

ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT AND DOCUMENTATION
OF ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

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Figure 1. Photo of culturally peeled trees (photograph by the author, 7/97).

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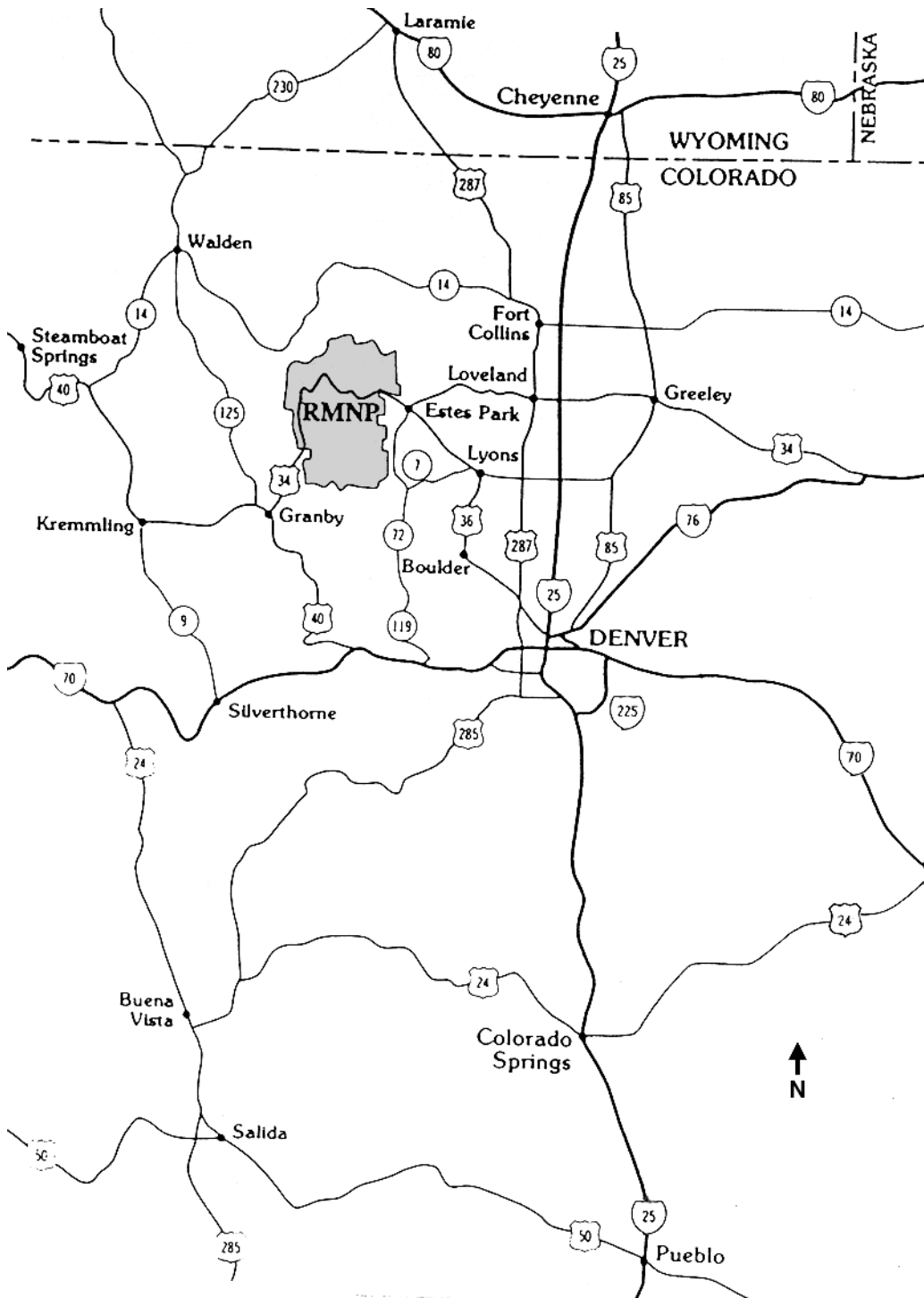


Figure 2. Location of Rocky Mountain National Park (RMNP 1:50,000 topographic map).

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Research participants

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Sarah Moench provided careful editorial review. Three anonymous reviewers provided important critique that served to make the report more accurate and thorough.

To all, I give my most sincere thanks and acknowledgement of their time and effort. Any errors in reporting are mine alone.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION



Figure 3. Photograph of Arapaho consultants in RMNP (photograph by the author). Included in the photograph are Nelson White, Eugene Ridgley, Gail Ridgley, Harvey Spoonhunter, Hubert Friday, and Bill Butler.

This report contains the results of an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment project which sought to identify and document the history of American Indians in the region in and around Rocky Mountain National Park (RMNP). It was completed under contract number ROMO-R96-0617 out of the National Park Service Intermountain Support Office, Denver, CO, under the supervision of Dr. David Ruppert, and in collaboration with Dr. William Butler, Rocky Mountain National Park Archaeologist, the Northern Arapaho of Wyoming and the Northern Ute of Utah.

Broadly, studies of this nature are designed to identify points of intersection between particular national parks and American Indian groups which were at one time affiliated with those lands, and who may still view those lands as part of their cultural heritage. In some regions there may be conflicting needs and demands of park lands, some of which may arise from legally binding agreements and/or legislation that have

accrued over time. In other cases, conflict may arise from American Indian accessing resources deemed inappropriate by park managers. The National Park Service has decided, in the face of these potentially conflicting factors, to engage affiliated tribes directly to facilitate resolution or avoidance of potential or actual problems.

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment studies are a first step in this process and often establish the communication links that can be utilized in future discussions. The specific purposes of this project fall into several categories: To 1) Identify, collect, and document available data on the ethnographic history of the Rocky Mountain National Park region in a fashion useful to National Park Service personnel and affiliated tribes; 2) Establish which American Indian groups were in the Rocky Mountain National Park area through time; 3) Identify what resources (physical, cultural, spiritual) they might have made use of within the Park region; 4) Identify what resources are still known and to which access may be desired; 5) Identify what, if any, legal relationships exist between the Park and affiliated tribes that would affect Park management or access to desired resources by affiliated tribes, and; 6) Establish, through a consultative process, a relationship between affiliated tribes and Rocky Mountain National Park personnel for long-term management of Park resources and enhanced interpretation of American Indian presence in the Park.

While each of these points is important, the last is perhaps the most valuable outcome of the process in that ongoing consultative relationships can accommodate both the management needs of the Park Service as well as the cultural needs of the tribes. As of this writing, several collaborative projects are emerging to increase American Indian participation in Rocky Mountain National Park and to enhance the interpretation of American Indians in the Park.

An ethnographic focus is particularly valuable in studies of this nature because it brings to the research problem a perspective that fosters a broad and inclusive approach. No one source of data is favored, no particular perspective is weighted greater than others. Rather, the approach seeks to use the strengths of various data sources to compensate for the inherent weaknesses in any one of them. A broad variety of data sources can be brought to bear on research questions of this nature, including archaeological, written memoirs, diaries and letters, oral history, myriad legal documents and legislation, newspapers, magazine articles, and books. The consultation process

provides the context in which to make sense of the many data sources. The ethnographic assessment process is designed to identify, in part, the history of and legal relations between tribes and national park lands formerly part of their home lands. These relations are only valuable in so far as they can be used to develop and define relationships that will carry the tribes and parks into the future. Thus, the broad range of historical and ethnographic data set the stage for ongoing collaboration between tribes and parks.

Rocky Mountain National Park

Rocky Mountain National Park, proposed as the tenth national park by Enos Mills in 1909, was formally established and dedicated in 1915 under president Woodrow Wilson. Located approximately 50 miles northwest of Denver between Estes Park on the east and Grand Lake on the west, it is most notable now as an area of remarkable scenic beauty and mountain recreation with a world-wide reputation among climbers and hikers. Straddling the continental divide, the Park's current size of 415 square miles is significantly larger than its original size of 358 square miles. Bordered on the south by the Indian Peaks Wilderness Area and surrounded by Roosevelt and Arapahoe National Forests, Rocky Mountain National Park is often viewed as a gem in the Rocky Mountains. The entire Park is above 7500 feet in elevation with over one hundred peaks of 10,000 feet or higher. Because of its central location and spectacular beauty, it is among the most heavily visited parks in the national park system, receiving more than 3 million visitors annually.

Although Rocky Mountain National Park is a major tourist destination, historically and earlier it has seen more diverse, largely economic uses. Until the middle of the nineteenth century it was part of the territory regularly used by the Ute Indians who inhabited much of the central Rocky Mountain region for at least four centuries, with frequent and regular access by the Arapaho, largely a plains and Front Range tribe beginning in about 1800. The Cheyenne from the north and east, and the Shoshone from the north and west were occasional visitors, with other groups (e.g., Apache, Sioux) making rare trips to the Park area. People of European descent made sporadic forays into the area as trappers (1820s), explorers (e.g., Rufus Sage and John Fremont in the 1840s), market hunters (from 1859 onward), but it was not until the 1860s that permanent settlers arrived in the region, primarily as ranchers, as little gold was discovered in the area

(Buchholtz 1983). A thorough and detailed discussion of the early history of Rocky Mountain National Park can be found in “Rocky Mountain National Park: A History” by C. W. Buchholtz. Because of his full discussion of the history of the Park region after the arrival of non-Indian, European-derived populations, the focus of this report will be on American Indian presence prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, as nearly as can be reconstructed.



Figure 4. Panoramic view of RMNP (photograph by the author, 7/97).

American Indians in Rocky Mountain National Park

Two American Indian groups can be clearly identified with the region of Rocky Mountain National Park—the Ute and the Arapaho. As will be discussed in detail below, several other groups were reported in and around the Park region at various times after the 1850s, but none consistently enough to qualify as “resident” in any sense. Similarly, other groups had occupied the region prior to historical contact, but their identity as named groups is limited to general descriptions that can be gleaned from the very limited archaeological data available for the region.¹ These distinctions will be discussed below.

UTE

The Ute Indians speak a language of the Shoshonean branch of the large Uto-Aztecan language family and once occupied a region largely contiguous with the central Rocky Mountains, extending roughly from the current Wyoming border to northern New Mexico and west of present day Salt Lake City to east of Denver, with access to additional hunting territories beyond (Marsh 1982). Based on historic reconstruction there appear to have been seven bands of Ute occupying the Colorado region of this large, diverse habitat. They are often divided into the Southern, Northern, and Mountain Utes. The Southern Ute bands include the Mouache and Capote; the Ute Mountain Utes are comprised of the single band known as the Weeminuche, while the remaining four bands, Uncompahgre (a.k.a. Tabeguage), Grand (a.k.a. Parusanuch), Yampa (a.k.a. Yamparika), and Uintah comprise the Northern Utes (Duncan 2000). The Grand and Yampa bands were often combined under the name of White River Ute, especially after the establishment of the White River Agency in 1868 on the White River, near the town of Meeker. White River is the term generally accepted by modern Ute and will be followed in this report when referring to these two groups (Duncan 2000). The Southern Ute presently live, for the most part, on the Southern Ute Reservation, headquartered in Ignacio, Colorado; the Ute Mountain Ute live in the Ute Mountain Reservation, headquartered in Towaoc, Colorado, while the Northern Ute live in the Uintah-Ouray Reservation, with headquarters at Fort Duchesne, Utah (Delaney 1989). Given the historic distribution of these seven bands, it is the people of the two most northern bands (Yampa and Grand, hereafter White River) who would most frequently accessed the region in and around present-day Rocky Mountain National Park. Like many Indian groups in the western U.S., the Ute lived as hunter-gatherers, with possibly some horticulture in favorable locations, until the acquisition of the horse in the late seventeenth century allowed for greater emphasis on large game hunting, both on the eastern plains and in the mountains (Delaney 1989). Figure five shows the approximate distribution of the Ute around 1850 (Map from Jefferson, Delaney and Thompson 1972).

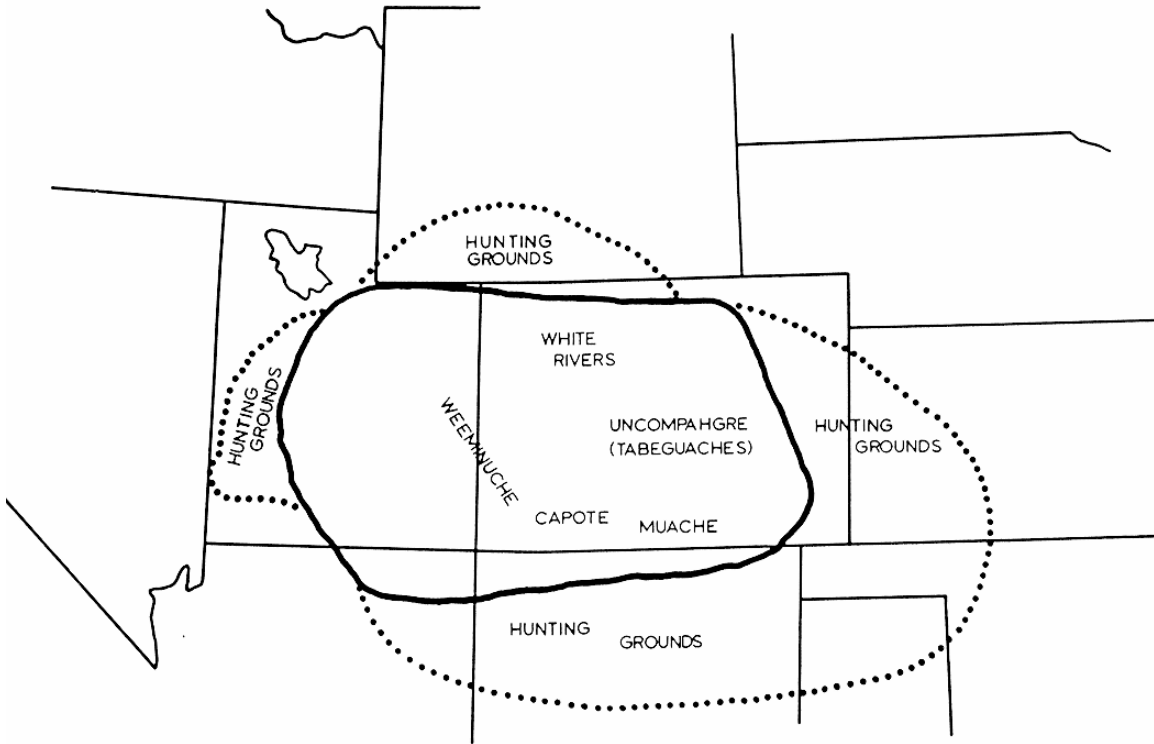


Figure 5. *The Ute Domain (Jefferson, Delaney and Thompson 1972).*

ARAPAHO

The other large group of American Indians that frequented the region and used the resources in the current Park lands were the Arapaho. Although primarily a plains group, they (on occasion with Cheyenne and/or Sioux) often made hunting and other food gathering forays into the Rocky Mountains. While the exact origin of the Arapaho is uncertain, they were likely Midwestern horticulturists who began moving into the plains region as hunters sometime prior to the seventeenth century (Fowler 1989). The process was dramatically accelerated with the acquisition of horses from European and other Indian populations of the south and east. This technological improvement (along with the introduction of firearms) made possible the significant dependence on bison that characterized, for a short period of time, the Plains Indian culture. The Arapaho, largely through contact with European/American settlers, became divided into Northern and Southern groups in the 1830s. The Southern Arapaho eventually were settled in the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in Oklahoma, while the Northern bands were settled in the Wind River Reservation of Wyoming (Salzmann 1988). While it is not possible to state definitively which groups lived where, the generally accepted dividing line between the Northern and Southern Arapaho was the South Platte River from Denver east. Consequently, the primary focus of this report will be on the Northern Arapaho, recognizing that there was common exchange between northern and southern groups. Figure six shows the approximate distribution in approximately 1850 of the Arapaho in Colorado (Map from Erikson and Smith 1985; modifications by the author to indicate Arapaho territory).

Summary

Through this study, the two primary groups with clearly identifiable relationships with Park lands are the Ute and Arapaho tribes, especially those groups now labeled as “Northern Ute” and “Northern Arapaho” though these designations are in part the result of interaction with non-Indian immigrants. During this research and consultation process, no specific sites that might qualify as Traditional Cultural Properties were identified, though ongoing archaeological and ethnohistoric work will likely identify sites that warrant evaluation for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

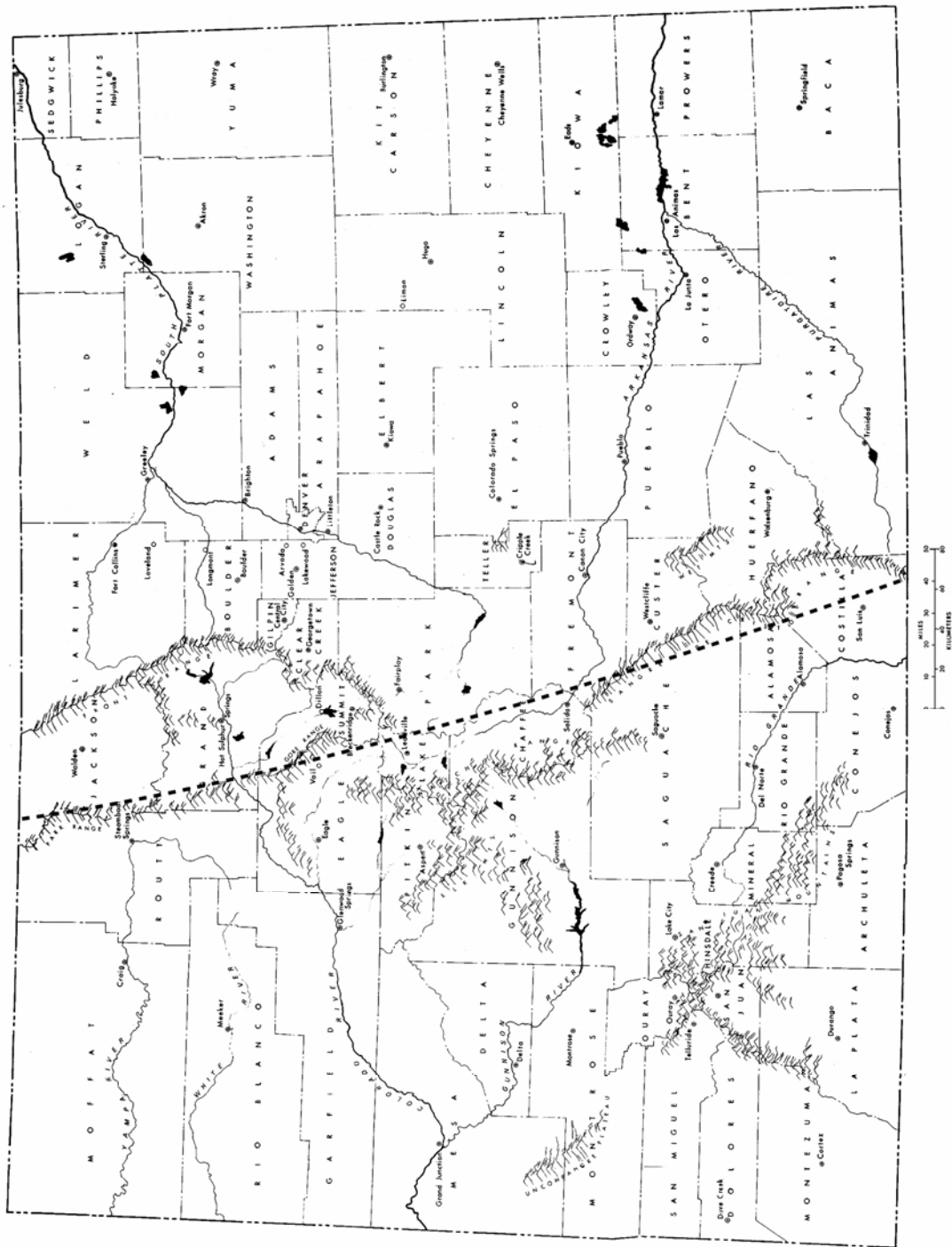


Figure 6. The Arapaho Domain (Erickson and Smith 1985). The dashed line indicates the approximate western border of the Arapahoe in Colorado in the mid-nineteenth century.

OBJECTIVES

This research addresses the following specific objectives as stated in the Project Offer, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Rocky Mountain National Park."

- A detailed examination of the past and present authorities that form the basis for the subject communities' access to the resources within the Park (e.g., treaties, Rocky Mountain National Park enabling legislation, cooperative agreements, special use permits, other legislation);
- A listing of the peoples (tribes, communities, ethnic groups) that have a traditional and contemporary affiliation with the Park and are covered by the legislation, agreements, and the natural and cultural resources they use in the Park;
- Previous descriptions of occupation, cultural significance of natural resources and physical environmental features (e.g., plants, caves, rock shelters, springs, shrines and other sacred locations, etc.);
- Descriptions of contemporary use of each type of resource, including location, frequency of use, nature of use (e.g., religious or subsistence), size of harvest (if appropriate);
- An annotated current bibliography that meets management needs for ethnographic information on peoples associated with Rocky Mountain National Park;
- A record of consultations with Native Americans and other ethnic groups whose life-ways and cultural resources may be affected by Park management plans and actions, including Federal Register nominations of ethnographic resources;
- A list of ethnographic resources to be considered for inclusion in the Ethnographic Resources Inventory (ERI) and, with community approval, nomination to the National Register as Traditional Cultural Properties.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Published Data Sources and Analysis

There is a rich and varied literature discussing the presence of Indians in Colorado, much of it problematic. That people have been living in Colorado for more than 10,000 years is well established and not surprising given the rich diversity of habitats and the resulting diversity of plant and animal resources. This habitat diversity is the result of a geography resulting from the complex of transitional zones that are formed where the plains meet the high mountains and in the transition zones between high mountains and the intermontane valleys. This rich habitat diversity also made for highly favorable wintering grounds against the Front Range foothills and in intermontane valleys with moderate temperatures, snowfall, and protection from wind. Much of this rich history has been thoroughly reviewed by Burney and Lovejoy (1996)² and others (e.g., Gunnerson 1987; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988). The focus of this project is necessarily more narrow and will use as a point of departure, the three county region in which Rocky Mountain National Park lies: Boulder, Larimer, and Grand. Because it borders the Park on the northwest, Jackson county is included as part of the study region.

There have been many reports by non-Indians on the presence of Indians in and around Rocky Mountain National Park, most of them second or third hand (e.g., Bird 1960; Mills 1986 [1905]). While many of these are interesting and informative, ultimately most are of little value in that, as second-hand accounts, their validity is hard to evaluate. For this project, only accounts written by those few people who were in the region prior to the mid nineteenth century (first-hand accounts), ethnographic, and historic sources will be discussed. Many of these secondary accounts also have been reviewed by Burney and Lovejoy (1996). Part of the relative paucity of first-hand accounts is explained by the fact that most of the Indian tribes had left the region by the time much settlement began in the area around Rocky Mountain National Park (early 1860s). For example Coel (1981:134) reports that the Southern Arapaho under Chief Left Hand departed from the Denver area going south to the Arkansas river region in 1861, never to return in numbers. Similarly, the Fort Laramie treaty of 1851 and the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867 with the Arapaho and Cheyenne, severely limiting their

range, may also have significantly reduced by mid-century the Indian peoples in and around Rocky Mountain National Park.

Contributing also to the limited writing on the area is the fact that there was relatively little exploration of northern Colorado compared to that of the southern and eastern areas of the state and regions further north in Wyoming. In part, the reason is simply that the mountains of Colorado presented a nearly impenetrable barrier to westward travel to all except small parties on foot or horseback. In the north, the primary pass through the Rocky Mountains was at South Pass in Wyoming, 150 miles northwest of the Park region. Consequently, travelers going west to Utah, Oregon and California in the 1840s and 1850s would have had little or no knowledge of the Indian groups to the south. Spanish settlement in New Mexico and southern Colorado, beginning in the mid seventeenth century, and the passage of the Santa Fe Trail through this region resulted in considerable exploration of those parts of the state, but relatively little of the more northern areas (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:53; see figures 7 and 8). Similarly, the presence of Bent's Fort on the Arkansas river after about 1833 resulted in considerable interaction between Indian and non-Indian groups. This was also an important region for the disbursement of provisions to Indians during the reservation period beginning in the 1850s. Again, this resulted in much more reportage on Indians there than for the north where there was less frequent and intense contact. Early nineteenth century reports (Pike, Fremont, Long, Sage) are few and relatively late, and very few explorers went into the region of the Park (Long, Sage, Fremont). Another component to the relatively infrequent exploration of northern Colorado may arise in part from an accident of geography. With the exception of the North Platte, none of the major rivers that flow east, and which provided important routes into Colorado (South Platte, Arkansas), arise in the northern mountains (see figure 9). Thus, without an explicit side trip up the Big or Little Thompson, or Cache La Poudre rivers (50-60 miles from the South Platte), there would be relatively little opportunity to encounter peoples living in the region around the Park. A particularly good example of this is found in the curious volume by Cooke (Cooke 1973 [1857]) in which he describes his abundant adventures in the army. He narrates many events in the south of Kansas and Colorado, along the Santa Fe Trail, and along the various tributaries of the North and South Platte rivers, with relatively little

discussion of anything in between. He describes in remarkable detail the army's travels through the plains north of present day Greeley, the sighting of Longs Peak, the crossing of the Cache la Poudre just west of where it joins the Platte, but does not mention the country to the west. The group appears to have continued south along the South Platte without venturing into the mountains.

