UTE LANDS AND PEOPLE

by John D. Barton

Pre-History, The Fremont Indians

Humans have occupied the Uinta Basin for many centuries. Rock paintings and archaeological evidence of early Native American cultures are common. The first known and identified group in the Uinta Basin were the Fremont Indians, a variant or sub-group of the Fremont Culture. The term Fremont is a general term that fits, umbrella like, to a variety of adaptations of culture from about A.D. 550 to 1,300. All variations included a predominant farming lifestyle supplemented with foraging and hunting.[i] The Uintah Fremonts were the shortest lived but oldest known culture of the five major known Fremont variants found in the Great Basin. The Uintah Fremont culture started about A.D. 500 and ended as early as A.D. 950 to 1,000. This made them contemporary with the classic era of the Anasazi cliff-dwellers in the four-corners region of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. There were phases of the Uintah Fremonts at Whiterocks and Cub Creek, both in Uintah County.[ii]

The most significant Fremont Culture in Duchesne County was in Nine-Mile Canyon. This group is thought by most archeologists to be the northernmost part of the San Rafael Fremonts, circa A.D. 700-1,200. First thought to be a sub-group of the Anasazi Culture that dominated the Four-Corners region, the Fremonts have been shown to differ with unique and distinctive three piece pottery, moccasin patterns utilizing untanned leather, trapezoidal bodied figurines that are both fired and unfired, pictographs, and other cultural distinctions.[iii] The Fremont peoples who migrated to the Tavaputs Plateau about A.D. 1,000 were likely driven there as a result of the conflict with the Numic speaking ancestors of Shoshonean hunter-gathers. The Fremont's defense orientation with masonry towers on rock outcrops and pinnacles with commanding views found in the Nine Mile region hint at refuge behavior which supports this theory. Also the side notched projectile points dating from A.D. 1,000 found in the Nine Mile region are attributed to Shoshonean peoples.[iv]

During the Fremont's stay in the Tavaputs Plateau region, they achieved a relatively high standard of living. They thrived utilizing a combination of agriculture, hunting, and gathering lifestyle. Their simple cultivation included growing of squash and pumpkins, beans, and maise or corn. The Fremonts in Duchesne County developed a simple system of irrigation to water their fields. In some places their irrigation ditches, hand dug with wooden shovels, were several miles long. Sometimes these ditches were chiseled through hardpan and even sandstone.[v]

To store their grains Fremont Indians built small stone granaries. Several of these granaries are found in Nine Mile Canyon. They are usually small structures made of stone and adobe, mortared with mud. Frequently located under a cliff along a slip they are hard to access and easy to defend. Anyone that tried to scale the cliffs to get to these granaries had to use both hands to climb and have their backs exposed while climbing. Once sealed these granaries were impervious to rodents and even insects.

The Fremont Indians lived in small rock structures with ten to twelve individual family dwellings making a village. Ruins in the Basin and elsewhere reveal that they

constructed their masonry buildings on the surface as well as stone lined semisubterranean pit houses. When they found a stream with tillable land alongside, such as Minnie Maud Creek at the bottom of Nine Mile Canyon, small villages were established, some spreading along the canyon, sometimes several villages to the mile. For defense and scouting purposes, they built look-out towers on the highest peaks of the canyon walls. It is thought that the clans would share responsibility for manning their look-outs.[vi]

For several hundred years the Fremont Indians occupied the region, living a sedentary life, cultivating small plots of land, drawing or carving rock art on the smooth sandstone canyon walls. Painted symbols of their gods, their farming, the animals they hunted, and symbols significant to them are found throughout the county. However, these symbols are still, for the most part, unintelligible to modern scholars. The rock art in Nine Mile Canyon represents some of the finest in the world and scholars from many research institutions have traveled to the area to study, photograph, and marvel.

Archaeologists have identified and investigated nearly three-hundred archeological sites in the Nine Mile Canyon area, with additional sites being discovered and studied. Stone grinders or metates, projectile points, fragmented pottery, and other artifacts and ruins are evidence of earlier cultures found in northeastern Utah.

Why the Fremont people left the region is speculative at best and is still the topic of spirited debate among archaeologists, but the Uintah Fremonts abandoned the Uinta Basin circa A.D. 900, as much as three-hundred years earlier than other Fremont Indians mysteriously left the Great Basin never to be heard of again.[vii] The Nine Mile Fremonts disappeared around A.D. 1,200. Perhaps they were driven out by the Numic speaking ancestors of the Utes and Shoshoni. There is some speculation that remnants of the Fremont were absorbed into the Numics. Another theory suggests the Fremont Indians of the Uinta Basin suffered a similar fate as the Anasazi to the South when a long period of severe drought forced them to abandon their homeland of generations and move elsewhere.[viii] Contemporary Indian legends of the area tell of a time when there was so little rain or snow that the springs dried up and many of the watercourses nearly did so. Indians in the upper country benches where the Altamont area of the Basin is now located traveled to the junction of the Lake Fork and Yellowstone rivers to obtain water.[ix] Another possible explanation about the departure of the Fremont Indians was that they left their farming villages due to droughts and became nomadic hunters and the forefathers of the Shoshonean people who later subdivided into the Shoshoni and Utes of the Great Basin. The fate of the Uintah Fremont remains unclear but archaeologists agree that the Numic-speaking Shoshone and Ute inhabited the Great Basin and the Uinta Basin beginning early in the fourteenth century, less than a century after the Fremont culture fell.[x]

The Shoshonean Stage

The early Shoshonean era in the Uinta Basin, A.D. 1,400 to 1,650, also called the Canalla Phase, evidences a distinctly different culture than the Fremont. These Numic speaking ancestors of the Shoshoni and Ute tribes started entering the Basin region in the late thirteenth century and had developed a lasting culture by the fifteenth century. Numic is acknowledged not as a language but rather a group of related languages that include Shoshone and Ute languages spoken by the early inhabitants of the Uinta

Basin, southwestern Wyoming and northeastern Colorado at the time referred to by archaeologists as the late Fremont and early Shoshonean stage.[xi] Canalla Phase peoples lived in brush wickiups rather than the stone and masonry building of the Fremonts. A pedestrian hunter-gather food source replaced horticulture as the dominant subsistent strategy, brown ware ceramics became evident, and most significant was the wide range of territory occupied by the Numics; expanding to include much of the Great Basin, the Uinta Basin, Colorado Plateau, the West Slope of the Rocky Mountains and north to the Windriver Mountains of Wyoming.[xii] As these Numic speakers settled in their respective locals they became the Ute and Shoshone tribes with their sub-variants including: many different Ute Bands, Piautes, Gosutes, Shoshone, and Western Shoshone. After roughly A.D. 1,650 some of these peoples started acquiring horses and had interaction with Euro-americans which radically altered their lifestyles. Military superiority between these groups and jockeying for position for prime hunting and foraging territories was evident with the coming of the Spaniards.

