come into their territory" (Naranjo 2003).

In response to question as to whether low cairns could be burials

"Well, a lot of times, a lot of the old burials the family (inaudible for quite a period of time) using the remains, using parts of the bodies, you know, for whatever. Those were some of the interpretations or beliefs and stories that they had so they would take them up there late at night, put them away. So that way nobody would know what was happening. A family would probably bring that person up there. They'd put them across a horse and bring them up here. If they're camped like relatively close, you know, like down in the canyon there, they could bring them up here in one night. As far as the camps around here they could do that. They might have camped up in this area. I know that the Utes used to camp up in the mountains like this only on hunting expeditions. And then a place like this that's a kind of a sacred area or a sacred place you can see a lot of things that in their mind that they would come to them—their vision that would come to them. So they would be here without having no fire—the young men" (Naranjo 2003).

In response to whether cairns could be alignments

"Yeah, it does coincide because Longs Peak follows the mountain. From here you go north—there's another peak up north here in Wyoming, close to

Wyoming and you go south to Pike's Peak and down to the Spanish Peaks and then you go down further and then from Spanish Peaks you go west to Mount Blanca. And from there it goes on into...toward Monarch, over toward Lake City—right in through that area. From there then you have—they call it Thunder Mountain. Those areas were used as points of reference. Not exactly as they knew where they were at. Thunder Mountain over here, this [is] Mount Blanca here, this is Mount Taylor down here you know and this is Pike's Peak. And this is the volcanic cone down by the other side of Raton, going toward Clayton. And then there's several sites back up toward this side of La Junta and back up north here from Longs Peak you've got another mountain up here that I can't think of it right now. But those were the sites that they had, and those were generally the areas that the Utes kept these mountains in view.

So they said, "Well here's a mountain. We're going to go this far before we lose it in the horizon. We can go that far. And that's within our territorial limits." Either way, either direction so that kind of give it that line. Certain sites, certain areas that they had, like here, they had these sites that were set—like the vision quest sites—like here— there's one valley, you've got these other sites around here. You got this site, they were lined up; the reason why they are lined up is because at a certain time of the year, you know, the equinox and the solstice come along and they had an idea just about when that was—how many moons go before it comes up—the time and the changes. White man has said that March is the beginning of spring. Our spring was like when the grass started to go green you know even under the mountains; I mean the snow [begins to

melt]. So that was it. As they come up and the tops of the mountains start to turn green then that was summer.

And when it started to get fall is when the first leaves were starting to turn. That was the beginning of fall. First snowfall was like that was like the turn of winter. And the other stories, you know, that the first thunder you hear in spring was the marking that the bears were coming alive—are coming back out of hibernation. And that—that was the start of our Bear Dances.

So everything kind of fitted together. So in this area not only because it was higher but because it was the coolest place in the area at the time that they started moving up here, you know. And camping in some of the valleys down through here and they're going up here maybe for medicinal or for spiritual gatherings, or whatever. And a lot of times that they did this—you took, offered, and left. Offering was harder— whether that spirit came—whatever was that took that offering, like the mountain spirits here. We have a lot of mountain spirits because this would be one area where there would be mountain spirits" (Naranjo 2003).

In response to question of Ute word for cairns

"No, not really. Not, not a word for cairn because there's a word for cairn (inaudible) DEP LAYMI WOOD STAT, DEP LAYMI WOOD STAT. That means rocks that's piled. When they would talk about that big rock spot, that's how they identified an area. You go up to where the snow is at and you go to that place; there are some rocks that are four maybe five, six whatever, and you identify that by saying how many rock piles there is. So that you would have an idea here—so when you came up here you'd find these rock piles and you would count

them. You know, is it this one or that one and so that was how they identified some of the places. There was, in a lot of areas, how they did this by piling these rocks in spots in whatever direction it was piled; if it was piled to the south or to the east—maybe some of them might have built a rock cairn, okay, to the east of it there's another rock cairn to where the sun come up, or to the west where the sun goes down. You know, that's where it's at. At this particular time of the year they have certain times of the year that these line up.

So when they had the markings of when the sun comes up as far as it comes up—they have these markings so at that particular time like the summer solstice, that's when that sun stops there so you pile it right there to that point—from the last time it come up for the furthest point north. So you pile that and you line it up and then when it goes down south and you've lined that up from the furthest time that it gets down there so that the winter equinox. So you get an idea by that time there's a lot of snow up here. So they would get an idea so they would mark in these places— marking it here like this. So then they'd mark a place of where the southern winter equinox is going to be. Mark a spot. Okay, when they come up here the following spring they could mark that spot. Then they can go from there, the same way north or either direction.

So you got all these markings on it [the landscape]—so there are certain areas where the sun in the wintertime or (inaudible) marks moves, they mark a spot here, where it goes down from where they're standing at. Okay, and then the same way, you know, in the summertime it was from here where the sun come up and where it goes down. So those would be four marks with one or two

in the middle here that goes back and forth. It becomes a mark on the landscape so they have an area that is marked up. So if it's marked out on that peak over there and marked on the next peak over here but in between that is cairns. Okay and it's marked on that peak over there. With that peak being the marker there then they had these cairns in between. That gives you a general geographic location of where you are at. So when they'd say, "Well, we're going to be up in that area" like I say, well Beaver Mountain here, you know Longs Peak, however you want to call it. From that point you go to those mountains up there, or those canyons up there and when you get up on top, or you can see it on top, that's a cairn sitting there. So that's where, you know, that it lines up. There's a certain peak on this side—it lines up from there. So they have a journey, so there's a lot of these cairns that was made in the mountains to give you an idea of where you were at.

So you wouldn't get lost because there's no roadmaps at that time. There's trails, but those trails meander to the mountains. [In] Colorado there are just an incredible amount of trails in this area at one time. And so when you come to those trails or cairn—there's a cairn built on the side of this trails where you are going to go down south like to the Huerfano Valley or to the San Juan or into those areas—the cairns are there. And they're either high or tall or long, whatever, because it gives you a direction of which area that you're going to and whose land or band that you're going to encounter. So that's what they were sitting on the side of these trails as you go along these trails. So these trails are also markers, you know, if you are making out trails going down into the San

Juan area and these trails had a certain marking on there or [were] built a certain way. But like I said, the trail on the side—I mean burials on the side of the road [trail] is…NO, they never had that.

They had markers on the side of the road just like you have markers on the side of the road now. So we had these markers on the side of the road, but other tribes came in, they recognized these markers also. So they had these markers. Okay, these are markers made by the Ute; so we're going to follow these—we know we're in Ute territory so we are going to follow these markers as far as we can go. So when you get to that area there [are] certain places they might have camped, certain places they might have stayed for maybe a couple of days or hunted or gathered herbs or medicinal plants or food or whatever at that particular time. So they build these cairns to give them an idea where they are at.

Burials are where they are going to go to. 'Cause a lot of times rocky areas like this one, like down south here we run into tree burials, but at the same time these tree burials these platforms—they also served as food caches. So when they are going through there in the wintertime they know where their food caches were at. And places like this when they come through here then that's where they did a lot of drying of foods, of plants and fruits and meat; they knew that it'd keep in a certain area. So down south they have these trees and not too worried about animals getting into them. Today we think that if a mouse or anything gets into our food it's spoiled, we've got to throw it away—that's how clinical we've become, but during those times they shared with the animal and

they used the animal at the same time, so that was the way that it was done" (Naranjo 2003).

Summarizing his thoughts for Bob Brunswig

"There are several things that came to my mind, they could have been either vision quest sites or they could have been sites that they brought young men up to for their puberty celebration—initiation celebration. Up here for maybe one or two days, three days, four days—however long it took, and set them up here because this is a pretty rocky place and pretty hard place for anybody to go into that transition.

And the other thing is that if they use it for a vision quest, it's a pretty harsh place. But a lot of them chose hard places like this because they could get a stronger vision. The other thing is that they could have used it for eagle traps—piled these rocks up a little higher, put a buckskin over the top of it or hide—some kind of hide and wait for them to bait it. Or it could have been a lookout point; sitting here you could see down the valley—you could see way down the valley there. [You can see the] trail back here, see? I remember some of old guys used to carry a mirror—one of those little round commercial mirrors that the traders used to have? They would keep them in their little pouches. I used to ask them, I said, "Is that to look at you?" Well, they say, "Yeah, to look at myself and also to signal". I guess there was [a code], you know, long, short, medium, whatever they kind of figured that out—not like the Morse code or anything like that, but a code that they used to use; the only time that they would use it was if they seen somebody moving through the area.

The cairns are markers. And they're markers for a place, markers on the side of the trail, markers for vision quest sites, markers for—maybe a memorial marker. Today you have a lot of memorial markers along the highways or whatever. But these are basically markers also [to] commemorate the families—commemorate somebody that maybe had died up there or got killed up here or found this place or whatever, but these are markers. They have a lot of meanings for these cairns, not just one—a lot of meanings for them. So it could be [that] there's a certain story that goes along with these—each one of these cairns, you know, there's like an area here—you have this area over here where the cliffs are. And you have this other area where this is (inaudible) so you have a name for these other markers here. And when you tell them where you're going to be at—that marker up there—that marker that was for a certain person. Or for a certain event that happened. You know, it might have been an event that happened [near] the big cairn in the back—when you've got these big markers—you've got all these other markers. Well that was where it's at and it's lined up; so you have identification. So if I told you to come up here and I'm talking Ute to you and I'm telling you to come up here and I'll tell you where it's going to be at. So you come up the valley, the Horseshoe Bend and up to this point, the point where the cliffs are, the volcanic cliffs, okay, from there you just go over that hill and when you get on the other side over there you're going to see that big marker over there and just walk then and you'll see the cairns that are over there. It's like that commemorative marker" (Naranjo 2003).

In answer to whether cairns were established or if stones might be added

"They might add a stone to it. They might add a couple of stones to it or maybe they come back up, put it together a little bit or maybe add maybe one or two for a family member. Or maybe things like that—family marker" (Naranjo 2003).

In response to whether it was a place for an offering or a place to pray

"Well it could be both. It could be a place where, maybe a pipe or whatever that you use, or it could be that you put tobacco there or that you're putting some kind of offering on the altar for that particular—for this cairn right back of it (inaudible). A lot of significance some of the things that are playing into it—it could have been (inaudible) come up here offering there. So whoever comes up here sees that offering will leave it alone probably, whether it's material, animal, plant, whatever" (Naranjo 2003).

