Indigenous Connections

Native American Ethnographic Study of Golden, Colorado and the Clear Creek Valley

Prepared by:

Sean O'Meara
Anthropological Research, LLC
Tuscon, Arizona

In partnership with:

INDIGENOUS CONNECTIONS: NATIVE AMERICAN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF GOLDEN, COLORADO AND THE CLEAR CREEK VALLEY

Prepared by

Sean O'Meara

Anthropological Research, LLC

6655 W. Sweetwater Dr.
Tucson, Arizona
85745

With contributions by

Max Bear, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma
Crystal C'Bearing, Northern Arapaho Tribe
Garrett Briggs, Southern Ute Indian Tribe
Betsy Chapoose, Ute Indian Tribe
Maren P. Hopkins, Anthropological Research, LLC
Ben Ridgely, Sr., Northern Arapaho Tribe
Michael C. Spears, Anthropological Research, LLC
Shelly Thompson, Southern Ute Indian Tribe

Prepared for

City of Golden
Golden History Museum & Park
923 10th St.
Golden, Colorado
80401

First printing May 30, 2022
Revised January 2025

Funding Statement

This study was funded by a Certified Local Government grant from the Colorado State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation at History Colorado.

The activity that is the subject of this material has been financed in part with federal funds from the National Historic Preservation Act, administered by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior for History Colorado. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Department of the Interior or History Colorado, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute an endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or History Colorado.

This program received federal funds from the National Park Service. Regulations of the U.S. Department of the Interior strictly prohibit unlawful discrimination in departmental Federally-assisted programs on the basis of race, color, national origin, age or handicap. Any person who believes he or she has been discriminated against in any program, activity, or facility operated by a recipient of federal assistance should write to: Director, Equal Opportunity Program, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240.

Executive Summary

Native American history and connections to the Clear Creek Valley and table lands of the central Colorado Front Range extend back for more than 12,000 years. Contemporary Native American communities continue to view this place as an aboriginal homeland and a living landscape. However, today's historical narrative of the region largely excludes Indigenous people and their values. To address this disparity, the City of Golden formed a partnership between its division of Planning and Museums, with the additional support of the Historic Preservation Board, to engage Native American tribes and ethnographic researchers to help tell the story of Indigenous people in this region. The study involved cultural advisors from six American Indian tribes and a review and synthesis of relevant ethnographic literature. Together, the oral historical and documentary records provide a robust narrative about Native American connections to Colorado's Front Range, and create a foundation for future collaborative research with tribal communities.

Situated within the ancestral territory of multiple tribes, the Clear Creek Valley can be understood as a place where multiple Indigenous lifeways were practiced. All of the components that make up this area—including viewsheds, night skies, soundscapes, trails, plants, animals, waterways, landforms, archaeological sites, and historical events—have value and significance to contemporary Native American people. Topography and habitats are some of the indicators of a *homeland* and cultural landscape to Indigenous people, as they provide physical and spiritual sustenance. The Clear Creek Valley provides an access corridor between the interior Rocky Mountains and the Plains. As an ecological transition zone, over 180 plant species found within the Golden region have documented Indigenous uses and names, and these serve as a foundation for Native American continued use and connections to the area. Ancestral sites have cultural and historical significance related to Indigenous lifeways and values on the landscape.

Tribal oral traditions and cultural activities continue to reinforce the long-standing connections tribes have to the region. In the oral histories of the Núuchiu (Ute), the area now called the City of Golden is located within the origin places of the Moghwachi, Tabeguache, and Uncompahgre bands and has been significant since time immemorial. The oral histories and documentary record of the Tsétsėhéstâhese or Tsistsistas (Cheyenne and Hinono'ei (Arapaho reveal a history that began in the eighteenth century or earlier, and encompassed the Front Range of Colorado. Painful tribal histories, including the forced removal of the Utes from a large portion of their ancestral lands and the removal of the Cheyenne and Arapaho from Colorado following the Massacre at Sand Creek, are historically linked to the development of the City of Golden and are therefore essential components of Native American interpretation of the area. The City of Golden today recognizes that these oral traditions are an integral part to cultural identity and cannot be trivialized.

This study should be viewed as the first step in building collaborative and positive relationships among American Indian tribes, the City of Golden, and other Front Range communities. The research presented in this report is viewed as a positive first step by all of the tribes that participated, and they requested further consultation and ethnographic research to ensure their respective traditions and histories are accurately represented in the Clear Creek Valley and along the Front Range of Colorado.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH, LLC, conducted an ethnographic overview of Native American use of the Golden region for the City of Golden and the Golden History Museum and Park. The purpose of this study is to provide the Golden History Museum and Park with a baseline of ethnographic research pertaining to six tribes associated with Golden Region. This report will serve as a foundation for engaging with Native American communities on how best to incorporate Native American interpretation into the Museum. The six tribes included in this study are (1) Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, (2) Northern Arapaho Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, (3) Northern Cheyenne Tribe, (4) Southern Ute Indian Tribe, (5) Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation, and (6) Ute Mountain Ute Tribe (Figure 1.1).

The City of Golden, founded in 1859, is situated within a vast and complex landscape that has been continuously occupied by Indigenous people for more than 12,000 years (Cassells 1983; Koons and others 2021; SWCA 2018). Contemporary American Indian tribes maintain cultural connections to sites along Colorado's Front Range through prayer, visitation, government-to-government consultation, oral traditions, and as residents of Front Range communities. Native Americans are uniquely qualified to evaluate, interpret, and consult on their history and heritage resources. The majority of the ethnographic information in this report is derived from previously published sources, with emphasis on recent collaborative or community lead research (Chapoose and others 2012; Friday 2022; Friday and Scasta 2020; Hopkins and others 2020; McBeth 2008; Northern Cheyenne Tribe 2021; O'Meara and others 2021; Soldier Wolf 2022; Ute Indian Museum 2019; White 2022).

This study is limited in scope due to limited funding and the project timeline. It focuses on only six of the 16 federally recognized tribes that the Golden History Museum and Park has previously identified as being connected to the region. This overview should, therefore, be used as a foun-dation for future collaborative research and consultation with Native American communities. The Colorado State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation currently provides a list of 48 federally recognized Indian tribes that claim all or part of Colorado as ancestral territory. Previous ethnographic studies along Colorado's Front Range have identified 28 federally recognized tribes historically asso-ciated with the Front Range (Kelley and others 2017:1-4 to 1-5). The State of Colorado provides guidance for local municipalities regarding tribal consultation (Hanschu and others 2014). At the municipal level, the City of Boulder currently consults with 16 federally recognized tribes (City of Boulder 2021):

- Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
- Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes, Oklahoma
- Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, South Dakota
- Comanche Nation, Oklahoma
- Eastern Shoshone Tribe, Wyoming
- Jicarilla Apache Nation, New Mexico
- Kiowa Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
- Northern Arapaho Tribe, Wyoming
- Northern Cheyenne Tribe, Montana
- Oglala Sioux Tribe, South Dakota
- Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma
- Rosebud Sioux Tribe, South Dakota
- Southern Ute Indian Tribe, Colorado
- Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, North and South Dakota
- Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation, Utah
- Ute Mountain Tribe, Colorado

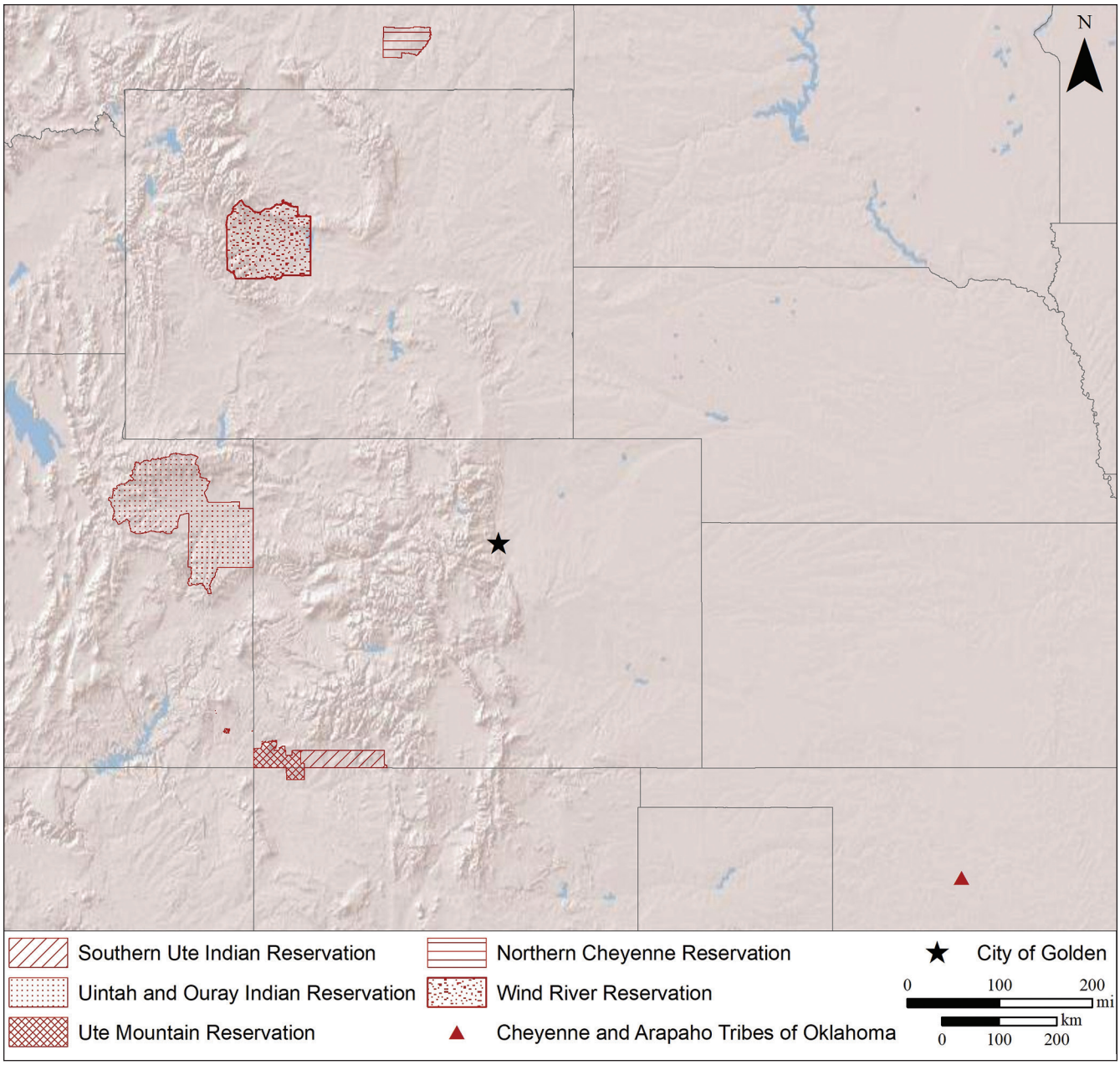

Figure 1.1. Native American reservations discussed in this report in relation to the City of Golden.

METHODOLOGY

Research for this study was conducted through outreach to tribal communities, a review of relevant ethnobotanical and ethnographic literature, and review meetings with official tribal cultural advisors and representatives. Researchers adopted a cultural landscape approach to this study. The concept of cultural landscapes centers on the interconnectedness of place and people. Cultural landscapes can be understood like ecosystems, wherein diverse elements—including villages, campsites, trails, caves, origin places, medicine places, plants, ceremonial sites, and other important locations—are related and inextricably linked to each other and to the experiences and perceptions of the people (Strapp and Burney 2002:157). This approach is inclusive and aligned with tribal values for ancestral lands. To best represent Native American connections the geographic scope of this study includes places up to 150 miles from the

Table 1.1. Native American Cultural Advisors Contacted during this Project

Native American Tribe	*Name*	*Position*
Southern Ute Indian Tribe	Cassandra Atencio	Deputy Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Southern Ute Indian Tribe	Garrett Briggs	Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Southern Ute Indian Tribe	Shelly Thompson	Director, Cultural Preservation Department
Ute Indian Tribe	Betsy Chapoose	Director, Office of Cultural Rights and Protection
Ute Mountain Ute Tribe	Terry Knight, Sr.	Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma	Max Bear	Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Northern Cheyenne Tribe	Teanna Limpy	Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Northern Arapaho Tribe	Ben Ridgely	Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Northern Arapaho Tribe	Crystal C'Bearing	Deputy Director, THPO

City of Golden and is referred in this report as the Golden Region. Places found within this region are important to the traditional use of the area. To provide relevant ethnobotanical information to the City of Golden and to tribal communities, a 40-square mile area centered around the City of Golden was considered. A four mile radius centered on the City of Golden was applied to a database search of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's Compass database.

The Anthropological Research team, consisting of Sean O'Meara, Michael Spears, T. J. Ferguson and Maren Hopkins, conducted this study in collaboration with the City of Golden. Mr. O'Meara served as the primary ethnographic researcher; Mr. Spears provided GIS support and was the project cartographer; Dr. Ferguson and Ms. Hopkins provided administrative and editorial support. Nathan Richie, Director of the Golden History Museum and Park, and Lauren Simmons, Senior Planner at the City of Golden, facilitated this study and provided outreach assistance. The research team maintained regular contact and met virtually over the course of the project to discuss study objectives and progress.

Native American Outreach and Engagement

In July and August of 2021, Anthropological Research and the Golden History Museum and Park contacted the Tribal Historic Preservation Offices of six tribes to request their participation in this project and provide an opportunity for them to discuss how they would like to engage in the study (Table 1.1). Based on the scope and timeline of the project, tribes requested to review a synthesis of previously published materials prior to ethnographic interviews and consideration of interpretative themes, ethnohistory and recommendations for the Golden History Museum and Park.

Literature Review

The researchers reviewed ethnographic, historical, and archaeological documents relevant to Native American history in the Golden region. Aboriginal territory maps were digitized using GIS based on feedback from cultural advisors; archaeological sites in Golden were assessed using the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's Compass database, published ethnobotanical and traditional-use information was compiled to serve as a baseline in future studies. Anthropological Research staff worked with each tribe's Tribal Historic Preservation Office and Cultural Preservation offices to identify relevant sources. Information was obtained through online research of the several research institutions and databases, including the Southern Ute Cultural Preservation Department archives, Rocky Mountain Online Archives; History Colorado, Denver Public Library, Denver Museum of Nature and Science, Library of Congress, New York Public Library, the Smithsonian, and the Museum of the American Indian. Ethnographic literature should be viewed as supportive material and not a replacement for in-depth ethnographic interviews with cultural advisors and cultural advisors from associated tribes.

Ethnographic Interviews

The research team developed an informed consent and pre-liminary set of questions for the ethnographic interviews based on the results of the literature review (Appendix A and Appendix B). Following the completion of the draft report,

Anthropological Research conducted follow up interviews via zoom or teleconference. This report summarizes the relevant parts of those discussions. Specific quotes or information provided by cultural advisors provided during these conversations can be found in this report.

Tribal Review

The research team maintained regular contact over email and through virtual meetings with tribal representatives over the course of the project. The research team incorporated material from the literature review, interviews, and conversations with cultural advisors into this report. Virtual meetings were held between the research team and participating tribes to review the content of the report. These review meetings gave the tribes an opportunity to ensure the accuracy and appropriateness of information pertaining to their tribe that is shared in this report. During review meetings, the relevant chapter was read in its entirety. Tribal chapters were revised based on the feedback derived in the interviews.

