

**Potential Traditional Cultural Properties Within 38 Uranium
Lease Tracts in Southwestern Colorado: A Background
Ethnographic Analysis**

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Contents

	Page
1.0 Scope and Purpose of Study	1
2.0 Results of Tribal Consultation, Review, and Comment	1
3.0 General Ethnographic Overview.....	6
3.1 The Navajo Nation	6
3.1.1 Background	6
3.1.2 Study Area Observations.....	9
3.1.3 Sources	10
3.2 The Hopi Tribe	10
3.2.1 Background	10
3.2.2 Study Area Observations.....	11
3.2.3 Sources	12
3.3 The Ute	12
3.3.1 Background	12
3.3.2 Study Area Observations.....	16
3.3.3 Sources	18
4.0 Results of TCP Potential in the Study Area.....	18
4.1 Potential Navajo TCPs	18
4.2 Potential Hopi TCPs.....	18
4.3 Potential Ute TCPs	19
4.3.1 Gateway Lease Tracts (26, 26A, 27, and 27A)	19
4.3.2 Uravan Lease Tracts (18, 19, 19A, 20, 24, and 25).....	19
4.3.3 Paradox Valley Lease Tracts (5, 5A, 6, 7, 7A, 8, 8A, 9, 17, 17A, 21, 22, 22A, 23, 23A, and 23B)	19
4.3.4 Slick Rock Lease Tracts (13, 13A, 14, 14A, 15, 15A, 11, 11A, 10, 12, 16, and 16A)	19
5.0 Bibliography	21

Figures

Figure 1. DOE Uranium Leasing Program Lease Tracts and Withdrawn Lands	7
Figure 2. Historical Ute Tribal Lands	14
Figure 3. Route of the 1776–1777 Dominguez-Escalante Expedition	17

Tables

Table 1. Tribal Consultation: Telephone Log of Responses to Draft EA.....	2
Table 2. Tribal Consultation: Telephone Log of Responses to Cultural Resources Inventory Letter	3
Table 3. Tribal Consultation: Telephone Log of Final Requests for Response to Cultural Resources Inventory Letter	5
Table 4. Likely Occurrence and Density of TCPs by Tribe on the 38 Lease Tracts	20

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1.0 Scope and Purpose of Study

The U.S. Department of Energy Office of Legacy Management (DOE) is reviewing the Uranium Leasing Program to guide future management goals and objectives for withdrawn lands and government patented claims for potential uranium and vanadium ores exploration and production. The Draft Programmatic Environmental Assessment (EA) (DOE 2006) was issued in July 2006 and distributed to the interested public, government agencies, and potentially affected tribes. The Draft EA evaluates three alternatives:

- Expanded Program Alternative (DOE's preferred alternative): continue leasing the 13 existing active lease tracts and offer leases on up to 25 more lease tracts to the domestic uranium industry.
- Existing Program Alternative: continue leasing the 13 existing active lease tracts.
- No Action Alternative: allow existing leases to expire, reclaim all sites, and return land management to the U.S. Bureau of Land Management.

This study is undertaken as a part of DOE's EA process. The purpose of this study is to (1) report on the results of potentially affected tribes' review and comment on the Draft EA (DOE 2006), and (2) provide specific ethnographic assessment of potential traditional cultural properties (TCPs) that could be affected by ore exploration and production in the 38 lease tracks.

2.0 Results of Tribal Consultation, Review, and Comment

In February 2006 DOE mailed letters and copies of the Draft EA in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act regarding tribal consultation. The tribes contacted included the Navajo Nation, the Hopi Tribe, the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, the Southern Ute Tribe, the White Mesa Ute Tribe, and the Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe. Table 1 presents the results of follow-up contacts with the tribes from April to June 2006. Several tribal representatives expressed the need for more information. On the basis of these requests, a Class I archaeological cultural resource inventory was undertaken. Alpine Archaeological Consults, Inc. completed a Class I cultural resource inventory in July 2006 (Reed 2006).

The cultural resource inventory of the 38 uranium lease tracts was subsequently distributed to each of the tribes. Tables 2 and 3 contain summaries of the response to DOE's distribution of the inventory report to the tribes.

Table 1. Tribal Consultation: Telephone Log of Responses to Draft EA

Tribe/Contact	Date (2006)	Result/Outcome
White Mesa Ute		
Estrella Gallegos, Cultural and Language Director	April 18	No answer.
	April 22	No answer.
	May 4	No answer.
	May 15	No answer.
	May 17	No answer.
Uintah-Ouray Ute		
Maxine Natchees, Chairwomen		
Betsy Chapoose, Director	April 18	Left message.
	April 18	Left message.
	May 16	In person conversation. Betsy will examine letter.
		Follow-up e-mail. Betsy will be in the field for many days in June.
	May 22	Needs more information.
	June 2	Left message with office staff to call me.
	June 21	Follow-up e-mail. Still needs more information.
Ute Mountain Ute		
Manuel Hart, Chairman	April 22	Left message to call me with any questions.
Terry Knight, NAGPRA Coordinator	April 22	Left message on voice mail.
	April 30	Left message on voice mail.
	May 4	Left message.
	May 15	Left message.
	May 17	Left message.
	June 2	Left message on voice mail.
Southern Ute		
Clement Frost, Chairman	April 22	Left message to call me with any questions.
Neil Cloud, NAGPRA Coordinator	April 22	No answer.
	April 30	No answer.
	May 4	Left message.
	May 15	No answer.
	May 17	No answer.
	June 2	No answer.
Hopi		
Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director, Office of Cultural Preservation	April 18	Left message to call me with any questions.
Terry Morgart	April 18	Left message.
	April 22	Left message with office staff for return phone call.
	April 30	No answer. Tribal recording.
	May 4	Needs more information.

Table 1 (continued). Tribal Consultation: Telephone Log of Responses to Draft EA

Tribe/Contact	Date (2006)	Result/Outcome
Navajo Nation		
Dr. Alan Downer, Department Manager, Navajo Nation Historic Preservation	April 18	Left message to call me with any questions.
Marklyn Chee, Cultural Specialist	April 18 22 30	Left message with office staff to call me. Left message with office staff to call me. Sent e-mail to contact me.
	May 4	Needs more information.