Terry Knight, Ute Mountain Ute, on Lava Cliffs

"Maybe it's an area that they may have made offerings. They put medicine down, had medicine bundles. They would come and pray—make offerings to—you could see the valley—to see, just to see what it looks like. And when the sun comes up just where exactly does it come up? At certain times of the year—the time that this area is available for habitat by humans. You know where is the sun coming up? Is it coming up over that mountain? Where is that—how long can you stay here? Until it come over that mountain or what? It's interesting and so, one family has one site, another family has another site.

Maybe medicine people have their own site over here somewhere. Things like that but they need an area cleared in circle so you can put your offering down so as to not lose your offering, then you put rocks on it. Who knows what's under there? Maybe bark, birch bark, something that had meaning that you don't want to fly away or be destroyed by snow. Or as the runoff is occurring in the spring and summer from the snow, then you make [a] ring and you put rocks on it to hold it down. So maybe there was meaning, so maybe some people died or something happened, so make memorials, I guess you could say, you put something down and make an offering. Maybe on [the] trail—but you can't do that on a trail, so you do it out of the way. But you don't want it to all go away, blow away, so you put rocks on it. And maybe different families have different sites that they could use. Think so, yes? no? I don't know? Maybe so?

(inaudiable)…feel and it's kind of got that heavy—heavy feeling of something. So this whole area, like you say, could have been vision quest sites where they came maybe before or after the main body has moved through this area and they're on the other side of the mountain. So you stay here, and have the vision quest or whatever you call it, and then when you get through, then you catch up with the rest of the group. Coming through or going, either way. Because I don't really see any place for a camp ground coming up off the mountain, unless maybe way up there somewhere, where it's kind of sheltered" (Knight 2002).

II: Trail Ridge Game Drive

There are a number of game drive sites in and around Rocky Mountain National Park. Game drives were stone walls and accompanying hunting blinds constructed to "encourage" animals to follow a particular route into the sites of waiting hunters. Every Native American consultant who was brought into RMNP was taken to the Trail Ridge Game Drive site (5LR15) because of its close proximity to the road and its intrinsic interest. Benedict (1996: 5) says "Such game drive systems imply a high level of group cooperation to build and to operate, and could only have been used at a time in the seasonal cycle when people had banded together into large groups." Benedict's publications provide archaeological detail on a number of game drive sites in and around Rocky Mountain National Park (Benedict 1987,1996).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on game drives and associated rituals

"Game drives like when you coming down, some people have a built up area where they have sage or cedars, sort of like a fish line, sometime they would use that cedar out there. There is usually one that deals with animal spirits as being a guide for that hunting group; if they know that they are going to be driving animals into certain areas; this man does a purification, does a ritual to clean out that area. There might be spirits there, that's what drives these animals away. This man [I hear there are people who would actually know where the elks, antelopes were] cleans that. You're going to walk so many miles, you come to a hill, then they be in this side, then they showed up and they would be there. Because these people know that; they're connecting that spirit; there were

people like that; their mind was trained, trained by spirits of the animals themself. So all of that played a big part in how they're going to construct their drives, their buffalo drives, or where they would be safe. So they would do the same thing; these people know what they're doing and they use people sometimes, and sometimes they use structures. Sometimes you see like over that way, there was a line, a rock, a row of rocks that was just straight out; the hill was coming down off down into the valley; you had to recognize this place and the antelopes were there, and then they can go up over that line. They go up this row because it's man-made; it's unnatural. So they keep on that side of it—they go right down into that trap" (Duncan 2002b).

Terry Knight, Ute Mountain Ute, on Trail Ridge game drive

"So a person reveal themselves and they come through here [up across the top of the Iron Dike located near the Trail Ridge Game Drive site]. I mean not necessarily right through here but this easier gap through there. They're not going off this way, they're going to try to head into the trees off that way. That's in knowing their [animals] routes, their patterns, so you have them coming in—and of course you may have one or two people on the very southeast edge there to keep them along here…along this area where the hunters would be positioned. But they would have to be running hard so either side of this barrier you could run them along next to the road, the highway, and have the same individual—somebody up there and use this area where they would come across this way. And this would be an even better one because they're running up hill from down there. They would be running uphill at a certain degree and, you

know, if you run them…and elk actually run…they don't run very far and they get…they get tired out. But if they have that trot that they have they can go for a long time. But if they see you and they see that they're being pursued they're going [to] run and they are going to run hard and they are going to be coming up this hill and they are going to be tired and they are going to be…if they animal is sort of tired, winded, they'll be easy to turn.

So you have this row of rocks—especially coming up hill—they can't jump up hill. Where they could see that and they'll go in this gap and go over that and go over and they can't run this way because you have the row of rocks here and they then are going down. And maybe you have an individual positioned over there, or maybe the women and children, somebody, and they'll see them and then they'll be right into the hunter's blinds. But you have determined how you are going to do that because they had real good sense of smell" (Knight 2002).

Alonzo Moss, Northern Arapaho, on game drive

"They just took what they needed, they didn't go over that [limit], so that's how come they never wasted anything, even animals, they made use of everything. Just anything. Everything was sacred to them. As one story says, in Colorado we left a lot of our medicine and a lot of our power because we knew we'd have to move that way (points north). We knew we had to get away from (Arapaho word for) Denver" (Moss 2003).

III Stone Circles

There are a number of stone ring features in Rocky Mountain National Park; their function is not altogether clear. The three that were visited by Native consultants include one just off of Trail Ridge road, south of Lava Cliffs (5LR7090), one off of Bear Lake Road, near the Glacier Gorge (5LR3950) and the newly discovered "medicine wheel" (5LR150) near the Trail Ridge Game Drive Site. The report mentioned above, *Consultation on Traditional Ute Sites in Rocky Mountain National Park* (Duncan and Goss 2000) also contains useful information on site 5LR7090. Site 5LR 150 is described in Brunswig 2003 and following under Naranjo.

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on 5LR7090 Stone circle near Trail Ridge

"It could be an alignment [to Longs peak] See, you stand in the center and you align yourself to the star, the North Star, then you figure out where the North Star is, then you put a line to that. Then when there's daylight like this then you can tell which way that is, and that will give you the direction as to which way to go. Then that adds on to the next one, and the next one because you're making like a map.

If it has spokes in it then it's telling something like it's a directional type of thing—like they're referring to another site or maybe it's their way of connecting with that. Okay, I would do this, I put a circle here, and then maybe after a vision quest somewhere; vision quest don't necessarily have to be set up in a way that you have circles. I could do it out here. But when I complete that, and I am through after a few days and I put a circle there and I put a center there, then I

put a spokes in it and that would—maybe later when I'm way over on the other hill, then I'm connected to that place where I was because I would do the same over there, put another wheel and put a spoke through that and that connects me with this one. So sometimes you hear about wheels having a smaller wheel on the outside, you know, so big, and that, sometimes they call them balancers, balancers. They balance that circle, like you balance the world. You put even weight on whatever that you have. Sometimes they do that. Sometimes you see that, but here they just have the circle, but I think it could be that or it's a sacred site in a way that people lived there and something told them not to come here, then they covered it up, but it's still a sacred site.

But then again, if someone used that for a vision quest and they came into the circle, and that was their altar, their center altar that goes to the higher level of all spirits. But it has to do with the mountains, the more you think about it, the entire upper country may be used especially for religious purposes, ceremonial purposes. I don't think they came up to here to hunt. This is a place where you do sacred rituals. I think it may have been that way because you've got plenty of places to hunt, everywhere. Why would you walk all the way up here just to hunt when you can get it down [t]here? So the main purpose of that would be to gather that spiritual connections, or to put it all together. I think that might be—because you feel that when you come up here. That's why I was asking, I say these people are, you see these tourists come up and they start feeling spiritual. You know, sacred. And that's why I was asking, 'Do you feel that?' and you say, 'Yeah.' That's why I say, 'You're running out of oxygen and that's why you feel

that way.' (Laughs). You feel right next to god, but you almost died. But when you die, he's going to grab you; he's close. So that's what you call spirituality.

If you make an offering of tobacco or whatever they had, and sometime they're smoking, they'll blow that in that direction so that it follows that line to wherever it's going to go [here Duncan is referring to the alignments, spokes, balancers]. They thought of a star, for instance, North Star as being a sacred star, so they communicate with that star, so they look at it as being a source of power, of spiritual power for that man, and that's why they say that the universe or the 'up here' is connecting with the earth, because they're communicating with that. These circles are just a small part of what is really the big picture. So we got to figure out what this smaller one's, what they are in order to understand the big picture. So you know that's what we have" (Duncan 2002c).

In response to McBeth's question, "How would you interpret that"?

"A tipi ring, and then it could also be a vision quest, a circle, and then a directional circle. So that's three, or it could be the home of the mountain spirit. So those are four ways that you could describe that. The rocks in the center are related to the earlier people, the ones that did the original creation of the world. Those are the center rocks. Sometime we call them rock people because they're the ones that are going to talk to you. That's why people use that in a sweat house, they use rocks because they're communicating with that lava rock, the hot rocks, they put this water onto that in the sweat lodge. That might be how they did that circle, too. But they didn't use this as a sweat house; don't get me wrong" (Duncan 2002c).

Duncan also *writes* about these stone circles

"One common ingredient in many ceremonies was stones laid upon the ground in a circle. Past ritual sites with stone circles can be found throughout original Ute homelands. These stone circles are individual ritual sites and are still considered sacred today. They were not used in a uniform, structured manner. Each medicine man or spiritual person who practiced shamanism had his own ritual. Generally, the circles were used for rituals benefiting the immediate family or band.

Rituals were conducted in relationship with nature and the universe—connecting all with the supreme intelligence of the creator. The stones may have been used by the shaman for contacting the spirit within, to draw a particular animal spirit to the ritual, as a boundary to keep out evil spirits, or perhaps as a marker of the site" (Duncan 2000: 218).

Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute, on Stone Circles

On July 8, 2003, Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute discovered a heretofore unrecorded stone ring feature (part of 5LR15) near the Trail Ridge Game Drive Site (Brunswig 2003: 24-27). It consists of a large 5 meter diameter ring of widely spaced boulders with a large partially buried .9 m. boulder in its center. Alden Naranjo referred to this central stone as an altar stone.

In response to McBeth's question of the center stone and "spokes" coming out of center.