Major Roads and Trails, 1780-1860

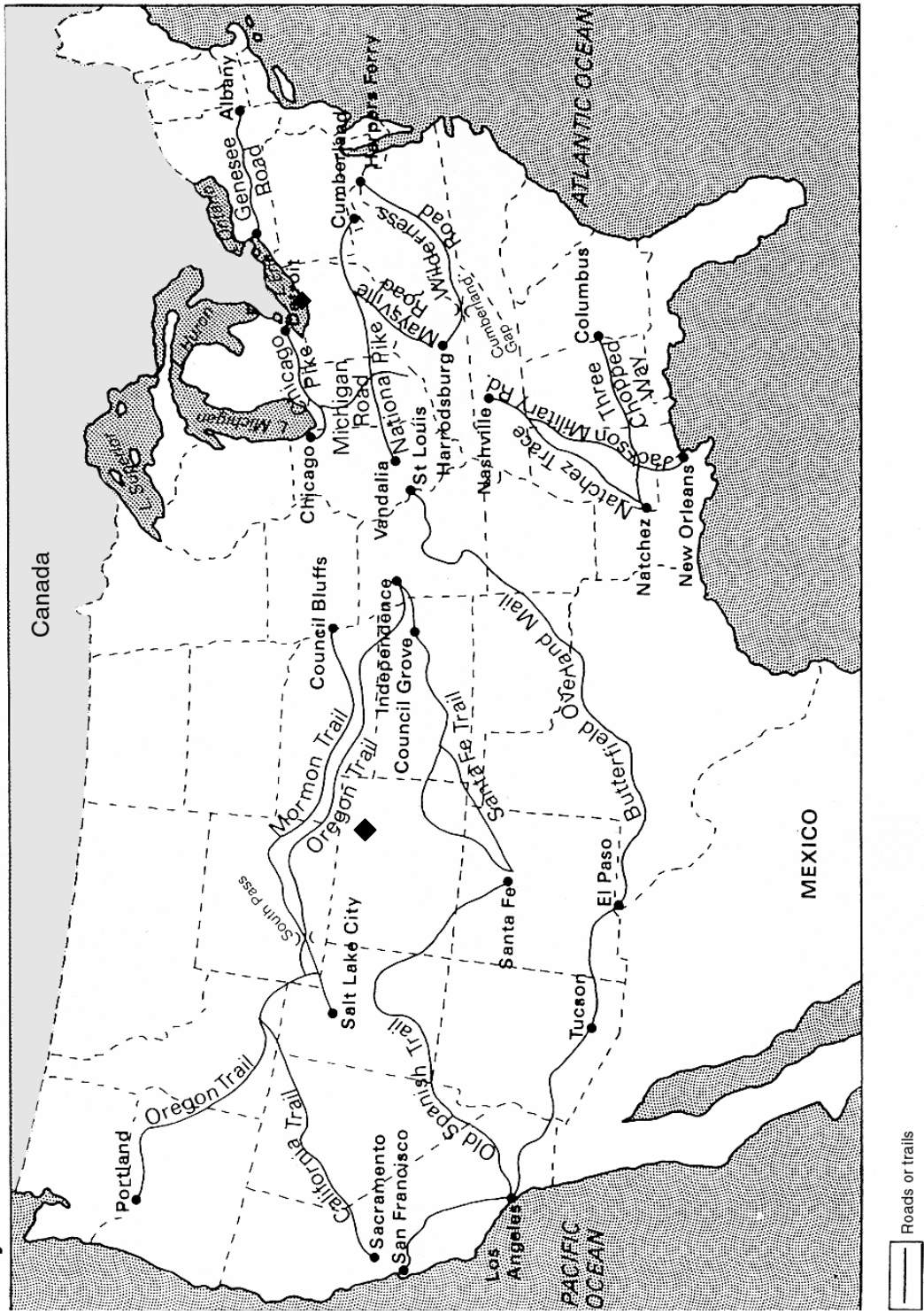


Figure 7. Major trails west (Martin Greenwald Associates 1984). Approximate location of the Park is designated as ◆.

Explorers, 1776-1853

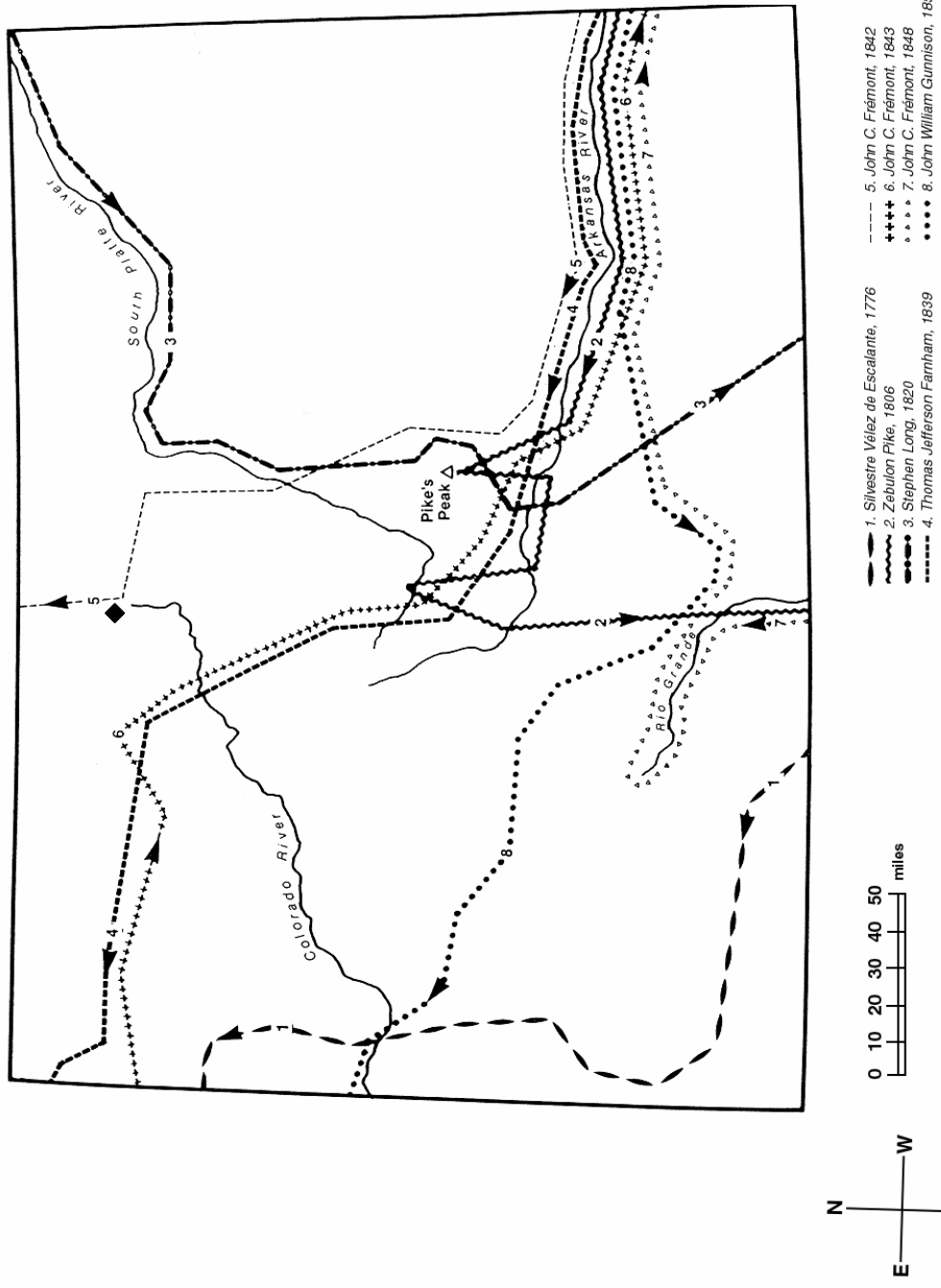


Figure 8. Major explorations through Colorado (Martin Greenwald Associates 1984). Approximate location of the Park is designated as ♦.

Major Rivers and Drainage System

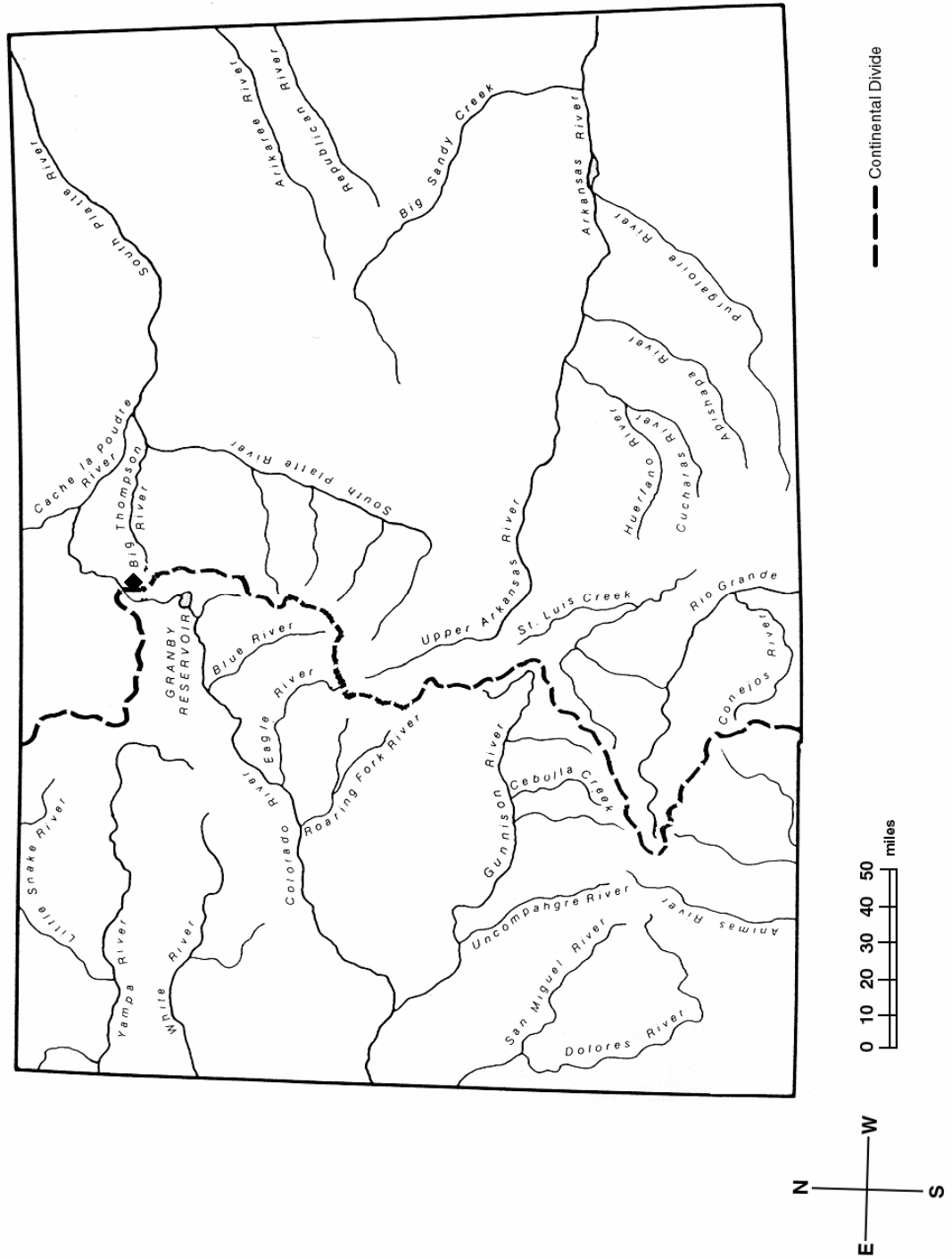


Figure 9. Major river drainages of Colorado (Martin Greenwald Associates 1984). Approximate location of the Park is designated as ◆.

Archives

The use of archives was of limited value in trying to understand the relationship of American Indians to the region in and around Rocky Mountain National Park. Several factors contribute to the relative paucity of material. Primary, in terms of the Park itself, is the relatively late date at which it was established (1915), by which time American Indian populations had long since been removed from the state. The unique history of Colorado and the Indian tribes also contributed to the relative lack of material. There were only about 20 years between the time when a large number of non-Indians came into northern Colorado, beginning after the discovery of gold in 1859, and the point when all Indians had been removed and/or excluded from the state in the 1880s and in the case of the Northern Ute, forbidden to return (Clifford Duncan, pers. comm.).

Several of the journals, letters, survey notes, etc. reviewed were important in that they mentioned, usually briefly, and not always accurately, the presence of Indians by tribe (e.g. Fremont, Pike) in a particular location, usually with little or no further discussion. But there simply do not seem to have been many people who maintained a record of their passage through the northern part of the state prior to the mid nineteenth century influx of miners and other settlers. Other materials are of limited value because the records have not been carefully edited by someone annotating and clarifying points of geography, etc. For example, the diary of William T. Hamilton (Hamilton 1960) looked like a good source, but his understanding of regional geography seems to have been limited. He notes, for example: "It was the intention of Williams to strike for the South Platte River, in the vicinity of Laramie River..."(p. 20). In actuality the Laramie River flows north out of North Park in Colorado into the North Platte River at Ft. Laramie, Wyoming, not into the South Platte River in Colorado. The South Platte originates several hundred miles south in the central Rocky Mountains and flows north and northeast through the plains to North Platte, Nebraska where it joins with the North Platte to become the Platte River. Thus, while there are reports of one Indian group or another in a particular location, it is not easy to corroborate the validity of these statements. These discrepancies will be noted in the text whenever necessary.

Treaties and other agreements

There are no treaties, treaty provisions or agreements prior to 1915 that affect Indian access to the Park one way or another. By the time the Park was established in 1915 Indians had been, for the most part, out of Colorado, certainly out of the prime ranching and hunting land in and around the Park, for more than 40 years. Treaties, legislation, and other relevant legal materials are reviewed below.

Ethnographic literature and interviews

There is relatively little original ethnographic literature on the Indians of northern Colorado when they were in Colorado. Much of the ethnographic research done on the reservations (e.g. Kroeber 1902, 1904, 1907; Mooney 1907a; Smith 1974) was focused on religious activities and reconstructing past life-ways in general, with relatively little attention to specific locations and times. Often what was reported were statements of broad territorial regions.

Archaeological literature

With the exception of work by Benedict (1987, 1992a, b); Benedict and Olson (1978), Brunswig (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002), and others (e.g., Lischka et al. 1983), relatively little detailed archaeological research has been conducted in and around the Park. Most of that which has been done formally, has been in the context of surveys, including Yelm (1935) and Husted (1965).³ Unfortunately, much of the earliest work by non-archaeologists was more akin to “pot hunting” than to science and thus contributes little to our understanding of Park inhabitants through time. Most of the available information on archaeology in the Park has been recorded in a database managed by the Park Archaeologist. Except where relevant, that material will not be duplicated here. All records and reports on American Indians in the four county area around the Park in the Colorado State Office of Archaeologic and Historic Preservation were reviewed.

The archaeological literature on the Front Range of Northern Colorado is considerable and will be briefly summarized to indicate the time depth of habitation of the region and provide a context for understanding later occupation. The purpose of this report is directed more toward culturally and historically identifiable peoples who may have lived in, or regularly used Park resources in the protohistorical and historical time frame. Specific sites are mentioned in the discussion below on prehistoric occupation,

and where relevant, on proto- and historical sites, but most sites will not be catalogued here.

Several surveys have been conducted in the Park (Husted 1962; Yelm 1935). Butler (1997c) has recently consolidated and reviewed the relevant archaeological material on the Park. His initial efforts have involved summarizing the literature on the archaeology in and around the Park, organizing a single computerized database that contains all of the known archaeological material and sites within the Park boundaries, establishing a series of annual surveys to begin the long process of fully documenting the Park's archaeological heritage, and sponsoring student research from a variety of programs. In addition, Dr. Robert Brunswig is conducting an intensive long-term archaeological research program for the documentation of prehistoric and historic archaeological resources for preservation and management. This research is being conducted under the National Park Service's System-wide Archaeological Inventory Program (SAIP) through a cooperative agreement with the University of Northern Colorado, beginning in 1998, concluding in 2002.

As mentioned above, previous surveys and associated site documentation have been found to be of highly questionable quality and one of the SAIP/UNC program objectives is to begin addressing those known deficiencies. Accordingly, Drs. Brunswig and Butler have developed a systematic and scientific approach to documenting and evaluating archaeological material in the Park (see Brunswig 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002; Butler 1997c). This research involves extensive and intensive surface surveys and occasional excavations (where warranted) of the Park region. To date, numerous prehistoric and protohistoric sites have been identified, including possible wickiup sites, hunting blinds, kill sites, battle sites, game drives, open camp sites, culturally peeled tree sites, rock cairns, ground stone and lithic scatters.

It is important to note that comprehensive inventory surveys such as represented by the...UNC/RMNP program are constantly 'breaking new ground' in the identification and classification from a wide spectrum of evidence for past cultural activities through 11,000 years of time and a large, complex geographic landscape. Further, as the project evolves, there will be continuing efforts to develop and refine an effective system

of cultural resource classification for analysis and prehistoric/historic landscape modeling (Brunswig 2000:10).

The results from the 1998-2001 survey seasons demonstrate the rich and largely undocumented archaeological record in the Park (Brunswig 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002).

That record, despite some past destruction of both prehistoric and historic sites, remains intact and will require serious interpretive and stewardship efforts on the part of Rocky Mountain National Park and the millions of visitors who will enjoy its cultural as well as its natural wonders.

Knowledge generated from the past two seasons of the inventory program and those yet to come will, without a doubt, provide a deep reserve of understanding and, hopefully, concern for the 11,000 years of human heritage embedded in the park's diverse landscapes (Brunswig 2000:79).

As most of these data are well organized and accessible to policy personnel, there is little value in repeating that effort here.

Consultations

Representatives of the Northern Ute from the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in Utah and the Northern Arapaho from the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming came to the Park in the summer of 1997 for consultation on Indian presence in and around the Park. The purpose of these consultations was two-fold: 1) To seek input from the tribes on their knowledge of the history of the Park region, and 2) To establish working relationships between the Park and the tribes for future collaboration and problem solving.

Analytical framework:

The definition of boundaries in a study of this nature is necessarily arbitrary. The focus of this study is clearly Rocky Mountain National Park, but a broader, regional conception is important when thinking in terms of American Indian life-ways in the past for the simple reason that all evidence indicates that the Indians of northern Colorado were nomadic. Thus, groups likely did not "live" in the Park, but the Park lands clearly were a part of the larger resource base for several groups through time. Also, given current evidence, there is little likelihood that people resided in what is now Rocky Mountain National Park year-round because of the altitude and attendant harsh winter

conditions. There is currently no archaeological evidence of year-round residence in the Park proper.

For the purpose of this report, the three counties in which the Park is located and Jackson county immediately to the northwest will constitute the study area with the understanding that these are arbitrary and represent only a portion of the territory originally occupied or accessed by affiliated American Indian groups.

I will develop an approach to understanding American Indian use of resources using the concept of landscapes. Using a concept of landscapes in this context is designed to comprehend more fully a conception of space and resource distinct from the Euro-American orientation. Much research worldwide has demonstrated that European concepts of environmental resources are only one way of conceiving of the environment. The landscape idea appears to comprehend better other conceptions of land use patterns, at least in the prehistoric and protohistoric periods of interest here. Perhaps more importantly, the landscape approach may provide a context to develop approaches around resource access issues between park service managers and affiliated American Indian tribes.

A Note of Orientation

I have chosen to use 1860 as the cutoff date for examination of tribes affiliated with the Park. After this date the influx of EuroAmerican populations into Colorado combined with the tremendous movement of Indian tribes on the plains (caused in large part by the influx and travel of non-Indians)⁴ resulted in many more groups being in the region than would have been the case in more stable times. My intent in this is to identify those groups who were affiliated with the Park lands as distinct from those who may have “passed through” in the context of occasional hunting, warfare, or other transitory purpose.

CHAPTER THREE: PREHISTORY OF THE
ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK REGION



Figure 10. "Ancient Indian Lookout on Mt. Ida" (from the RMNP archives, catalog #1541, 9/32 John McLaughlin).

There is clear evidence of Paleoindian occupation of Northern Colorado, dating back to at least 11,000 years (Benedict 1992b). Chenault (1999) provides the following dates on key Paleoindian and later occupation in the state.

Table 1. Prehistoric chronology of the Platte River Basin (Chenault 1999).

Stage	Period	Date Range
Paleoindian		12,040 – 5740 B.C.
	Clovis (e.g., Lindenmeier)	12,040 – 9750 B.C.
	Folsom	11,340 – 8720 B.C.
	Plano	10,850 – 5740 B.C.
Archaic		5500 B.C. – A.D. 150
	Early Archaic	5500 – 3000 B.C.
	Middle Archaic	3000 – 1000 B.C.
	Late Archaic	1000 B.C. – A.D. 150
Late Prehistoric	Early Ceramic	A.D. 150 – 1150
	Middle Ceramic	A.D. 1150 – 1540
Protohistoric		1540 – 1860

Husted (1965) argues that the Colorado Front Range, especially the area near Rocky Mountain National Park may have been occupied as early as 11-12,000 years ago during the Two Creeks interstadial (period of glacial retreat) “opening up” the higher mountains to occupation by Clovis peoples. There is no evidence of Folsom populations, as represented at the Lindenmeier site, at altitude because their presence in the state coincided with the Valdres stadial (glacial advance), thus making high altitude regions of the north uninhabitable. This is indirectly confirmed by the fact that no Folsom related material has been found in the Park region in contrast to several well documented Clovis finds (Butler, pers. comm.). Husted speculates that after about 8000 B.C. (9950 B.P.), high altitude regions were habitable on a regular basis (1965:494). These dates are in concordance with those provided by Ives based on geological indicators underlying archaeological remains (Ives 1942). Similarly, Benedict (1992a) using a much larger data base, indicates that the dates originally proposed by Husted (1965) are probably correct. The work by Benedict and Olsen (1978) demonstrates convincingly that populations were living in the high mountain areas around and in the Park region (the Mount Albion Complex) around 6500 years B.P., if not all year, then seasonally. This corresponds to the “altithermal” during which the lowland regions would likely have been under severe drought, forcing populations to higher, moister areas. The Hungry Whistler site is a stone game-drive and butchering site as well as a campsite indicating long-term, if seasonal occupation. The game-drives in this area are among the many (47 documented as of 1978) along the Front Range indicating a successful and long running hunting strategy (Benedict and Olson 1978). Detailed discussion of the history of Paleoindian archaeology can be found in Cassells (1997) with Stone (1999) providing a corresponding discussion of explanatory frameworks.

Ives, an inveterate hiker, notes that in summer: “The Front Range can be crossed from timber on one side to timber on the other, in less than a day’s walk in favorable locations such as Arapaho Pass” (1942:451). What this indicates is that even in pre-horse days it was only a matter of two to three days travel from lowland (<7000ft.), sheltered montane or foothill valleys to the subalpine and alpine regions.

Archaeological surveys in the Park and surrounding regions done to date have not, with few exceptions, ascribed ethnic/tribal identity to the sites. To affix tribal or

ethnic identity requires that there be material remains unique to particular groups of people; e.g. pottery, distinctive stone working techniques, housing style, etc. The utilitarian nature of most archaeological remains in this region which tend to be largely similar across groups means that it is not easy, if possible at all, to identify particular sites by tribe or ethnic tradition (Butler, pers. comm.). The Park is in possession of relatively little material remains, primarily ceramic and lithic, that can be used to define cultural groups. The outcome of this is that much of the abundant archaeological material from within and around the Park is of very limited value in determining which historically known tribal groups were present in the Park at any given time or their relation to the prehistoric populations of the plains and mountains. Also, perhaps more importantly, in the early days of exploration by European-derived groups, there was little concern for identifying cultural affiliation, or for preservation. Over one hundred years of intensive “pot-hunting” has obliterated or severely altered many of the sites that may have had some identifiable affiliation. Jack Moomaw, an early Park ranger, noted: “During 50 years of ‘Indian Hunting’ ...” referring to his practice of seeking out and collecting all available artifacts (Moomaw 1957). Most of these collections were made without regard to provenience and were not retained as part of the Park collections (Benedict 2001). Likewise, there does not appear to have been much photographic documentation of sites (see Table 7 below).

