THE SOUTHERN UTES

A TRIBAL HISTORY

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Editor's Note

In 1967, the University of Utah began working with the Southern Ute Tribe in the documentation of some of the memories of the oldest residents of the tribe. This pleasant relationship has blossomed into a full-blown effort to document the history of the Utes from their own point of view, using not only their own testimony but also gathering together a massive collection of documents relating to their history. In 1971, the Southern Ute Tribal Council applied to the Boettcher Foundation of Denver, Colorado, the Donner Foundation of New York City, and to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Research and Cultural Studies Development Section, for money to create a tribal history that would be of general interest, as well as a useable textbook for the schools serving the children of the Southern Utes.

To write the history, the Southern Ute Tribal Council chose James Jefferson, a member of the tribe and their public relations director; Dr. Robert Delaney, of Fort Lewis College, a long time friend of the tribe and a scholar who has researched their history deeply; and Gregory C. Thompson, originally of Durango, Colorado, a Research Associate in American Indian History for the Center for the Studies of the American West at the University of Utah. I was chosen to coordinate the efforts of the group, to be responsible to report to the tribe, to assist in documentation, and to serve in an editorial capacity.

I am grateful for the assignment given to me by Mr. Burch and the Tribal Council. Because Dr. Delaney and Mr. Thompson are not Indian, and are trained in the traditional disciplines of history, their writings are clearly separated from those of Mr. Jefferson who represents a more traditional tribal point of view. The first forty-five pages are the work of Delaney and Thompson. The following forty pages are the work of Mr. Jefferson.

Within the section which begins with story telling on page 77, a group of sample stories illustrating the Ute Indian view of life is included. This collection of stories and legends is by no means to be considered complete or definitive, but is included as a sampling to show the spirit and type of material which forms the traditional body of Ute oral tradition. A series of maps are included to illustrate clearly and succinctly what has happened to the Southern Ute lands. The photo-

graphs are from a wide variety of sources, and credit lines for photos indicate the wide research done in collecting the material for this volume.

Proper thanks is extended to the members of the Southern Ute Tribe who willingly gave of their time and knowledge to create this book; to Dr. C. Gregory Crampton of the Duke Oral Indian History Project of the University of Utah for his assistance in collection; to the Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, and to Fort Lewis College generally for their aid and willing cooperation; to the National Archives, Social and Economic Branch and Mr. Robert M. Kvasnicka, Assistant Director; to the Federal Records Center at Denver, Colorado, Delbert Bishop, Director and Robert Svenningsen, Archivist; to the Museum of the American Indian, New York; to the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Library; to the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, Pa., and to the Pennsylvania Historical Society where the archives are housed; to Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins of the New Mexico Records Center; to Dr. Ward Alan Minge; to Mr. Robert Morgan who drew the maps; to Mr. Russell Box, who designed the cover, and to the many others who contributed, our thanks is gratefully extended.

The errors are those of the authors and the editor, and responsibility is taken by them.

Floyd A. O'Neil
Assistant Director,
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American West

Maps and Illustrations

Introduction

Utes

The oldest continuous residents of Colorado are the Ute Indians. It is not known exactly when the Utes came from the north and west and inhabited the mountainous areas of the present-day states of Colorado, Utah (which name comes from the Ute people), and New Mexico. We do know that the earliest Utes came into the present day United States along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. Probably they found other groups of Indians inhabiting the Great Plains, and, therefore, had to live in the mountains where it was more difficult to hunt animals and gather food. It is possible that the coming of the Utes was the reason for the Anasazis to move into sandstone caves of the area. Possibly, too, the Utes displaced or replaced those earlier peoples who had developed in the region from the early Basketmaker stage through the Developmental Pueblo stage and into the classic Mesa Verde period. Ruins of the ancient culture of the Anasazi are to be found throughout the present reservation of the Southern Utes. If the Utes tried to leave their mountainous area and go other places to get food, they found other Indian groups already there who would fight them to drive them out. To the east and northeast of the Utes were the Arapaho, Cheyennes, Kiowa, Apaches, Comanches, Sioux, and Pawnees. To the south were the Navajos and Apaches and only the Jicarilla band of Apaches were generally friendly to the Utes. To the west and northwest were the Shoshones, Snakes, Bannocks, Paiutes, and Goshutes.

The language of the Utes is Shoshonean which is a branch or a dialect of the Uto-Aztecan language. It is believed that the people who speak Shoshonean separated from other Uto-Aztecan speaking groups about the time of the birth of Christ. Other Indian groups of the U.S. who speak Shoshonean are the Paiutes, Goshutes, Shoshones, Bannocks, and some tribes in California.

Eventually, the Utes became concentrated into a loose confederation of seven bands. The names of the seven bands and the areas they lived in before the coming of the Europeans are as follows:

1. The Mouache band lived in southern Colorado and in New Mexico almost down to Santa Fe.

2. The Capote band inhabited the San Luis Valley in Colorado near the headwaters of the Rio Grande and in New Mexico especially around the region where the towns of Chama and Tierra Amarilla are now located.
3. The Weeminuche occupied the valley of the San Juan River and its northern tributaries in Colorado and northwestern New Mexico.
4. The Tabeguache (also called Uncompahgre) lived in the valleys of the Gunnison and Uncompahgre Rivers in Colorado.
5. The Grand River Utes (also called Parianuc) lived along that river in Colorado and Utah.
6. The Yampa band inhabited the Yampa River Valley and adjacent land.
7. The Uintah Utes inhabited the Uintah Basin, especially the western portion.

Of the bands mentioned above, the first two (Moùache and Capote) make up the present day Southern Utes with headquarters at Ignacio, Colorado. The Weeminuches are now called the Ute Mountain Utes with headquarters at Towaoc, Colorado. The last four mentioned (Tabeguache, Grand, Yampa, and Uintah) now comprise the Northern Utes on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation with headquarters at the town of Fort Duchesne, Utah.

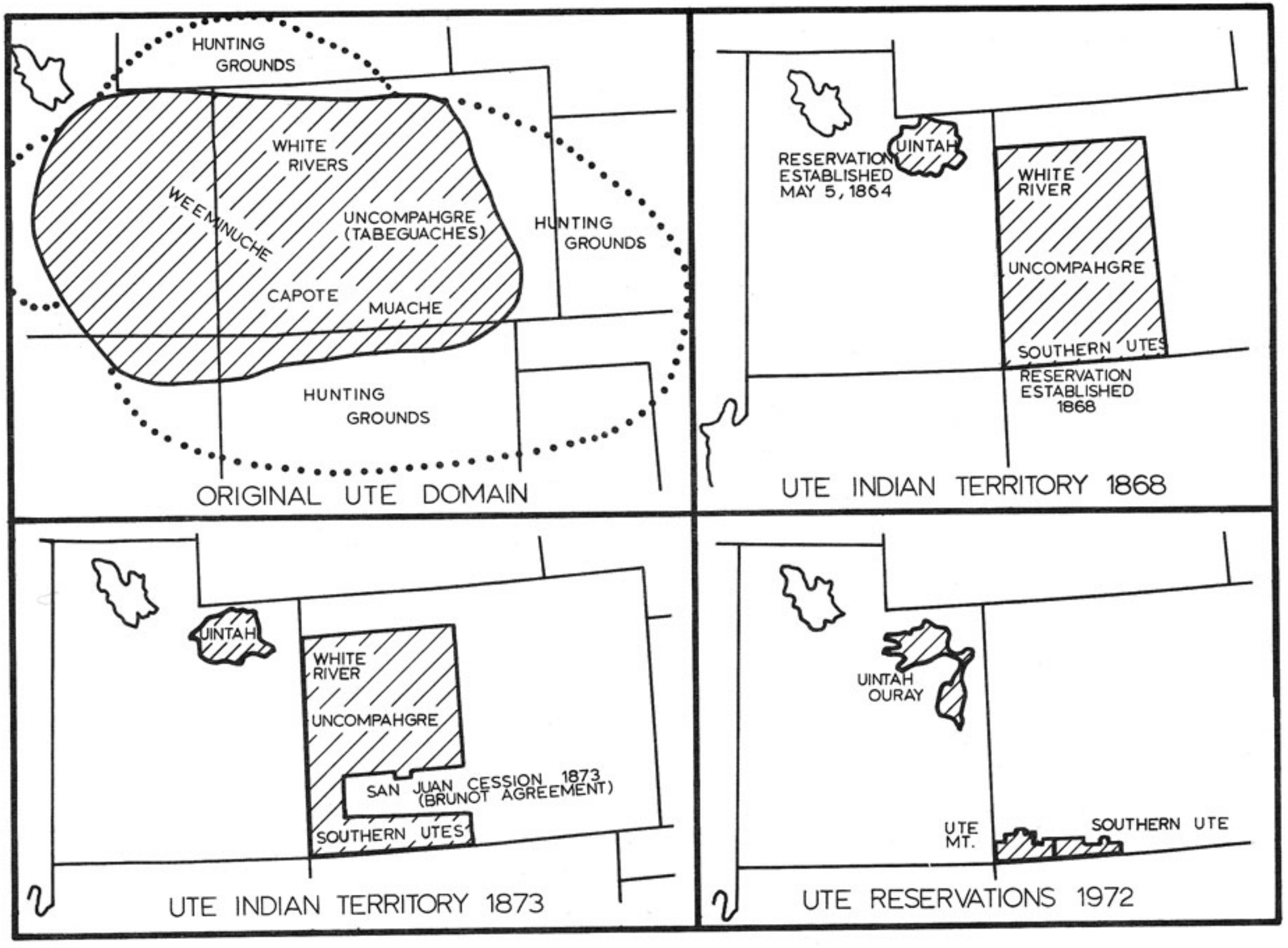
A long time ago, these seven groups of Utes were broken up into small family units for a large portion of each year. It was necessary to do this because food was scarce and it took a large area in the mountains to support a small number of people. Each family unit had to have a great deal of room since food-gathering couldn't be done so well in large groups. From early spring until late in the fall, these family units of Utes would hunt for deer, elk, antelope, and other animals; they would gather seeds of grasses, wild berries and fruits; occasionally they would plant corn, beans, and squash in mountain meadows and harvest them in the autumn. At that time, they did not have horses which would have made the hunting easier, nor did they have any tools except those made of stone. Each family unit used to follow a regular circuit during most of the year, going to places where they knew they could gather food for the winter.

Late in the fall, the family units would begin to move out of the mountains into sheltered areas for the winter months. Generally, the family units of a particular band of Utes would live close together during the winter. The Capotes, Mouache, and Weeminuche would each live through the winter some place in northwestern New Mexico or northeastern Arizona. The Tabeguache or Uncompahgre would select some place between Montrose and Grand Junction. The Northern Utes would live at some place along the White, the Green, or the Colorado rivers. The winters were great social occasions for the different bands. There would be much visiting and many festivities. This was also the time when marriages would be contracted. For four days in early spring, the band would hold the Bear Dance, the most ancient and typical of all the Ute dances. Then each family unit would prepare to go its separate way until the next winter time. They would follow the migrating deer, antelope, and elk for food until seeds and berries began to ripen in the mountains.

This way of life was to change for the Utes when the Spaniards colonized and occupied New Mexico at the end of the sixteenth century. The reason for this change is that although the Europeans didn't have many of the plants of the Americas, they had livestock and it is livestock, especially the horse, which changed the life style. The Southern Utes made contact with the Spanish in New Mexico in the 1630's and 40's. At first there were peaceful relations between the two peoples and some trade was carried on. The Utes had dried meat and hides which they traded for knives and other metal utensils and agricultural products raised by the Pueblo Indians and the Spanish. Much of this trading was done at the annual fairs held at Pecos and Taos. The Utes, however, became much more interested in trading for horses. Horses were very expensive in those days and the Utes would trade even children to the Spanish for horses. (The Spanish generally trained those children to be excellent herders.) Possession of horses allowed the Utes to begin buffalo hunting on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains and the buffalo soon became one of their main resources, because it would provide them with many useful products: e.g., meat for food (one wouldn't have to work so hard gathering food); hides for tepee covers, blankets, clothing, moccasins, and bags of all kinds; sinew thread for sewing and for bowstrings; horn and hoof glue for many purposes. And with the horse, the Utes could more easily evade their enemies, transport their goods to a central camp

where the women and children were protected, and range farther to hunt for food.

So the Utes no longer needed to spread out thinly in family units. They could live in larger numbers under a more powerful leader. The family unit continued to be the basic unit of society but the leader directed camp movements, hunts, raids, and war parties. In hunting the buffalo the Utes came into frequent contact with the Arapahos, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Sioux, and Comanche who had many more horses than the Utes. The Utes needed more horses. So they became aggressive and warlike. Also, it was much easier to raid for livestock (sheep, goats, cattle) in New Mexico than to hunt deer and other animals, or to buy livestock. So the Utes became raiders, moving out of their mountain fortresses to raid other Indian groups or towns and villages to the south.



The Spanish Period

The first European people to invade the Ute lands were the Spanish. With the arrival of the Spanish came the horse and a change of life style for the Ute people. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish and the horse, the cultural level of the Utes was considered low by the Plains Indians and those people located to the south of the Ute domain. The Spanish helped to change the view of the Utes that other Indian tribes held.

In a short time after Christopher Columbus landed in the Caribbean Isles in 1492, the Spanish explored that region, sailed along the eastern shores of the North and South Americas, discovered the Pacific, navigated the Gulf of Mexico, located the mouth of the Mississippi River, landed in Florida and conquered Mexico. All of this had been accomplished by 1530, only forty years after Europe had discovered the American continent. Ten years later Francisco Vasquez de Coronado extended the invasion of the Spanish into northern New Spain, now northern Mexico and southwestern United States.

The desire for wealth had brought the Spanish to the American continent and Coronado to the Southwest. The Indians had told the Spanish stories of the rich cities of Cibola lying to the north. Coronado and his men were looking for these seven cities of Cibola when they came upon the Zuni pueblo and later discovered the Grand Canyon. Coronado's expedition failed to find the great wealth told of in the stories, but they did explore a large portion of the Southwest and Plains regions of the United States.

While crossing the plains of northeastern New Mexico, Coronado may have encountered a group of Utes. By the time of Coronado the Utes were trading with the Plains Indians for products that could then be taken to the trading centers of Taos and Pecos in New Mexico. Buffalo hides and meat were important parts of these trading relations; consequently, the Utes were called "buffalo eaters" or Querechos by the Spanish.[1]

The stories of riches to the north continued to bring more Spanish explorers or *conquistadores* into New Mexico. One of these stories talked of the rich lands of Copala, an area far to the north of Mexico.

[1] S. Lyman Tyler, "The Yuta Indians Before 1680," *Western Humanities Review*, V (Spring, 1951), 157–58.

The Indians of Mexico and Central America believed that their ancestors had come from seven caves near the Lake of Copala. Other names for the lake included Lake Timpanogos and Utah Lake.[2] The land of Copala, or as it was sometimes called Teguayo, must have included the lands of the Ute Indians.

Of the numerous explorers sent from Mexico to find the land and wealth of Copala, Juan de Oñate was the most important. He left Mexico in February, 1598, and five months later settled at San Juan de los Caballeros, near the present site of the San Juan pueblo. By 1604 Oñate had organized an expedition to search for the Lake of Copala. He failed to reach the area, but his efforts to settle New Mexico and to send expeditions to the northern areas helped others who came later to identify the land of Copala as the Ute land in Colorado and Utah.

The description for going to the Lake of Copala was given by a group of Jémez Indians. They stated:

> To go straight to the Lake of Copala a guide was not necessary. One must follow the river Chama, and past the tribe of the Navajo Apaches there is a great river which flows to the lake, and with good grass and fields and that in the area between the north and northwest the land was fertile, good and level, and that there are many nations, the province of Quazula, the Qusutas, and further inland another nation settled.[3]

With these efforts to locate Copala and the trips onto the plains area, better descriptions and more knowledge of the Utes were gained. Vicente de Zaldívar described seeing a group of Ute tents:

> They were . . . very bright red and white in color and bell shaped, with flags and openings, and built as skillfully as those of Italy and so large that in the most ordinary ones four different mattresses and beds were easily accommodated. The tanning is so fine that although it should rain bucketfulls it will not pass through nor stiffen the hide, but rather upon drying it remains as soft and pliable as before.[4]

Zaldívar's description of the men and the women of the Utes indicated that:

> Most of the men were said to go naked, probably with breechcloths, but the women wore sort of trousers of buckskin and 'shoes and leggins, after

[2] S. Lyman Tyler, "Before Escalante: An Early History of the Yuta Indians and Area North of New Mexico . . ." (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Utah, 1951), pp. 58–9.

[3] Ibid., p. 73.

[4] Ibid., p. 66.

> their own fashion.' They would hold a piece of meat, almost raw, in one hand, and a piece of suet in the other. The suet was used as bread. They would take a bite of the meat and then one of the bread. On this diet they were said to grow very strong and courageous. As weapons they had a spear with a long thick point, and arrows tipped with flint which were 'better than spears to kill cattle.' They were said to be very skillful with the bow and arrow and were able to kill a buffalo with the first shot. These Indians would hide themselves in blinds of brush near watering places and ambush the buffalo as they came to drink.[5]

After the attempts of Oñate to find the land of Copala the Spanish had contact with the Utes only occasionally for the next few years. During this period, the first known Spanish conflict with the Utes in or near southern Colorado developed. It was caused by an unjust war waged against them by the governor of New Mexico, Luis de Rosas. The first of these encounters recorded was in 1637. About 80 "Utacas" (probably Mouache of the Upper Rio Grande) were captured and forced to labor in work shops established in Santa Fe.[6] The war on the Utes ended in 1641 with the naming of a new governor of New Mexico. During the next forty years, Spanish contact with the Utes was altered. Trade had existed between the Spanish and the Utes. After the Ute war this trade increased. Early reports indicate the trade was centered at Taos where the Utes were able to trade with both Spanish and Indians of the northern Pueblos.

The items of trade for the Utes were those products derived from the buffalo hunts on the plains. Meat, hides, tallow, suet, and salt were all brought to the Taos pueblo for trading purposes. In the earlier stages of the trade with the Spanish the Utes used dogs as animals of burden to transport the goods to the trading locations. An account of this was recorded by Zaldívar. He wrote:

> It is a sight worth seeing and very laughable to see them travelling, the ends of the poles draging on the ground, nearly all of them snarling in their encounters, to load them the Indian women seize their heads between their knees and thus load them or adjust the load, which is seldom required, because they travel along at a steady gait as if they had been trained by means of a rein.[7]

In return for their goods the Utes received cotton blankets, pottery, corn and small green stones. Later, after the Utes had learned to

[5] Ibid., pp. 66–67.

[6] Albert H. Schroeder, "A Brief History of the Southern Utes," *Southwestern Lore,* XXX, No. 4 (1965), 53–78.

[7] Tyler, "Before Escalante," p. 66.

use horses, they were also traded. Captives taken in raids on other tribes were exchanged by the Utes for the horses.

In the early 1700's, the village of Española (La Cañada) became the main center for trading Spanish products with the Utes. Of course, they were regular participants at the yearly Taos fair where many different Indian groups met to exchange necessary products. To deny an Indian tribe the right to engage in trading activities at the yearly fair usually meant war. That trading at Pecos, Taos, Picuris, and other places had been carried on long before the arrival of the Spanish and was tremendously important to most Indian groups.

Indians who lived close to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, including the Utes, constantly disrupted Spanish control of and arrangements with those Pueblos. Spanish officials always had to guard against any possible alliance between the Pueblos and the Utes or other frontier Indians for the safety of the Spanish population of New Mexico. The Spanish were generally successful, because the Utes and other tribes raided the Pueblos. Thus the Pueblos and the frontier tribes were not friendly, and the Spanish only occasionally fought with the frontier tribes.

The period from 1640 until the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was one marked by general peace between the Utes and the Spanish. This peace and the ability of Utes to move over larger areas of land due to their increased use of the horse, which made the Utes a much stronger group to reckon with, encouraged the Spanish to present a peace treaty to the Utes by the 1670's. It was the first treaty made with the Utes by a European people.

The peace treaty was apparently still in existence when the Pueblo Revolt broke out, for the Southern Ute bands did not join the northern Pueblo Indians in driving the Spanish out of New Mexico.[8] During the twelve years the Spanish were gone from the northern pueblos, the Utes raided the pueblos and other Indians located in the area. By the time of the return of the Spanish to Taos in 1692 the Utes had gained great respect among the tribes and pueblos of northern New Mexico.

The great respect of these Indians was also held by the Spaniard who led the reconquest of New Mexico, Don Diego de Vargas. With the securing of northern New Mexico under Spanish rule, Vargas immediately renewed the contact with the Utes. They were invited to

[8] Schroeder, "Brief History," pp. 54–56.

Santa Fe to trade as they had before the revolt. Despite the Pueblo Revolt and the absence of the Spanish for twelve years, the peace treaty of 1670 with the Utes remained intact well into the 1700's.

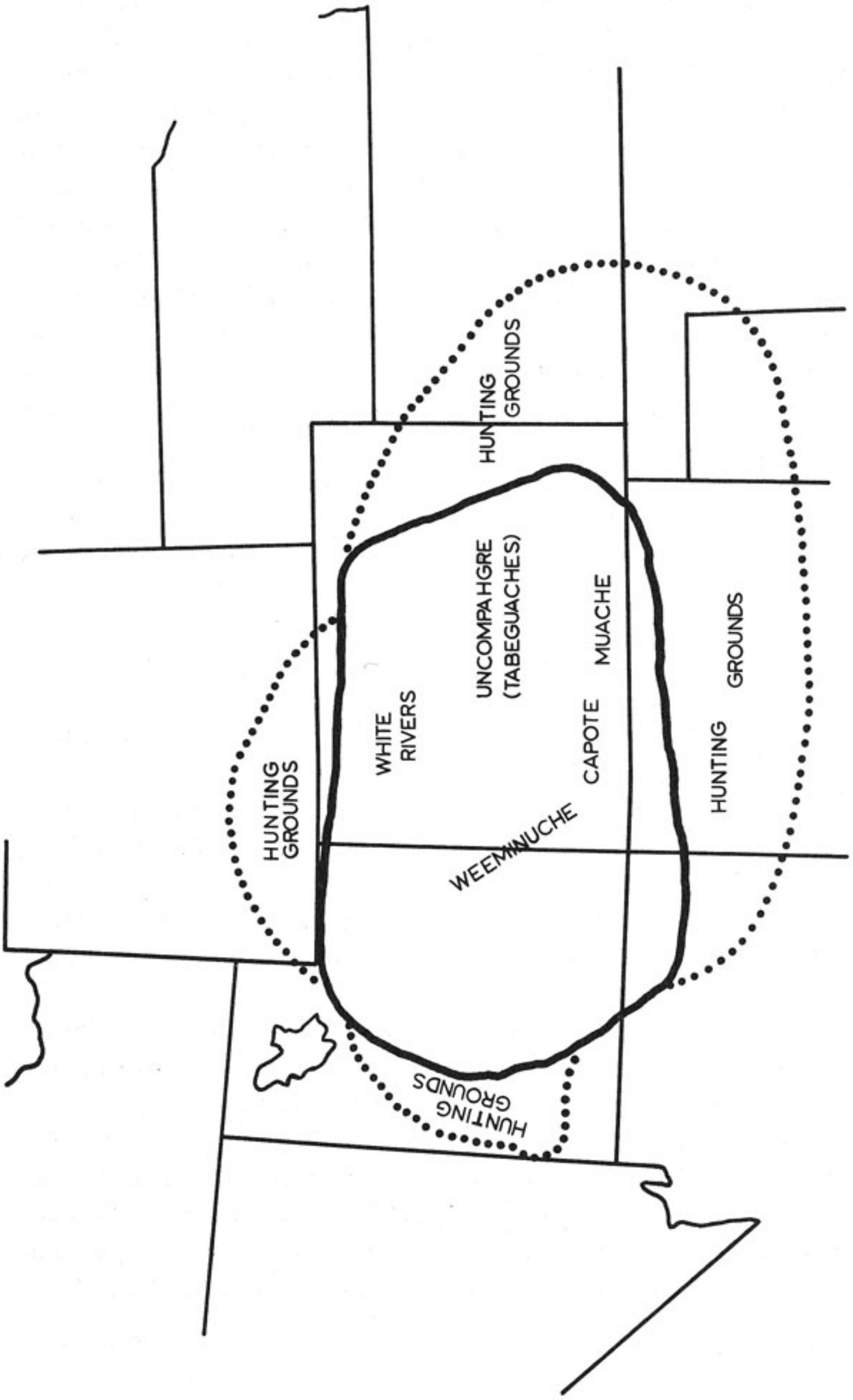
Around 1700, the Utes and their kinsmen, the Comanches, began to raid the Pueblos for horses, agricultural products, and captives to be held for ransom. The full force of Ute and Comanche attacks were felt from 1696 to 1727 especially in the north central and northeastern portions of New Mexico. In 1719, the peace between the Utes and the Spanish was broken. Governor Valverde of New Mexico carried on an extensive campaign against them after a Council of War and opinions gathered from Spanish leaders in Santa Fe. That punitive expedition against the Utes and Comanches was largely unsuccessful and the Spanish turned to developing peace with the Jicarilla Apaches who would act as a buffer state.

From about 1650 the Apaches had been encroaching on Ute lands and, by the time of the return of the Spanish, had settled in the Sierra Blancas north of Taos and in northeast New Mexico.[9] Because the Spanish offered some protection, the Utes were willing to form an alliance with them. But when this alliance broke down, the Utes and the Comanches began raiding the Jicarillas, burning rancherias and capturing women and children to sell for ransom.

The Utes also formed an alliance with the Comanches, which lasted intermittently from 1700 to 1746, to help apply pressure against the encroaching Apache. So from about 1700 to 1750, relations among the Utes, Comanches, Apaches and Spanish were confused, shifting from warfare to alliance and back again. By the end of the Ute-Comanche alliance, and one of the reasons for its ending, the Apaches had been driven out of northeastern New Mexico and into an area south and west of the Ute lands.

By 1748 the Comanches had become strong enough to turn on their Ute allies and cause problems for the Spanish as well. To end this problem the governor of New Mexico, Joachín de Coadallos y Rabal, marched on both the Utes and Comanches and defeated them in a battle above Abiquiu, New Mexico. After this a series of battles between the Utes and the Spanish lasted for two years before the Utes came to Taos to sue for peace with the Spanish. The Utes were finding it too difficult to fight both the Spanish and the Comanches. They

[9] S. Lyman Tyler, "The Spaniard and the Ute," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII, No. 4 (1954), 346.