Early History: The Dominguez and Escalante Expedition

The first historical record of the area comes from the Dominguez Escalante Expedition who traversed the Uinta Basin and parts of Utah in 1776. Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez led the party and was assisted by Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante. Because Father Escalante kept the journal of the expedition his name has gained greater fame than that of Father Dominguez. The small party, consisted of the two Fathers and eight other Spaniards including Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, the cartographer (mapmaker) for the expedition. The Dominguez-Escalante Expedition planned to leave Santa Fe, New Mexico on 4 July 1776 but there were delays including the illness of Father Escalante. Weeks later on 29 July 1776 the expedition began its historical trek to Utah and the Great Basin. The expedition's goals were to open a northern route from Santa Fe to the newly settled Monterrey, California, and to contact friendly Ute Indians along the way who might be ready for conversion to Christianity and Spanish ways of life. Other Spaniards had previously attempted to use a direct route westward through Arizona, but deserts and hostile Yuma and Apachie Indians made that route difficult and hazardous at best. The Spanish had traded with the Utes of southern Colorado for over a century by the time of this expedition, and it is likely that enterprising Spanish traders, such as Juan Maira de Rivera's 1765 expedition, had traveled north into Ute homelands of southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah. With the exception of the Rivera expedition none of these other possible expeditions were documented and leave questions where exactly they traveled.

The Dominguez-Escalante expedition left Santa Fe and traveled north through southwestern Colorado, following the streams and rivers. The expedition eventually found its way to the Black Canyon of the Gunnison River. After becoming lost and discouraged, they found their way to friendly Ute encampments. Here they acquired the services of two Ute boys whom the Padres, unable to pronounce their Ute names, called Silvestre and Joaquin. These youths agreed to guide them to the Lake of Nuestra Senora de la Merced of the Timpanogotzis (Utah Lake) and the home of the Laguna (Uintah) Utes.[xiii] On 16 September, the expedition crossed the El Rio de San Buenaventura (Green River) near the present-day town of Jensen, Utah. It is interesting to note they killed buffalo on both the Colorado and Utah portion of the Uinta Basin.[xiv] After crossing the Green River, the party journeyed up the Duchesne River,

traveling in a westerly direction. The Padres noted that Silvestre exhibited great fear while in the region, especially in what is today Uintah County. After seeing horse and human tracks, and smoke from fires, Silvestre informed the Padres that enemy Indians, "Comanches" as Escalante called them, were in the area. The "Comanches" were most likely a band of Shoshoni hunting in the area. As the expedition traveled further westward, into today's Duchesne County, Silvestre was less fearful and when wisps of smoke were again seen, he gave the opinion that it could be from either "Comanches or some Lagunas who usually came hunting hereabouts."[xv] From this record it appears that the Basin in 1776 was utilized by both Utes and Shoshone tribes and that hostility between the two was frequent. When the Ute and Shoshone's Numic speaking ancestors separated into the distinctive tribes and developed enmity towards each other is speculative at best, but by the first Spanish penetration into the Great Basin and the Western slope of Colorado the Utes were clearly separated from the Shoshone.

While Dominguez and Escalante were traveling up the Duchesne River, after passing the confluence of the Duchesne and Uinta Rivers, they "saw ruins ... of a very ancient pueblo where there were fragments of stones for grinding maize, of jars, and pots of clay. The pueblo's shape was circular ..."[xvi] Modern researchers of the Dominguez-Escalante Trail have been unable to locate this ancient pueblo which was likely close to the Duchesne River at about the Duchesne Uintah county line. On 17 September 1776, they camped just east of Myton, calling this campsite La Ribera de San Cosme. The next day they traveled west to the junction of the Strawberry and Duchesne rivers (El Rio de Santa Catarina, de Sena, and El Rio de San Cosme) and camped for the night in a meadow about a mile above the town of Duchesne. Reporting on the land seen that day, Escalante wrote: "There is good land along these three rivers[xvii] that we crossed today, and plenty of it for farming with the aid of irrigation -- beautiful poplar groves, fine pastures, timber and firewood not too far away, for three good settlements."[xviii] Following the Strawberry River upstream, they camped the next night near Fruitland, and the next day crossed Current Creek and pressed onward. Upon reaching the Strawberry Valley, where the Strawberry and Soldier Creek Reservoirs are now located, Silvestre informed the Padres that some of his people had lived here, but withdrew for fear of the "Comanches."[xix]

The expedition left Duchesne County, traveled through Strawberry Valley, descended Diamond Fork to the Spanish Fork River and entered Utah Valley on 23 September 1776. Here expedition members found the Utes very friendly and after visiting for several days, the Padres promised to return the next year and build a settlement. Utah history would likely have been different had the Padres returned. Catholic missions rather than Mormon temples might have dotted Utah's landscape. Being told by the Laguna Utes about the deserts to the west beyond Utah Valley, the expedition turned south. Within a few days travel, near present-day Milford, snow and cold weather settled on the expedition. Discouraged and tired they decided to return to Santa Fe. The expedition was not successful in finding a new route to California, but they did provide us with the first documentation of Europeans visiting Utah and the Uinta Basin. They left us a valuable record of the geography and Indians, along with the first map of the region. (See Miera's Map)

Early Ute History

After the prehistoric Canalla Phase, the next phase of Ute History was the Antero Phase (A.D. 1640-1861). This phase started with the Utes' acquisition of the horse and ended with the Federal Government setting aside part of the Uinta Basin as a reservation for Ute People.[xx] In this stage the beginnings of recorded Ute history are found. By the start of this era the former Numic speaking peoples are clearly divided into the Shoshone, Paiute, and Gosute, and the Ute People are sub-divided into several different bands. During the Antero Phase interactions between Utes and Euroamericans eventually resulted in the Utes, both of the Wasatch Front and from the western slope of Colorado, being forcibly removed to a reservation created in the Uinta Basin.

As far back as historical and archeological evidence can determine the Ute People dwelt in small bands that consisted primarily of family groups. These early ancestors of modern-day Utes, at least two centuries before acquiring the horse that radically changed their lifestyle, lived in a hunting-gathering manner. Armed with bows and arrows, they were usually more successful hunters than the archaic Great Basin inhabitants that hunted with atlatls and hand-thrown spears. With the passing of generations they came to inhabit and claim regions of land which eventually led to tribal distinctions. Where each tribe or band settled for territorial holdings eventually resulted in the diversion of cultural and economic adaptations.