On April 1, 2022, Sean O'Meara conducted a virtual review with Shelly Thompson, Director of the Southern Ute Indian Tribe's Cultural Preservation Department. An additional review was held with Garrett Briggs, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer of the Southern Ute Indian Tribe on April 8, 2022. On April 7, 2022 Mr. O'Meara conducted a virtual review with Ben Ridgley, Northern Arapaho Tribal Historic Preservation Officer and Crystal C'Bearing, Deputy Director of the Tribal Historic Preservation Office. Mr. O'Meara also conducted a virtual review with Betsy Chapoose, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Indian Tribe on April 7, 2022. Virtual review meetings were held with Max Bear, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma on March 24 and April 5, 2022. Due to scheduling conflicts, a review meeting was not conducted with the Northern Cheyenne Tribe.

REPORT OVERVIEW

This report is organized into six chapters: Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study background and methodology. Chapter 2 provides an environmental and historical overview of the Golden region in relation to associated Native American groups. Chapters 3 through 6 discuss the contemporary organization, ethnohistorical associations with Golden, and interpretation and future recommendations from three Native American culture groups: Ute, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. The Ute are represented by the Ute Indian Tribe, Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, and Southern Ute Indian Tribe. The Cheyenne are represented by the Northern Cheyenne Tribe and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. The Arapaho are represented by the Northern Arapaho Tribe and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. Chapter 7 summarizes the study findings and provides general recommendations for engaging Native American communities in future research.

CHAPTER TWO

Overview of the Golden Region

THE PRESENT-DAY CITY of Golden, Colorado, located in the Clear Creek Valley, lies within the overlapping aboriginal and historical territories of several contemporary Native American tribes. This chapter discusses the physical setting of Golden, briefly describes the development of Golden as a Euro-American settlement, and situates Golden in a Native American cultural landscape.

ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

The City of Golden is located along the banks of Clear Creek, 12 miles west of the City of Denver. The City of Golden is bounded by topographic features on all sides. To the north is North Table Mountain, to the east is South Table Mountain, to the south is Green Mountain, and to the west is Clear Creek Canyon. This topography provides a natural passage into the southern Rocky Mountains. The City of Golden is situated in a transition zone between two environmental zones, High Plains and the Southern Rockies (Chapman and others 2006) (Figure 2.1).

Plant habitats are diverse in these environmental zones and 750 plant species have been identified within a 40 square mile area surrounding Golden (Schweich 2022; SEINet 2022). The High Plains begin in Golden and expand to the east. The High Plains are dominated by grasses and semi-desert plant species, many of which were used by Native Americans, including prickly pear (*Opuntia* spp.), Indian ricegrass (*Achnatherum hymenoides*), sages (*Artemisia* spp.), paintbrush (*Castilleja* spp.), and wild buckwheat (*Erigeron* spp.). The Southern Rockies zone includes the foothills, canyons and mountain slopes of the Golden region. This area contains a diverse array of conifer trees, woodland species, and wildflowers. Some plants traditionally used by Native Americans in these habitats include mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus montanus*), junipers (*Juniperus* spp.), currants (*Ribes* spp.), Gambel oak (*Quer-cus gambelii*), Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), and yucca (*Yucca* spp.). The third environmental zone found in both the grasslands and canyon areas are the lush riparian habitats around springs and along Clear Creek and the South Platte River. A variety of plants used by Native Americans are found in this zone, including chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), narrowleaf cotton wood (*Populus angustifolia*), cattail (*Typha* spp.), mint (*Men-tha arvensis*), horsetails (*Equisetum* spp.), wild rose (*Rosa* spp.), elderberry (*Sambucus* spp.), gooseberry (*Ribes* spp.), raspberry (*Rubus* spp.), box elder (*Acer negundo*), willows (*Salix* spp.), and other water-loving plants.

Plant communities are an essential component in Native American cultural landscapes. Cultural advisors from the Southern Ute Indian Tribe have stated previously that a holistic view of plant communities should consider cultural beliefs and practices (O'Meara and others 2021:11). Native Americans obtained traditional knowledge through generations of observing, living in, and engaging with the environment (Anderson 2005; Berkes 2012; Cajete 2000). Traditional knowledge for many tribes emphasizes the interconnectedness of humans and their environment, and studies concerning Indigenous people necessarily privilege this knowledge system.

NATIVE AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE FRONT RANGE OF COLORADO

Native American presence along the Front Range of Colorado predated non-Native settlements by thousands of years. Through periods of attempted genocide, warfare, armed conflict, treaty making, removal to reservations,

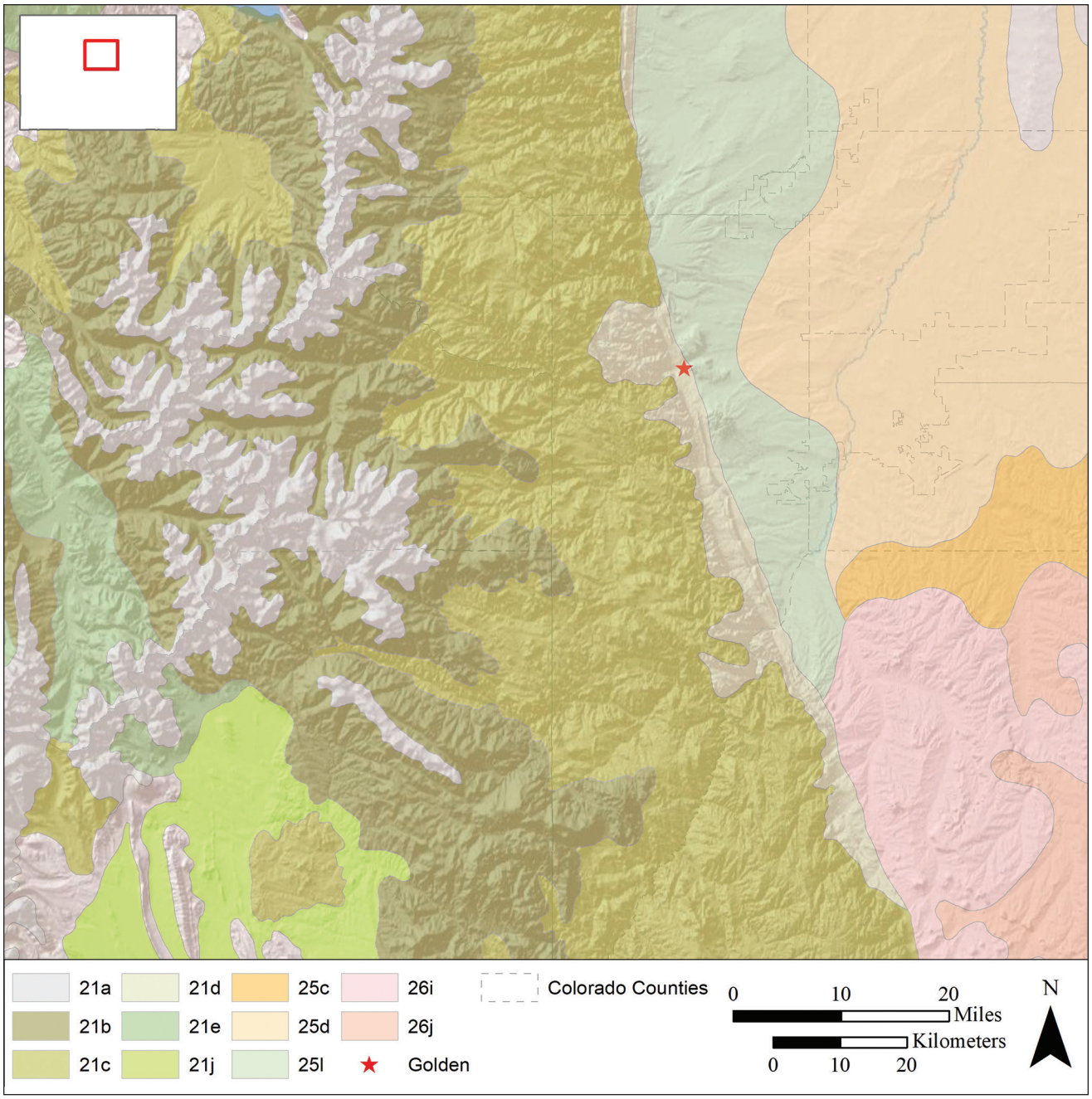

Figure 2.1. EPA ecoregions of the Golden region. High Plains zones are represented by zones 25, and the Southern Rockies by zones 21 (Chapman and others 2006).

and assimilation policies, Native Americans maintained their presence in and their connections to the area. Native Americans today are working to reverse centuries of restricted access to their aboriginal lands and reclaim their physical and spiritual connection to their aboriginal territory. They do this through harvesting of resources, story-telling, prayer, ceremonies, educating younger generations, and participating in consultation and ethnographic research. Ute, Cheyenne, and Arapaho people never abandoned their cultural connections to Colorado's Front Range.

Archaeological evidence of Native American land use is found throughout Jefferson County (Koons and others 2021:1–2; SWCA 2018). Archeological evidence of Native American presence is documented since 9,000 BCE (Koons and others 2021:1–2).

A search using the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's Compass database reveals 59 documented sites and isolated finds within an approximate four-mile radius around the City of Golden. General site types include 28 Lithic Scatters, seven tipi ring sites, two camps, one isolated burial, three caves, and rock shelters; 16 isolated finds; and one pit structure (Appendix C). Of these 59 sites, only four were recommended as eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NHRP), 31 were recommended as ineligible for NRHP listing, and 23 had an NHRP recommendation listed as undetermined. Based on the information found in this report the disparity between eligible and ineligible site recommendations is indicative that Native American cultural values have not been assessed during previous cultural resource surveys.

Sites such as Magic Mountain, located at the base of a sand stone outcrop along Apex Gulch south of Golden, represent Native American use of the area for at least 10,000 years. The materials found at this site represent Indigenous lifeways, including artifacts associated with hunting and permanent settlement features with stone structures and ceramics. The Denver Museum of Nature and Science is conducting a community archaeology project at the Magic Mountain site and has consulted with cultural advisors from five tribes, including Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, and the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Nation (Koons and others 2021:6). Several rock shelters with evidence of ancestral use have been documented in the foothills around Golden, including the Hall-Woodland Cave, LoDaisKa, and Willowbrook (Nelson 1967:10–11). The Hall-Woodland Cave is located above an intermittent stream at the convergence of two ecosystems. Mule deer, badger, fox, black bear, coyotes, bobcats, and other culturally significant animals are found in the area (Nelson 1967:2).

The region's topography, waterways, and plant and animal habitats continue to reflect the pre-contact Indigenous landscape. According to local traditions, one large ponderosa pine located in Jefferson County was repeatedly visited by Native Americans. This tree, dated to approximately 500 BCE, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as the Council Tree (Jefferson County Historical Commission 2021). The Council Tree, according to local traditions in Golden, is said to have been visited by Colorow, a Ute leader from the White River band, and Warshinun (Chief Friday), a Northern Arapaho leader, in the 1860s and 1870s. Consultation with associated tribal communities is ongoing to determine the historical and contemporary significance of this site and the accuracy of the local traditions surrounding the tree. Although the area was originally a rich hunting ground, the extirpation of the bison by 1869 around the Clear Creek Valley, and the near complete annihilation of the southern herd of bison by 1880 in the lower half of the United States had profound effects on Native American tribes (Hornaday 1889)(Figure 2.2).

After the reservation period began in the late-nineteenth century, Indigenous people continued to travel to and represent their communities in and along the Front Range in communities like Golden, Boulder, Denver, and Colorado Springs. Photographs illustrate Native American participation in events like the Democratic National Convention held in Denver in 1907, Boulder's semi-centennial celebration in 1909 (Figure 2.3), the commemoration of the Ute Trail by the Southern Ute in 1912 (Figure 2.4), and a pack trip with Northern Arapaho men in Rocky Mountain National Park in 1913 (Figure 2.5). Golden is also the home of the Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave. Buffalo Bill was a nineteenth-century entertainer who employed hundreds of Native Americans as performers in shows across the United States and Europe. Although his shows represent a complicated and problematic history in Native American representation, the participation of Native Americans in the shows warrants further study (Figure 2.6).

EURO-AMERICAN SETTLEMENT OF THE CLEAR CREEK VALLEY

The area now known as Colorado has been home to Native Americans for more than 12,000 years (Cassells 1983:42; Conetah 182:2; Goss 2003:9). European history in the region is recent, arriving in Colorado about 500 years ago, bringing profound changes to the region that are important in understanding contemporary tribal connections to the land. By the 1870s, the Indigenous perspectives of Colorado as a place at the center of the ancestral world or as an important part of cultural landscape (Figure 2.7) were replaced by a new geographic perspective in which Colorado was at the western edge of a larger American landscape (Figure 2.8). Although the American geographic narrative has persisted, Indigenous communities continue to maintain their ancestral ties and understanding of their aboriginal landscape. More specifically, the area known today as the Clear Creek Valley, where the City of Golden is located, is home to several bands and clans.

Spaniards entered what is now Colorado in 1593, and over the span of the next 200 years conducted at least 12 expeditions, mostly in southern Colorado along the Arkansas River (Carrillo 2020). These expeditions encountered

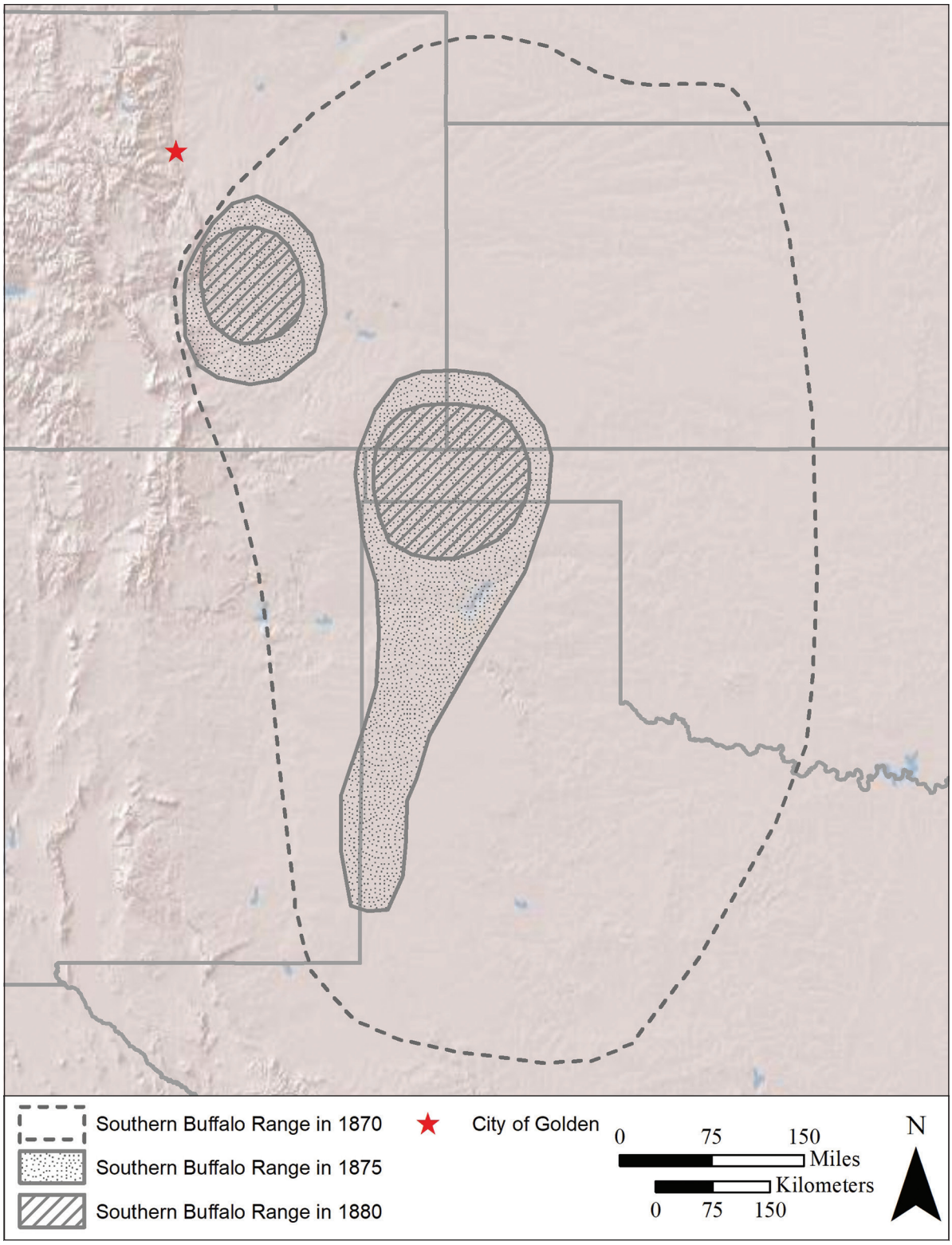

Figure 2.2. Map showing the extirpation of the southern herd of bison from their range between 1870 and 1880. Bison are thought to have been extirpated from Golden by 1869. Adapted from Hornaday (1889:549).