Table 2. Tribal Consultation: Telephone Log of Responses to Cultural Resources Inventory Letter

Tribe/Contact	Date (2006)	Result/Outcome
White Mesa Ute		
Estrella Gallegos	July 25 27 31	No answer. No answer. No answer.
	August 19 24 25	No answer. Left message, no response. Left Message, no response.
	Sept 14 15 20	No answer. No answer. No answer.
Uintah-Ouray Ute		
Maxine Natchees, Chairwoman	July 25	Left message to call me with any questions.
Betsy Chapoose, Director	July 25 27 31	Left message. Left message. Left message.
	August 19 24 25	Left message. Left message. No answer.
	Sept 14 15 20	Left message. Left message. Requested additional report. Will review. Needs more time. Send copy of Class I inventory.

Table 2 (continued). Tribal Consultation: Telephone Log of Responses to Cultural Resources Inventory Letter

Tribe/Contact	Date	Result/Outcome
Ute Mountain Ute		
Manuel Hart, Chairman	July 25	Left message to call me with any questions.
Terry Knight, NAGPRA Coordinator	July 12	Left message.
	21	No answer.
	26	No answer.
	August 15	Left message.
	31	Left message.
Sept	2	Left message.
	14	Out of town
	20	No Response.
October	4	Left message.
	11	Left message.
	19	Left message.
Southern Ute Tribe		
Clement Frost, Chairman	July 25	No answer.
	27	No answer.
	31	No answer.
Neil Cloud, NAGPRA Coordinator	August 19	No answer.
	24	Left message, no response.
	25	Left message, no response.
Sept	14	No answer.
	15	No answer.
	20	No answer.
Hopi		
Ivan Sidney, Chairman	July 25	Left message to call me with any questions.
Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director	July 25	Terry Morgart, a member of Kuwanwisiwma's office staff, indicated that the project will be discussed. A determination as to Hopi Tribe involvement will be made. Not a high priority for Hopi.
Navajo Nation		
Joe Shirley Jr., President	July 25	Left message to call me with any questions.
Marklyn Chee, Cultural Specialist	July 25	Left message.
	27	Left message.
	29	Left message.
August	15	Left message.
	25	Left message.
	31	Left message.
Sept	15	Re-send map and copies of report. Would like more time.
	20	Send follow-up reports.

Table 3. Tribal Consultation: Telephone Log of Final Requests for Response to Cultural Resources Inventory Letter

Tribe/Contact	Date (2006/2007)	Result/Outcome
White Mesa Ute Estrella Gallegos	November 2 29 January 5 19	Left message. Left message. Left message. Left message.
Uintah-Ouray Ute Betsy Chapoose, Director	November 2 30 January 5 19	No answer. Face-to-face conversation; will review. Left message. Left message.
Ute Mountain Ute Tom Rice, Environmental Coordinator	January 19	No comments by Ute Mountain Ute due to lease tract sizes (they are too small).
Southern Ute Tribe Neil Cloud, NAGPRA Coordinator	November 2 29 January 19 22	Left message. Left message. Left message. Left message.
Hopi Terry Morgart, Regulatory Specialist	November 2 29 January 19 22	Left message. Left message. Left message. Left message.
Navajo Nation Marklyn Chee, Cultural Specialist	November 2 29 January 17 19 23	Left message. Left message. E-mailed. Phone call; no response. Phone call; no response.

3.0 General Ethnographic Overview

The existing ethnographic literature is reviewed here for DOE's 38 lease tract areas in Mesa, Montrose, and San Miguel Counties, Colorado. Figure 1 shows the locations of the lease tracts. Published and unpublished sources, as well as archival materials, previous cultural resources reports, and the author's own research, were examined to determine both general contextual information (e.g., subsistence, land use patterns, religious beliefs) and more specific data linking cultural history and practice with location within the area of study. This overview has been undertaken with basic ideas of cultural affiliation in mind, such as TCPs and sacred sites as outlined by Parker and King (1990) and Deloria and Stoffle (1998). Generalized notions of sacred places and landscapes are identified and later in this report used to gauge potential TCP occurrence. Emphasis is placed on connecting those respective tribal practices and beliefs to the study area. Additional sources and background materials are noted. Other tribal entities have expressed cultural connections to the general area encompassing Western Colorado and the Northern Colorado Plateau (Ferguson 2001; Molenaar 2004a, 2004b). The existing ethnographic literature is most supportive of the three tribal groups (and variants) that are the focus of this review. They are the Navajo Nation, the Hopi Tribe, and the Ute Tribe (including the Uintah-Ute, Southern Ute, Ute Mountain Ute, and White Mesa Ute).

3.1 The Navajo Nation

3.1.1 Background

Four sacred mountains form the boundaries of the traditional homeland of the Navajo: *Sis Naajinii* (Blanca Peak near Alamosa, Colorado), *Tsoo Dzil* (Mount Taylor in New Mexico), *Dook'o'osliid* (San Francisco Peaks in Arizona), and *Dibe Ntsaa* (La Plata Mountains near Durango, Colorado) (Benally and Wiget 1982, Gill 1979). These mountains, to which some add Navajo Mountain in Utah, and the sacred landscapes they encompass are not the only lands considered by the Navajo as containing sacred places. Today, the Navajo Reservation covers large parts of northeastern Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, and southeastern Utah and is the largest reservation in the United States.

The Navajo (the *Diné*) view their traditional use area as encompassing their ancestral homeland—*Dinetah*—as well as the sacred mountains between the San Francisco Peaks in Arizona to Mt. Taylor in New Mexico, extending northerly to at least the Colorado La Plata Mountains and Blanca Peak and extending to Navajo Mountain in Utah (Van Valkenburgh and Begay 1938). These Navajo sacred landscapes continue to provide a powerful voice and essential knowledge, as well as a source of wisdom, for the Navajo people. Aboriginal uses are claimed well beyond the sacred mountains.