"Well, my interpretation, my opinion is that these are directional; directional to give you the direction of where you're at, where you're going—where some of

these cairns are at because if you come up here you don't see the cairns up there. You get up in this area where the trail is and you know that there's a circle here. And you get here and you come over and look at the circle. It gives you directions of where you're at, other than by looking at the mountain. When you get here you know that you're a little bit closer; and stone circles like this they use it for different ceremonies also, you come up here, give an offering, come up here make a prayer, come up here and get your own directions. I don't know, maybe a quest, you know, one, two, three days…four days, whatever. Come up here and do a quest. It's quiet, it's away from the wind. You sit down here and it's not blowing as hard as this one up here. But you get kind of a direction of where you're at—not only in the spiritual self but in life itself. But I know there's been a lot of things that's been left on there [altar stone] and the wind's taken care of that. So you take tobacco and you put tobacco on there and it's going to be taken away" (Naranjo 2003).

In response to McBeth's question about close proximity to Ute Trail.

"Yeah, because the trail is right there and you could get off the trail to get directions. But if you've been up here a long time, then you wouldn't have to have all this. But if you're going to give directions to people that are coming from the south, coming up, or somebody coming from the north and you don't tell anyone—they're asking where is that place at. I'm going to tell you where it's at but look for a certain feature on the ground and there you can go left, right, north, south, whatever. So they're not going to be with you but they're going to tell you the general area where you find it. So this would be one of those areas that—

just like up on top over there, what direction is it from here. Kind of in the way you have a compass that's got these directional dials on it, especially the old sea compass that had all these fancy work on it. This isn't as elaborate but it basically the general thing. It's not as elaborate as the medicine wheel in Wyoming or anything like that but it has the basic structure to it. So you'll find a lot of these stone circles different places. They'll kind of give you an idea of where you're at, what it's for—a lot of them use it for ceremonial purposes also. But a lot of them weren't used for ceremonial purposes either, you know" (Naranjo 2003).

On July 9, 2003, Naranjo reflected on his find

"What we are calling the medicine wheel by the game drive, you take a look at that and I told the group yesterday, you have to be real observant in order to see these places that are significant—that are going east or south or west or north or in between for the solstice or equinox. You have to take a really good look at that—to which way that they are and why they were there and what they were used for you. Ceremonials? Maybe or a guide or a directional guide or a map or whatever it might be and the other feature that we seen up there you know the scorpion (on Lava Cliffs), you have to take a look at those things because we know it's there, but we're not going to tell you everything.

We're not going to tell you that, you know, this is what it's used for, this is what it is, this is what it means. We'll tell you the basics of it but we're not going to tell you all of it. So what I'm saying is that within the boundaries of the Park, maybe on outside here, there's a lot more that nobody has seen yet. You know,

and it's there. Whether it's going to be found, whether they're going to be catalogued or recorded, whatever, whether it's within the park service itself...area within the Estes Park area...Rocky Mountain National Park there is a lot of areas that are going to be found, and it's kind of like a never ending story. The story is going to continue and it's going to always be there—there's always going to be somebody else that's going to find another feature or another site or whatever it's going to be. Those things though, some of these are very significant and may not show itself to anybody, not reveal it. We have to continue to maintain a good surveillance of the areas and also remember that a lot of these sites had a spiritual significance to the people, whomever they were, whether it's Utes, Arapahos or other tribes and Apaches you know any Indian tribes that came into this area. The tribes were always at war—they were territorial. In a way they were, but they also shared the land. So this area here was shared by a lot of people but we know that we were here, you know before there's others. We don't know where we come from—whether we migrated here, whether we were here before, we don't know. We know that we were here and we're still trying to maintain a connection with this area here and other areas in the state of Colorado where territorial limits were...whether east, south, west or north we still maintain" (Naranjo 2003). .

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, Terry Knight, Ute Mountain Ute, and Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute (collectively) on Glacier Gorge Rock Circle: 5LR3950 (from fieldnotes)

All thought that this feature was interesting, but not typical. Some rocks are missing, but the leichen growth suggests some antiquity. Rock on rock is

also not typical. Duncan made mention that it did not "feel right." Knight thought it might be drying area for berries or possibly associated with a woman's moon time, but was not sure why they would make a circle of stones, or if his interpretations were correct. "Yes? No? Maybe so?" Naranjo also thought it interesting but was not willing to interpret it too precisely.

Jim Goss, Ute linguist, and Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute on Glacier Gorge Rock Circle: 5LR3950

"This site manifests the classic problem of interpretation. It is obviously a multi-component, multifunctional, site that has been used by different people for different purposes at different times (Duncan and Goss 2000)." See full report for additional detail; included in Duncan file and Goss file.

IV Longs Peak (including eagle traps)

Longs Peak is, of course, the highest peak in Rocky Mountain National Park. It reaches 14,255 feet and was likely perceived and used by Indian people as a landmark. Because of its height, it may have been used for sacred alignments, vision questing, healing rituals, eagle trapping, and the like. Toll records that "Longs Peak and Mount Meeker together were called the 'Two Guides,' nesótaieux, because they are the landmarks of the whole region, and when viewed from the east form a striking double peak" (Toll 2003: 15).

Eagle trapping was practiced by a number of Native tribes. In the Toll Report, "Old Gun Griswold" was an Arapaho medicine man who, according to his son, built an eagle trap on the top of Longs Peak around 1859. Gun Griswold

describes Arapaho eagle trapping: "The trap has to be quite a few miles away from the camp because otherwise the eagles would be scared away. Gun used to go up by night so that the eagles would not see him. The dirt that he dug out of the hole was scattered all over the mountain, as if a gopher had scattered it. When we climbed the peak [to try to find the trap] we climbed it from the south side, and had to put on new moccasins every three hours because they wore out so fast. Six of us went up, the rest stayed at the foot. This was fifty-five years ago (Toll 1962: 40-41). They were unable to find the exact location of the pit (attach sketch). See also Arapaho "Eagle Story" in Chapter 3. Ethnographers (Lowie 1924 199, 215-216, Smith 1974: 59-60) note that the Ute also constructed eagle traps "for ceremonial usage," although none have been found in Rocky Mountain National Park. Lowie writes, “As would be expected from their location, the Ute shared the traits of the Plains as well as the Plateau Indians in their economic activities. They hunted buffalo and deer as well as deer and rabbits. The practice of eagle-catching pits by the Uintah may perhaps also be mentioned in this connection as a typical Plains feature" (Lowie 1924: 199).

While it has become common for Longs to be referred to as the Utes' sacred Beaver Mountain, Duncan cautions against such assumptions. He says that the Ute names for landmarks in Colorado have been lost due to the Utes removal from the state in 1881.

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on Longs Peak

In response to McBeth's question about the Ute name and use of Longs Peak

"The problem that we have today is this, and we never were brought back here after we were driven from Meeker, and then also from Montrose area. Other tribes may have been brought here, and then later they came up with names. But that doesn't mean that we didn't have names for them. The names may have been different. The ones that I know, it's like over in Steamboat Springs area; more, I know those places more so than I do here, but it's just the names, mainly because the agency was there at Meeker. So those are still there; but I can take a word like beaver. I can translate it into Indian, into Ute. And that's not hard to do. Beaver is PA WHEECH, and there's another way to say that. PAH CORSE AH. And I think that's where that name came from: Pagosa Springs. Because they were talking about beaver: PAH CORSE AH" Duncan 2002b).

"But when you're in Utah, Colorado, you know exactly where you're at because, "Look at the mountains, and they'll tell you where you're at, you know." And then the mountains are treated too like they are also alive, like all living plants and it breathes just like a man, so it breathes in, out, and every time it breathes out rocks come tumbling down (laughter). Springtime, they say that is either inhaling or exhaling. And that's where Indian people, when they look at the mountains, it's going to move that; you know, that's what land slides are; avalanches move because of that. We look at it that way" (Duncan 2002c).

In response to Brunswig/McBeth's question about some of highest places as being spiritually so powerful, that they pose a danger to those who were not shamans.

"I think that most of those were designated so many generations before these people can use that. And then when I say that, it may go back thousands of years. There are certain places where they had several vision quest sites—that [Longs] would be one of them. These are the sites that contain a vision quest site used by Medicine Men, and that has more authority because people have been there—get their visions as to how they are going to doctor people. The spiritual connection is there so the teaching of spirituality or passing the ways to younger people did not happen too much. I think the medicine men, those that were into spiritual understanding of what goes on and those that do doctoring, they were the ones that were actually visiting those places. A spiritual doctor of the past, in comparison, is same as Jesus Christ and the New Testament. And then my mother would talk about how the medicine man could also bring back a person that died, by just using eagle feathers. They flipped that life back into that person, with a feather. And they put it back into that person; person comes back to life. So when you hear their stories and you hear the stories of the New Testament, they're the same; and how these people lived that spiritual life" (Duncan 2002c).

V Apache Fort

Toll records that the "Arapahos volunteered that this [Apache Fort] had been the scene of a great battle between the Apaches and the Arapahos (Toll

2003: 20). Sage says he was four years old at the time, setting the battle year at around 1855. The Arapaho offer a 1914 description of the battle in Arapaho Names and Trails (Toll 2003: 20-21). In August 2003, the Northern Arapaho visited this site. They spoke almost exclusively in Arapaho. At my request, Andy Cowell (who understands Arapaho) summarized their comments in an email correspondence as follows (copy also located in Northern Arapaho file).

VI Wickiups

Wickiups are conical timbered lodges and when found in Colorado or eastern Utah are generally believed to be associated with the Ute (Brunswig 2005: 131; Scott 1988). Fifteen collapsed aspen wickiups have been documented in Rocky Mountain National Park. Butler says that they are of "probable protohistoric Ute affiliation" (Butler 2004: 17). Wickiups are conically shaped wooden structures erected for temporary protection. Butler reports (2004: 21) that Clifford Duncan notes that "Ute wickiups often contained an interior liner made of animal skin and later of canvas." They provided warmth as well as water-proofing the interior. The only person who went to a wickiup site in the Park was Alden Naranjo.

Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute, on Wickiups

"I saw a plant there [Horseshoe Park wickiup] that they could have used at that time—walking up here just come up here and recognize some of the plants that they used. That's why I'm saying maybe this was just a hunting camp that they used. Maybe they stayed here in the fall also—maybe they came here early in the spring 'cause it's low enough for—have been a medicine lodge, you know, it could have been anything—it could have been a moon lodge also" (Naranjo 2003).