Figure 2.3. A Ute group portrait with K_apúuta[5] leader Sapiah (Buckskin Charlie), standing row, fifth from the right) and his wife To-Wee (Emma Naylor Buck), seated, second from the left, in Boulder, Colorado, for its semi-centennial celebration in 1909. Photograph by Ed Tangen. Photograph from the Boulder Historical Society, Catalog No. BHS 222-1-9.

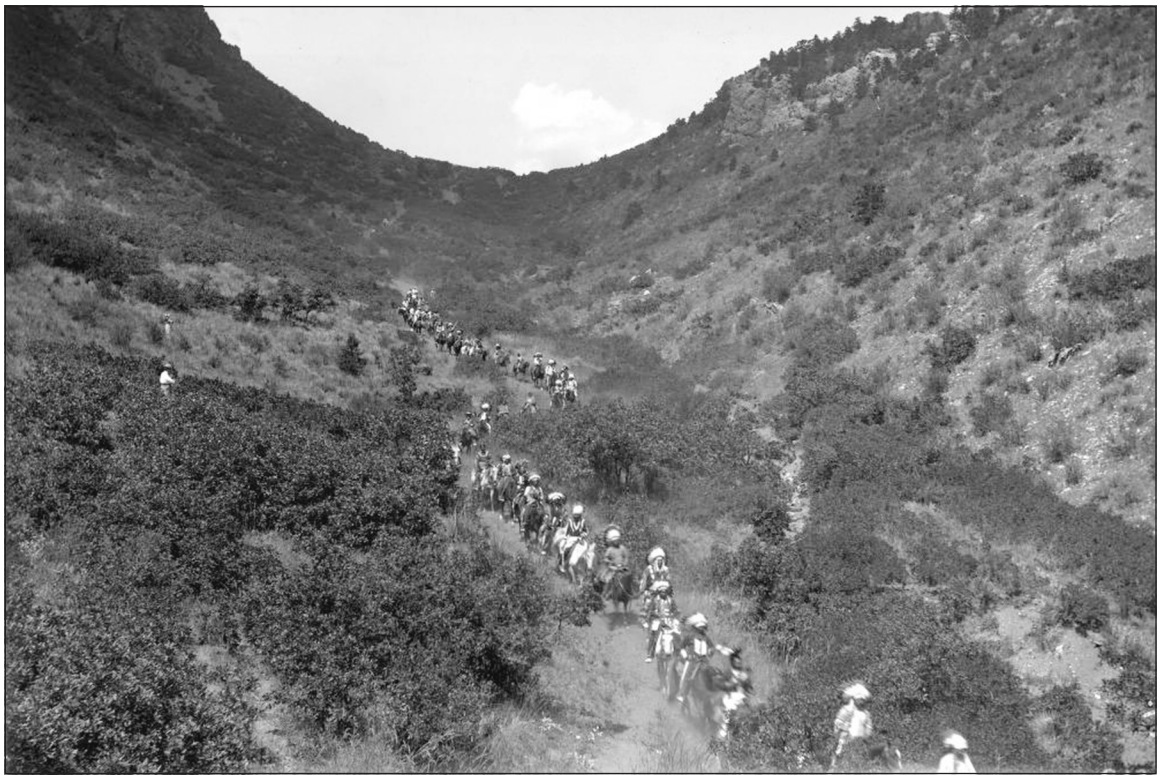

Figure 2.4. A procession of Utes commemorating their mountain pass going from Garden of the Gods into the southern Rocky Mountains. Photograph by H. S. Poley, 1912. Photograph from Denver Public Library Image Archives, Catalog No. P-130.

Figure 2.5. Participants in the 1914 Northern Arapaho pack trip to Rocky Mountain National Park, Estes Park, Colorado. Top row, from left, Shep Husted, Sherman Sage, Gun Griswold, Tom Crispin, and Oliver Toll. Seated, David Hawkins. Photograph from Estes Park Museum Historic Photograph Collection Catalog No. 1975.033.001.

Figure 2.6. Three Arapaho men on horseback participating in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show at Earl's Court in England. Photograph from Denver Public Library Image Archives, Catalog No. NS-461.

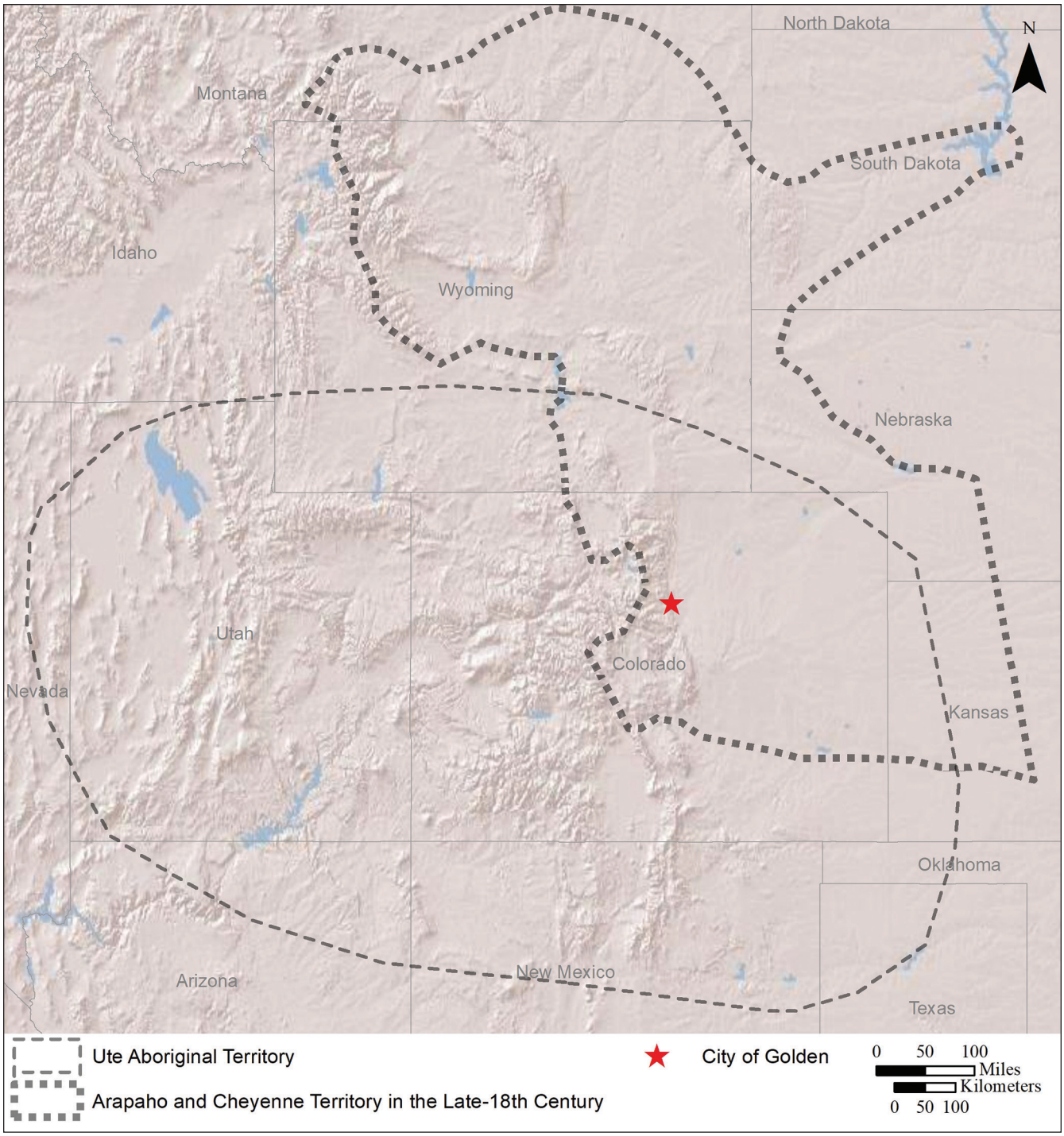

Figure 2.7. Overlapping Indigenous territories.

Utes, Comanches, Pawnees, Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, as well as French traders. Many tribes interacted for centuries with Spanish, French, and Mexican governments and trading centers prior to American entry in the region. The French and Spanish governments competed for control over the area until the early eighteenth century, when the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 ended the period of French influence (O'Meara and other 2021:27).

In 1821, Mexico gained independence from Spain, thereby changing trade relationships and interactions between the Spanish and the Utes. Between 1821 and 1848, Ute, Cheyenne, and Arapaho lands in Colorado were under

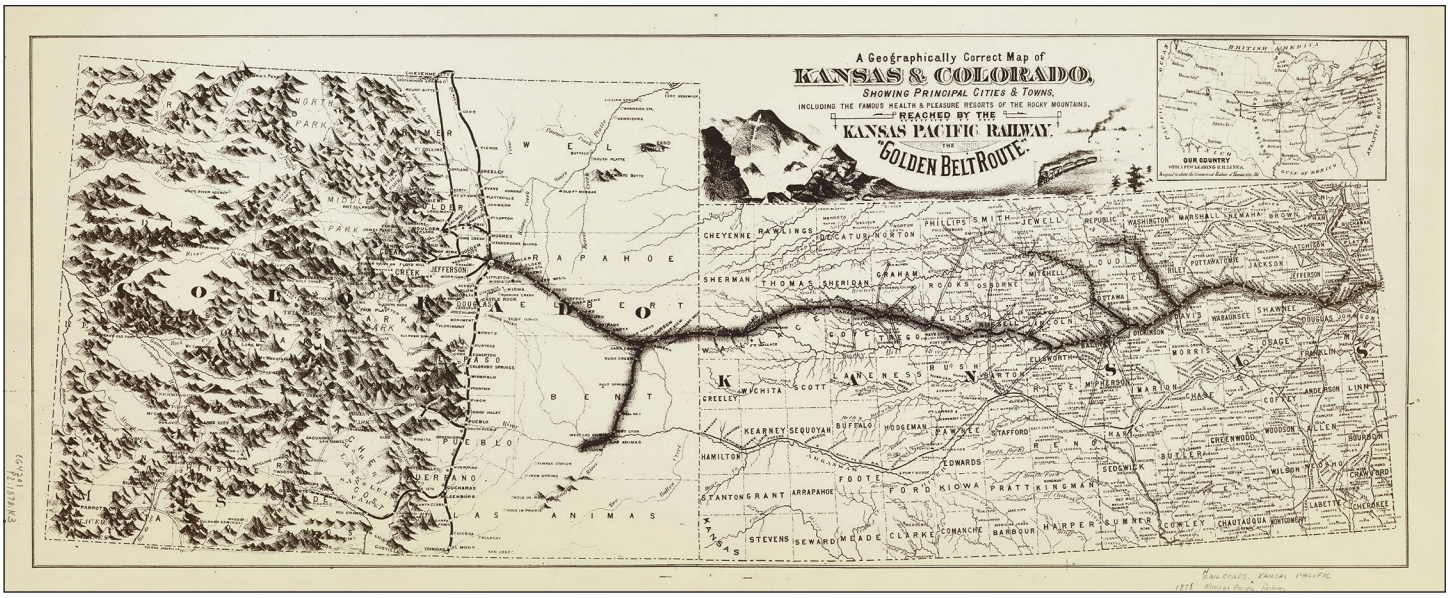

Figure 2.8. Historic map depicting rail lines and other travel routes linking Kansas to Colorado. Illustration by the Kansas Pacific Railway Company, 1878. Photograph from Denver Public Library Image Archives, Catalog No. CG4201.P31878.K3.

Mexican rule. With the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the territory came under the jurisdiction of the United States. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the subsequent gold rush in Colorado in 1858 presented a major shift in tribal relations in the region.

The wildly publicized discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858 led to a major influx of settlers pursuing gold claims. The City of Golden was founded in 1859 as a supply camp for miners (SWCA 2018:6-7). When the town of Golden City was founded, the area was part of the Kansas Territory, and remained so until the Territory of Colorado was created in February of 1861 (Figure 2.9). Later maps of Golden show the rapid growth and expansion of the town along a grid (Figure 2.10). Golden served as the territorial capitol of Colorado from 1862–1867. The growth of American settlements was made possible by the increasingly punitive military campaigns and policies against the Indigenous groups in the region.

From the Euro-American perspective, treaties afforded a legal way to erode Native American land holdings and promote the permanent settlement of Colorado by Euro-Americans on aboriginal territory. While international treaties and land purchases built a foreign administrative and military presence in the region, these treaties laid the foundation for the Indigenous land loss that defined the mid-to-late-nineteenth century. Treaties with the United States usually contained seven fundamental elements: (1) protection of a tribe's right to their land from settlement by outsiders; (2) establishment of the United States as having the sole right to obtain land from tribes; (3) regulation of trade between tribes and outsiders; (4) regulation of alcohol; (5) provisions for punishing crimes; (6) promotion of assimilation policies; and (7) definition of tribal lands (Prucha 2011:91). Treaties were the legal documents that gave rights to tribes; however, unfulfilled treaty obligations, mistranslation during negotiations, lack of representation of all groups within tribes, and piecemeal negotiations often resulted in conflict. Oklahoma State University maintains an excellent database of treaties, including the definitive resource on treaties authored by Charles J. Kappler (Kappler 1904; OSU 2022). Nine treaties pertain to lands within Colorado:

- 1850, Treaty of Abiquiú—Signed by members of the Kapúuta[S] Ute band (Kappler 1904:585–587).
- 1851, Treaty of Fort Laramie—Signed by Arapahos, Cheyenne, Sioux, Assiniboine, Arikara, Gros Ventre Crows, and Shoshone representatives. Among other things, this treaty recognized the Black Hills reservation as part of the Great Sioux Reservation and defined a large portion of central and eastern Colorado as Cheyenne and Arapaho territory (Kappler 1904: 594-596). This treaty failed to recognize competing tribal territorial claims in the region.