Oral traditions, recounting movements through mythic time and worlds, place the Navajo in regions farther north and east of their sacred mountains (*Dinetah*) (Kelley and Francis 1994). *Dinetah* is the place of emergence for the Navajo, the center of their sacred geography and history (McPherson 1992). There are numerous accounts of emergence and creation (Brugge, Correll, and Watson 1967), yet all recount a journey upwards from other worlds (Gill 1979) into the physical world of today's Navajo. These physical landscapes are recognized as sacred, full of powerful stories that communicate knowledge and wisdom to the Navajo (McPherson 1992, 2000).

The Navajo are Athabaskan speakers, and linguistic evidence suggests that their language is closely related to tribal groups in northwestern Canada and the interior of Alaska (Dobyns and Euler 1977). Numerous theories have been offered to trace the migration routes of the Athabaskan-speaking ancestors of the Navajo. These theories include an intermountain route through eastern Utah and western Colorado, a central Colorado route, an eastern Colorado route, and a high plains route through Kansas (Bailey and Bailey 1986). The chronological date for the arrival of Navajo into the Southwest is in question (Towner 1996). Dates for their arrival range from AD 800 to sometime after AD 1500. Most researchers today, however, agree that Athabaskan speakers arrived in the Southwest centuries before the first Spaniard (Towner 1996).

Ethnographically, the evidence seems clear. Athabaskan speakers, including groups known today as the Navajo and Apache, were occupying large parts of Arizona, New Mexico, southeastern Utah, and southwestern Colorado by the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Traditional Navajo lands at that time clearly included canyon tributaries of the San Juan River, the Los Pinos River, and the Animas River. Throughout much of the 16th and 17th centuries, the ancestral Navajo were practicing a mixed economy of hunting, gathering, and farming (Kelley 1986).

Most ethnographic evidence indicates that the Navajo did not emerge as a distinct cultural or political group as we know them today until the 18th century. In the early 18th century the Navajo were developing a mixed pastoral and agricultural economy. The acquisition of the horse and sheep and the addition of farming by some localized groups of Navajos emerged as a way of life that would characterize the Navajo well into the 20th century (Bailey and Bailey 1986).

3.1.2 Study Area Observations

As noted by numerous authors, tracing the archaeological origins of the Navajo is difficult (Bailey and Bailey 1986; Towner 1996, 2003). As a recent collection of works (Towner 1996) on the archaeological origins of the Navajo underscores, it is very difficult to attribute Navajo ethnic identity to material culture (this applies in general to the Northern Colorado Plateau) given the sometimes ambiguous and sparse cultural remains of the highly mobile hunting and gathering practiced by early Athabaskans (Bailey and Bailey 1986). There is no consensus on the actual topographic routes by which early Athabaskans entered the San Juan Basin in specific, and the Southwest in general (Towner 1996). However, many scholars suggest that one migration corridor for early Athabaskans was “an intermountain route through western Colorado and eastern Utah” (Bailey and Bailey 1986:11). Evidence is difficult to obtain, and not enough archaeological research has been done to make a definitive determination. Athabaskan material culture is sparse, making cultural affiliation difficult to assign. Nonetheless, it seems quite probable that at least some bands of early Athabaskans entered the study area prior to the 15th century.

Identifying early historical Navajo cultural remains is complicated by the rapidly evolving nature of Navajo ethnicity in the first centuries after contact with Europeans. Nevertheless, evidence does place the Navajo in southern Colorado and Utah, particularly along the San Juan River, as early as the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Evidence also shows that some Navajo people were in alliance with Ute and Paiute peoples in Moab and Lisbon Valley area in the middle and late 19th century (NAU 1996, Peterson 1998, Maryboy and Begay 2000).

Navajo have been reported to have engaged in agriculture and other subsistence activities in the 19th century (perhaps earlier) as far north as Monticello and even Moab, Utah, and into the Uintah Basin and possibly into western Colorado. The Navajo engaged in wage labor and agricultural jobs throughout the 20th century in Grand County (Firmage 1996, McPherson 1995, Schwarz 2001). As Towner (2003) has noted, information on Navajo Land Claims is not accessible to scholars, but some reports put Navajos in the Lisbon Valley area within miles of one or more of the lease tract areas. However, this study has not identified any specific pre-20th-century ethnographic references to Navajos in the lease tract areas.

3.1.3 Sources

Key early ethnographic studies include Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946, Shepardson and Hammond 1970, and Underhill 1956. A few significant historical and popular literature sources include Bailey and Bailey 1986, Dobyns and Euler 1977, Iverson 1976, Maryboy and Begay 2000, Schwarz 2001, O'Neil 1973, and Young 1978. The literature on Navajo symbolism and religion is particularly rich and prolific. Some of the most important works include Reichard 1982, Aberle 1982, and Luckert 1977. The Navajo Nation has published many important works as well. Some of these include Roessel 1983 and Correll 1976. Essential ethnographic documentation on the Navajo includes Indian Land Claims materials (some key parts of these data as they relate to areas near or adjacent to the study area are yet to be released to the public), a massive collection of materials gathered for several litigations, including the Navajo-Hopi land disputes. These and other materials are in archives at the University of Utah, Arizona State University, Museum of Northern Arizona, Edge of the Cedars Museum, and the Navajo Nation. Those sources (as available) and the results of previous research were used in this review of Navajo ethnography.

3.2 The Hopi Tribe

3.2.1 Background

The Hopi Tribe is located in northeastern Arizona. Ethnographers consider Hopi to be Puebloan people, meaning they live in distinct villages located on three separate mesas, historically practicing dry-land agriculture (topographically these mesas are the southern edge of a large land formation), plus the villages of Upper and Lower Moenkopi near Tuba City, Arizona (Dozier 1966, Nagata 1970, Titiev 1944). The land composing the modern Hopi reservation is a fraction of their sacred and ancestral homeland, termed *Tutsqua*, which extended throughout a large part of northern Arizona and into southern Utah. However, clan migration narratives indicate that Hopi ancestors originated from areas well beyond *Tutsqua* (Malotki 2000).