Ute Bands

Each Ute band occupied a specific area that the other bands generally recognized. The territory the band lived on determined its specific livelihood, for example: the bands by Utah Lake, historically referred to as the Laguna Utes, relied heavily upon fish, trout and suckers, which they caught in large numbers during the annual spawning runs; the Utes of western Colorado depended on hunting deer and elk for their living; and the Utes who lived along the banks of the Yampa River in northeastern Colorado were called the Sheep eaters, because of their focus on hunting mountain sheep which flourished in the canyons along the rivers of that region. Despite the miles that usually separated the various Ute bands, they maintained as least limited interrelationships and would visit back and forth. This was evidenced by Dominguez and Escalante's Ute guides, Silvestre and Joaquin, who lived in Utah Valley but were visiting their cousins in western Colorado when they joined the expedition in 1776. Generally the visiting would take place in the spring and summer when plentiful food and the warm weather made travel easy. When assembled in large groups, they would often make rabbit or antelope drives for the benefit of all. Some of the bands also came together, from as far away as travel would permit, in the spring for the annual Bear Dance, a celebration of renewal and the promise of summer and times of plenty.

The Utes and the Horse

The Utes' acquisition of the horse was perhaps the single most significant factor that changed their lifestyle in the Antero Phase prior to the coming of non-Indians to settle in their lands. Most historians agree that the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley killed 401 Spaniards and drove the remaining 1,500 from New Mexico, was the first time North American Indians obtained horses in any significant numbers. From Pueblo lands after A.D. 1680 the horse spread rapidly to surrounding tribes and the Plains Culture was born. This culture, based upon horses

and buffalo, was the dominant culture of Western Indians at the time of the western expansion of the Euro-Americans in the nineteenth century.

Utes, The First Native Americans To Possess Horses

Of all the tribes in North America, the Utes claim to be the first to get horses. Utes maintain that their ancestors in Colorado stole horses from the Spanish in New Mexico as early as the 1640s.[xxi] Though plausible, the horses obtained by these early Utes were few and it was not until the next century that Ute lifestyle was radically altered due to obtaining horses and adapting an equestrian culture.

Upon obtaining horses the Utes of Colorado and, one to two generations later, the Utes of Utah and San Pete Valleys quickly adapted a lifestyle similar to the lifestyle and economic structure of the tribes of the Great Plains. Mounted on horses and armed with guns or steel tipped arrows and lances, they could travel much further to hunt, and had greater success in killing large animals. They often traveled to the plains country of Wyoming or eastern Colorado to hunt buffalo. Cultural adaptions that changed after acquisition of horses included: use of the tipi or lodge, trade goods, feather headdresses and other clothing changes, and adaption of the Sundance in their religion. Some of these changes took generations to fully be evident. Before the horse Utes lived in brush shelters called wickiups. When their economy altered to include frequent buffalo hunting they adopted lodges or tipis similar to those used by other Plains Indians, although many Utes as late as the early twentieth century continued building brush shelters for summer use. Formerly their clothing was commonly made from some buckskin, rabbit-skin robes and occasionally woven cedar bark.[xxii] After acquiring horses they dressed in buckskin shirts and leggings when it was cold, breechcloths for the men in warm seasons. Within a short time of interaction with the Spanish and later the fur traders, Utes wore and adorned themselves with items not of their culture. As their hunting and range increased they could stay together in larger groups and tribal organization strengthened and religious practices soon included the Sundance.

Ute Sundance

Ute adaption of the Sundance was usually not as brutal with self torture compared to other Plains tribes. The most common adaptions of the Sundance included skewering the flesh of the chest and/or back by pushing sharpened sticks or rib-bone through the skin. With rawhide ropes tied to the ends of the sticks, the participant would either be suspended or pull back against the tethered rope attached to a tall upright pole. They then danced, while staring at the sun, until the tortured skin would eventually rip out. With the combination of fasting, dancing, and pain, in delirium the dancer would have visions showing him his life's path. The Utes rarely skewered the flesh, but would fast, dance and chant, sometimes for several days, to obtain the desired result.

Ute Bands and Tribal Development

The political development of the Utes always centered on the family. Each band would have an elder or chief who could speak for himself and because of his wisdom and proven leadership, could usually sway the other band members toward his opinion. Men and women who gained reputations for wisdom, spiritual power, healing ability, or success in hunting or war were respected and consulted. There was, however, no mandate to follow the counsel once given and the leaders had no authority to enforce

any decisions. As the Utes' lifestyle changed with the acquisition of the horse, some Ute leaders would have greater followings, but only because more people chose to follow them.[xxiii] At the time of the coming of the Mormons the Utes of Utah and San Pete valleys were led by Wakara (Walker), Sanpitch, Arapeen, Ammon, Tabby-to-kwanah (Tabby), Grospeen, Antenguer (Black Hawk), Kanosh and Antero. These were all referred to by the Utes as brothers, but some were brothers, others half brothers and cousins. Under this family's leadership the Uintah Utes adopted the equestrian lifestyle. Wakara's horse pasture alone ranged from the Sevier River to the Green River in the Uinta Basin.[xxiv] In one of the most successful horse raids in western history, Wakara and a mountain man, Peg Leg Smith, stole over one-thousand horses from California ranchers at San Luis Obisbo and drove them swiftly across the desert to escape all pursuit.

Just prior to the arrival of the Mormons and miners to Ute lands (1847 and 1858) the Utes were at the pinnacle of their strength and power. They had become noted throughout the mountains for their horses and riding ability.[xxv] George Brewerton, a guide who worked with Kit Carson, said of the Utes in 1848: "The Eutawa are perhaps the most powerful and warlike tribe now remaining of this continent."(sic)[xxvi] By that time they had carved out and maintained their territorial integrity from encroachment from the Navajos, Comanches, Cheyenne, Shoshone and Bannock tribes, with additional occasional encounters with such tribes as the Sioux and even the Blackfeet. Two centuries of interaction with the Spanish, sometimes as the enforcement arm of Spanish domination against other tribes, coupled with their own frequent warfare with neighboring tribes, brought them to this lofty contemporary praise.