THE UTE DOMAIN

also needed the trade in horses that the Spanish could provide. In 1750 peace between the Utes and the Spanish was obtained.[10]

Trading, trapping and exploration brought renewed interest in the land north of Taos. With the peace of 1750 the Spanish were able to re-establish Abiquiu as a point of departure to the north. From Abiquiu the Spanish were then able to send trading parties into the Ute country to trade for the soft deerskins that the Utes were able to provide. The Spanish also became interested in trapping the numerous rivers of the Ute nation for fur bearing animals, a product that was in great demand in Europe. Finally, the Spanish were still interested in the land of Copala and its potential wealth and locating an overland route through that area to the West Coast.[11]

Almost immediately after Abiquiu had been re-established, trading parties were sent to trade with the Utes. In 1765 Juan Maria de Rivera was sent across the San Juan River, below the southern end of the La Plata Mountains, up the Dolores River and along the Uncompahgre Plateau to the Gunnison River to trade and trap for furs. During the next ten years Rivera led three other expeditions into the Ute lands.

Others who explored the region to the north of New Mexico were Nicolas de La Fora in 1766–67, Pedro Mora with Gregorio Sandoval and Andrés Muñiz in 1775, and Fray Francisco Garcés in 1775–76.

Garcés, first assigned as resident minister at San Xavier del Bac in 1768, traveled extensively for the next thirteen years in Sonora, Arizona, and California as a missionary to the Indians. During this time Garcés undertook five expeditions to the Indians, two to the Gila River and one to the Colorado River, another to California and the fifth, in 1775–76, from the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers to the mouth of the Colorado River and west to the San Gabriel mission in California through the land of the Mohaves and Chemehuevis. He then returned to San Xavier del Bac through the Tulare Valley back into the Mohave country to the Gila River.[12]

The Indians Garcés encountered on this fifth expedition were mostly of the Yuman stock but these people had much to say about the tribes surrounding them, among whom were the Utes. Garcés brought

[10] Schroeder, "Brief History," p. 59.
[11] Tyler, "Spaniard and the Ute," p. 347.
[12] Tyler, "Before Escalante," pp. 187–193.

back to Santa Fe this information as well as the comment that more and more of the Utes were willing to trade with the Spanish.

In addition to their interest in the Utes, the Spanish fathers were looking for a land route to the Pacific Ocean where the new capital of California had just been established at Monterey. A plan for locating the route was first conceived by Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante when he was visiting the Hopis in 1775, and Escalante was greatly encouraged to hear from Garcés that:

> It is possible to proceed through the Yutas [Utes] and seek the Rio de San Felipe, and down the banks of this will be found my road [to California]. I doubt not that there may open another, better, and shorter than that which I traced.[13]

Escalante and Fray Atanasio Domínguez, the expedition leader, chose the route through the Ute lands rather than risk encounters with the unfriendly Navajos. The route was well known to the Spanish, and guides were available who knew the Utes and their language and had seen parts of their country.

Escalante's trip into the interior of the Ute domain was the first one that extended into the mythical land of Copala. He found the area thought to be Copala poor and unproductive for the desires of the Spanish. Neither gold nor silver were located, and they did not find the route to Monterey. They did, however, explore much of the Ute domain.

The route the expedition took led them up the valley of the Chama River past Abiquiu to the site of Tierra Amarilla, thence to the place where Pagosa Springs now stands. (Pagosa in Ute means hot water.) After crossing the Dolores River below the San Juan Mountains the party traveled to the Uncompahgre Plateau and down the Uncompahgre River to its confluence with the Gunnison. From this point their route took the expedition along the western slope of the Rockies to the White River in northern Colorado. At that point the group turned west across Utah just south of the Uinta mountains to Utah Lake. From there the group turned south through the southern Paiute lands, to Zuni and then on to Santa Fe. Escalante was convinced this route offered a shorter, better method for reaching Monterey.[14]

[13] Ibid., p. 190.
[14] Ibid., pp. 198–200.

Although Escalante failed to find the riches of the land of Copala, his expedition was important for the exploration of country unknown to the Spanish and for the locating of the Indian groups that lived in the present day states of Colorado and Utah. This penetration into Ute land marked the beginning of a new era for the Utes. No longer was their land considered an unknown area. Now people would journey from Sante Fe far into the interior of the Ute domain to trade.

The Spanish felt a stronger tie to the Utes after Escalante's expedition and continued to cultivate their friendship and alliance. In 1779, 200 Mouache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches joined Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in a campaign against the Comanche who had been raiding the settlements of New Mexico. A peace between the groups was not established until 1786 when the Utes, the Comanches and the Spanish met at Pecos. This alliance and past experiences caused the Spanish to look to the Utes for assistance when either the Comanches or the Navajos raided the Spanish settlements. In support of these alliances a second peace treaty between the Utes and the Spanish was signed in 1789.

The Navajos had caused trouble for both the Spanish and the Utes for many years. Ute-Navajo relations varied according to the need of both groups for protection from outside raiding groups. If either tribe was threatened by a group of Plains Indians an alliance was struck. When this outside threat was not great, the two groups would raid one another and compete for the land that was common to both tribes. During these periods the Navajos often formed an alliance with the Apaches or with a Pueblo tribe to raid the Utes, and the Utes banded together with Plains groups such as the Comanche. At other times the Spanish would form an alliance with the Utes against the Navajo to defend the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. The treaty of 1789 was made by the Spanish with the Utes to insure this alliance against the Navajos. At the same time, the Navajos and the Utes were enjoying a period of good relations. It wasn't until 1804 that history records a campaign of an alliance of Mouache Utes, Jicarilla Apaches and Spanish against the Navajos. As in the past the Utes remained friendly to the Spaniards and acted as a check against raids by the Navajo, Comanches, and Apaches.[15]

[15] Schroeder, "Brief History," pp. 61–63.

Two years after the 1804 alliance, the first known citizen of the newly created country of the United States of America arrived in San Luis Valley, in the heart of Ute country. Zebulon Montgomery Pike's appearance marked the beginning of a new era for the Ute Indians. Soon the Spanish with their trading expeditions sent into the Ute domain would be replaced, first by Mexican traders and then by American traders and trappers and later American settlers coming to occupy the land.

The transition from Spanish to Mexican control of the Ute lands went almost unnoticed by the Ute Indians. The pattern of trading established by the Spanish and the amount of contact between the two groups continued as before. The Spanish had been very careful to create peaceful relations with the powerful Ute nation and the Mexicans continued the practice.

The Mexican Period: 1821–1848

The Mexican government was anxious to continue and even increase the trading with the Ute Indians. To encourage peace, the Mexicans gave the Utes gifts throughout the 1820's. This policy paid off with the opening of the "Old Spanish Trail" which went through much of the Ute domain. Mule trains were able to depart from Abiquiu, move up the Chama River to the San Juan River in Capote land, and down the San Juan to Utah and on to Los Angeles without being disturbed by the Utes.

The peacefulness of the 1820's fell apart during the 1830's, however, as the Southern Utes began to feel the pressure of the Mexicans. Trading expeditions into the area had attracted people to the region, and the Tierra Amarilla land grant was allotted in July, 1832. It covered the region from the Rio Nutrias, an eastern tributary of the Chama River, north to the Navajo River on the upper San Juan. Later attempts were made to settle in the Conejos Valley, but a war with the Navajos forced the settlers to withdraw. Again, in 1842 or 1843, another settlement attempt was made in the same valley but the Mouache band drove the Mexicans off.

As the Mexicans encroached on Ute land, the Utes strengthened their alliance with the Navajos against the Mexicans and other Indian tribes who were being pushed off the plains into the Ute hunting grounds. Both Utes and Navajos were raiding Mexican settlements in northern New Mexico during the 1830's and the 1840's. As the rule of the Mexican government came to an end in New Mexico, the northern regions of that area experienced raids from all directions. To the north the Mouache band was attacking on the east side of the Sangre de Cristo mountains and the Capote band with the aid of the Navajos was raiding in the Rio Arriba area.[1]

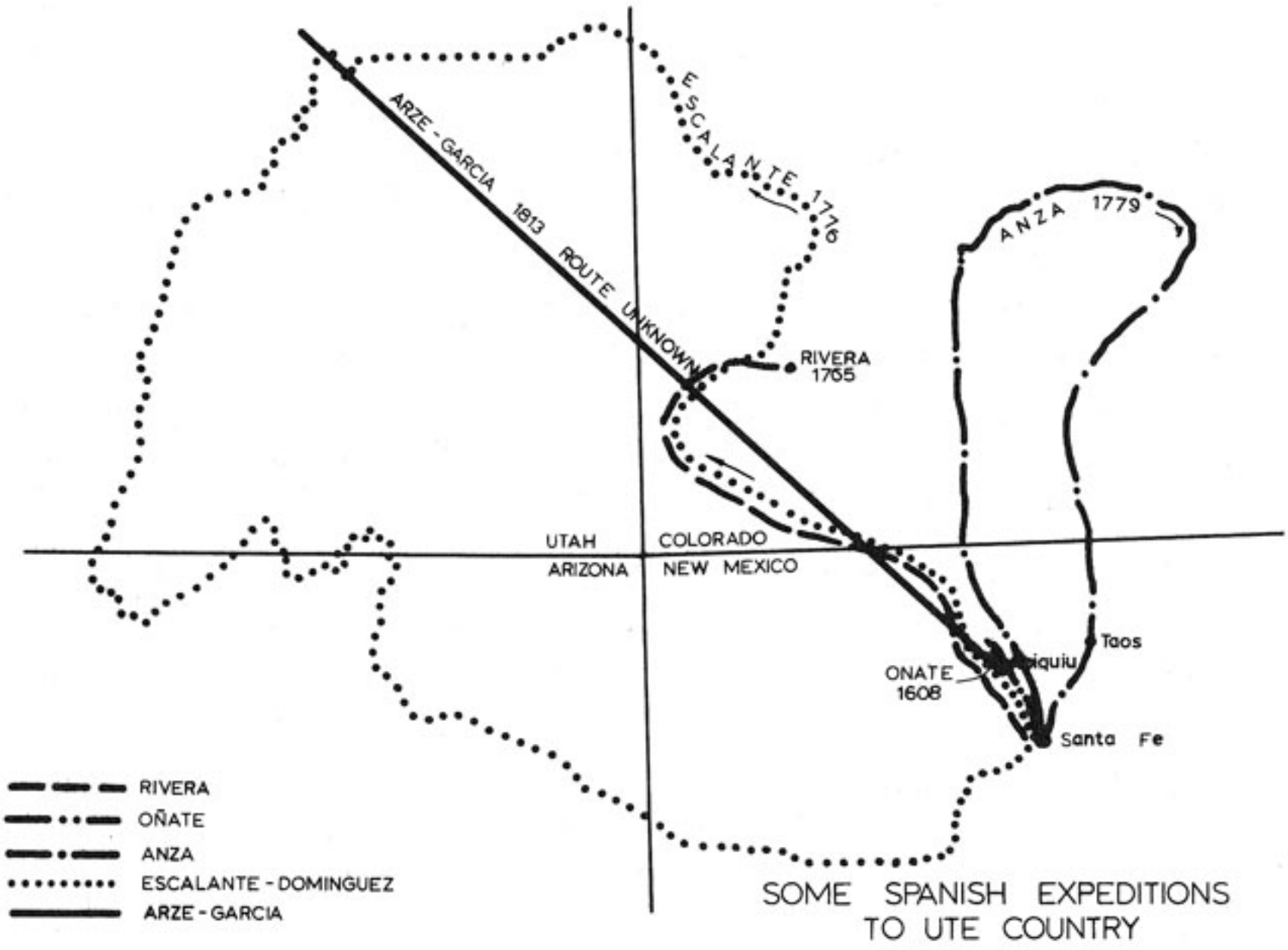
These raids worried the American officers who were occupying New Mexico during the Mexican War. To end this worry a treaty was signed between a band of Mouache Utes and the Americans. Signed in 1846 the treaty offered protection for that area which lay east and north of Taos, the area where these Utes lived. The treaty however did little to stop the Ute raiding on other New Mexico settlements.

[1] Albert H. Schroeder, "A Brief History of the Southern Utes," *Southwestern Lore*, XXX, No. 4 (1965), 63.

For several years after the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) which gave New Mexico and part of Colorado to the United States, the raids continued, much to the distress of the Americans.

During the Mexican period the Utes experienced little change from the way the Spanish had treated them. Of the major events, the opening of the Old Spanish Trail as a regular trading route was foremost. For the most part the Southern Ute bands were able to resist the efforts of the Mexicans to settle their region.

This was not to be the experience with the new invaders. The Americans, already having explored the region while fur trapping, were soon to come in increasing numbers and not leave as had both the Spanish and the Mexicans.



SOME SPANISH EXPEDITIONS TO UTE COUNTRY

Mountain Men and Fur Trappers

The Utes learned of the inhabitants of the United States in the first half of the 19th century largely through the activities of the so-called mountain men or fur trappers. During that period, furs were extremely valuable for making the felt hat which was fashionable for gentlemen in the United States and Europe. The area occupied by the Utes was very rich in beaver and those mountain men began to trap every place where beaver "sign" occurred. Often called the "path-finders" of the West, the mountain men were actually following game trails and trails which had been known to the Utes for generations.

The first entrance of Anglo-Americans into Ute territory occurred in 1806 when Lt. Zebulon Pike entered the San Luis Valley and built a stockade on the Conejos River before being arrested by Spanish authorities.[1] In 1811, Ezekiel Williams was trapping for beaver pelts in southwestern Colorado and the following year Robert McKnight was in the same region. In 1816 and 1817, Auguste Pierre Chouteau and Julius DeMunn moved into southwestern Colorado for the same purpose.

In 1821, control of the southwestern portion of present day United States passed from Spanish hands into the hands of authorities of Mexico. Anglo-Americans found it much easier to deal with Mexican authorities than with Spanish officials, because of the inflexibility of Spanish law in an area so far removed from the seat of authority. So in 1821 also, there began the famous Santa Fe trade between Independence, Missouri, and Santa Fe, New Mexico, and increased activity in trapping throughout Ute territory. In the same year, Col. Hugh Glenn and Jacob Fowler led a trapping expedition into the San Luis Valley and possibly even into present Archuleta and Mineral counties.[2] In 1824, William Becknell, "The Father of the Santa Fe Trade," led a party of trappers to the Green River and William Huddart headed an expedition of fourteen men from Taos to the same area. Probably

[1] For a thorough explanation of this expedition led by Pike, with letters and related documents, see Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Pike*, 2 vols., (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1966); also, Elliott Coves, ed., *The Expeditions of Zebulon Pike*, 3 vols., (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895). A more readable and recent account is W. Eugene Hollon, *The Lost Pathfinder: Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1949).

[2] D. H. Cummins, "Social and Economic History of Southwestern Colorado," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in History, University of Texas, 1951), p. 188.

both expeditions traveled along the western slope of the Rockies through Ute country. At about the same time, Kit Carson and Jason Lee left New Mexico and went to the Uinta River in Utah, where they met Antoine Robidoux. In 1826, James Ohio Pattie passed through the present site of Grand Junction in Mesa County after departing from Santa Fe, going south to the Gila River and following that river to the Colorado River and then ascending that river into Ute territory.[3]

In the 1830's, beaver pelts became even more valuable and many more fur trappers and traders entered Colorado and Utah. In 1830, the "Old Spanish Trail" was established between Santa Fe and San Gabriel, California. Mexicans from Santa Fe used this trail for several years and came into contact with most of the bands of the Utes, whom they traded with for slaves and many articles which the Utes possessed.

In 1832, Antoine Robidoux, a fur trader from St. Louis, Missouri, established Fort Uncompahgre, a fort and fur trading post just below the junction of the Gunnison and Uncompahgre Rivers near the present site of Delta, Colorado; and he later established a similar outfitting and trading post on the Uinta River in Utah.[4] Philip Thompson and William Craig founded Fort Davy Crockett on the Green River in 1837. None of these trading posts in Ute country prospered. The Utes burned Fort Uncompahgre and about 1840 Fort Davy Crockett was abandoned right after Kit Carson and James Baker had headquartered there through the fall and winter of 1839–40. In 1842 Rufus Sage left Taos, passed through southwestern Colorado to the post on the Uinta, probably passing along the old Ute trail through Archuleta and LaPlata counties.[5]

Thus the whole country of the Utes became known to Anglo-Americans and the Utes became acquainted with their products. The fur trappers and traders from the United States were generally on very friendly terms with the Ute people. The Indians were willing to trade buffalo robes and beaver pelts for flour, cloth, tobacco, trinkets, and

[3] Ibid., pp. 188–90.

[4] Floyd A. O'Neil and John D. Sylvester, eds., *Ute People, An Historical Study* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1970), p. 7; John B. Lloyd, "The Uncompahgre Utes," (unpublished Master's thesis, Western State College of Colorado, 1932), pp. 2–3.

[5] LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, eds., *Rufus Sage: His Letters and Papers, 1836–1847*, Vols. V and VI of the *Far West and the Rockies Historical Series*, (15 vols.; Glendale: Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1955–61), V, 89–90; Cummins, "Social and Economic History," p. 191.

even illegal whiskey. Buffalo robes and beaver pelts were readily sold in the eastern part of the United States and in Europe. Most of the trappers and traders had lived for long periods of time with Indian groups and they were diplomats who could barter successfully, and generally fairly, with the Utes. The Utes welcomed them into their territory because they knew that they were not permanent settlers. The take-over by the United States of all Ute lands occurred at the same time as a drastic reduction in the value of furs because the French silk hat replaced the felt hat formerly worn by gentlemen, and ladies began to prefer sealskin coats to fur coats that the Rocky Mountains could supply. Many of the trappers and traders, therefore, soon took employment as scouts for the United States Army and they were to prove invaluable in dealing with the Indians of the West.

This is true partly because not the least of the contributions of the Utes was the sharing of their knowledge regarding the topography of the mountainous region they inhabited. After years as a food-gathering people, the Utes had thoroughly learned the paths of least resistance to travel — the lowest passes in the many chains of mountains and the ridges which were easiest to cross. The friction of their feet over centuries had cut deep trails along the most important routes of travel. Where trails intersected or became difficult to follow in the rocky terrain, the Utes were accustomed to build stone monuments in prominent places eight to ten feet high with a stone on top pointing out the right direction. Pioneers, road builders, and railroad builders used these to a great advantage. A look at any map showing the transportation routes in Ute country will indicate to the casual observer the trails formerly used extensively by the Utes in their travels.

In the late Mexican period, relations between the settlers in New Mexico and the Utes were often unsettled and unfriendly. The Utes, seeing their land holdings diminishing because of increased ranching and farming periodically raided the settlements for livestock and other articles. A rising level of anger impelled the Utes to more and more depredations. In 1846, the United States entered into a war against Mexico, the result of which was going to be the incorporation of all Ute territory into the United States. Thus the United States had to begin dealing with the Utes as the Spanish and Mexican governments had to do before. Only two years before, Utes had created a sensation in Santa Fe by threatening the governor of New Mexico in the Palace of the Governors, an event well known to the Anglo Ameri-

cans. From then until the American take-over in 1846, the Mexican government at Santa Fe generally was at war with the Utes, who, mounted on good horses and with firearms, raided the Taos Valley and the frontier around Abiquiu.[6] The military leaders of the United States, realizing that the Utes might possibly present a threat to their lines of supply and communication, sent William Gilpin to confer with the Utes in August, 1846, within a month after the conquest of New Mexico. Gilpin encouraged sixty Ute leaders to accompany him to Santa Fe to confer with the military authorities there. These Ute leaders were mainly from northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, especially from the San Luis Valley, and after a conference with Col. Alexander W. Doniphan, they agreed to remain peaceful.[7]

On December 30, 1849, the first treaty between the Utes and the United States was signed at Abiquiu, the frontier town on the Chama River north of the town of Espanola. This treaty was arranged largely by the great Indian agent, James S. Calhoun.[8] The Utes recognized the sovereignty of the United States and agreed not to depart from their accustomed territory without permission. The Utes also agreed to perpetual peace and friendship with the United States, to abide by United States law, and to permit citizens of the United States government to establish military posts and agencies in their country. Quiziachigiate signed as principal chief and twenty-seven other Utes signed as subordinate chiefs.

After the twenty-eight Ute leaders expressed an "utter aversion to labor," Agent Calhoun promised that the United States would help take care of the Utes to the amount of $5,000 per year. No boundaries of the Ute territory were defined in this treaty.[9]

The following year (1850) the United States government opened an agency for the Utes at Taos, New Mexico. John Greiner was the first agent (1851–53), but the United States failed to provide the necessary money and the agency had to close. It was reopened in December,

[6] Paul Horgan, *Great River*, 2 vols., (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1954), II, 717.

[7] Wilson Rockwell, *The Utes: A Forgotten People*, (Denver: Sage Books, 1956), p. 64.

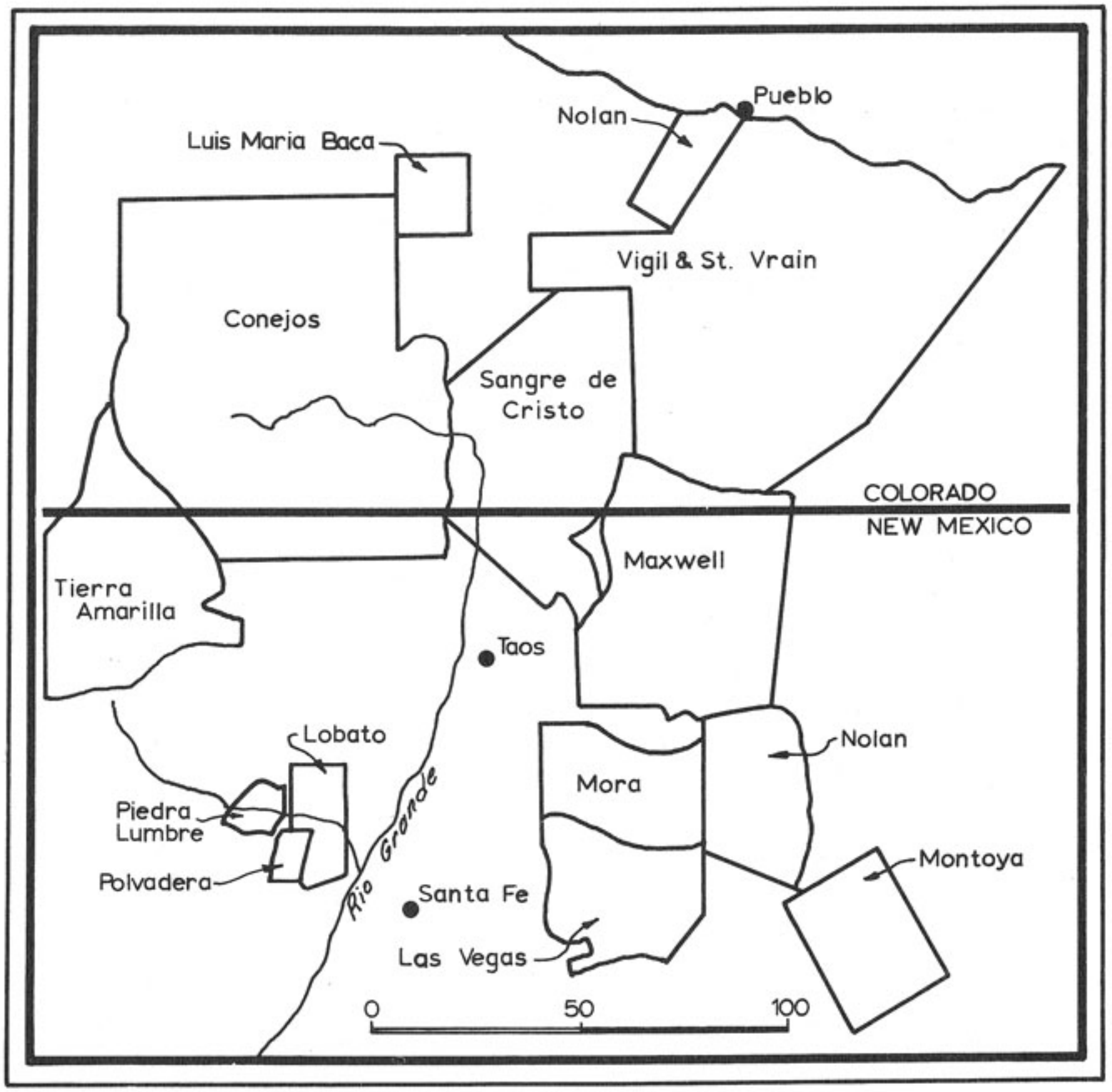
[8] James W. Covington, "Relations Between the Ute Indians and the United States Government, 1848–1900"' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in History, University of Oklahoma, 1949), pp. 25–6 *passim*.

[9] For a complete treatment of Agent Calhoun, see Annie Heloise Abel, ed., *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun, while Indian Agent at Santa Fe and Superintendent of Indians Affairs in New Mexico* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915). For the texts of treaties with Indians, see Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, (2 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903–38); the Treaty of 1849 with the Utes is in II, 585–86.

1853, largely to serve the Capote band of Utes, and Kit Carson, the famous trapper, mountain man and trader, who was a friend to the Utes, was named agent.[10] He served in that capacity until 1859. The Mouache band of Utes was also served at the Taos agency during the time, but members of the Weeminuche band came there infrequently. The Tabeguache band of Utes heard of rations being allotted to their relatives and went to Taos in 1856. Kit Carson recommended that an agency for the Tabeguache be set up closer to their country but his request was not acted on by the United States for several years. Kit Carson (1809–1868) was the best known of the fur trappers and traders who had entered Ute territory. While a young man, he had trapped for eight years in South Park and had become familiar with practically every Ute trail and every pass in the mountains. He was modest and amiable and the Indians generally considered him a worthwhile friend, especially since he had married Singing Grass, an Arapaho, while very young, and at Taos, in 1843, had married Josefa Jaramillo.

During the time that southern Colorado was claimed by Spain (1598–1821) and by Mexico (1821–48), several land grants had been awarded to Spanish or Mexican citizens in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado in the traditional lands of the Utes. The United States agreed to respect these land grants by terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) which ended the war with Mexico. They had been granted by the Spanish and Mexican governments to petitioners who agreed to develop the land and to protect the frontier. Many of the land grants adversely affected different bands of Utes. For example, the very large and famous Maxwell Land Grant of over one and one-half million acres in the northeastern portion of New Mexico and southeastern Colorado included some former Ute holdings; the San Joaquin del Cañon del Rio de Chama Grant had given land to settlers near Abiquiu, as did the Cañon de San Miguel (Pedernales) Grant; in the area of present day Colorado, the Las Animas Grant embraced the land south of the Arkansas River to the Sangre de Cristos between the Huerfano and Purgatory Rivers (Ceran St. Vrain and Cornelio Vigil); the Sangre de Cristo Grant covered a large area in the lower San Luis Valley; the Conejos Grant took away from the Utes the western portion of the San Luis Valley; and the Tierra

[10] Covington, "The Ute Indians and the United States," pp. 29–33.