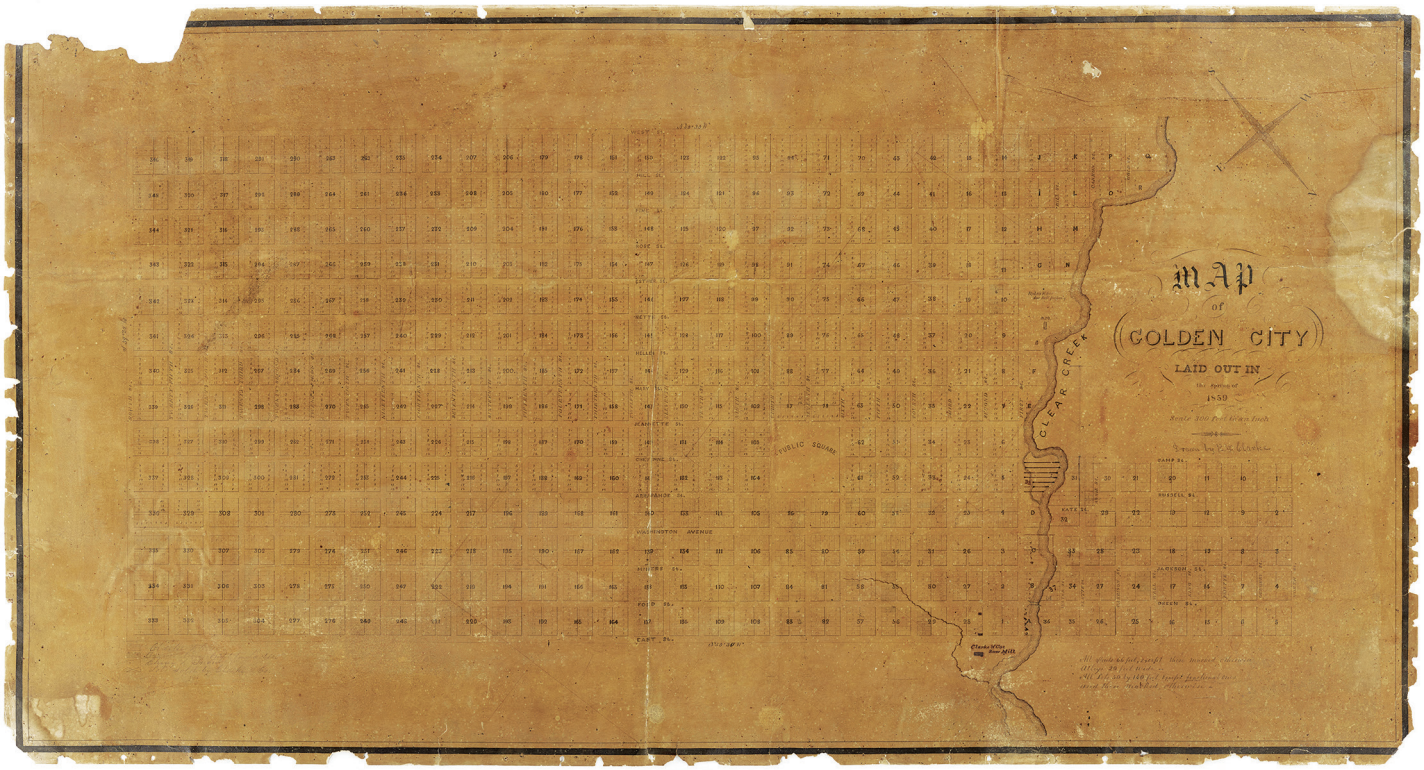

Figure 2.9. Map of Golden City, Kansas Territory. Illustration by R. W. Clark, 1859. Image from Denver Public Library Image Archives, Catalog No. XL-6203.

- 1853, Treaty of Fort Atkinson—The first treaty with Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache representatives (Kappler 1904: 600-601).
- 1861, Treaty of Fort Wise—The treaty established the first Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation, located along the north bank of the Arkansas River (Kappler 1904:807–811).
- 1863, Conejos Treaty—The treaty resulted in the ceding of a large part of Ute lands, except for an area bounded by the Uncompahgre River, the Bunkara River, Roaring Fork River, and the mountain range that divides the Arkansas and Gunnison rivers. The Conejos Treaty allowed the government to mine and construct military forts, railroads and roads on Indian lands not ceded (Iden 1929:13; Kappler 1904:856–859; O'Meara and others 2021:29–30).
- 1865, Treaty of the Little Arkansas—This treaty specified reparations to the Cheyenne and Arapaho for Sand Creek Massacre. The treaty redrew the 1861 reservation boundaries in south-central Kansas and northern Oklahoma (Kappler 1904:887–892).
- 1867, Treaty of Medicine Lodge—Consisted of three separate agreements and was signed by some representatives of the Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, Cheyenne and Arapaho. The treaty mandated the removal of Native American tribes from the plains of the Colorado Front Range, exchanging lands previously reserved for tribes in Colorado for those in what was to become Oklahoma. The treaty prohibited the freedom to travel off reservation, restricting access to scared places, hunting and gathering areas, and created administrative divisions between tribes. (Kappler 1904: 982-989).
- 1868, Treaty of the Utes—This treaty delineated a Ute reservation in western Colorado (Kappler 1904:990–996).
- 1868, Fort Laramie Treaty—Further defined the southern Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation in Oklahoma, and required the northern bands of Cheyenne and Arapahos to relinquish any claims to another reservation (Kappler 1904: 1012–1015).

Figure 2.10. Historic map of Golden, Colorado, highlighting the growth of the town 20 years after its founding. Illustration by Warren C. Willits, 1878. Photograph from Denver Public Library Image Archives, Catalog No. CG4314 .G6 1878 .W5.

CHAPTER THREE.

Núuchiu (Ute)

THE NÚUCHIU, or "Ute-Indian people," are represented today by three federally recognized Indian tribes: the Southern Ute Indian Tribe, the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, and the Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. Historically, 12 or more Ute bands traveled seasonally across a vast territory that includes the modern states of Colorado and Utah and parts of Kansas, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, Oklahoma, and Texas (Figure 3.1). Ute bands were social groups that cooperated in land use activities, and shared a common language and lifeway. The City of Golden is located within the traditional territory of three Ute bands: Moghwachi, Tabeguache, and Uncompahgre. Cassandra Atencio of the Southern Ute Indian Tribe explained that band affiliation is diverse across the three modern-day Ute tribes because of the intermarriage between bands. Consequently, it is necessary to include the cultural perspectives of all three Ute tribes in studies of Ute aboriginal territory.

The Ute language is part of the Numic branch of the Shoshonean subgroup of the Ute-Aztecan language family. Other Numic-speaking groups include the Paiutes, Hopis, Shoshones, and Comanches. There are dialectical differences between various Ute groups. Presently, the Southern Ute Indian Tribe uses an orthography developed by Thomas Givón (2016 and 2013) as the official orthography of the tribe. When the tribal origin of a Ute term is known, the Ute term is accompanied by a superscript with the following abbreviations: Southern Ute Indian Tribe= [S], Ute Indian Tribe= [N], Ute Mountain Ute Tribe= [M]. Ute terms from two bands of the Ute Indian Tribe are abbreviated here as White River Band= [W] and Uncompahgre Band= [U].

TRADITIONAL TERRITORY

According to Ute oral traditions, Ute people have resided in Colorado since the time of their creation and Ute bands have been associated with Front Range since time immemorial. The Utes say that the Creator, Núumaroghomapugatu[S], created the world and everything in it, including the animals, plants, trails, and places for people to use (Conetah 182:2; Goss 2003:9). Ute people have no oral history of migration. Ute traditional history explains that when the people were created by Sinawavi[S] they were placed on high mountain tops in the region of modern-day Colorado. In an earlier study, Alden Naranjo Jr. explained that all Ute bands have their origin spots on mountain peaks, and that Tavakáavi[S] or "Sun Mountain" (Pikes Peak) is the origin place for the Moghwachi band. He described Tavakáavi[S] as "the center of our world," (Alden Naranjo, Jr., in Kelley and others 2017:4.3-42). Other prominent mountains tied to Ute creation include Rio Grande Pyramid, Uncompahgre Peak, Mount Blanca, Spanish Peaks, and Longs Peak (Goss n.d.:29–30).

The Ute cultural landscape is defined by mountains. Ute landscapes have been studied by the late Clifford Duncan, an elder from the Ute Indian Tribe (Duncan 2003). Betsy Chapoose of the Ute Indian Tribe explained Mr. Duncan's perspective on landscapes:

> Cliff loved these landscapes. He'd see an area like this and he'd just walk around and say, "Did you hear that? Listen to the wind. Can you feel that?" He would say, "This is where language came from; this is where that song came from; these landscapes are our [Ute]

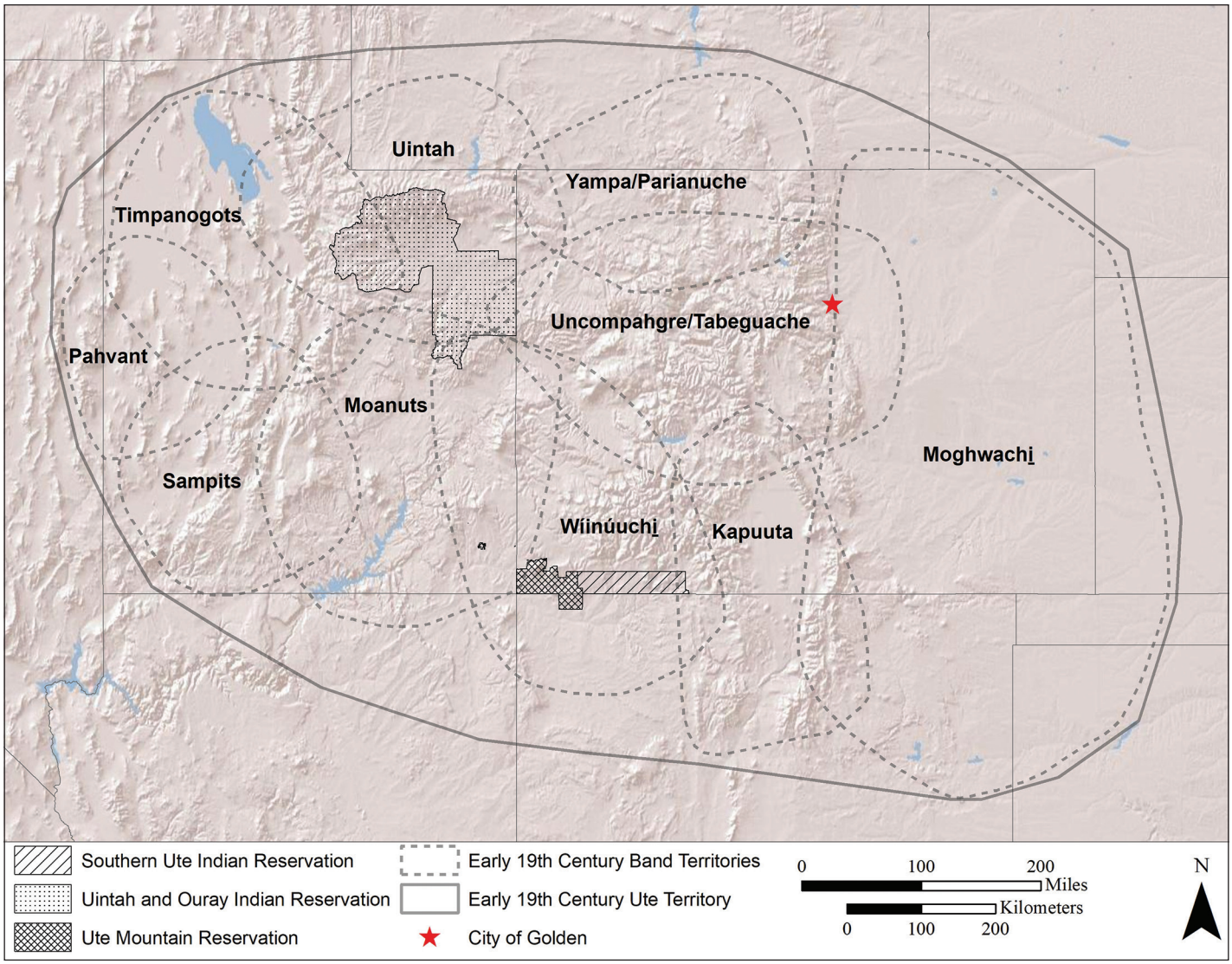

Figure 3.1. Ute territory and band locations during the early nineteenth century as mapped by Southern Ute elder Alden Naranjo, Jr., in 2019, in relation to the City of Golden.

> personal and cultural heritage." We are in Ute territory. We do not have migration stories—we did not move from somewhere else; we didn't go anywhere. This is our homeland [Betsy Chapoose in McBeth 2019:23].

Ute traditional territory is conceptualized as Núuchiu Tʉvʉpʉ̲[S] ("Ute Lands") or Noo Tavweep[N] ("Ute Indian Lands"). Band territories were fluid and often overlapped with the territories of other bands. This is evident in a map of band territories drawn by Alden Naranjo Jr. in 2019 based on his knowledge as a Kapúuta[S] and Moghwachi[S] elder (Figure 3.1) (O'Meara and others 2021:26).

According to Garrett Briggs, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, and Cassandra Atencio, Deputy Tribal Historic Preservation Officer of the Southern Ute Indian Tribe, internal band boundaries within Núuchiu Tʉvʉpʉ̲[S] or Noo Tavweep[N] were not absolute. Individuals from bands could access resources and sites within another band's territory based on preexisting relationships and familial bonds. Whereas internal Ute boundaries were fluid, the external boundaries of Ute land were carefully guarded and access to places within Núuchiu Tʉvʉpʉ or Noo Tavweep[N] had to be negotiated between Ute bands, other tribes, and non-Indians. Mr. Briggs noted that historical records and Ute oral histories document battles that broke out between Ute bands and other tribes when those negotiations did not occur.

Ute place names are embedded with cultural information and Indigenous knowledge. Ten Ute place names within the

Table 3.1. Ute Place Names Located Within the Golden Region

Ute Place Name(s)	*Locations*	*Translation*	*Source*
‘avatʉ páa[S]	Arkansas River	“Big Water”	Naranjo 2019
Manitukhwą̱[S]	Manitou Springs	Not specified	Givón 2013
Niapaganti[S]; Niapawaatsi[S]	Mount Blanca	“Snow Mountain”	Goss Nd. 29
Panakáavi̱[S]	Longs Peak	“Shining Mountain”	Naranjo 2019
Perroradarutz[S]	Mount Blanca	“Head of the Serpent”	Naranjo 2019
Perroradarath[S]	Sangre de Cristo	“Serpent’s Back”	Naranjo 2019
Tavakáavi̱[S]	Pikes Peak	“Sun Mountain”	Naranjo 2019
Tia-pʉ(S); Tíiapʉ[N]	Denver	Unspecified	Givón 2013
Unyyooweechyugwi-ɣ[S]	Rocky Mountains	“They Sit in a Row”	Naranjo 2019
Waata’wagharʉrʉ(S)	Spanish Peaks	“Two Leaders Sitting”	Naranjo 2019

[S] denotes a Southern Ute term, provided by Alden Naranjo Sr. (2019) and transcribed by Dr. Stacey Oberly (2020); [N] denotes a Northern Ute term.

project study area are presented in Table 3.1. There are many places in Colorado named after Ute leaders or that have Ute cultural connections and these are referred to here as Ute legacy names. Ute legacy names in the project area include: the town of Tabernash, Ute Spring west of Boulder, and Ute Pass west of Colorado Springs, and include multiple places in eastern and central Colorado (Elliot 1999; O’Meara and others 2021:181).