At the coming of the whites to Utah there were five western Ute bands in the region: Uintah Timpanogots, who claimed the lands around Utah Lake; Uintah-Ats of the Uinta Basin; Pahvants occupied the Sevier Valley; the Sanpits Band made San Pete Valley their home; and the Moanunts were found on the western Colorado River Plateau. At times each of these bands were subdivided into smaller units with specific names, usually in reference to their band leader. Originally each of the various bands had a different leader, but the Whites generalized them into Utes and when the need arose to differentiate them from the Utes of Colorado, gave them the band name of Uintah Utes.[xxvii] The broad region of the eastern portion of the Great Basin and western Colorado Province Plateau provided the western Ute Bands with a homeland filled with vital foodstuff including deer, elk, pronghorn antelope, buffalo, and smaller game; Utah Lake trout, yarrow; berries in profusion including choke cherry, gooseberry, bull-berry, wild raspberry and service berry; along with varied roots and tubers, herbs and plants of dietary and medicinal use filled the Utes' needs.

Settlers Come to Ute Lands

Prior to 1847, most Euro-Americans who came to Utah came to trap beaver and trade with the Utes. Few, if any, intended on staying in the Great Basin and the West. With the entry of first the Mormons and nearly a decade later the miners of Colorado to lands claimed by the Utes, the native people did not understand that what started as a pitiful few grew to become a flood covering their lands. This flood of settlement eventually resulted in the Utes dispossessed of the land they had lived upon for generations.

The Mormons

When the Mormons first settled the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847 most Utes felt little or no concern. That valley was the unofficial border between their lands and their enemy's, the Shoshone, who lived to the north. Both groups of people occasionally hunted there but neither permanently occupied it. The Mormons did, however, unknowingly bring death to the Utes. Within months of their arrival measles spread through the Indian villages and several died.[xxviii]

Within a short time Brigham Young sent settlers south to San Pete, Utah and Sevier valleys to establish permanent settlements. Young promised the Utes that the Mormons would not drive them from their lands nor interfere with Utes' lifestyle. But within a few short months the Utah Valley settlers had built a fort located on traditional Ute camp grounds. They grazed their cattle where the Utes had grazed their horses. In the fall Mormon fishermen took large numbers of fish out of the Provo and Spanish Fork rivers as the fish swam upstream to spawn. Fish was a dietary mainstay of the Timpanogots Utes of Utah Valley. The Utes felt threatened. The Mormons, though, failed to recognize that their occupation of Utah Valley and other eastern valleys of the Great Basin disrupted the fragile ecology and traditional subsistence patterns of the Ute people. The two cultures did not understand each other. From a settlers point of view the Utes camped for a short time in one place, did not plant or farm the land, hunted or fished and moved on. Little did they understand that the Utes followed the same cycles: camped in the same places, and hunted and fished the same valleys and streams in season year after year. Their use of the land was much different than the Mormons anticipated use of it.

Difficulties Between Utes and the Mormons

By 1850 the Timpanoguts Utes of Utah Valley, in desperate need of food, turned to killing Mormon livestock. This resulted in retaliatory raids by the cattle's owners on Timpanoguts' camps and battles ensued at Rock Canyon and Payson. Several Utes were killed. The hostilities continued for several months until February 1851, when the Utah Territorial Indian Agency was formed and to deal with the Indians.

The clash of economic values between the Utes and Mormons kept tensions high. In 1852 the Utah Territorial Legislature passed a law banning all slave trade within the territory, effectively putting an end to lucrative trade between the Utes and New Mexicans. This angered and frustrated the Utes, especially Chief Walker. Of all the tribes of North America, perhaps none were more deeply involved in the capture and sale of other Indians for slavery than the Utes. The Old Spanish Trail, which connected Santa Fe with the California settlements and passed through Utah along the Sevier River, was used primarily as a trail of commerce, in particular horses and captive Indians. Running through parts of Ute lands, many Utes captured other Indians and traded them to the Mexicans using the trail. Walker was one of the main participants in the Indian slave trade and resented the Mormons stopping the practice.

The Walker War

In the summer of 1853, while Wakara's band was camped on Spring Creek near Springville an ugly incident occurred between Walker and the settlers. An altercation over trading between Mormon settlers James Ivie and some Utes of Walker's Band led to the beginning of the Walker War.[xxix] Wakara and Arapeen undertook a campaign of

raids against Mormon settlements. During the next ten months raids, retaliation, and theft took place between the settlers and the Utes. About twenty Mormons and at least that many Utes were killed. It was, however, a futile attempt by the Utes. The Mormons, at Brigham Young's direction, "forted up" and stopped trading with the Utes, especially trading guns and ammunition to the Utes. A peace agreement was reached between Brigham Young, then acting Indian Superintendent of the territory, and Wakara in May 1854 at Chicken Creek (Nephi). Wakara died just a few months later in January 1855, leaving the leadership of the Utes to his brothers, particularly Arapeen.[xxx]

Setting Aside a Reservation

Over the next few years, with ever more settlers coming to the Utes homelands as increasing numbers of Mormons moved to Utah, they settled on the fertile, tillable land. This, however, was also the land the Utes claimed. For all its vast acreage Utah has only a few valleys that are highly desirable for farming and these are surrounded by miles of sage, cedar, and mountains. Like San Pete and Utah Valleys, soon Fillmore, Sevier and the southern portions of Ute claimed lands were settled and again the Native Americans were expected to vacate. Brigham Young, after the ending of the Walker War, established several small Indian farms or reservations at Corn Creek, Spanish Fork, Twelve Mile Creek and elsewhere in the territory. The purposes of these Indian farms were to segregate the Utes from the growing number of Mormon settlements, provide the opportunity to teach the Utes farming, and provide a means to feed the Utes. The Indian farms, poorly outfitted, were a failure. In 1855 federal appointee Garland Hurt replaced Brigham Young as Indian agent and took over management of the Indian farms. Just a few years later newly appointed Indian agent T. W. Hatch reported that the Indian farms were in a "destitute condition, stripped of their stock, tools, and moveable fences, and no one [was] living upon either of them."[xxxi] Most of the Utes refused to settle on the farms, preferring to live according to traditional ways and Mormon settlers encroached on the land which was set aside for these Indian farms as it fell into disuse.

Garland Hurt was forced by federal government penury to abandon the Indian farms. The idea of separating the Utes from the Mormons and removing the Utes to some isolated region of the territory remained with Hurt and other federal territorial officials. The search was undertaken to locate such an area in the territory.