SPANISH-MEXICAN LAND GRANTS

Amarilla Grant extended from that town into southern Colorado. Although never heavily populated by Europeans, these grants by the Spanish and Mexican governments began the erosion of the land base of the Utes and led to continuous friction.[11]

Between 1851 and 1853, towns were founded in the San Luis Valley (San Luis, San Pedro, and San Acacia) by former Mexican citizens.[12] As usual with the influx of settlers, livestock was introduced and the supply of game animals began to diminish or to move to more inaccessible places in the mountains. Also it was much easier for the Utes to raid for livestock than to hunt game in those higher altitudes. Bad blood increased between the Utes and the settlers and the usual pattern of raid followed by punitive expedition was established in southern Colorado.

To safeguard the settlers and to keep the Utes from raiding, the United States government established Fort Massachusetts on Ute Creek near the base of Mt. Blanca. (Six years later that military post was moved six miles south and renamed Fort Garland.)[13]

The Utes did not like either the military post in the midst of their territory or the presence of the settlers, whose farming and ranching began to drive out the game upon which the Utes depended for part of their food supply. Their resentment flared in the Ute War of 1854–55. On Christmas day of 1854, the Utes attacked Fort Pueblo on the Arkansas River and killed all of the inhabitants.[14] Then they began attacking the settlements in the San Luis Valley. Several settlers were killed and their livestock driven away. Fort Massachusetts was severely threatened. General Garland at Santa Fe was notified and he quickly organized six companies of mounted volunteers from New Mexico plus some units of regular troops and sent them to Fort Massachusetts to put down the Ute revolt. Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy was placed in command and Kit Carson accompanied the expedition as head scout.

The leader of the Utes was Chief Tierra Blanca who was easily recognized because of the red shirt which he wore. The United States troops made their first contact with the Utes near the present town of Salida, in the Saguache Valley, in the middle of March, 1855. The Utes, recognizing the superior fire power of the United States troops,

[11] Cummins, "Social and Economic History," pp. 186–87; LeRoy R. Hafen, "Mexican Land Grants in Colorado," *Colorado Magazine*, IV, No. 3 (1927), 81–93.

[12] Cummins, "Social and Economic History," p. 187; Rockwell, *The Utes*, p. 65.

[13] Cummins, "Social and Economic History," p. 187.

[14] Lloyd, "The Uncompaghre Utes," p. 7.

retreated in a running fight toward Cochetopa Pass and most of that band escaped. However, another band of Utes was surprised near Salida. About forty of them were killed and some livestock recovered on April 19, 1855. Throughout the remainder of April and for the next two months, running battles and skirmishes occurred, but the Utes recognized that they could not continue to fight the forces of the United States and asked for peace. A meeting was held at Abiquiu, mainly with the Capote Utes, and a treaty of peace was arranged in the fall of 1855.[15]

Also in 1855, a treaty was negotiated with the Mouaches at Abiquiu. Had that treaty been ratified by the United States Senate, the Mouaches would have been placed on a reservation of 1000 square miles in the extreme northern part of the Territory of New Mexico with the Rio Grande as the eastern boundary and the mountains between the drainages of the Rio Grande and the San Juan River as the western boundary.[16]

Even before the Ute War, some Anglo-Americans were active in the lands of the Utes. In 1848, John C. Fremont attempted to cross the San Juan Mountains to find a suitable route for a transcontinental railroad. Many of his party met disaster near La Garita before being rescued by former mountain men from Taos. In 1853, Captain John W. Gunnison was ordered by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to survey the most practicable route for a transcontinental railroad. The huge party which accompanied Captain Gunnison explored and mapped Ute territory to a greater extent than ever before. Captain Gunnison was killed by the Utes in western Utah, but Lt. E. G. Beckwith continued in command and wrote an account of the expedition.

Both Captain Gunnison and Lt. Beckwith were of the opinion that the Ute lands west of San Luis Valley were of no value for settlement of Anglo-Americans.[17] However, less than five years later, gold was discovered near the present location of Denver and the "Rush to the Rockies" was on. Thousands of Anglo-Americans from the Missouri and the Mississippi Valleys with "Pike's Peak or Bust" painted on the canvas of their wagons poured into the area of Colorado. Many re-

[15] Rockwell, *The Utes*, pp. 65–6; Schroeder, "Brief History," pp. 67–8; Covington, "The Ute Indians and the United States," pp. 35–42; LeRoy R. Hafen, "The Fort Pueblo Massacre and the Punitive Expedition Against the Utes," *Colorado Magazine*, IV, (March 1927), 49–58.

[16] Cummins, "Social and Economic History," pp. 311–12.

[17] Rockwell, *The Utes*, pp. 66–68.

turned with "Busted by God" on their wagons, but enough remained to organize the Territory of Colorado in 1861. The governor of the territory, William Gilpin, appointed by the president, was named to be Superintendent of Indian Affairs within the territory. Thus, by 1861, the Utes came under the control of the governors of the territories of Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico.

In 1861, an agency was opened at Conejos, Colorado, under Agent Lafayette Head for the Tabeguache Utes, but he was hampered by lack of funds.[18] The agency at Taos continued to operate for the Capotes, Mouaches, and Weeminuches, and by 1863, the Hot Sulphur Springs agency was opened to serve the Northern Utes. As throughout the history of the United States, the migration of miners and settlers into a new region caused trouble between them and the Indians accustomed to hunt and gather food. The white settlers could not understand why the Indians should need so much land, and the Indians regarded the newcomers as interlopers and trespassers. Because of the friction which was developing in Colorado, a conference was held at the agency in Conejos on October 1, 1863. The representatives of all the Ute bands were to have been at the conference. However, the Northern Utes sent insufficient representation.

The United States was represented at the conference by Simeon Whiteley, agent for the Northern Utes from Hot Sulphur Springs; Lafayette Head, agent for the Tabeguaches at Conejos; Michael Steck, superintendent of the Southern Ute agency at Taos; John Evans, governor of the Territory of Colorado; and John Nicolay, secretary to President Abraham Lincoln, from Washington, D.C. Mr. Nicolay served as secretary of this commission, whose aim was to move the Utes out of the path of the miners and settlers. Since the Northern Utes were not well represented, the commission dealt only with the Tabeguache Utes and the Mouache band of Southern Utes. The Tabeguache refused to be moved to a new location but did agree to a treaty which defined the boundaries of a reservation for them and the Mouaches. Ten Tabeguache leaders, including Ouray, signed this treaty by which they gave up claim to much land already occupied by white settlers in return for promises of livestock and goods for the next ten years.[19]

[18] Ibid., pp. 68–9.
[19] Ibid.

The United States government failed to provide the Tabeguache with any of the goods promised in the treaty and the Tabeguache continued to live in their accustomed places. In 1864, heavy snows prevented them from hunting buffalo in the plains and foothills for their winter supply of meat, and the Tabeguaches were reduced to begging around Colorado City. This caused friction with the white people, and more developed in the San Luis Valley between the Utes and the settlers there. The United States government determined to settle the Ute question and remove them, esepecially from the San Luis Valley.

To accomplish this, a treaty was negotiated on March 2, 1868, at Washington, D.C. The United States was represented by Governor A. C. Hunt for the Territory of Colorado, N. G. Taylor, and Kit Carson. The seven bands of Utes who sent representatives were the Tabeguache, Mouache, Capote, Weeminuche, Yampa, Grand River and Uintah.[20]

By this treaty, a single reservation was provided for all the Ute bands and the area comprised roughly the western one-third of Colorado. An agency for the three bands of Northern Utes was to be established on the White River near the present town of Meeker, Colorado. Another agency was to be established on the Los Pinos River for the Tabeguaches, Mouaches, Capotes, and Weeminuches. Education, clothing, and rations were to be provided by the United States until the Utes should be capable of supporting themselves. The Utes were assured that this reservation would forever be theirs and they would be protected from white trespassers. This treaty was signed by the ten Ute leaders and it was at this time that Ouray was selected by the United States to be spokesman for the Utes instead of Colorow or another headsman whom the Northern Utes preferred.

It appeared that the Treaty of 1868 would settle the "Ute problem," but such was not the case. The Tabeguache band started to go to the Los Pinos River, but they refused to go further when they arrived at a branch of Cochetopa Creek about sixty miles to the north and about fifty-five miles west of Saguache, Colorado.[21] This spot was not even on the specified reservation but the United States set up the Los Pinos agency there, naming the tributary of Cochetopa Creek "Los Pinos" to comply with the letter of the treaty, which had meant the

[20] The Ute Treaty of 1868 is in Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, II, p. 990; Rockwell, *The Utes*, pp. 72–82.

[21] Rockwell, *The Utes*, pp. 71–81.

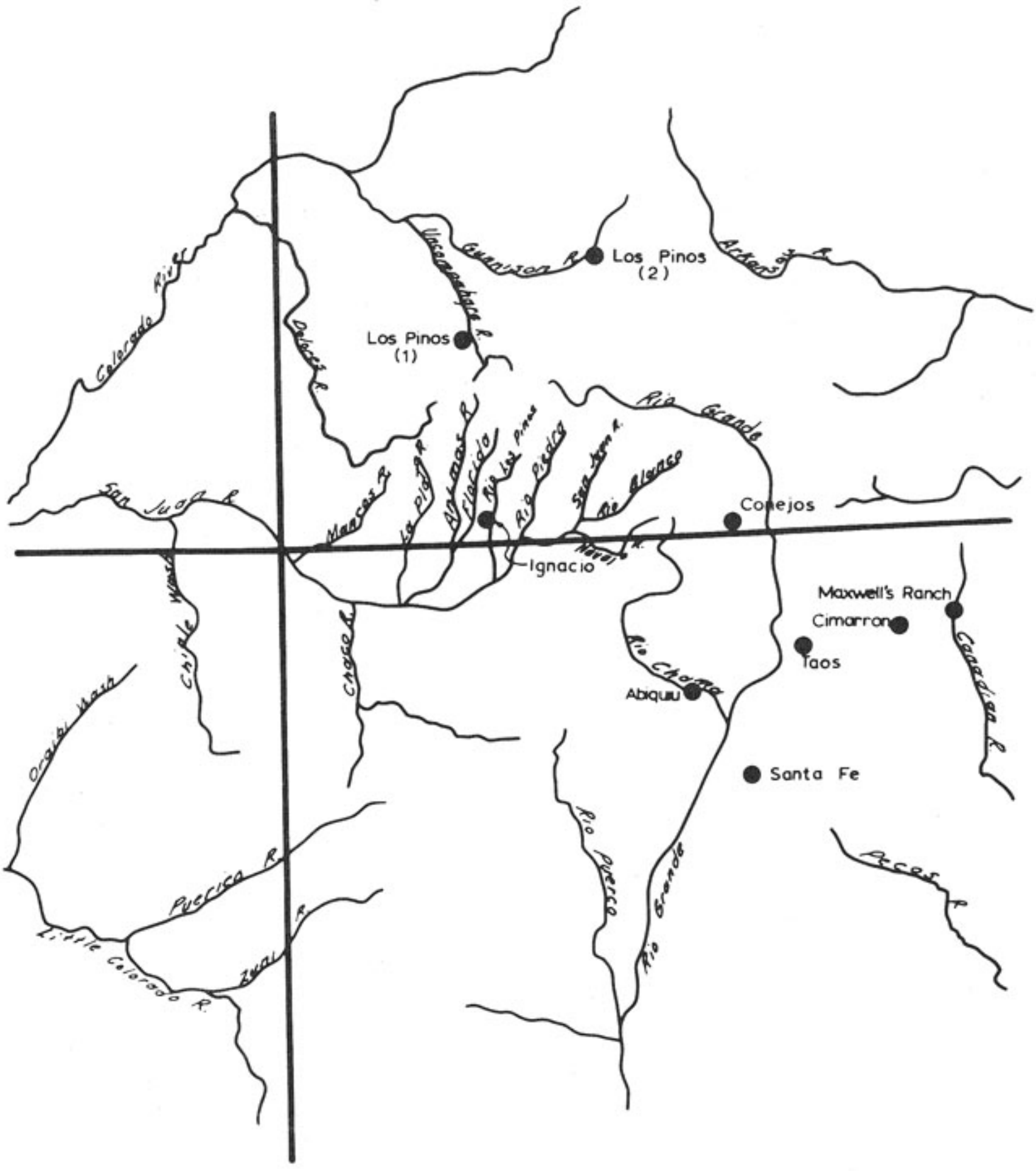
Rio de Los Pinos, the tributary of Las Animas River in present day La Plata County, named by the Spaniards in the eighteenth century. Also, almost immediately after the treaty was negotiated, it was discovered that the San Juan Mountains of southwestern Colorado held huge treasures of rich minerals.[22]

Actually, a third agency was maintained at Denver from 1871 to 1876 for the Utes of that area. During those years, the Utes still hunted buffalo there for the winter supply of meat and sold hides and other products to merchants. By the time that Colorado became a state of the Union in 1876, the huge herds of buffalo had been largely eliminated from the plains and the Utes around Denver had no products to sell and no more money to buy goods from the merchants. Soon their presence in the capital city became a source of friction and trouble.[23]

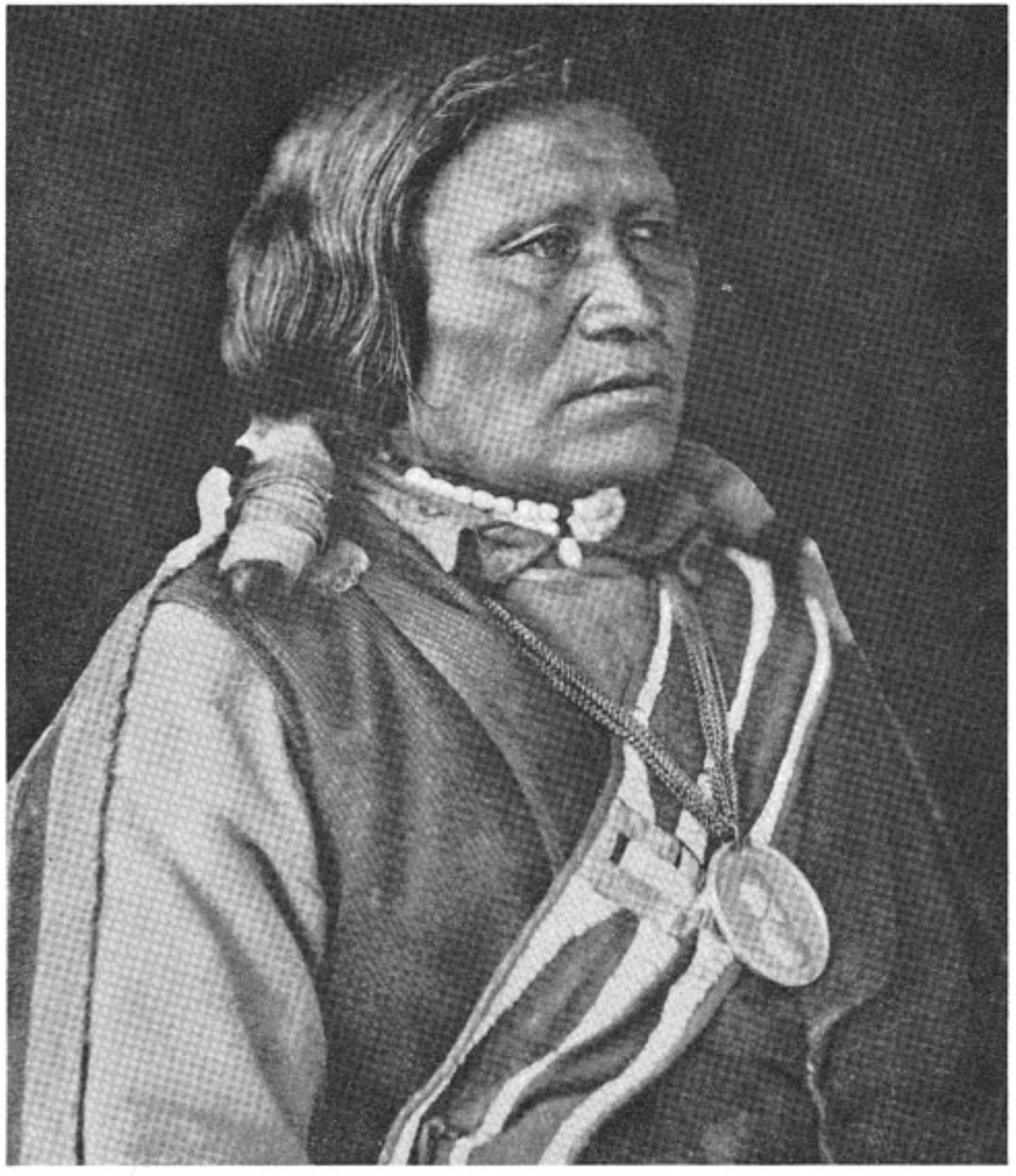
By the Act of April 10, 1869, Congress paved the way for President Grant to end all troubles with Indians by settling the remaining Indians on reservations deemed large enough to support them if they engaged in agriculture.

[22] Robert W. Delaney, "The Southern Utes a Century Ago," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX, No. 2 (1971), 124, citing the report of W. F. M. Arny of 1870.

[23] Ibid., p. 81.



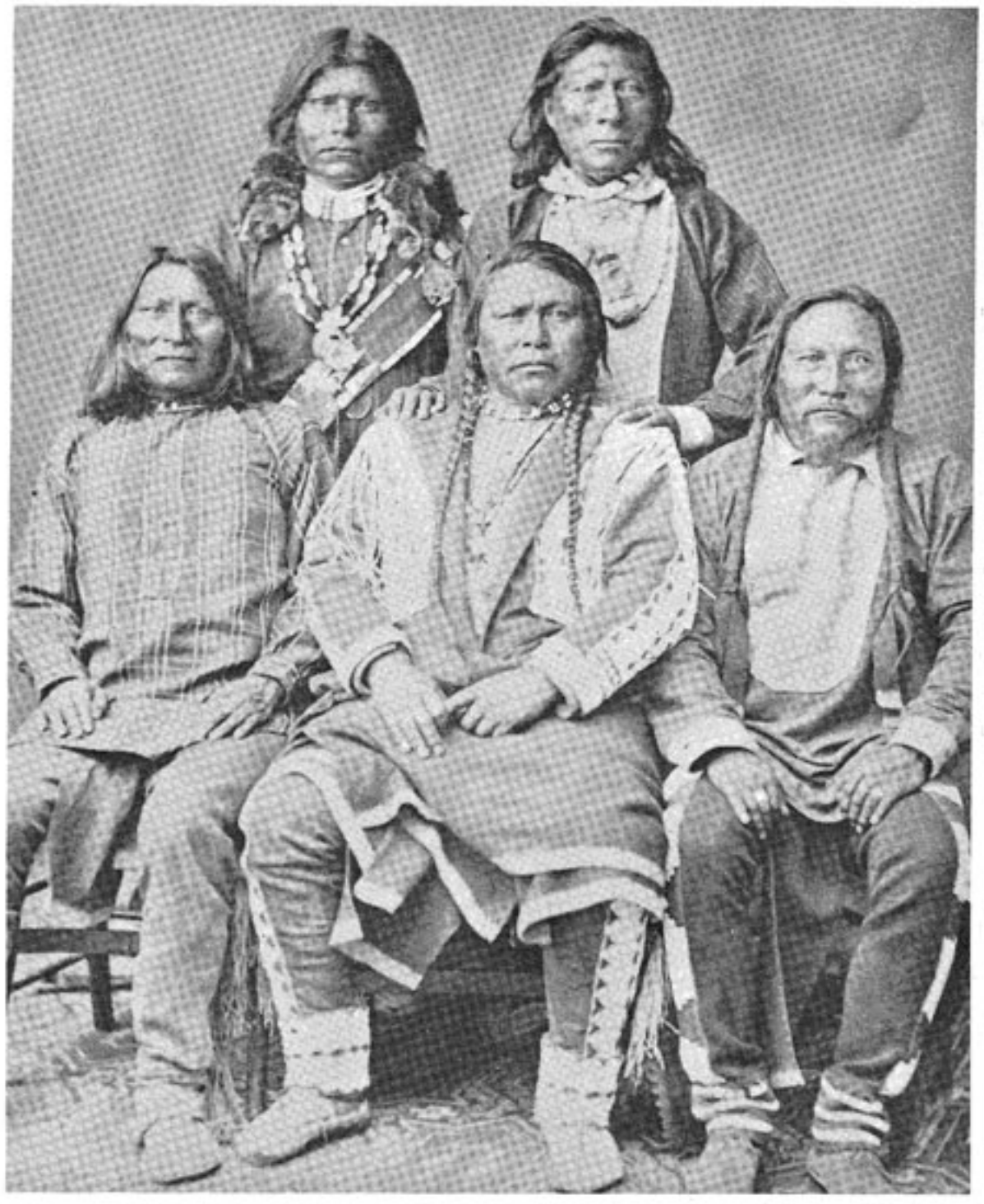
Rainbow, one of the earliest photographs of a Southern Ute Indian. Smithsonian Institution.



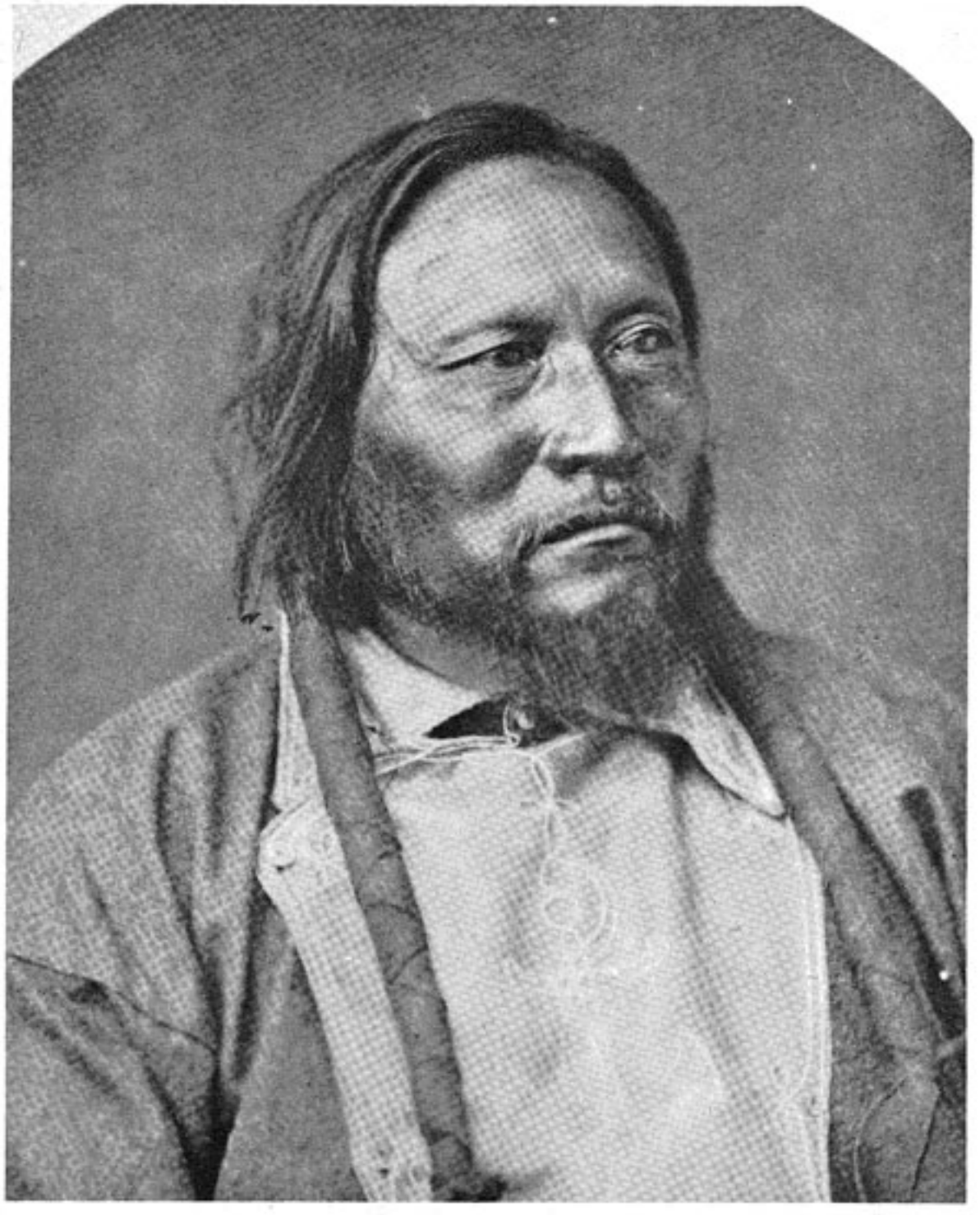
Yamapi, runner for Chief Ouray, wearing a Lincoln Peace Medal. Taken in the 1870's. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Ute braves of the Capote band of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The man on the right is wearing a fine example of a beaded pendant. Smithsonian Institution.

Row 1. Guero, Chipeta, Ouray, Piah (Tabeguache chief).
Row 2. Uriah M. Curtis (first interpreter for northern Ute bands), J. B. Thompson (agent at Denver Ute Agency), Charles Adams (agent of Los Pinos Agency 1972–75), Otto Mears (government negotiator for the 1873 agreement).
Row 3. Washington (a leading chief of a northern Ute Band), Susan (sister of Ouray), Johnston No. 2 (Susan's husband), Capt. Jack (leader in the Meeker incident), John. Photo was taken about 1874. State Historical Society of Colorado.



Chiefs of the Uncompahgre band – Ouray is seated in the center with his sub-chiefs. (l. to r.) Warets, Shavanaux, Ankatosh, and Guero. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.



Guero, closely associated with Chief Ouray. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

The American Period: The Creation of the Reservation: 1848–1900

In 1868 the geographic locations of the three bands of the Southern Utes had changed little from the time when the first Spaniard had entered their domain in the 1700's. During the Mexican period the bands were moved closer together, their use of the plains as hunting grounds was restricted and their lands were defined as a reservation. However, these changes seem due more to pressure on the Utes from the Comanches and Apaches than from either the Mexicans or the first Americans who entered the region.

The 700 Weeminuches lived in an area that stretched from Tierra Amarilla northward to the Las Animas River and on to the Colorado River. Their chiefs were Peersichopa and Cabegon. The headmen included Sewormicha, Piwood, Ignacio, Chiwaten, and Tobats. The bands of Cabegon and Sewormicha cultivated the land along the La Plata River, one of the few groups of Utes to grow some of their own food rather than trade for it. For the most part they were self-supporting with only a few of the band visiting the agency at Tierra Amarilla. Supplies received from the government included powder, lead, salt, and blankets. Their hunting grounds were located west of the San Juan headwaters and their lodges on the Las Animas, the La Plata, and the Mancos rivers. They traded bear, deer, beaver, and a few otter skins for horses, sugar, and coffee. In turn, the horses were traded to the Mouache Utes located at Cimarron in exchange for buffalo robes and the skins to the Navajos for blankets. Of the three major bands of the Southern Utes, the Weeminuche remained the most isolated from Anglo contact.