Although the 12 villages of today are located on the Hopi Reservation, they symbolize, according to Hopi belief, a broader sacred relationship to the land of *Tutsqua*. Villages, in essence, “are linked with an extensive network of ancestral sites, each of which holds the markings and stories of Hopi Clan’s rock art (particularly important), ancestral burials, shrines, medicinal gathering places, ancient farming lands, and the habitat of animals for which many Hopi clans are named” (Hopi Tribe website 2002, Kennard 1979). The Hopi maintain strong and close ties to these sites, holding them in the highest reverence, even though many, if not most, are located outside the modern reservation. Just as Hopi villages form a continuous link with

sacred sites throughout *Tutsqua*, these links also form a historical, living, and unbroken continuum of cultural and religious belief and practice for the Hopi (Eggan 1994).

The Hopi term for their direct ancestors, known by archaeologists as Basketmakers, is *Hisatsinom*. Archaeological evidence documents that *Hisatsinom* continuously occupied large parts of the American Southwest since AD 1. The Hopi are bound to the land of *Tutsqua* by a long history and powerful spiritual covenant with *Massau*, the world's guardian (Stephen 1936). This covenant requires the Hopi to be stewards of the land. Violation of this covenant of stewardship, for example by taking away land or by desecrating sacred sites, will destroy the Hopi. The bonds to the land of *Tutsqua* are all-powerful to the Hopi. It is the place of origin, known to Hopi as emergence into the Fourth World. It is also a place occupied by the living *katsina* spirits, and where the Hopi must meet their religious obligations (Adams 1982, Courtlander 1971, Dockstader 1979, James 1944).

Hopi organize family, political, and religious practices by clans. A village always has many different clans living within it (Connelly 1979; Eggan 1950, 1983). Clans are units of related individuals who have a common ancestor. Each clan has its own oral tradition that relates its own unique origins and migration narratives to the mesas within the broader and more general framework of Hopi culture. Clans also act as guardians of rituals, sacred knowledge, and sacred objects. They organize ceremonies and pass this knowledge from one generation to the next. Clans provide a living and active link to ancestral and sacred places, which include burials, rock markings (art), shrines, and places to gather medicines throughout *Tutsqua*.

Some clans arrived before others on the mesas and in the Hopi villages (Eggan 1967). Some of the earliest arriving clans came from the north and east. Hopi clan migration narratives are pivotal to Hopi traditional knowledge and history and have been known and widely discussed for decades by ethnographers and archaeologists. Hopi clan migrations describe in Hopi terms the amalgamation process, ritually, sequentially, and temporally, of what is known today as the Hopi Tribe (Clemmer 1995, 1986).

3.2.2 Study Area Observations

The northern extent of Hopi *Tutsqua* falls within the study area. The migration narratives of several Hopi clans—for example the Spider, Rattlesnake, Flute, Squash, and Deer clans—indicate a northern geographic connection (Ellis 1961) that includes the Uintah Basin, the Northern Colorado Plateau, and presumably the study area. Ferguson (2001) has provided an excellent synopsis and discussion of the ethnographic and archaeological literature on northern-focused Hopi clan migration narratives. Although ethnographers, linguists, and archaeologists have debated the historical value and the specifics of Hopi clan narrations, lines of evidence that include connection to the prehistoric Fremont culture and the Shoshone place the ancestral Hopi in the region of the study area. Recent innovative methods by some archaeologists (Clark 1994; Duff 1998, 2002) studying ancient migrations, and specifically relevant to the Hopi, the work of Bernardini 2005 and Lyons 2003, may offer valuable models for future research on Northern Colorado Plateau archaeology and ethnography.

Ferguson (2001:101) notes that “Hopi value petroglyphs as a source of information regarding clan migrations.” Ferguson goes on to provide an interesting and valuable discussion of possible rock marking sites and ancestral Hopi in areas immediately adjacent to the study area. He draws no direct conclusions but strongly suggests similarities between rock art sites in the Uintah Basin

area and certain Hopi clans with known northern connections (Ferguson 2001:101–104). Similarly, recent rock art studies by Spangler 1993 and Matheny et al. 2004 draw no conclusions but carefully consider the possibility of ancestral Hopi petroglyphs in the Northern Colorado Plateau. No specific studies of rock markings that would link Hopi to the study area have been undertaken, but there is no indication that such studies would negate similar findings in areas immediately adjacent to the study areas. *Hisatsinom* occupancy in the study area, while not a current certainty, nevertheless seems probable.

3.2.3 Sources

A large body of historical, archaeological, and ethnographic literature on the Hopi Tribe is available. This brief overview has drawn extensively from many well-known works, including Charles Adams 1982, 1991; Richard Clemmer, 1986, 1995; John Connelly 1979; Harold Courlander 1971; Frederick Dockstader 1979; Edward Dozier 1966; T.J. Ferguson 2001; Fred Eggan 1950, 1967; John Hack 1942; Harry James 1944; Suichi Nagata 1970; Alexander Stephen 1936; and Mischa Titiev 1944. This overview has also relied on recent ethnographic overviews of the Uintah Basin by T.J. Ferguson (2001) and J. Spangler (1995) and archival materials housed at the University of Utah Special Collections in the Marriott Library.

3.3 The Ute

3.3.1 Background

Today the Ute people (the *Nuche*) live on four reservations: the Uintah-Ouray Reservation in Utah, east of Roosevelt; the White Mesa Reservation, south of Blanding, Utah; and the Ute Mountain Ute and Southern Ute Reservations in southwestern Colorado. Linguists consider the Ute to be part of a larger group of Numic-speaking people, including Shoshone and Southern Paiute. The contemporary and historical oral traditions of the *Nuche* relate them to the land and other parts of nature, as the story of *Sinauf* illustrates (Duncan 2000). *Sinauf* was a god, half man and half wolf, who journeyed from the south going northward to the ancestral lands of the *Nuche*. The *Nuche* were aboriginal hunters and gatherers. *Nuche* creation and migration stories, significant religious ceremonies such as the Bear Dance and, later in their history, the Sun Dance, and many of the spiritual powers of the medicine man, *Poowagudt*, were derived from natural living things. *Nuche* believed the landscape to be infused with sacredness. As Uintah-Ouray Ute writer and spiritual leader Clifford Duncan (2000:167) wrote, “These stories became the basis of Ute history and culture and defined the relationship of Ute Indians with all living elements, both spiritually and physically.” Landscapes occupied by the *Nuche*, according to belief, are infused with sacredness, a source of *Poowagudt*’s spiritual powers.