Nevertheless, in spite of the inability to establish identity, there was extensive evidence of Indian occupation of the region in and around the Park. Ives (1942:458) notes:

Field studies show that a few chips of artifact material can be found in almost any level quarter-section of the region and that an old fireplace can be found on almost every reasonable campsite. So many artifact chips have been found at Granby, Grand Lake, Nederland, Rollinsville, and Boulder that the former existence of long-occupied campsites can be assumed with confidence despite the obliteration of surface evidence.

Recent discussions on the possibility of a “Mountain Tradition” in the archaeological record, distinct from the Plains, Great Basin, or Southwest (Black 1991;

Butler, Overturf and Mitchell 1997) have focused mostly on the period prior to about 1200 A.D. and so are of limited relevance to this report, given the early date of the materials under discussion except as might eventually contribute to questions of the origins and history of Ute ancestors. The importance of this debate is in developing a more robust understanding of life at high altitude. While it is unlikely that there was very frequent intentional winter residence in the Park because of the overall high altitude of the region, there is no reason to believe that people in centuries past did not stay in the regions east and perhaps west of the Park during the winter, perhaps traveling into the Park region in winter to hunt. Benedict (1992b) has detailed two possible seasonal movement models entitled “The Up-Down System” and “The Rotary System” to explain prehistoric life-ways in the northern Rocky Mountains of Colorado.

Early reports on exploration of the region remark on the large quantity of Indian material and sites, including old lodges, teepee rings, camp fire rings, cairns, etc. Similarly, early Estes Park residents and Rocky Mountain National Park personnel note extensive pot- and “arrow-head” hunting in and around the Park. For example, Moomaw notes having found rubbing stones, potsherds, camp sites, points (jasper/agate) (1955), manos and metates, paint grinders of sandstone from the foothills (1957), stone circles (1960), stone walls and trails (1954). Unfortunately, he does not indicate in his articles where these various finds occurred severely limiting their value.



Figure 11. “J. Moomaw Standing beside the Remains of Old Wall on Trail Ridge, 10/6/33” (from the RMNP archives, catalog #4153-3158 [volume 1], 10/6/33, D.G, Yeager).

This paucity of tribally identifiable archaeological material is only slightly less acute for the protohistorical and historical periods because we have some ethnographic descriptions of housing, pottery, tools, and projectile point type, which allow at least tentative identification of material with particular tribal groups. Two obvious examples include the numerous reports on wickiups in and around the Park (see below) which are identified as Ute, and the clearly diagnostic Uncompahgre Brown Ware. Similarly, stone

“teepee rings” could be Arapaho, or other plains group in origin, especially if east of the continental divide. This further reinforces the general impression that from about 1800 on, the two groups most widely and commonly affiliated with the Park lands were the Ute, who were in the region well before, with Arapaho presence clearly documented ethnographically and ethnohistorically after about 1800.

Table two contains all known sites in the four county region to which some estimation of cultural affiliation can be affixed. As additional archaeological research proceeds, new sites will be identified. This table reflects what was available prior to the extensive survey work by Brunswig (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002). The Brunswig accounts should be consulted for the most up-to-date information on Park archaeology.

Table 2. Tribally affiliated sites in and around Rocky Mountain National Park.

Sites surrounding Rocky Mountain National Park					
Site number	County	Site type	Site name	Key features	Tribal affiliation
5GA.22	Grand	Open camp	Caribou Lake	Lithics, ceramics	Ute?
5GA.870	Grand	Modified trees	N/A	Peeled tree, Aspen art	Historic Ute
5GA.1465	Grand	Open lithic	N/A	Lithics	Late prehistoric Ute?
5JA.28	Jackson	Open, architectural	N/A	Stone circles	Ute?
5JA.40	Jackson	Open, architectural	N/A	Stone circle	Ute?
5JA.651	Jackson	Open, architectural	East Branch Wickiup	Wickiup	Ute?
5JA.856	Jackson	Open lithic	N/A	Projectile points, flakes	Ute?
5LR.263	Larimer	Open camp	Lykins Valley site	Open camp, hearth	Late Prehistoric, Late archaic Kiowa-Apache
5LR.803	Larimer	Trail	Ute Trail	Trail	Ute
5LR.1094	Larimer	Open, lithic	Chapin Creek trail site	End scraper, projectile points	Protohistoric Ute
Sites in Rocky Mountain National Park					
Site number	County	Site type	Site name	Key features	Tribal affiliation
5LR00324	Larimer	Structure	Apache fort	Fort	Apache/Arapaho
5LR00602	Larimer	Camp	Tuxedo Park teepee ring	Teepee ring	Ute/Arapaho
5LR01094	Larimer	Trail	Chapin Creek Trail	Trail, lithics	Ute

Table 2 continued

5LR3703	Larimer	Camp	Tuxedo Park	None/site destroyed	Arapaho
5LR2193	Larimer	Modified trees	Tuxedo Park	Peeled pines	Ute ⁵
5LR615	Larimer	Wickiup	N. Lateral Moraine	Weinmeister Wickiup	Ute
5LR2115	Larimer	Wickiup	Aspenglen	3 Wickiups	Ute
5LR2180	Larimer	Wickiup	Horseshoe Park	Wickiup	Ute
5LR3829	Larimer	Aspen log cache	N. Lateral Moraine	Aspen log cache	Recent American Indian?
5LR2	Larimer	Camp	Forest Canyon Pass	Uncompahgre Brown ware and Dismal River pottery	Ute/Apache
5LR610	Larimer	burial (female)	N/A	burial	Ute/Arapaho
5LR611	Larimer	Camp	N/A	hearth/points	prehistoric/Ute
5LR319	Larimer	Modified tree	N/A	Peeled pine	Ute
5LR318	Larimer	Camp	Lawn Lake	Uncompahgre Brown ware	Ute
5LR3848	Larimer	Modified trees	N/A	Peeled pine	Protohistoric Ute
5LR3857	Larimer	Wickiup	N/A	Wickiup/hearth	Ute
5LR3858	Larimer	Wickiup	N/A	Wickiup	Ute
5LR3911	Larimer	Wickiup	N/A	Wickiup/hearth	Ute
5LR4460	Larimer	2 Wickiups	Hidden Valley	2 Wickiups	Protohistoric Ute
5LR4488	Larimer	Modified tree	N/A	Peeled pine	Protohistoric Ute
5LR4490	Larimer	Modified tree	N/A	Peeled pine	Protohistoric Ute
5LR4499	Larimer	Wickiup	N/A	Wickiup/hearth	Protohistoric Ute ⁶
5LR4509	Larimer	Wickiup	N/A	Wickiup	Protohistoric Ute
5LR4511	Larimer	Wickiup	N/A	Wickiup	Protohistoric Ute
5LR4513	Larimer	Wickiup	N/A	Wickiup	Protohistoric Ute
5LR4548	Larimer	Wickiup	N/A	Wickiup	Protohistoric Ute

The difficulty of assigning cultural affiliation can be seen by reference to records held by the State Archaeologist under the auspices of the Colorado Historical Society. We conducted a search of the archaeological database which includes (reportedly) all sites in the state. This search of archaeological sites in the four counties in which RMNP is located identified nearly 400 sites, only a few of which had a cultural identification associated with them and many of these are noted as questionable. Likewise, the Rocky Mountain National Park archaeological database containing 150 or more locations has only a handful for which there is recognized cultural affiliation, see Table 2.

This state of affairs results from a combination of several factors. Most importantly, relatively little detailed archaeology has been conducted in the mountain areas on protohistorical and historical sites with the intention of defining patterns of

residency. Most of the work done has been in the context of surveys (e.g., Husted 1962; Yelm 1935), or focused more explicitly on prehistoric occupations (e.g., Benedict 1992a; Benedict and Olson 1978). The work of Brunswig will go far in ameliorating this lack of data (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002). Of perhaps equal importance, non-Indians came fairly late to northern Colorado relative to southern Colorado, so the ethnohistorical picture is less complete as well, making inferences to archaeological materials less viable. Because the Santa Fe Trail passed through southern Colorado and Spanish explorers in the Southwest regularly entered into southern Colorado, there is an ethnohistorical record extending back to the middle of the sixteenth century. Comparable detail on the northern part of the state did not begin until late in the nineteenth century. The result of these factors is that we have a much less robust picture of which groups were in the northern part of the state, or where they were, beyond the unquestionable presence of the Ute and later, Arapaho. Adding to the difficulties, the middle to end of the 1800s was a period of tremendous movement and turmoil among American Indians in the plains and mountains of the central U.S. Thus, we find many reports of Indians in particular areas that are not representative of their usual residence patterns. For example in Toll (1914) there are several reports indicating the presence of Apache, Pawnee, and other groups in the area, though their traditional ranges lay several hundred miles south and east of the Park. Recent work by Butler (1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c) and Brunswig (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002) is beginning to rectify this paucity of specifically identified sites. As noted earlier, a particular issue in the Park has been, until recently, the relative lack of attention to the Indian populations identifiable in the area. Additional reading on the archaeology of the prehistoric and protohistoric Indian populations of the Park region can be found in Stone (1999), Cassells (1997), Benedict (1985; 1992; 1996), Gilmore et al. (1999), Reed and Metcalf (1999) as well as the Brunswig reports specific to the Park.

CHAPTER FOUR: AMERICAN INDIANS IN ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK



Figure 12. "Indian Wickiup near Big Thompson, Estes Park" (from the RMNP archives, catalog #18032, "Photos of National Park, vol. 5, p. 96, undated).

Any discussion of American Indians in and around what is now Rocky Mountain National Park in the nineteenth century must be placed in the context of historical and ecological processes that were fundamentally affecting American Indian life-ways. Thus, this section is divided into two parts, indicating, to a certain extent, the intensity of use of the Rocky Mountain National Park region. In the context of a regional or landscape approach to understanding Indian occupation and use of particular regions (see below), especially in this region where nomadic life ways were the norm, it is difficult to argue a case for "residential" groups. Although I will use the terms "residential" and "visitor," it probably makes more sense to conceive of the situation as a case of frequency or regularity of visitation, or intensity of use. Thus, we can talk about the Ute and Arapaho as "resident" groups because, were one to have traveled through the region in, say the summer of 1850, one would have likely encountered members of one group or the other. Other groups might have been encountered, but it would have been a chance encounter,

not likely to have been repeated the following week. This perspective also takes account of the approach articulated below (Hanson and Chirinos 1989) in that the evidence illustrates a fairly clear picture of Rocky Mountain National Park as unquestionably a long-standing part of the core region or territory of the Ute and a secondary area for the Northern Arapaho, for 50-70 years. All other groups appear to have come into the Park relatively infrequently, given current ethnographic, ethnohistoric and archaeological data. This can be explained by the simple fact that the Ute and Arapaho are known to have vigorously defended the territory against outsiders (see Toll 1962). Thus, although the Ute and Arapaho were long-standing enemies (Smith 1974), we can think of their use of this same region in an overlapping fashion, contesting access when they encountered one another, but otherwise both utilizing available resources as noted by Fremont (1850) in his travels through North and Middle Parks west of Rocky Mountain National Park.

Known Residential Groups

The Northern Ute and the Northern Arapaho are the two groups that can be unambiguously identified as resident in and around the Park in the proto-historical and historical periods. Resident in this context means maintaining year round residence in and around the Park proper. Given that people seldom spent the winters in the Park, we can think of residence in the context of regular seasonal visits. It is clear from the historical record that other groups visited the region and probably hunted and/or collected material in the Park. But, with the possible exception of the Cheyenne, Apache and Shoshone, discussed below, there is no indication of other groups having been in and around the Park for any extended period after about 1700. Thus, for the purpose of this report, I argue that the resident groups at the time of major contact were the Northern Ute and the Northern Arapaho. Furthermore, it is important to note that among the Ute the two bands of the Northern Ute, known individually as the Yampa and Parusanuch (a.k.a. Grand River), and collectively as the White River were the ones which most frequently accessed the Park region. Among the Arapaho, those bands who became known as the Northern Arapaho were the ones most often in the region. What follows is a discussion of what we know about their presence in the area.

Wedel (1963) indicates that the High Plains (including Colorado east of the Rocky Mountains) were probably seasonally occupied from late spring to early fall with

people retreating to river basins and foothill regions in winter where wood and permanent water were readily available. This seems to have been the case both before and after plains tribes acquired horses. This reflected also, in part, the pattern of movement of the bison. He argues that water was adequately available in much of the High Plains in the form of springs, intermittent streams and ponds which would flow in spring and early summer, but which would be unreliable in fall and winter. This resulted in a pattern of groups migrating into the higher mountain areas where water supplies are more dependable during the late summer, early fall months. This also corresponds with the movement of animals and the harvest season for vegetable materials, both of which tend to progress from lower to higher grounds as the summer advances. Both animals and humans would move out of the higher mountains in the late fall as winter approached, retreating to areas of permanent water, wood, and shelter from winter winds and snowfall. Benedict (1992b) has developed a similar set of arguments for prehistoric use and occupation patterns in the northern Colorado Rocky Mountains.

The picture which emerges from the proto-historical and historical data is one in which the Northern Ute and Northern Arapaho were incontestably resident in and around Rocky Mountain National Park, not infrequently in conflict with one another (Ives 1942; Smith 1974)⁷. There is little evidence that either group wintered regularly in the region now encompassed by the Park, presumably because of the harsh winter weather characteristic of the high altitudes, though the Toll report mentions a couple of instances where winter camps were made by the Arapaho in the Park vicinity, usually because they got trapped by heavy snowfall (1962:14). Much stronger evidence exists for summer occupation, spending the winter in lower altitude regions: the Arapaho to the north and east in the plains of Colorado and Wyoming, the Ute to the west and south in the Colorado (formerly Grand) and Yampa river valleys and affiliated North and Middle Parks. Bill Butler relates the following discussion he had with Clifford Duncan, Northern Ute consultant: “We were in the Kawuneeche and I asked Clifford Duncan where he would build a house for the winter. He pointed to the west side of the valley, but said that I had asked the wrong question: The question should have been: ‘Would you over winter in the valley?’ His response was ‘Of course not. Too much snow and too cold. We would be in Middle Park where it is warmer and where the game is.’”

Keller (1987) in his description of an 1864 expedition from Central City over to Middle Park (south and west of Granby), cites several reports on American Indians from the region west of Rocky Mountain National Park: Thomas Farnham (1973 [1843]) crossed Middle Park in 1839 and commented that it was Ute territory; Rufus Sage crossed in 1842 (Sage 1857), and John C. Fremont in 1844 (Fremont 1850), both also commenting on Ute presence. Middle Park in 1864 was described by the travelers Keller documents as follows: “No one dwells in it, save the Ute Indians who make it their hunting ground...” (Keller 1987:60). The reference was to the White River and Grand River Ute bands. While Ute and Arapaho ranges appear to have overlapped in this region, the Park being in the southwest portion of the Arapaho territory and in the northeast part of the Ute, there is little evidence to indicate that other groups were any but occasional visitors (see below). Edwin James in his editing of the journals from the Stephen Long expedition (of which he was a member) notes the following in his discussion of the Indians they encountered on the South Platte river in Colorado: “Widely diffused as these Indians are and never embodied, it is impracticable even to conjecture their numbers, with any degree of probable accuracy. They roam, not only throughout the section above specified [the plains east of the Rocky Mountains], but extensively, within the range of the Rocky Mountains” (James 1823 II:368). This was in a section entitled: “Of the Arrapahoes (Arapaho), Kaskaias, Kioways (Kiowa), Iatans, and Shiennes (Cheyenne).”⁸ He is no more specific about their ranges than that, the expedition records on the Indians having been destroyed at some point. Unfortunately, he says little about the presence of Indians when traveling through the region of the South Platte east of Rocky Mountain National Park. The above quote refers to their encounters in general and therefore includes territory from Nebraska to the front range of the Rocky Mountains. He devotes much more attention to the presence of the many different groups when discussing the region around the Arkansas in the southern part of the state.

Northern Ute

Buckles notes: “The diversity of Colorado Indian tribes is related in large part to the dynamics of the historic period. Most of the tribes had their origins elsewhere and migrated to Colorado as part of the widespread movements of Indian tribes engendered by the influences of European culture” (1968:54). This was the pattern which existed

east of the Rocky Mountains, whereas in the west, the Ute appear to have been in the Colorado mountains from at least 1400 A. D. onward (Stone 1999:128ff), and probably earlier (Cassells 1997:241). The current consensus appears to favor, in principle, Lamb's 1958 proposal (Lamb 1958) on the Numic spread from the Great Basin north and east (Reed and Metcalf 1999; Rhode and Madsen 1994). Although the method used by Lamb, glottochronology, has been vigorously critiqued (Grayson 1994; Stewart 1966) as a viable method to assign time depth, the general pattern he proposed appears correct. Grayson speculates: "Several thousand years later [Numic speakers] expanded into territories that were, or had very recently been, occupied by Fremont and Anasazi peoples..." concluding, "[i]f these speculations are correct then the prime flaw in Lamb's model might well lie only in the timing of it all" (1994:23). While there is still debate about the rate of division and spread from the Great Basin (Thomas 1994), current evidence supports arrival of the Ute predecessors to Colorado around 1000 to 1100 B.P. (Rhode and Madsen 1994), a point with which Ute historian Clifford Duncan would appear to agree in his history of the Northern Ute: "The Utes and their ancestors called the land of the eastern Great Basin and western Rocky Mountains home for hundreds of years before it was discovered and explored by Europeans" (Duncan 2000):173). Stewart (1966) develops an alternate hypothesis that the Utes have "always been here," as a group distinct from Fremont, Pueblo, or Basketmaker groups in surrounding regions, but which is not well supported by the majority of available archaeological data. Unlike the Plains tribes, the Ute were relatively undisturbed until the heavy influx after mid-century of miners and other settlers disrupted their traditional patterns. "From the time of the earliest [historical] references until the reservation period, the Ute were consistently described as the exclusive occupants of the mountain and plateau areas of the state and it can be assumed these were their aboriginal homelands as well" (Buckles 1968:55-6). Although this is probably generally true, the Arapaho had a significant presence in the mountains for 50-70 years, see below. Ives, referring to a site at Lake Dorothy, 12,050 feet, above Arapaho Pass (immediately south of Rocky Mountain National Park) notes: "Local legends say that this area was a neutral zone between the ranges of the reputedly hostile Arapahoes and Uncompagre Utes and that they met atop the pass to trade" (1942:457). The earliest Ute contact with European derived populations appears to have

been Zárote-Salmarón in 1623.⁹ Stewart (1966) argues that widespread Ute travel into the southern plains of Colorado probably did not come about until they began to acquire large numbers of horses following the Pueblo uprising of 1680. Likewise, the Cheyenne, Arapaho and Kiowa ventured into the mountains in search of Ute horses while the Ute traveled to the plains in search of buffalo; thus developed the well-known conflict between these groups. Stewart speaks primarily of the southern plains and mountains, but reports by Gun Griswold and Tom Sage to Toll in 1914¹⁰ (Toll 1914, 1962) indicate that much the same seems to have been the case in the region around Rocky Mountain National Park. Of the seven bands of Ute generally recognized for Colorado, the Yampa, Grand River and possibly, or occasionally, the Uncompahgre were likely to have been in and around Rocky Mountain National Park, with the Grand River being the most likely given their residence in and around Middle Park just west of the current western boundary of the Park. The Northern Ute bands wintered “some place along the White, the Green, or the Colorado rivers” (Jefferson, Delaney and Thompson 1972:ix).

The following materials should be consulted for detailed information on Ute history and culture: Beals (1935), Callaway, Janetski and Stewart (1986), Duncan (2000), Emmitt (1954), McConnell (1963), Pettitt (1990), Simmons (2000), Smith (1974), Steward (1974), Stewart (1966), Tribe (1977a; 1977b; 1977c; 1977d)

Northern Arapaho

Like the Northern Ute, there can be little doubt of Northern Arapaho presence in and around Rocky Mountain National Park. The Toll expedition of 1914 (1962) demonstrated the tribe’s deep knowledge of the region indicating multi-generational habitation. From written reports giving evidence of their presence, it is clear that they were well established in the region by the end of the 1830s. This fits with the probable dates of residence by Gun Griswold and Tom Sage when they were children in the region. Reports of Arapaho up and down the Front Range are common as are reports of the Arapaho on the west side of the Rocky Mountain National Park in Middle Park (Coel 1981; Trenholm 1970).

The early history of the Algonquin-speaking Arapaho (before about 1800) is uncertain, the best estimates indicating that they came from somewhere in the upper Midwest, possibly Minnesota. By early in the nineteenth century, they were well

established in the Black Hills with annual trips as far south as the South Platte River in Colorado (Gussow, Hafen, and Ekirch 1974:71). In the second decade of the nineteenth century, there is clear evidence of their presence in the eastern plains of Colorado with reports of them at the junction of Cherry Creek and the South Platte ("Denver") as early as 1816 (Gussow, Hafen, and Ekirch 1974:75). They were well established between the Arkansas and the South Platte by mid-century living primarily on the plains, frequently venturing into the mountains to hunt and/or raid against their longstanding enemies, the Ute. The U.S. military explorer Francis Bryan reported encountering Arapaho on a northern tributary of the Cache La Poudre River in 1856, just east of the Park (Bryan 1857).



Figure 13. "Arapaho visiting Park, 1913" (Colorado Historical Society, catalog #F-6757, July 1913).

Important ethnographic and historical material on the Arapaho may be found in the following volumes: Beals (1935), Coel (1981), Fowler (1982, 1989), Gussow (1974), Kroeber (1902; 1904; 1907), Mooney (1907), Salzmänn (1988), Toll (1962), Trenholm (1970).

Summary

There can be no doubt of the presence of the Arapaho and the Ute, both in Colorado and in the Rocky Mountain National Park environs. This is borne out by oral

history, historical records, and archaeology. Fremont notes in his account for 14 June, 1844 the following in reference to what is now called North Park wherein arises the North Platte river: “We halted for the night just within the gate [entrance to the Park], and expected, as usual, to see herds of buffalo; but an Arapahoe village had been before us, and not one was to be seen” (1850:413). Continuing south they crossed into Middle Park (then called Old Park), the headwaters of the Colorado river, then called the Grand river, where he noted: “We were now moving with some caution, from the trail, we found the Arapahoe village had also passed this way; as we were coming out of their enemy’s country, and this was a war-ground, we were desirous to avoid them” (1850:414). They later met this group of Arapaho which party included “about 20 Sioux.”¹¹ In his notes on 18 June, 1844, he makes the following observation: “We saw to-day the returning trail of an Arapahoe party which had been sent from the village to look for Utahs [Ute]...” (1850:416). Two years earlier on the outward-bound portion of the trip, he noted the presence of Arapaho and some Cheyenne in the Plains east of St. Vrain’s fort east of the foothills in northern Colorado, near Greeley (1850:41).

That both the Arapaho and Ute were present in the region can be gleaned easily from the contrast between Fremont’s report noted above, and that of Bowles (1869:114), albeit 25 years later. Speaking about Middle Park he notes: “...along the river bank, a hundred white tents, like dots in the distance showed the encampment of six to eight hundred Ute Indians...” It is also worth noting another contrast between these two authors—Fremont commented on the abundance and ease of capture of game, while Bowles notes its almost total absence. Bowles further comments on the hardship this must place on the Ute in the region (1869:121).

The Northern Ute and Northern Arapaho consultants were unequivocal about the presence of their tribes in and around the Park in the proto-historical and historical period. Oral history has kept alive that knowledge, but because of the history of Indians in Colorado, noted earlier, there has been little recognized contact, formal or informal, with the Park by representative groups since well before its 1915 inception. As will be detailed below, in the context of this study, there were no significant sites or materials identified or recognized by consultants beyond the general, and undeniable, recognition of Indian residence in the region until the mid nineteenth century. As archaeological

research proceeds, identifying many new sites, and as consultative and collaborative relationships emerge and strengthen, it is reasonable to expect identification of sites that may qualify as Traditional Cultural Properties.