The 484 Mouache occupied the San Luis Valley as well as the east side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains north of Taos. They were given supplies from the Cimarron agency and occasionally the Abiquiu agency. In 1869 an agency on the Conejos River was established for these people. The new location was considered a more practical distribution point for the goods given to the band.

The 500 Capotes lived in an area ranging north from Abiquiu to the Navajo River with Tierra Amarilla being the central location for most of the band. The agency at Abiquiu was the distribution point

for government goods for the band although some rations were received at Tierra Amarilla. Of the three bands the Capotes seemed to rely most on government for survival. The one exception was the group under the leadership of Sapota. His people, about 65 in number, stayed near the San Juan river most of the time and rarely ventured south to either Abiquiu or Tierra Amarilla. His hunting skill was so great that he was able to provide game for nearly all of the needs of his people.[1] Other leaders of the Capotes at this time included Timpioche and Chorez.

In 1863, a reservation had been defined for the Utes, although little attempt was made to restrict the Utes to this land. After 1868 the three Ute bands were forced to occupy much smaller territories. The reduction of this reservation in 1868 came not from pressure of other Indian tribes but rather from the pressure of the Anglos. One of the Anglo groups pressuring the Utes onto smaller territories was the miners. Gold had been discovered near Denver, Colorado, in 1859. Soon prospectors were spanning out from the area towards the mountains to the south and the west looking for more of the precious mineral. By 1860 a group of miners had entered the western slope of Colorado and had located gold in the San Juan mountains of southwest Colorado in the heart of Ute land. After the Ute treaty of 1868 miners came in increasing numbers to find the rich minerals of this region. In direct violation of the previous Ute treaties miners trespassed on the reservation.

The Federal Government, unable to stop the invasion of Anglos, responded to the crisis by calling the Ute leaders together. The Government tried to negotiate with the Indians for the land occupied by the miners. Congress had passed a law in 1871 stating that the Government would no longer sign treaties with the Indians but rather would now sign agreements. The change in terminology meant little to the Indians for the meaning was the same; the Government wanted the Utes' land. In 1873, the Utes signed the Brunot agreement, in which they gave up their claim to the San Juan mountains. The agreement, also known as the San Juan Cession, was signed into law by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1874.[2]

[1] Schroeder, "Brief History," pp. 64–73.

[2] Gregory C. Thompson, "Southern Ute Lands, 1848–1899; The Creation of a Reservation" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1971), pp. 12–13.

The land taken by the government was rectangular in shape and included the middle section of the 1868 reservation. Now only a narrow strip of land along the western boundary of the state of Colorado connected the northern part of the 1868 reservation with the southern part. The southern part of the reservation was now a section of land 110 miles long, running from the Utah boundary east along the New Mexico-Colorado border, and fifteen miles wide, beginning with the New Mexico boundary and running due north.

For some time the Anglos of northern New Mexico had wanted to move those Southern Utes located at Cimarron and Abiquiu onto the southern portion of the Ute reservation. The Brunot agreement of 1874 had stated that all of the Mouache and Capote Utes not located on the reservation in Colorado were to be moved there and an agency created for them. Originally, the agency was to be located on the southern portion of the reservation so the Southern Utes could reach it without traveling long distances. One agency had been located north of the San Juan Cession but had been so far from the Southern Utes that they had refused to travel there for their rations. Instead they remained in New Mexico.

In 1875 the agent at Cimarron, Alexander G. Irvine, reported that about 350 Mouache Utes were located at that agency. The settlers located in the area had complained about the travels of the Utes to and from the Colorado reservation and asked that Irvine attempt to have the Utes moved from the area. Irvine pointed out that the agency buildings were located on leased land not permanently owned by the government. The original intent had been only to use the buildings for a short time before making other arrangements for the Utes. Now the settlers were asking him to see that those arrangements were made. In his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Irvine agreed with the desire of the settlers.

The other agent, S. A. Russell, who was seeing to the needs of the Utes at Abiquiu, agreed with Irvine. He felt these Utes should also be moved from northern New Mexico to southwestern Colorado.

Two years lapsed before Congress acted on the request of the New Mexicans to have the Utes removed to Colorado. The Cimarron agency was ordered closed in 1876, but the Utes had refused to leave the area. Until a solution could be worked out, the government farmer was left to oversee the needs of the Utes. The solution came as part of

the appropriations act of 1877.[3] An amendment was added to the bill which stated that the provisions of the 1874 agreement would be carried out and an agency for the Southern Utes located on the southern portion of the reservation.

In May, 1877, Indian agents, Francis A. Weaver and Benjamin M. Thomas selected a permanent site for the new agency on the Rio de los Pinos, the Pine River. However, by the end of the year the agency had not been built nor had the Indians been removed. Further legislation was necessary before the building and the removal took place. By July, 1878, that legislation had passed Congress and the Utes at both Cimarron and Abiquiu were readied for the removal. The trip from northern New Mexico took one month. By August 16, 1878, they were located at the site of the new agency. After nearly twenty years' effort the Government had finally moved all of the Utes in New Mexico to one reservation in Colorado.

The Anglos of northern New Mexico were satisfied with the removal of the Utes from their area, but the people of Colorado were not. The gold discovered in the San Juan Cession had brought increased numbers of people to the area. They felt the removal of the Utes into southwestern Colorado would only cause them more problems. Also, Colorado had become a state in 1876, and the Anglo citizens felt that additional Indians would discourage settlers from coming to the state. The citizens called for the complete ouster of the Indians from the state.

As the Utes were being removed from Cimarron and Abiquiu, New Mexico, a commission was being sent to meet with the Utes in negotiations for removal from Colorado. A bill had passed both houses of Congress during the spring of 1878 directing President Rutherford B. Hayes to seek approval from the Colorado Indians for removal.[4] This committee met with the Southern Utes at the same time those Indians from New Mexico were arriving at the Los Pinos Agency.

The commission asked the Southern Utes to move to the northern portion of the Colorado reservation. The Indians refused. Those Utes who had just arrived didn't want to move again and the rest refused to live with the northern bands. However, the Southern Utes did agree to move to a smaller reservation located just north and east

[3] Ibid., p. 22.
[4] Ibid., p. 25.

of their present reservation at the headwaters of the Piedra, San Juan, and Navajo rivers. (See Map)

In exchange for the new reservation, which consisted of 728,320 acres, the Utes were to cede title of their old reservation, nearly 1,894,400 acres, to the government. Compensation was to be given for 1,100,000 acres relinquished, and a new agency was to be established on the Navajo River.

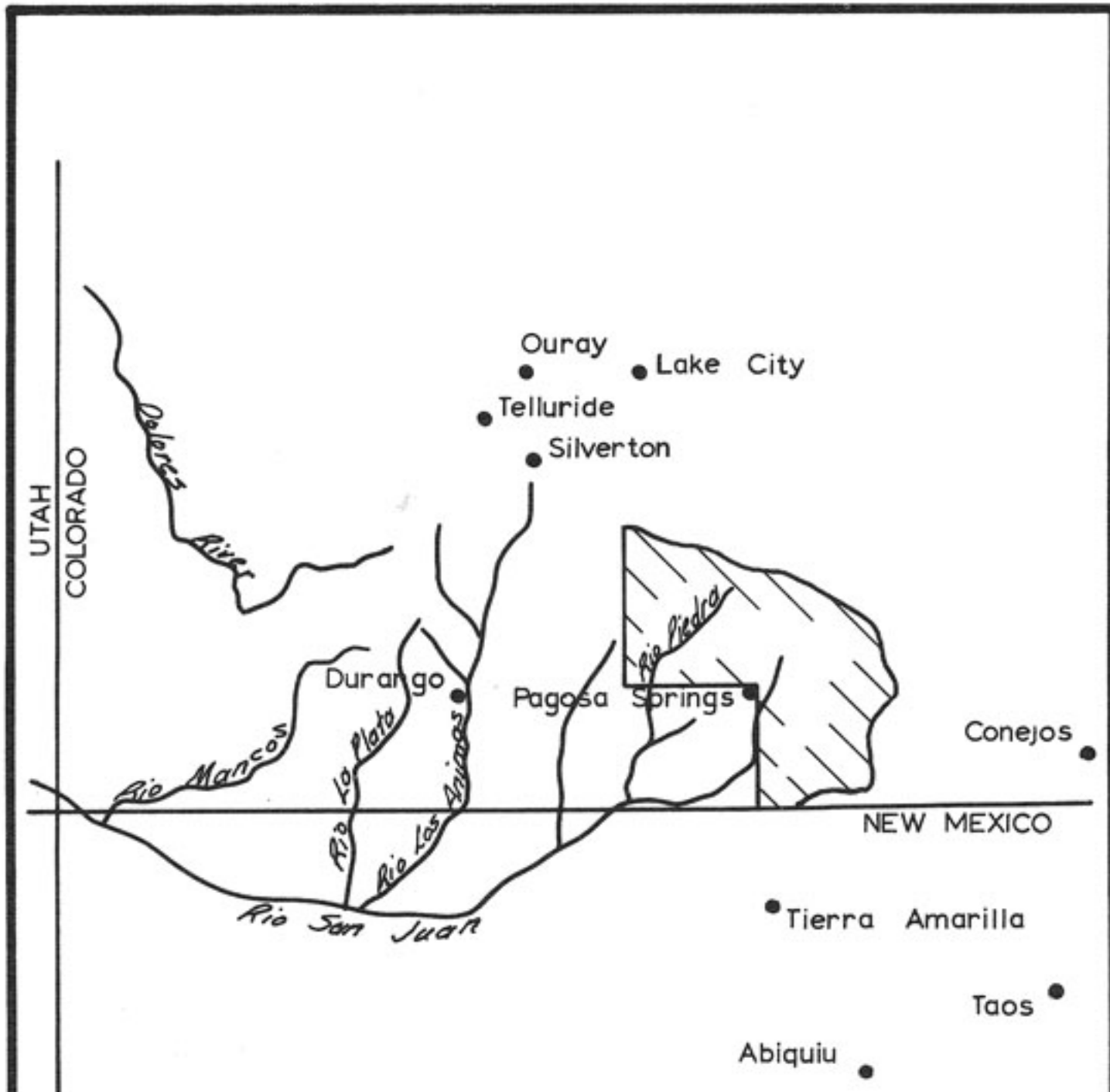
Congress wanted the Southern Utes moved onto one common reservation with the Northern bands. When the signed agreement from the Southern Utes was presented for approval, Congress refused to grant it. The Colorado delegation was dissatisfied with the compromise and had pressured Congress to seek another solution.

In September, 1879, an incident occurred which focused national attention on the Ute situation and generated public support for Ute removal from Colorado. At the northern agency in White River, the agent, Nathan Meeker, attempted to have the grazing land near the agency plowed and planted in grain. The Indians did not want the good grazing land plowed and they protested. The agent refused to heed their protests and, over-reacting, asked that the army send troops to the agency. The entry of the troops to the reservation caused considerable anger among the Utes. About 25 Utes, led by Douglas, attacked the agency, killing Meeker and eight young men working for him. In addition three women and two children were taken captive and held hostage for twenty-three days.[5] At the same time the troops called to the reservation by Meeker were attacked. Nearly three hundred Utes under the leadership of Captain Jack ambushed the soldiers and pinned them down for six days before relief could reach them. These events created a national uproar against the Utes, and the public called for their removal to Indian territory.

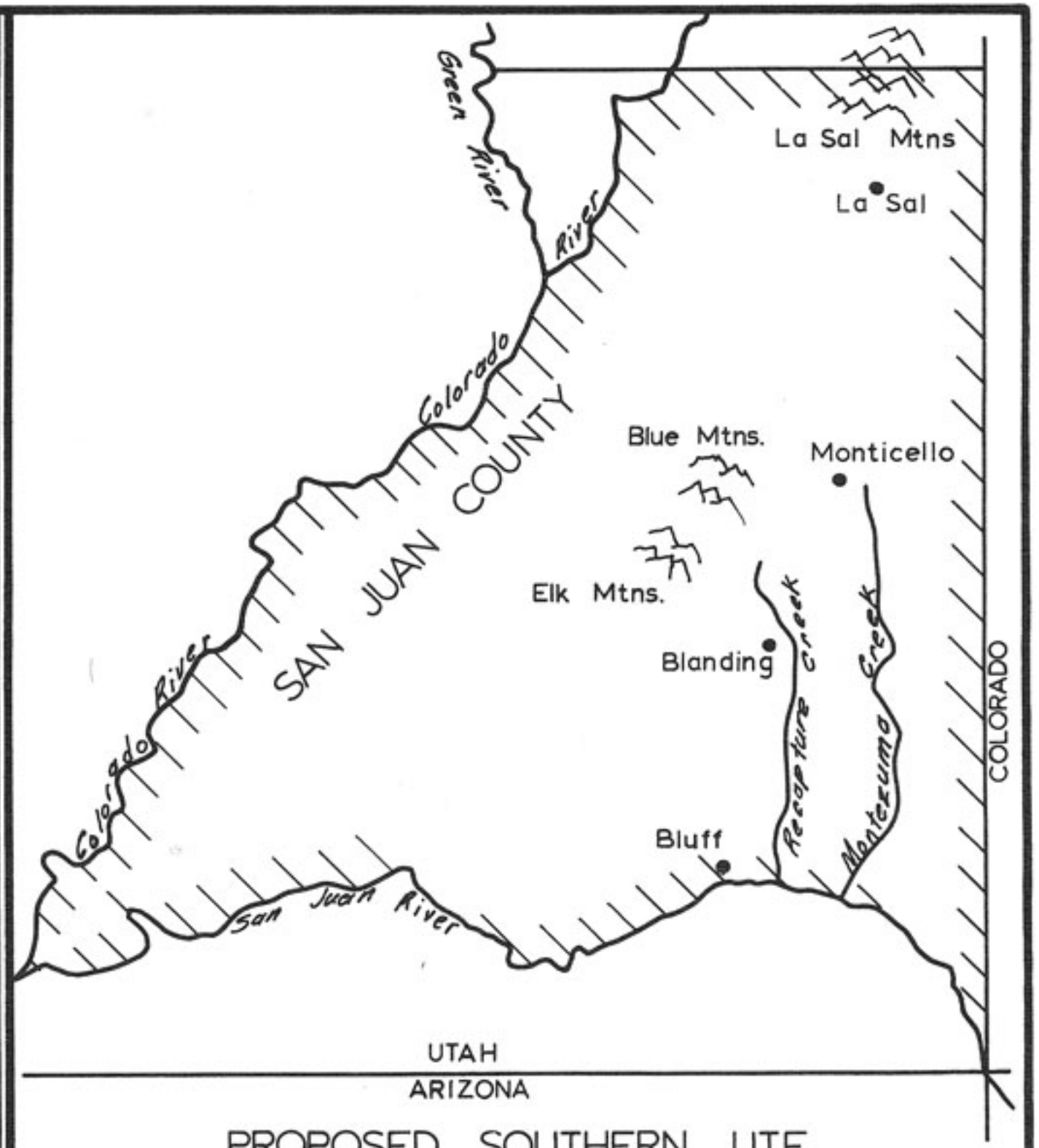
Congress instructed the executive branch of the government to negotiate with Utes for their removal from Colorado. On January 16, 1880, Ignacio, Buckskin Charlie, Severo and Blanco (Ojo Blanco) representing the Southern Utes, and Ouray and other leaders of the Northern Utes left the reservation for Washington, D.C., to negotiate with officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[6] The Ute leaders agreed

[5] Floyd A. O'Neil, "The Utes of Eastern Utah" (unpublished Manuscript, Western Americana Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah, n.d.), p. 26.

[6] *New York Times*, January 31, 1880, p. 1.



PROPOSED SOUTHERN UTE
RESERVATION 1879



PROPOSED SOUTHERN UTE
RESERVATION 1889

to relocate. The agreement signed by them on March 6th was approved by Congress.

In addition to relocating the Utes, the agreement stated that all claim to their reservation would be relinquished. For this they would receive allotments of land along the La Plata River. To seek the approval of the tribal members, a committee of five was to be named by President Hayes. If the agreement was ratified by the tribe, Congress was to give final approval.

The commission named for the tribal negotiations included George W. Manypenny, Alfred B. Meacham, John B. Bowman, John J. Russell, and Otto Mears.[7] After gathering in Denver, Colorado, on June 28th, the commission left for the Ute agencies. The negotiations began on August 15th, and by September 20th, 581 Southern Utes had ratified the agreement. Shortly afterwards the other Ute bands in Colorado followed the Southern Ute example. By December the agreement had been approved.

Immediately the Ute commission began preparation to move the northern bands to the Uintah Reservation in Utah. After a short delay the White River Utes were moved and about one year later the Uncompahgre band was relocated.

Removal of the three Southern Ute bands did not proceed as the commission had hoped. The lands designated as the new reservation were poor for agriculture and incapable of supporting the Utes. At the same time the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad had reached Durango and was pushing its way up the Animas River to Silverton. The railroad brought more people to the area who again pressured the Utes for their lands. Once more the Utes were caught between the forces of the civilization process. A new reservation had been established for the Indians, but was declared unsuitable for farming, the occupation the BIA hoped the Indians would embrace. The land hungry Anglos wanted not only the lands of the old reservation but the lands of the proposed reservation.

Although the citizens of Colorado pressured Congress for a decision on this dilemma, a solution was not found for a number of years. Two alternatives were presented but each was turned down. One was to move the Colorado Utes onto the Ute reservations in eastern Utah, but the other bands did not want the Southern Utes relocated there

[7] Thompson, "Southern Ute Lands, 1848–1899," p. 57.

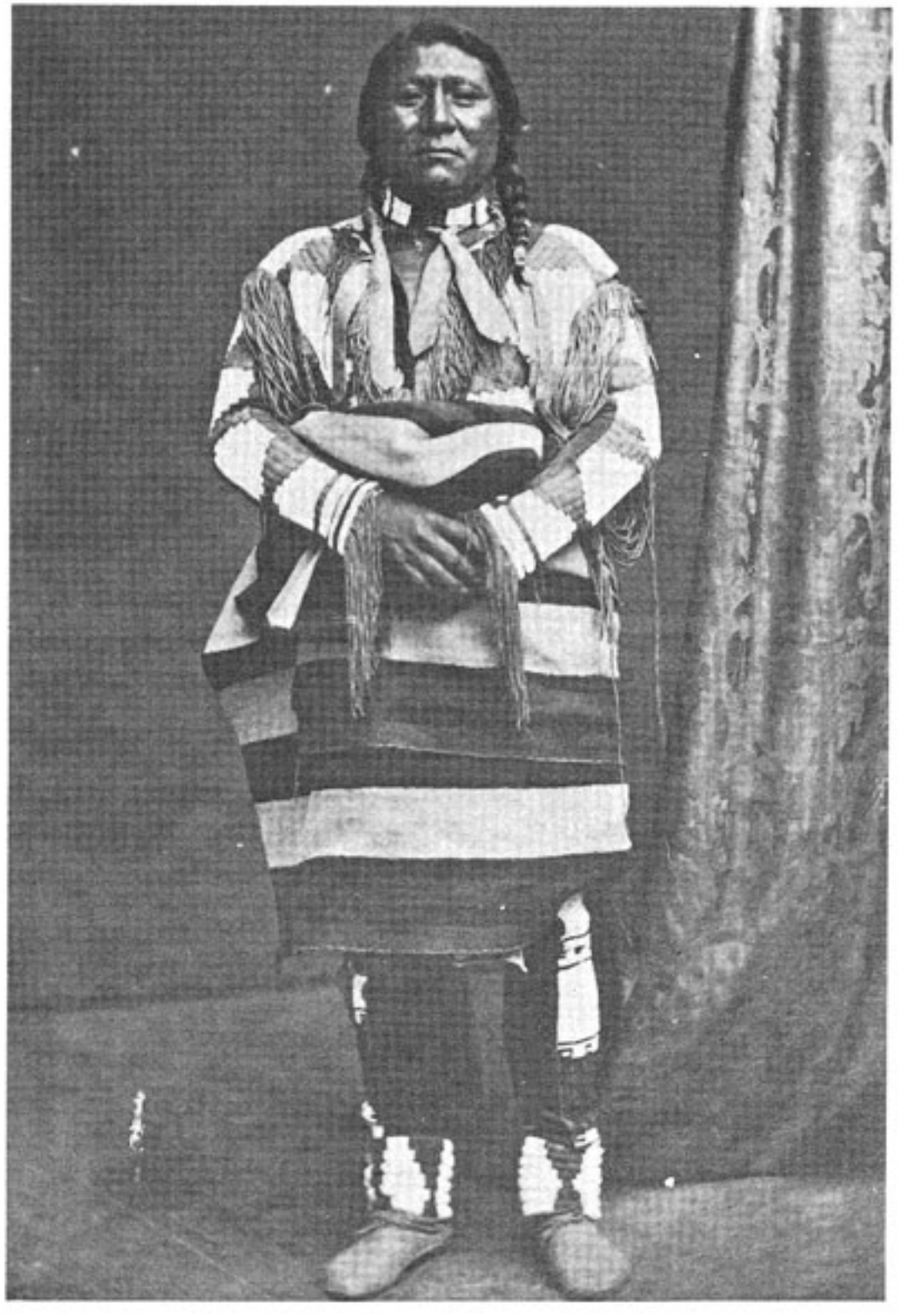
Photo taken in Washington, 1880. STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF COLORADO

Left to right, Galota, Otto Mears, Severo, Shavano, Col. H. Page, Jocknick.

Photo taken in Washington, 1880. STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF COLORADO

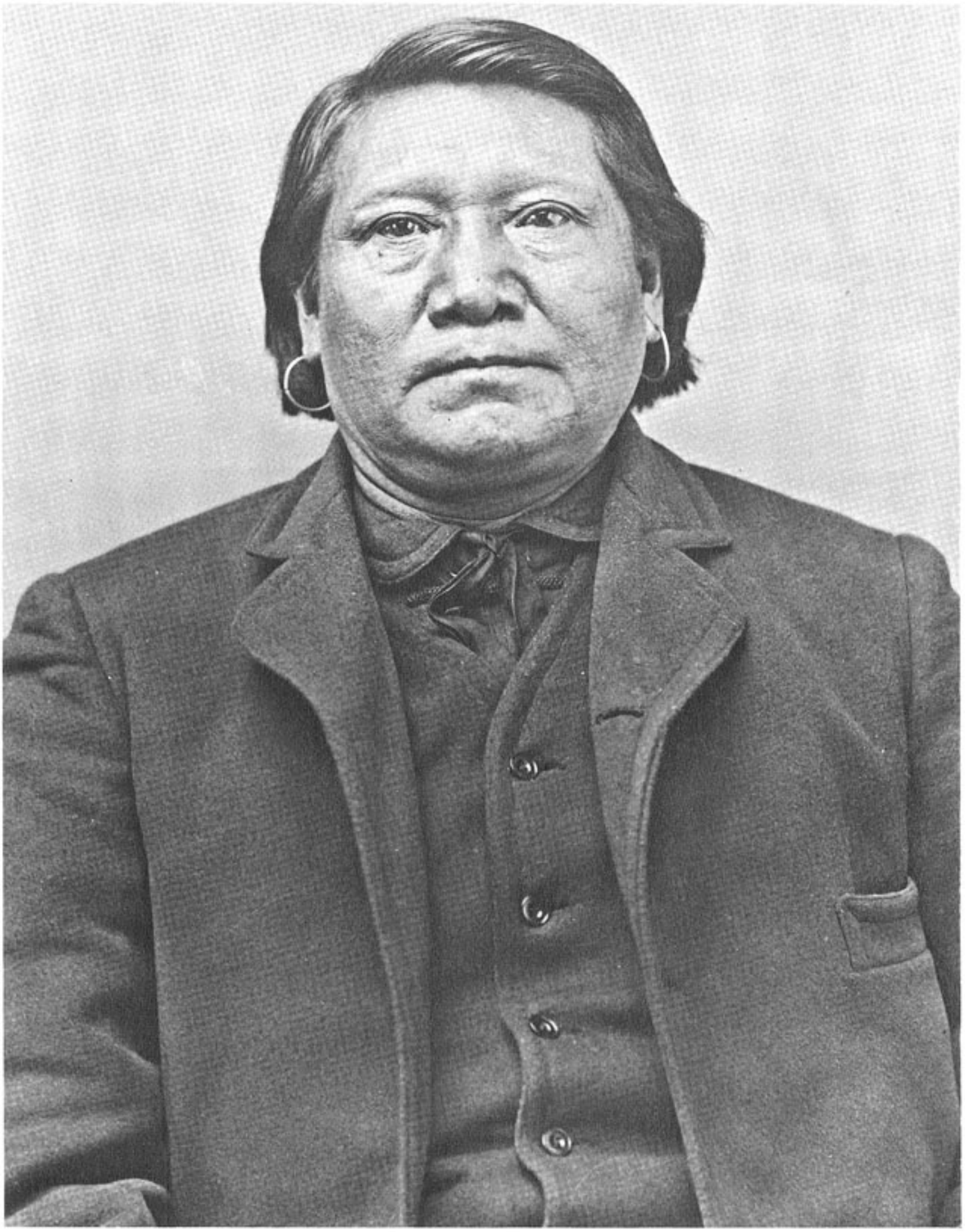
Left to right, Sawawick, Henry Jim, Buckskin Charlie, Wass, William Burns, Alhandra.

Shavano while in Washington to negotiate the Agreement of 1880. Smithsonian Institution.



Tapuche, "in full dress." Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Severo, Capote chief. His hair is bound with fur strips and he is carrying a fringed tobacco pouch. Smithsonian Institution.



Ignacio, most famous chief of the Weeminuche band, now known as the Ute Mountain Utes. The town of Ignacio, Colorado, was named in his honor. Smithsonian Institution.

Buckskin Charlie, famous chief of the Capote band. Taken in Washington, D.C., in 1880. Smithsonian Institution.

and the Southern Utes didn't want to move. The second alternative was a suggestion by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J. D. C. Atkins, to move the Indians to San Juan County, Utah. Bills were introduced into Congress in 1886 and 1887 asking for this removal but they failed to win support.

In 1888 the removal bill again failed to pass either the House or the Senate. However, Commissioner Atkins added a clause embodying the proposed removal to a bill making an agreement with a group of Montana Indians. On May 1, 1888, the Montana Indian agreement with the Ute removal clause passed Congress and was signed by the President.[8]

On August 4th, a commission of three, J. Montgomery Smith, Thomas S. Childs, and R. D. Weaver, met with the Southern Ute bands at Ignacio. The negotiations took several months before three-fourths of the male population of the three bands agreed to relocate. By January, 1889, the agreement had been sent to Congress for its approval. Within one month the Senate had voted favorably for removal, but the House rejected the agreement.