The Núuchiu[S] were traditionally organized into regional bands. In the early-nineteenth century, 12 bands were recognized (Burns 2003:16–17; Callaway and others 1986 228–339; Conetah 1982:19–25; Southern Ute Indian Tribe 2022). Bands were often named for a notable geographic feature, an important associated traditional resource, or a well-known leader. Early-nineteenth century bands included: Moghwachi̱[S], Ka̱púuta[S], Uncompahgre, Tabeguache, Yamparika, Parianuche, Wíinúuchi̱[S], Moanunts, Uintah, Sampits, Pahvant, and Timpanogots. The Moghwachi̱[S] band was associated with the Colorado Front Range and eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, extending from the Wyoming-Colorado border southward to Tucumcari, New Mexico, and eastward to the plains of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. In the region around Golden, Moghwachi̱ territory overlapped with Uncompahgre and Tabeguache bands who primarily occupied the central Rocky Mountains of Colorado, with their ancestral territory extending eastward to the Front Range around Denver and westward into Utah. Another band whose traditional territory includes the Front Range is the Ka̱púuta[S] band. The Ka̱púuta[S] band’s ancestral territory overlapped with that of several other bands, and extended from the San Luis Valley southward to northern New Mexico and the southern portion of the Sangre de Cristos, including the area around Raton Pass and Cimarron. The Yampa and Parianuche bands primarily occupied the northern portion of Ute territory along the Yampa, White and Grand rivers and also traveled along the Front Range (O’Meara and others 2021:24).

While bands maintained a presence across a large region, family groups travelled independently within that territory, each having their preferred routes, camping spots, and significant places. These travels were previously described by Terry Knight, Sr., the Ute Mountain Ute Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, as mee ah-vah-ghat-knee[M] which translates to “moving from place to place” and can be understood as a seasonal round (Kelley and others 2019:4.3-2; O’Meara and others 2021:47-48). The Golden region was included in the seasonal rounds of several bands, especially during the late summer months when hunting on the plains most often occurred (Goss n.d.:29). Regardless of the specific routes, Utes collectively traveled across their entire aboriginal homelands on a yearly basis, connecting the interior mountains with the plains.

HISTORICAL EVENTS

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the Utes saw and interacted with Spanish, French and, later, American groups (Callaway and others 1986:354; Newton 2020). The Ka̱púuta[S] and Moghwachi̱[S] bands were closely aligned with the Comanches in the 1700s, and this alliance was maintained to 1779 (Kavanagh 2001:886; Kelley and others 2017:4.3-46 to 4.3-47). In 1779 Moghwachi̱[S] Utes and Jicarilla Apache allied with the Spaniards in a military campaign undertaken by Governor Juan Bautista de Anza

of New Mexico against a Comanche band led by Cuerno Verde, or Green Horn. The campaign culminated in a battle with Green Horn near present-day Pueblo, Colorado (Winter 1988:115). Ute elders recalled that Cuerno Verde was both Moghwachi[S] and Comanche, and his death in the battle led to a break in the Comanche-Ute alliance. In 1977, nearly 200 years after the battle took place, a peace treaty was finally signed between the Southern Ute Indian Tribe and the Comanche Nation in an effort led largely by tribal elders who were also veterans (Southern Ute Indian Tribe 2022).

Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Ute territory became the jurisdiction of the United States. During the two decades that followed, three treaties were ratified between the United States and various bands of Ute people. These treaties included the Treaty of Abiquiú in 1850, the Conejos Treaty of 1863, and the 1868 Treaty with the Utes (Iden 1929:5; Kappler 1904:585–587, 856–859, and 990–996; Southern Ute Indian Tribe 2022). The treaties increased hostilities between Ute bands and Americans because of failures by the United States to abide by treaty terms, the ceding of ancestral lands, and the eventual establishment of three small Ute reservations that included only a small part of Ute aboriginal lands that had encompassed 225,000 square miles (Conetah 1982:19).

The failure of the federal government to uphold treaty terms had immediate effects on tribal relations along the Front Range. Following the Treaty of 1850, the United States failed to provide Utes with food and medical supplies or protect them from Arapaho raids. The deaths of several Moghwachi[S] leaders from smallpox led to the destruction of the first trading post at Pueblo along the Arkansas River (Flores and Norton 2019). On December 24, 1854, Tierra Blanco, a Moghwachi[S] leader, led an attack on the El Pueblo trading post near the present-day community of Pueblo, Colorado. The attack resulted in the abandonment of the trading post and was followed by subsequent battles with the United States military (Peters 1858:463–523; Flores and Norton 2019; Southern Ute Indian Tribe 2022). This battle marked a turning point in Ute-American relations and inspired anti-Ute sentiment along the Front Range.

During the decade that followed, gold was discovered in Colorado and the United States began negotiating treaties to facilitate development of mineral interests. The City of Golden was founded in 1859, along with many supply camps in Ute territory, including Black Hawk, 20 miles west of Golden, and Colorado Springs, 80 miles to the south (Figure 3.2; Figure 3.3). Golden served as the territorial capital from 1862 to 1867, when the capital was transferred to Denver after statehood. (SWCA 2018). In order to address the incursions of miners into mineral-rich Ute lands, the federal government negotiated the Conejos treaty in 1863. The Conejos Treaty, signed by only nine members of the Tabeguache band, ceded a large part of Ute lands without the knowledge or agreement of all other Ute people including the Clear Creek Valley (Callaway and others 1986:355; Iden 1929:13; Kappler 1904:856–859). The Conejos Treaty facilitated the rampant development of mines and construction of military forts, railroads and roads both on ceded and non-ceded Ute lands.

The 1863 treaty went unnoticed by other Ute bands and conflict continued. In 1868, another treaty was negotiated with the leaders of seven Ute bands in Washington, D.C., including the Tabeguache, Moghwachi[S], Kapúuta[S], Wíinúuchi, Yampa, Grand River and Uintah bands (Kappler 1904:990–996; Lloyd 1932:15, 21; O'Meara and others 2021:29–30). The terms of the 1868 treaty required the official removal of Ute people from the Front Range and delineated a Ute reservation in western Colorado. However, Ute people continued to visit places along the Front Range after 1868, and Ute encampments were still present in Denver from the 1870s through the early-twentieth century (Figure 3.4). However, the establishment and relocation to reservations in the late-nineteenth century severely limited the movement of the Utes and their ability to freely travel across their ancestral lands.

INTERPRETATION OF THE GOLDEN REGION

Núuchiu[S] were the original inhabitants of the Golden region, which was part of the Moĝwáchi[S], Uncompahgre, and Tabeguache territory before Euro-American colonization (O'Meara and others 2021:25). The City of Golden and the larger Denver metropolitan area were frequented by Ute people; however these Euro-American settlements were not the basis for Ute connections and use of the region. As Betsy Chapoose, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer of the Ute Indian Tribe described, Ute homelands have a special and continuing value to contemporary Ute people:

> The Ute Tribe's culture, traditions, language, values and world-views are born from their homelands. The water and the lands it flows through created an innate identity for the Ute people that it is essential to conserving their cultural patrimony. This in turn produces an intimate and insightful connection between Ute people and the cultural landscape they live in. The landscapes are a complex of interrelated and essential places of religious and cultural significance to our people. All the lands and elements of the environment within the Ute Tribe's milieu are related.

Figure 3.2. Ute people in Black Hawk, Colorado Territory. Photograph by Albert S. McKinney, September 1, 1866. Photograph from Denver Public Library Image Archives, Catalog No. X-30504.

Figure 3.3. Group portrait of Uncompahgre Utes including Ouray (seated, center) and Shavano (standing, second from the right) in Colorado Springs, Colorado, 1875. Photographer unknown, Denver Public Library Special Collections, Catalog No. X-30557.

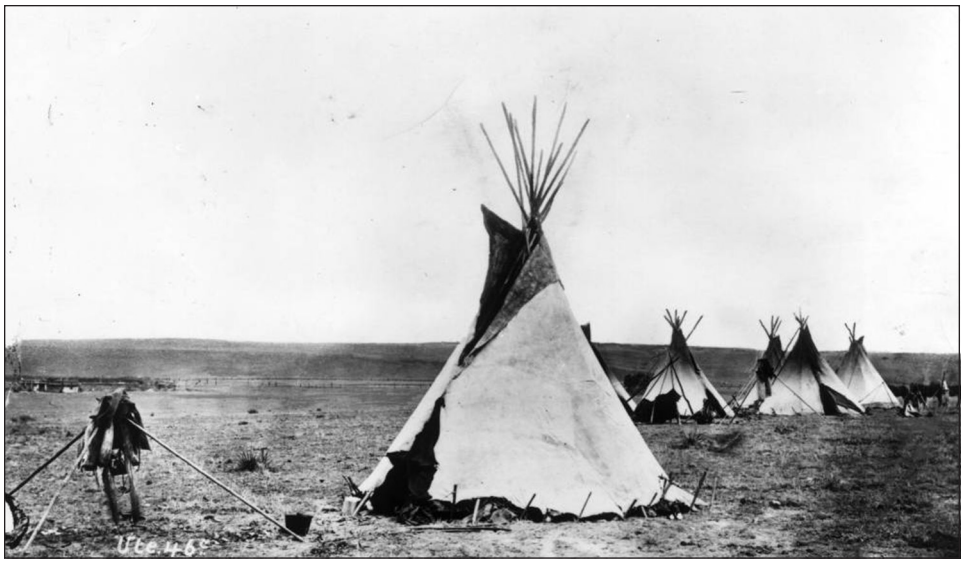

Figure 3.4. A Ute encampment of núugani along the South Platte River near Denver, Colorado, 1874. Photographer unknown, Denver Public Library Special Collections, Catalog No.X-30649.

The surrounding plains and mountain landscapes are integral to Ute connections to the area. When viewed as part of the Ute cultural landscape, the Clear Creek waterway is a gateway connecting the Colorado Front Range and interior Rocky Mountains. Ute people, including leaders Ouray, Chipeta, Colorow, Towhee, Buckskin Charlie, Shavano, and others visited the Euro-American settlement of Golden throughout the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The three Ute tribes continue to recognize, use, interpret, and consult about the traditional cultural places within their aboriginal territory, and no interpretation of the Golden region would be complete without addressing Ute history and contemporary Ute perspectives.

The Southern Ute Indian Tribe, Ute Indian Tribe, and Ute Mountain Ute Tribe have previously engaged in collaborative research and educational opportunities about Ute traditional plant collection and other traditional resource use (Chapoose and others 2012; History Colorado 2018; McBeth 2008; O'Meara and others 2021). Interpretive museum exhibits on plants are an effective way to reach Ute audiences because they provide an avenue to discuss multiple elements of traditional lifeways, history and culture The Ute Learning Garden in Montrose, Colorado, serves as an outstanding example of how ethnobotanical research and long-term collaborative relationships can be converted into a museum exhibit (Chapoose and others 2012:4–5; McBeth 2008).

The Southern Ute Indian Tribe, in collaboration with the Ute Indian Tribe and Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, undertook a comprehensive review of all previously published Ute ethnobotanical information in conjunction with ethnographic fieldwork at Ute sites within the San Juan Mountains (O'Meara and others 2021). That effort synthesized the available Ute ethnobotanical literature and compiled a list of 202 plant species traditionally used by the Utes, including Ute names, uses, and the parts of the plant used. That study reviewed reports pertaining to all three Ute tribes (Burns 2003; Callaway and others 1986; Chamberlin 1909; Chapoose and others 2012; Givón 2016; Hopkins and others 2020; Kelley and others 2017; Kelley and others 2019; Living Heritage Anthropology and others 2019; McBeth 2019; McBeth and others 2008; Moerman 1998; Naranjo 1997; Ruppert 1996; Smith 1974; Stoffle and others 2008; Ute Indian Museum 2019).

The diversity of plant species found within a three and half mile radius around Golden make an ethnobotany exhibit a possible interpretative theme for the Golden History Museum and Park. A total of 113 plant species or genera used by the Utes are found within a 3-and-a-half-mile radius around Golden (Table 3.2). All native plant species found in the Golden region are valued by contemporary Ute people because they are found within their aboriginal territory and continue to be used. The Ute ethnobotanical information in this report is provided to illustrate the diversity and scope of traditional use plant species that are present and provide the groundwork for future research and sharing of cultural information. Although ethnobotanical uses of these plants are known, they constitute a part of Ute intellectual and cultural property and cannot be shared at this time.

Table 3.2. Ute Traditional Use Plants Found in the Golden Region

Scientific Name	***Common Name***	***Ute Name***
Abronia fragrans	Snowball sand verbena	sagwamsixtagwǐv[N]
Achillea millefolium	Yarrow	quishee quish[S]
Achnatherum hymenoides	Ricegrass	nuumuvopeeav[M]
Agropyron cristatum	Crested wheatgrass	Not specified
Agrostis scabra	Rough bent grass	Not specified
Allium cernuum	Nodding onion	patasi̲[S]; sa̲qopa̲tasi̲[S]; sigu'a̲[S]
Allium geyeri	Geyer's onion	soovweya[N]
Amaranthus powellii	Green amaranth	Not Specified
Amaranthus retroflexus	Red root amaranth	Not Specified
Amelanchier alnifolia	Serviceberry; Juneberry	jewap[S]; joowump[S]; toûmp'[N]; toowump[S]; tuwa̲=pɨ[W]
Amelanchier utahensis	Utah serviceberry	jewap[S]; joowump[S]; toûmp'[N]; toowump[S]; tuwa̲=pɨ[W]
Antennaria spp.	Pussytoes	tim'pǐntsauûv[N]
Apocynum cannabinum	Hemp	Not specified
Arabis spp.	Rockcress	qta'komav[N]
Arctostaphylos uva ursi	Bearberry; Kinnikinic	tahmahup[N]
Arnica spp.	Arnica	Not specified
Artemisia frigida	Fringed sage	Not specified
Artemisia ludoviciana	White sage	Not specified
Artemisia spp.	Sage	sahwavʉ̲[S]; saghwapʉ̲[S];sahwovf[N]
Asclepias spp.	Milkweed	sana'komav[N]
Asparagus officinalis	Wild asparagus	Not specified
Atriplex canescens	Four-wing saltbush	Not specified
Balsamorhiza sagittata	Arrow leaf balsamroot	Not specified
Betula spp.	Birch	?pagwai'ûv[N]
Calochortus gunnisonii	Mariposa lily	si'go[N]; sik^{w}u[N]; see wus ago[N]
Carex spp.	Sedge	pi'gwûts[N]; pa'gwûts[N];ukasiti[N]; ?ukasi=ti[U]; changonnuhunup[N]
Castilleja integra	Whole leaf paintbrush	'akasée'apu[S];piasée'mi'napu[S]
Celtis spp.	Hackberry	Not specified
Cercocarpus montanus	Mountain mahogany	tuhave[M]
Chenopodium spp.	Lamb's quarters	Not specified
Cirsium spp.	Thistle	Not specified
Claytonia spp.	Spring beauty	noogkachoon[N]; noowhchoon[N];
Cleome serrulata	Rocky Mountain bee plant	Not specified
Collinsia parviflora	Blue-eyed Mary	mi'pû^{n}gashi"ěts[N]
Comandra umbellata	Pale bastard toadflax	sagwasiûngûts[N]
Cornus sericea	Red osier dogwood	avatutûmbûtcûmav[N]; kaib'ogwǐv[N]; kai'sǐv[N]

continued

Table 3.2. (continued)