The Uinta Basin as a Reservation

In 1861 Brigham Young sent a small expedition to the Uinta Basin to investigate its suitability for settlement. The earlier Bean expedition's report had postponed Mormon entry into the Basin for nine years. Young wanted a second look at that region. Shortly after the 1861 expedition's return to Salt Lake City the Deseret News printed their report:

> The fertile vales, extensive meadows, and wide pasture ranges were not to be found; and the country, according to the statements of those sent thither to select a location for a settlement, is entirely unsuitable for farming purposes, and the amount of land at all suitable for cultivation extremely limited.
>
> After becoming thoroughly satisfied that all the sections of country, lying between the Wasatch Mountains and the eastern boundary of the Territory, and south of Green River Country, was one vast 'contiguity of waste,' and measurable valueless excepting for nomadic purposes, hunting grounds for Indians and to hold the world together . . . [xxxii]

This discouraging report reversed Young's plans for settling the Uinta Basin and postponed Mormon entry into the region for another several years. For territorial Indian officials, the expedition had located a place considered of little value, isolated geographically, and thus rendering it, by government standards, an ideal location for an Indian reservation. In 1861 President Lincoln issued an executive order establishing the Uintah Indian Reservation.[xxxiii] This new Indian reservation included all of the territory within the drainage of the Duchesne River, mistakenly named in Lincoln's Executive Order as the "Uintah" River.(sic) This included all the land on the south side of the Uinta Mountains to the Tavaputs Plateau, from Strawberry to the confluence of the Duchesne and Green rivers. In 1864 the United States Congress voted to approve President Lincoln's action and make the Uinta Basin the permanent homeland for the Uintah Utes. There was, however, nothing in Lincoln's order to force the removal of the Utes to the Basin.

An Uneasy Decade 1855-1865

The Utah Utes remained living on their traditional homelands but increasingly were forced to give way to growing numbers of Mormon settlers and watch the depletion of their food sources. An uneasy peace existed in the territory in the 1850s. The presence of Johnson's army due to the Utah War reminded the Utes of their inferior position. The removal of the army in 1861 with the beginning of the Civil War renewed the possibilities of further confrontation between the Utes and the Mormon settlers. Squeezed to live on less desirable lands the Utes threatened the uneasy coexistence with the Mormons as well as vital national transportation routes through the territory. Colonel Patrick Conner and a group of volunteers from California were assigned to Utah to keep peace with the Utes and Shoshone Indians, and to protect the overland routes. The 1863 massacre of several hundred Shoshone by Col. Connor and his men on the Bear River in southern Idaho Territory promoted the Ute leaders to enter a formal treaty of peace and removal to the recently established Uinta Basin was in their best interest.

The Spanish Fork Treaty

In 1865, Oliver H. Irish, recently appointed Indian agent for the Uintah Utes fearing an uprising, called a council of Ute leaders at the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon. In a report to Washington Irish wrote: "Owing to the Indian difficulties in the adjoining territories which were having a bad influence upon our Indians and that they were very uneasy about the reports ... I thought it dangerous to delay negotiations."[xxxiv] In council the Utes were asked to abandon their claims to Utah and San Pete valleys and accept permanent settlement in the Uinta Basin. Several Ute chiefs and leaders advised against the treaty. But Brigham Young, holding no official capacity other than the trust that the Utes had for him, advised them to accept the government's offer. He told them that the Indians should take what the government offered and go to the Uinta Valley, otherwise the government would simply take their land and give them nothing for it. When it was voted upon, the majority of Ute leaders agreed to the terms of the treaty. According to the terms of the treaty the Utes were to receive $25,000 a year for ten years, $20,000 for the next twenty years, and $15,000 for the last thirty years. In addition to the monies they were to be supplied with staple goods, homes, and schools.[xxxv]

After the signing of the Spanish Fork Treaty it was the government's understanding that the Utes would move immediately to the Uinta Basin, however, only a few small bands did so. The federal government was also neglectful in complying with the mutually agreed upon terms of the treaty. Congress with all the problems of the ending of the Civil War and the assassination of President Lincoln, just weeks prior to the Spanish Fork Treaty council, failed to ratify the treaty and the expected monies were not delivered to the Utes. By 1866 the Utes were again starving, without assistance, and understandably felt betrayed.

The Black Hawk War

Reacting to the lack of food and the unratified Spanish Fork Treaty, some Utes resumed making raids on Mormon settlements which had occurred intermittently since 1848. This period of raids is known as The Black Hawk War. Outlying towns, ranches, and farms throughout the territory were attacked by a minority of disgruntled and hungry Utes under the leadership of Autenquer or as the whites called him Black Hawk. With only about one-hundred followers, many of whom were Paiutes and Navajos, Black Hawk's band ran off as many as 5,000 head of cattle and killed approximately 90 settlers and territorial militiamen. So effective were these marauders that several small settlements in Central and Southern Utah were abandoned, including such major settlements as Richfield, Circleville, Kanab, and Panguitch.[xxxvi] The Mormons' perception of the raids was that the entire Ute tribe was at war. The San Pitch, Elk Mountain, and Uintah Bands[xxxvii] did supply and occasionally reinforce the raiders but most of northern Utes were not actively engaged in hostilities. Territorial officials reacted to the raids by mobilizing 2,500 militiamen to combat the Indians. Most saw little action for the wily Utes were rarely found. Due to pressure by the militia Black Hawk surrendered at the Uintah Agency and sued for peace in 1867. Suffering from a debilitating gunshot wound, he had had enough. Several of his followers continued raiding for two more years until most were killed.[xxxviii] Considering this small band's successes, it was fortunate for the Mormon settlers that the majority of Utes did not participate in the war.

Ute Agencies

With the ending of the Black Hawk War the Utes started moving to the Uinta Basin in earnest; some willingly, others less so. During the Black Hawk War some Ute families and bands moved to the Uintah Reservation. In 1866 Indian Superintendent F. H. Head, who had replaced Irish, complained bitterly that he had no money and that the Utes were desperately in need of flour and beef, as well as farm implements and provisions.[xxxix] That winter, under Brigham Young's direction, Mormons sent several wagon-loads of food and supplies to feed the starving Utes. In the summer of 1867 a large group of Utes led by Tabby-ToKwana (Tabby) moved to the Uintah Reservation and settled in the Strawberry Valley.