Janetski (1994) and others (e.g., Sutton 1993) maintain that the Ute and other Numic speakers arrived in Utah around AD 1300 and spread eastward. Buckles (1971) found evidence that the Ute were living on the Uncompaghre Plateau by AD 1150. The conflicting timelines for Numic (Ute) arrival into the area aside, some lines of evidence, including oral traditions, suggest that they migrated here from western coastal regions. While documented Euro-American contacts with Ute (or Numic-speaking peoples) begin sometime around 1540 with Coronado’s expedition (Spangler 1995), more intensive and extensive documentation of the Ute in the historic record does not occur until approximately 1640. Spangler (1995) and Ferguson (2001) have

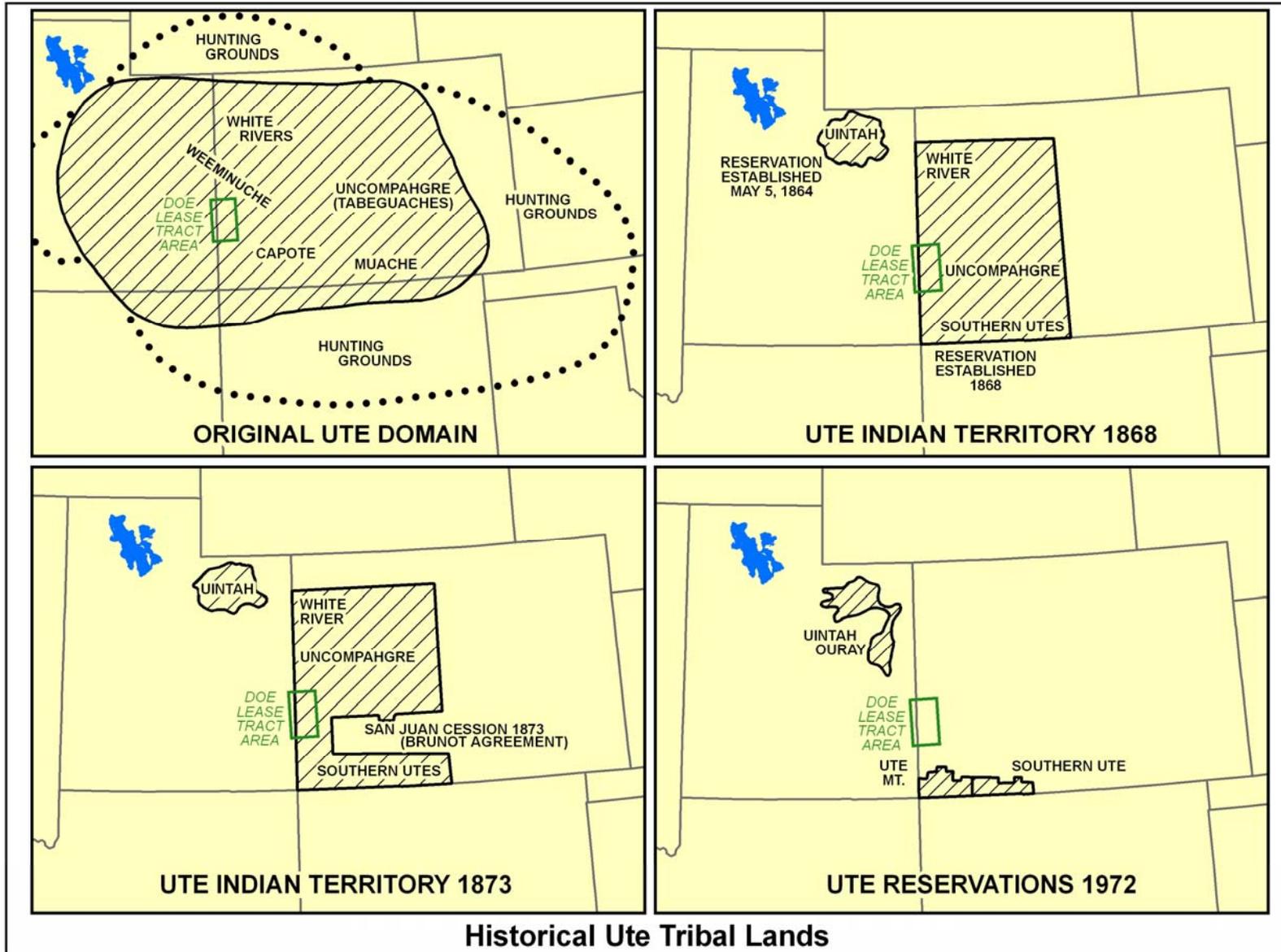
summarized in detail the existing ethnographic and ethnohistoric data on early Ute habitation of the Uintah Basin and adjacent parts of northwestern Colorado.

If AD 1640 is used as a baseline date, Ute aboriginal lands once covered all of Colorado, southeastern Utah, and northern New Mexico (Figure 2). Ethnographers and ethnohistorians have identified the Ute territory as comprising over 200,000 square miles, ranging from Abiquiu, New Mexico, north to Colorado Springs, Colorado, and extending into the Briggs, Wyoming, area, and to the west and south to Fillmore, Utah (Duncan 2000, Conetah 1982). Glimpses of this pre-horse lifestyle from Escalante's 1770s descriptions suggest that the Ute located within the study area lived a semi-sedentary hunting and gathering life in small family groupings. They dwelled in wickiups and used dogs as pack animals to transport their material items (Warner 1995, Pettit 1990). They seasonally migrated from deserts to valleys during colder seasons and from valleys to mountains for hunting and gathering during the spring and summer seasons (Conetah 1982, Janetski 1994).

Ute social organization, reflective of these subsistence patterns, has been a subject of intense research over the last 80 years. The nature of the Ute band structure, its nomenclature, and geographical distribution reflected the diverse and often harsh habitats they occupied and the adaptive strategies they employed to subsist. They refer to themselves as *Nuche*, the Ute, but band naming and identification appear to have varied chronologically and spatially (Conetah 1982). Stewart (1997) and others (Callaway et al. 1986) have noted that band naming varied depending on geographical location or food resource. The ethnographic literature identifies at least 13 bands of Ute (historically), with dozens of spelling and interpretive variations (Callaway 1986, Conetah 1982, Stewart 1997, and various Ute publications). The apparently fluid nature of Ute band membership and the fissioning and fusing of bands, with temporary aggregates of individuals forming bands, thus creating new bands, is a highly adaptive mode of social organization (Stewart 1997), allowing the *Nuche* to roam over a vast territory.