VII: Old Man Mountain

The archaeological site known as "Old Man Mountain" is documented by Benedict (1985). Located outside of RMNP proper, it was visited by Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute on July 7, 2003 and Alonzo Moss, Northern Arapaho on May 16, 2003. Benedict describes the site as "a conical knob at the western city limits of Estes Park. Archaeological and ethnographic evidence shows that the mountain was sacred to prehistoric Native Americans, who visited it to fast for visions that wood bring good fortune and spirit power." Benedict located concentrations of ritual artifacts that he interprets as "stations" where people stopped to smoke, pray, and make offerings while climbing to the summit itself..." (1985: 1). Benedict has identified pottery shards from Plains Woodland, Fremont, Pueblo, Shoshone, and Ute.

Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute, was the only Ute who looked at this site located outside of Park boundaries. He expressed concern that the site not be developed. He did not express any interest in climbing to the top. There are no remaining artifacts, but a beautiful view of the valley from the summit.

Toll records that "The Arapahos had noticed the same figure that we see in Old Man Mountain. They call it "Sitting Man," hinántoXthaoXut. They said that Indians often fasted on top of the hill" (Toll 2003: 17).

Alonzo Moss, Northern Arapaho, expressed interest in seeing the site, so I arranged for Andy Cowell (Arapaho linguist, CU), Moss, and myself to get a guided tour on May 16, 2003 from Jim Benedict, the archaeologist who surveyed and wrote the site report on Old Man Mountain (Benedict 1985). After a great

deal of miscommunication and Moss's all night drive from Wyoming, we reached the base of Old Man Mountain around 11:00 a.m. Moss had on cowboy boots, and so made it about one-third of the way up, to about the first "station," then turned around and descended. Cowell, Benedict, and I ascended to the summit—there really was little to see and Benedict noted that one of the "river cobbles" believed to have been carried up the mountain to express strength of purpose was missing. The view from the top is quite beautiful; you can see Longs Peak, the valley, and other high points.

The only thing that Alonzo Moss expressed about the site was a curiosity about some flat cedar growing near the area of the first pilgrimage "station." When Benedict asked him if he had ever vision quested he responded, "No, I've never seen a reason to do that." Then he went on to explain that Arapahos do not like to talk about their spiritual rituals. Benedict rephrased his question to Moss, and said, "So, if you had, you wouldn't say?" Moss replied in the affirmative.

Chapter 7: TRAILS, RIVERS, WATER

Trails and rivers that run through the Park are also an important part of the mountain landscape (as discussed in Chapter 4). Duncan, Knight, and Naranjo agreed that *some* trails may have had a spiritual significance, but that it would not be entirely correct to assume that all trails are animate. Perhaps trails might more accurately be defined as "threads that bound the cultural landscape together in both profane and sacred ways" (Brunswig and Lux 2003: 16). Trails provide access to hunting areas as well as sacred sites; they are not just roads between points, but also provide a way across the Continental Divide, are important to the tribes' seasonal rounds, and therefore provide insight into the interconnections of Ute and Arapaho world view. Trails also provide powerful connections between the past and the present. Since many are still visible today and are marked as important cultural sites, they provide a tangible connection to their past to 21st century Native people (see Arrum below). Lux's unpublished Master's degree (Lux 2005) and Gulliford's work on the Ute Trail across the Flat Tops Mountains (Gulliford 2000: 125-131) also provide insights on this topic.

Chapter 2*: Folklore and Traditional Narratives* also includes stories told about the creation of rivers and trails. These include "Origin of the Cañons of the Colorado" (Powell), "The Origin of the Mountains, Valleys, and Cañons" (Powell), and "Rabbits Fireball and the Creation of the Rocky Mountains and Colorado River" (Duncan).

The quotes included in this chapter were selected from interviews with knowledgeable elders. They reflect the importance of trails, rivers, and water

and as such might be used to interpret their cultural significance in Rocky Mountain National Park. They are included with only minimal editing.

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on Trails

"When you talk about trails and passes, you say they're NU VUR [Indian Trail], almost like a V sound to it. But when you say road by itself you say VUR, trail, VUR KA VAH [Horse Trail], KA VAH horse. KA VAH, KA VAH VUR or PAREA VUR [Elk Trail], so you're talking about elk—elk trail. DEAH VUR [deer trail], if you're talking about deer. And then you always put that animal that's used a lot. NU VUR is Indian trail. NU is a human or a person or a man, however you want to define that. NUCHE is an Indian person. NUCHE. But a lot of writers have written it in a way that it means Ute, but it's not true. It's an Indian person. Comanches have that same word but it sounds different. Same as Shoshones are called NUMA, NUMA. That's an Indian person: NUMA. And Utes say NUCHE, they have that same N sound. You could say NUMA or NUCHE, NUCHE VUR, NUCHE VUR: that belongs to that Indian. Especially say just NU VUR, NU VUR. These trails are NU VUR; they're Ute NU VUR, Utah NU VUR" (Duncan 2002b).

Duncan in response to McBeth's question about animate nature of trails

"It doesn't necessarily mean just one group, and it was just a road, just a trail. And then if it's connected with a vision quest area, a trail that would lead to the top of the mountain, then it would be that a word would be added to that: WOPE SA GUY. WOPE SA GUY means those that are seeking a spirit or a vision and it means that WOPE SA GUY TU VUR, WOPE SA GUY TA VUR

means the one that seeks that vision, follows that trail, and that's his trail. And then some of these trails if they are leading to a vision quest site we could refer to them as WOPE SA GUY WA VUR. That's kind of long, but you put together this short TA VUR and the meaning then means, you can put on anything you want to and it's just a road.

I think that [the Ute Trail going up over Lava Cliffs] would be connected to WOPE SA GUY, WOPE SA GUY WA VUR. WA is high spirit; it's a name that we use when we are talking to the invisible, the spirit, and the power that's coming from that: the spiritual power is WA. If you're talking about man and he has that you say: WA. The road thing, the word has to have that with that. WA VUR. WA VUR. It means the road that is on a high level, those that are connected with those sites would be WA VUR, WA VUR. Probably too, if it's old and connected with the offerings; if they made offerings to make that road, and they placed it on that road (Duncan 2002b).

Duncan in response to Lux's question about different trails used for going up as opposed to down a trail; economic vs. spiritual

"I think most Indians that are traveling on horses, they practiced that: where you take a certain trail and then you return on a different trail. That may have two parts to it because a spirit that's connected with that—you always want to be a head of that so you go in a different direction coming home. So that's why you wouldn't want to go back again if it was bad [weather] or leaving things behind. Like in certain ceremonies today—the Crows do this—they have a tipi and then they'll have a stick standing outside and then when they have ceremonies a man will explain to the people that anything that follows, that is

bad. So, hang it [the bad thought] outside [on the stick]. From here on the ceremony is based on "All are safe." There is nothing bad in here, and then when you leave this place, if you want that back you can pick it up, because that's where you want to be. And trails are like that too. Where you go one way and you leave certain things there and what you want to leave behind [you can, and] you can go in another direction.

But then again, it's simple that we do that too. Coming over here, I might take the easiest route. I don't want to take the road that keeps coming this way. So I go all the way around through Vail Pass, (unclear) Pass to this way. So, when they ask me, I want to go back down this other way and I have to climb another mountain, it's better for me to go this way because I am gradually going down, too. And then I don't use much gas. I'm thinking about how my motor is going to be working, using a lot of gas, and so I take the easiest road. Same way with horses; people don't want to tire their horses so they take a gradual climb up slopes, then when they come back they go this other way and they can drop off fast—they're not exerting—things like that made a lot of difference too, the owner cared for their horses, in fact horses were treated like a medicine animal or spirit animals. They weren't just horses, so they took care of that in the way that you don't MEE TA KWAY a horse. MEE TA KWAY means that you wear out a horse. There's a certain thing that will snap and that horse will be useless to you for the rest of its life because you pushed it too much. So you don't push a horse. See, that's a part of their ways." (Duncan 2002b).

Alden Naranjo, Southern Ute, on trails

"Trails were basically not the trails that the Utes made themselves but were trails that they knew that the animals had made because it was easier for the animal to move into the mountains—the higher elevation in order to get from one place to another. So they utilized those trails and improved on those trails and made markers on those trails so that if anybody was to come from a different area or they were told to go to a certain place they would find a trail with that marker there. If it was an area that had no significant pinpointed place like what we know today as a town or a traffic light or a park or things like that—they didn't have that. But they had a significant place for an area. So if there was a place where the[re's an] area that the snow never melts, or the side of the hill that has a lot of snow, then they would have to look for that place—like for instance we know that there's Longs Peak, okay. In our language we would say you go to Longs Peak and then you go directly west, east, south or north whatever, and in that direction you will find a certain trail with a certain feature next to the trail so that from there you will get your orientation to what you were looking for.

So it was kind of like a map, but it was a map that was an oral map. Nothing that was drawn out or written or anything like that, it was an oral map so you have to really listen and understand where you are. And you had to know the direction of where you were so you relied on the sun; these trails followed all the animal trails that had been made by the bison, by the elk, by the deer, or the mountain sheep. So they followed these trails because they knew that these trails were easy on themselves, on their walking before they had horses and after

they had horses it was still easier for the horses to go over these mountains and passes following these old trails. Some of these trails have been in these mountains for years and years. We don't know how long they've been here but they were in use—and a lot of the highways and a lot of the park service trails and a lot of the trails that were used by people coming across this country, they follow these old Indian trails" (Naranjo 2003).

Jim Goss, Ute linguist, on trails

"So the deities, Coyote and Mother Earth, made the earth and made the trails and made the earth, created people, and put them where they were supposed to be on the earth, gave them their territories—told them what they're supposed to eat, how they were supposed to survive in their areas. The Utes were traditionally very hesitant to go off of the old trails that were always there, that is the trails were ancient. There is also a tradition among the elder Utes that they never went and returned by the same trail. That is they go by one trail and come back the other trail. You might say that there are really two trails every place. There is usually well, in Scotland they call it the high road and the low road, there's usually a trail on the ridge and then one down below. Some people call them the winter trail and a summer trail, but also there is a going trail and a coming trail. You don't go back by the same trail you came because you've left tracks and you're asking to be ambushed. You come back by another trail. So this is a traditional way of going about trails.