Those groups against removing the Utes from Colorado who applied enough pressure on the members of the House to vote down the bill included the citizens of Utah, who decided they had too many Indians in their territory already, the Indian Rights Association, a reform group located in Philadelphia who thought progress in civilizing the Utes would be destroyed because of increased isolation from whites, and the cattle companies which used the La Sal and Abajo mountains as grazing areas.

The combined resistance of these groups against removal managed to defeat all removal bills introduced into Congress for the next five years. With each session of Congress, bills were announced that would relocate the Utes in San Juan County, Utah, but all failed. Not until 1894 was a bill presented that received the support of these groups.

The 1895 Bill introduced into Congress by Andrew J. Hunter from Illinois asked that the Utes be located on their old reservation in southwestern Colorado. Individual allotments of land were to be distributed to the Ute families and when all of the families had been given land, then the special status of the reservation was to be removed and the land not taken by the Utes was to be opened to white settle-

[8] Ibid., p. 90.

ment. The Government hoped that once the Utes had been given the individual allotments that they would become farmers and cultivate the land given to them. The Hunter Act, after some delay in the Senate, passed both Houses of Congress and was signed into law by President Grover Cleveland on February 11, 1895.[9]

Before the bill could be implemented, the Utes had to agree to it. A commission consisting of Meredith H. Kidd, Thomas P. Smith, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and David F. Day, Southern Ute Agent, was sent to the reservation to explain the new bill to the Southern Utes and to gain their approval. Within several months 153 of the 301 eligible male adult Utes had signed the new agreement. The margin of difference between those wanting to remain on the old reservation and those wanting to move to a new location was only five votes. However, the Secretary of Interior decided that the Southern Utes wanted the new agreement and approved the five vote margin.

When the Utes approved the agreement, a new commission was named to distribute the allotments. By April, 1896, 72,811 acres of land had been allotted to 371 Utes. The Department of Indian Affairs approved these allotments on June 12th.[10]

Because one-half of the Southern Utes voted against the 1894 agreement and the planned allotments, the Government officials felt obliged to accommodate them. Those Utes against the agreement included the Weeminuche band under the leadership of Ignacio. Earlier they had wanted to move to San Juan County, Utah, and had moved when the 1888 agreement had been approved by the tribe. Later when the agreement had failed to pass Congress the Southern Ute Agency had been forced to bring them back to Colorado. They refused to return to the Los Pinos agency, however, and established a camp on the western end of the old Southern Ute Reservation. The western end of the reservation was retained as land-in-common for Ignacio and his band while those areas of the eastern end not taken by the allotments were opened for Anglo settlement. A sub-agency was opened for the Weeminuche at Navajo Springs in 1897. This was the beginning of the separation of the three bands of the Southern Utes into two groups, the Mouache and Capote bands located on the eastern portion of the former reservation and the Weeminuche band located

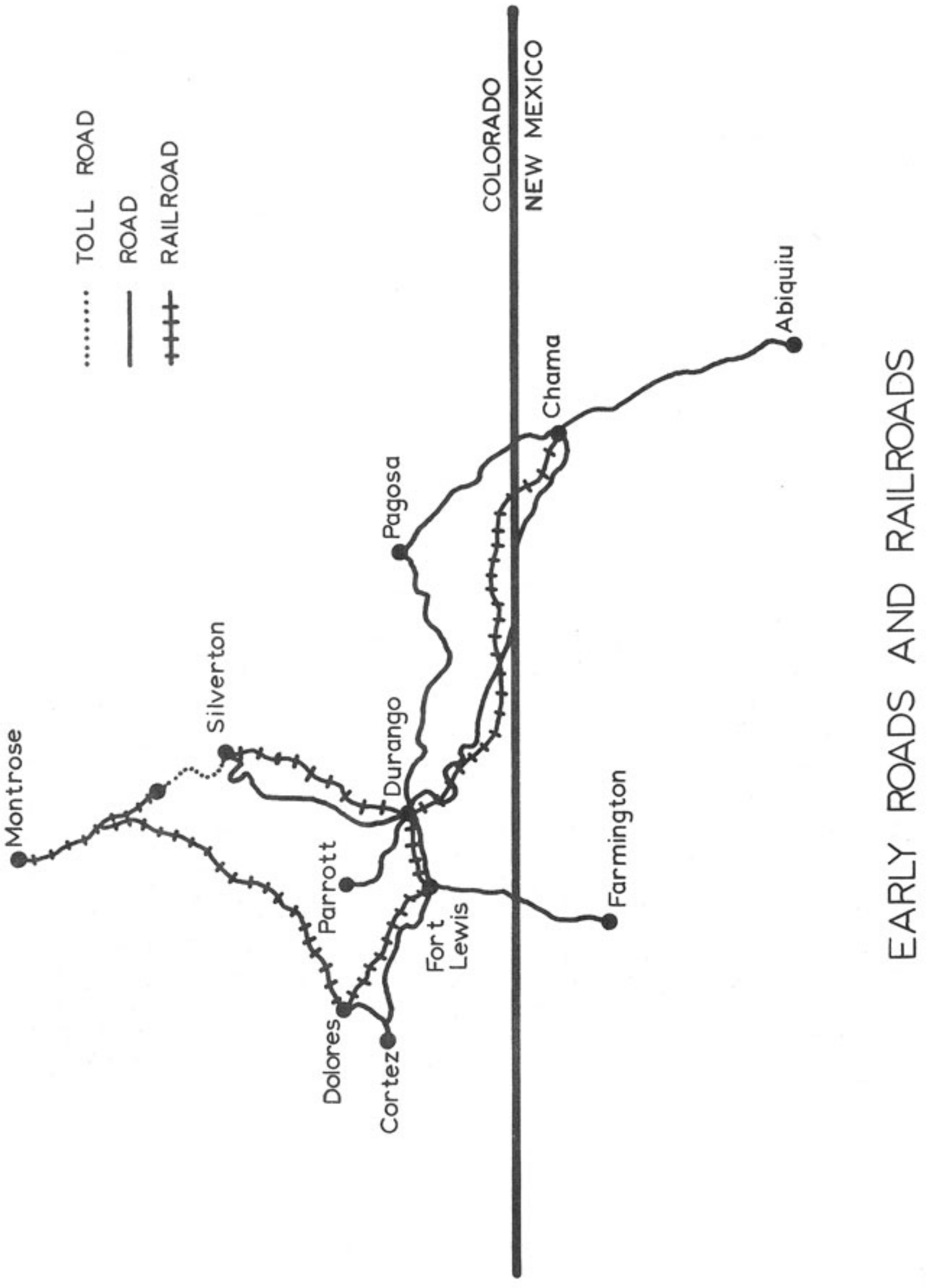
[9] Ibid., p. 116.
[10] Ibid., p. 123.

on the western end of the reservation. After the turn of the century the two sections became known as the Ute Mountain Reservation, the home of the Weeminuche band, and the Southern Ute Reservation, the home of the Mouache and Capote bands.

Once the allotments were given to the Capotes and the Mouaches and the reservation established for the Weeminuches, the remaining lands, 523,079 acres, of the old reservation were ready for Anglo settlement. On May 4, 1899, President William McKinley signed the proclamation and the reservation was opened.[11] This act marked the end of another era in Southern Ute history.

Utes at the Denver Exposition of 1882–83. Smithsonian Institution.

[11] Ibid., p. 126.



Economy

During the 17th Century, the Utes acquired the horse. Because the horse allowed the Utes to gather in larger bands, their economic, social, and political structure changed. Before, each family group had spent most of the year alone, hunting and gathering food. With the horse, the Utes could hunt buffalo on a large scale, ranging far into the plains and transporting the animals back to central camps, where not only the meat but the hides, the sinews, and even the bones were used. The horse also allowed the Utes to increase their trade with other Indian groups. By 1670 horses themselves were a major trade item with the Shoshonean tribes to the northwest. The Utes had traded before with the Pueblo tribes to the south, but this trade in buckskins, buffalo hides and surplus food increased as transportation became easier. The Utes also captured Indians of other tribes in raids and sold them to the Spanish.

For two hundred years, the Utes hunted and traded with little interference from the Spanish. But in 1848, their lands were transferred to the United States, and in 1859, gold was discovered in Colorado. Thousands of settlers rushed westward. Everyone wanted to get rich, but upon arrival in Colorado, most found nothing. Although many settlers went back to where they came from, enough stayed and tried to start farms that the Utes were put on a reduced land base with fixed boundaries.

For twenty years the Utes' lands were gradually reduced and hunting became harder as more of the old hunting grounds were put off limits to the Utes or settled and farmed by the encroaching whites. The Utes became poorer and poorer. Seeing this, the government started to give them food and supplies at Abiquiu, Tierra Amarilla, Taos, and Cimarron before each winter season and in the spring. During the other seasons, the Indians were expected to shift for themselves. The Utes came to depend heavily on these "presents" from Washington because they could not support themselves on the reduced land base. This state, however, satisfied no one, so the whites began a second major change in the economy of the Utes.

The Utes were gathering and hunting their food when the white man first saw them, so in the eyes of the white man, they were primitive savages and uncivilized. The white man saw himself freeing these

unfortunate Utes from their primitive life and civilizing them by teaching them to cultivate crops.

The Utes, however, did not jump at the opportunity to stop hunting and start farming. There was great resistance, primarily because they felt that nature should not be disturbed by plowing up the ground. This resistance was widespread among the Utes' neighbors as well. When the United States Government sent an Indian Bureau official to persuade the Shoshones to farm, the Shoshone chief Washakie said, "God damn a potato." The Utes seemed to realize that the change to farming would mean a change in their whole way of life.

Before 1879, the Utes had made a few changes in their economy. They herded on a small scale; the Government had encouraged sheep raising and some of the Utes had taken on this new job. Some of the women had small gardens, but hunting was still the basis of their economy. Men hunted as they had for centuries, some of the bands even going back to their old hunting grounds for buffalo after they had been placed on reservations. The women still tanned hides and made clothes for their families. Food gathering had decreased after the Utes got horses because hunting was easier, and it decreased still more after the first treaties because the United States Government sent annuity goods to the Utes.

There was a real conflict between the two cultures. The Utes wanted to continue hunting, trading, and raising horses; the Whites wanted them to settle down and support themselves by farming. This conflict was at the bottom of the Meeker incident in 1879. Nathan Meeker, the Indian agent at White River, was a man who sincerely tried to make the Indians come into the white man's culture and cultivate the land; Meeker thought growing crops was best for everyone. He also tried to make the Utes sell most of their horses, since he thought it was foolish to let horses eat good grass when cows would provide milk and meat.

The culmination of a long series of misunderstandings between friendly Utes and their equally well-meaning agent was the massacre of Meeker and others by the Utes. Meeker couldn't cross the barrier of different cultures to convince the Utes that they should start farming and his failure to communicate his intentions led to tragedy both for himself and his charges.

The Southern Utes adapted to agriculture more easily than the Northern Utes, perhaps because they had more contact with the

Pueblo tribes. By the time of the Meeker Massacre, the Southern Utes were already beginning to grow crops, and not long after, hunting as the main source of food was replaced by herding and farming. Ouray, the great leader of the Utes in the 1870's, had foreseen this and had devised long range plans to bring about this transition. First, he would secure one reservation for the Colorado Ute bands and then modify the hunting ecenomy to fit the growing market for tanned buckskin. Then the Utes would cease roaming and augment their reduced hunting income in their restricted territory by stock raising.

An Act of Congress of May 27, 1902, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to permit a right-of-way through allotted lands of the Reservation for irrigation ditches, provided the Southern Utes consented, and to expend funds of the Southern Utes for irrigation of 10,000 acres on the western part of the Reservation, up to $150,000 for the purchase of perpetual water rights and fifty cents a year per foot for maintenance of water.

The Utes, according to the treaty of 1880, were to receive *per capita* payments from that date on and the tribe was allowed the use of $25,000 per year for its benefits. The total *per capita* distribution as of 1880 was $50,000 per year. Additional payments from previous treaties meant a large sum of money for the Ute Indians.

By 1910 approximately one hundred heads of families, half of the able-bodied men, were doing some farming and cultivating either on their own allotments or on tribal land in the reservation. Approximately 6,500 acres were cultivated, and the principal crops were alfalfa and oats. Perhaps one hundred Indians were raising cattle and some sheep, either exclusively or in conjunction with farming. Many Utes owned large numbers of horses, although these were of little value except to themselves.

The Ute Indians are now in a fight to save their water rights from encroaching whites who took their lands. It has been a never-ending fight to preserve what belongs to the Ute Indians. The Utes are unrelenting in their efforts to protect their lands and people from the encroachments of other people.

The present economy of the Southern Ute tribe is based on grazing of livestock, sale of natural gas, tourism, farming, local employment from governmental sources, and a few jobs in industry and commerce. A newly opened tourist complex will provide many new jobs.

Government

About 1600 the Ute Tribe was a loose confederation of seven bands. The Southern Utes made up three of the bands: the Mouache, Capote, and the Weeminuche bands. The Ute bands were broken up into small family units, usually just five or six people, for most of the year, so that they could gather food. The older relatives, usually some members of the grandparents' generation, were in control of each household.

In the winter, around twenty families came together in winter camps. Camp leaders, or chiefs as they were sometimes called, directed such communal enterprises as camp movements, defense against enemy raids, war parties, and dances. The family units were still in control of things pertaining to the individual.

Each band in this loose confederation had its own chief and council. The council, the distinguished elderly men of the various families of the band, advised the chief on all important matters. The chief, who retained his position for life and frequently chose his successor, usually won his place by his exceptional ability. He had to be kind, brave, wise, and liberal. A chief with ability and a powerful personality asserted great control over the people.

The unity of the band broke down whenever no man could gain control as chief. Then any man who could get a following of more than his family assumed the title of chief, and the authority was so divided that the council ceased to function. Ute governmental units were, then, the family, the winter camp, and the band; each operated during different seasons of the year.

The economic changes brought about by the horse created changes in the government. Since the Utes could range farther on their buffalo hunts, they were more likely to encroach on the territory of hostile tribes; thus skills of warfare became as important as the skills of hunting. The band leader who led the hunts became a military leader as well.

So, during the 16th century, seven bands of the Utes went through a period of transformation and consolidation made possible by the horse. From small family groups dominated by the older and more experienced relative in each camp, the Utes were consolidated into larger bands under the control of powerful war leaders. A new coop-

erative group emerged, led but not completely controlled by the younger men of the tribe who were eager for war and glory. The family units still settled individual affairs, such as most crimes, and could control the whole band.

During the 1700's the expanding Ute tribe fought many successful wars against their enemies, including the Navajo and Crow. This century marked the zenith of Ute strength and glory. The leadership of the bands fluctuated between the older men of the council and the young men who exercised leadership during times of war. The man who had a fairly large following assumed the title of chief, but kept it only as long as he proved himself capable of leading those who chose to follow him, and as long as he fulfilled their needs. When the people stopped following him, he could no longer claim to be a leader. As the chiefs assumed the leadership of the bands, there was continual opposition to any measure brought up. Unanimity was almost impossible on any issue.

This factionalism within the tribe was intensified after 1848. One reason for this was that the U.S. Government had appointed Ouray as chief of the Utes and some of the people did not like this. Ouray was a great leader in spite of the early opposition to him and he did much to keep the Southern Utes from useless fights with the encroaching whites.

Ouray, perhaps one of the greatest chiefs of the Uncompahgre band of Utes, was born in Taos, New Mexico, in 1833. His mother was a member of the Uncompahgre band and his father, Guera Murah, was half Jicarilla Apache. While a youngster near the Taos pueblo, he learned to speak both Spanish and English, but preferred Spanish as it was dominant in that area. Only later did he learn Ute and Apache.

At the age of eighteen he gave up his work as a sheep herder and came into western Colorado to become a full-fledged member of the Tabeguache band of Utes in which his father, in spite of his Apache blood, had become a leader. From then until 1860 he lived like all Utes, hunting, fighting the Plains Indians, and visiting with other Ute bands.

While still a young man Ouray married a Tabeguache maiden, Black Mare, and a son Queashegut, was born to them. When the boy was five years old, he was kidnapped by the Arapaho near Fort Lupton. Ouray had gone on a buffalo hunt north of Denver when the

Arapaho raiding party attacked the Ute camp on the banks of the Platte River. Ten years later a federal negotiator, Felix Brunot, helped with the search, hoping that if he found the boy Ouray would help to obtain his people's consent to give up their lands in the San Juan Mountains. The boy was found with the Arapaho and taken to Washington D.C., but refused to admit that he could possibly be Ouray's son.

In 1859, after his first wife's death, Ouray married another Tabeguache girl named Chipeta. She was sixteen and Ouray was twenty-six at the time of their marriage.

Ouray's relationship with the United States government began with the treaty made by the Tabeguache band at Conejos, Colorado, October 7, 1863, to which his name is signed "U-ray or Arrow." During the negotiations Ouray translated the speeches of his people into Spanish which the government interpreter changed into English. He also signed the treaty of Washington, March 2, 1868, by the name "Ure." A later amendment dated August 15, 1868, carried the name "Ouray." The treaty he negotiated gave the Utes 16 million acres of land, mostly in western Colorado. Before the treaty could be implemented, large new deposits of gold were found in the San Juan Mountains.

Ouray accomplished his objectives primarily through patience, diplomacy, and the strength of his personality rather than by any power that he had as head chief of the Utes. Many of the Ute chiefs were jealous of Ouray's position, especially the Northern Utes who believed that the federal government should have chosen one of them as spokesman of the Ute nation. It took them a long time to accept Ouray.

Even in his own band there was some resentment. Once in 1872, at the Los Pinos Agency, five sub-chiefs of the Tabeguache band tried to kill Ouray. The one chosen as leader of the group was Sapawanero, a brother of Chipeta and the man who usually took charge of the Tabeguache band when Ouray was gone. The would-be assassins hid in the agency's blacksmith shop as Ouray led his horse across the plaza to get it shod. As Ouray tied his horse to the hitching post, George Hardman, the blacksmith, gave him a warning wink.

Ouray was put on his guard just in time, for seconds later Sapawanero ran out of the shop brandishing an ax. Ouray jumped behind the post as Sapawanero swung the ax at him, the blow missing the

Ute women. Chipeta, wife of Ouray, and a leader in her own right, is third from the left. Smithsonian Institution.

great chief's head only by inches. Ouray kept the post between him and his assailant, and when Sapawanero struck again, the ax handle hit the post and broke.

Without his weapon Sapawanero was no match for his powerful brother-in-law. Ouray threw him down into an irrigation ditch that ran past the blacksmith shop. Grasping Sapawanero's throat, Ouray reached for his knife, but Chipeta, who happened to be nearby, pulled the knife from its scabbard just as her husband grabbed for it, thereby saving her brother's life. Seeing how Sapawanero fared, his accomplices in the blacksmith shop took to their heels.

In spite of this altercation in front of the blacksmith shop, Sapawanero was usually very loyal to Ouray. Whenever Ouray was away from the Agency for any length of time, he left Sapawanero in charge. Besides visiting the other Ute bands, Ouray and Chipeta once a year packed their camping outfits and hunted in the mountains for a few days. Sapawanero always knew where he could find them, but he never disturbed them on these trips except in emergencies.

Ouray's quick action and firm stand prevented the spread of the Ute outbreak in September, 1879, in which Agent Nathan C. Meeker and other employees on the White River were killed. For his efforts to maintain peace at this time he was granted an annuity of $1,000 as long as he remained chief of the Utes. Never until the time of Ouray had the Utes enjoyed as much unity.

Ouray is noted mainly for his unwavering friendship for the whites with whom he always kept faith and whose interests he protected even on trying occasions. When he visited Washington, D.C., in 1880, President Hayes called him "the most intellectual man I have ever conversed with." He was about five feet seven inches tall, and as he grew older he became quite portly. His manner was refined and polished, his face stern and dignified in repose but lighting up pleasantly when he talked. He ordinarily wore the white man's broadcloth and boots, but he never cut off his long hair which he wore in two braids that hung on his chest in the Ute fashion.

Ouray lived until August 24, 1880, and was considered an eminently great leader. He directed his powers and energies to the task of solving the many problems arising from the coming of the white men. Illness overcame him on a visit to the Southern Utes and he died on the west bank of the Pine River near the present agency. He was secretly buried in the rocks about two miles south of the town of Igna-

cio. Forty-five years later, most of his bones were recovered and reinterred in the cemetery southeast of the agency and the grave appropriately marked.

Four old Utes who had helped in the original burial supervised the removal and acted as pall bearers at the second ceremony. These were Buckskin Charlie, Joseph Price, John McCook, and Naneese. The ceremony lasted for four days while the Indians performed many of their sacred ceremonies. It was concluded by a Christian service. This reburial of the Utes' most celebrated chieftain was attended by the largest group of whites and Indians ever assembled on the Southern Ute Reservation.

The authenticity of Ouray's remains was established in affidavits by Buckskin Charlie, Joseph Price, John McCook, and Naneese. They were among the six men and one woman who had buried Ouray forty-five years before.

During Ouray's leadership, the Utes underwent many important changes. Under the treaty of 1868 the first agency for the Northern Utes was set up at White River. Because Utes were restricted to the boundaries set up by the treaty and could not range as far for hunting as they had before, the government supplied rations to be issued to the people. After so many years of freedom, the Utes found it hard to have to ask for food and clothing.

During the first years after trouble had ceased, the medicine men were again very influential, partly because many people were afraid of them. The Utes continued to believe in the idea of good and bad medicine; they considered medicine men witches or crazy people and believed that they caused sickness.

The chieftainship had tended to become hereditary. Sons of men who had led horse bands took over their father's position at his death. However, the authority of the chief had deteriorated to the point that he was simply the spokesman for his tribe at the call of the agents.

Agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs came and went. Most of them knew nothing about Indians or Indian life, and therefore could not reach an understanding with the Utes. Sometimes an agent was able and sympathetic, but more often the agents were dishonest or incompetent. Sometimes, though honest, they knew nothing about Indian character and tried to make him abandon the nomadic life he had known and turn himself into something else.

Early in the 20th century, the Utes still had a general feeling of hostility toward white people, but by this time they had also learned about the cash economy of white society and they sometimes made good use of this knowledge.

During this difficult period following Ouray's death in 1880, Buckskin Charlie was chief of the Southern Utes. He was named Chief at Ouray's request and there was not a single dissenting voice to protest the appointment. Charlie had been a sub-chief under Ouray, and had learned much about governing from him. Charlie had even accompanied Ouray to Washington in 1880, and in 1905, with a band of 350 Utes, had marched in the inaugural parade of Theodore Roosevelt.

But Buckskin Charlie was most important in the ways he helped his people through the difficult adjustment to life on the reservation. He was trusted and liked by the whites, and thus his advice was listened to with respect. But Charlie did not try to make the Utes become like white men. He insisted that all tribal festivals and ceremonies be carried out in the traditional ways, and encouraged the tribal crafts and customs. He spoke good English, but preferred his own Ute tongue, and he only wore white's clothes when he went to visit the white men. In things like farming, which were new to the Utes, Buckskin Charlie was open to new methods and new suggestions. He always tried to keep peace and protect the interests of the Utes, and he usually succeeded.

Chief Buckskin Charlie died on May 8, 1936, and was succeeded by his son, Antonio Buck, Sr., but he was the last hereditary chief of the Utes. Later the same year, under the provisions of the Wheeler-Howard Act, the Southern Ute tribe adopted a Constitution and By-laws which provided for a chairman and a council of six to conduct the business of the tribe. As hereditary chief, Antonio Buck, Sr. became the first elected chairman of the tribe.

Chief Antonio Buck, Sr., died February 6, 1961, and was buried at Ignacio, Colorado, on Saturday, February 11, 1961. The funeral was held in the Presbyterian Church, followed by a graveside service in Ouray Memorial Cemetery and concluded with a feast in the agency recreation hall where tribesmen and other friends spoke in tribute to his leadership.

He was wearing his beaded buckskin shirt, with a carved stem redstone pipe and a fringed and beaded pipe-and-tobacco pouch in his hands. An ocher stripe was painted on his face from his hairline

Buckskin Charlie with members of his band. The man in the center is wearing a Benjamin Harrison peace medal. Designed in 1890, it was the last one to be specifically produced for Indians. Smithsonian Institution.

down across one closed eye to his chin. This was the Indian way of burying their chief.

His daughter, Miss Frances Buck, requested the executive director of the State Historical Society to attend the funeral and accept Tony Buck's eagle feather warbonnet and rawhide drum as gifts to the Historical Society's Museum at Montrose, Colorado. Many of these articles have been returned to the Southern Ute Museum at headquarters of the Southern Ute Tribe in Ignacio, Colorado.

The 1950's were an important era for the Southern Utes as they had the opportunity to reclaim lands or money for lands lost through treaties. Samuel Burch was the chairman at this time and with the help of his vice-chairman, John E. Baker, Sr., started to write a program to unite the three Ute bands. With Wilkinson, Cragan and Barker as their lawyers, the Northern, Southern and Ute Mountain Utes converged on Washington, D.C., to fight a legal battle with the Court of Claims. When the final decision was made, the Utes were awarded 32 million dollars to be divided among the three bands.

The Southern Utes along with the other bands had to write a program for use of the monies awarded them. In the case of the Southern Utes, Samuel Burch, John E. Baker, Sr., and their staff, started to write the "Rehabilitation Plan" which Southern Utes are still following with a few modifications.

With the death of Chairman Burch, the Southern Utes were looking for leadership. The Tribe elected John E. Baker, Sr., to head the program and the council elected him to the chairmanship.

The program became the envy of many Indian tribes throughout the country and many of its projects were copied by other tribes, universities, and the Federal Government. In the early 1950's, the Utes had such programs as Headstart, teacher aides, youth camps, land use plan, zoning, and many other programs that are being used nationwide now.

Today the Southern Utes persist in their intentions of making their lands and their people economically and socially successful. Following the wise leadership of its early chief, the present Tribal Council is demonstrating vision and realism in planning and expediting a modern and sophisticated program of economic and social improvement. The tribe's money, its natural resources, and its people are committed to a full, responsible, and effective participation in the affairs of the local tri-ethnic community, the state of Colorado, and the nation.

The Southern Ute Tribe is proud of its accomplishments, determined in its purpose, and deeply aware of its responsibilities to its members, to its neighbors, and to the whole nation. This constitutes the pledge and commitment of the modern Southern Ute Tribe.