Ute groups living in and around the southern Colorado/northern New Mexico region appear to be the first to have adopted the horse; other Ute groups to the north and west did not adopt the horse until the late 17th or early 18th century (Conetah 1982, Forbes 1959). Early accounts by trappers and traders indicate that the Ute in the Uintah Basin and environs had adopted the horse by at least 1825 (Spangler 1995). The adoption of the horse had a profound influence on the lifeways of the Ute (Conetah 1982, Forbes 1959). Use of the horse by some bands greatly increased their mobility, changing their seasonal subsistence rounds and expanding their territorial range (Pettit 1990, Simmons 2000). Ute subsistence and ceremonial patterns made use of an extensive array of plants. For instance, Smith (1974) notes over 100 different plants gathered by the Utes for a range of purposes that include ceremonial use and food.

Some Numic speakers, including bands or small groupings of Ute, eventually began hunting buffalo and engaged in other Plains-like cultural practices. Still other Ute groups continued their pre-contact hunting and gathering lifestyle, which centered primarily on small game hunting and seed collecting. Ute culture between 1825 and the early decades of the 20th century was once again transformed as a result of increased and intensified contact with Euro-Americans. During this period, almost every generation of Utes experienced massive cultural changes, including changes to settlement patterns and subsistence patterns.



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Y0014700

Figure 2. Historical Ute Tribal Lands

Beginning in the early decades of the 19th century, the fur trade brought trappers and explorers into the Uintah Basin and into direct and continuous contact with Ute via trading routes, such as the Old Spanish Trail (Firmage 1996). Spangler (1995:675) notes that, along with the newly acquired equestrian lifeways, trading and tribute became mainstays of Ute economic life and that the fur trade and other Euro-American cultural patterns provided the foundation that would lead to the dispossession of the Utes by white settlers and the U.S. Government.

Between 1846 and 1882, Euro-American expansion into Utah, including the Uintah Basin, the Moab area, and northern Colorado, gained momentum. The pressures of Mormons settling Utah and of miners flooding into Ute territory in western Colorado following the discovery of gold, silver, and coal resulted in a maze of government and private decrees with Ute bands from central and eastern Utah to New Mexico and northern and southern Colorado. “In less than 45 years (1861–1905) the U.S. Government would create, terminate, and then eviscerate Ute reservations from northern and southern Colorado and northeastern Utah” (Fritz 2004:2–3). Further Mormon colonial expansion set in motion a series of conflicts and wars with the Utes and other native peoples in Utah. Specifically, the Elk Mountain Mormon mission, established in the mid-1850s near Moab, triggered conflict with Ute peoples in southeastern Utah and instigated the Black Hawk War (Peterson 1998). Likewise, miners streaming into northern Colorado triggered conflict and resulted in the Meeker incident (Hart 1974, Smith 1986). To the west and southwest, Utes living near Utah Lake, and possibly Paiutes in valleys west of the Wasatch Mountains, were deposed of their lands by a series of conflicts with Mormon settlers (Duncan 2000, Emery 1970, Christy 1978).

Ute groups were forcibly concentrated in the Uintah Basin by the beginning of the reservation period (1848). As illustrated in Figure 2, the 1868 treaty with several bands of Utes formed a reservation composed of most of western Colorado. By 1873 an agreement (Burnot Agreement) negotiated by Indian Commissioner Burnot slashed the size of the reservation created in 1868. The Meeker incident mentioned above involved a chain of unfortunate and fatal events in which Nathan Meeker, who had been appointed agent as Euro-American settlers streamed into western Colorado and onto Ute lands in search of gold, was killed along with agency employees and military personnel. Meeker triggered the events by his contemptuous attitude and mistreatment of Ute peoples (Conetah 1982). These events eventually lead to the dissolution of the western Colorado Uncompahgre Reservation and the removal of the Uncompahgre people to Ute reservations in Utah (now called the Uintah-Ouray) and two reservations in Colorado: the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation and the Southern Ute Reservation. People of the Weeminuche Ute band, who had lived in the San Juan River area (today, the Four Corners), were “settled” on the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation; the Tabeguache (or Uncompahgre) Utes, who occupied the Gunnison River Valley and environs, were removed to the Uintah Basin, along with several other Ute bands, including the White River and Grand River Bands (Emery 1970, Rockwell 1956).

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Utes had been placed on four reservations located in Utah and Colorado and were forced to adopt farming, livestock-ranging, and wage labor as a means of subsistence. Utes from the Uintah-Ouray Reservation roamed with herds of sheep, cattle, and horses throughout the Tavaputs and Uncompahgre Plateau areas, including the Willow Creek and Hillcreek areas (Fritz 2004), east of and immediately adjacent to the northern perimeter of the study area. Reservation boundaries would continue to be “adjusted” by the U.S. Government until the 1940s.

3.3.2 Study Area Observations

Ute oral traditions are clear that the Ute homeland is within the study area. Ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources support the notion that the study area lies within the heart of Ute homelands. Archaeological evidence places Ute peoples in the area at least as early as the mid-16th century and perhaps much earlier (Towner 1996, Buckles 1971). Clear evidence places Ute bands—the Weeminuche, Tabeguache, and possibly the Capote—in the study area by the beginning of the 19th century (Duncan 2000, Conetah 1982, McKay 1980, Newton 1999). In fact, specific ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources show that Ute peoples inhabited areas both encompassing and within the study area. Oral traditions, ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological evidence specifically locate Ute peoples in areas completely encompassing the study area by the mid-19th century (Jefferson, Delaney, and Thompson 1972; Decker 2004; Simmons 2000; Steward 1974; Hart 1974):