So, according to Ute tradition those Ute trails out there have always been there from the creation. They are mandated to go about their seasonal rounds

over their territory on those sacred trails. John Wesley Powell said that the Utes that he met, back in the 1860s in Utah and Colorado, would be very hesitant to change a trail or go off a trail even when there was arroyo cutting and the trail had been pretty badly damaged, they would do their best to still go on that trail. It was a sacred mandate to stay on that sacred trail where you were protected.

Another thing I have found was that when I went around on different trails and over different passes with some of the Ute elders, they actually sang traditional songs on particular trails, that is different trails had different songs. For example, Antonio Buck Junior, when I went down Ute Pass into Colorado Springs with him for the first time, sang a particular song. I hadn't heard it before until we went down that trail. I asked him what song that was. He said it was 'going down the pass trail.' I asked is it just any pass is it a down hill trail? He said. 'No this is to protect us going down into *Seriticot's* country. This is going down into Arapaho country. So they had a sacred song to protect them when they went down and out of the Front Range into Arapaho country.

A few years after that, I saw the picture that was taken in 1915 when the Ute Indians came for a ceremony at the Garden of the Gods. In 1915 the Utes came down and helped the city of Colorado Springs dedicate that. They came down Ute pass on their horses and their costumes and I saw a picture and I said 'Boy, it was led by Buckskin Charlie,' who was Antonio Buck's grandfather and said 'I bet when they were coming down that trail in 1915, I bet they were singing that same song.' I have asked several relatives of Tony's since then and they said, 'Yeah, there was a song that we sang going down there. There is a different

song that we sang coming down to Albuquerque when we went through Apache country and into to Navaho country. The song changed when we got to Jemez Pueblo.' There were songs that protected you from different people as you traveled as you went to different places. You might say that as they went along the trail they embroidered the trail with a song and they stopped and did ceremonies to protect them as they went into foreign territory or enemy territory. You might say there is a ceremony going down every trail" (Goss 2003).

Loya Arrum, Northern Ute, on Ute Trail

"Mariah [Cuch] and I were walking along and were talking about [the Ute Trail] and she said, 'Just think, we're walking along the trail!' And I had that same thought—the same trail that our ancestors walked. And she said, 'Just think, they wore moccasins.' And then I thought, 'Yeah, and they were carrying heavy packs,' and it was quite steep and the wind—the wind, in fact I almost fell over from the wind! But it's just the thought of you're walking in the same footsteps as your ancestors walked. Your feets [are] touching the same ground where they walked (crying). I wanted to just lay on the ground. I just wanted to think about them. In one way it breaks my heart, in another way I'm so glad. My heart is just overfilled with joy that I could make that connection, to be able to touch the stones that they touched. I'm seeing the same mountains that they saw. I'm walking the same trail—the path that they walked, possibly helping one another giving a hand—the rocks are sharp so the trail is not easy to walk. Children are being carried, walking hand and hand to help one another—those are the kinds of things they saw.

That's what I feel when I'm in the mountains, that their spirits are there and they are reminding us that we need to come back. Even sitting here among these ancient trees, what if they could talk? What they could tell? What the mountains could tell that we could learn from. It breaks my heart that I don't know. Sometimes I pray to know—I pray to get a glimpse how they lived, how they journeyed in the mountains, how they wintered in the meadows. All day yesterday that's the way I felt walking underneath the trees after we came from the game drive and I was walking around in the trees. How beautiful it was—the lush grasses, although they were not tall grasses, but one could just lay down there and rest; and [for] the elks in the meadows, food was plentiful (Arrum 2004).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on rivers

"The Ute word for river is NA KWEET, and that means to flow. PAH is water PAH. And if I'm talking about—they call that a river. PEAHN KWEET, PEAHN KWEET . That means large: PEAHN KWEET. NA VUT MA KWEET means a small stream. It's just a name for water and a flow. It has no—anything else attached to it like spiritual things. It just flows. PAH NA KWEET: water flowing—a river. PAH NA KWEET. You have to understand is that the English translation actually changes that; same way with English: when I translate that into Ute it doesn't sound good. So, I'm looking at it from both sides. But we understand when we say: PAH KWEET, NAVUT MA KWEET right now they know what it is. If you speak the language, but if I tell it to, if I change it over into English then the word is distorted" (Duncan 2002c).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on beaver and water

"So I am to find water. And I know how to detect water underground and how that water supply is going to be for that year by just looking at the land and the animals that live there, beavers especially, they were connected with that so once you have all the animals—animals are the caretakers of the land" (Duncan 2002c).

Jim Goss, Ute linguist, on water

"The Ute word for water is PAH. You change it a little bit BAH or PA put a possessive on the end of it. It means blood too… Obviously, if you're out of water you're out of business in the arid west. Water-Grandmother floating on a primordial sea in the original water, I mean nothing is possible without water. No life is possible without water. It is logical, living in this generally arid area most of the place names were associated with the availability of water, a spring, a river, a lake.

Well, the language gets pretty complex but PAH is the general term for water but then they don't have discrete nouns for things for like river or lake or lakes. Back to water PAH. So they talk about the states of water, for example Pagosa Springs over here that's PA GOSA water flowing or water gushing out actually gushing. GOSA GOSA, gushing out. So that is water gushing out so it gives the action of the water. [Note: Duncan disagrees with this interpretation; see p. 141] A river is PAH NA KWEE, PA NA KWEE to flow. So a river is PAH NA KWEE, water flowing. A lake is PAH CAREER; CAREER is the verb "to sit"

so a lake is water sitting. So it's a state of water being impounded. If it flows out PAH NA KWEE. If it's gushing out as a spring it's PAH GOSA. See Pagosa Springs over here is one of the places they liked so much they named it twice "spring, spring." So they just called it spring. Actually there is another word for boiling that they put before that I can't remember what it is now, but it's boiling water, boiling-water-gushing-out is the way it is in the Ute mind. So most of the places they camped were places where there was water available, so they'd say good water or bad water or sudsy water or boiling water or these different waters.

A lot of the names for plants for example they would differentiate by whether they tended to grow closer to the water or needed more water than others. For example, the word for piñon pine is WHOP and the word for the cedar or the juniper that grows with the piñon pine is PAH WHOP, water, water piñon. Of course they are different species for us but the Utes called them sisters because they tend to grow together—differentiated by being one that likes to be in damp, growing in low damper ground. The word for deer is DEE and the word for elk is PAH REE. PAH, water before DEE, it sounds out as PA DEE . So the word for elk is water deer. It isn't big dear but water deer. Deer [elk?] like marshy meadows up in the mountains. So they distinguish between animals by their adaptation to the wetter places or drier places. You predict that elk and deer will be in different places. So this term for water, this PAH comes up probably oh four or five times as often than any other group of words in the language and that would be expected for people who live in an arid area, that depend on water for

survival. Their places or places you could camp and have water available [were critical]" (Goss 2003).

Goss in response to McBeth's question about parallels between high places and water

"Well high places are the beginning of things. Where does the water start? It starts where the mountains obviously come together with the sky, right? That's where all the rivers start, that's where all the water comes from. The water comes from the mountains. A lot of Indians believe that the mountains make the water; just look around here in the summer time and where did the clouds develop up on the mountains. So where the mountains meet the sky is a transcendental point where the world meets the sky. They say mother earth and father sky. That's where their creation began, where water began. That's where the force of life is obviously; it's the source of everything. So if you want to go to the most powerful place in your territory it is the highest mountaintop closest to the sky where everything begins; you're going back to the source; it's appropriate, logical. So it was important to go on that vision quest to go out and expose yourself to nature in the most sacred place and hopefully have a spiritual experience. And you begin to learn some of your way, your book, your trail, your trail. So in many cases it was a pattern of, for example, making a circuit, making a sun wide circle or circuit, and over a few years, you know, go up a sacred mountains in a sacred direction, besides the central mountains, and it sometimes was worked out that way, in a spiral way. Individuals felt that they had a call to go to these mountains for meditation, to be close to the center. Where did Moses go to get spiritual help? Where did Christ go—to the mountains and so on and so on. It's universal" (Goss 2003).

Chapter 8: PEELED TREES

Peeled trees, also referred to as "culturally scarred trees" (CST), are one of the diagnostic features in Colorado of Ute presence (De Ved and Loosle 2001; Brunswig 2005: 88; Martorano 1988; Scott 1988). Ponderosa pines have two layers of cells just inside the outer bark that are the phloem and cambium. In the spring, the cambium layer divides, thus making removal of the outer bark relatively easy. The phloem is rich in carbohydrates and proteins, and was used by many tribes as a food source (Mortarano 1988: 5). The inner bark is highly nutritious and it is estimated that a pound contains as much calcium as nine glasses of milk; it is also slightly sweet. It was probably boiled, baked, or smoked before being eaten (Pasquale 2005: 5F). There are about four remaining peeled trees in Rocky Mountain National Park (in Tuxedo Park). Across the river on YMCA land, there are about seven more. These trees all date to about 1933. Butler has two theories for this late date: first is that the YMCA may have run some kind of a survival course where class members experimented with "peeling" trees to eat the rich inner bark (he also notes that the peeling techniques do not look like other "Ute" peeled trees). Second, and he admits this is unlikely, that possibly individuals (native or non-Native) may have peeled trees during the Depression Era to add to their meager diet (Butler 2006, July, personal communication).

The quotes included in this chapter were selected from interviews with knowledgeable elders who visited the peeled trees in RMNP. They are included with only minimal editing.

Venita Taveapont, Northern Ute, on peeled trees

"The strongest connection I can see 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. I so enjoyed the experience [of being invited into RMNP] because I wanted to see what the reaction of the new people [those who hadn't been to RMNP before] would be. It confirmed my belief that we are still connected to the land. It just needed to be awakened." (Venita Taveapont 2003, August, personal communication).

"Peeled trees are used for pneumonia; a tea is made from the inner layer" (Taveapont 2003, August, personal communication).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on peeled trees

"Trees that have been peeled, when we are hiking we will find big yellow pines or these larger type of pine trees that are peeled off. One of my uncles used to talk about that. At certain times, 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, pine sap. BEE AT A MEE AYE is a word that he 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. So they mix that with

whatever meals they are going to have or they also preserve that in certain way to use later.