Known Visitor Groups

Visitor groups are those which were not “native” to northern Colorado in the protohistorical period or for which there is no clear documentation of their having been in the Rocky Mountain National Park region on a regular, seasonal, or year round basis. Like resident groups the distinction needs to be drawn regarding these groups’ access to or use of the Rocky Mountain National Park environs. The difficulty is one of definition—groups which did not have defined territories with distinct boundaries, cannot easily be said to be “from somewhere.” While there are regions in which they are noted, these shifted considerably over time (e.g., Comanche in Colorado¹²). Given the purposes of a report of this nature, it does not seem that the occasional war or hunting party venturing into northern Colorado constitutes a “presence.” Using the model proposed by Hanson and Chirinos (1989), one could argue that only the Northern Ute (specifically the White River bands) and Northern Arapaho would have had the Park as part of their primary or secondary territory. From ethnographic and historic documentation, the Shoshone and Cheyenne, and perhaps the Apache, may be said to have used the Park as a tertiary zone in their annual rounds, though this is difficult to verify. Following Hanson and Chirinos: “Tertiary zones are those marginal areas utilized briefly or intermittently, but not with sufficient frequency to provide evidence of repeated settlement or resource use” (1989:18). The areas labeled “Hunting Grounds” in Figure 5 would qualify as tertiary zones for the Ute as defined by Hanson and Chirinos. No other groups qualify in this sense as having accessed the Park, and for the Shoshone, Apache, and Cheyenne the evidence is sparse.

Upon acquisition of horses and guns, and contemporaneously with the arrival of non-Indians, there was a great deal of movement on the Plains (Stone 1999:148-50). Some groups of Indians undoubtedly drifted into mountainous northern Colorado from other areas. There is very little mention of the various groups having done so, in part because they were largely Plains groups and northern Colorado was mountainous and strongly held by the Ute and Arapaho. For example, Hamilton, speaking about Wyoming

about 180 miles north of Rocky Mountain National Park (junction of the North Platte and Laramie rivers), notes the presence of Cheyenne, Pawnee and Sioux (Hamilton 1960). Similarly, Fremont, referring to his return through northern Colorado in June, 1844 made the following statement: “At night we encamped in a fine grove of cottonwood-trees, on the banks of the Elk Head River, the principal fork of the Yampah River [just east of present-day Craig, Colorado]...We made here a very strong fort, and formed the camp into vigilant guards. The country we were now entering was constantly infested by war parties of the Sioux and other Indians, and is among the most dangerous war-grounds in the Rocky mountains [sic]...” (1850:410). On page 411 he mentions a trapper (Pullam) who had been killed by the Gros Ventre Indians, normally found well north in Montana and Idaho (although the Gros Ventre were often confused with the Arapaho).

It can be said that all the following groups were present in Colorado at some time: Apache, Kiowa-Apache, Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Pawnee, Shoshone, Kiowa, Ute, and perhaps the Sioux. Table 3 contains the key citations mentioning the presence of various groups in Colorado.

Table 3. Key citations on particular American Indian tribes in Colorado.

Group	Citations mentioning their presence in Colorado
Apache	Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988); Haley (1981); Melody (1977) Taylor citing Schroeder (1969:269); Schlesier (1972); Toll (1962); Worchester (1979)
Kiowa-Apache	Bittle (1971); Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988)
Comanche	Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988); Toll (1962); Kavanagh (1999); Noyes (1993)
Arapaho	Coel (1981); Fowler (1989); Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988); Salzmann (1988); Trenholm (1970)
Cheyenne	Berthong (1963); Grinnell (1972 [1923]); Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988); Hoig (1989); Powell (1980)
Pawnee	Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988); Toll (1962); Weltfish (1977 [1965])
Shoshone	Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988); Trenholm and Carley (1964)

Table 3 continued.

Kiowa	Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988); Mayhall (1962)
Ute	Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988); Petitt (1990); Stewart (1952)
Sioux	Fremont (1850); Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988)

For each of the above mentioned groups there is clear historical, and in some cases, ethnohistoric and/or archaeological evidence of their presence in the state on various occasions, either as residents or regular visitors for hunting, collecting, trade, etc. With the exception of the Ute and to a certain extent the Shoshone, all of the other groups were Plains groups who ventured to the mountains occasionally for hunting and collecting, and in later years for raiding and warfare. Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988) discuss the tremendous travel and migration occurring in the high plains in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, largely (but not exclusively) due to the mobility provided by introduction of the horse into Plains cultures and to pressure from non-Indian immigration from east to west. Their detailed ethnohistorical discussion includes relatively little on northern Colorado. While there was a major Indian trail that ran along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains (following roughly the same route as does U.S. Interstate 25), much traveled by many Plains Indian groups, there is little indication in the available literature that they ventured on a regular basis into the mountains to the west. More specifically, considering Rocky Mountain National Park and environs, the list narrows considerably in terms of those groups who regularly visited and/or who could be considered to have lived in the region: Several Northern Ute and the Northern Arapaho bands with occasional notes on the presence of other groups: Apache (Toll 1962:17), Comanche, Pawnee (Toll 1962:11), Cheyenne (Powell 1980) and the aforementioned Sioux and others.

The Shoshone may have come into the Park region from the north and west, the Pawnee from the east, Apache, Comanche and Kiowa from the southeast, the Cheyenne and Sioux from the northeast, and the Crow and other plains tribes from the north. Hewes (1948), in a widely cited analysis used available literature to trace the movement of major American Indian groups across the Northern Great Plains. His conclusions are similar to those of others: The Cheyenne arrived late to the High Plains of Colorado, being well established by 1853 on the South Platte near present-day Greeley. Likewise, the Arapaho probably arrived in large numbers early in the nineteenth century, essentially

contemporaneous with non-Indian arrival, though large scale White occupation did not occur until after mid-century with the discovery of gold near present day Denver in 1859. Hewes suggests that the North and South divisions for the Arapaho arose in the nineteenth century. Much of this rapid expansion and shifting residence patterns is generally attributed to the arrival of European-based technology, especially the horse and gun (in that order, usually) which had profound impacts on travel, exploitation of hunted animals (especially the buffalo on the plains), and military activities (Holder 1970; Secoy 1953; Shimkin 1986; see endnote 4).

Cheyenne

It is interesting to note the relative absence of Cheyenne in Colorado. While it is well known that they regularly traveled, lived and camped with the related Algonquin-speaking Arapaho, there is relatively little mention of them in and around Rocky Mountain National Park. The picture that emerges finds the Cheyenne generally east of the Arapaho who were unquestionably in and around Rocky Mountain National Park for 50-70 years. While there are frequent mentions of the Cheyenne camping with the Arapaho near Denver and parts south, reports of their presence in north central Colorado are uncommon. This would seem corroborated by Grinnell (1906) in his discussion of Cheyenne stream names. Most of the streams he mentions are not in Colorado and those that are, are all in the plains, North Platte, South Platte, Arkansas, with no mention of the many major streams and rivers arising in the northern Rocky Mountains: St. Vrain, Big Thompson, Boulder Creek, Clear Creek, Cache La Poudre, etc. Likewise, most of the plants he lists (Grinnell 1905) are plains plants with only a few of them, or related species, occurring in the northern Rocky Mountains of Colorado. Mooney states in relation to the split of the Cheyenne into northern and southern bands in 1833: "The rest of the tribe continued to rove about the headwaters of the North Platte and Yellowstone" (1907b:377). The North Platte begins in North Park, Colorado, but the "headwaters" would include the entire region north through the Medicine Bow Mountains, basically until the river turns south at Evanston, Wyoming. This indicates that the Cheyenne may have been in the mountains of northern Colorado, but there is little else in the literature to suggest that they were.

The Cheyenne present something of a paradox relative to Rocky Mountain National Park and the presence of the Arapaho in the area. Undoubtedly, Cheyenne warriors and/or hunters passed through the region, but evidence indicating frequent or consistent use of, or residence in, Park lands is lacking. The explanation for this paradox probably lies in the details of the relationship between the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Although the two tribes were often together, they nevertheless maintained separate identities and although their base territories overlapped to a large extent, they were not the same. The Cheyenne territory was mostly east of the Arapaho in Colorado (Grinnell 1972 [1923]:42ff). Another key part of the explanation may lie in the casualness of interpretation. When statements are made that the Cheyenne and Arapaho always camped together, there often is no specification of time frame or location. This bears on Rocky Mountain National Park because, after the completion of Bent's fort on the Arkansas River in 1832, the largest part of the Cheyenne (along with many Arapaho) moved to the region around the fort with a small band remaining in the area of northeast Colorado, northwest Nebraska, and southwest Wyoming, essentially centered on the North Platte and Platte rivers. In this light it is interesting to note that in the Toll report on his travels with the Arapaho through the Park region, there is no mention of the Cheyenne (1962).

The best single compilation of Cheyenne early history is that of Gussow, Hafen, and Ekirch (1974) written as part of the Indian Claims Commission findings. Although somewhat dated, I did not encounter any later information contradicting their assessments so I will follow their basic outline here.

The Cheyenne probably began their westward travels from somewhere east of the Mississippi river in the upper Midwest, near the Great Lakes, though exactly where is uncertain. Between approximately 1750 and the end of the eighteenth century, the Cheyenne became the nomadic plains buffalo hunters as they are best known in the literature, arriving in the Black Hills region, well west of their original territory, at the opening of the nineteenth century. There is some indication that the Cheyenne also traveled well into the plains of Wyoming and Colorado at this time, particularly in winter. In the 1830s it appears that the largest portion of the Cheyenne affiliated with Bent's Fort for trade, beginning the process that resulted in the large Southern Cheyenne (and

Arapaho) and the smaller Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho bands. As is the case with most of the tribes who inhabited northern Colorado, there is relatively little information on the northern band of the Cheyenne after the division into Northern and Southern bands. Gussow, Hafen and Ekirch note: "Following the separation of the Cheyenne into Northern and Southern division[s], the available data refers only to the Southern Cheyenne. The Northern Cheyenne appear to retain, along with some bands of the Sioux, a share in the territory extending from the forks of the Cheyenne river and the Black Hills west to the Yellowstone and southward to the North Platte on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains" (1974:65). This places their primary territory well east and north of Rocky Mountain National Park. Maps provided by Moore (1987:129, 216) seem to bear out this interpretation. This does not mean that they never entered the region, only that it appears to have not been a regular part of their basic territory. For example, Fremont in 1842 noted a large number of Arapaho, Sioux, and Cheyenne in the region around Laramie passing through the Medicine Bow mountains on their way west (Fremont 1850).

Shoshone

Wright (1978) argues that Shoshone (Numic) speakers did not arrive in the Utah/Idaho border, SW Wyoming area until the fifteenth century at the earliest, having migrated from the Sierra Nevada foothills north and east across the Great Basin eventually coming into contact and conflict with Fremont peoples.¹³ His indication of their region of distribution was, apparently always, in Wyoming, Idaho and Utah, with no mention of their having ever been in Colorado except in the extreme northwest corner. Steward (1937) and Shimkin (1938) indicate only the vaguest possibility that the Shoshone were in any areas of Colorado with the possible exception of some groups in the extreme northwest corner of the state. They were effectively blocked by travel further south by the Ute and Arapaho, and east by the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Sioux and other plains groups. Hultkrantz (1961) seems to imply that the Shoshone were "contained" in Wyoming, Idaho and Utah because of more powerful groups to the south (presumably Ute) and east (Crow, Arapaho, and Cheyenne). In his detailed summary of the Eastern Shoshone, Shimkin (1986) defines the territory of the Eastern Shoshone as almost entirely within the borders of present-day Wyoming. Any entry into Colorado

was occasional, incidental (Beals 1935) and largely confined to the northwest corner of the state. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Shoshone were based in the Wind River Mountains and west with forays into the high plains of northeast Wyoming for buffalo. An example of their venturing into the Park region is found in Toll where the Arapaho mention having been involved in a battle with a large number of Shoshone who had come into the Park “pretending to be friendly with the Arapahos...” (1962:16). The map entitled “The Rockies, Home of the Shoshonis, 1865” in Trenholm and Carley (1964:210-211) reflects this general territory, including only the narrowest sliver of northern Colorado and labeling that as Arapaho territory to the east and Ute territory to the west.

It is worth noting in this context that in article four of the Fort Bridger treaty of 1863 (“Treaty with the Eastern Shoshoni 1863”) the boundaries of Shoshone territory extend south to North Park (presumably the North Park of Colorado, west of Rocky Mountain National Park), and the Yampa river. This further reinforces the impression that the country in and around Rocky Mountain National Park was at the extreme edges of Shoshone territory. Likewise, the Arapaho accompanying Toll on his 1914 expedition through Rocky Mountain National Park commented: “The easiest fight the Arapahos ever had was in the neighborhood of Devils Gulch, when they routed a party of Shoshones” (Toll 1962:16). The possible presence of Shoshone in the Park region can be inferred from a portion of a steatite vessel and other pottery, generally recognized as diagnostic of Shoshone. Trade between Ute and Shoshone at this border region and overlapping use areas provide the two best explanations for this type of artifact south of the generally recognized Shoshone lands.

Kiowa-Apache

Bittle (1971) in his ethnohistoric analysis of the Athabaskan-speaking Kiowa-Apache indicates that the Kiowa-Apache were in southern Colorado and parts south, seldom venturing north of the Arkansas River. There were no reports in the literature indicating any regular travel into northern Colorado.

Apache

While the Apache are generally considered to be a Central High Plains and Southwest group (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988; Haley 1981; Taylor 1969;

Worchester 1979), there is some evidence that the Apache may have been occasional visitors to the Park region. Toll (1962) describes the Arapaho battle with a group of about 50 Apache in Moraine Park. According to Toll's figures, this would have occurred in the mid 1850s when the Apache were well established in the Southwest U.S. territories. The hill where the Apache were said to have made their last stand is now referred to as "Apache Fort," and prior to the Arapaho visit, was known as the "Indian Fort" (Toll 1962:17), indicating some historical knowledge of the events.

The Park possesses examples of Dismal River Ware, recovered in the Park which is diagnostic of Apache when they were settled along the Republican river in eastern Colorado during the mid 1600s through the early 1700s (Stone 1999; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988) at which time they were pushed south by the Comanche (Clark 1999). Additionally, pottery sherds "reminiscent of Dismal River ceramics" have been found to the south in the Indian Peaks area (Kindig 2000:99). Three explanations for these finds can be proposed: One is offered by Gunnerson and Gunnerson (1988) when they suggest the possibility of a rapid Apache migration from north to south along the front range of the Rocky Mountains, which would allow for forays into the mountains. This does not account for the Dismal River ceramics because the proposed migration was in the early 1500s while the Dismal River ceramics are considered indicative of Apache society during the 1600s (Brunswig 1995, cited in Clark 1999). The second possibility is that the Apache ventured into the mountains from the plains, especially in later years as they acquired increasing numbers of horses and became more mobile. The third option is simply that the ceramics arrived in the mountains by trade. Whether the Apache were regular or occasional visitors to the area cannot at this time be stated with certainty with currently available data.

Kiowa

Mayhall, in her map and in her ethnohistorical account locates the Tanoan-speaking Kiowa in the extreme southeastern part of Colorado, southwestern Kansas, western Oklahoma and Texas into eastern New Mexico (1962:191). This is echoed in the maps provided to the U.S. Claims Commission (1974:20) showing the Kiowa territory as of 1850. From this location it seems unlikely that they would have had a regular

presence as far north and west as Rocky Mountain National Park, having to traverse the lands of Ute, Arapaho and Cheyenne over the course of a week or more of steady riding.

Comanche

The Comanche appear to have split from the linguistically similar Shoshone of Wyoming in the middle of sixteenth century (perhaps later) and had drifted south to a sufficient degree to have been encountered by the Spanish in the early eighteenth century. They appear to have been well established in the Plains of eastern Colorado, as far north as Wyoming and as far south as the Arkansas River (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:29-30). The degree to which they may have been in the region around Rocky Mountain National Park prior to their migration south is not known as there is essentially no written or archaeological record indicating their presence in the mountains, though Hodge (1907:327) notes: "As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as the Padouca fork." Padouca was the name by which the Comanche were referred to by Siouan speaking groups.

Pawnee

The Toll volume makes two mentions of Caddoan-speaking Pawnee in the Park. The first is in the context of the Arapaho having killed an Indian on what is now Taylor Peak, whom they identified by his haircut as probably Pawnee. The second concerns Arapaho Peak which the Arapaho called Pawnee Forts, "because the Pawnee once fortified themselves on it" (1962:28). Blaine (1980:vi, xii) places the Pawnee primarily around the junction of the Loup and Platte rivers in Nebraska, with their entire territory extending from extreme eastern Colorado to eastern Nebraska and Central Kansas, and South Dakota to Oklahoma. While this does not preclude travel to the Park region, it would seem unlikely that the journey would/could be made on a regular basis.

Sioux

The Sioux also present something of a complexity. Like the Cheyenne they were known to have roamed throughout the region north and east of the Park, primarily in Wyoming, along the North Platte, but there is very little evidence, archaeological, or ethnohistoric that they were regularly in the region in and around the Park. Hodge (1907:376) places them north of the 42nd parallel at the time of the Long expedition of 1825. The 42nd parallel passes approximately through Evanston, Wyoming where the

North Platte bends from a north to southeast flowing river. It is easily conceivable that from there they might have traveled the several hundred miles to the Park region, but it seems unlikely that they did so regularly. With the exception of the notes by Fremont (1850), there are few reports of the Sioux in the mountains of Colorado.

CHAPTER FIVE: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON RESOURCES IN ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

A central purpose of the ethnographic documentation and assessment process is to identify those objects, places, and materials that may have served as resources in the past and which may still have significance to affiliated groups. There are several ways to think about “resources”. In light of guidelines for designation as Traditional Cultural Properties (see below), I will use resources to mean basic items, places and related concrete, identifiable features. Theoretically, there is increasing recognition that these identifiable entities need to be considered in a larger context. The approach I will follow is to think in terms of “landscapes” as a way to conceive of how American Indian groups may have “used” the Park lands. Other ways of discussing this same general approach include “ethnogeographies” (Furbee and Benfer 1983; Gilmore 1913; Harrington 1916; Howard 1972; Shimkin 1947), “ethnographic resources” (Nabokov and Lowendorf 1994), “symbolic landscapes” (Greider and Garkovich 1993), “sacred landscapes” (Carmichael et al. 1994), and Co-Influence Sphere model (Hanson and Chirinos 1989).¹⁴ In each case an important recognition is that the environment is more than a collection of “things” known as “resources.” Rather, while food, materia medica, house construction, religious and other significance all exist in a region, it is increasingly recognized that a perspective on the environment that places all of these individual entities into a more comprehensive framework may be more useful than considering them as individual “resources.” The issue is one of comprehending peoples’ relationships to space and the material items used within that space in light of the largely nomadic lifestyle of affiliated tribes after about 1800. Given the high altitude and attendant harsh conditions of the Park region it is unlikely that people lived regularly within the Park boundaries on a year-round basis.¹⁵ But, considering the rich, diverse set of resources likely to have been utilized within the Park, some approach is necessary to make sense of likely use patterns. To that end an approach that considers resources within a context of “landscapes” appears useful.

Within a theoretical consideration of a landscape concept, a central question to be addressed is "What is a resource?" The primary reason for considering “resources” in this broader context is the realization that people from different cultural backgrounds will

likely view the same area from very different perspectives. These perspectives are guided by unique cultural views of land, distinctive historical experiences with the land and other groups in the region and variable life-ways that utilize various items within the landscape in different ways.

I will draw on some of the archaeological literature, but more on my knowledge as an ethnobotanist concerned with how populations define resources, how those resources are affected by exploitation in a capitalist market, and on discussions with descendant groups, primarily the Arapaho and Ute, who once occupied the region surrounding what is now called Rocky Mountain National Park.

My primary interest is in thinking beyond how we normally define the concept of “resource.” Those of us who grew up under western capitalism are conditioned to think of resource as something that is used, often to make something else, but still, a thing, an entity. As such it is a physical/material item: stone for tools, plants as medicines, trees for pitch or firewood, plants and animals as food, fiber, or hide, building materials, etc. and most policy has been derived from these assumptions. The distinction I want to draw out is that between “things” and “place;” a distinction between “resources” and “landscapes.” The focus is on the idea of landscape as a cultural and ecological construct of those who lived there and exploited available material items (Nabokov and Lowendorf 1994). My work in Mexico with Mayan agriculturists and discussions with Arapaho and Ute on Rocky Mountain National Park has forced me to think a bit more broadly about resource definition. My first encounter with this problem occurred when I began thinking about resource conservation or sustainable development in third world contexts and I have had it reinforced in discussions around Indian history in and around Rocky Mountain National Park. The tendency in thinking about resource conservation has been to focus on one or two species that could be exploited in order to “save the rainforest.” While this may appear a viable model for a group that is being dragged into the capitalist market, it does not adequately address the local conception of the “resources” and so may fail. Discussions with Ute and Arapaho seemed always to turn away from “things” to a consideration of “place.” It was not strictly about access to particular items that might be considered resources, but rather a reincorporation of the Rocky Mountain National Park region into their cultural sense of homeland. The Arapaho desire to have a youth camp in

the region in the summer of 1997 was less motivated by their desire to teach children about specific plants and animals, than by a broader interest in exposing the junior high aged students to what was part of their cultural heritage, telling histories of the region and Arapaho involvement in the area.

Part of the conflict between American Indians and non-Indian settlers came from cultural conceptions of land and its appropriate use/value. From the perspective of the non-Indian settlers coming into Colorado after the mid nineteenth century, land was valued as a resource, as a means toward making a living, whether through homesteading, or through extraction of timber, minerals, etc. The settlers' perception of the Indians as subsistence hunters seemed to them wasteful of resources, a waste of land that could better be used to turn a profit, produce something (Athearn 1976). In Colorado in particular this becomes evident in the negotiation of treaties and agreements with Indians, especially the Ute. Each time an agreement was reached permitting the Ute exclusive use of some portion of the state, the agreement would have to be superseded by a subsequent agreement because settlers, miners, ranchers, etc. generally found "something useful" to do with the land, essentially invading the Indian lands. Once "uses" were identified for previously "useless" lands (which could be given to Indians), then agreements had to be renegotiated to account for the new needs of expanding settlement. Following are some examples of resources in this broader context to illustrate the point.

Joseph Bastien (1987) has demonstrated in the lives of the Kallawaya Indians of the Andes that the mountain is the resource in a transhumant¹⁶ lifestyle, going up in the summer, down in the winter. The mountain is seen as parallel to the human body and must be cared for accordingly: fed, blessed, tended. Thus, while we could identify specific material resources: grass as forage or thatching material, particular plants as medicines or collected foods, potato fields, etc., we would miss much of the meaning of a broader conception of resource if we failed to grasp the importance of mountain-as-body in this particular context. While the Kallawaya certainly can identify grasses best for forage compared with those best for thatching, they don't conceive of space and resource distribution in that fashion. When ritual to ensure continued abundance of potatoes, llamas, grass for thatch, etc. is done, it is done to the mountain, not the individual entities that we would identify as resources.

When speaking with Ute and Arapaho about what resources were available to them in the region in and around Rocky Mountain National Park, we were gently chided by both, but especially the Arapaho, in our conception of sacred places. We were standing around a circle of stones that had clearly been in place for a long time judging by lichen growth and related evidence, and discussing this as a possible "sacred site," a place for what we call a "vision quest." As we discussed this, one of the Arapaho elders in the group said something to the effect: "You know, I need to tell you something: you non-Indians don't understand. Our world was sacred. If someone needed to go and find guidance, to seek a vision as you say, he simply went away to a good place and did it. He did not have to go to a 'vision quest site' in order to succeed." I interpreted this as saying that it was the process more than the place that was important. Thus, any place could be sacred in any particular context—how are we to know which are/were and which are/were not sacred? With the exception of a few well documented sites, like Old Man Mountain for which Jim Benedict (1985) makes a convincing case, how do we think about sacredness? Since there were undoubtedly hundreds if not thousands of young men seeking spiritual guidance over the millennia, why do we have so few sites? Not being an archaeologist, I am not clear on what can be read from surface features, but if one person sets a group of rocks in a circle for his quest, leaving when he is done, do we have any way to know if one person or 17 used that site? If someone does not set or leave a circle of stones, does that make the site any less a sacred site, or resource? Perhaps it makes it unrecognizable to us later, but does that change its nature as a "place," a place of sacred value? In the political context of cultural resource management or in the case of an ethnographic history like this one, does the failure to find a "site" with specific "resources" mean that it was not an important area? The answer, I think, is "no" as I will discuss below. (See also Elinoff (2002) for a detailed discussion of these points.)