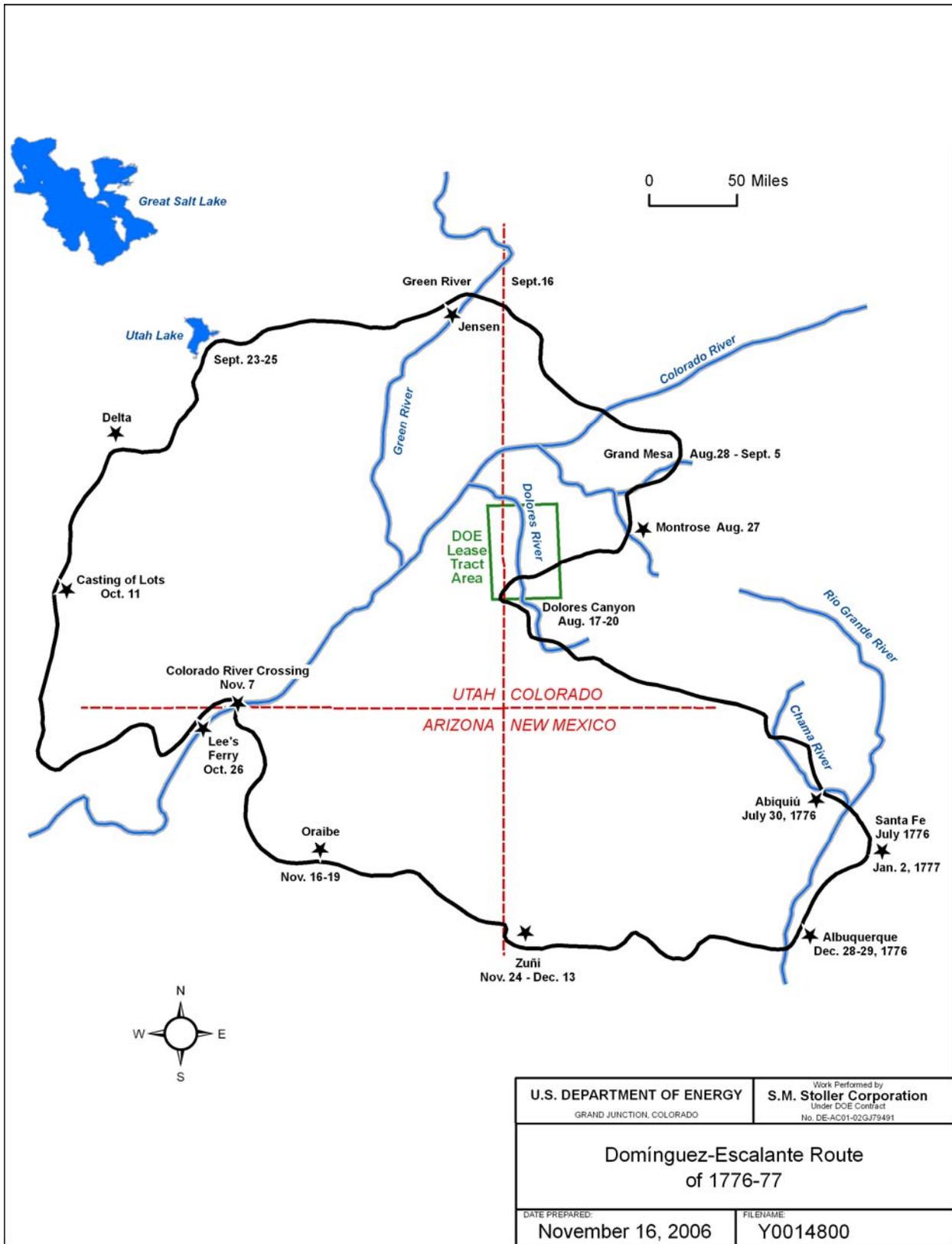
- To the west of the study area in Utah, natural north-south topographic routes for the movement of peoples occur across landscapes near the Colorado and Green Rivers, and natural east-west routes occur near the Book Cliffs and Colorado River.
- To the north of the study area in Colorado, evidence has placed Utes along the Colorado River, the Roan Plateau, and the Grand Mesa areas.
- To the east of the study area, evidence has placed Utes along the Gunnison River to the San Juan and La Plata Mountains.
- To the south of the study area, evidence has placed Utes in northern New Mexico and the San Juan River drainage.

Evidence of Ute populations within the study area is equally strong. Spanish trappers and traders had been exploring western Colorado perhaps as early as the first decades of the 18th century, well before the famous Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776, but few records of those early explorations have survived. Therefore, the journals of the Dominguez-Escalante expedition are key texts that clearly document Ute presence in the study area and throughout the expedition route in the Colorado area (Marsh 1982). Figure 3 depicts the route of the Dominguez and Escalante expedition (Rehyer 2000, 2003; Spangler 1995). The presence of trails, particularly the Dominguez-Escalante, creates a high potential for TCPs and other significant cultural sites in the study area.

In addition, Ute populations have been identified in the following areas within the study area (Hartley 1992, Decker 2004, Hart 1974, Marsh 1982, Neilson 1982, Rockwell 1956, Steward 1974, Smith 1986, Simmons 2000):

- Along the expanse of the Dolores River.
- Along the expanse of the San Miguel River.
- In Paradox Valley.
- On the Uncompahgre Plateau.

Extensive written accounts place Utes throughout the study area in the 19th century. Utes continued to live in the area until forced removal (to current reservations in southern Colorado and northern Utah) and termination of reservations in the 1880s. Ute ties to the study area are historical and traditionally strong and remain intense despite the forced removal of the people from their homeland over a century ago.



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Figure 3. Route of the 1776–1777 Dominguez-Escalante Expedition

3.3.3 Sources

The University of Utah library special collections and the American West Center are excellent depositories of Ute ethnographic and ethnohistoric materials. They, along with the Utah Division of State History, were consulted for this study. Excellent Ute histories include Tyler 1951; Thompson 1972; Pettit 1990; Jorgensen 1964; Smith 1974; Simmons 2000; Ute Mountain Ute 1985; and the Uintah-Ouray Tribe 1977 a, b, c, d, and e. The most widely attributed works on Ute religion and general ethnology are Lowie 1924 and Jorgensen 1972. Pre-19th century primary documentation on the Ute, specifically in the study area, is sparse and limited to a few journal accounts, the best of which are the Dominguez-Escalante journals and a few references by Spaniards (Sanchez 1997, Warner 1995). The University of Utah Marriott library and other sources in the archives of the American West Center at the University of Utah also contain important Ute documents. All have been consulted for this study. More documentation relating to the early 19th century trader/trapper period is available (Spangler 1995) in archives scattered across the intermountain region, and documentation of the later Mormon period is available in Mormon Church archives. Records relating to various Ute litigation, including records from the Indian Land Claims Commission, are on file at the University of Utah Marriott library. Archives of the American West Center at the University of Utah also contain important Ute documents. Omer Stewart's ethnohistorical bibliography (Stewart 1971) was a valuable resource for this study.