Or they make these baskets out of willows, and these are water containers. They pour that sap into that and they close all the small openings in that, it has to be warm. So the ladies were the ones that were doing that, the old ladies. They have a round ball, sometimes you see that at a museum, it's a stone ball, they throw that stone ball into the basket and move it around and that ball hits on the side, and that's how they use that—it's not for games and it's to get into small openings. And that's what they use that for.

And medicine man also made use of trees in a way that certain type of spiritual power or healing power comes from that tree. When you find a lump on a tree and that lump is to the sunrise, that is a special tree. They look for that. A medicine man, a shaman, will put a sick person against that, they open that tree and they put that person against there and tie that person onto that tree. Once they do that they leave that person there for a while. You got to keep in mind that medicine men, shaman, never do things by themselves. There is no such a thing as a powerful man who can do things by themselves. Its always with a song, it's always with words. They are talking to somebody outside themselves. So when I talk to a tree, I am talking to the spirit. When I'm talking to God [Ute word: DE WHIT MORO], I'm talking to a higher level. Rituals or ceremonies that we perform, actually have that here, there's no person in this world that does it by himself, say, "I'm doing it." That's the way we live" (Duncan 2002a).

"But I think the reason for all of these scarred trees may have had something to do with the Indian culture relating to diet, diet makes... It could be used for like sweetening of a certain type of meals, so like when I was back on the reservations, one of my uncles was telling me about how the ladies would go—old ladies would go up into the mountains, on horse back to collect sap. And this is back in about 1930s or 40s, so they had a word for that, and he said those people would go BEE AT AY ME AY, BEE AT AY ME AY. BEE AT AY means sugar or sweet. ME AY means go after. BEE AT AY ME AY: so they're going after that, so they collect that and spend about a day, two days in the mountains, collecting that. 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, there, 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. And then, it changes. [It was collected] probably in the spring, I think it was spring because they have sap that's like all trees have a run of sap say about last part of May, also June and that sap is spring. And that's why you can skin a tree without cutting it, like when we get the tipi poles, we cut the pole fresh and all we do is just strip it, and then the peeling just comes off because it's wet, its actually moist and wet. That would be the time to collect that" (Duncan 2002c).

Betsy Chapoose, Northern Ute, on peeled trees

Betsy Chapoose on peeling trees as women's work

"Well, the only three ways that I know they would use these trees is, one is to peel it and use it for possibly in making mats or some other such items. Another one was to get the sugar out of the bark which they pulled off and they either pounded or boiled, and that, only the women did that and they didn't do it in the presence of men or anything, that was strictly a women's activity, and the third way that was taught to me by Verde Tobee (?) was in the longevity ceremony, and they used the tree in the way that promoted a long life [Betsy would not or could not expand on this ceremonial use]. But they did prefer that [Ponderosa] but it was not only used for that, but that was their preference, but those are really the only three things that I, the way I know, that they used a tree. I don't myself, don't buy into this, in times of distress [only used during times of starvation]. I don't think so, I don't think that's what it was. I think that that's being mixed up with something else that had been told. I think that it was pretty much a supplement to the diet that was quite generally practiced. And I do know that even after the Utes were moved into Utah, that they were coming back to certain areas to do this, and it was the women that came back in, and I don't know; we're a long way from there to here" (Chapoose 2002).

Chapter 9: PLANTS

In order to try to get additional information on Utes' use of plants as well as to get more women into the Park, RMNP granted a small extension on the original grant to see if there was knowledge about plant use (subsistence and medicinal), associated rituals, or from other perspectives. The following brief summary is derived from my fieldnotes for August 9-11, 2004; related tape-recorded data from a variety of consultants provides tentative beginnings to an understanding of Ute plant use.

The Ute have no knowledge of eating alpine bistort (a hardy perennial; the root is rich in starch and occasionally eaten by arctic people). They have no knowledge of any uses for the common plant, gentia (which can be made into an intensely bitter tonic that stimulates the digestive system). Both of these plants are common in RMNP. The scratchy edge of Hair Grass (which we saw near the springs on the way up to the Game Drive site) was (and still is to an extent) used to scrape cataracts out of the eyes. Thistle is edible, but Utes don't eat it today. Yarrow is mixed with water and rubbed on bites; it is also used as a tea to break a fever, or to thin blood (like aspirin). The leaves of the yarrow plant can be chewed to ease painful child birth. When Leanne Benton asked if it was used for bloody nose, the Ute women said no.

Geneva Accawanna, Helen Wash, and Loya Arrum (in particular) left tobacco at numerous sites including numerous blinds at the game drive site, the associated medicine wheel, and the areas where osha was collected. Osha is related to parsley and grows throughout the Rocky Mountain range. It has an

antibacterial and antiviral substance in the root and was/is used by Indians and early pioneers to treat colds, flu, and upper respiratory infections. I have also heard it referred to as "Colorado cough root" and "Indian penicillin." Loya Arrum burned sweet grass and asked for the spirits permission to reconnect (I asked her later for the meaning of the sweet grass burning). Loya and Geneva wept; Loya remarked that she felt a strong presence of the spirits on the east side of the Iron Dike (near the Trail Ridge Game Drive site).

For the Ute, the world is sacramental and it is a world thoroughly impregnated with the energy, purpose, and sense of creative natural forces. In seeking an intimate unification with nature and the natural world, the Ute give gifts or offerings in and to locations where they believe their ancestors prayed or where plants are collected. The Arapaho, too, mentioned that it is dangerous not to make offerings when one gathers plants.

The quotes included in this chapter were selected from interviews with knowledgeable elders who discussed plant use. They are included with only minimal editing.

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on plants in RMNP

"And they dry those too; they use that (osha) when they prepare for Sundance; before they go into the Sundance. Like wild plant that is going to be used by this person to take into the Sundance ceremonies. So that way it's connected to spiritual—that plant, but then it can eat it just like (unclear). It's really good. And the yampa plant, too—yampa is a carrot-like plant that grows in the areas where there's sage. It grows just like a carrot, you can clean it off, eat

it raw; nice and sweet. That's yampa. But they would dry that, many people would dry that and just store it away—it was a favorite, I guess too because those Comanches they call themselves Yampa-tika. So when I go to Oklahoma and I see an Indian person and I say., 'What tribe are you?' They say Yampa-tika. And I ask 'How can you be Yampa-tika when I'm Yampa-tika too. I'm a Ute and you're a Comanche… TIKA means eat"' (Duncan 2002c).

Clifford Duncan on plants moving away and transplanting plants.

"They move away. Like when we looking for this spring beauty, Indian potatoes, my mother would tell us that when we get there that maybe they won't be there. We say, 'Why not?' They move away. And the reason why they moved away was because we abused it. Maybe it, we didn't do right, and they moved out of the area, and then we have to go look for it again. But those that abused it—they're not going to find it because it moved away. The plants have a tendency to move to another area. It could be like a practical way of seeds was carried by air; start growing elsewhere. Maybe there was a change in the moisture content of a certain place in which was good for the plant and that's the way it went by and so it moved away. It could have been things like that but he or she was saying, 'Why they go away?' And that just explains it that way. So they may have had where they transplanted trees too, that close to where you live like. Red willows, of course, they're used in a tobacco mix; so they gather that at certain places, certain ones will take that from the same location, same elevation. When they gather their tobacco leaves then they mix that with that, they have to. Or if they moved there, they take that over here. But they didn't do it in a large scale. It's always best to just leave a plant there.

And then again you know all things are connected with spiritual; collection of a place, a plant and you make the offerings again. Offerings, they differ with tribes. You take for instance the Hopis or Navajos or Ute or (unclear) and they decide to take care of they (unclear) mark themselves with that and that is their tradition with the earth. When you take the northern tribes they use tobacco; most of them use tobacco. In between there's sometimes there's a mix too; or you could use like any plant really which you consider to be sacred like fruit, like dried buffalo berries. Here's a sweets for the spirit. Or like eagle feathers, feathers that we use for spiritual. At certain time you will give what you consider to be of high value to yourself, and you will take that and you will put that away somewhere and give that to the spirit and in that way you are giving a big portion of yourself, and offering that and showing the spirit that you know you really don't want to possess anything. Give me something that you cherish and put that there. So offerings remain that way, even to a plant. Those are earlier ways of doings things (Duncan 2002c).

"I think a certain type of berries [may have been transplanted] that they want to have wherever they usually live, like during the summer or spring. They may have done that, and then talking about transplanting or carrying seeds from another area—you find that among the Fremont, a lot. Like over in Dinosaur Monument area, in doing some excavations over there, we find, there were beans, there were corn, plus Macaw feathers. Okay, we know that there's no Macaws around, so it's coming from south. So they're carrying it from down there up into this area. And then you find a lot of granaries that still have these

small miniature type corn cobs that was [probably] transplanted too. They carried that with them. Then, it's everywhere where there were Fremont People during that period of time. They were doing that a lot. And I think Indian people, or Native Americans, or the earlier people, they learned also that that could happen. Like you transplant—you take a plant from here up to there, not really great distances, and eventually that gets somewhere. And that happened a lot. Some of those things may have been sacred plants, what I mean by that is they may have been used in ceremonies, and then they wanted to have that close. So once they have that, then they know where to get that. Because this man, in relationship with his doctoring rituals, practices may have taken that and was using it for himself. Also like when you attend ceremonies, sometimes you'll find that what these people [put plants] onto hot charcoal—for purification purposes—most of them are like straight cedar, junipers, but you can tell the differences between different places that's within that, like the fragrance of that is different, if they grow in another area. So they bring that here. So, I've seen that.

And then sacredness of a plant is beginning of how we associate with taking a plant from here to there, or how you use it in your diet, or medicine. We have to treat a flower or a plant, even a tree, in that they have same spirit that we have, so I have to talk to that, whatever plant that I'm going to use in my ceremonies and I will say, "Well I'm going to have some of this and I will give you this." You always give one up. And that's how that goes. In collecting medicine from the mountains, I would know where they grow, and then I'm walking down this pathway, I have with me my Levi jacket, and I make this move toward that

plant, but I don't look at that plant. And then as I go by I throw my jacket over it. And I go so far and then I come back. And I know which one it is and I pull it up and I talk to it and I say, "Well I'm going to take you with me." And the spirit will stay there with that plant. The spirit is part of the plant. A plant is a plant. And if the plant is just a plant, there's just a plant, but if you add a spirit to that, it becomes a medicine. But that has to be part of that, so that's what I'm getting when I cover that. I don't want that to escape, like when I walk straight up to it and I pick it up, it takes off. The spirit takes off and I take that and go try to plant it someplace and it's going to die because that spirit took off. So when I do transplanting of certain type of medicine I'm going to use, then I would cover that then it's, "Okay, I'm going to take you over here." And okay now the spirit is in there. It's how I think. It's how I feel about what's around me.