Another aspect of my thinking has to do with special properties that particular places possess that we cannot easily recognize after the fact. An illustrative example is a water well in the town where I worked in Chiapas, Mexico. The name of the community containing this well was *Chi'l ja'* which translated means "sweet water." When I asked my friend Xun why it had that name, he responded: "Because the people there don't have to buy salt." This didn't clarify the situation much, so I asked for more detail. He then

explained to me that the water there was particularly alkaline/saline (karst limestone physiography) so the people did not have to buy salt because it was already in the water.¹⁷ The importance in this context is one of interpretation: It would be easy to recognize this as a "resource" (a spring), either in the present or in an archeological context, but its fundamental nutritional consequences for the population would likely escape us after the fact. Its meaning and significance would not be readily available.

In reading through the pages on the Toll expedition through Rocky Mountain National Park in 1914 with two Arapaho elders, Gun Griswold and Tom Sage (Toll 1962), one gets the sense that just about every thing and every place was named. Does that mean that all of these places were/are important? I think probably so. As points of reference within a landscape they are/were of cultural, social or economic value; some of great significance, others less so. Thus, the place called "Apache Fort" is marked by a ring of stones said to have been a hastily erected fort set up by besieged Apaches. This was, by the Arapaho account, a major battle, thus part of the oral history of the tribe and likely to have been passed down through generations. Places like Elk Creek, Shell Creek, or Wolf Ridge presumably did not have any particular significance in relation to actual events but they are/were cognitive points in the landscape shared by those who lived there and exploited the available resources.

In the large, diffuse field called resource conservation/sustainable development, we are faced with many similar questions. What is a resource? Who defines it? Who can use it? What are the consequences of exploiting a "resource," defined in material terms? Do other, nonmaterial "resources" cease to be important, or what are the consequences for the development effort if they are ignored? This issue comes in part from geography and landscape architecture where landscape traditionally had been conceived of from the perspective of physical entities: trees, animals, grasslands, etc. Equally, or perhaps more importantly, is the question of how people who live in and utilize the landscape define it which is essentially a question of culture. This definitional process, given the human proclivity to change things to suit our needs, in essence makes or defines the landscape. Landscape, or resources for that matter, don't exist until humans define them as such. I am reminded of this in two contexts: Jim Benedict's (1987) report on Fasting Beds and Game Drive sites in Rocky Mountain National Park,

and in the work of Lewis on fire as a major tool in human shaping of ecosystems (Lewis 1973, 1989). In the case of Benedict's report he identified what seemed to be an old American Indian fasting bed which had been recently rebuilt, a series of cairns defining a game-drive system with associated kill/butchering sites, and an enclosure which could not be readily identified as to use. What I find interesting in the context of this discussion is that our usual interpretation is to identify this as an important hunt site, as it clearly was, identifying quarry sites as associated "resources;" resources that are necessary to carry out the hunts under question. The way I'm trying to think about this questions our viewing the parts instead of the whole. It is not the individual "resources" available that determine the value of any particular site, but human ability to recognize and exploit those resources within a particular ecological context, thereby defining a landscape. The question in this context is "Why do all of these occur together in this place?" What is it about this location that we find so many "resources" all together? An important question is trying to understand how they relate to one another, both in this small context, and also in a larger regional context.

The work of Lewis (1973, 1989), Balée (1994), Posey (1985) and others indicates that humans don't merely live in landscapes, they define them; resources and landscapes don't exist except to the extent that humans define them as such. Thus, it is not the things, but the place and the associated cultural knowledge about that place that determines "resources"—a used environment. The collective becomes/is the resource not the various components that are used individually for a variety of identifiable activities. This would appear to be the underlying rationale behind the Traditional Cultural Properties designation for areas of cultural significance (Parker and King 1990).

An important implication of this line of thinking is that it is not the physical entities themselves that constitute resources, but rather the mental construct of those who recognize them and capitalize on them to their benefit. Thus, a landscape and associated resources only exist as such in the minds and collective cultural knowledge of those who live there. Discussions with the Northern Ute tribal historian Clifford Duncan during a variety of consultation and shared speaking engagements has made it clear that the physical manifestations generally used to identify a "sacred site" are only one component in a complex of material items that, taken together, in the context of Ute spiritual beliefs

define the site as sacred. While a configuration of stones is generally the most obvious indication of a place, a number of not-so-obvious factors, “sight-lines,” botanical or mineral materials, historical attachments to place, etc., figure into the definition of “sacred.”

An issue that needs to be addressed in this discussion is how to put these interesting theoretical ideas into a useful framework that can be utilized for the purposes of Park management. There are several formulations of these ideas on a conceptual or theoretical level, formulations that articulate the basic issues (see below).

An example can be seen in the *vigas* utilized by Spanish settlers in the San Luis Valley of Colorado and New Mexico. There was a clear recognition that "resources" were, again, not distributed in distinct patches, but rather continuously distributed over a wide area—a landscape—so land grants were given as narrow strips of land that began at a water source, extended across the bottom lands as hay meadows, through the sage uplands for grazing, into the pine forests for fuel and building materials—this was the *viga*. Again, there were a variety of "resources" in each *viga*, but it was only in the context of the whole that they had any value, since lacking any one meant a compromise to survival.

My discussions with the Arapaho and Ute are instructive in this light. Their expressed desire to come to Colorado from Wyoming or Utah to collect plants or other material had little to do with the plants themselves, since the ones they were after are common throughout their ancestral territory and readily available much closer to the reservation. Rather, it was a matter of “coming home,” of reestablishing contact with a part of their ancestral territory, long denied them, that was important. I was surprised at the number of people who, in the course of a variety of conversations around plant collecting, said things like: “Hmmm, this is just like the old ones described it,” or “I feel like I belong here.” As individuals they knew nothing about the region, most of them having never been to the Park, but they all identified with it in a cultural or historical sense—as part of a landscape—as part of a cognitive definition of who they are as a people. Similarly, is the desire expressed by many tribes to collect plants inside national parks merely a contentious political statement, or recognition of something special about the plants in those locations? In my experience the answer is no to both questions. Often

the plants desired are common with a wide distribution so there is no need to travel 400 miles in order to collect them. Rather, it is an expression of "coming home." The plants themselves are less important than the place from where they were harvested; a former homeland that has long been denied the people. One consultant said to me: "We can get these plants anywhere, but we wanted to get them here because this is home." Note the present tense. I think of his conception of "home" as similar to my use of landscape: A cultural-ecological construct arising out of particular use patterns, knowledge, and history.

Hanson and Chirinos (1989) provide a method by which we might make these concepts of landscapes useful for managing park lands. Their awkwardly phrased "Co-Influence Sphere" model provides a mechanism to bridge the theoretical formulations of landscape as cultural construct and landscape as management tool. Their approach allows us to define who was where when, and to a degree, what they were doing there.

This model subdivides a group's resource territory into core, secondary, and tertiary zones of exploitation and use. Core zones are those where a group spends most of the year, or minimally certain seasons. Secondary zones are areas to which particular groups go regularly to secure specific resources. Tertiary zones are those marginal areas used briefly or intermittently, but with sufficient frequency to provide evidence of repeated settlement or resource use. This model can be used to describe the relative degree of land use intensity and status synchronically and diachronically (Hanson and Chirinos 1989:18).

This model is valuable in its ability to define and delimit "resource territories," which is similar to the physical dimensions of what I am calling landscapes. But two factors make this model problematic in the Rocky Mountain National Park context: 1) Given that people probably did not stay in the Park year round is a complication, but regular and/or extended trips during the summer/fall seasons could constitute at least secondary status if placed in a broader landscape context. 2) The more significant problem is that we have relatively little data about who might have been in or through the Park through time, making the model somewhat difficult to use in any definitive way. We have clear evidence of Ute and Arapaho presence in the Park with scattered references to other groups in or around the Park. The archaeological survey project

currently underway (Brunswig 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002), recent work by Elinoff (2002), and existing archaeological data on the Park and surrounding areas, will provide invaluable data with which to operationalize the model proposed by Hanson and Chirinos (1989).

The inherently broad-based mobility of the various plains tribes is summed up by Gussow, Hafen and Ekirch (1974:81):

From the period of the third quarter of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century the Cheyenne and Arapaho were buffalo hunting nomadic Indians living in close association with one another and residing on the Great Plains. The conditions of buffalo hunting precluded permanent settlements and permitted tribal assemblages to take place only under favorable ecological and seasonal conditions. As a result of their conditions of existence the Cheyenne and Arapaho were constantly on the move; the length of time spent at any one camping site varied with the time of year and the availability of resources. Depending upon the size and movements of the buffalo these Indians wandered over a fairly wide range of territory. To the extent that the movement of the buffalo was regularized, so were the movements of these nomadic Indians. In winter when buffalo was scarce and the weather inclement camp movements were held down to a minimum as bands holed up in favorable hollows and valleys subsisting in part on what they had saved up from previous hunts. In fairer weather they emerged on the open plains, ranging far and wide. In addition to hunting within the confines of a broad and familiar country, raids and forays, large and small, were carried out in all directions against both White and Indian groups situated beyond the confines of their regular hunting territory.

An outcome of thinking about resources in the context of landscapes is that even though tribes, in this case the Arapaho and Ute, have not been to the Park region for decades (indeed, generations in the case of the Ute), this does not mean that the Park is not, in some important ways, still part of the tribal landscape. This became particularly evident in discussions with Arapaho and Ute consultants who, as noted above, still feel a

sense of identity with the region, whether for political, emotional, or historical reasons. Given the emerging acknowledgement of many American Indian claims, the landscape approach provides a possible route to conceptualize the relationship between parks and affiliated tribes. The definitional factors need to be put in the larger legal/political context. However, acknowledging the validity of American Indian claims does not change the need to establish guidelines and develop relationships for negotiating specific access or use issues unique to each park and tribe.

CHAPTER SIX: KNOWN RESOURCES

American Indian use patterns

Within the boundaries of Rocky Mountain National Park all of the territory is above 2316m (7600 ft.) meaning that it is in the upper montane through alpine zones. A consequence of this is that people likely did not live in the Park region on a year round basis. Indeed, with a only few exceptions (Toll 1914, 1962), there is no indication of winter habitation within the Park boundaries proper. But immediately to the east, the land rapidly descends through the foothills to the high plains of eastern Colorado where winter habitation not only is quite reasonable, but where we find strong evidence of it. Likewise, to the west of the Park in Middle and North parks we find both archaeological and documentary evidence of American Indian habitation in winter. This diversity of habitat means that the Park area was undoubtedly utilized heavily by a variety of groups. Reports by Joel Estes (Buchholtz 1983) and others on the amount of game taken out of the Park on a weekly basis, combined with the significant number of game drive and butchering sites (Benedict 1992a), and the abundance of game today indicate a diversity and abundance of game sufficient to make the Park and surrounding regions important hunting and harvesting regions. Tables 4-6 list the plant and animal resources in the Park region which are known to have been used by the Ute and Arapaho.

These tables present information gleaned from the literature and from the consultation process on material items found within the boundaries of the Park which may have had use or symbolic value to American Indian groups. There is no necessary connection between past use and current interest. That a material item was at one point recorded as used by one group or another does not mean that it still has any interest in, or knowledge of that item. It is equally possible that new items have come into use and value that have yet to be recorded outside the group. A consequence of this dynamic cultural tradition is that the following tables should be used as a guide. Requests for material, should they occur, may or may not include items from these lists.



Figure 14. “The Apache Fort at the end of Beaver Park” (from the RMNP archives, catalog #1010, not dated).

Plant and Animal Resources

Table four was developed by consulting the literature, primarily through the American Indian Ethnobotany Database designed and compiled by Dan Moerman (1998) at the University of Michigan. The resulting list of plants used by relevant tribes were then compared to William Weber’s Catalogue of the Vascular Plants of Rocky Mountain National Park (Weber 1992) to identify those plants that occur in Rocky Mountain National Park. In a number of cases the genus, but a different species than specified in the literature, occurs in the Park. Using herbarium specimens, all Park plants were reviewed by consultants and those which they recognized/knew are noted in the fifth column. During the consultation process it became apparent that in many cases, several species, though by no means all, within a particular genus were known and/or used. In the table this is addressed by putting in the plant name as it occurs in the literature, followed by the species that occur in the Park in parentheses. Given that most evidence points to primary use of the region by the Ute and Arapaho, the emphasis is on these

groups. The occasional presence of Cheyenne can be inferred and so some of the plants noted to have been used by them are included as well. Botanical names follow the conventions as used by Weber and Wittmann (1996a, 1996b). Although it can be cumbersome and tends to clutter up the table, authors of plants have been included. All botanical names from Smith (1974) are inferences as all of her collections were destroyed in an automobile accident. In cases where the common names she mentions are well known and stable, I have supplied the probable botanical name.

Lischka et al. (1983) in their discussion of North Park use a very different methodology to determine possible edible species and consequently the resulting list is substantially different from that presented here (see their Appendix A, pages 266-280). As I understand their methods, they essentially cross-linked edible plants from several sources, but without ethnic identification, with plants known to occur in the region. This produces a list of plants that might have been used (i.e., they had been used by someone, somewhere), but does not demonstrate that they are plants that were used in this locale. In contrast, by relying on ethnographic or historical reports and consultations, Table four represents a more accurate picture of plants from the Park region which were used.

Initial consultation efforts focused primarily on making contacts and developing relationships upon which to base future discussions and actions. While some time was spent examining plants known to have been used by the tribes, and looking at possible sites of importance, there was inadequate time for a detailed examination of plants or other material either recorded in the literature or known to the consultants present. These preliminary discussions indicated that a more formal, specific period of study would be necessary to accurately gauge knowledge and existence of particular plant, animal, and location information. Consequently, what is reported here are those plants from the literature which occur in the Park as briefly reviewed by tribal consultants, some more knowledgeable than others.

Table five lists the primary large and small game animals that would have been hunted in the Park. Table six lists other animal species that may have been harvested.

The evidence for hunting, especially of big game is abundant in and around the Park. The work of Benedict (e.g., 1987, 1996) in particular demonstrates a complex of hunting strategies in high altitude regions. Additionally, the large number of points, point

fragments, debitage, etc. in the region indicate a long history of use. Gun Griswold and Tom Sage in the Toll report (1962) mention specific hunting sites and activities within the Park. Reports by early settlers in the Park region indicate the abundance of game and the remarkable success they had as hunters in supplying the markets of Denver (Buchholtz 1983). It is also noteworthy that both Ute and Arapaho consultants indicated, some more explicitly than others, that they “shared” the territories in and around the Park; that although there was competition and clearly at times conflict between them, their overlap in the Park regions was acknowledged and at some level tolerated.

Table 4. Plants known to have been used by American Indians which occur in Rocky Mountain National Park.

Plant Name (common name)	Part Used	Use	Tribe	Known at consult	Comments	Citation
<i>Achillea millifolium</i> L. (<i>A. lanulosa</i>) (yarrow)	Leaves, stems	Poultice for skin conditions	Ute	X	<i>A. millifolium</i> has worldwide distribution and is widely used for skin conditions and is very similar to <i>A. lanulosa</i> .	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Achillea millifolium</i> L. (<i>A. lanulosa</i>) (yarrow)	Whole plant	Infusion taken in illness (panacea)	Ute	X		Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Allium acuminatum</i> Hook. (wild onion)	Bulbs, leaves	Food	Ute	X	This species does not occur in the Park, but does occur in the “sage brush” zone in lower elevations.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Amelanchier alnifolia</i> (Nutt.) Nutt. ex M. Roemer (serviceberry)	Berries	Berries eaten fresh and dried for winter consumption	Ute	X	This is a widely eaten berry known by many different groups.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Seriphidium tridentatum</i> Nutt. (formerly <i>Artemisia tridentata</i>) (big sagebrush)	Leaves, bark	Decoction of leaves used in medicine; bark strips used for clothing, especially women’s skirts, leggings and sandals	Ute	X	<i>A. tridentata</i> has been changed to Seriphidium in Weber and Wittman (1996).	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Artemisia frigida</i> Willd. (fringed sage)	Whole plant	Medicinal/ceremonial	Ute Arapaho	X	<i>A. frigida</i> , <i>A. cana</i> , and <i>A. ludoviciana</i> were all known by the Ute consultants as medicinals.	Chamberlin (1909) (Ute); Murphey (1990) (Arapaho)
<i>Artemisia cana</i> Pursh (silver sage)	Whole plant	Medicinal/ceremonial	Ute	X		Ute consultant statement (9/17/97)
<i>Artemisia ludoviciana</i> Nuttall (western mugwort)	Whole plant	Medicinal/ceremonial	Ute	X		Ute consultant statement (9/17/97)
<i>Balsamorhiza sagittata</i> (Pursh) Nutt. (arrowleaf balsamroot)	Whole plant	Young shoots/leaves/roots used for food	Ute	X		Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Calochorus nuttallii</i> Torr. & Gray <i>Calochorus gunnisonii</i> S. Watson (mariposa lily)	Bulbs	“Starvation food”	Ute	X	<i>C. nuttallii</i> does not occur in the Park, but <i>C. gunnisonii</i> does and was known by a consultant who suggested that whether it was considered a starvation food was a matter of perspective, indicating that to his knowledge some people ate them on a regular basis as food.	Murphey (1990)
<i>Castilleja parvifolia</i> Bong. (Indian paintbrush)	Roots	Medicinal	Ute	X	Note: this species does not occur in the Park. The following species do occur in the Park and were recognized by consultants: <i>C. linarifolia</i> , <i>C. miniata</i> , <i>C. occidentalis</i> , <i>C. puberurla</i> , <i>C. rhexifolia</i> , <i>C. sulpherea</i> .	Chamberlin (1909); consultant statement
<i>Claytonia caroliniana</i> Michx. (spring beauty)	Bulbs	Bulbs formerly used for food	Ute	X	Note: This species does not occur in the Park. <i>C. lanceolata</i> and <i>C. rosea</i> do and were known by the consultant. This was also known as the “Indian potato”.	Chamberlin (1909)

Table 4 continued.

<i>Collinsia parviflora</i> Lindl. (blue-eyed Mary)	Whole plant	Used externally for sore flesh/swollen ankles	Ute	X		Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Cryptantha sericea</i> (Gray) Payson (miner's candle)	Roots	Roots used for stomachache/cleansing	Ute	X	Note: <i>C. sericea</i> does not occur in the Park, <i>C. fendleri</i> does and is the one noted by the consultant.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Elymus canadensis</i> L. (wild rye)	Seeds	Seeds formerly used as food	Ute	X	<i>E. canadensis</i> does not occur in the Park. <i>E. lanceolatus</i> , <i>E. longifolius</i> , <i>E. scribneri</i> , and <i>E. trachycaulus</i> do occur and were all noted as used by the consultant.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Hippochoete laevigatum</i> A. Braun (<i>Equisetum laevigatum</i>) (horsetails)	Stems	Stems used as whistles by children.	Ute		Not in collection at Rocky Mountain National Park.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Eriogonum</i> spp. (wild buckwheat, fleabane)	Not stated	Plant used as medicine	Ute		Genus occurs in Park, not known by consultant.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Grindelia squarossa</i> (Pursh) Dunal (gumweed)	Not stated	Plant used as cough medicine	Ute		<i>G. squarossa</i> does not occur in the Park; <i>G. subalpina</i> is the representative species.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Ipomopsis aggregata</i> (Pursh) V. Grant (scarlet gilia)	Whole plant	Whole plant boiled for glue	Ute			Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Iva axillaris</i> Pursh (poverty weed)	Not stated	Used as medicine, not specified	Ute			Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Lithospermum</i> spp. (puccoon)	Roots	Diuretic	Ute		Genus occurs in Park, but different species than in literature.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Matricaria</i> sp. (wild chamomile)	Not stated	Unspecified drug	Ute		Genus occurs in Park, but different species.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Phlox</i> sp. (phlox)	Whole plant	Poultice applied to bruised or sore legs	Ute		Genus occurs in Park, but different species than in literature.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Rhus aromatica</i> Aiton var. <i>trilobata</i> (Nuttall) W.A. Weber (skunkbrush)	Berries	Berries used for food	Ute	X		Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Ribes cereum</i> Douglas, <i>R. coloradoense</i> Coville, <i>R. inerme</i> Rydberg, <i>R. lacustre</i> (Persson) Poiret, <i>R. montigenum</i> McClatchie (current)	Berries	Berries used for food	Ute Arapaho	X	All species that occur in Park were known by consultants.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Rosa woodsii</i> Lindley (Wood's rose)	Fruit	Fruits used as fruit, funerary object (Ute)	Ute	X	Use as a funerary object noted by consultants.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Rosa woodsii</i> Lindley	Seeds, bark, roots	Seeds used as an antirheumatic, bark used for beverage tea, roots used to make orange dye	Arapaho			Nickerson (1966)
<i>Salix</i> spp. (willow)	Bark, twigs	Bark fiber used in basketry; twigs chewed for pain.	Ute	X	Use as pain medication noted by consultants. There are many species which occur in the Park; all were known by consultants.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Scirpus tabernaemontani</i> K.C. Gmel. (<i>S. microcarpus</i> Presl.) (bulrush)	Stems	Lower, tender stems used for food.	Ute		<i>S. microcarpus</i> Presl. occurs in Park.	Chamberlin (1909)

Table 4 continued.

<i>Senecio spp.</i> (senecio)	Not specified	Used as a diuretic.	Ute	X	This genus is widely represented by many species, at least 10 of which occur in the Park, several of which were recognized by consultants.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Shepherdia argentea</i> (Pursh) Nutt. (<i>Shepherdia canadensis</i> (L.) Nuttall) (buffalo berry)	Fruit	Fruit used as food.	Ute Arapaho	X	<i>Shepherdia canadensis</i> (L.) Nuttall is the species in the Park, though both species occur in Colorado.	Chamberlin (1909); Nickerson (1966)
<i>Taraxacum officinale</i> G.H. Weber ex Wiggers (dandelion)	Leaves	Leaves eaten as a green; also used as a medicine for kidneys.	Ute	X	Consultants added use as medicine to literature report as food.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Viola spp.</i> (violet)	Roots	Roots used as medicine.	Ute	X	Several species occur in the Park, all were known by the consultants. <i>Viola</i> is used as an ingredient with other plants.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Anticlea elegans</i> (Pursh) Rydberg (formerly <i>Zigadenus nuttallii</i> (Gray) S. Watts) (death camas)	Bulb	Medicine/Poison	Ute		Weber and Wittmann (1996) have placed this plant in a different genus and different family.	Chamberlin (1909)
<i>Frasera speciosa</i> (Doug. Ex Griseb.) (green gentian)	Nectar	Food—Nectar used as sweetener.	Arapaho			Murphey (1990)
<i>Heuchera cylindrica</i> var. <i>glabella</i> (Torr. & Gray) Wheelock (alumroot) (<i>H. bracteata</i> (Torrey) Seringe and <i>H. parvifolia</i> Nuttall)	Roots	Medicine	Arapaho		<i>H. bracteata</i> (Torrey) Seringe and <i>H. parvifolia</i> Nuttall occur in the Park but were not known by consultants	Nickerson (1966)
<i>Juniperus communis</i> var. <i>montana</i> Ait. (common juniper)	Needles	Needles burned as disinfectant; infusion taken for bowel troubles; ground needles used as incense.	Arapaho		<i>J. communis</i> L. ssp. <i>alpina</i> (J.E. Smith) Celakowsky occurs in the Park.	Nickerson (1966)
<i>Mertensia lanceolata</i> (Pursh) A. DC. (chiming bells)	Roots	Medicine	Arapaho	X	Collected by Arapaho for medicinal use	Arapaho statement (July, 1997)
<i>Rumex sp.</i> (dock)	Stems, leaves	Decoction used as a wash for sores.	Arapaho		Species which occur in Park different than those noted in literature	Nickerson (1966)
<i>Bistorta bistortoides</i> (Pursh) Small ¹⁸ (bistort)	Roots, rhizome	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
<i>Claytonia megarhiza</i> (Gray) Perry (big rooted spring beauty)	Roots	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
<i>Lewisia pygmaea</i> (L. rediviva Pursh) (bitter root)	Roots	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
<i>Ligusticum tenuifolium</i> Watson (formerly <i>L. filicinum</i> .) (lovage)	Leaves	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
<i>Oxyria digyna</i> (L.) Hill (alpine sorrel)	Leaves	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)

Table 4 continued.