4.0 Results of TCP Potential in the Study Area

Table 4 is a ranking of the likely occurrence and density of TCPs by tribe for each lease tract. Based on the Class I archaeological inventory (Reed 2006), ethnographic literature, and archival materials, the probable occurrence/density of TCPs for each lease tract has been ranked from "Extremely High" to "Low."

4.1 Potential Navajo TCPs

The Class I archaeological inventory reveals little with respect to either aboriginal or historical presence of Navajo peoples in the study area. Additional on-ground research is needed. The lease tract area does encompass one theoretical migration route for Athabaskan movement into the Southwest, suggesting the possibility that aboriginal Navajo sites might be discovered within the area. The rank of medium TCP potential listed for some lease tracts in Table 4 corresponds to landscapes that may have been associated with the postulated migration route (particularly along the Dolores River) and with terrains and environments that were especially amenable to hunting, gathering, and foraging activities.

4.2 Potential Hopi TCPs

The Class I archaeological inventory reveals little with respect to Hopi cultural properties. Although *Hisatsnom* occupancy apparently occurred in areas to the west and southwest of the study area, more specific fieldwork would be needed to confirm this. The ranking of potential occurrence of TCPs is based largely on the percentage of the lease tract area that has low potential or has not been inventoried for cultural resources.

4.3 Potential Ute TCPs

The extensive inventory of plants and plant use by the Utes suggests a high potential for sacred and religious plant gathering within the study area.

4.3.1 Gateway Lease Tracts (26, 26A, 27, and 27A)

All tracts in this area are estimated to have a high potential for TCPs. The potential for TCPs within tract 27 is estimated to be extremely high because of (1) the particularly large area of the lease tract, only 15 percent of which has been inventoried for cultural resources, and (2) the topographic positions (mesa tops and areas accessible to the Dolores River) that the tract encompasses, which are amenable to historical use by the Utes.

4.3.2 Uravan Lease Tracts (18, 19, 19A, 20, 24, and 25)

The elevation of the tracts and their positions with respect to the Dolores and San Miguel Rivers would suggest a high potential for TCPs. However, tracts 20 and 24 have no recorded surveys (Reed 2006), and TCP potential is ranked as unknown. The other lease tracts (18, 19, 19A, and 25) have a relatively high potential for TCPs due to their proximity to the Dolores and San Miguel Rivers (see Figure 1 and Table 4).

4.3.3 Paradox Valley Lease Tracts (5, 5A, 6, 7, 7A, 8, 8A, 9, 17, 17A, 21, 22, 22A, 23, 23A, and 23B)

Steep slopes present on tracts 5, 5A, 7, 7A, and 8A do not suggest a high potential for TCPs. Tracts 17 and 17A are rated as unknown for potential TCPs because of a lack of data, but their topographic locations on a mesa top would indicate a moderate potential for TCPs. The rest of the Paradox Valley lease tracts are ranked as high to moderate for potential TCP occurrence. They seem to be topographically situated as camping locations, and the Class I inventory seems to support this TCP occurrence estimate.

4.3.4 Slick Rock Lease Tracts (13, 13A, 14, 14A, 15, 15A, 11, 11A, 10, 12, 16, and 16A)

With the potential for trails and historical camping areas directly related to the Old Spanish Trail and the associated Ute encampments, the potential for TCPs in the Slick Rock area is expected to rank medium to high (Site 5SM633 within tract 13 has a trail as a site component) (Reed 2006). Two exceptions are made: in lease tract 14A, no surveys have been completed, so the TCP potential is unknown; in tract 15A, only 8 percent of the tract has been surveyed, and no sites were recorded. In 1999 the *Federal Register* noted that under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, the remains of two Ute funerary objects were repatriated and were culturally affiliated with the Weeminuche Band of Utah. The remains were uncovered along the Dolores River, immediately adjacent to some of the Slick Rock lease tracts (National Park Service 1999).

Table 4. Likely Occurrence and Density of TCPs by Tribe on the 38 Lease Tracts

Lease Tract No.	Ute Mountain Ute Tribe	White Mesa Ute Tribe	Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe	Navajo Nation	Hopi Tribe
5	M	M	M	L	L
5A	M	M	M	L	L
6	M	M	M	L	L
7	L	L	L	L	L
7A	L	L	L	L	L
8	H-M	H-M	H-M	L	L
8A	L	L	L	L	L
9	H-M	H-M	H-M	L	L
10	M	M	M	L	L
11	M	M	M	L	M
11A	M	M	M	L	M
12	M	M	M	M	M
13	H	H	H	M	M
13A	H	H	H	M	M
14	H	H	H	M	M
14A	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK
15	M	M	M	L	L
15A	L	L	L	L	L
16	H	H	H	M	M
16A	H	H	H	M	M
17	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK
17A	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK
18	H	H	H	M	M
19	H	H	H	M	M
19A	H	H	H	M	M
20	UK	UK	UK	UK	UK
21	H-M	H-M	H-M	L	M
22	H-M	H-M	H-M	M-L	M
22A	H-M	H-M	H-M	M-L	M
23	H-M	H-M	H-M	L	M
23A	H-M	H-M	H-M	L	M
23B	H-M	H-M	H-M	L	M
24	UK	UK	UK	L	L
25	M	M	M	L	L
26	H	H	H	M	M
26A	H	H	H	M	M
27	EH	EH	EH	M	M-H
27A	M-L	L-L	M-L	L	L

Probability of occurrence: EH = Extremely High
H = High
M = Medium
L = Low
UK = Unknown

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