Even about a rock, rocks are sacred to us. The early stories about rocks is that they were people. They had life patterns same as us. And they controlled the world and then they finally became rock people. So if you want to listen to a story—the oldest stories can be told by a rock. And you're going to learn from that. And that's why in campfires in a tipi, the Indian people will put a row of rocks in a circle around the fire because they have to sit up front. The rest of the people, the people have to sit in the back, but these people have that front row seat—so they're always like that when there's a fire. And that's how that goes. It's the treatment of a plant in that you have to respect the spirit in it, that goes with it. And then that transplanting can take place. Utes, being that they were all in the same area, all the time, may have very few plants that were transplanted,

but we were looking at what, gooseberries up there at the high level? Somebody may have bought it there, from the bottom (here referring toTrail Ridge Game Drive).

And even birds, too. Birds were picking it up and when they fly in high places and then they drop it. And then it's carried that way even animal like coyote will do that too. It's in the droppings. And then not necessarily a man, but the man knows where they're growing. So it's always taking place no matter what (Duncan 2002c).

Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute, on names of plants

"Well, some plants, they still retain their Indian name like corn, when you start talking about that. Corn is KOM WEE; KOM WEE. And then chokecherries is TURT NIP, TURT NIP, almost like turnip; TURT NIP. Spring Beauty is called NOKE CHUP, NOKE CHUP. Gooseberries is called SOOVA WHIP, SOOVA WHIP. I can't spell it. And then what do you call that, Sumac? Sumac plant? ISH we call it ISH. That's easy. ISH. And then DOO WAANT is currant. And then I can't twist my tongue or mouth for raspberries, but I know what it is. When I write it down I'll tell you, tell you how to spell it. But some words are hard, I can't [explain]. Like I describe birds sometime to people, how do you say bird, like swallow: DA BOKE SGOTTA WHICH. So you know, yeah, hard to write. Sometimes I forget, too, because I don't say that word a lot. DA BOKE SGOTTA WHICH. That's that kind of bird. But we still have names for those. And some of the flowers, like rose, wild rose bushes like that. Yarrow plant is YLA, YLA SO

TOO QUEET. YLA SO TOO QUEET. You have that here. YLA SO TOO QUEET.

And then there are other plants. The trees we have like the larger yellow pine is AH WHOPE; AH WHOPE—is yellow pine. Lodgepoles are, the smaller thinner ones are called YOU WHEEMP instead of AH WHOPE. YOU WHEEMP. Like "you whimp" ,okay, write it that way. Quaking Aspens is SEE ELV, SEE ELV. And then Manzanita plants, they have those down here: QHO HA TA NA MOK (repeats twice). Manzanita; manzanita They are sometimes referred to them as being kinnikinnick, manzanita (Duncan 2002c).

Bob Chapoose, Northern Ute, on plants in southern Colorado (some present in and around RMNP)

"But there were about ten or twelve, maybe thirteen different root plants that we would eat as we traveled down through there like the wild carrots, wild potatoes, berries—there were roots of, like I said, the Sego Lily, and all them things like that. As we would travel down through there that's what they had. Then as we would travel from Towoac into Durango there were wild potatoes that grew down through there so we would harvest them. And then the superstition of—well there was [the one thing] we couldn't do was as we would dig, we would dig away from the plant because if we broke the skin off of one of them wild potatoes, and then it would storm. So we had to stay away from that stay away from the storm because we didn't want to have a flash flood (Chapoose 2003).

Chapter 10: MEMORY, PLACE, LOSS

The purpose in bringing a group of Northern Ute women into RMNP was to try to learn a little more about the Utes' use of plants (ethnobotany) in high altitude landscapes. As it turned out, Leanne Benton, RMNP botanist, knew more about Native uses of plants in the Park than the Ute women did. However, their gracious response to being invited into the Park and the emotional nature of their reflections were very valuable.

When Venita Taveapont, Director of the Northern Ute Language Program approached Northern Ute Tribal Council to use their vans (the grant paid for the rental) to come to RMNP, the response was: "Why would you want to go to Colorado? They pushed us out—why would you want to reconnect with a state whose slogan was 'The Utes Must Go!"' Venita's (and others') response was, "If we don't, those places where we lived, interacted with the environment, and prayed will be lost to us. They will be lost to the next generation. We still need to have a reconnection. We still need to know and have knowledge of that area. Because it is our ancestral home, and the children—the youth and the ones that are yet to come, they need to know that because this is our traditional homeland" (Taveapont 2004, August, personal communication).

The quotes included in this chapter were selected from interviews with knowledgeable individuals. Their emotional content reflects the importance of the Utes visits to RMNP as well as their continued connection to the high altitude landscape. They are included with only minimal editing.

Loya Arrum, Northern Ute, on Ute Trail and mountain homeland
(repeated from pp. 156-157)

"Mariah [Cuch] and I were walking along and were kind of talking about [the Ute Trail] and she said, "Just think, we're walking along the trail!" And I had that same thought—the same trail that our ancestors walked. And she said, "Just think, they wore moccasins." And then I thought, "Yeah, and they were carrying heavy packs," and it was quite steep and the wind—the wind, in fact I almost fell over from the wind! But it's just the thought of you're walking in the same footsteps as your ancestors walked. Your feets [are] touching the same ground where they walked (crying). I wanted to just lay on the ground. I just wanted to think about them. In one way it breaks my heart, in another way I'm so glad. My heart is just overfilled with joy that I could make that connection, to be able to touch the stones that they touched. I'm seeing the same mountains that they saw. I'm walking the same trail—the path that they walked, possibly helping one another giving a hand—the rocks are sharp so the trail is not easy to walk. Children are being carried, walking hand and hand to help one another—those are the kinds of things they saw.

I felt—that's what I feel when I'm in the mountains, that their spirits are there and they are reminding us that we need to come back. Even sitting here among these ancient trees, what if they could talk? What they could tell? What the mountains could tell that we could learn from. It breaks my heart that I don't know. Sometimes I pray to know—I pray to get a glimpse how they lived, how they journeyed in the mountains, how they wintered in the meadows. All day yesterday that's the way I felt walking underneath the trees after we came from

the game drive and I was walking around in the trees. How beautiful it was—the lush grasses, although they were not tall grasses, but one could just lay down there and rest. And the elks in the meadows, food was plentiful" (Arrum 2004).

Geneva Accawanna, Northern Ute, on mountain homeland

"My name is Geneva Accawanna and I'm Uncompahgre Ute. Our ancestors were around this whole state of Colorado—these Rocky Mountains. This is our homeland. And I finally got a chance to come over here to see where my ancestors roamed. I've heard my mom telling the stories about how beautiful our homeland was—used to be. And she talked about the mountains. I feel so humbled that I'm here and I can feel them; I can feel the spirits; it makes me cry to feel that I'm home. It's like a person leaving home or taken from their home and then finally they come back. I know I can't stay here. I have to go back to the reservation. But I need to share that I just have a humble feeling being here, and being on the Ute Trail, and being on the mountains. Seeing the medicine wheel and praying there, I knew that my ancestors heard me. In our Indian heritage, our Indian ways, we believe in spirits and we believe that everything has a spirit; we believe that the land and everything has a spirit. And even though we don't know the Ute names for these places, we know that our people were here. I'm just so happy to be here. I finally feel like I'm visiting my home. That's all I've got to say" (Accawanna 2004).

Loya Arrum, Northern Ute, on mountain homeland

"My name is Loya Arrum and I'm from the Uinta and Ouray Reservation. On my mother's side I'm a member of the Uinta band. My father was a member of the White River Band. My mother's father was from the Uncompahgre, so I claim to be a member of all bands that recognize this Uinta Band member. I too am humbled by being here on this mountain. And I don't think that it's an accident for us to be here or that we're here by chance. And for awhile now I think the spirits of our ancestors are calling to us too—so that we may come back and return to them because it's now time to be known as the Ute people. There's not much written about the Ute people. And the Ute people were very elusive. They lived in these mountains. And the Ute people were very courageous, very strong, very brave people to live upon the sacred mountains. It's a very harsh environment as we see it, but when you look at it, it is abundant of wildlife as we are walking through the meadows and up on the mountains; the edible plants and the medicinal plants that we are seeing—they had everything they needed to live in these mountains.

I truly believe in my heart that each one of us has an awakening now to come to because we haven't spoken up in the past. But I think it's time now, particularly because of our children and grand children that will be coming forth and I pray that we'll have the knowledge to give the talks and to open the windows and the doors so that people can say, 'Yes, the Utes, this is where they lived. This is where they were.' But very little is known of our people and so it's time for us to tell the world that we have been in these mountains a long time.

Unfortunately, we were taken from the mountains and moved onto reservations. And I know when they moved us onto the reservations, they came back to the mountains to hunt because this is where they existed. This is where they lived. This was their home and they kept running away to return after they were dispossessed. And the army had to keep rounding them up to bring them back to the reservation. And I think this living in the mountains for the Ute people, it was a paradise—the grass, lush meadows, the lodge poles, the elk, the deer, the buffalo, and all the animals and plants that are here. But we need to do this, return to our mountain homelands for our children; we need to reclaim that. We need to reclaim our mountains. Not just Estes Park but all down the Rocky Mountains. That's where our people lived."

"There was a lot of spirit there [Trail Ridge Game Drive and associated "medicine wheel"]. Geneva [Accawanna] offered a prayer up by the medicine wheel, and I felt the spirits, but not in a fearful way. I think they have been waiting for us for a long time to come. As we come each time I think there will be more signs of the spirits of our ancestors. When we got down to the game drive, there was definitely the spirit of our ancestors there. It was so very strong. Geneva [Accawanna] and Mariah [Cuch] and I were overcome with a feeling there—it was a welcoming feeling and a presence there. What I think about it personally is that they are glad to see us. It's like leaving our children somewhere, and we come back to them and we see the happiness and joy that our children have to see us when we return home. And that's how it felt. (crying..) It's like open arms welcoming us back…that we haven't left them…that

we were looking for them and we found them. And we'll continue to look. And that's what I felt" (Arrum 2004).