The first agency on the reservation was built by soldiers of the California Volunteers in 1865 at the head of Daniels Canyon. This was to be the Uinta Valley Agency. In the summer of 1865 Irish traveled to the Uinta Basin to review the progress being made. Before work was hardly underway Indian Agent L. B. Kenney was fired for "gross neglect."[xl] Due to the heavy winter snows which isolated the Daniel's Canyon site, Special Agent Thomas Carter, newly appointed agent assigned to the Utes, relocated

the agency to the upper Duchesne River near present-day Hanna in 1866. Here twenty-five acres of land were cleared and six cabins built to house the agency workers. The next year the agency was moved again, this time to the junction of the Rock Creek and the Duchesne River north of the present-day Starvation Reservoir. In 1868, at the urging of Antero, Indian Agent Pardon Dodds moved the agency a final time to Whiterocks.[xli] This location had considerable historical and geographic significance to the Utes. Nearby had stood Antoine Robidoux's Fort Uintah, and most of the major trails and travelways of the early Utes converged here.[xlii] Whiterocks served as the agency headquarters until Fort Duchesne was built in 1886.[xliii]

Mismanagement of the Indian agency continued. In 1871 Agent J. J. Critchlow complained in his first annual report that too little had been done for the Utes by his predecessors in procuring the Utes sufficient foodstuffs and clothing.[xliv] As was the case with other Native Americans the last quarter of the nineteenth-century saw reservation life for the Utes as a period of readjustment of culture, restriction of travel and personal freedoms, and loss of social and personal esteem. Placed in a situation where the Ute People became dependant on the federal government for most of their needs it is little wonder that the Ute population, like other tribes, declined under reservation life. The government's reservation policy forced Indians onto reservation lands which stripped them of the ability to maintain control of their traditional lands. The result was Euro-American occupation of their lands. The reservation policy more than justified, in terms of real dollar value, the cost of feeding and clothing rather than campaigning against warring nations of Indians. All reservation Indians became "wards of the government." The government treated Indians as children unable to care for themselves; the Utes were no exception to this way of thinking.

Removal of the Utes from Colorado

In 1881 the Uintah Utes were forced to share their lands with their Colorado cousins. The Uncompahgre and White River Utes were removed from the western slope of the Rocky Mountains to eastern Utah, after being forced to relocate several times prior to 1881. The shrinking of Colorado Ute land began when gold was discovered on the flood plain of the Rocky Mountains at Cherry Creek, (Denver) Colorado, in 1858. Within the next several months new and additional discoveries were made at Central City and Oro City, later renamed Leadville. New towns sprouted up and thousands of miners sped to the new mine fields. During the next several decades the Colorado Utes land claims, which had initially been from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains on the east to the Colorado Plateau, were pushed westward by four different treaties. The last of these took the southwest corner of Colorado from the Utes when new silver and gold discoveries were found in the San Juan Mountains. Not only did the Utes lose land, they also declined in numbers with the interaction of the miners. Many died from diseases and privation with game growing ever more scarce as the mountains were over-run by miners.

As Colorado became more settled and mine camps developed into towns and cities the problems between Utes and miners and ranchers became more and more pronounced but rarely developed into battles. Although their land had been vastly reduced, their claims still encompassed beautiful lands ripe for grazing cattle and millions of acres of forest land ready for timbering. The Coloradans were determined not to let Indian land claims stand in the way of "progress." By the late 1870s most of

the Utes of Colorado were living on either the White River or Los Pinos (Uncompahgre) reservations.[xlv] As much as possible the Colorado Utes were trying to maintain their traditional lifestyle while adjusting to new ways. Many of the Uncompahgre band had started raising sheep and cattle with some success.

The Meeker Massacre

The main player in the final act of the drama in the removal of the Utes from Colorado was Nathan C. Meeker. A former poet, novelist, newspaperman, and organizer of utopian agrarian cooperative colonies, all of which he had been a virtual failure, Meeker sought through political connections the position of Indian agent for the White River Ute Agency. Meeker arrived in the spring of 1878 to assume his duties at the Whiteriver agency. With missionary-type zeal Meeker set about to transform the Utes into a higher image, which he saw as being like his own. Meeker was confident that he could bring them out of a barbaric and savage stage to one of enlightenment in "five, ten, or twenty years."

Shortly after his arrival Meeker moved the agency fifteen miles downriver to beautiful meadows where he wanted to teach the Whiterivers the use of the plow and start the Utes toward becoming farmers. These meadows were a favored pasture for their many ponies. The Utes refused to plow the ground. When Meeker hired non-Indian plowmen, the determined Utes shot over their heads in warning. Plowing stopped. In a confrontation with Ute leader Johnson (Canalla by his Ute name), Meeker became enraged and told Johnson, owner of hundreds of horses, that he and the Utes had too many horses and ought to kill some of them. Astonished beyond words, Johnson reacted angrily and shoved Meeker against a porch rail and then left.

Meeker was determined to have his way and to punish Johnson and the resisting Utes. In his fury he telegraphed Governor Frederick Pitkin asking for military protection, claiming that he had been assaulted by a leading chief, forced out of his house, and injured badly. Pitkin welcomed Meeker's request. For some time he and newspaperman William B. Vickers had used their combined skills: political persuasion and power of the press, to launch a campaign to remove the unwanted Utes from Colorado. The Denver Tribune in a short editorial outburst reflected the sentiments of Pitkin. It wrote "The Utes Must Go."[xlvi] Meeker's request was the excuse they needed to bring to culmination their goals of evicting the Utes from the state. Meeker received word that cavalry units were ordered to the reservation to maintain peace.

When the Utes learned that an army was coming, they prepared for battle. Thinking themselves at war, they attacked the agency, killed Meeker and all the white men and took three women hostages, including Meeker's wife. In a standoff at Milk Creek the Utes stopped the army's advance for several days. Meanwhile, the Uncompahgre Utes under the leadership of Ouray rode out to get their northern cousins to quit fighting. Hoping reason would halt hostilities they were also prepared to fight on the side of the whites if necessary. Ouray and others knew, having been to Washington, D.C. several times, the futility of fighting the army and if fighting continued the results would be their removal from Colorado. Ouray's message to the Whiterivers was for them to cease fighting. Ouray's intercession and the arrival of reinforcements to the beleaguered cavalry units ended the fighting. The three captive women were released.

The Uintah Utes stayed out of the action in Colorado. Fearing retaliatory raids from the army, they made plans to seek refuge in the Uinta Mountains and urged Agent Critchlow and his family and employees to join them.[xlvii]

Using the Meeker "Massacre" as justification for removal, the campaign of white Coloradans to take over Ute lands occurred during the next three years. Indian agents and state officials, overlooking Ouray's and the Uncompahgres' willingness to fight their own tribal members to avoid war with the whites, ordered both bands, the Whiterivers and the Uncompahgres, removed from Colorado. Beginning in August 1881 the Uinta Basin was to be their new home. Here the Whiteriver band joined the Uintah Band at the Whiterocks agency, and the Uncompahgre band was removed to the new agency at Ouray, named for Chief Ouray. The two Indian agencies remained separated until 1887 when Fort Duchesne was built and the agencies were combined. With the arrival of the Whiteriver band, the Uintah Utes felt they were unfairly having to share their reservation lands. Protesting the overcrowded condition on their agency, over one-hundred Uintah Utes moved to the west end of their reservation at Hanna and Strawberry. Their protest was short lived remaining at the west end for several months before returning to the agency at Whiterocks.