Scientific Name	*Common Name*	*Ute Name*
Crataegus spp.	Hawthorn	Not specified
Cryptantha spp.	Cryptantha	yu'bishadûmp[U]
Cystopteris fragilis	Brittle bladder fern	tĭmpĭmûv[N]
Datura wrightii	Sacred datura	'ʉnʉpʉvʉ̲[S]
Daucus carota	Wild carrot	yepuhch[N]
Descurainia pinnata	Western tansy mustard	poe'tcĕmĕn[N]
Draba nemorosa	Woodland draba	kuspasendiät[N]
Eleocharis palustris	Common spike rush	paongadapĭntĭd[N]
Elymus canadensis	Canada wildrye	odorûmbĭv[N]
Equisetum laevigatum	Smooth scouring rush	totsiwats[N]
Ericameria nauseosa	Rubber rabbitbrush	sakupʉ[S]
Erigeron canus	Hoary fleabane	?sagûmsĭtagwĭv[N]
Eriogonum spp.	Wild buckwheat	k'sûmsêdaugeĕts[N]
Erysimum asperum	Western wallflower	sa'goa'sĭnt[N]
Fragaria spp.	Wild strawberry	twes[N]; tuwisi̲[W]; tʉvwisi[S]
Fungi	Mushroom	Not specified
Grindelia squarrosa	Curlycup gumweed	kuatsûmsĭtagwĭv[N]
Gutierrezia sarothrae	Broom snakeweed	shpûmp[N]; gudereria[N]
Helianthus annuus	Sunflower	ahkoop[N]; ?akʷu̲=pi̲[N]; kʉ́pʉ̲[S]
Ipomopsis aggregata	Scarlet gilia	Not specified
Juncus spp.	Rush	pauwûv[N]
Juniperus communis	Common juniper	wahup[M]
Juniperus scopulorum	Rocky Mountain juniper	pawapʉ̲[S]
Lepidium draba	Peppergrass	sau'gamiants[N]; wa'tomasĭv[N]
Leymus spp.	Wildrye	kusiakump[N]; owiu[N]
Ligusticum spp.	Lovage	kwiyaghatʉ tʉkapi̲[S]; gweahgahtichganap[M]
Lithospermum spp.	Stone seed; Gromwell	tsûtkûp[N]
Lomatium spp.	Biscuitroot	kʷiu[N]
Lycopus americanus	American horehound	Not specified
Mahonia repens	Oregon grape	ksĭpoaats[N]
Maianthemum racemosum	False lily of the valley	yogwo'tamanûmp[U]
Mentha arvensis	Wild mint	damountup[N]; koueraunap[N]
Monarda fistulosa	Mint leaf beebalm	Not specified
Oenothera albicaulis	Evening primrose	Not specified
Opuntia spp.	Prickly pear	manivf[S]
Opuntia phaeacantha	Tulip prickly pear	manivf[S]
Opuntia polyacantha	Plains prickly pear	maanife[N]; manivf[S]
Penstemon glaber	Western beardtongue	mûtcĕmbia[N]
Phacelia hastata	Phacelia	Not specified

Table 3.2. (continued)

Scientific Name	***Common Name***	***Ute Name***
Phleum pratense	Common Timothy grass	Not specified
Phlox longifolia	Longleaf phlox	momu'kwiěts[N]
Pinus ponderosa	Ponderosa pine	'aghopu[S]; uuvweep[N]
Populus angustifolia	Narrowleaf cottonwood	Not specified
Potentilla spp.	Cinquefoil	Not specified
Prunus virginiana	Chokecherry	tée'napi[S]; durnup[S]
Pseudotsuga menziesii	Douglas fir	sa'ma'aghopʉ[S]; sa'mayʉvʉpʉ[S]
Pteridium aquilinum	Western bracken fern	kaibankĭmbĭs[N]
Quercus gambelii	Gambel oak	kwiyavʉ[S]; quiuve[S]; kwi'ûv[S]
Ranunculus aquatilis	White water crowfoot	pai'apuěts[N]
Ranunculus cymbalaria	Alkali buttercup	pauûsanaugaant[N]
Rhus trilobata	Three-leaf sumac	'isivʉ[S]; eesh[S,N]; motambiäts[N]; wi̱si[N]
Ribes aureum	Golden currant	sívoghoypi̱[S]
Ribes cereum	Western red currant	poghoypi̱[S]
Rosa sayi	Prickly rose	añgasiûñgĭv[N]
Rosa spp.	Wild rose	gehrump[N]; añgakorĭmp[N]
Rosa woodsii	Wood's rose	añgasiûñgĭv[N]
Rubus idaeus	Raspberry	poghoypʉvʉ[S]; naka=watu̱=pɨ[W]
Rubus parviflorus	Thimbleberry	poghoypuvu[S]
Rumex crispus	Curley dock	Not specified
Salix amygdaloides	Peachleaf willow	k'sa'nav[S]; k'sakanav[S]
Salix exigua	Sandbar; Coyote willow	kanav'[S]
Salix scouleriana	Scouler's willow	tamanûmpĭnav[N]; tamanûmpinkaav[N]
Sambucus spp.	Elderberry	Not specified
Schoenoplectus tabernaemontani	Soft stem bulrush	t'susaip[N]
Senecio spp.	Groundsel	koatsĕmsĭtagwĭv[N]
Solidago simplex	Mt. Albert goldenrod	Not specified
Sphaeralcea coccinea	Scarlet globe mallow	Not specified
Streptopus amplexifolius	Twist flower	onûngaats[N]
Symphoricarpos spp.	Snowberry	Not specified
Taraxacum officinale	Common dandelion	momûn'tiadqsûp[N]
Toxicodendron rydbergii	Poison ivy	chedap[M]; chinip[M]
Typha angustifolia	Narrowleaf cattail	Not specified
Typha spp.	Cattail	Not specified
Verbascum thapsus	Common mullein	teeyahumkuv[S, N]
Viola spp.	Violet	kabamsĭtagwĭv[N]
Yucca glauca	Soapweed Yucca	wíisivʉ[S]
Zigadenus spp.	Death camus	tabä'sigwĭv[N]

[S] =a Southern Ute term, [N] = Northern Ute term, [M] = Ute Mountain term, [W] = White River term

RECOMMENDATIONS

All three Ute tribes should be consulted with on the development of any interpretative exhibits. Representatives from the Southern Ute Indian Tribe made the following recommendations:

1. Cultural advisors would like to visit the Golden History Museum and Park and surrounding sites of interest in Jefferson County with elders for educational purposes and to provide additional interpretations and recommendations.
2. The Southern Ute Tribal Historic Preservation Office and Cultural Preservation Department requests to be consulted with on future exhibits at the Golden History Museum and Park. Consultation must occur before any information included in this report is publicly released.
3. The Southern Ute Tribal Historic Preservation Office and Cultural Preservation Department is interested in facilitating traditional demonstrations.

The Ute Indian Tribe Tribal Historic Preservation Office made the following recommendations:

1. Each Tribe's form of government and official processes should be recognized and complied with. As cultural resource department staff our role is to represent the Tribe but certain actions need to be presented to our respective Councils. All Tribes should be consulted with in their preferred manner.
2. A strong collaborative relationship is a necessary foundation with which to build on for future efforts such as an ethnobotany exhibit. An ethno botany exhibit should be viewed as a potential outgrowth of positive and respectful collaboration.
3. The Ute Indian Tribe's Tribal Historic Preservation Office requests to be consulted with on future exhibits at the Golden History Museum and Park.

CHAPTER FOUR

Hinono'ei (Arapaho)

THE HINONO'EI ("Arapaho people"), are represented today by two federally recognized Indian tribes: the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe of the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. Historically, Arapaho bands originated in the Great Lakes region along the Mississippi River, and began migrating westward in the 1680s. They traveled across a vast territory, including the modern states of Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. The two Arapaho tribes share a common language and lifeway, and they were artificially separated during the late nineteenth century when they were removed to reservations. The City of Golden is located within the nineteenth-century territory of the Arapaho. The Hinono'ei formed an alliance with the Cheyenne in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries along the Cheyenne River in South Dakota, and the tribes today are closely affiliated.

The Arapaho language is one of four subdivisions of Algonquian language group (Friday and Scasta 2020:17). Other Algonquian speaking groups include the Tsistsistas[S] or Tsétsėhéstâhese (Cheyenne), Amskapi'Piikáni (Blackfoot), and A'aninin (Gros Ventre). Arapaho terms used in this chapter are derived from ethnographic work with representatives from the Northern Arapaho Tribe, and differences in orthography and among dialects exist (Cowell 2005; Toll 1962). The term Arapaho is thought to be a derivative of a Pawnee term that translates to "he buys or trades" or the Crow term, "Alappahó," or "many tattoos," and is thought to be a reference to the Arapaho tradition of tattooing (Crow Language Consortium 2022; Crum 2009: 119; White 2005:39). The Southern Arapaho tribal headquarters, which they share with the Southern Cheyenne Tribe, is primarily located in the communities of Concho and El Reno, Oklahoma. The Northern Arapaho tribal headquarters is located in Fort Washakie, on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, which they share with the Eastern Shoshone.

TRADITIONAL TERRITORY

According to oral traditions, the Hinono'ei place their origins in the Red River Valley of Minnesota near Lake Superior (Crum 2009:198–199). Tribal migration and trading expanded the Arapaho traditional territory into Canada and the modern states of Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. Northern Arapaho elders, interviewed by the staff of the Cache La Poudre National Recreation Area, described Colorado as their homeland. They also recalled the ongoing, negative effects of relocation. Northern Arapaho tribal member Crawford White explained that "We loved this land but we were pushed aside for the settlers and the miners" (White 2022). In discussing the significance of places in northern Colorado, Northern Arapaho tribal member Hubert Friday explained that "We were forced out, Colorado was our homeland" (Friday 2022).

Hinono'ei trading was documented throughout the Missouri River region and east and west of the Rockies (Fowler 2011:840). In 1795, the Hinono'ei were trading with the Spaniards in northern New Mexico. A split occurred within the Hinono'ei along the Missouri River in the early eighteenth century, and some members remained on the eastern bank of the river while others moved west. As the Hinono'ei traveled westward, key cultural events occurred that led to a new lifeway focused on buffalo hunting and trading. Hinono'ei migrations, hunting expeditions, and extensive trade networks created an expansive tribal territory in the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, although there is a much wider

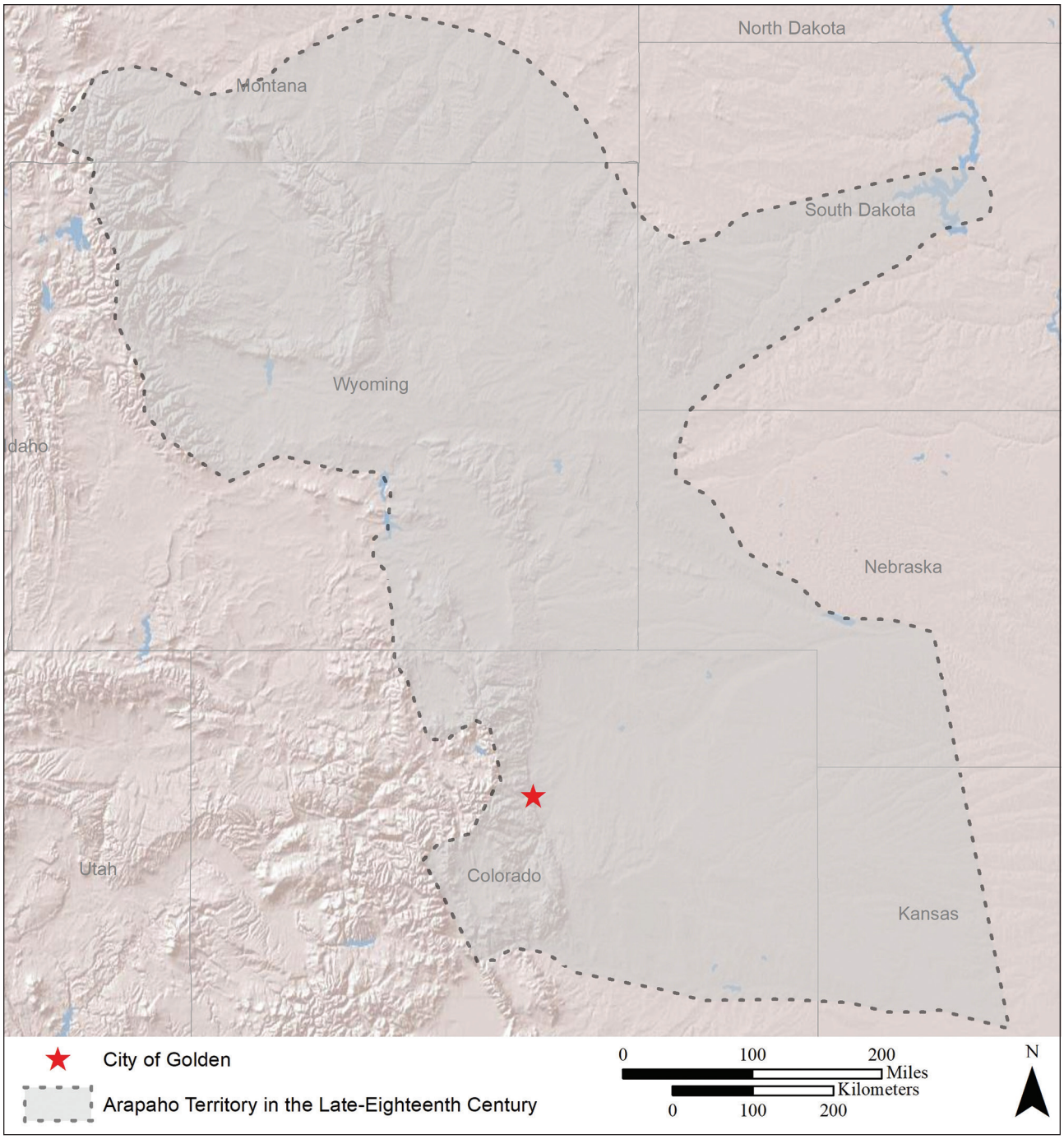

Figure 4.1. Arapaho aboriginal territory from the eighteenth century to the 1870s.

migration territory known in oral traditions (Crum 2009:201–203; Fowler 2011:841) (Figure 4.1). Trading posts in Colorado were established along the North Platte River in 1806 and along the Arkansas River in 1834, and these firmly established Arapaho presence along the Front Range. Ultimately, the federal government recognized the northern and southern bands as the Northern Arapaho Tribe and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma (Fowler 2011:841–842). In the Arapaho language, the northern band is today referred to as the Nenebî·nennó? ("Northern Men"), while the southern band is known as Nó·wunennó? ("Southern Men"). From the early nineteenth century until they were confined on reservations, the Southern Arapaho bands extended into the area between the headwaters of the

Table 4.1. Arapaho Place Names in the Golden Region

Arapaho Place Name	*Location*	*Translation*
Heeniiyoowuu	Grays Peak and Torreys Peak	"Ant Hills;" "Ant Lodge"
Heeyótoyóó'	Pikes Peak	"Long Mountain"
Hóóxeehookúte'	James Peak	"Wolf's Tusk"
Nenissótóyóú'u	Longs Peak and Mount Meeker	"Two Guides"
Niinéniiniicíe	South Platte River (Denver)	"Animal Fat River"
~~Θ~~óóxonee'noho'óoóyóó'	Rocky Mountains	"Rocky Mountains"
Tohkó'einóó'	Estes Park	"The Circle'

North Platte and Arkansas Rivers, while the Northern Arapaho maintained a territory that included parts of Montana and Wyoming (White 2005: 39). In the 1830s and 1840s, Southern Arapaho bands frequented Bent's Fort in southeastern Colorado, and numerous altercations between Arapaho and Ute were documented along the Front Range near Denver and in South Park (White 2005: 40).