Intertribal Relations

About 1640 the Utes were traditionally at war with the Navajo tribe to the south and the Great Plains tribes to the east. The enmity among these tribes was basically due to their location. During the summer the heat forced the Plains tribes to retreat to the foothills of the Rockies, which was an ideal location for hunting and camping, so year after year the Utes had to fight for its possession. As the Utes joined forces against the Plains tribes trespassing on their land, a dislike was established which prevented any peaceful relationships between these tribes. The Utes would not allow the Plains Indians to trespass, and the Plains tribes attacked them outside of their territory, especially on the eastern plains.

The combined forces of Ute bands traveled on foot in 1600 when they went eastward into the plains to hunt buffalo. A large group was necessary for protection against enemies, and for greater safety the men, carrying large shields of hide, walked on either side of the women and children.

Differences of opinion among the leaders of the Ute bands led to conflicts within the tribe itself, but such differences seemed to be of little importance since bands usually were ready to unite against the enemy.

The Utes were a warlike people in the sense that they fought continually for their territorial land. Even the women sometimes played an important part in the warfare. They kept the camp equipment ready for a fast withdrawal during enemy raids. In home territory fights, some of the older women armed themselves, wore headdresses, and followed the men into battle. They scalped and took clothing and other loot from the bodies of the fallen enemy. After this they could then take part in the scalp dance to celebrate the victory. But not all the Utes' fighting was in full scale battles. They sometimes raided and then made a quick retreat to avoid involvement in a large war and thereby the risk of losing their loot and endangering their lives. These raids were usually against camps of the Plains tribes during the Ute buffalo hunts.

The relationships with the Shoshone, Bannock, Paiute and Jicarilla Apache were usually peaceful because the Utes had intermarried

with these tribes. The Ute language is closely related to Shoshone and Paiute; these three are of the same Uto-Aztecan linguistic stock.

From 1600 to 1879, Ute intertribal relations became a complex problem, especially after direct contact with white men. Before this, the Indian tribes and bands usually dealt with each other according to traditional relationships; they knew who were their traditional enemies and who were their friends. But the white man became a third party and was hard to define as clearly friend or enemy. To the Utes, the white man was unpredictable. He extended friendship or he did not, or he opened fire on them. He came in large or small groups, or he traveled alone. He was Spanish, French, or American and he had many interests such as hunting, trapping, or exploring. In any event, the Utes most likely judged him by his relationships with the surrounding tribes and with the Utes themselves. When the white man extended gifts and friendship to an enemy tribe and was accepted by them, he would be considered an enemy too. A white man who tried to be friends with both the Utes and an enemy tribe could not always be trusted. When he fought the enemy of the Utes, the Utes could easily accept him as a friend or even adopt him into the tribe.

During the period of early European exploration, Ute intertribal relationships were affected very little by the coming of the Spanish and later the French. The Utes still fought Plains tribes, and provided a kind of guardianship over the Jicarilla Apaches, a relationship which was considered unjust by the Jicarillas.

Between 1707–1746, the Utes and Comanches, united under a rather weak alliance, first attacked the Jicarilla Apache, then turned on each other to wage a war of extermination, the Comanche-Ute War, which continued through the rest of the eighteenth century. The Utes, who had entered into treaties with the Spanish as early as the 1670's, and had become their allies, joined the Spanish in 1779 to fight the Comanches. During the war the Utes served as guides for Spanish punitive expeditions and paid in territory for their Spanish protection. The conclusion of this war came when:

> The execution of the royal policy in New Mexico was placed in the hands of Governor Juan Bautista de Anza, who successfully established in 1786 a peace with the Utes, Navajo, and Comanches, and used these Indians, now reconciled with one aother, against the Apaches.

As traders, at first Spanish, then Mexican, French, and American, began coming into their lands around 1770, the Utes found a new way

to acquire material possessions. Their interest in these whites was limited to what they could get from them, especially weapons such as knives and guns to fight their enemies.

During this time, the Utes must have been very confused by the situations the white man created in his dealings with the tribe, its enemies, and its friends. These white men were individual trappers, lone traders, and strong-hearted, bold explorers. Many of them lived among the different tribes, married Indian women and a few were even strong enough to become chief of a tribe. James P. Beckwourth became chief among the Crows and led war expeditions against their enemies, one of whom was the Ute tribe. William Bent married a daughter of a Cheyenne chief and became popular among the Cheyenne, but must have been very unpopular among the Utes for helping these enemies. "Uncle Bill" Williams was a good Ute friend who had lived among them, but he was killed by a Ute war party who did not recognize him until he was dead. "Uncle Dick" Wooten made a treaty with the Utes and obtained passage through their country in exchange for tobacco and sugar.

The first major effect of contact with whites on the intertribal relations of the Utes was the introduction of the horse, which came indirectly from the white man. Many tribes quickly saw the advantage which these animals would give them in hunting and in war. With horses, many, many tribes moved out into the Great Plains, developing new ways of life based on buffalo hunting. These Plains tribes soon were among the main friends and enemies of the mountain-dwelling Utes. As early as 1630, the Southern Utes were classified as horse-Indians; it is believed that these animals were stolen from the Spanish in the Southwest by the Ute, Comanche, Apache, Kiowa, and Caddo tribes. The Western Utes, cut off from the rest by the natural boundary of the Colorado Plateau, did not obtain horses until 1776.

As Utes acquired large herds of horses, a higher level of subsistence became possible through increased exploitation of buffalo herds; this, in turn, appears to have helped the rapid development of mounted bands organized around hunting.

The coming of the horse intensified the peaceful or hostile relationships of the Utes with the neighboring tribes. Soon the buffalo became extinct in the Ute range, and the Ute hunting bands traveled farther east into the Great Plains, the land of the Plains tribes; so because of the horse, the frequency of wars with these tribes increased.

The horse became a source of power; the more horses a man had, the more influence he had. Stealing horses from other tribes was not disgraceful but honorable and daring. In turn, other tribes stole Ute horses. The Ute attitude toward warfare was similar to their attitude toward horse stealing; they would rather make hit-and-run raids for horses, food, and other loot than fight full scale battles. But when they were obliged to fight in their own defense, they were a formidable enemy. Colonel R. I. Dodge called them "the Switzers of America" because, like the Swiss, they fought mainly in defense and were unbeatable in their own land. Colonel Dodge continued:

> Though the whole force of the mountain bands [the Utes] numbers but little over 400 men, all the powerful plains tribes, though holding them in contempt on the plains, have an absolute terror of them in the mountains.

As white settlers progressed westward across the plains fighting and forcing the Plains tribes to move, the Utes soon acquired a liking for the "palefaces." They could see that these whites had as much trouble as they did with the Plains Indians, and that not only were these people fighting, but they were actually getting rid of these enemies. For this reason, they willingly joined and helped the white forces. It was also nice to be on good terms with the "palefaces" who gave them many gifts of food, clothes, and weapons. Usually by offering gifts the whites could establish confidence among the Utes.

While the Utes were still fighting their neighboring enemies, they paid little attention to the settlers who began to move into their mountains, even up to the Pike's Peak gold rush. The Utes fought this last large battle against the combined forces of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux in 1859, although other small battles occurred after this date.

As of this time the Utes were described as:

> . . . the proud, good-humored people who lived deep in the Rocky Mountains. They came to Denver to watch in amusement the frantic scrambling of the white man, to trade a little at the stores and taste lightly of the strange and intriguing new civilization, and to gather in the presents that were often there for them from Washington.

The Utes had become a friendly people who had no interest in the white man except his gifts, so they lived apart from him in the Ute country, in their Shining Mountains.

As the American settlers increased, the United States government took control over the relations of the Utes with other tribes and with the white man. At this point, Ute intertribal relations were largely replaced by the single relationship with the United States. In 1868, all the Ute bands were nominally united and a treaty was signed with the Federal Government which established the first boundaries of the Ute reservation. The tribe usually stayed within these boundaries but often left to hunt in the plains and some of the bands occasionally raided the white settlers. Whenever the tribe wandered or acted in a way the settlers did not understand, statements such as the following were issued to reassure the whites as to the position and intent of the Indians:

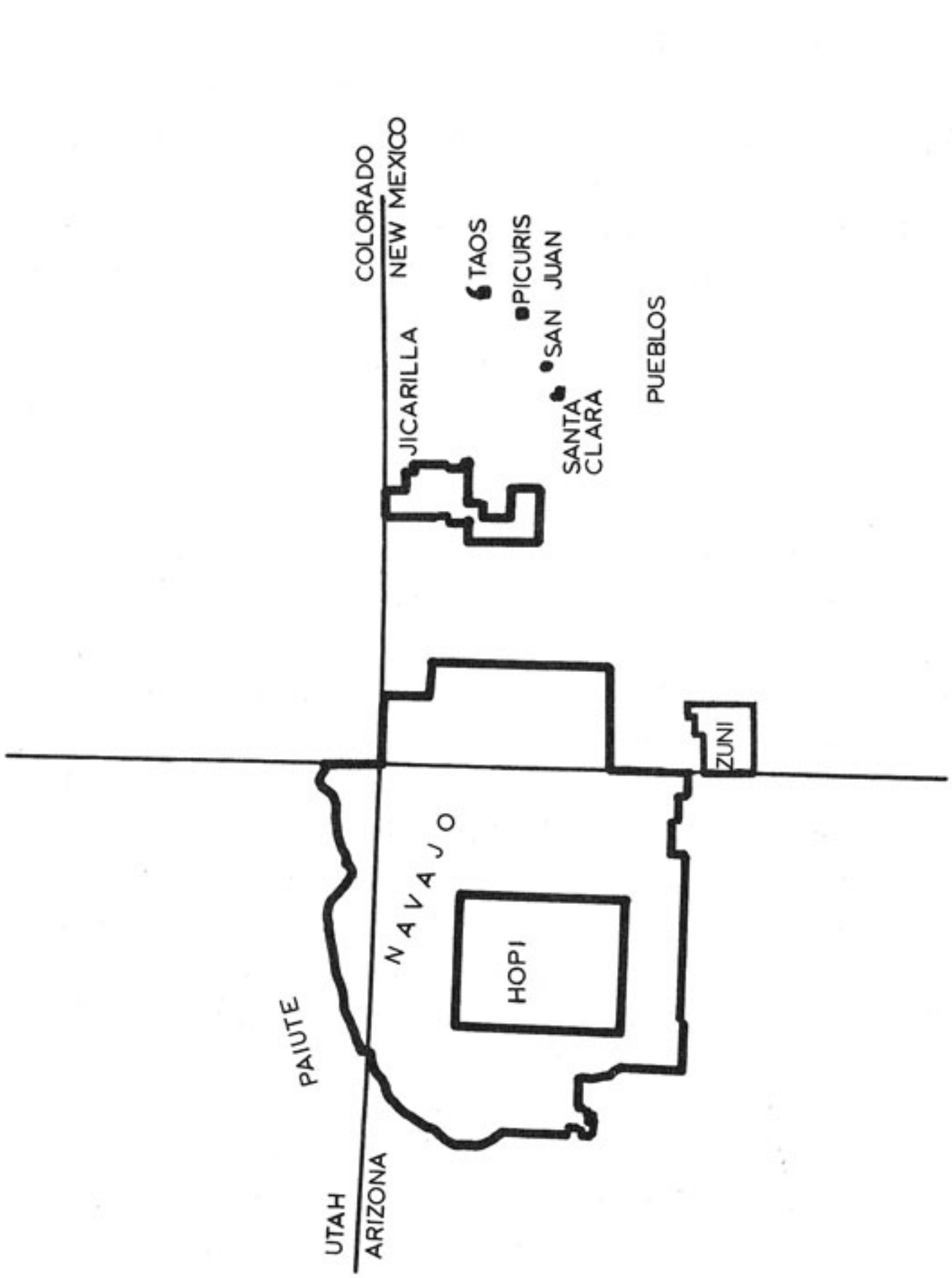
> Tabbywatts, Piemps, and Yampa Utes, from White River country, the Uinta Utes, Snakes, Bannocks, and other northern tribes of Indians were assembling in the Bannock country, fifty miles east of Bear Lake Valley, to perform their traditional religious rites. They meant peace, and when through with their rites would disperse.

By 1873 the Utes were friendly Indians no longer; they resented the white man forcing them from their land. They became restless; but under the leadership of Chief Ouray, a new treaty was made with the Federal Government and three Ute agencies were established: White River, Gunnison, and Uncompahgre. During the time of the Meeker Massacre in 1879, some of the Northern Utes from White River made an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Utes at Uncompahgre to join in a general war against the whites. This was the last known attempt of the bands to unite for war.

:HEYENNE

COMANCHE

NEIGHBORING TRIBES



Religion

Around the lodge fires in ancient times the young Utes learned from the older people that there was one supreme being, a good personal God. Under him were other beings, including a spirit of war, a spirit of peace, a spirit of floods, a spirit of thunder and lightning, and a spirit of blood who heals the sick. The Utes were pagan in the sense that they did not believe in the white man's God, although they had a supreme God who was similar to the God of the Christians.

The supreme God of the Utes was associated with the sun. The sun was a bisexual diety, the He-She, whose power created all things. All the minor gods represented the power of the Great Spirit in one combination on earth, but they were still subordinate to the Great Spirit of the sun. Through these minor gods, the Utes believed, the Great Spirit expressed his love for all the Indians. When an Indian died, it was believed that he went to the Happy Hunting Ground in the sun where there was no sickness or any other miseries of life. In this place he led an ideal life filled with hunting, feasting, dancing, and merrymaking.

The Utes held a general animistic belief in spirit personalities belonging to both men and animals. There were a number of animal gods, chief among them being the coyote. Many legends of the feats of these creatures were retold, and the Utes made every effort to win the favor of these gods because they could cause illness. Thus the medicine man, or shaman, ministered to the sick by drawing out the spirit cause of illness.

Until reservation days, the individualistic religion seems to have changed very little. The Utes were nature worshippers who accepted and were satisfied with what nature gave. But as the white man moved into Ute lands, whittling them away bit by bit, the Ute way of life was restricted and the ceremonials were gradually reduced.

When the Sun Dance reached the Utes from the Shoshone around 1890, it was quickly adopted because the Utes already believed that the power to cure came from the sun and that spirits sent visions to worthy men telling them to dance. The Sun Dance was held once a year as a curing ceremonial, and the young men danced to gain power to cure through being cured themselves. Although the dance was directed by an appointed shaman, each dancer decided whether to

participate on the basis of a vision telling him to dance. In spite of the Christian elements, which may derive from the proselytizing of the Wood River Shoshone around 1890 or later from the influence of the Native American Church, the Sun Dance easily seemed a continuation of earlier ceremonials.

Today the Sun Dance has become a binding factor among all the Utes who have remained culturally Indian. Those who tend toward the white man's culture do not participate. It is the symbol of the native culture which has practically disappeared and all of the frustrations inherent in acculturation are shown through it. Like most revivals, the Sun Dance is an attempt to recapture a culture through a supernatural medium after realistic direct methods of retaining that culture have failed.

Like the Sun Dance, the peyote cult was introduced to the Utes around 1890. Organized as the Native American Church, it is a pan-Indian, semi-Christian movement. The purpose of the ritual peyote meetings is to cure individual illness through the power of peyote and prayer. Just how the Native American Church reached the Utes is uncertain, but it corresponds to the Plains prototypes. The ideology fits the Christian-like pattern observed by Kroeber among the Arapaho. Opler reported that among the Northern Utes "Jesus" and "Jesus Save Me" occurred in several songs; prayers were addressed to Jesus, God, and Mary, and "peyote," "brotherly love," "chastity," "love," and "faith" were English words in Ute prayers. All mankind were included in their prayers, but local members, especially the sick, were particularly blessed.

Although the members of the peyote cult rarely participated in the Sun Dance, peyotism has also become a rallying point for Utes trying to preserve their culture. Peyotism is practiced mainly by full-bloods, and is generally believed to be a principal mechanism for fighting disease on the reservation.

The modern day Utes have changed as the missionaries have come and worked among them. The largest faith is Catholic and the Protestants are next. Many of the Utes still believe in the old way of Indian religion. It was told that the Utes' religion will continue but will be held in trust to those that have been chosen to continue it. The Utes believe that Indian religion is sacred to them and should not be given out. They will tell you only what they want you to know and this feeling should be honored by all.

Ute Recreation

All the people in the world, no matter what their mode of existence may be, have activities which are for the enjoyment of the group. Such was the case of the Ute Indians of North America before they came into contact with the white man.

The problem which hangs like a shadow over any attempt to speak of Ute recreation during this period is the fact that the only source of information is the older generation of the Ute people.

Ute recreational activities included games, dances, songs, and stories. The number of these recreational activities of the Utes is so great that to discuss all of them would make this book too lengthy. Therefore only a few from each category will be discussed.

The games played by the Utes varied from games of chance to athletic games in which whole bands participated. Most of the games, even the athletic games, were accompanied by betting.

A game of skill which both men and women played was ball juggling in which the object was to throw two or more balls into the air at the same time and juggle them like a present-day circus clown. There is no indication that this pastime was borrowed from the whites or that any wagering was done in connection with this game. The balls were one and one-half inches in diameter.

The hoop and loop game was played by persons who could throw spears or darts accurately; sometimes bows and arrows were used. A hoop was rolled on the ground in front of the participant and he would attempt to shoot his dart or spear through the loop. This was a wagering game and was played primarily by men.

The game which was probably the most popular was the hand game, in which high stakes were won and lost. A row of players sat facing each other on either side of a shelter. Before each player was a bundle of sticks six to eight inches long and pointed at one end. They were his wagering sticks. Two cylindrical bone dice approximately two inches in length and one-half inch in diameter were used; one was white and the other was either black or had a black band. All the players swayed to and fro to accompanying music and chants. One player on one side held a die in each hand, and placing one hand above the other, allowed the one in the top hand to pass through to his lower

hand which held the other die. Again and again he changed the dice from hand to hand, all the while shaking his hands up and down or putting them behind his back to mystify his opponent. His opponent hugged himself firmly, all the time closely watching the hands of the player with the dice. This would go on for a while, then the player who had been embracing himself raised one arm above his head and suddenly pointed at one hand of his opponent. If the hand he pointed at contained the dice, he took them and shuffled them in his hands as the other player had done. If, however, he had guessed wrong, the players on his side forfeited one counter and this was taken from the bundles and stuck in the ground. This game was played until one side had acquired all of the sticks.

Other Ute games included double ball, shinney, and ring and pin. Shinney is similar to the present-day game of lacrosse. The buckskin ball used in shinney was shaped by a drawstring and a thong wrapped around the outside. It was usually three and one-half inches in diameter and was called "pokunump." The shinney stick, called a "beher," was rudely whittled with a broad curved end and was approximately twenty-seven and one-half inches long. This game was played primarily by women.

The Utes adopted card games from the whites, and the Mexican game called "monte" became the favorite. Men and women alike, each playing in his own group, gambled at this game, for both sexes had the urge to gamble. Often after a few hours of monte, some unfortunate gambler was reduced to absolute beggary.

The Utes loved horse racing and indulged in it at every opportunity. Besides transportation, the main use of the horse to the Utes was racing, and every Indian who could afford horses kept some primarily for racing. To them any individual who did not have a horse to run in a race was a nobody.

The horse was also a sign of wealth and an individual's standing was measured precisely by horses he owned. It was estimated in 1874 that the Utes possessed some six thousand horses. Races were run on a straight track which was only a few hundred yards long. The owners rode their own animals and at a signal all started together with their arms outstretched or frantically plying a quirt of leather. They dug their heels into the horse's ribs and yelled loudly as they tried to cross the finish line first. Sometimes a horse would not stop at the end of the

track and there was a runaway. The rider did not seem to mind the laughter of the spectators. On these races the Utes gambled heavily and if an individual thought there was at least a chance of winning, he would bet his last possession, even his bed and board.

The Ute love for racing is further revealed in a report by the Indian agent to his superiors in the spring of 1879:

> Late in January a Ute named Johnson, always friendly with the agent, always wanting to be civilized and to have things, requested us to break a pair of horses for him, wanted a wagon, wanted a farm, and he must have a team to work. Accordingly the men spent a good deal of time in breaking the horses, . . . and of course we kept the horses on grain and hay, so that they would be in condition to work. Last week I discovered he was in the habit of racing these horses in the afternoon, and it was evident that his object had been to get them in good heart so that he could beat his brethren of the turf!

When issuing day rolled around, one of the main events of the day was a mimic buffalo hunt on horseback. The men took rifles and revolvers and gathered around the gates of the corrals where the beef cattle were to be slaughtered and the meat distributed. The cattle would be chased by youngsters and each longhorn was chased and shot by men on their horses. This was a great sport on issuing day and it typifies the Ute's love of fun and merriment.

Songs and Dances

The Utes greatly enjoyed singing and dancing. Their belief that animals had souls led them to imitate the actions of animals in the Bear Dance, the Dog Trot Dance, and the Turkey Dance. The Utes danced in their winter encampments, on their hunting and raiding parties, and any other time they felt like doing so. For the dances there were appropriate songs, but the Utes also had songs for serenading their neighbors, smoking their pipes, and welcoming guests. Although there were many traditional songs and dances, special ones were invented for special occasions, or simply to express the dancers' emotions.

The Utes were famous for their dances and taught them to many of the Plains Indians. Some Utes danced in the Buffalo Bill Wild West Shows in the early 1900's and most of the dances performed in the show were Ute dances even though dancers from many other tribes participated.

Most of the dances were given titles by the white men when they first saw them done and the names correspond to what they had seen. The Lame Dance, for instance, imitated a person walking or attempting to dance with a lame right leg. This dance was performed only by women and it was not unusual for one hundred to take part. Two parallel lines were formed not less than thirty feet apart, the women standing one behind another facing west. Four drummers sat facing the dancers with a line of singers directly behind them. The drummers and singers were usually men. The women danced toward the drummers and singers until they were close to them, then the leaders turned toward each other with the rest following behind. The leaders danced toward each other until they almost met, then they turned away from the drummers and singers to a point opposite that from which they started. The rest followed, forming a double line.

Another dance was the Tea Dance, which probably began as an imitation of the white man's custom of afternoon tea. The Utes liked to dance and sing, so instead of merely sitting down and having tea, they sang three songs. The first they danced to, the second and third they sang while passing around a pipe for everyone to smoke, then tea was served. When the dance was held outdoors, the participants danced around a fire. The men gave their bracelets and other ornaments to women who danced with them. There was no special time

set for the tea dance. It was performed, like other social dances, at any time when the people were in an encampment. Most likely it was held chiefly near the agencies on "issuing day" when the Indians came to draw their rations from the government.

When the Utes traveled on hunting or raiding parties, they sang songs and danced along the way. Sometimes a warrior would imitate a dog following a horse along the trail, and from this came the Dog Trot Dance. The Utes danced before going on a raiding party and when they returned. They had a victory song for when they won and a mourning song for when they lost.

But of all the Ute dances, the Bear Dance is probably the oldest and shows the characteristics of all the dances. The Bear Dance was a spring festival that preceded the separation of the families in search of food and game. Before the coming of the white man, small groups of Utes, probably numbering fifty to one hundred, took up winter camps in skin or brush tipis in the coniferous forests of the foothills along the southern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Early in the spring, probably about February, the winter camps joined together with others from their band and the dance was held. Doing "the bear's dance" secured its kindness toward human beings.

The Ute story of the origin of the Bear Dance tells of a man going to sleep and having a dream. This man dreamed that if he went to a certain place in the mountains he would see a bear. It was in the spring of the year when the snow was melting and the bears were just awakening from their winter hibernation. The Ute went to the spot he dreamed about and there he discovered a bear shuffling forward and backward in a dance. The bear taught the Indian how to do this dance and how to sing it. Then he told the Ute to return to his people and teach them to do the Bear Dance. So every spring, when the bears start emerging from their winter sleep, each of the seven bands of Utes dance the Bear Dance.

The dance was held in a large circular space enclosed by a barrier of upright poles, between which the branches of trees were woven horizontally. The walls were about nine feet high and the enclosure about 200 feet in diameter. The door faced east and on the west was an excavation about five feet long, two feet wide and two feet deep. Sheets of zinc were placed over this during the dances, and the singers sat around it, resting their moraches, long, curved, notched sticks, on

the zinc. This hollow cave was said to be connected with the bear, and the rasping sound produced by the morache was said to be like the sound made by the bear.

Dancers in their best finery assembled in the enclosure, the women on the south side and the men on the north. When the dance started, the women walked over to the men's group and selected their partners by waving or pointing toward whomever they wished to dance with. The men completely ignored the women and continued their conversation. After choosing their partners the women lined up in the middle of the lodge and joined hands.

As soon as the music and chanting began, the men walked up to the women who had chosen them and also grasped hands. The two lines, which faced each other, started moving forward and backward in time with the music. The dance step consisted of two bold steps forward and three mincing steps backward. As the men went forward, the women retreated and as the women advanced, the men retreated. Occasionally, the couples took hold of each other's arms and swayed their bodies for a few minutes. The Bear Dance usually lasted for three days and three nights.

Medicine and Cures

Like all people, the Utes had ways of curing both illness and wounds. Mothers needed to help their children when they were sick, and the leaders of war or hunting parties needed to know what to do when a man was wounded. Many of the medicines were made from plants which grew where the Utes lived. These cures have gradually been abandoned as white doctors have become more common, but many of them worked very well and are still sometimes used by the older people.

1. Spearmint leaves — these leaves were picked and brewed and used for an upset stomach. They were also picked fresh and wrapped in a cloth and applied directly on a swollen area. This was especially effective on bee stings.
2. Sugar — it was poured directly over large cuts, to help suppress the bleeding.
3. Grease (tallow which was melted, or any fat) — this was also used to suppress bleeding.
4. Flour — generally browned in a frying pan and when it was thoroughly browned, water was added and this was given to the patient to curb diarrhea.
5. Skunk grease — This is used on chapped skin areas, usually the hands and feet.
6. Urine — this was not human urine, but urine from a horse. It was used on raised pustules which broke and caused severe itching.
7. Potatoes — they were sliced and soaked in vinegar and tied to the forehead with a handerchief when a headache persisted.
8. Sagebrush — it was boiled, as a tea, and used with a little sugar and given to a person with a cold. It could also be rubbed between the hands into a person's shoe and this would curb the smell.
9. Tobacco — a small amount of tobacco would be put into a decayed tooth to alleviate the pain. When cotton was available the tobacco would be wrapped and then packed into the decayed area, thus eliminating the horrible taste.

10. Baking powder or soda — when a person had a very sore throat, the mother would wash her hands thoroughly and pour baking powder over the index finger, she would then stick her finger down the sick person's throat and with the powdered index finger, swab the sore throat. The baking powder would start to bubble and loosen the mucous stuck in the throat area. The patient would usually vomit because the gag reflex area would be stimulated and this would bring up the mucous as well as the baking powder. This procedure is called sat' ma que.