Fort Duchesne

Within five years following the arrival of the Colorado Utes to the Uinta Basin it was decided that the agencies should be combined and the military should be posted on the reservation. On 23 August 1886, Fort Duchesne was established to serve as protectorate of the Utes and to keep peace. Initially the Utes opposed the fort and even planned an attack on the army at Deep Creek as they were coming to establish the fort. After negotiations the Utes soon came to accept the fort and the soldiers who manned it. The fort's roster included two companies of Black cavalrymen, referred to by the Indians as "Buffalo Soldiers." First commander of the newly established fort was Major Frederick Benteen, survivor of the Reno Benteen fortification of the bungled attack on Sioux villages in the valley of the Little Big Horn in July 1876. Stationed at Fort Duchesne were approximately two-hundred fifty men.[xlviii] Although the fort was in Uintah County its existence greatly affected the development of what became Duchesne County. Most significantly was the development of the road to Price through Nine Mile Canyon to supply the fort, and the building of a telegraph to link Fort Duchesne with military command.

Ute Reservation Life

Life on the reservation was hard for the Utes to understand and accept. Within one generation's life-span they had gone from the mountain man days, where these few white intruders posed very little real threat and the Utes lived a life of sovereignty and autonomy, to a lifestyle not of their own choosing where they were restricted on every side. Many tried to live according to the traditions of their fathers but that was now nearly impossible in the arid lands of the Uinta Basin. Many Utes sank into depression and despair. In 1890 a new religion swept through western tribes called the Ghost Dance Religion. Started by a Nevada Paiute, Wovoka (Jack Wilson), who had been raised by Mormon settlers, the religion called for its participants to perform a certain dance called the Ghost Dance. They believed that an Indian Messiah would come and cleanse the land of the whites and nonbelieving Indians, restore the buffalo and game,

and resurrect and bring with him the dead Indians of earlier generations. Grass would again grow on the prairies and all would live in the free happy life of days gone by.

With initial enthusiasm for the new religion and the hope it brought to the depressed people it soon waned and died. The Utes had little participation in the Ghost Dance Religion after the first few months, and by the time of the tragedy with the Sioux at Wounded Knee in late 1890 few Utes were still believers. The next new religion to sweep through western tribes was the Peyote Religion. Like the Ghost Dance and the Sun Dance it was an expression of spiritual power to compensate the participant for the loss of political and economic control fostered by the reservation system. This religion emphasized Indian traditions. Within one generation perhaps fifty-percent of the tribe was involved. Presently this religion is called the Native American Church.[xlix]

In the effort to clean up the scandals and abuses that had occurred on Indian reservations during the Grant administration, there was a move to appoint agents who were affiliated with or a minister of a Protestant church. With the organization of the Uintah Reservation the Episcopalian Church was assigned to look out for the spiritual needs of the Ute People. Although there had been Episcopalian ministers on the reservation prior to 1915, this was the completion date of the first chapel in Randlett. At present there is, in addition to the Episcopalian Churches with a congregations in Randlett and Neola, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with wards in Randlett, Myton, Whiterocks and all the other towns in Duchesne County, and a Baptist Church on Indian Bench.

In the years between removal to the reservation and the opening of the reservation to white homesteading the Utes were bewildered and confused about what would become of them. As early as 1878 the Utes feared a loss of their land. Agent Critchlow's report and the Utes concerns were prophetic:

> ...they [the Utes] are concerned that this reservation will be thrown open to white settlers, they be removed to some other place, and thus lose all their labor...My own opinion is that any such change would work great injury and injustice to these Indians, yet I know that many in this territory (Utah) would do anything to bring it about.[l]

The Utes' fears were soon realized. Their lands were opened to homesteading and injustice was done to them by the same government that had made them wards and promised their protection.

i. Jerry D. Spangler, Paradigms & Perspectives: A Class I Overview of Cultural Resources in the Uinta Basin and Tavaputs Plateau, (Salt Lake City: Published by the Bureau of Land Management, 1995) 447.

ii. Jesse D. Jennings, Prehistory of Utah the Eastern Great Basin University of Utah Anthropological Papers, No. 98 (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1978), 155, 156.

iii. Jennings, Prehistory, 155.

iv. Spangler, Paradigms and Perspectives, 501.

v. Jack D. Barton, interview. Lester Maxfield, old-time resident of Altonah who came with his family into the county to settle, claims that some of the canals in Altonah and Talmage were already in place and only needed cleaning out and headgates put in to be serviceable to modern farmers.

vi. Jennings, Prehistory of Utah, 78. Several such towers are found in Nine Mile and additional look-outs are found throughout Duchesne County. The Fremont Indians did not seem to share the urge to live in close communal dwellings like those found at Mesa Verdi, but chose to spread out more, probably with just the immediate family living in adjacent housing. The close proximity of their villages suggest shared labor and mutual protection.

vii. Spangler, Paradigms & Perspectives, 599-602; see also Warren L. D'Azevedo, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: Great Basin vol. 11 (Smithsonian, 1986), 171.

viii. Spangler, Paradigms & Perspectives, 599-602.

ix. Jack D. Barton, interview.

x. James H. Gunnerson, The Fremont Culture (Cambridge, Mass.: Published by the Peabody Museum, 1969), 182-184. See also Barnes and Pendleton, Prehistoric Indians 87; Jennings, 235; D'Azevedo, 171-172.

xi. Spangler, Paradigms & Perspectives, 600.

xii. Spangler, Paradigms & Perspectives, 599.

xiii. Herbert E. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1951), 41,43.

xiv. Ted J. Warner, ed., The Dominguez-Escalante Journal translated by Fray Angelico Chavez (Provo: Brigham Young Press, 1976), 42, 44. Neither the mountain men in the area and the early settlers of the Uinta Basin mention seeing buffalo in the region, what few there were must have been hunted out between 1776 and the 1820s.