In addition to the river valleys along the Front Range and the plains, Arapaho oral traditions document use of the Rocky Mountain National Park, and the two Arapaho tribes consult with federal agencies about the significance of the region to Arapaho people (McBeth 2007). In 1914, 123 Arapaho place names in and around the Rocky Mountain National Park were documented by Arapaho elders Sherman Sage and Gun Crispin, assisted by Arapaho translator Tom Crispin and a non-native man, Oliver Toll (Cowell and Moss 2003, 2005; Toll 1962). Arapaho placenames in proximity to the Golden region are listed in Table 4.1. In addition to place names, Paul Moss, a Northern Arapaho elder, provided oral history of the Rocky Mountain National Park and the area along the Arkansas River, Walsenburg, Manitou Springs, and Grand Lake. This oral history describes traditional Arapaho lifeways, historical accounts, and significant areas in Colorado (McBeth 2007:54–83; Moss 2005). Many towns and places near Golden, Colorado were named after Arapaho people and leaders, including: Arapaho City, originally located 3 miles east of Golden; Niwot (Left-Hand), a community northeast of Boulder named after a prominent Arapaho leader; Arapahoe County southeast of Denver; the north and south Arapaho Peaks on the Continental Divide; and Arapaho National Wildlife Refuge (Elliot 1999).

HISTORICAL EVENTS

Arapaho oral traditions and archival records indicate that Arapaho people have been in Colorado since at least the late eighteenth century (Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma 2022; Fowler 2001:840–842). Arapaho people were in direct contact with Spaniards by 1795 in northern New Mexico. Arapaho and Cheyenne encampments were recorded along the Front Range of northern Colorado in 1806, after the area came under the jurisdiction of the United States following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Conflict between Utes and Arapahos along the Front Range occurred throughout the 1820s, and continued after the American expansion into Colorado in the 1840s.

In the 1830s and 1840s, several major trading posts were established along the Front Range by Euro-Americans and these became gathering places for Arapahos. Three forts were established between 1834 and 1839: Fort William on the North Platte River (which became Fort Laramie), Fort St. Vrain on the South Platte River, and Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River (Fowler 2001:841; King 2015). Although the majority of Arapaho lands were already under the jurisdiction of the United States, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 ushered in an era of dramatic change in tribal territories along the Front Range (Figure 4.2).

Beginning in 1851, the United States sought to protect the influx of American overland settlers and define tribal lands in what would become Colorado through treaties. The Treaty of Fort Laramie was negotiated with three Arapaho leaders (Bèahtéaquisah, Nebnibahsehit, Behkahjaybethsahes), four Cheyenne leaders (Wahhanissatta, Voisttitoevetz, Nahkkomeien, and Kohkahywhcumest), and representatives of the Arikara, Assiniboine, Crow, and Sioux tribes (Fowler 2001:842; Kappler 1904:594–596). This treaty described the jointly held Cheyenne and Arapaho territory, and it placed what would become the City of Golden within Cheyenne and Arapaho territory as recognized by the United States.

The United States failed to protect the recognized tribal territories from the influx of American miners, settlers, and hunters. By 1858, Arapaho hunting areas in the Smokey Hill River Valley and around Pikes Peak had been infiltrated by American migrants, and game was increasingly hard to obtain

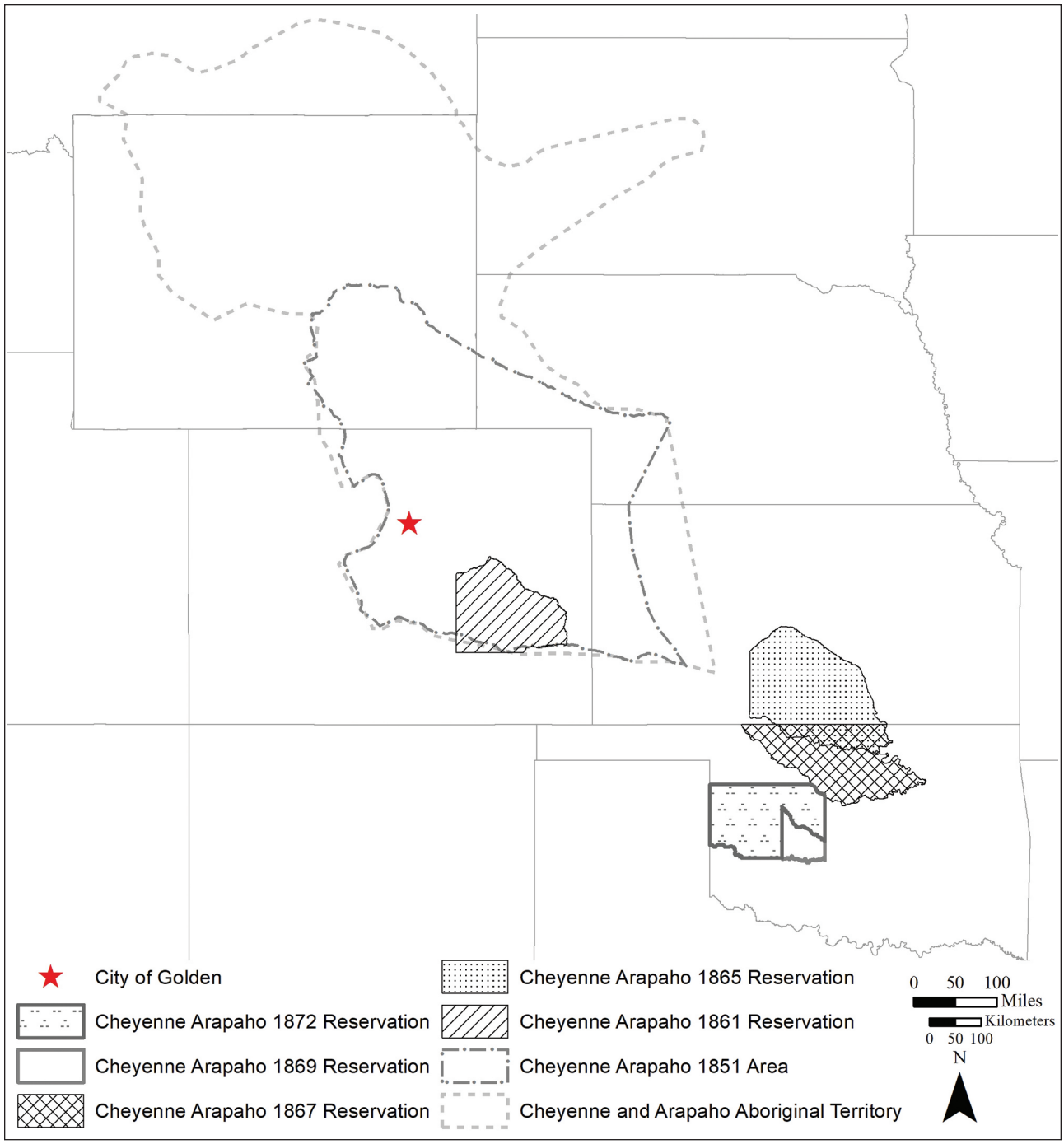

Figure 4.2. Changes in land tenure for the Arapaho from the early nineteenth century to 1872.

(Fowler 2001:842). Representatives of the southern Arapaho signed the Treaty of Fort Wise in 1861 under intense public pressure. This treaty established a Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation on the northern banks of the Arkansas River and the western banks of Sand Creek (Kappler 1904:807–811).

The 1861 reservation was never officially occupied because game was not available and there was continuing conflict between the Arapahos and non-Native settlers (Fowler 2001: 842). Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders continued to travel throughout the eastern slope of Colorado, where they had to supplement the insufficient rations that were provided by the federal government. On September 28, 1864, Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders participated in the Camp Weld Conference near Denver, Colorado (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3. Cheyenne and Arapaho Delegation, Camp Weld, September 28, 1864. Kneeling in front from L to R: Major Edward W. Wynkoop and Captain Silas Soule. The seated delegates are (L to R) Neva, Bull Bear, Black Kettle, White Antelope, and Notanee. Standing in back are (L to R) unidentified, unidentified, John Simpson Smith, Heap of Buffalo, Bosse, Dexter Colley, unidentified. Photographer unknown, from Denver Public Library Image Archives, Catalog No. X-32079.

The conference involved the exchange of prisoners held by the Cheyenne, Arapaho and the US government. Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders were also given assurances that they would not be attacked by the United States military. It was under this agreement that Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders encountered the 3rd Colorado Volunteers at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864.

The Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 was a devastating event for Cheyenne and Arapaho people. On November 29, 1864, approximately 750 peaceful Cheyenne and Arapaho people were attacked by a contingent of 675 Colorado volunteers led by Colonel John Chivington, and 230 Cheyenne and Arapaho were killed, most of them women and children (NPS 2017a). Not all US soldiers allowed the men under their command to participate. Although initially reported as a battle, subsequent eyewitness testimony and personal letters from American soldiers Silas Soule and John Cramer, who prevented their troops from participating, detail the atrocities that were committed against the peaceful encampment (NPS 2019b; NPS 2019c). At the time of the Massacre, Golden was the territorial capital of Colorado. It is unclear to what extent, if any, Golden was involved in the Massacre or the events that followed.

The Sand Creek Massacre continues to affect Cheyenne and Arapaho communities today. In 1999, Cheyenne and Arapaho descendants of the Massacre, created the Annual Sand Creek Massacre Spiritual Healing Run and Walk. Runners travel the 173-mile route between the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site and downtown Denver (NPS 2019d). Northern Arapaho elder and descendant Eugene Ridgely Sr. memorialized the massacre in a hide painting that depicts events from an Arapaho perspective (Figure 4.4. The Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma is currently consulting on the renaming of Mount Evans, named after the territorial governor who ordered the attack at Sand Creek (Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribune 202). The Sand Creek Massacre resulted in no prosecution of the perpetrators of the attack; however, the US government sought to renegotiate their treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. In 1865, the Treaty of the Little Arkansas specified reparations to the Cheyenne and Arapaho for the government attack on the peaceful encampment. The treaty also established a new reservation in south-central Kansas and northern Oklahoma (Kappler 1904: 887–892).

In the decade following 1864, the Arapahos were confined on reservations through treaties and by executive order (Figure 4.5. The Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 and the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 removed the Arapaho from Colorado. These treaties led to the establishment of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in north-central Oklahoma for the southern Arapahos (Fowler 2001:842–843;

Figure 4.4. The Sand Creek Massacre as depicted by Northern Arapaho elder Eugene Ridgely Sr. Image courtesy of the Northern Arapaho Tribal Historic Preservation Office.

Kappler 1904: 982-989, 1012–1015). The treaty prohibited off-reservation travel, and this restricted access to sacred places and hunting and gathering areas. The 1868 treaty required the northern bands of Cheyenne and Arapahos to relinquish claims to other reservations. Northern Arapaho people maintained an active presence in the community of Golden until at least 1869, when Arapaho leader Warshinun (William Friday; Chief Friday visited the town in search of rations (Colorado Transcript 1869). Northern Arapaho elder Hubert Friday provided a brief account of his great-grandfather Warshinun, noting how he lived part of his life along the Arkansas River near Lamar, Colorado, in the 1830s (Friday 2022. Warshinun returned to northern Colorado in the 1850s and served as an interpreter, and he subsequently lived on the Northern Arapaho reservation until his death in 1881. Warshinun's story reflects the experience of Arapahos in the mid-nineteenth century. The Northern Arapaho were left without a land base following 1868, and were subsequently relocated to the Wind River Reservation by executive order in 1878 after years of conflict and heavy casualties (Fowler 2001:843).

INTERPRETATION OF THE GOLDEN REGION

The Golden region is situated along the western portion of Arapaho traditional territory in Colorado. Contemporary Arapaho elders consider Colorado's Front Range to be Arapaho homelands (Friday 2022; Soldier Wolf 2022; White 2022). Many places in Colorado are connected with Arapaho historical events, traditional use, and ceremony,

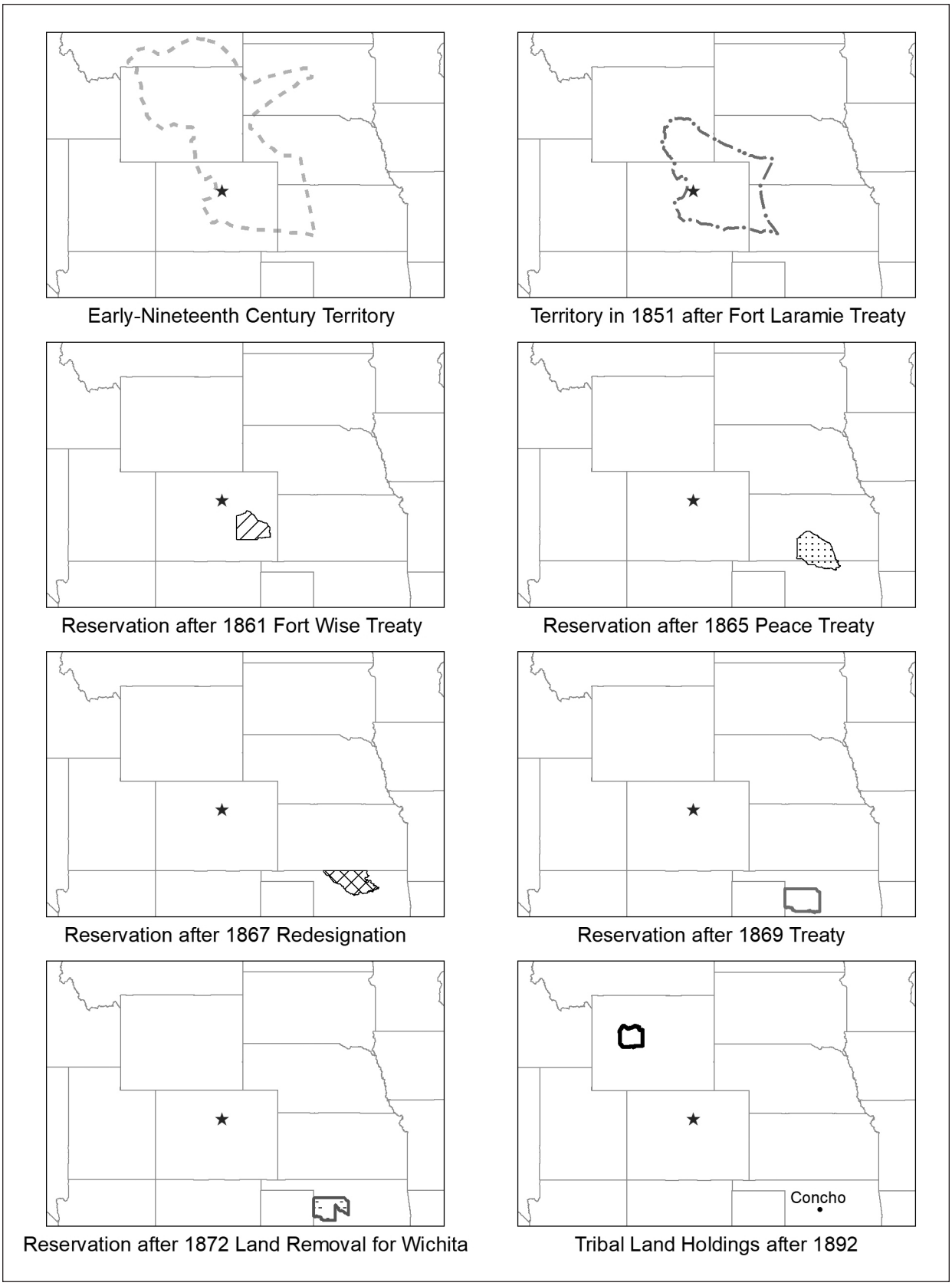

Figure 4.5. Changes in Arapaho access to traditional territory and tribal holding during the nineteenth century.

including the Arkansas, South Platte, and North Platte Rivers; the mountainous landscape around Rocky Mountain National Park; and Sand Creek. Golden, Colorado, was frequented by Arapaho leader Warshinun (Chief Friday) and many other Arapahos.