Beliefs

The Utes had many beliefs about ways to avert danger, injury, and even death. Unusual events were often taken as signs of danger, and some natural things like lightning were not understood and so were frightening. Important events like childbirth were often dangerous and so a group of beliefs grew up around them, and some of the practices which were prescribed or forbidden would actually help the mother or her child.

Like the use of the old cures, many of these beliefs are gradually disappearing. Many young people, however, still do not comb their hair or whistle at night because their parents taught them not to, even though they do not really believe that bad things will happen to them.

1. When the owl hoots at night or a bird flies into the house, it generally means death will occur in the immediate family.
2. Whistling at night might cause the coyote (similar to the present day boogie-man) to attack.
3. Mirrors must be covered when it rains because lightning will strike the mirrors. And any dogs in the house must be thrown out, as they too attract the lightning.
4. Sweeping the floor or combing the hair at night indicates that something evil will happen.
5. When someone dreams about blood, it means that the dream may come true, if he doesn't tell anyone about it immediately after waking up. If he tells someone about the dream, it will not happen as severely as it happened in the dream. For instance, if someone dreams about someone else getting killed in a car accident and sees

blood all over, he has to tell this dream on awakening. When the dream is told, the person who was killed in the dream would be hurt less; maybe he would have just a small accident at home.

6. Hair that has fallen out or been cut should always be burned. There are two reasons to do this. The birds will get it and make a nest out of it and the owner of the hair will have persistent headaches until the bird's newborn leave the nest. The Navajos also will get cut or combed-out hair and take it to their home and perform witchcraft over it, thereby causing the owner of the hair to become sick or die. The Utes were afraid of the Navajo people and believed that they could actually cast an evil spell on them. This is still prevalent today, yet some Indian women have intermarried with Navajo men, and their spouses have been accused of causing some evil spell to be cast on certain people, especially ones who have not been very friendly to the Navajo men.

The Utes also believed that there were two evil supernatural beings, the Pa ah a pache, the waterbaby, and the Se ach, the witch, both of which were dangerous to human beings. These evil beings were the counterparts of the good beings of the Utes' religion.

The Pa ah a pache is described as resembling a fish with a mustache and long black hair. He resides in the rivers and captures small children who like to remain outdoors after nightfall. Many people say that they have heard the Waterbaby crying at night. One story the Utes tell about the creation of the Pa ah a pache is this: One time, many years ago, an Indian woman left her baby in a cradle by the river and went about doing her work. He then strapped himself into the cradle and when the mother returned she began to nurse the baby. As the Pa ah a pache began to nurse, the mother began to disappear. He was swallowing her.

The Pa ah a pache was not dangerous to older people, although they sometimes saw it. It seems to have been rather playful at times. One story is told about an elderly man who was fishing in the river without much clothing on his lower portion of his body. The Pa ah a pache saw the old man fishing in the river and decided to go over and investigate what he was doing. He noticed the old man didn't have any clothes on and being a curious fellow by nature, he came close and tickled the old man. The old man said, "Who's bothering me?" and

began to kick furiously. The Pa ah a pache left after he had thoroughly upset the old man. Soon after, the old man decided he had caught plenty of fish and jumped on his horse and rode away. That evening the Pa ah a pache came to the old man's home. The old man thought he heard something outside and peeked through his tent flap and there stood the Pa ah a pache beckoning the old man to come with him. The old man told him he wasn't interested in him, that he was sleeping with his wife and didn't have any use for him. The Pa ah a pache became very sad and went home. After that the old man packed up his wife and all their belongings and moved away from the river. He didn't want his wife to find out about the Pa ah a pache liking him because he might have to explain why.

The second supernatural being, the Se ach or Witch, is described as having scales like a fish, long hair and red eyes that hang out. He used to call all the little children and when he caught them, he put them into a small basket which he carried on his back. He carried a magic bone which he used to entice the small children, and when they were caught he took them to his home and sent them out to look for large, flat rocks. He put these rocks into the fire until they were very hot, then he put them under the arms of the children. In this way he baked them and ate them for dinner.

The Se ach could be tricked and even killed. A small boy found a way to kill him. The boy collected many white mushrooms and dried them. When they had dried completely he took the black parts from underneath and ground them very fine. Next he dipped his arrow into this fine black dust and shot the Se ach. The Se ach died. Many people collected this dust so that when a Ute suspected the Se ach was present he could sprinkle this dust around and the Se ach would leave the people alone.

When the Se ach stared a person directly in the eye, the person became under his command. (This is similar to what many Indian tribes say happens with snakes and the moose; the person becomes hypnotized and he is unable to move, except to obey the one giving the command). He led the person to his home near the river and baked him.

To escape from the Se ach called for an ingenious plan and it goes like this. The Se ach caught a small boy and put him into his basket on his back. As he walked home, he had to go under the piñon

branches and as he bent to go under these branches, the small boy picked up a medium-sized rock. Soon the boy had several rocks in the basket. As the Se ach went under the branches again, the small boy lifted himself out and the Se ach couldn't tell that the boy had lifted himself out of the basket, because the weight of the rocks replaced the weight of the missing boy. This was clever of the small boy as he tricked the Se ach.

Story Telling

Another form of recreation for the Utes was story telling. Often the elders of the family group would gather around the campfire at night and tell the children stories. Many of these tales were religious or admonitory, teaching the children about the beliefs and traditions of the Utes. Other tales were simply entertaining, much like fairy tales told to children today. The characters in many of the tales of all kinds are animals who speak and behave like people, animals like the prairie dog, the frog's children, the red bug, the fox, and the bear. Still other tales were about the Utes themselves, about warriors and hunters, and about the everyday lives of the Utes.

Different storytellers had different versions of the tales, and details were often added or forgotten as children who had listened to stories grew up and told them to their children. The tales that follow are just a few of the many Ute tales.

Wolf and Coyote

One day the wolf saw the coyote carrying a bag with him, so he started out after the coyote and asked him what he had in the bag he was carrying. But the coyote didn't want to show him what he had in the bag and he started running from the wolf, so the wolf chased him around and around. Finally he caught him, then he told the coyote to take out the things he had in the bag. When he did take them out, they were all little people. He took out quite a few of them, and finally the coyote closed the bag really fast, and left very few in the bag. The old man who told this story said that this was the few amount of people that are left here, as the Southern Ute people are now. He said if the wolf hadn't done this to the coyote there wouldn't have been so few Indians left here; there would have been more people today. After all this had been done, the coyote told the wolf, "Now go and make your arrows. Now there is going to be a war."

The Race Between the Skunk and the Coyote

The skunk and the coyote decided they would pool their plans and catch some prairie dogs for lunch. The coyote said, "I'm going to walk into the mud and also roll around in it until I'm all muddy and then I'll go lay down near the prairie dog colony. You must go and tell the

prairie dogs that I have died." After the coyote had rolled around in the mud, the skunk decided to cover the coyote's face with timothy hay, making the coyote look like an animal who had been dead a long time.

The skunk went to the prairie dog colony and said to the prairie dogs, "Come quickly and see the coyote, he is dead near the mud hole. Don't you want to go see him?" The prairie dogs followed the skunk until they came to an arroyo near the mud hole where the coyote was stretched out. The skunk said, "Look, he is dead!" He then got a big stick and hit the coyote very hard. The little prairie dogs said, "Yes, he surely is dead." The coyote made sure he didn't move a muscle when the skunk hit him very hard. He did not like what the skunk did and thought to himself that this certainly was not part of their plan.

After the prairie dogs looked over the supposedly dead coyote they decided to leave. It was then that the coyote jumped up very quickly and seized about eight prairie dogs of different sizes. The skunk and the coyote decided the only fair way to divide their catch was to have a race, and the winner would take all the prarie dogs. In the meantime, they built a big bonfire and started to cook their catch. They dressed the prairie dogs and put them under the coals to bake.

As the skunk and the coyote got ready for the race, the coyote thought to himself, I can beat this puny skunk any day. The coyote got a strip of bark from a cedar tree and tied it to his tail. He was to set fire to this strip of bark to start the race. He lit the bark and the race was on. The coyote ran so fast that he was a good distance in front of the skunk, and soon all the skunk could see was the smoke from the lighted bark as it whipped in the air. The skunk had decided from the start that he wasn't going to run very fast, so he didn't hurry. When the skunk noticed that the coyote was out of sight he turned back to the bonfire where the prairie dogs were cooking. He thought the coyote was probably nearing the hill which had been designated as the finish line, so be worked very fast to fetch the biggest, juiciest prairie dogs out of the bonfire. When he got them out he took them a short distance away and sat on a large rock. From this point he could see the smoke from the bark which was still tied to the coyote's tail. Meanwhile the coyote's only thoughts were on how fast he had run and the delicious meal which he didn't have to share with the skunk. What the coyote didn't know was that the skunk had already eaten the biggest prairie dogs and had left the smaller ones in the fire.

When the victorious coyote returned to the bonfire, he started to dig furiously for the prairie dogs. He searched for the larger ones but found only the smaller ones. As he found the smaller ones, he threw them in all directions because he didn't have any use for these small ones when there were larger ones to be found. He stirred the coals and yet he couldn't find the larger prairie dogs. It was then that he noticed tracks leading in the direction of the big rock and they resembled the tracks of a skunk. He followed the tracks and he was right, they were the tracks of the skunk. He noticed the skunk's face and hands were very greasy and he asked, "Hey, Skunk, did you save me some meat?" The skunk didn't reply but he did throw what was left of the prairie dogs — the bones! When the coyote saw these bones, he ran very quickly to the spots where he had tossed the smaller prairie dogs. He had a difficult time trying to locate all the prairie dogs which he had thrown because he didn't bother to look when he was throwing them. The skunk was very pleased that he had finally tricked the coyote, as the coyote had always been known for his slyness.

The Rabbit and the Fox

One warm, sunny day a little rabbit was strolling very contentedly through the forest when suddenly a skinny, hungry fox pounced upon him saying, "Aha! I'm going to eat you." The frightened little rabbit in self defense replied, "Please don't eat me. I'm very, very small and not big enough to fill your starving stomach. If you spare me my life, I'll show you where there are many very fat and very juicy chickens that will fill your stomach." The greedy fox, thinking of all the fat, juicy chickens replied, "O.K. it's a deal. Take me quickly to the chickens. I'm very hungry." Away the two animals went down the path to the farmer's house. After a while the rabbit stopped and decided that he should go along with the fox closer to the farmhouse and they crept slowly toward the house. The rabbit stopped and said to the fox, "See that house over there? That's where the fat chickens live. I'll go ahead first and unlatch the door to the chicken house so you can rush right in." The hungry fox, thinking only of all the fat chickens he would soon consume, didn't suspect the rabbit of trickery. The rabbit unlatched the door and yelled to the fox, "Hurry, hurry, jump in." The fox dashed through the door going full speed ahead and began grabbing at the chickens greedily. The rabbit suddenly

slammed the door shut, latched it, and away he ran toward the farmhouse yelling, "Hey Mu ti cauch (White man), come quickly; there is a fox in the chicken house and he is killing all your chickens." The farmer came running out of the house with a gun in his hand and ran as fast as he could to the chicken house. Bang! Bang! Meanwhile the rabbit retreated to the hillside to watch the fireworks. Bang! Bang! The rabbit smiled and went on his merry way and thought how lucky he had been.

The Fox and the Sage Hen

One day the fox decided to put on all his beautiful buckskin clothes and take a stroll along the river bank. He put on his moccasins, leggings, vest, and war bonnet. He looked very handsome and felt he owned the world. Soon he met up with the baby sage hens. He said "Get out of my way," and started kicking the sage hens around and they scattered in all directions. They hid under bushes and behind rocks and tried to stay out of sight because they thought he might come back and start kicking them around again. Soon the mother sage hen came to find her babies and found that they were hiding. She asked, "What's wrong with you? Why are you hiding?" The baby sage hens told her they were afraid of the fox, because he was all dressed up and when he saw them he started kicking them. The mother said she would get even with the fox for what he had done to her babies. She said, "Which way did he go?" They replied, "He was walking along the river bank." The mother ran on ahead until she passed the fox and decided that she would wait for him where there was a deep hole in the river. When she heard the fox coming, she jumped behind a boulder and decided to hide there. When the fox got to the deep area in the river, the mother hen jumped out and yelled so loud that she scared the fox and he fell into the deep area of the river. His beautiful clothes were completely soaked and he thought he must dry them immediately. He took them off and hung them on the branches of the piñon tree. While his clothes were drying he decided to take a nap. When he woke, he found his clothes had shrunk and he couldn't put them on. He was very upset and threw them away. He made himself a skirt out of grass and went home disgusted. The mother sage hen and her babies had a good laugh when they learned his clothes didn't fit.

The Frog and the Eagle

The frog took the eagle to his favorite spot, a cliff which was situated over a pond. He used this pond as a mirror to admire his ugly self. Actually, it was this place which he used to kill people (at that time animals were considered people) he didn't like. The frog was jealous of the eagle and thought now was the time to get rid of him. He said, "Come, my friend, and see yourself in my mirror. See how handsome you look. I'll bet you've never seen yourself in a mirror." The eagle became very excited about seeing himself in the mirror. When he got to the cliff, he peered over the edge, and suddenly the ugly old frog pushed the eagle over the cliff. Fortunately, the eagle had wings which the frog didn't know anything about, so the eagle was able to keep his balance. He glided high into the sky and gradually approached the frog from behind. He grabbed the frog, as a wrestler does, in a bear hug. The frog, not knowing who had grabbed him, hollered out, "My friend, don't do that. The earth is going to make noises, very bad noises." Still the eagle held him and edged him to the cliff and pushed him off. The eagle, upon hearing the big splash the frog made when it hit the water, said to himself, "The earth did make noise."

Why the Frog Croaks

Long ago, all the animals talked, and the frog especially had a beautiful voice. One frog had two beautiful daughters and he was very proud of them. One day the daughters, while on an outing in the forest, met an eagle and fell in love with the eagle's beautiful hands (claws). The two daughters told their father when he got home that evening about meeting a very handsome animal. They described him as very stately and with the most beautiful white hands they had ever seen. Their father became very upset about this report because he had always believed his daughters thought he was the most handsome animal. He told his daughters that he wanted to meet this handsome animal with the beautiful white hands. The daughters arranged to have the eagle come to meet their father. In preparation for this meeting, the frog scrubbed his wart-like face until he shone like glass. He wanted to prove to his daughters that he was the more handsome when compared side-by-side. To the frog's amazement, he had to agree with

his daughters, the eagle certainly did have beautiful white hands. They were very white, long, and delicately beautiful. The frog became increasingly jealous and began to plot, silently of course, to kill the eagle. He told the eagle he had to show him a scenic area near the lake which would appeal to him. The eagle agreed to go with the frog to the lake. Of course, the eagle was unaware of the danger the frog had planned.

The frog invited the eagle to jump on his back and he would give him a ride to the lake, but he made the eagle promise not to open his eyes until the frog told him to do so. The eagle agreed to do this, and off they set for the trip to the lake. As they neared the lake area, the eagle opened one eye and saw a large jagged, pointed rock in the lake. He closed his eye again and suddenly he felt himself falling. Because the eagle is a bird and has wings, he started to fly. He flew high into the air and made circular motions in the sky. The frog became afraid of what he had tried to do to the eagle and wondered what the eagle would do to him now; after all, he had tried to kill him at his favorite killing place. The eagle soared down in the direction of the frog and with his great claws picked up the frog, and took him high into the air and circled the jagged rock and dropped him directly over the rock. When the frog fell, the eagle said, "As of this day, because of your misconduct (killing animals whom his daughters thought were more handsome than he), all frogs will not talk as other animals talk, but will make the sound CROAK, CROAK, CROAK." This is the sound that was heard that day at the lake and to this day it is still heard.

Na mee se's Tale

One time a man named Na mee se told this story. When he was walking along the river bank, suddenly he heard a drum beat coming from somewhere near the river bank, so he crept along to find out where it was coming from, and then he stopped. He saw an old cow head. The sound seemed to come from where the old cow head was lying, so he crept up to it, turned it over slowly, and found some field mice. Some were with red heads or black or brown, and they were the ones that were singing. He heard a very nice song which he had never heard before, so he asked one of them if they could sing a song for him. One spoke up and said, "yes" they would, and they started to sing. When they did, he saw they all closed their eyes when they were singing. So they went on and on singing. He heard enough of their

songs and crept away while they still had their eyes closed. They didn't know whether he had crept away or if he still was there. When they opened their eyes, they found that no one was there. That was the old man's story of the field mice.

The Bear: (Que ye qat)

Many years ago, there lived a bear who was very mean and he would sleep by the only trail leading down the cliff. The cliff was steep and the other animals had a difficult time getting down the ledge with the bothersome bear in the way. When the other animals came down the trail, the bear saw their shadow and naturally he was prepared to attack them when they got near him. He usually kicked them over the cliff. Many people and animals were killed like this, and they couldn't figure out how the bear always knew just when they were approaching when he was so lazy and didn't spend much time watching for them.

One day a man thought he would trick that sneaky old bear by making a false shadow and while the bear was busy kicking he would sneak by him. This is exactly what he did and succeeded in getting past the bear. The bear thus lost his reputation of being able to detect when people or animals were coming and decided it wasn't fun any more, so he gave up this sport. The other animals laughed at him because he had been tricked by a man.

Two Indian Brothers

Two Indian brothers decided that the time was right to go eagle hunting and in preparation for the climb up the steep cliffs, they braided a rope out of rawhide. One brother had a wife and it was he who fell into an eagle's nest when the other brother cut the rawhide. Since it was impossible for the boy who had fallen into the eagle's nest to get down without the rawhide rope, he had to stay in the nest with the baby eagles. When the mother eagle first saw the boy in her nest, she became very frightened for her young, but gradually she began to like the young boy. The mother eagle brought her babies water and later she brought them rabbits to eat. The boy dressed the rabbits and cut the meat into strips and hung them on the branches of trees to dry. He gave the intestines to the baby eagles. After the meat had dried, the boy pounded the meat and ate it. Soon the time came when the baby eagles grew to maturity. They told the boy that they would soon

have to leave their nest. The boy decided this was the opportunity for him to get down to his camp. He tied rawhide to all the eagle's legs and fastened them to this arms. In this way they all could take him out of the nest and down from the high cliff. When the time came, the eagles, instead of going directly to his camp area, soared high into the sky and went to a big hole in the sky and here they met a larger eagle. While they were there, the boy accidentally kicked a pebble and saw it fall to the earth. Just watching his pebble fall, the boy became very lonesome and wished that he could return to the earth and to his wife. He strapped the rawhide to the eagle's legs and to his arms as he had done before and soon they left the big eagle in the sky. When they reached the earth, the eagles took him to his camp, and he untied the rawhide and thanked the eagles for all they had done for him. When he saw his wife, she did not seem happy to see him. He found out that she was unhappy because she was now married to his brother. He couldn't fight for his woman because he was so skinny.

The Crazy Indian Boy

A group of Indians were looking for a good place to settle down. When they found the place, the men of the tribe told the women to set up a temporary camp as they did not want to stay there permanently. The men noticed that wild game was most appropriately abundant in this area and so they decided that they would go on a hunt as soon as possible. The crazy little Indian boy begged to go along with the hunters of the tribe, but he was told to stay behind with the women and help them set up camp. When the hunters left, he decided he would follow them a little ways and soon he found that the hunters had been captured by the enemy (Cheyenne Indians). He watched to see what the enemy was going to do with the hunters. The hunters managed to escape and alerted the other men in the camp that the enemy was near. The next day the men attacked the Cheyenne Indians and they had an enormous battle. The crazy little Indian boy was told to stay home again with the women. He followed, as usual, and when he came to a clearing he saw that his tribe was being killed because they had run out of ammunition. The crazy little boy started to run between the line of fire and with his little apron he started to collect all the enemy's bullets that were being fired at him. The bullets didn't seem to harm the crazy little boy. When he had collected many bullets

he took them over to his people and they won the battle as they now had plenty of ammunition. The Indians were very grateful to the crazy little boy as he had saved the tribesmen from being all killed. He saved his people, the crazy little boy who wasn't liked by his people.

U' ta tha's Journey

An Indian family moved into the hills. There was a father, mother, and the two sons. The oldest son was married to a very beautiful Indian girl. Soon after they moved into the hills, one son decided to go hunting. The eldest son decided he would not take the younger brother, so the younger brother started to cry. The older brother felt sorry for him and let him go along with him. They had not gone far when they killed their first deer. They began to dress it by a large oak tree. When they returned to their camp, they found their mother and father had been tortured and killed and the wife of the eldest son had been taken captive. The boys went to the main camp area and told their people what had happened to their mother, father, and wife of the eldest brother. They stayed with the tribe for a while, but soon the eldest brother grew lonesome for his wife and said that he was going to look for her. In preparation for the journey, he jerked some deer meat and filled his water containers, and the women of the tribe made some bread for him to take along. His name was U' ta tha. He traveled a long ways, about three or four days, and then he met an old Indian woman (believed to be Cheyenne) and a young girl who were picking plums. They told him they knew where a young Indian girl was tied in their camp. This young girl didn't belong to their tribe. The young Indian girl was forced to go to the dances each night to entertain the young men of the tribe. When the Indian boy, U' ta tha, had gotten all the information he needed he killed the old woman. He tied her companion to the plum trees. When he got to the Cheyenne camp he met a friend of his and had dinner with him. That night when they had their dance, U' ta tha covered his face, as the Taos people do today, so that his wife would not recognize him. He saw that the young girl was his wife and when she saw him, she gave a startled look. The Cheyenne boy told U' ta tha that the dancing Indian girl acted as if she knew him, as she revealed this by the way she danced. After dinner the young Indian girl was taken back to the teepee and tied. An old woman was left to guard her. Later that night, U' ta tha

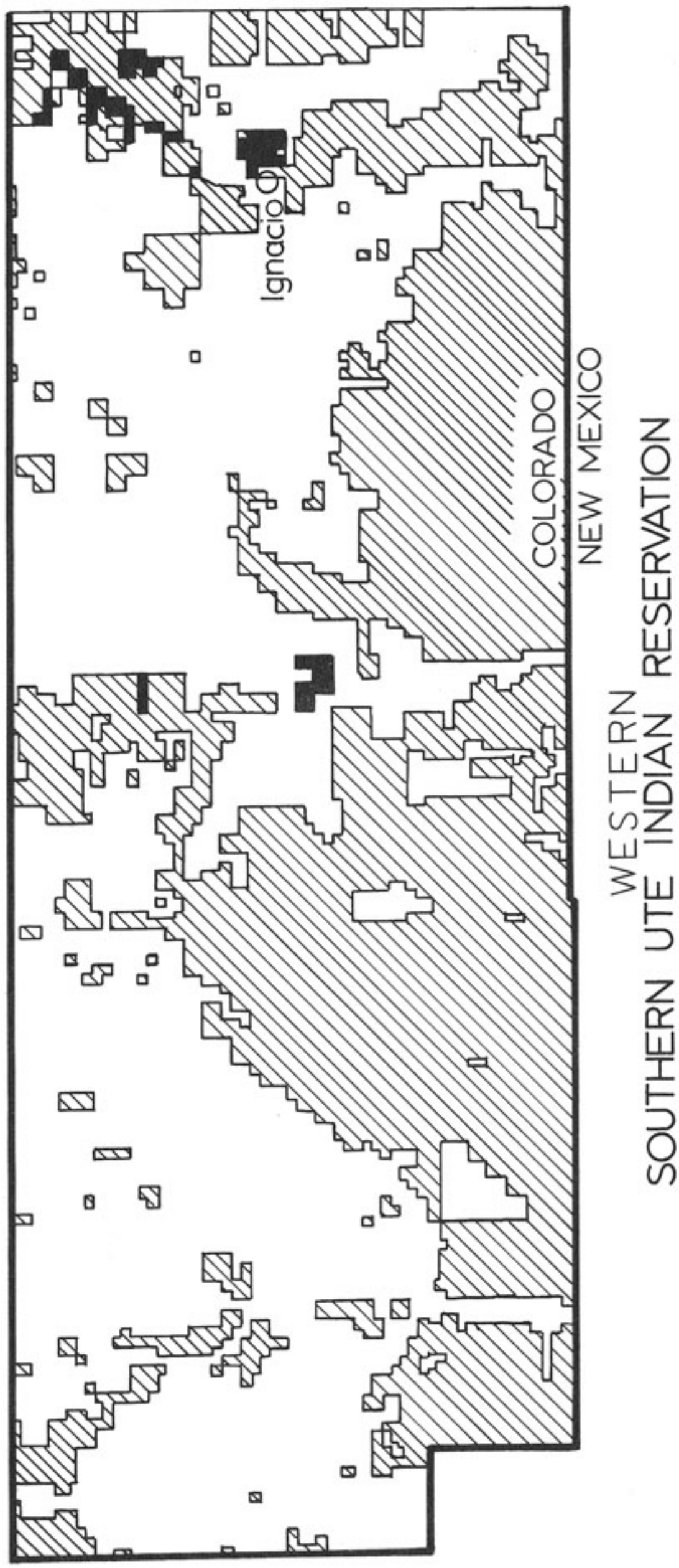
demanded that the old woman release the young Indian captive. She refused to do so. U'ta tha thought he would wait until the old woman went to sleep and then he would sneak past her and release his wife. When he got inside the teepee, he told his wife to be very quiet and he started to cut the bells from her dress. He cut an area in the teepee with a sharp knife and they both ran until they found two horses. They went back to the place where he had killed the old woman who was picking plums, and picked up the young girl he had left tied. They traveled many days and nights to reach home. They were greeted by his brother who was very happy to see them and also very grateful that his brother had remembered to do something nice for him. He had brought him back a wife.