xv. Warner, The Dominguez-Escalante Journals, 47. Escalante's use of "Comanche" is not entirely incorrect. The Comanche and Shoshoni Tribes had the same origins. The Comanches had been Shoshoni who left the mountains of Wyoming and migrated to the Texas plains. See Arrel Morgan Gibson, The American Indian; Prehistory to Present (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 78.

xvi. Warner, The Dominguez-Escalante Journal, 47. Researchers of the Dominguez-Escalante trail have been unable to locate this ruin.

xvii. Referring to the lower Strawberry, Lake Fork, and the Duchesne rivers. The Lake Fork and Strawberry join each other about ten miles apart.

xviii. Warner, The Escalante Journals, 48. If Brigham Young had received this report of the area perhaps Duchesne County's history would read very differently today and the area may never have become part of the Ute Indian Reservation.

xix. Bolton, Pageant in the Wilderness, 62.

xx. Jerry Spangler, Paradigms and Perspectives, 657.

xxi. Fred A. Conetah, A History of the Northern Ute People edited by Kathryn L. MacKay and Floyd O'Neil, (Fort Duchesne: Published by the Uintah and Ouray Tribe, 1982), 28.

xxii. Escalante, Journals, 26-38.

xxiii. Fred A. Conetah, A History of the Northern Ute People, edited by Kathryn MacKay and Floyd A. O'Neil, (Ft. Duchesne, Utah: Published by the Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1982), 6,9.

xxiv. Omer Stewart, "Ute Indians: Before and After White Contact," Utah Historical Quarterly, 34: (Winter 1966), 54.

xxv. Osborne Russell, Journal of a Trapper 1834-1843, edited by Aubrey Haines, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 120-122. See also Warren E. Ferris, Life in the Rocky Maintains, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen.

(Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1968), 312.

xxvi. George Brewerton, Overland With Kit Carson, ed. Stallo Vinton (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930), 99,100.

xxvii. Stewart, "Ute Indians," 24, 25.

xxviii. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah, (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), 278.

xxix. Conetah, 39. For more detail as to the beginnings of the Walker War see Peter Gottfredson, Indian Depredations in Utah, (Salt Lake City: Merlin G. Christensen pub., 1969, second edition, original published in 1919), 43-47.

xxx. William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and the Spanish Slave Trade," Utah Historical Quarterly Vol. 2; Joseph J. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," Utah Historical Quarterly Vol 3; Howard A Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847-1852," Utah Historical Quarterly Vol. 46; Howard A Christy, "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy," Utah Historical Quarterly Vol 47.

xxxi. From agent T.W. Hatch to Commissioner James D. Doty, September 1862. (Washington D.C.: Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862, microfilm copy Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University), 205.

xxxii. The Deseret News, 25 September 1861.

xxxiii. A. Lincoln, Executive Order, 5 October 1861 in "Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reservations, 1855-1912," (Washington D.C. : GPO, 1912), 169. Microfilm copy held HBLL, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

xxxiv. O.H. Irish to W.P. Dole, 14 February 1865, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Utah Superintendence, 1866-1869, RG 75, National Archives, Washington D.C., Microfilm Copy at Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah. Also see Spanish Fork Treaty, Unratified Treaties. In the surrounding territories within the years just prior to the Spanish Fork Treaty the Shoshone were attacked at Bear River, the Navajo were forced on the "Long Walk" to Fort Sumner, and the Cheyenne were massacred at Sand Creek. Although these tribes were enemies of the Utes, they took little joy in seeing their foes defeated by armies of volunteer soldiers for they could see, all too clearly, what may happen to them.

xxxv. O.H. Irish to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 7 June 1865, Letters Received, Record Group 75, National Archives, Microfilm copy HBLL, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

xxxvi.Conetah, History of the Northern Ute People, 86. See also Deloy J. Spencer, "The History of the Black Hawk War 1865-1871," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Utah State University, 1969), 54-55.

xxxvii.Names of the various bands of Utes can be confusing. Prior to their removal to the Uinta Basin, the Utah Utes was comprised of several bands, after their removal, and especially after the Uncompahgre and Whiteriver Bands joined them in the Basin reservation, the Utah Utes were all referred to as Uintah Utes. See Julian H. Seward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, Washington, D.C.: 1938; "Ute" by Donald Calloway, et. al. in Handbook of North American Indians: Great Basin, Vol. 11, ed. by Warren L. D'Azevedo, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986.

xxxviii.Warren Metcalf, "A Precarious Balance: The Northern Utes and the Black Hawk," Utah Historical Quarterly 51, (Winter 1989), 24-35.

xxxix.F. H. Head to D. N. Cooley, 31 March 1866, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received.

xl.Conetah, History of the Northern Ute People 90.

xli.Conetah, History of the Northern Ute People, 90.

xlii.James Warren Covington, "Relations Between the Ute Indians and the United States Government, 1848-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1949), 138-143.

xliii.Previous to Fort Duchesne's being built the army built Fort Thornburg in Ashley Valley near present-day Maeser, but its existence only lasted for a short time and the Indian agency was not ever established there.

xliv.Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report 1871 (Washington D.C. 1872), 547.

xlv.The Ute Mountain and Southern Utes did not play an active part in the proceedings nor in the removal from Colorado. For more reading of the removal of the Utes from Colorado see Fred Conetah, A History of the Northern Ute People, 96-113; Dee Brown, Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc. 1970), 349-367; Robert Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian 1866-1891 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), 332-343.

xlvi.Throughout the year of 1877, Vickers continued his tirade against the Utes in many of the issues of the Denver Tribune.

xlvii. Conetah, History of the Northern Ute People, 92.

xlviii. For more information of Fort Duchesne see Gary Lee Walker, History of Fort Duchesne Including Fort Thornburg: The Military Presence in Frontier Uintah Basin, Utah, (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1992). See also Ronald G. Coleman, "The Buffalo Soldiers: Guardians of the Uintah Frontier, 1886-1901," Utah Historical Quarterly 47 (Fall 1979), 421-439.

xlix. For more reading of the Ghost Dance Religion see James Mooney, The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890 (Washington D. C., 1893) see also Arrell Morgan Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, Massachusetts, Toronto: D.C. Heath and Company, 1980), 477-483. For Ute participation in the Ghost Dance Religion see Fred Conetah, A History of the Northern Ute People, 91. This book is the best study to date done by a Ute Historian on his people. There are however some errors in it and his date for the Ute participation in the Ghost Dance is one of them. He dates the Ghost Dance in 1872, and Wovoka did not start the new religion until the last part of 1899. See Conetah, 132, for additional information about the Peyote Religion.

l. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1878, 624.

Notes for *Whose Land*