<i>Bistorta vivipara</i> (L.) S. Gray (bistort)	Bulblets	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
<i>Rubus idaeus</i> L. subsp. <i>melanolasius</i> (Dieck) Focke (wild raspberry)	Berries	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
<i>Vaccinium myrtillus</i> L. subsp. <i>Oreophilum</i> (Rydberg) Love et al. (blueberry)	Berries	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
<i>Vaccinium scoparium</i> Leiberg (blueberry)	Berries	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
<i>Gaultheria humifusa</i> (Graham) Rydberg (western creeping wintergreen)	Berries	Food	Cheyenne			Grinnell (1972)
The following plants were not mentioned in the ethnographic literature, but undoubtedly were used.						
<i>Fragaria vesca</i> L. subsp. <i>bracteata</i> (Heller) Staudt., <i>F. virginiana</i> Miller subsp. <i>glauca</i> (Watson) Staudt. (wild strawberry)	Berries	Food	Arapaho Ute			
<i>Rubiacer parviflorum</i> (Nuttall) Rydberg (thimbleberry)	Berries	Food	Arapaho Ute			
<i>Mahonia repens</i> (Linley) Don (creeping Oregon grape)	Berries	Food	Arapaho Ute			
<i>Perideridia gairdneri</i> (Hooker & Arnott) Mathias subsp. <i>borealis</i> Chuang & Constance (yampa)	Corms	Food	Ute			Smith (1974)
<i>Apocynum cannabinum</i> L. <i>A. androsaemifolium</i> L. (Indian hemp)	Stem fibers	Cordage	Ute			Smith (1974)
<i>Pinus</i> spp. (pine)	Inner bark	Food, dried and eaten with salt	Ute		Several "peeled trees" are known within the Park; locations recorded by Park archaeologist.	Smith (1974)
Various species of grasses	Seeds	Food	Arapaho Ute			Smith (1974)
<i>Populus tremuloides</i> Michaux (aspen)	Sap	Food	Ute			Smith (1974)
<i>Pinus contorta</i> Douglas subsp. <i>latifolia</i> (Englemann) Critchfield (lodgepole pine)	Tree trunks	Lodge poles	Ute Arapaho		These and other species were used as poles for wickiups and teepees in and around the Park.	
<i>Padus virginiana</i> (L.) Miller subsp. <i>melanocarpa</i> (Nelson) Weber (chokecherry)	Fruits	Food	All			
<i>Typha latifolia</i> L. <i>T. angustifolia</i> L. (cattail)	Roots/leaves/ seeds	Food/basketry material/ padding	All			
<i>Populus</i> spp. ("cottonwoods")	Branches	Firewood	All		Where cottonwoods abound, there is often an abundance of dead wood easily collected as firewood.	

Table 5. Known game animals present in Rocky Mountain National Park.

Species	Common name	Uses	Comments
<i>Cervus canadensis nelsonii</i> Bailey	Elk or Wapiti	Food, hide used for clothing.	
<i>Odocoileus hemionus hemionus</i> Rufinesque	Mule Deer	Food, hide used for clothing.	
<i>Antilocarpa americana americana</i> Ord	Pronghorn antelope	Food, hide used for clothing.	
<i>Bison bison</i> L.	Bison or Buffalo	Food, hide used for clothing.	
<i>Ovis canadensis canadensis</i> Shaw	Mountain Sheep	Food, hide used for clothing.	
<i>Lepus americanus bairdii</i> Hayden	Snowshoe hare	Food, hide used for clothing.	Only the Ute were noted to have hunted rabbits and hares Used for food and clothing or blankets.
<i>Lepus townsendii</i> Hollister	White-tailed Jack Rabbit	Food, hide used for clothing.	
<i>Lepus californicus</i> Mearns	Black-tailed Jack Rabbit	Food, hide used for clothing.	
<i>Sylvilagus nuttallii</i> J.A. Allen	Nuttall's cottontail	Food, hide used for clothing.	



Figure 15. *Vaccinium scoparium* “Broom Huckleberry” (photo by author, 7/97).

Table 6. Other animals possibly consumed or used.

Species	Common name	Uses	Comments	Author
Various species	Fish, especially trout in the mountains of Colorado	Food	Only the Ute were noted to eat fish though no listing of specific fish was found.	Smith (1974)
<i>Castor canadensis concisor</i> Warren and Hall	Beaver	Smith (1974) mentions that the tail was eaten		Smith (1974)
Various species	Field mice	Food		Smith (1974)
Various species	Rats	Food		Smith (1974)
<i>Crotalus viridis</i>	Rattle snake	Food		Smith (1974)
Various species	Ducks	Food		Smith (1974)
Various species	Grouse	Food		Smith (1974)
<i>Zenaida macroura</i>	Mourning doves	Food		Smith (1974)
Various species	Owls	Food		Smith (1974)
Various species	Birds	Feathers used as decoration		Smith (1974)
<i>Aguila chryaestos</i> , <i>Haliaeetus leucocephalus</i>	Eagles	Ceremonial		Smith (1974)
<i>Lynx canadensis canadensis</i> Kerr & <i>L. rufus baileyi</i> Merriam	Lynx and Bobcat	Hides used for blankets	Smith (1974) refers to “wildcats” in this context	Smith (1974)
<i>Spermophilus tridecemlineatus</i> A. H. Howell	13 lined ground squirrel	Food		Smith (1974)
<i>Spermophilus lateralis</i> Say	Golden-mantled ground squirrel	Food		Smith (1974)
<i>Mustela frenata nevadensis</i> Hall	Long tailed weasel	Clothing		Smith (1974)
<i>Gulo gulo luscus</i> (L.) Rausch	Wolverine	Blankets	Not actively hunted, taken if encountered	Smith (1974)
<i>Taxidea taxus</i> Baird	American Badger	Food, clothing		Smith (1974)
<i>Vulpes vulpes macroura</i> Baird	Red fox	Clothing decoration		Smith (1974)
<i>Canis latrans</i> Say	Coyote	Saddle blankets, seats	Not actively hunted, taken if encountered	Smith (1974)
<i>Canis lupus nubilus</i> Say	Gray wolf	Saddle blankets, seats	Not actively hunted, taken if encountered	Smith (1974)
<i>Spilogale putorius gracilis</i> Merriam	Spotted Skunk	Hides used for decoration		Smith (1974)
<i>Mephitis mephitis</i> Merriam	Striped Skunk	Hides used for decoration		Smith (1974)
<i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> Hollister	Muskrat	Hides used for clothing, esp. caps		Smith (1974)

Minerals, lithic material collection sites

No known mineral sites have been specifically identified within the boundaries of the Park, including those which would have served as pigments or those which could have been used for tool manufacture. The following is an edited version of a discussion initiated on the National Park Service intranet by Dr. Bill Butler on possible pigments in the Park region. It is beyond the scope of this project to identify the possibility of usable pigments in the Park, requiring a complete review of the geological literature on the northern Rocky Mountains by someone with geological expertise. Specifically, the comments made by Dar Spearing indicate the possibility of usable pigments that may warrant additional study. The following comments demonstrate that materials may be present which could have served as pigments in the Park region, though it seems that none are among the common and widely used varieties.

The following is a comment from Phil Cloues, directed to Dr. Bill Butler in response to his initial request, and discusses mineral pigments in general without specific reference to Rocky Mountain National Park. The second comment from Dar Spearing deals more specifically with the possible pigments in and around Rocky Mountain National Park. I have edited both slightly for spelling errors, etc., but they are included essentially as written.

(Phil Cloues) I'm a mining engineer/mineral economist with the Geologic Resources Division, Natural Resources Program Center in Denver, CO and thought that you would be interested to know that not only hematite was used for the red color but sphalerite (zinc sulfide, ZnS) and cinnabar (mercury sulfide, HgS) were probably sources of red pigment ground to a fine powder and mixed with grease. Cinnabar was very common in the Big Bend NP area and across the border into Mexico. Knowing what we know now about mercury poisoning this is not recommended for today's use. As common as hematite is, I'm sure that this was the prime pigment. The white pigments could have been gypsum ground to a fine powder but I would think that illmenite or titanium oxide

may have been use in some locales as it is still a prime constituent in white paints. But, the wide occurrence of white clays probably was the predominant white pigment in use. Any ceramics supply shop could be a source of white clays. Availability of talc deposits may also have been a good source for some locations. These are still very common in the Death Valley NP and surrounding area and were easily worked from outcrops. We are currently working on the validity of talc mining claims in DEVA and these outcrop on the surface. The yellow, ochre, is definitely from limonite ($\text{FeO}[\text{OH}] \cdot n\text{H}_2\text{O}$) which is commonly found and yields various shades of yellow to mustard color. All of these can be easily ground (stone on stone) and mixed with an animal grease. The blues and greens are made from the outcrops of copper mineralization and vary from the use of turquoise ($\text{CuAl}_6(\text{PO}_4)_4(\text{OH})_8 \cdot 4\text{H}_2\text{O}$), malachite ($\text{Cu}_2\text{CO}_3(\text{OH})_2$) the intense green, and finally the most beautiful of all, azurite [$\text{Cu}_3(\text{CO}_3)_2(\text{OH})_2$], the brilliant blue of blues. Azurite is to this day very expensive when purchased from any of the various mineral and rock shops but a little goes a long way when ground to a fine powder. There is lots lying around in WRST at the old abandoned Kennicott Copper Mine in Alaska but on private land. The New Mexico and Arizona areas were and remain prime suppliers of these minerals to the copper industry. DINO also had a small copper mine (the Mantel Mine) which outcropped with various copper minerals. I'm quite sure that the supplies of these pigments were often traded. It is the old supply and demand theory which has been around for a long time. But again, almost any mineral or rock shop (there are tons advertised on the internet) could supply all of these. Since there is a premium paid for larger specimens of azurite, and since the end use is to pulverize the specimen, one should be able to buy small pieces (gumball size) for a reasonable amount. I have also seen clays of a blue color from time to time and these may be located by asking the potters for

a source. But nothing will replace the brilliant blue of azurite that is mineral unless one goes to South America for the magical blue butterflies.

There may have been use of minerals like sodalite which is another blue mineral so the above is only the most likely of sources for the colors mentioned. But the outcropping of minerals could easily catch the eye of an observant hunter if the colors were interesting. In the areas of geysers and volcanism and hot springs, elemental sulfur was commonly found and would be a great substitute for yellow.

(Dar Spearing, geologist) Picking up on Phil Cloues' letter, I think there are a few places in and around ROMO that could or could have yielded pigments. Limonite and Hematite could probably be gotten out of the Fountain Formation on the flanks of the Front Range east of the Park near Loveland, etc. There is a small bit of opaline blue mineralization in the Crater on Specimen Mountain, but it's pretty sparse. I don't know of any elemental sulfur in the Crater, but as you and I have discussed, the Crater needs to be looked at in detail again. Some white and yellowish clays occur in a fault gouge zone down-road from Farview Curve pullout, and some reddish clays are in a road cut a bit further down the road. Whether these were ever exploited by Native Americans for pigments is unknown, or whether they would be good pigment sources is questionable.

In 2001 Bob Brunswick “identified several lithic resource areas such as in The Crater and around La Poudre Pass [including] chert and jasper (not real good quality) and a sandstone that looks like Lyons” (Bill Butler, pers. comm.).

Photographic materials

Tables seven and eight list the photographic and artistic material related to American Indians in Rocky Mountain National Park. Table seven contains all of the photographic material, location, most recent catalogue number and explanatory commentary where useful. Table eight lists a series of lantern slides (approximately 3x3 inches, on glass) on Indians in Rocky Mountain National Park. As near as can be

determined they are photographs of original water color paintings produced in the 1930s, perhaps as part of an exhibit derived from the recommendations of Ralph Beals (1935) in his brief overview of Indians in the Park. The exhibit was proposed, and apparently produced for the Moraine Park Museum, though the record of it is sketchy.

Importantly, the Stephen H. Hart Library of the Colorado Historical Society has a good collection of photographs of the Toll expedition of 1914 (1962) including a number showing cairns and other features encountered on their trip. The photos are housed under two collections: 1) “Indians—Tribes—Arapaho—Places—Estes Park”, and 2) “Colorado Mountain Club Boxed Collection,” accession numbers 942.38.4, and 942.38.17, respectively.

The value of photographic material can be found in two areas: 1) As the Park moves to incorporate American Indian cultural history into their interpretive program, photographs are essential to that effort. 2) As research into American Indians in the Park region continues, any documentation that indicates specific sites is critical. For example, the photographs of known sites as recorded during the Toll expedition will guide archaeological and ethnohistorical efforts and could, conceivably, increase the likelihood of the identification and documentation of Traditional Cultural Properties in the Park.

Table 7. Photographic material on American Indians in the Rocky Mountain National Park collections.

Photo description and date (when available)	Location	Catalog #	Comments
“Arapaho visiting park, 1913”	ROMO Archives	4017, pg. 97	
“Teepee Rings along Thompson River” (lantern slide)	ROMO Archives	10328, Box 3	
“Indian Walls on Flattop” (lantern slide)	ROMO Archives	10339, Box 3	
“Indian Wickiup near Big Thompson, Estes Park”	ROMO Archives	10349, Box 3	Noted as part of “Chapin Collection”
“Indian Wickiup near Big Thompson, Estes Park”	ROMO Archives	18032 ¹	Same as 10349, but a B&W print.
“J. Moomaw Standing beside Remains of Old Wall on Trail Ridge” 10/6/33	ROMO Archives	4153/3158 ²	Photo by Dorr. G. Yeager
Same as above, different angle	ROMO Archives	4153/3157	Vol. 1 photo album, pg. 201
“Ancient Indian Lookout on Mt. Ida” 9/32	ROMO Archives	4153/1541	Vol. 1 photo album, pg. 201
“Indian Campsite West of Mummy Pass” 8/32	ROMO Archives	4153/1431	Vol. 1 photo album, pg. 202
“Teepee Rings—Thompson River” (same as slide #10328) 4/30	ROMO Archives	4153/3408	Vol. 1 photo album, pg. 202
“Digging up Skeleton on Bear Lake Rd.” 7/31/35	ROMO Archives	4153/3427	
“Showing Depth at which Skeleton was Found” 7/31/35	ROMO Archives	4153/3426	
“The Apache Fort at the end of Beaver Park”	ROMO Archives	4010 (2829), p.24	8x10 print, high quality
Closer view of Fort, showing some walls still in place (more than today)	ROMO Archives	4010 (2829), p.25	
B & W photos of posters by various authors for 1935 MP exhibit	ROMO Archives	4017, pp. 155-173	
B & W photos of posters by various authors for 1935 MP exhibit	ROMO Archives	4007: 96, 106, 108-9	
“Photo of site 5LR6—Old Trails”	ROMO Archives	18723	Benedict?
“Photo of site 5LR6 Game Drive Structures”	ROMO Archives	18724	Benedict?
“The map for preservation and use, Rocky Mountain National Park 1961, p. 28—Archaeological Base Map”	ROMO Archives	18588	In Drawer 7; shows “Indian Trails”, campsites, fire rings, etc. Based on Husted’s 1962 MA thesis.
Same as above, better print	ROMO Archives	18590	
Photo of <i>P. ponderosa</i> that could be a peeled tree, not clear	ROMO Archives	11075	Case 15, drawer 7
“Rock found 6 miles S. of Grand L.”	ROMO Archives	4016, pg. 9 (3338)	This is a carved stone depicting a face; no other information is provided.

Table 7 continued.

The following are from the "Historic Park File," maintained by the Interpretation Staff. American Indian material is catalogued under 10A.	Location	Catalog #	Comments
"Photo of Toll with Arapaho informants"	Historic Park File	10-A #1	
"Teepee Ring from the Thompson River"	Historic Park File	10-A #27	
"Burial Platform NE of Walden taken in 1967 by W.B. Alcorn"	Historic Park File	10-A #28	Cheyenne? Would it have stood for 100 years?
Same as above, different view	Historic Park File	10-A #29	
"Teepee rings NE of Cowdrey in North Park"	Historic Park File	10-A #30	
"Wickiup NE of Walden in North Park"	Historic Park File	10-A #31	
"Aspen grove containing old pole teepee" NE of Walden	Historic Park File	10-A #32	
"Depth at which skeleton was found"	Historic Park File	10-A #33	Same as 3426
"Excavation of Indian Skeleton"	Historic Park File	10-A #34	Same as 3427
"Indian Camp Site West of Mummy Range" (no date)	Historic Park File	10-A #35	
"Wickiup NE of Walden"	Historic Park File	10-A #36	W.B. Alcorn and Don Gore
"Game drive wall—Just above Beaver Creek on Mt. Ida"	Historic Park File	10-A #37	
"Jack Moomaw and game wall on Trail Ridge"	Historic Park File	2459/4006	Different numbering system, though located in same file
"Apache Fort"—distant view	Historic Park File	2829/4010	
"Toll Expedition Gun Griswold, S. Sage, Tom Crispin"	Historic Park File	3629	This is a good photo
"Arapaho on horseback from Toll trip"	Historic Park File	3691	
"Indian Wall on Tombstone Ridge"	Historic Park File	3938	
Same as above, more distant view	Historic Park File	3939	
Same as above, different view	Historic Park File	3941	
Same as above, still a different view	Historic Park File	3942	
"Prehistoric stone from Grand Lake, 1922"	Historic Park File	3940	
"Ute Trail," no date	Historic Park File	6022	
"Chief Colorow, 1870"	Denver Pub. Lib.	X-11000166	See note three below

- 1) The photo on p. 96 in the album entitled "Photos of National Park, vol. 5", labeled as "Hallett's album," is in contradiction to the note on the slide of the same scene identified as the Chapin Collection.
- 2) Album catalog number is 4135, with each photo also having a unique four digit number. The first number is the album number, the second that of the photograph. No key to the catalog system was found.
- 3) Only two photographs in the Denver Public Library Western History photographic collection are identified as being near the Park: Photo #X-33511 is entitled "Indian Camp, Middle Park" dated 1880, and explanatory material indicates it was a Ute camp; Photo # X30351 is entitled "Ute Indian "teepees" in North Park." Little else in this collection is clearly related to the Park or its history.

Table 8. Lantern slides in the Rocky Mountain National Park collection depicting American Indians.

Color slide description or title and date	Location	Catalog number
“Indian Walls” 1935	ROMO Archives	10127/Box 1
“Bear Lake Rendezvous”	ROMO Archives	10128/Box 1
“Tanning Skins” Drawing of Arapaho camp	ROMO Archives	10133/Box 2
“Using a Metate” Probably Ute, wickiup in background	ROMO Archives	10136/Box 2
“Indian Teepee Village in Winter”	ROMO Archives	10235/Box 2
“A Rabbit Hunt” Probably Ute	ROMO Archives	10276/Box 2
“Manufacture and Use of Scraper”	ROMO Archives	10275/Box 2
“Pounding Seeds”	ROMO Archives	10272/Box 3
“Man Using Backrest” inside teepee—Probably Arapaho	ROMO Archives	10278/Box 3
“Bear Dance” Ute	ROMO Archives	10281/Box 3
“Pierre’s Hole Rendezvous”	ROMO Archives	10299/Box 3
“Travois in Use”	ROMO Archives	10300/Box 3
“Bringing in Game” Man carrying a pronghorn antelope	ROMO Archives	10303/Box 3
“A Shaman” (slide cracked)	ROMO Archives	10304/Box 3
“Buffalo Hunt”	ROMO Archives	10308/Box 3
“An Eagle Trap”	ROMO Archives	10326/Box 3
“Ute Camp Scene”	ROMO Archives	10399/Box 3
“Bringing in the Wood”	ROMO Archives	10427/Box 3
“Putting up a Teepee”	ROMO Archives	10442/Box 3

The paintings from which these slides were made are, as nearly as can be determined, from a 1935 exhibit at the Moraine Park Museum. They are for the most part, pen and ink or water color drawings which have been converted to lantern slides. Original paintings extant are in drawer 1, case 28 in the Rocky Mountain National Park Archives. When they were made into slides is unknown. Though not stated, there is a reasonable possibility that this exhibit and the resulting paintings were based on the recommendations made by Beals (1935) in his brief overview of the ethnography of Rocky Mountain National Park.



Figure 16. “Travois in Use” (from a glass lantern slide in the RMNP archives, catalog #10300, not dated).

Known Sacred Sites, Cemeteries, Vision Quest, Eagle Capturing, and Other Sites

A number of sites that may qualify as sacred in one context or another have been documented by the Park Archaeologist and through the work of Brunswig (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002) and are discussed in detail by Elinoff (2002). No specific sites within the Park boundaries were noted by consultants as having particular sacred or religious significance. As noted above, this has changed as a result of archaeological and ongoing collaboration with affiliated tribes subsequent to the consultations conducted in the context of this study. Nevertheless, given the potentially sensitive nature of these sites, they will not be listed here. Interested parties should contact the Park Archaeologist directly for information on sacred sites. Toll (1962) mentions several sites that may have qualified as sacred, though none of them has been located or confirmed to date. The most obvious example is the eagle capture site located on the top of Long’s Peak. No indication of any such place, e.g., a pit, still exists. Given the very considerable amount

of traffic to the top of that peak in the intervening decades, this is not surprising. Ongoing reconnaissance, both aerial and on the ground, by the park archaeologist and his collaborators has identified a number of potential sites and will undoubtedly uncover additional sites over time.



Figure 17. “Monument on Deer Trail” from the Toll expedition. (Photo courtesy of the Colorado Historical Society, catalog #F-7177, not dated but likely 1913).

Additionally, plans are being formulated to retrace the Toll expedition route in an attempt to locate mentioned sites and locations.



Figure 18. Untitled (Arapaho at an Arapaho marker) (Photo courtesy of the Colorado Historical Society, catalog #F-7183, not dated but likely 1913).

Battlefields and related locations

Toll (1962) discusses several battle sites within or near the Park known by the Arapaho. Most of the battle sites appear to date from the middle 1860s, after which White settlement was well under way. The significance of these battles is difficult to assess since the area was well populated by non-Indians by this time. The Arapaho had been technically assigned to reservations in Wyoming, and the Ute were under considerable pressure from the east. It is not likely that most of these battle sites can be thought to have cultural or historical importance because by the middle 1860s, the Indians “had lost” and were essentially remnant populations. Additionally, with the exception of the Apache fort and one battle the Arapaho had with Shoshone, all of the battles took place between the Arapaho and Ute, providing us with relatively little additional information about the history of the Park.



Figure 19. The “Apache Fort” in Beaver Meadows as it appears today (photo by the author, 7/97).

The “Apache fort” in Beaver Park is mentioned as such in Toll, but in text for the 1935 Moraine Park exhibit (located in Rocky Mountain National Park archives) it is noted as having been a Ute fort, attacked and annihilated by Arapaho. No explanation for this discrepancy is available.



Figure 20. “Location of where Indians were laid to rest.” (From the Toll expedition; photo courtesy of Colorado Historical Society, catalog #F-7173, undated but probably 1913).

Regular camp/occupation sites, seasonal camp/occupation sites

Like sacred sites, etc. all known camps, occupation sites, etc. are documented by the Park Archaeologist and maintained in a computerized database, updated as new material becomes available. There is no value in including the data here beyond those in Table two for which we have cultural affiliation information. The limited knowledge of Park archaeology results largely from many years of intensive focus on the natural history aspects of the Park relative to the cultural, historic and archaeological. This situation is changing as a result of the addition of a full time archaeologist to the staff of

Rocky Mountain National Park and the recent initiation of a long-term archaeological survey project. A variety of research projects reveal new sites and information annually.



Figure 21. "Indian Campsite West of Mummy Pass, 9/32" (from the RMNP archives, catalog #1431, 8/32, John McLaughlin).

Trails

Ives (1942) describes in detail the known or inferred American Indian trails present in northern Colorado based on ethnographic, historical, archaeological and ethnohistorical data assuming "that the early travelers used the shallowest fords and the easiest passes, chose sheltered campsites, preferred firm ground to bog or talus, and, in general, had 'trail sense'" (p. 460; see also Yelm 1935).

Given the detailed nature of his assessments, it is worth quoting his findings extensively. He discusses several trails which are outside the current boundaries of Rocky Mountain National Park but which were most likely part of the trail systems connecting with trails in the Park. My decision to include only those within the Park boundaries is arbitrary and acknowledges that the division is an artificial one.

From the base of Table Mountain a trail crossed the flats of the Stillwater basin to Soda Creek, meandered across the terminal moraines to the junction of the Grand Lake outlet with the north fork of the Colorado river, crossed the river at this point, and followed the east bank of the outlet to Grand Lake. Another branch went eastward from Table Mountain to the ford of the Colorado at the mouth of Arapaho Creek, where an extensive campsite has been obliterated by recent construction, then proceeded up the east bank of the river to the forks, where it joined the other trail to Grand Lake (p. 460).



Figure 22. "Teepee ring" (from the RMNP archives, catalog #3408, 4/30/35).

North of Grand Lake, a distribution of worked white quartz from Baker Gulch indicates that travel must have occurred, but no continuous trail can be located. Occasional sections of old trail, in places overgrown by timber more than fifty years old, are present on the east terrace of the

Colorado River, and chips of worked artifact material are occasionally found along them. Reports of a campsite at the mouth of Onahu Creek were investigated, and the “thousands of arrow points” were found to be glacially transported fragments of white quartz and local obsidian (p. 461).