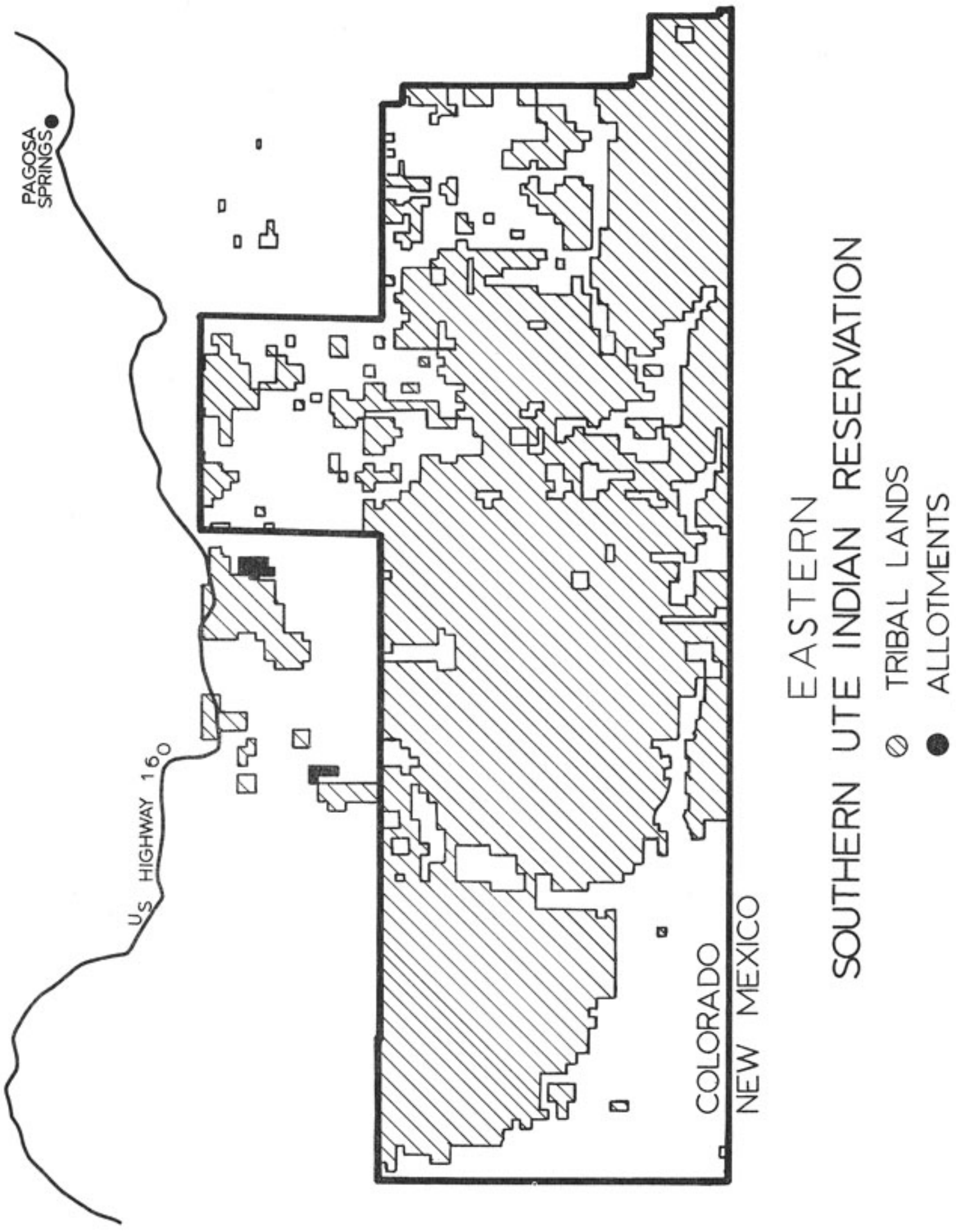
Chief Severo and his family in 1889. Notice the beaded papoose boards. Smithsonian Institution.

As this picture shows, the Utes and their neighbors traded goods and ideas. The man, second from the right, is wearing a breast plate, adapted from the Plains tribes. He and the woman next to him wear concho belts, probably made by Navajo silver smiths. From the Anglos the man in the center has acquired his hat and glasses. Though the two women on the left wear dresses of the same style, one is gingham and the other is the traditional Ute leather. Smithsonian Institution.

Ignacio, about 1880 in Washington, D.C. State Historical Society of Colorado.

Consolidated Ute Headquarters, Ignacio, Colorado.
Ignacio Indian Boarding School, Ignacio, Colorado. State Historical Society of Colorado.





A Chronology of Ute History

1 A.D.	Shoshonean speaking peoples separate from other Uto-Aztecan groups about the beginning of the Christian era.
1000 A.D.	Great migration of Indians into the present-day United States.
1150 c.	Southern Paiutes move into southern Nevada, southwestern Utah, and northern Arizona.
1150	During the 12th century, Yuman and Pueblo type cultures began to be replaced by a Shoshonean pattern.
1200	Anasazis began movement into sandstone caves possibly for defense against ancestors of the Utes, Navajos, and Apaches.
1276	Anasazis began movement out of Mesa Verde and other elaborate habitations possibly because of pressure from ancestors of the Utes.
1492	Europeans start maintenance of continuous contact with the Americas.
1536–40	Cabeza de Vaca, Esteban, Marcos de Niza enter the Southwest and lead to the military expedition of Coronado in 1540. Although these did not touch Ute lands, undoubtedly the Utes learned of the penetration of these Europeans from their neighbors to the south.
1598	New Mexico is settled by the Spanish. Pueblo groups are christianized. Spanish products begin to be traded to the Utes.
1605	Earliest historical reference to the Paiutes, from an exploratory expedition under Juan de Oñate.
1626 c.	Traditional Ute-Hopi conflicts began about this time and reached their high point about the time of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.
1626	Earliest reference to the Utes by the Spanish.
1637	First known conflict between Spanish and Utes. Spaniards under Luis de Rosas, Governor of New Mexico 1637–41, captured about 80 Utacas and forced them into labor work-shops in Santa Fe.
1670	First treaty between Utes and Spaniards.
1680	Pueblo Revolt and Spanish forced to move out of New Mexico for 12 years.
1692	Alliance between Paiutes, Apaches, and Hopis, to counter Spanish aggression and expansion.
1700 c.	Beginnings of raids upon Pueblos and Spanish in New Mexico by Utes, Apaches, and Comanches often working in concert.
1706	Expedition of Juan de Ulibarri through southeastern Colorado.
1716	Spanish campaign against Utes and Comanches not successful in preventing raids.
1720	Expedition of Pedro de Villasur.
1724	Expedition of Bourgmont.
1730–50	Utes continue raids upon settlements in New Mexico. In 1747, Ute forays caused the abandonment of the frontier town of Abiquiu. It was reoccupied in 1748 by the Spaniards.
1746	Spanish defeat a combination of Utes and Comanches above Abiquiu.

1747	Spanish carry on a campaign against the Capote Utes.
1752 c.	Ute leaders, Chiquito, Don Tomas, and Barrigon meet with the governor of New Mexico. Spanish indicate a desire to cultivate trade with the Utes especially for deerskins and to avoid a confrontation with the Mouache, Capotes, and Chaguaguas.
1754	By this time, the Utes have driven out the Navajos in the upper San Juan drainage.
1754	Mouache Utes enter an alliance with the Jicarilla Apaches.
1760's	Spanish-Ute relations friendly enough to permit Spanish trading ventures into Ute territory as far north as the Gunnison River.
1765	Juan Maria de Rivera leads first official Spanish expedition into southwestern Colorado through lands of the Utes.
1770's	Utes and Navajos at war with the Hopis.
1775	Second expedition into southwestern Colorado led by Rivera.
1776	Dominguez-Escalante expedition through Ute territory. Lands of the Utes mapped by Miera y Pacheco.
1778	Spanish law prohibits Spaniards and Christianized Indians from trading with the Utes. The ban was largely ineffectual since some traders continued to visit the Utes.
1779	Mouache Utes and Jicarilla Apaches joined New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in a campaign against the Comanches. Comanche forces under Cuerno Verde were defeated.
1786	Utes represented by Chiefs Moara and Pinto protest the proposed peace treaty between the Comanches and the Spanish. However, at the insistence of Juan Bautista de Anza, they finally agreed. Peace negotiations were carried on at Pecos between the Mouache Utes, the Comanches, and the Spanish and a treaty was concluded.
1789	Treaty of peace between the Spanish and Utes and promise of Ute aid against the Comanches and Navajos. At this time also, the Spanish took precautions against an alliance between the Mouache Utes and the Lipan Apaches.
1801	The Spanish begin to use Mouache Utes as spies to gather intelligence on the Plains Indians.
1804	Utes and Jicarilla Apaches joined the Spanish in a campaign against the Navajos.
1806	Battle near Taos between about 400 Mouache Utes and an equal number of Comanches. Lt. Zebulon Pike represents first Anglo-American intrusion into Ute territory. Two Mouache Utes conduct a surgeon under Pike to Santa Fe.
1806–26	Several Spanish and Mexican trading expeditions went into Ute lands.
1809	About 600 Mouache Utes and some Jicarilla Apaches were attacked on the Arkansas River by Comanches, Cuampes, and Kiowas. Killed were the major Mouache chief, Delgadito, along with the other leaders, Mano Mocha and El Albo.
1811–12	Ezekiel Williams was trapping in southwestern Colorado. In 1812, Robert McKnight was also trapping in the lands of the Utes.

1813 Arze-Garcia expedition through Ute lands.

1816–17 Chouteau and De Munn trapping in southwestern Colorado.

1821 Independence of Mexico from Spain did not change the relations between the Utes and the settlements in New Mexico.

1821 Beginning of the Santa Fe trade.

1821 Col. Glenn and Jacob Fowler into southwestern Colorado on a trapping and trading expedition.

1822 Lechat, a Ute leader, proposed trade with the Americans but little was done immediately.

1824 William Becknell, the "Father of the Santa Fe trade," led a party of trappers and traders to the Green River and William Huddard led a party of 14 from Taos to the same area. At about the same time, Kit Carson and Jason Lee followed an old Spanish trail north and met Antoine Robidoux at the mouth of the Uinta River in Utah.

1826 James Ohio Pattie passed through the present site of Grand Junction in Mesa County.

1829–30 Opening of the Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to San Gabriel, California, partly through Ute territory.

1832 Bent's Fort established in southeastern Colorado.

1837 Philip Thompson and William Craig established a trading post (Fort Davy Crockett) on the Green River. (It was abandoned about 1840). At about the same time, Antoine Robidoux established Fort Uncompahgre at the junction of the Uncompahgre and Gunnison Rivers.

1840's Constant attacks by the Utes on settlements in the Taos Valley and the area of New Mexico north of Española. Several land grants began to erode the Ute land base.

1842 Rufus Sage left Taos and went to the Uintah River. Marcus Whitman was in western Colorado and stopped at the post established by Robidoux.

1844 Capote attack on Rio Arriba settlements after the altercation between the Utes and the Governor of New Mexico in Santa Fe.

1844 Birth of Ignacio, a leader of the Weeminuches.

1844 John C. Fremont passed through Ute country.

1845 Capote Utes attacked the settlement of Ojo Caliente.

1846 The Utes agreed to remain peaceful after 60 Ute leaders were induced by William Gilpin to go to Santa Fe and confer with Col. Doniphan.

1846 Fremont's attempt to cross Colorado in winter ended in disaster.

1849 First treaty between Utes and the United States at Abiquiu. Chief Quiziachigiate, a Capote, signed as principal chief and 28 other Utes signed as subordinate chiefs.

1850 The Utes began to obtain arms from the Mormons at Salt Lake.

1850 An agency was opened for the Utes at Taos. It was soon closed for lack of funds.

1851 Mouache Utes were attacked near Red River by Kiowas and Arapahos. The Utes retreated to Ojo Caliente.

1851–53 Settlements by former Mexican citizens began to be made in the San Luis Valley. Livestock activities and farming began to disrupt the life-style of the Utes.

1852 The U.S. Government established Fort Massachusetts near Mount Blanca to protect and control the Utes. Six years later the post was moved six miles and became Fort Garland.

1853 Arapahos and Cheyennes raided the camp of Utes under Tochoaca.

1853 Agency reopened at Taos and Kit Carson was agent 1853–59.

1853 Captain Gunnison killed near Sevier Lake in Utah. His expedition continued under Lt. Beckwith.

1853 An Indian Agent reports war between Mouache Utes and other Indians along the Arkansas River caused by the scarcity of game. The agent requested the U.S. Government to prevent other Indians from encroaching on Mouache lands.

1853 Rations were being distributed to the Mouaches at Arroyo Hondo and Red River and to the Capotes on the Chama River.

1854–55 Ute War started by an attack by Utes on Fort Pueblo. The Utes were mainly Mouaches under the leadership of Chief Tierra Blanca. Several skirmishes resulted in the Indians suing for peace. From that time on, the Utes have been generally on friendly terms with the U.S. Government.

1855 In early summer, a treaty was concluded with the Capotes and one with the Mouaches in August. These were not ratified by the U.S.

1856 Mouache chief Cany Attle claimed the San Luis Valley.

1856 Kit Carson recommended that an agency be set up for the Tabeguache Utes. This was not done.

1857 Cany Attle claimed the Conejos Valley.

1857 Officials recommended that the Capotes and Jicarilla Apaches be removed to the San Juan River and assisted in becoming self-sufficient.

1858 Tabeguache Utes considered to be a band attached to the agency at Abiquiu. They were also considered to be the largest band of Utes in that year.

1858 Hostilities between the Utes and Navajos.

1859 Temuche, a Capote chief, took presents to a Navajo camp (Kiatano's) to maintain friendly relations.

1860 Utes join U.S. troops in campaigns against Navajos.

1860–61 Tabeguache Utes placed under Denver Agency; Mouaches attached to sub-agency at Cimarron on Maxwell's Ranch; Capotes continued to be served at Abiquiu; Weeminuches were handled at Tierra Amarilla. (Jicarilla were also served at Cimarron).

1861 Agency for the Tabeguache Utes established at Conejos; Lafayette Head was the first agent.

1868 Treaty with the Utes and a reservation created for them consisting of approximately the western one-third of Colorado. Ouray selected as principal chief.

1870 Weeminuches object to removal to Reservation in Colorado. Cabeza Blanca was one of the principal leaders of the Weeminuches at that time.

1870 Arny's census of 1870 showed that there were 365 Capotes largely under the leadership of Sobotar.

1871–76 Agency maintained at Denver for Utes who continued to hunt buffalo on the plains. Movement of silver and gold miners into the San Juan Mountains.

1873 Mouaches conclude a treaty at Cimarron.

1873 The Utes cede the San Juan Mountain area by terms of the Brunot Agreement.

1874 President U.S. Grant signs Brunot Agreement.

1877 Establishment of the Southern Ute Agency at Ignacio to serve the Capotes, Mouaches, and Weeminuches.

1878 Capotes and Weeminuches cede rights to the 1868 reservation.

1878 Fort Lewis established at Pagosa Springs to protect and control the Southern Utes.

1879 Meeker Incident results in cries for the removal of the Utes from Colorado.

1880–81 Fort Lewis moved to the site near Hesperus, Colorado, on Southern Ute Reservation.

1880 Death of Ouray.

1880 Ute Agreement signed.

1881 Tabeguache and White River Utes moved to the Uintah Reservation in Utah.

1881 Denver and Rio Grande Railroad went through Southern Ute land.

1886 Consolidation of the Uintah and Ouray Reservations for the Northern Utes.

1888 Utes agree to move to San Juan County, Utah. Congress fails to ratify agreement.

1891 Fort Lewis deactivated as a military post and became an Indian school.

1894 Ute allotment bill presented to Congress.

1895 Ignacio led most of the Weeminuche to the western part of the Southern Ute Reservation in protest against the government's policy of land allotment.

1895 Utes agree to the allotment bill.

1896 New agency set up at Navajo Springs to serve the Weeminuche who did not want to accept land in severalty.

1896 Allotments are distributed to Southern Utes.

1899 Southern Ute Reservation opened to Anglo settlement.

1913 Death of Ignacio.

1918 Consolidated Ute Indian Reservation established.

1924 American Indians become United States citizens.

1925 Reburial of Ouray.

1931	Distribution of rations from Federal Government stopped.
1934	Passage of the Indian Reorganization Act by Congress (commonly called the Wheeler-Howard Act).
1936	Death of Buckskin Charlie at the age of 96. He was succeeded by Antonio Buck.
1936	Establishment of a Tribal Council in accordance with the Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.
1937	Restoration Act returns 222,016 acres to the Southern Utes.
1938	Restoration Act returns 30,000 acres to the Ute Mountain Utes.
1953	Settlement with U.S. Government for Ute land.
1954	Ute Rehabilitation Program.
1961	Antonio Buck, Sr., last hereditary chief, died.
1966	Community Action Program started on reservation.
1972	Opening of Pino Nuche Purasa, the motel-restaurant-community building complex, by the Southern Utes at Ignacio.

Ute Leaders

Don Thomas	Capote	c. 1752
Chiquito	Mouache	c. 1752
Burrigon	Chaguaguas	c. 1752
Moara	Ute (Mouache)	c. 1786
Pinto	Ute (Mouache)	c. 1786
Cuerno Verde	Comanche	c. 1779
Mano Mocha	Mouache (Major chief)	c. 1809
Delgadito	Mouache	c. 1809
El Albo	Mouache	c. 1809
Coyote	Mouache	c. 1809
Cuerna	Mouache	c. 1809
Ancha	Mouache	c. 1809
Dientecito	Mouache	c. 1809
Lechat	Ute (Mouache?)	c. 1822
Montoya	?	c. 1847
Quiziachigiate	Capote	c. 1850
Tamuche	Capote	c. 1852
Cuniache	Mouache	c. 1852
Amparia	Mouache	c. 1850
Tachoaca	Mouache	c. 1853
Aohkasach	Capote	c. 1850
Coneache	Mouache	c. 1850
Augkapowerbran	Tabeguache	c. 1850
Insagrapouyah	Sevarit	c. 1850
Wahka	Timpanogo	c. 1850
Chuwoopah	Paiute	c. 1850
Cany Attle (Coniachi?)	Mouache	1856
Ouray	Tabeguache	1868
Peersichopa (headman)	Paiute or Weeminuche	1869
Cabegon	Paiute or Weeminuche	1869
Sewormicha	Paiute or Weeminuche	1869
Piwood	Paiute or Weeminuche	1869
Ignacio	Paiute or Weeminuche	1869
Chiwaten	Paiute or Weeminuche	1869
Tobatas	Paiute or Weeminuche	1869
Cabeza Blanca	Weeminuche	1870's
Sobata (Sobotar)	Capote	1870
Kaneache	Ute leader	1881
Captain Jack	White River	1882?

Chief Douglas	White River	1885
Colorow	White River	1888
Piah		1888
Chief Shavano	Ute leader	
Buckskin Charlie	Capote	
Antonio Buck	Capote	
Ignacio	Weeminuche	
Jack House	Weeminuche	1971

Southern Ute Tribal Chairmen

Name	*Term*
Antonio Buck	1936–1939
Julius Cloud	1939–1948
Sam Burch	1948–1950
Julius Cloud	1950–1952
Sam Burch	1952–1956
John E. Baker, Sr.	1956–1960
Anthony Burch	1960–1961
John E. Baker, Sr.	1961–1962
John S. Williams	1962–1965
Leonard C. Burch	1966–1972

Essay on the Sources

Because of the small size of the tribes of American Indians, the source material relating to each is relatively small, except in some unusual cases such as the Cherokee, Sioux, or Navajo. The greater part of the literature which is available is anthropological or episodical in nature. The historical literature deals mostly with wars or bizarre incidents.

The Ute ethnic community is a small one. After a recent period of strenuous growth, the Southern Utes now number less than 900 people. With their neighboring relatives the Ute Mountain Utes and the Uintah-Ouray Utes, they comprise a total population of only 4200.

In spite of their numbers, the documents relating to them are relatively extensive. This is due in part to the attention of scholars, but is mainly owing to the records of their administration by the Federal government. Therefore, the largest body of material consists primarily of records in the possession of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the National Archives and Records Service.

Some secondary works are worthy of mention. Wilson Rockwell's *The Utes, A Forgotten People*, published in 1956, Denver, Sage Books, is spotty and episodical, but very useful. Robert Emmitt, *The Last War Trial: The Utes and the Settlement of Colorado*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, is somewhat poetic in its treatment, but of value, nonetheless. The book of Marshall Sprague, *Massacre: The Tragedy at White River*, 1st ed., Boston: Little, Brown, 1957, deals largely with the Meeker Affair of 1879 and the expulsion of the Utes from Colorado. For Southern Ute history, it has limited value. The same can be said of *Ute People: An Historical Study*, compiled by June Lyman and Norma Denver, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1970, because its orientation is largely to the Utes of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. Some sections are useful to provide background for Southern Ute history.

Several M.A. theses and doctoral dissertations have proved valuable. Foremost among these is S. Lyman Tyler's "Before Escalante, an Early History of the Yuta Indians and the Area North of Mexico . . . ," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Utah, 1951. This work is essential to the understanding of early Southern Ute history, and it remains a landmark which can be used as

a model for research with other tribes of the southwestern part of the United States. For the period following the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the 1949 unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of James Warren Covington, "Federal Relations Between Ute Indians and the United States Government, 1848–1900," Department of History, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, gives a good outline of events. Although this dissertation includes the other bands of Utes as well as those resident on the Southern Ute Reservation, it is still an excellent work which must be consulted for information on the Southern Utes.

An additional unpublished dissertation which is useful and shows painstaking research is that of D. H. Cummins, "Social and Economic History of Southwestern Colorado," Department of History, University of Texas, 1951. Cummins is perhaps better in his description of the settlement by Anglo-Americans than he is in his handling of the history of the Ute Indians.

An important Master's thesis in Southern Ute history is that of Gregory C. Thompson, "Southern Ute Lands, 1848–1899: The Creation of a Reservation," unpublished Master's thesis in History, University of Utah, 1971. This thesis surpasses any other work in demonstrating the forces imposing the changes upon the Southern Ute people.

A local work which has merit is Helen Sloan Daniels' "The Ute Indians of Southwestern Colorado," 1941 (mimeographed). This compilation of source materials and examples of life styles and traits furthers the study of the Southern Utes. However, copies are difficult to obtain and inquiries should be addressed to the Durango Public Library, Durango, Colorado.

A plethora of other theses and research papers are available. They are of differing value, and following are listed some which will be of use in varying aspects:

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Many useful articles are available. They are listed in the alphabetical order according to the author rather than in order of importance:

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One primary collection with much material in the history of the Southern Utes, particularly for the years 1882–1900, is the Indian Rights Association, correspondence and publications. During the years 1882–1900, the Indian Rights Association waged a heroic battle for, and in alliance with, the Southern Utes to help them maintain their land base against the strident demands of the people of Colorado that they be removed from the borders of that State. The records are contained in the Indian Rights Association Collection at the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library in Philadelphia. Microfilm copies of that massive collection (approximately 45,000 pages) can be used at the Fort Lewis College Library, Southwest Collection, or at the University of Utah, Duke Oral Indian History Collection, in the Marriott Library.

Indispensable to the study of American Indian history is that vast area of documentation known as the Federal Records. One of the first things that the researcher must do is to conduct an exhaustive study of the documents contained in the *Capital Serial Set*. It gives the researcher a short, quick, documentary history of a tribe from the shifting point of view of the Federal Government, and it offers the researcher a perspective from official records. The documents relating to the Southern Utes alone comprise more than 5,000 pages. The debates in Congress contained in the *Congressional Globe* and the *Congressional Record* are also indispensable because they reflect the attitudes and actions of those who governed from Washington.

For an in-depth view, however, a review of the letters sent and received by the agents is a necessity. Although this source has not been used extensively, these letters give a fresh look at the Anglo mind as he tried to "improve" the lot of the Indian. This collection is vast, and is contained largely in the Social and Economic Branch of the National Archives. An additional body of materials is lodged in the Denver Federal Records Center at Region 8 Headquarters in Denver, Colorado. Both the Denver Center and the National Archives have great capability and their response will not impede the researcher from working in a creditable and expeditious manner.

The old military records are also of importance; this is particularly true of the "Fort Lewis Military Records," a collection of more than 5,000 pages relating to the history of the Fort which was created from part of the Southern Ute Reservation. A description of this collection is available in "Fort Lewis Records," Floyd A. O'Neil and Gregory C. Thompson, *Colorado Historical Magazine*, Vol. 46, no. 2, Spring, 1969, pp. 166–68. Other records, such as the records of Fort Massachusetts, Fort Garland, Fort Wingate, and Fort Steele have references and materials of some importance to Southern Ute history, but from a military point of view the Fort Lewis collection is by far the most important.

Federal Treaties and laws relating to the Utes for the period of 1849 to 1903 are found in Charles N. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2 vols., G.P.O., Washington, D.C., 1904. *Statutes-at-Large* and *Cession Laws* after 1903, a valuable collection of records documenting important economic, social, and political changes on the reservation, are mandatory for any index study.

The Cartographic Division of the National Archives has many maps of Southern Ute territory, as does the Library of Congress Collection in Arlington, Virginia.

Governmental records during Spanish and Mexican times are best reviewed at the New Mexico State Records Center in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Spanish and Mexican archives are now on microfilm.

Four bibliographies should be mentioned: Stewart, Omer C., *Ethnohistorical Bibliography of the Ute Indians of Colorado*. University of Colorado Studies: Series in Anthropology, No. 18. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1971; Tyler, S. Lyman, *The Ute People: A Bibliographical Checklist*. Provo, Utah: Brigham

Young University, 1964; Wagner, Henry R., *The Spanish Southwest, An Annotated Bibliography.* Berkeley, California, 1924. (Same title, 2 Vols., Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1937); Winther, Oscar Osburn, *The Trans-Mississippi West: A Guide to its Periodical Literature (1811–1938).* Indiana University Publications, Social Sciences Series No. 3. Bloomington, 1942, and later revisions. Both Henry R. Wagner and Oscar O. Winther are of limited value to the study of Ute history; however, Tyler's work is indispensable. Although the publication is eight years old at this writing, it is still the essential reference list that must guide the scholar in this field.

Thus far, this essay has followed familiar lines to historians and scholars. The sources are traditional and are known to most scholars. However, this book has an additional dimension, particularly in that section which is written by James Jefferson. This section is not based heavily on the sources named but relies instead on personal knowledge, conversations with a host of Indian people, the traditions of the reservation, and the kind of knowledge that grows out of being a member of the Southern Ute ethos.

Some people have been particularly helpful to Mr. Jefferson, and helpful as well to the others who have worked on this book. We are indebted to Mr. Harry Richards, a venerable and knowledgeable, as well as beloved citizen of the Southern Ute Reservation; Mr. Julius Cloud, former Chairman of the Tribal Council, a respected leader and a man whose presence delights and encourages the Southern Utes; Mr. Bert Red; Mrs. Euterpe Taylor; and a large number of other gracious persons who were of great help.

One of the unique facets of the production of this book was an effort to collect the records of the Southern Utes and place those records in a repository for the use of the tribe and the community. That collection is known as "The Southern Ute Archival Collection." It represents the first formalized attempt to place the records of an Indian tribe in the hands of the Tribal Council itself.

As the research was being done, copies were made of treaties, agreements, administrative letters, scholarly theses and dissertations, maps, photographs, and other related records. These were bound into 34 volumes of documents and placed in the office of Chairman Leonard Burch. They are to be a source for development of additional curricular materials, for legal research, for the benefit of those who are man-

aging the property of the Southern Utes, and for scholarly research. This unique collection represents an effort both in size and in selectivity unparalleled by any other tribe in America.

As to the magnificent contribution of the Southern Utes in this entire project, without their help and without the constant involvement of the Southern Ute Tribal Council and their advice, direction, encouragement, and support, this book would not have been possible.