Venita Taveapont, Northern Ute, on mountain homeland

"Venita Taveapont, I'm Director of Ute language and member of the Uinta Band. Last year when I first came to this country, Colorado, I was reminded of the story that we tell about the creation of Ute people where the creator had placed people in a bag. He cut up some sticks and he placed them in a bag and then Coyote he, being the curious and mischievous person that he is, opened the bag and he let out a lot of people and they scattered over the world. But there were a few people that were left in the bag and those were the Utes. When the creator came back and he found those few people he placed them high in the mountain…high on the mountain tops. And when I came I thought, 'Wow this must have been where he placed them.' 'Cause to me it seemed like we were on the top of the world. And what a choice place to place people, because everything was here that they needed to survive.

The other thing is that there is such reverence, such a feeling of the ancestors being here and that you can't help but be in awe of their hardiness, their ability to survive, and to walk these mountains. Every year, every year they would come either to worship or to hunt and gather—this is the place that they held in high reverence. This is the beginning of the connection, this is the beginning of bringing back those traditional names, bringing back our traditional ways. And I think for too long that we've kind of held things back and we can't do that anymore. For our own people we need to have that reconnection, for our

children, for our grandchildren, great grandchildren. We still need to have that connection and rebuilding that knowledge" (Taveapont 2004).

Kathleen Chegup, Northern Ute, on mountain homeland (and healing)

"Maybe this is a beginning of healing. I think pain and wounds have to be remedied and healed—taken care of before we can feel good. And so maybe if the opportunity was given for more of our people to come here and visit ancestral lands where we came from, we might begin to heal as a people. I think you, as an individual, have to experience your roots. And maybe as I get older it's more important, I don't know. When I was growing up as a small child I spent time in the mountains quite a bit with my grandparents.

We try to live with the white man as best we can but you know in the end I think the nurturing has to come from our own people. And I hope one day we can get to that point. I guess before we can come back, and try to enjoy what our ancestors once communally owned; we have to heal among ourselves too. And so that's one thing I always pray for at night, and when I come into places like this, it's how we can survive as the Ute Tribe, as a Ute Nation, get along and become like we once were, like our ancestors were, that will help us survive. That's my thoughts" (Chegup 2004).

Alloin Myore, Northern Ute (male), on mountain homeland

"My name is Alloin Myore. I'm Uncompahgre Ute. The question that she's [McBeth] asking is some of the songs that the tribal men had at that time— what type of songs were they? I just felt inspired to sing the Sundance song there

[Trail Ridge Game Drive], which they probably used at that time too. And then when I was setting on that Ute Trail, I tried to imagine what the people saw and what they were feeling. Again I sang a Bear Dance song there, trying to understand the type of songs that they had. I know they had different types of songs, the tribe would. And as they gathered they probably had different songs too. And that's my main concern—trying to understand the songs that they had. Maybe this way, singing different songs, I could try to understand how they traveled. When they traveled they sang songs. And I try to understand the game drive to what we do today (Myore 2004).

Geneva Accawanna, Northern Ute, on mountain homeland and silence

"My co-workers were seniors and I wanted to talk about the Utes and they said, 'Don't tell *everything*.' They thought in the ancient way you know they think way back. And I says, 'Well I'm a modern Indian now. I can talk about the Utes. We're on the reservation.' What else can they take from us? They've taken everything else. But he says, 'Oh, well just say a little bit but don't tell it all. Don't reveal all our secrets.' The reason why is [that] a long time ago the Utes were *very* secretive, they would never tell anybody their ways and where they were and all this because they're afraid that it will be taken from them. And then that's the reason why we were the last one of the last Indians that were put on the reservation—cause they couldn't find us. This is our haven, this is where we hid. And finally I guess they found us so they took us to a reservation and then that's what he was telling me. So I said, 'Well, I…we've got to! That's the reason why

there's nothing [known] about Utes, you know, for a long time'" (Accawanna 2004).

Betsy Chapoose, Northern Ute, on mountain homeland

"But in the field that I work in [Cultural Rights and Protection] I see the other side of that; we're working hard to make sure that we can reconnect with all the lands in Colorado, so that our youth have a history, 'cause I really feel like that's part of them wandering and being lost like we are, that they're searching for something. And I think programs like this—coming back to the park, not only Rocky Mountain National Park, but to the Grand Junction area down to the Montrose area, there's a lot of areas that the Utes called home and I think that once our kids have the opportunity to make that reconnection maybe they'll find something that they're looking for right now in the other cultures. You know we need to bring our kids home and need to bring them these values. And you know that's my feeling is really good that I see all of my people coming out here and really taking this into their heart" (Chapoose 2004).

Helen Wash, Northern Ute, on mountain homeland

"These mountains don't have any Ute names because we were secretive that we didn't want to tell all. And then when the Utes met with the Indian tribes like the Arapaho, maybe they were more willing to give their Arapaho names to

the mountains—and not the Utes because, see, we're very secretive and we didn't want to tell it all but I can see now that you know it's opening up to the Utes that we can come back and hunt; our men can come back and hunt which they could never do unless you were invited from another tribe to go hunt, like the Southern Utes. So in a way it's good too because I mean our people are diggers, they're pickers, they make everything out of plants, trees and the grass and it's the life saving plants they use medicinally. Some plants are edible, some plants are both medicine and food; you think, 'Oh they're just willows, they're just skunk bush,' but you know the berries you can eat, the straight stems you can make baskets, just like the willows. That was their utensils, their cooking pots. And the bones of the animals were their forks, knives, and the rocks—the Indian people our ancestors they had a lot of implements, tools, they had the skills. They had their survival skills and some of that we have to relearn—some of us have it, but we need to know more and we need to do more and thanks to you people for bringing us here that maybe it will be that we'll our Ute men can come back here or young men can hunt. And we will take it back without getting [arrested].

We have to take care of it and we want to save as much as we can for the next generation and on and on. So it has to start somewhere and we're doing it with your help you know. So when we go back we'll be able to tell—share our experiences" (Wash 2004).

"The Ethnobotany Project is a great project—an experience for me—one I'll never forget. I had the opportunity to visit my ancestors' homelands of long

ago. The mountains have good medicine; there is no way I can explain the feeling that I got, just being there" (Wash 2004, September, personal communcation).

Mariah Cuch, Northern Ute, on loss and connectedness to the land

"Loya shared something very special with me about my grandfather the other day. I was very grateful for that because he always walks with me, and I put my trust in him because I never knew him and I know I'm loved by him and I think about his suffering. His children were taken away and he had nothing—what hope did he have of anything: the future was gone. But we're here today aren't we and it's because of that pain and that hurt that we're here. And I hope that we're able to give that on, and I know we will because we have it. It's not gone, nothing is lost in this world. We just need to open our hearts to it. It belongs to us just the same as we belong to each other. That's the blessing we have from it and you can get through anything 'cause you're never alone. And it is hard to come into this country. It's hard to know that it's gone, but you know it's the way it is. We don't know where our children will be in the future but you have to trust that that belongs to them. Only do the best you can with today and you pray for tomorrow and you're grateful for what you're given. Do the best you can; that's what I would share with the young people—don't be afraid to be what you are as a person because you're already Ute and that's all good. If the young people can know that they can do anything. They could go on the other side of

the world and be Ute because in their hearts they have a home, they have a place, they have family. And that's how *I* survived it " (Cuch 2004).

CHAPTER 11: CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ISSUES

In this report I planned to include some thoughts on Native insights relating to cultural resource management; the reader will see that some of these are imbedded throughout. There are contradictions between individuals and even contradictory statements made by the same person (Duncan on whether to close Lava Cliffs to public or educate public about its sacred significance). Another example is that Terry Knight (Ute Mountain Ute) believes that cairns disassembled by careless new-agers or tourists should be left alone. The energy has already escaped. Clifford Duncan, however, recommended that a vandalized cairn be returned to as close to its original construction as possible. He says, "The one thing that we might be looking at in restoring a site or a cairn, would be to put the spirit back in there again. Invite it back with prayer and offerings of tobacco" (Duncan 2002b).

Betsy Chapoose on management of peeled trees

"We don't really like for them to do that stuff [coring]. We were very dismayed when they did them down at the Sand Dunes, too. [Butler asks, 'How would you date them?'] I don't know how you'd date them; it's just one of those things you know? Well, we generally like somebody [from the tribe] to take care of that before you do that [any kind of intrusive testing on sites] —take appropriate measures—and that's because it not only protects you but it protects our world, and we're talking about, you know, if you have test holes that you're going to put into a site, or just anything, that is generally what we like to do. You

know that's just the way we like to see that happen because I guess that's what this consultation is getting to. We're not just here today to talk about this stuff and then make sure if we had to come back again and talk about it again. This is an on-going process and this is the way [that] if you want true consultation, that's what it's all about. That's part of what I see as these trips coming out here; and when we're talking about the spirituality or the ceremonial side, it's not something that you just take care of on Sunday. It's something that you take care of every day, and so as we go through our world and work within these, those are the things that we have to think about because the consequences are past my life—past my kids' life" (Chapoose 2002).

Betsy Chapoose on management of burials

In response to Bill Butler's question asks "Now what would you do if, here comes a bulldozer, cleaning up this road, and a burial comes out. My thoughts are, we stop work right there, and I call you. What else would you want done?

"That's it. Cover it up. I don't mean with dirt; if that's possible, until we can get out here. Even if you just put a tarp on the top of it, just so that you cover it up and so it's not exposed—that's basically what we'd like to see happen. We do have those parameters that I was talking about earlier where we don't like to see human remains photographed. We would prefer not to see destructive analysis happening on that. And we do have other stipulations and one of them is if you have a woman archeologist working on that there are certain disciplines that need to happen there too, and that's for her protection as well as our protection. So there are those things that need to take place too" (Chapoose 2002).

In response to Butler's question about what if a burial is found as a road is being built?

"Well, once we come out we're going to do what's necessary to take care of that. And then we'll proceed with whatever it is; if it's in the road, then we'll work with you on the mitigation. It's on a case by case. I can't really know; if you find this discovery, it's eroding out of a hillside or whatever, there are different things for different times and different situations, so you know. We've been through quite a few of those; I can't really know.

Generally we don't like to move burials any further from where they where originally found than we have to. And that is some of the problems that we have run into with the BLM, is, you know, after the NAGPRA process is happened and they are in our care—that's your problem" (Chapoose 2002).

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