In the narrow canyon of Beaver Creek, just below its fork (Section 17, T.5N.,R.75W, Rocky Mountain National Park quadrangle), there are short sections of an old trail, overgrown by timber and in places covered by slumped valley-wall material. This is apparently a part of the “Old Ute Trail” described by Yelm (1935).

Pass Trails. Connecting the Colorado [River] Valley with the eastern slope of the range are a number of trails that make use of various natural passes. From Grand Lake a trail leads up the North Inlet to North Fork Ranger Station (Section 29, T.4N,R.74W., Rocky Mountain National Park quadrangle) and thence to the “Flattop Peneplain,” where there is an old campsite. Various points on this trail, which is substantially identical with one described by Yelm, are indicated by scattered finds of artifact fragments, most of them by C.C.C. workers during trail reconstruction.

In the upper Tonahutu Valley..., from Tonahutu Big Meadows (Sections 17, 8, and 9 T.4N.,R.75 Rocky Mountain National Park quadrangle) to the “Flattop Peneplain,” scattered fragments give evidence of an old, little-used trail. Scattered finds suggest that the Tonahutu trail passed through a wind gap west of the meadows and joined the Colorado Valley trail near the mouth of Onahu Creek (p. 461).

Toll (1962:29-32) discusses several trails used by the Arapaho and presumably by other groups, contemporary and prehistoric. As would seem obvious there was a trail up the Big Thompson canyon from the plains/foothills at Lyons into the Estes Park region. Three major trails traversed the Continental Divide from east to west.

The Dog Trail, so named because it was suitable for dogs pulling travois, went up Fall River to the head of Forest Canyon (Big Thompson River), where it merged with

what is now known as the Ute Trail. Another branch of the Dog Trail went down the Cache la Poudre River, either going down Chapin Creek or down the Cache la Poudre river valley itself where it joined the Ute Trail near Poudre Lake. This latter trail was referred to by the Arapaho as “Deer Trail” and proceeded down the Cache la Poudre valley.



Figure 23. The “Ute Trail” today. (Photo by the author, 7/97).

The Big Trail essentially followed the route of the present Flat Top Trail from the east, though it is not clear where it went on the west side of the Park, since the Arapaho said there was no Indian trail where the current North Inlet trail is (probably a National Park Service trail), though this is the logical route from the Continental Divide. The other possibility is further north which would make sense in that we know it went down Toahutu Creek through Big Meadow (Bill Butler, pers. comm.).

The Arapaho Child’s Trail followed the course of what is now referred to as the Ute Trail over Trail Ridge. When Toll took his trip in 1914, stone monuments (“cairns”)

were still widely visible, marking the route of the trail, as were frequent sites of Indian camps.

There was apparently a trail leading north of Thunder Pass in the northwest portion of the Park, between Mt. Richthofen and Lulu Mountain, though Toll does not provide a name for it.

“The Warrior’s Trail was as follows: From Millers Fork (below Devils Gulch) it went over the ridge to the east of Crystal Mountain into the Buckhorn, and up the valley to Buckhorn Pass. Thence it follows a little ridge that swings on to the main Poudre. From that point one could go either to Elk Horn or Manhattan” (Toll 1962:32). This is on the north side of the Park, outside of the Park boundary.

The Arapaho also mentioned to Toll a trail that went over present day Arapaho Pass from Grand Lake to Boulder. Beginning in 2001, a thorough review of trails has been undertaken.

Bill Butler in his After Word for the 2003 republication of Toll’s “Arapaho Names and Trails” summarized the American Indian trails in the Park as follows:

The Big Trail extends from the east end of the Bierstadt Moraine over Flattop Mountain, and then down Tonahutu Creek to Big Meadows, and then by two routes to the town of Grand Lake. The Child’s Trail is shown on Park maps as being the Ute trail, and is in use by modern day hikers. A 7,000 year old prehistoric arrowhead found on the Child/Ute Trail leads us to believe that the trail has been in use for a very long time. Most of the Dog Trail was destroyed with the construction of the Fall River Road in the 1920s, and other likely segments are not visible today. The Deer Trail leads from Milner Pass and down into the Kawuneeche Valley and is shown on present maps as being the western end of the Ute Trail. The trail over Thunder Pass was probably prehistoric in origin, but became the Grand Lake – Lulu City – Walden wagon road in the late 1800s. The Warrior’s trail goes from Devil’s Gulch (north of Estes Park) to the north over the mountains to the Cache La Poudre River. Archeological remains

in the Arapaho Pass area (about 10 miles south of the Park) indicate that it was one of the more important prehistoric and early historic passes in the region. Although we have identified several other trails in the Park which are also probably prehistoric in origin, their Indian names have been lost.

Traditional Cultural Properties

Given the strict criteria for inclusion, it does not appear, as of this writing, that there are any sites within the Park that presently qualify as TCPs, with the possible exception of the peeled Ponderosa pines in Tuxedo Park and perhaps the “Apache Fort” in Beaver Meadows. Consultation with the tribes did not indicate the presence of places they felt needed special protection. Their knowledge of the specifics of the Park was limited for reasons discussed above. More detailed ethnohistoric research and continuing archaeological research will likely identify additional sites that will qualify for consideration as TCPs. (See Brunswig 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002; Elinoff 2002).

CHAPTER SEVEN: INDIAN ACCESS RIGHTS TO RESOURCES IN AND AROUND ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

As well as can be determined, based on existing documentation, there are no agreements, treaties, Memoranda of Understanding (MOU), or other documents that would give any Indian group specific legal access to Rocky Mountain National Park resource material. This does not of course preclude making arrangements to meet particular requests or interests. Further study could provide the opportunity to develop MOU with particular tribes for collecting medicinal or sacred plants, conduct of religious activities, use of particular sacred sites or of other, as yet unidentified, materials or spaces within the Park boundaries. Such MOU have been developed for other parks and could serve as a model for Rocky Mountain National Park should the need or interest arise. Arrangements for access to specific materials within the Park have been to date conducted in an *ad hoc* fashion involving particular tribes seeking access to particular materials. So far, these have been accommodated without difficulty by the Park staff. If requests continue to be only occasional, this *ad hoc* approach will probably be sufficient. On the other hand, if requests become regular or complex, it would likely be in the best interest of all parties to develop MOU to accommodate a range of likely requests or concerns.

Legal Entities Regarding Indian Access to Rocky Mountain National Park Resources

This section examines existing treaties, cooperative agreements, memoranda of understanding, NAGPRA, AIRFA, NEPA and related regulations. It is divided into two parts: Part one concerns those legal entities that have some potential impact on Tribe/Park relations today and, by extension, management of the Park and associated resources. The legislation, regulations and executive orders that have a direct relevance to Park/tribe relations are included at the top of the list; those of a broader interest follow in chronological order. Part two includes historical documents and a brief review of the treaties and agreements with the primary Colorado tribes associated with Rocky Mountain National Park.

Part one: Current Regulations

Executive Order 13084, May 14, 1998, Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments

Executive Order 13084 probably has relatively little impact on the actions of Rocky Mountain National Park in the “letter of the law,” but warrants some attention in the “spirit of the law.” The focus of this memorandum “...is to establish regular and meaningful consultation and collaboration with Indian tribal governments in the development of regulatory practices on Federal matters that significantly or uniquely affect [Indian] communities.” Because the Rocky Mountain National Park administration is not likely to develop policies “significantly or uniquely affecting Indian tribal governments,” this executive order has little absolute impact. On the other hand the call in Section 3 for consultation continues the trend on the part of the Clinton administration to work actively with tribes in establishing regulatory policy where it impacts American Indian tribes.

Executive Order 13007, May 24, 1997, Indian Sacred Sites.

Executive Order 13007 has as its purpose the “Accommodation of Sacred Sites,” stipulating: “In managing Federal lands, each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of Federal lands shall, to the extent practicable, permitted by law, and not clearly inconsistent with essential agency functions, (1) accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and (2) avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites. Where appropriate, agencies shall maintain the confidentiality of sacred sites.”

Further, the Order states as definition the following: “‘Sacred site’ means any specific, discrete, narrowly delineated location on Federal land that is identified by an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion, as sacred by virtue of its established religious significance to, or ceremonial use by, an Indian religion; provided that the tribe or

appropriately authoritative representative of any Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such site.”

The significance of this Executive Order is difficult to gauge in light of the findings of the research for this report. Through the consultation process for this project and through literature and archival research, no sacred sites were identified within the Park boundaries. Additional ethnohistoric, archaeological, and ethnographic research, and/or initiative on the part of affiliated tribes subsequent to this study, has revealed probable sacred sites which would likely invoke Executive Order 13007. Given the generally amicable relations and emerging mechanisms for discussion and contact between the Park and associated tribes, it should be possible to accommodate specific requests within the context specified by this Executive Order.

[American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 \(AIRFA\)](http://www2.cr.nps.gov/laws/religious.htm)
(<http://www2.cr.nps.gov/laws/religious.htm>)

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA) states in total: “On and after August 11, 1978, it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonies and traditional rites.”

The importance of this simple statement is to permit access to sacred sites on federally controlled lands, including National Parks. Executive Order 13007 (1997) further clarifies this access issue, though, as noted above, it is difficult to gauge the effects on Rocky Mountain National Park because to date, no specific sacred sites as defined in the Executive Order or according to the criteria for Traditional Cultural Properties have been confirmed, though many possible sites have been found. The primary difficulty lies in the relationship between archaeologically important sites and their relation to the tribes historically affiliated with Park lands.

Executive Memorandum, April 29, 1994: Government to Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments

This executive order reinforces the fact that the United States government is to relate to Native American tribes as sovereign governments. The effect of this Memorandum concerns the format of negotiations and agreements. Because agreements with recognized American Indian tribes are intergovernmental, they are both potentially more complex and carry greater weight than they might if they were between two entities within the government (intragovernmental).

Executive Order 11593, Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment

Executive Order 11593, dated May 13, 1971 states: “The Federal Government shall provide leadership in preserving, restoring and maintaining the historic and cultural environment of the Nation. Agencies of the executive branch of the Government...shall (1) administer the cultural properties under their control in a spirit of stewardship and trusteeship for future generations, (2) initiate measures necessary to direct their policies, plans, and programs in such a way that federally owned sites, structures and objects of historical, architectural or archaeological significance are preserved, restored and maintained for the inspiration and benefit of the people...”

The Order further mandated that by July 1, 1973, all Federal agencies “locate, inventory, and nominate to the Secretary of the Interior all sites, buildings, districts, and objects under their jurisdiction or control that appear to qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.”

While the Order does not specifically address American Indian issues and is largely directed toward historic structures and places, the mention of documenting and preserving archaeological sites clearly encompasses much American Indian material and places. Note: EO11593 was incorporated into the 1982 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act.

American Antiquities Act of 1906 (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/local-law/anti1906.htm>)

The American Antiquities Act of 1906 had three primary provisions: 1) Penalties to be assessed against “any person who shall appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any

historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States...” 2) “That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in his discretion to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments...” 3) That permits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archaeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity...may be granted...to institutions which may be deemed properly qualified to conduct such examination, excavation, or gathering...provided, that the examinations, excavations, or gatherings are undertaken for the benefit of reputable museums, university, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects, and that the gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums.”

This act gave great impetus to the creation of national parks and monuments and served to introduce a measure of control over excavations and collections. Given its long history and long acceptance and much more comprehensive subsequent legislation, it does not have any significant impact on current relations with American Indians.

Historic Sites Act of 1935 (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/local-law/hsact35.htm>)

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 states: “It is declared that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States.” The primary thrust of the Historic Sites Act was to initiate the process of systematically identifying, documenting and researching “historic and archaeologic sites, buildings, and objects.” It also had a major clause indicating the necessity to “acquire in the name of the United States by gift, purchase, or otherwise any property, personal or real, or an interest or estate therein, title to real property...” Curiously, while religious and educational institutions were exempted from this acquisition process, Indian tribes were not so exempted, indicating that their land and property were still available to the government. This gap in legislation has been superseded by NAGPRA, NHPA and related legislation.

National Historic Landmarks Program

The National Historic Landmarks Program is the National Park Service program to implement the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and is part of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended). It is the process by which places, districts, buildings, structures, or objects are evaluated to receive National Historic Landmark status and to be placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The criteria for evaluation of places, etc. as outlined in the National Historic Landmarks Program do not appear to impact Park/tribe relations, as there does not appear to be anything about the Park itself in relation to the tribes who were in the region that would meet any of the criteria for placement on the National Register.

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended through 1992)
(http://www.access.gpo.gov/uscode/title16/chapter1a_subchapterii.html)

This long, complex Act has a number of provisions that possibly impact Park/tribe relationships around archaeological and/or historic sites. Only those sections that may have some impact on these relationships are mentioned here, although there are many elements relevant to the Park Service in general, only a relatively few potentially impact Park/tribe relations.

In general the Act, as stated in Section 101 (a) (1) (A) maintains that “The Secretary of the Interior is authorized to expand and maintain a National Register of Historic Places composed of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture.”

Section 101 (d) (1) (A): “The Secretary shall establish a program and promulgate regulations to assist Indian tribes in preserving their particular historic properties. The Secretary shall foster communication and cooperation between Indian tribes and State Historic Preservation Officers in the administration of the national historic preservation program to ensure that all types of historic properties and all public interests in such properties are given due consideration, and to encourage coordination among Indian tribes, State Historic Preservation Officers, and Federal agencies in historic preservation planning and in the identification, evaluation, protection, and interpretation of historic properties.”

(B) “The program under subparagraph (A) shall be developed in such a manner as to ensure that tribal values are taken into account to the extent feasible. The Secretary may waive or modify requirements of this section to conform to the cultural setting of tribal heritage preservation goals and objectives. The tribal programs implemented by specific tribal organizations may vary in scope, as determined by each tribe’s chief governing authority.”

(C) “The Secretary shall consult with Indian tribes, other Federal agencies, State Historic Preservation Officers, and other interested parties and initiate the program under subparagraph (A) not later than October 1, 1994.”

NOTE: Though it is not entirely clear, this section appears to be directed toward historic properties directly under control of particular tribes, e.g., on reservations or in dependent communities.

The most important component of this Act in relation to Rocky Mountain National Park is included in Section 101 (d) (6) (A): “Properties of traditional religious and cultural importance to an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization may be determined to be eligible for inclusion on the National Register. (B) In carrying out its responsibilities under section 106, a Federal agency shall consult with any Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization that attaches religious and cultural significance to properties described in subparagraph (A).”

Section 101 (e) (4) “Grants may be made under this subsection for the preservation, stabilization, restoration, or rehabilitation of religious properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places, provided that the purpose of the grant is secular, does not promote religion, and seeks to protect those qualities that are historically significant. Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to authorize the use of any funds made available under this section for the acquisition of any property referred to in the preceding sentence. (5) The Secretary shall administer a program of direct grants to Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations for the purpose of carrying out this Act as it pertains to Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations. Matching fund requirements may be modified. Federal funds available to a tribe or Native Hawaiian

organization may be used as matching funds for the purposes of the tribe's or organization's conducting its responsibilities pursuant to this section.”

Section 110 (a) (E) (2) (ii) regarding the identification and use of historic properties under their control, each Federal agency must “provide a process for identification and evaluation of historic properties for listing in the National Register and the development and implementation of agreements, in consultation with State Historic Preservation Officers, local governments, Indian tribes, Native Hawaiian organizations, and the interested public, as appropriate, regarding the means by which adverse effects on such properties will be considered; and (iii) provide for the disposition of Native American cultural items from Federal or tribal land in a manner consistent with section 3(c) of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act [25 U.S.C. 3002(c)].”

Section 112 (a): (b) “Guidelines: In order to promote the preservation of historic resources on properties eligible for listing in the National Register, the Secretary shall, in consultation with the Council, promulgate guidelines to ensure that Federal, State, and tribal historic preservation programs subject to this Act include plans to...(3) encourage the protection of Native American cultural items (within the meaning of section 2 (3) and (9) of the Native American grave Protection and Repatriation Act (25 U.S.C. 3001 (3) and (9) and of properties of religious or cultural importance to Indian tribes, Native Hawaiians, or other Native American groups); and (4) encourage owners who are undertaking archaeological excavations...(D) prior to excavating or disposing of a Native American cultural item in which an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization may have an interest under section 3(a)(2)(B) or (C) of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (25 U.S.C. 3002 (a) (2) (B) and (C), [to] give notice to and consult with such Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization.”

Section 304 (a) “Authority to Withhold from Disclosure. The head of a Federal agency or other public official receiving grant assistance pursuant to this Act, after consultation with the Secretary, shall withhold from disclosure to the public, information about the location, character, or ownership of a historic resource if the Secretary and the agency determine that disclosure may (1) cause a significant invasion of privacy; (2) risk

harm to the historic resource; or (3) impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners. (b) Access Determination: When the head of a Federal agency or other public official has determined that information should be withheld from the public pursuant to subsection (a), the Secretary, in consultation with such Federal agency head or official shall determine who may have access to the information for the purpose of carrying out this Act.”

NOTE: This section provides the mechanism to work with tribes to protect any identified sacred sites and/or permit access only to those who share in the relevant cultural tradition.

36 CFR, Part 800: Protection of Historic Properties

(<http://www.achp.gov/regs.html>; <http://www.achp.gov/regs/preamble.html>)

Through its role as “the major policy advisor to the Government in the field of historic preservation,” the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation is the primary rule-making and intermediary on issues of historic preservation. The rules spelled out in 36 CFR, Part 800: Protection of Historic Properties and the preamble define the process and relationships between various parties to historic preservation. Its relevance to the Park is direct and immediate as it defines the process of relations between the Federal government and Indian tribes over issues of historic preservation. Given the increasing likelihood of encountering properties that qualify as Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP) in Rocky Mountain National Park, these regulations are of considerable import.

(a) *Purposes of the section 106 process.* Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires Federal agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic properties and afford the Council a reasonable opportunity to comment on such undertakings. The procedures in this part define how Federal agencies meet these statutory responsibilities. The section 106 process seeks to accommodate historic preservation concerns with the needs of Federal undertakings through consultation among the agency official and other parties with an interest in the effects of the undertaking on historic properties, commencing at the early stages of project planning. The goal of consultation is to identify

historic properties potentially affected by the undertaking, assess its effects and seek ways to avoid, minimize or mitigate any adverse effects on historic properties...

Sec. 800.2 Participants in the Section 106 process.

(ii) *Consultation on historic properties of significance to Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations.* Section 101(d)(6)(B) of the act requires the agency official to consult with any Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization that attaches religious and cultural significance to historic properties that may be affected by an undertaking. This requirement applies regardless of the location of the historic property. Such Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization shall be a consulting party.

(A) The agency official shall ensure that consultation in the section 106 process provides the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization a reasonable opportunity to identify its concerns about historic properties, advise on the identification and evaluation of historic properties, including those of traditional religious and cultural importance, articulate its views on the undertaking's effects on such properties, and participate in the resolution of adverse effects. It is the responsibility of the agency official to make a reasonable and good faith effort to identify Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations that shall be consulted in the section 106 process. Consultation should commence early in the planning process, in order to identify and discuss relevant preservation issues and resolve concerns about the confidentiality of information on historic properties.

(B) The Federal Government has a unique legal relationship with Indian tribes set forth in the Constitution of the United States, treaties, statutes, and court decisions. Consultation with Indian tribes should be conducted in a sensitive manner respectful of tribal sovereignty. Nothing in this part alters, amends, repeals, interprets, or modifies tribal sovereignty, any

treaty rights, or other rights of an Indian tribe, or preempts, modifies, or limits the exercise of any such rights.

(C) Consultation with an Indian tribe must recognize the government-to-government relationship between the Federal Government and Indian tribes. The agency official shall consult with representatives designated or identified by the tribal government or the governing body of a Native Hawaiian organization. Consultation with Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations should be conducted in a manner sensitive to the concerns and needs of the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization.

(D) When Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations attach religious and cultural significance to historic properties off tribal lands, section 101(d)(6)(B) of the act requires Federal agencies to consult with such Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations in the section 106 process. Federal agencies should be aware that frequently historic properties of religious and cultural significance are located on ancestral, aboriginal, or ceded lands of Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations and should consider that when complying with the procedures in this part.

(E) An Indian tribe or a Native Hawaiian organization may enter into an agreement with an agency official that specifies how they will carry out responsibilities under this part, including concerns over the confidentiality of information. An agreement may cover all aspects of tribal participation in the section 106 process, provided that no modification may be made in the roles of other parties to the section 106 process without their consent. An agreement may grant the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization additional rights to participate or concur in agency decisions in the section 106 process beyond those specified in subpart B of this part. The agency official shall provide a copy of any such agreement to the Council and the appropriate SHPOs.

(F) An Indian tribe that has not assumed the responsibilities of the SHPO for section 106 on tribal lands under section 101(d)(2) of the act may notify the agency official in writing that it is waiving its rights under Sec. 800.6(c)(1) to execute a memorandum of agreement.

National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (<http://es.epa.gov/oeca/ofa/nepa.html>)

“The purposes of this Act are: To declare a national policy which will encourage productive and enjoyable harmony between man and his environment; to promote efforts which will prevent or eliminate damage to the environment and biosphere and stimulate the health and welfare of man; to enrich the understanding of ecological systems and natural resources important to the Nation...” While this was a very important act for the U.S., in that it established the Council on Economic Quality, the precursor entity to the Environmental Protection Agency, and established the need and process for environmental impact statements, it contains relatively little that is of direct relevance to Park/tribe relations. Broadly, Title I, Section 101 (b) 4 states it is important to “preserve important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage, and maintain, whenever possible, an environment which supports diversity, and a variety of individual choice.”

Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 (AHPA)
(<http://www2.cr.nps.gov/laws/archpreserv.htm>)

“It is the purpose...of this title [to] specifically provid[e] for the preservation of historical and archaeological data (including relics and specimens) which might otherwise be irreparably lost or destroyed as the result of (1) flooding, the building of access roads, the erection of workmen’s communities, the relocation of railroads and highways, and other alterations of the terrain caused by the construction of a dam by any agency of the United States, or by any private person or corporation holding a license issued by any such agency or (2) any alteration of the terrain caused as a result of any Federal construction project or federally licensed activity or program.” This was the first significant law that began the major push toward Cultural Resource Management; the acknowledgement that some elements of prehistoric and historic sites would be lost in the

course of development, but that valuable data could and must be derived from the site beforehand.

Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA)
(<http://www2.cr.nps.gov/laws/archprotect.htm>)

This very important piece of legislation established many of the ground rules governing archaeological resources on public and Indian lands. In particular, one provision of this act is important in relation to Park/tribe relations around resources and sites located within Park boundaries: Regarding permits to conduct archaeological work on federal lands, the following qualification is added in Section 4 (c): “If a permit issued under this section may result in harm to, or destruction of, any religious or cultural site, as determined by the Federal land manager, before issuing such permit, the Federal land manager shall notify any Indian tribe which may consider the site as having religious or cultural importance. Such notice shall not be deemed a disclosure to the public for purposes of section 9.” The significance of this is perhaps muted because, to date, few religious or cultural sites have been identified that are known to extant tribal members. Additional research should be conducted to seek out possible sites, including detailed ethnohistoric research with tribal elders and historians. Additionally, an important effort in this regard will be to examine in detail the report of the Toll expedition with the Arapaho in order to identify the specific sites referred to in the text, several of which may have been sacred sites (and thus may be still).

The specific regulations established to implement this Act also contain a number of provisions that may impact Park/tribe relations: In light of the above requirement, Section 7.7 contains a number of relevant points/statements.

Section 7.7 (a) “If the issuance of a permit under this part may result in harm to, or destruction of, any Indian tribal religious or cultural site on public lands, as determined by the Federal land manager, at least 30 days before issuing such a permit the Federal land manager shall notify any Indian tribe which may consider the site as having religious or cultural importance.”

Section 7.7 (b) (1) “In order to identify sites of religious or cultural importance, the Federal land manager shall seek to identify all Indian tribes having aboriginal or historic ties to the lands under the Federal land manager’s jurisdiction and to seek to determine, from the chief executive officer or other designated official of any such tribe, the location and nature of specific sites of religious or cultural importance so that such information may be on file for land management purposes. Information on sites eligible for or included in the National Register of Historic Places may be withheld from public disclosure pursuant to section 304 of the Act of October 15, 1966, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470w-3).”

Section 7.7 (b) (3) “The Federal land manager may enter into agreement with any Indian tribe or other Native American group for determining locations for which such tribe or group wishes to receive notice under this section.”

Section 7.7 (b) (4) “The Federal land manager should also seek to determine, in consultation with official representatives of Indian tribes or other Native American groups, what circumstances should be the subject of special notification to the tribe or group after a permit has been issued. Circumstances calling for notification might include the discovery of human remains. When circumstances for special notification have been determined by the Federal land manager, the Federal land manager will include a requirement in terms and conditions of permits, under Sec. 7.9 (c), for permittees to notify the Federal land manager immediately upon the occurrence of such circumstances. Following the permittee’s notification, the Federal land manager will notify and consult with the tribe or group as appropriate. In cases involving Native American human remains and other “cultural items” as defined by NAGPRA, the Federal land manager is referred to NAGPRA and its implementing legislation.”

Section 7.32 contains the following definition for Section 7.7: “Site of religious or cultural importance means, for purposes of Section 7.7 of this part, a location which has traditionally been considered important by an Indian tribe because of a religious event which happened there; because it contains specific natural products which are of religious or cultural importance; because it is believed to be the dwelling place of, the embodiment

of, or a place conducive to communication with spiritual beings; because it contains elements of life-cycle rituals, such as burials and associated material; or because it has other specific and continuing significance in Indian religion or culture.”

Again, within the context of this study, few sites have been identified to date within the borders of Rocky Mountain National Park that meet the above criteria or that are clearly recognized by affiliated tribes as having religious or cultural significance. Ongoing, detailed archaeological and ethnohistoric research will likely identify sites that qualify for evaluation.

Section 7.18 further reinforces the responsibility of Federal land managers not to disclose information on location or nature of specific sites if such disclosure might compromise the integrity of the site.

National Register Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties.

This small volume addresses a problematic area within the larger context of designation to the National Register of Historic Places. Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP) are sites of less tangible, yet still significant importance than is usually thought of in the context of National Register properties. Bulletin 38 defines TCP as follows: “A traditional cultural property...can be defined generally as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community’s history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community” (Parker and King 1990:1). There are several parts of this definition that are relevant to Rocky Mountain National Park/tribe relations. First, in order to qualify as a TCP, there must be a place or location identified to which significant cultural values attach. It may be as abstract as a mountain top with longstanding cultural significance through something more concrete like a neighborhood to something as obvious as a building or battlefield, but there must be an identifiable place. Second, there must be a living community that defines the value of the place. This community need not be resident in and around the site, but there must be a cultural continuity within the community and with the place being defined as a TCP.

Third, the site must be seen as still of significance to the cultural history and continuation of the group. These criteria, taken together constitute a strict definition of what qualifies as a TCP (or historic site), thus excluding the majority of possible sites. Obviously, if the process for identification and evaluation is followed carefully, sites qualified and listed are of considerable importance. Herein lies the particular strength of the Bulletin: Because it lays out a process and a set of guidelines, the very intangibility that often characterizes Traditional Cultural Properties can be defined and documented thus making the value explicit.

While several sites have been identified that potentially qualify as TCPs within the boundaries of Rocky Mountain National Park, at present all are still within the process and have not yet been determined as such, according to the process defined in this Bulletin. Largely because of time constraints during the research for this report, initial consultations with Arapaho and Ute did not elicit any indication of unique or special significance for any sites within Rocky Mountain National Park, although there are a number of places that might qualify (e.g., the “Apache fort,” and other sites discussed in Toll (1962) (but not yet identified with a particular place). Additional archaeological, ethnohistoric and ethnographic research has begun to clarify the relationships between the tribes that have identified Rocky Mountain National Park as part of their territory and potentially sacred sites. In the process of this more detailed work, additional sites have been identified that may warrant examination and/or inclusion.

National Park Service Management Policies: Use of Parks

Under the section entitled “Native American Use” NPS policies regarding American Indian access and use privileges are spelled out in as much detail as possible in light of the various legislative and regulative mandates impacting that access. “The National Park Service, to the extent consistent with each park’s legislated purposes, will develop and execute its programs in a manner that reflects knowledge of and respect for the cultures, including religious and subsistence traditions, of native American tribes or groups with demonstrated ancestral ties to particular resources in parks” (National Park

Service 1996:1). The importance of this directive is more toward interpretation than toward management. Given the considerable interest on the part of interpretive staff of Rocky Mountain National Park in enhancing their understanding of American Indians in the Park, the provisions of this policy are probably already accommodated.

National Park Service—28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline

This document spells out in detail the processes for the identification and management of ethnographic resources in the context of National Park Service practices and is already widely followed in Rocky Mountain National Park.

National Grave Protection and Repatriation Act

(<http://www.cast.uark.edu/other/nps/nagpra/nagpra.dat/lgm003.html>)

NAGPRA is among the most sweeping pieces of legislation involving American Indian remains and artifacts. The impact on museums and national parks has been profound and much review of the impacts and their consequences has been done. Nevertheless, relatively little need be said about NAGPRA in the context of Rocky Mountain National Park for two reasons: 1) The Park possesses relatively little material that falls under the NAGPRA legislation and subsequent regulations. 2) The Rocky Mountain National Park archaeologist has reviewed the Park materials, evaluated them for NAGPRA compliance and instituted the necessary procedures for full compliance, published in the Federal Register Monday, June 18, 2001, Vol. 66(117):32843-32844. Briefly, with the exception of one partial set of human remains, all American Indian material owned by the Park does not fit within the definitions as “Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.” The skeletal remains are probably those of a female in early adulthood, but with no discernible cultural affiliation, making repatriation a difficult proposition under NAGPRA regulations. Both the Northern Ute and Northern Arapaho have been contacted regarding these remains and both have agreed to accommodate her reburial, but the lack of cultural affiliation makes it difficult to complete the repatriation or reburial process under NAGPRA regulations.

Part two—Historical Documents

The following are of interest from a historical perspective, but have relatively little impact on the establishment and management of relationships with tribes today regarding Rocky Mountain National Park. Only those that might have had some impact on the region around Rocky Mountain National Park are included. Likewise, only those treaties which were actually ratified are included.

Treaties: (For organizational purposes, treaties and agreements are arranged chronologically.)

Fort Laramie, 1851—Cheyenne and Arapaho: Acknowledged Indian lands as those between the Platte and Arkansas rivers and from the Continental Divide east to central Kansas.

Fort Wise, 1861—Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne: Ultimately invalidated treaty that granted the Cheyenne and Arapaho a small reservation south of the Arkansas river in Colorado; superseded by Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867.

First Fort Bridger, 1863—Eastern Shoshone: Established traditional boundaries of the Eastern Shoshone; notably, did not include the area encompassing Rocky Mountain National Park.

Treaty of Little Arkansas 1865—Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho: Required that Cheyenne and Arapaho relinquish their lands between the Platte and Arkansas rivers.

Medicine Lodge, 1867—Cheyenne and Arapaho: Established the reservation south of the Arkansas River to which all Cheyenne and Arapaho were assigned.

Second Fort Bridger, 1868—Treaty with the Eastern Band Shoshoni and Bannock. Established the Wind River Reservation for the Eastern Shoshone. The Northern Arapaho were placed on this reservation beginning in 1878 after their flight from the Southern Arapaho/Cheyenne Reservation in Oklahoma.

Treaty with the Ute, 1868 was the first to involve all seven Ute bands and established the Ute Indian Territory which was essentially the state of Colorado west of the Continental Divide to the Utah state line.

Brunot Agreement, 1873—Ute: This agreement is also known as the San Juan Cession and was a renegotiation of the 1868 treaty to remove the San Juan Mountains from the Ute reservation because of gold discoveries in previous years.

Ute Treaty, 1880 This treaty, following the Meeker incident, essentially removed all Ute from the state of Colorado with the exception of the Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute reservations. All Northern Ute were removed to Uintah-Ouray reservation in southeast Utah.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS and MANAGEMENT ISSUES

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this research:

- The Northern Arapaho and Northern Ute were unquestionably resident in and around Rocky Mountain National Park, probably until the second half of the nineteenth century.
- Other tribes may have visited on occasion, e.g., the Apache, but there is no evidence that any other groups regularly used the Park region.
- There are a large number of American Indian archaeological sites within the Park boundary, but most of them have not been carefully excavated, dated or assigned a tribal affiliation. Ongoing research by the Park archaeologist and collaborating contractors and researchers will resolve many of these issues and identify new sites (Butler 1997c; Brunswig 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002).
- Based on the research conducted for this report, none of the sites within the Park boundaries has been identified as having specific religious significance by any of the tribes affiliated with the Park, but this is changing as relationships between the tribes and the Park deepen. Specifically, as new sites are identified and evaluated archaeologically and reviewed by the relevant tribes, areas of significance will likely be identified that meet the requirements for protection and management as Traditional Cultural Properties. Alternatively, specific agreements can be arranged between the tribes and the Rocky Mountain National Park administration.
- With the exception of one partial skeleton, there are no materials within the Park collections that qualify under NAGPRA regulations. The necessary documentation of collections has been completed. Similarly, the process of repatriation of the skeletal material has begun.
- There do not appear to be any treaties, Memoranda of Understanding (MOU), or other agreements between the affiliated tribes and the National Park Service. Again, as relationships between the Park and tribes intensify and awareness of Park resources becomes more widely known within the tribes, there may be occasion to develop one or more MOUs governing access and use of specific resources.

- There is a large number of plants and animals that occur in the Park that were or may have been used by affiliated tribes.

There are difficulties that must be faced when considering relationships between the affiliated tribes, the Park, and any resources that may emerge as important. The primary difficulties are likely to center on the potential conflict between Park needs and Indian needs. An example can be seen in the contrast between collecting plants for medicinal or spiritual purposes vs. the cutting of trees inside the Park boundaries. The collecting of plants is likely to be perceived as a low impact, whereas the cutting of trees would be seen as having too great a visual impact to be easily accommodated. In cases like this, adjacent National Forest regions (“land of many uses”) may be more accessible than Park lands and provide the same resources. The Ute reported a long-standing consultative relationship with the National Forest Service in both Utah and Colorado. Regular communication between the NPS and USFS could further enhance these collaborative arrangements.

As of this writing, Park relationships with affiliated tribes have developed in several productive directions:

1. A major archaeological survey has begun following guidelines established by Butler (1997c). This six year archeological survey is being conducted under the Park Service’s System-wide Archaeological Survey Program (SAIP) by a cooperative agreement with the University of Northern Colorado. The program will terminate in 2002. The program has recorded more than 500 prehistoric and historic archaeological sites, including several of possible protohistoric age. The first several years of this survey have been remarkably productive and have yielded a wide array of artifacts and sites as well as spawning a number of research projects by graduate students and others.
2. Rocky Mountain National Park is actively soliciting seasonal and full-time employees from the Northern Ute and Northern Arapaho tribes. The purpose of this outreach effort is two-fold: a) It serves to strengthen ties between the tribes and the Park, and b) seeks to encourage American Indian youth to seek

- employment with the National Park Service where they might not otherwise be employed.
3. In August, 2000, representatives of the Northern Ute consulted on interpretation of several major, newly discovered archaeological sites. This was a highly productive series of meetings during which all accessible sites were visited, reviewed and interpreted by Ute consultants, significantly enhancing the emerging knowledge of past use of Park lands. Similar consultations with the Northern Arapaho will be arranged in coming summers. A second major consultation with the Northern Ute took place in July, 2002, during which the focus was religious sites, new wayside displays a Ute display at the Alpine Visitor Center.
 4. The National Park Service is planning to invite the Northern Ute, Northern Arapaho and Jicarilla Apache to evaluate all archaeological sites that are candidates for designation as Traditional Cultural Properties (Bill Butler, pers. comm.).
 5. Several collaborative projects have been launched to deepen the Park interpretive program with reference to the cultural (vs. natural) history of the Park. An example of this can be seen in Baker (1998) where he has tried to provide guidelines that bridge the American Indian and Park needs.
 - a. An oral history program with the Northern Ute and Northern Arapaho has begun under the direction of Dr. Sally McBeth of the Department of Anthropology, University of Northern Colorado.
 - b. Dr. James Goss has been added to the University of Northern Colorado faculty as adjunct professor to help develop and expand Ute involvement with the University and the Park
 - c. Consultation is being conducted with the Ute for the creation of wayside exhibit signs on the Ute Trail.
 - d. Tom Lux of Denver University is conducting research for his Masters thesis on the trails of the Park from the perspective of their American Indian origins.

- e. The Rocky Mountain Nature Association is republishing the original report on the Oliver Toll's travels through the Park with the Northern Arapaho with a brief update in the forward by Bill Butler, RMNP Archaeologist.

Recommendations

Based on the preceding overview and assessment, the following series of projects is recommended to fully understand the history of American Indian presence in Rocky Mountain National Park. Projects are listed in priority order. Urgency in many cases is dictated by the great age of many of the key individuals who must be interviewed about the Park region. Each passing year reduces the number of people alive and healthy who have knowledge of the early days of the Park.

Abundant opportunities for training students at the undergraduate and graduate levels exist throughout this series of projects. Working collaboratively with affiliated tribes, there would be invaluable opportunities to involve students (Indian and non-Indian, high school and college) in the research process. Careful planning of projects would allow student involvement in the design, data gathering, analysis and writing phases of the research, leading to a multitude of benefits. It is widely recognized that field learning experiences significantly amplify classroom knowledge. The training opportunities are particularly valuable in this context because of the complex nature of the problems to be addressed. They are methodologically complex in the sense that they require analysis from the perspectives of history, ethnohistory, archaeology, archival research, ethnography, etc. But perhaps more importantly, they are socially, culturally and historically complex because of the history of Indian and White relations through time, and thus provide outstanding opportunities for advanced training. Because of the range of social, cultural, and historical experiences that must be accommodated in the research process there are remarkable possibilities for learning beyond the narrow scope of science. Indian and non-Indian collaboration in the research process provides further opportunities for learning.

Ethnohistory of American Indians in Rocky Mountain National Park

Among the most critical needs is to conduct detailed ethnohistorical research and interviews on the Park lands with American Indian elders and tribal historians on the oral historical knowledge of the Park. The initial consultation process defined which groups were in the Park area and established important and ongoing relationships between the tribes and Park administrators. But, the nature of the consultation process does not permit the collection of broad-based, detailed ethnographic and ethnohistoric knowledge. It has been over 100 years since there was an American Indian presence in the Park region, meaning that the children and grandchildren of the last people to have been in the Park are now old. Of perhaps equal concern is that rapid changes in American Indian communities have resulted in a situation where most young people have neither the time nor the interest in the “old ways.” Consequently, with each death important ecological and historical knowledge is lost to both the tribes and society at large. This is particularly acute for the Rocky Mountain National Park because so little ethnographic and ethnohistoric research has been conducted with the tribes of Northern Colorado. Oliver Toll’s Arapaho Names and Trails provides an unparalleled opportunity for exploration of the Park ethnohistory. There is sufficient detail in the text to locate many of the place names, providing a starting point for interviews and archaeological research. A detailed analysis of the Toll project would provide invaluable information for interpretation of the Park environment, both past and present.

A project of this nature would involve detailed ethnohistoric interviews with elders and tribal historians among the Northern Ute, Northern Arapaho and possibly Shoshone. Interviews would be tape recorded, transcribed and analyzed for a variety of projects as defined by the members of the research team. Possible products deriving from this research would include educational materials for use by the tribes in their school system, interpretive displays, including interactive computer programs, for use in the Park educational programs, and/or a book on the ethnohistory of Northern Colorado Indians. Dr. Sally McBeth of the University of Northern Colorado has been contracted to begin the ethnohistoric research.

Traditional Use Studies on American Indians in Rocky Mountain National Park

Early in the consultation process, Rocky Mountain National Park management was approached by the Northern Arapaho from the Wind River Reservation about collecting sacred and medicinal plants in Rocky Mountain National Park. Ensuing negotiations established a process by which plants could be collected within the Park and which did not violate Park policy yet met the requirements of the Arapaho practitioners. This essentially *ad hoc* procedure sufficed for the purposes of the initial contact but is probably inadequate for long term relationships. What is required is a detailed study of Park resources in light of current American Indian use needs and interests. Though a substantial list of plants, animals, minerals, sacred places, etc. that have been or may have been used by Indians in the Park was developed through this initial ethnographic assessment project, the nature of the initial project did not permit a thorough investigation of those items in the context of Indian religious and medicinal needs today. Important contacts established during the initial assessment will allow the development of a detailed database on Northern Arapaho and Northern Ute medicinal and ritual plants, animals, minerals and locations pertaining to the Park. This database will serve three overlapping purposes: 1) It will provide Park management with the detailed background material on actual uses of plants, etc. within the Park boundaries and in surrounding national forest areas for use in management and collection decisions. 2) It will provide the affiliated tribes with critical ethnohistorical data they can use in their teaching and documentation projects. 3) It will amplify interpretive efforts to Park visitors by providing interpretive staff with a greatly expanded base of knowledge from which to develop their programs. This project would be designed in collaboration with Indian leaders and scholars to produce material most useful to the individual tribes and to involve Indian youth as integral members of the research team.

This study would begin with the large list of plants, animals, minerals, etc. compiled during the initial assessment phase and would seek to verify the knowledge identified through the literature and enlarge the database on current usage. The study would be based on a range of structured and unstructured ethnographic interviewing

techniques and would result in detailed information for use in management and interpretive tasks.

MOU/MOA

Long term relationships between the tribes and the National Park Service at Rocky Mountain National Park should be codified through the mechanisms of Memoranda of Understanding or Memoranda of Agreement, and related mechanisms.

Cultural Landscape Definition in Rocky Mountain National Park

A major theoretical thrust in research on human use of space and resources centers on the concept of landscapes. A region is not merely a space through which humans move or on which they depend, but is defined both physically and culturally as a kind of space—a landscape. Cross-disciplinary research from the perspectives of anthropology, archaeology, landscape architecture, ecology, and geography will yield a more robust understanding of human use of Park lands through time, prehistorically, historically and currently. The Park provides a valuable case through which to examine emerging theoretical constructs. This research will also provide important new perspectives for interpretation by integrating knowledge on the natural history and cultural history of the Park.

This study would best be accomplished through a series of consultative discussions with a range of individuals concerned with the landscape perspective and its implications for management of National Park lands. Though initial motivation for the research is theoretical, important implications for management and interpretation may emerge.

Hunting in the Park

In a related vein, important questions exist on hunting techniques employed in and around the Park. While several important archaeological projects have identified the presence of game drives and associated butchering sites (e.g., Benedict 1996), little work has been done to correlate this with ethnographic knowledge on hunting in the Park area. A research design capitalizing on the complementary fields of ethnohistory and archaeology would generate a deeper understanding of the lives of prehistoric and

protohistoric peoples in the Park area, significantly enhancing the interpretive base in the Park. This would be a timely study in light of current discussions on wildlife management, especially elk in the Park.

This project would involve a thorough review of the literature, discussions with scholars in the field and integration of ethnohistorical data generated through interviews with American Indian historians and elders.

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Notes:

¹ A major archaeological survey project begun in 1998 under the direction of Dr. Robert Brunswig in collaboration with Dr. William Butler has made major strides in identifying previously unknown sites and materials indicative of American Indian presence in the Park region. Brunswig (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002) contain the results of the first three field seasons. All sites have been reported to the Colorado State Office of Archaeologic and Historic Preservation. Louise Elinoff (2002) has conducted research on sites and features that may have sacred significance.

² Burney and Lovejoy (1996) was a study on a supposed medicine wheel in Boulder county. While the feature was eventually determined to be not of American Indian origin, the literature review portion of this study is nevertheless thorough and useful.

³ Most of the archaeological research conducted in Rocky Mountain National Park has been focussed on survey work, generally undertaken to understand, in broad terms, the type and extent of archaeological materials in a particular region. The primary purpose of survey research is documentation and cataloguing with specific, scientifically driven, excavations relatively uncommon. In the case of Rocky Mountain National Park, very little emphasis has been placed on understanding the archaeological resources of the Park. The current Park Archaeologist, Dr. William Butler, has gone a long way toward developing a systematic approach to documenting and evaluating archaeological material in the Park (Butler 1997c). As order is brought to available data and more is collected through regular, organized surveys, it is to be expected that more detailed studies will be undertaken. See Brunswig (1999, 2000, 2001, 2002).

⁴ The movement of American Indian tribes through time and across space is a complex, multi-faceted issue. Populations move for a variety of reasons ranging from warfare, population expansion, resource depletion, etc. Two key factors influencing the movement of Indian groups in the western U.S. were the introduction of two technological innovations—the horse and the rifle, and pressure from expanding EuroAmerican populations. The technological improvements provided by the horse and rifle permitted access to much larger territories and more intensive exploitation of game animals as sources of food and trade goods (hides, etc.). This greater mobility by various groups undoubtedly resulted in increased conflict as well as greater diversity of groups in any given region through alliances and peaceful cooperation. The expansion of EuroAmerican populations, at times rapidly, from east to west, often resulted in resource pressure on Indian groups, providing further impetus for migration.

⁵ These trees have been tentatively dated to the mid 1930s making their Indian affiliation dubious in light of the history of the northern front range and the Northern Ute tribes.

⁶ Radiocarbon dates place this in the 1930s indicating probable non-Indian affiliation.

⁷ The Ute and the Arapaho had long been enemies (Smith, 1974; Ives, 1942). There are frequent reports of their conflict in northern Colorado (e.g., Fremont 1850; Toll, 1962:16). The long-standing nature of the conflict was reflected as well in the consultation process for this project when members from both tribes indicated, jokingly, that they could not collaborate on any projects if the other group was to be included. The conflict presumably arose through competition for the same resources at the same time. Also, all data indicate that the Ute were well established in the region well before the arrival of the Arapaho, so undoubtedly there was conflict resulting from the “invasion” of the Arapaho into Ute territory. Likewise, Ute travels into the plains territory of the Arapaho to hunt buffalo may have engendered conflict as well. Ultimately, the cause of enmity between the tribes cannot be determined at this time.

⁸ The spelling of Indian tribes varies a great deal in the literature. When quoting directly, the original spelling will be used. Arapaho is sometimes spelled Arapahoe; both appear to be acceptable, the former will be used here.

⁹ Zárote-Salmarón (1966) led an unsuccessful expedition to identify a route from Santa Fe (NM) to California. The route was later successfully discovered by the Domínguez-Escalante expedition in 1776 (Warner 1995). Both groups encountered and commented upon the Ute of southern Colorado.

¹⁰ The 1962 publication by Toll cites “summer of 1914” as the date of the trip through the Park, but his original typed manuscript puts the date at “July, 1913” as do many of the dated photographs in the archives. I will use the 1914 date as indicated in the published version.

¹¹ This is the only mentioned sighting of Sioux this far south in Colorado, though he alludes to their presence near present day Craig, Colorado earlier in the document (1850:410). Their primary territory having been to the north and east in Wyoming and South Dakota.

¹² The Comanche are generally thought to have been in northern Colorado/southern Wyoming until about 1700. The impetus to move south is unclear but they, like many plains tribes began to acquire horses around this same time providing substantially greater mobility (Crum 1996; Cassels 1997). They eventually became one of the dominant tribes in the southern Great Plains, with a territory extending from SE Colorado into Texas and Oklahoma, even into Northern Mexico.

¹³ The term Fremont in this context refers to an archaeological designation of a group of people who lived principally in the Great Basin and Northern Colorado Plateau region of Utah and southern Idaho. There is evidence of Fremont culture only in the far northwest part of Colorado. Fremont sites are dated generally between A. D. 400 and 1200-1500 (Cassels 1997, Stone 1999).

¹⁴ Each of these perspectives has as its central tenet the recognition that the native or long resident populations in a region may define and use the land in ways substantially different than does the current dominant society. For example, to speak of “ethnogeography,” implies that the perspective under consideration is that of the residents, not the analyst. Similarly, to speak of symbolic, or sacred landscapes implies that the value of the area may not be based on identifiable, concrete entities, but on the non-material values assigned through cultural processes.

¹⁵ One brief mention by the Arapaho in the Toll report (1962:14) indicates that the Arapaho were trapped by heavy snow at Mary’s Lake (~8000 ft.) in winter. They were not camping there with the intention of over-wintering. They were there because it was known to have abundant game.

¹⁶ A transhumant lifestyle requires movement of large segments of the population in response to the cycle of available food resources. In this case, the cycle requires moving animals, and all those who must attend them, to high, rich mountain pastures in summer, returning to lower pastures during winter.

¹⁷ In Tzeltal Maya, the word *chi’* defines the tastes English-speakers label as “salty” and “sweet.”

¹⁸ The following ten are from Grinnell (1923:173) who cites them as foods for the Cheyenne much farther north in the Big Horn mountains. They or related species occur in the Colorado Rocky Mountains so it is reasonable to assume they were used here as well.