The Northern Arapaho Tribe has participated in ethnobotanical research that supports the Indigenous knowledge system held by the Arapahos (Cowell 2005:148; Friday and Scasta 2020; Kelley and others 2017. The diversity of plant species found within a three-and-a-half-mile radius around Golden makes an Arapaho ethnobotany exhibit a possible interpretative theme for the Golden History Museum and Park. A total of 95 plant species or genera used by the Arapahos are found within a three-and-a-half-mile radius around Golden (Table 4.2). All native plant species found in the Golden region are valued by contemporary Arapaho people because they are found within their aboriginal territory. The Arapaho ethnobotanical information in this report is provided to illustrate the diversity and scope of traditional use plant species that are present and provide the ground-work for future research and sharing of cultural information. Although ethnobotanical uses of these plants are known, they constitute a part of Arapaho intellectual and cultural property and cannot be shared at this time.

Table 4.2. Arapaho Traditional Use Plants Found in the Golden Region

Scientific Name	***Common Name***	***Arapaho Name***	***Translation***
Acer negundo	Box Elder	Hox(w)u:s	"Concave/Pitted out bush"
Achillea lanulosa	Western yarrow	No'outihi'	"Squirrel's tail"
Achillea millefolium	Yarrow	No'oútíhi'; Nonooke'einou'u	"Squirrel's tail;" "They have white heads"
Allium spp.	Wild onion	Xóucén	Skunk turnip
Allium cernuum	Nodding onion	Xóucén	"Skunk turnip"
Ambrosia spp.	Ragweed	Wó'te:nó:kho:sé'	"Black sagebrush"
Amelanchier alnifolia	June berry	Héyowúwuno'	"Heavy berries"
Antennaria rosea	Nuttall's pussytoes	Not specified	Not specified
Arctostaphylos uva ursi	Bearberry; Kinnikinic	Noh'úwunobí:se'; Noh'uwúno'	smoke plant berries; bearberries
Artemisia campestris	Wormwood	Ciwoniino:khó:sé'	"Half sage"
Artemisia frigida	Fringed sage	Nookhoose'	White shrub
Artemisia ludoviciana	White sage; Western mugwort	Ni:'kho:sé'; Ni:'íbo:tí	"White sage;" "Good Smelling Sage"
Artemisia spp.	Sage	Nó:kho:se; Nakohasait	"White shrub"
Asclepias speciosa	Showy milkweed	He~~θ~~ebéíhto:no	"Dog's feet"
Aster spp.	Aster	Si:si:yeinoxu; Biihceyinoo'oo'	"Snake medicine;" Not specified
Atriplex canescens	Four wing saltbush	Wóxu:ho:xbi:~~θ~~hí:t	"Horse food"
Betula spp.	Birch	Ní:yo:'óéno; hówo: 'ú:bi:	"Yellow shrub plant;" "Praying bush"
Calochortus gunnisonii	Mariposa lily	Senéí'oxú:~~θ~~e:'; Senei'owuu3eet	"Nose/Facing" plant
Campanula rotundifolia	Common harebell	Ce:'einó:ni'; Cee'einooni'	"Round bells"
Castilleja integra	Whole leaf paintbrush	Kóúhuyó:'; Kouhuyoo'	"Sticky"
Ceanothus spp.	Snowbrush	Not specified	Not specified
Celtis spp.	Hackberry	Notóyeici:bí:s	"Hide bush"

Table 4.2. (continued)

Scientific Name	***Common Name***	***Arapaho Name***	***Translation***
Chamerion angustifolium	Fireweed	Xoowoo	"Ceremonial lance"
Chenopodium spp.	Lamb's quarters	Ní:co'cúte:'	"Salt taste plant"
Cirsium spp.	Thistle	Tó:xu'óú'u; Tooxo'oo'	"They are sharp"
Comandra umbellata	Pale bastard toadflax	Not specified	"Lost Blue"
Cornus sericea	Red osier dogwood	Bo:'ó:ceibi:s; Θi:koníbino	"Red ropelike bush;" "Ghost berries"
Crataegus spp.	Hawthorn	Koh'úwuno' Boh'óo:níbino	"Separated/split berries;" "Thunder berries"
Elaeagnus spp.	Silverberry; Wolf willow	Nakoowina; No:kúwuno	Not specified; "White berries"
Eleocharis spp.	Spike rush	Yéyeinoxú:s	"Otter bush"
Elymus spp.	Wildrye	Woxho:x hitihi	"Horse tail"
Equisetum spp.	Horsetail	CeniiΘise'	"It goes inside"
Ericameria nauseosa	Rubber rabbitbrush	Nó:kuhú:si; Nooku'uusii	"Rabbit-bushes"
Eriogonum spp.	Wild buckwheat	Bi:schin; Biiscihin	"Cow smoke"
Eriogonum umbellatum	Sulfur flower buckwheat	Hóno:kóΘo:kúnu	"White eye"
Fragaria spp.	Wild strawberry	Hite:híbino; Hiteehibino	"Heart-shaped berries"
Fungi	Mushroom	Boh'ono:ibee	"Thunder excrement"
Galium boreale	Northern bedstraw	Not specified	Not specified
Geranium spp.	Wild geranium	Ceyótowóhoonó'	"False mint"
Glycyrrhiza lepidota	Licorice	Woníseine:hí:s	"It Goes After Women Bush"
Grindelia squarrosa	Curlycup gumweed	Kouhuyé'einóú'u	"It has sticky heads"
Heuchera spp.	Alumroot	Not specified	Not specified
Ipomopsis aggregata	Scarlet gilia	Neeseetheynatha; není:siΘé'eino	Not specified; *"Two heads"*
Juncus spp.	Rush	Hotohine Hatahina	Not specified
Juniperus communis	Common juniper	Battheynaw Ce:h'e' Be'se:O; Ceeh'ee; See3ibino'; To'see3	"I am cedaring;" "Needles/Leaves;" "Red pine;" "Needle;" "Berries;" "Cones"
Juniperus scopulorum	Rocky Mountain juniper	Be'Oeino'o; SeeOibino; Ce:h'e'	"Red inside" tree; "Pine berries;" "Needles"
Lichen	Lichen	Bi:teibeyon:ku	"Ghost Tears"
Lithospermum spp.	Stone seed; Gromwell	Not specified	Not specified
Lomatium spp.	Biscuitroot	Ce:etei'I; Ni:'é:te:'	"Spherical edible;" "Good edible"

continued

Table 4.2. (continued)

Scientific Name	*Common Name*	*Arapaho Name*	*Translation*
Lygodesmia juncea	Skeleton weed	BeΘénećooo:no	"Breast milk making"
Mahonia repens	Oregon grape	Céci:nbi:cí:xo	"Winter leaf plant"
Mentha arvensis	Wild mint	Paquannah; Wóho:nó'	"Peppermint;" "Peppermint"
Mertensia ciliata	Broadleaf bluebell	Ce:ne:te:ne:'einou'u	"It has blue heads"
Opuntia spp.	Prickly pear	Ho'yó:x	"Cactus"
Orthocarpus luteus	Yellow paintbrush; Owl's clover	Not specified	Not specified
Oxytropis spp.	Locoweed	Sí:sí:yeibi:Θhí:t; Siisiiyeibii3hiit	"Snake food"
Pediocactus simpsonii	Mountain ball cactus	Cé:yo:kú	"Round standing" plant
Penstemon glaber	Western smooth beardtongue	Wo:kú:no'	"Plumes"
Phlox spp.	Phlox	Tó:xu'ó:'; Tooxu'oo'	"Sharp leaves"
Pinus ponderosa	Ponderosa pine	Se:O; Se:Ocei; SeeOibino; Se:Oibino;	"Pine Tree;" "Pine gum/resin/sap;" "Pine cone;" "Pine berries"
Populus angustifolia	Narrowleaf cottonwood	Hohó:tinbíi:tino	"Cottonwood aspens"
Populus deltoides	Eastern cottonwood	Hohó:t; He:One:bes	"True cottonwood;" "Sweet cottonwood"
Prunus americana	Wild plum	Beesíbino'	"Big berry"
Prunus pensylvanica	Pin cherry	Bi:néhe'	"Little berry"
Prunus virginiana	Chokecherry	Bi:no	Not specified
Pseudotsuga menziesii	Douglas fir	Ni:'ibo:ti;	"It Smells Good"
Psoralea spp.	Scurfpea	Ce:'éí'i	"They are round"
Psoralea tenuiflora	Lemon scurfpea	Not specified	Not specified
Quercus spp.	Oak	Hohó:co; No'óubi:Θhí:t	"Oak;" "Squirrel's Food"
Ranunculus glaberrimus	Buttercup	Ní:ho:né'einó:'; Henéíxo'; Yenéinkóotí'i	"Yellow head;" Not specified; "It has four leaves"
Rhus aromatica	Aromatic sumac	Bee'ei'I; No:wube'ei'I; Co:xu:wuno'	"They are red;" "Southern red berries;" "Enemy Berries"
Rhus trilobata	Three- leaf sumac	Bee'ei'I; No:wube'ei'I	"They are red;" "They are southern red berries"
Ribes aureum	Golden currant	Ne'íbinó'; Ne'íbi:s	"Good Berries;" "Currant bush"
Ribes cereum	Western red currant	Beni:so:no; Beniisoono'	"Fuzzy/Hairy Berries"
Rosa acicularis	Prickly wild rose	Not specified	Not specified
Rosa arkansana	Rose bush	Yeíní:s'; Yano	"Rosehip bush"
Rosa nutkana	Wild rose	Not specified	Not specified

Table 4.2. (continued)

Scientific Name	*Common Name*	*Arapaho Name*	*Translation*
Rosa woodsii	Wood's rose	Yeiniis; Yeino'	Refers to rose bush; Refers to rose hips
Rubus idaeus	Raspberry	Honí:'o; Hoonii'ono	"Raspberries"
Rumex venosus	Wild begonia; Veiny dock	Haneseehuit; Honesi:hu:t	Not specified
Sagittaria latifolia	Arrow leaf	Not specified	Not specified
Salix amygdaloides	Peachleaf willow	Bo:'ó:ceiyó:ku	"Red willow stand upright"
Salix spp.	Willow (General)	Yó;koxuu; Nookuyookox; Beexuyookox	"Willows;" "White willow;" "Big willow"
Sambucus spp.	Elderberry	Kokúyono	"Gun/Whistle(s)"
Scirpus spp.	Bulrush	Hóno:wúuxó'	"Bulrushes"
Sedum lanceolatum	Yellow stonecrop	Hóteibi:ϴhí:t; Hoteibii3hiit	"Big horn sheep food;"
Senecio spp.	Groundsel	Nihoonoxu'	"Yellow medicine"
Symphoricarpos spp.	Snowberry	ϴí:koníbino'	"Skeleton berries;" "Ghost berries"
Toxicodendron rydbergii	Poison ivy	Nih'óúso:ϴeihí:ho	Not specified
Typha spp.	Cattail	Hóno:wúuxó'	"Cattail"
Viburnum spp.	Hobblebush	Not specified	Not specified
Vitis riparia	Wild grape	Beenéibí'i	"They are attached in a cluster"
Yucca glauca	Soapweed Yucca	Si:cene:woxu	"Stretched medicine grass"

RECOMMENDATIONS

Representatives from the Northern Arapaho Tribal Historic Preservation Office made the following recommendations:

Cultural advisors would like to visit the Golden History Museum and Park and surrounding sites of interest in Jefferson County with elders for educational purposes and to provide additional interpretations and recommendations.

The Northern Arapaho Tribal Historic Preservation Office would like to consult on future exhibits at the Golden History Museum and Park.

The Northern Arapaho Tribal Historic Preservation Office requests to consult more on the archaeological sites and landform features in the City of Golden.

The Northern Arapaho Tribal Historic Preservation Office recommends *The Sky People* (Shakespeare 1971) as a reference for Northern Arapaho history.

The Northern Arapaho Tribal Historic Preservation Office is interested in facilitating traditional demonstrations at the Golden History Museum and Park.

Representatives from the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma Tribal Historic Preservation Office made the following recommendations:

Cultural advisors would like to visit the Golden History Museum and Park and surrounding sites of interest in Jefferson County with elders for educational purposes and to provide additional interpretations and recommendations.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes Tribal Historic Preservation Office would like to consult on future exhibits at the Golden History Museum and Park.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes Tribal Historic Preservation Office requests to consult more on the archaeological sites and landform features in the City of Golden.

CHAPTER FIVE

Tsistsistas or Tsétsėhéståhese (Cheyenne)

TSISTSISTAS[S] OR TSÉTSĖHÉSTÅHESE[N] ("The People"), also known as the Cheyenne, are represented today by two federally recognized Indian tribes: the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma and the Northern Cheyenne Tribe in Montana. Historically, Cheyenne bands originated near the headwaters of the Mississippi River in Minnesota. Cheyenne people traveled and migrated to the northern and southern plains and along the front range of the Rocky Mountains (Moore and others 2001:863). The two federally recognized Cheyenne tribes share a common language and lifeway. The City of Golden is located within the nineteenth century territory of the Cheyenne. Although Cheyenne people were confined on reservations by 1884, they maintain familial, social, spiritual, and political alliances that transcend the modern reservation boundaries (Moore and others 2001:864). The Cheyenne people also maintain close connections with the Arapaho people with whom they share a common language, and with whom they have been allied with since 1806 or earlier (Fowler 2001:840).

The Cheyenne language is a subdivision of the Algonquian language group. Other Algonquian speaking groups include the Hinono'ei (Arapaho), Amskapi'Piikáni (Blackfoot), and A'aninin (Gros Ventre). The term Cheyenne is thought to be a derivative of a Lakota term that translates to "People with strange speech" (Crum 2009:215). Cheyenne terms used in this chapter are derived primarily from the ethnographic literature and are written here as they were originally documented in those texts. Cheyenne place names and group names are derived from the Cheyenne Dictionary, which is written in the Northern Cheyenne dialect (Chief Dull Knife College 2017). The Southern Cheyenne use the phonetic alphabet to write their language. When the tribal origin of a Cheyenne term is known, the Cheyenne term is accompanied by a superscript with the following abbreviations: Northern Cheyenne Tribe= [N], Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma (Southern Cheyenne)= [S]. The Southern Cheyenne tribal headquarters, which they share with the Southern Arapaho, is primarily located in the communities of Concho and El Reno, Oklahoma. The Northern Cheyenne tribal headquarters is located in Lame Deer, Montana.

TRADITIONAL TERRITORY

According to oral traditions, the Tsistsistas[S] or Tsétsėhéståhese[N] place their origin near the headwaters of the Mississippi River in what is now central Minnesota, expanding further west toward the end of the seventeenth century (Berthrong 1986:4–6; Crum 2009: 215). Following a period of migration, Cheyenne traditional territory expanded to include the modern states of Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma and Mexico (Figure 5.1). Max Bear, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, explained that maps depicting Cheyenne territory are limited in scope, as they rely on government sources. The actual Cheyenne and Arapaho territory known through oral traditions is much broader. There were at least 10 major Cheyenne bands spread across this territory (Mooney 1897:254–255; Moore 2001:882). Today, people from the Northern Cheyenne Tribe refer to themselves as the Notameohméseestse[N] (Northern Cheyenne person) and Southern Cheyennes refer to themselves as the Sandhill People. Although they were physically separated on different reservations, the two modern-day tribes remain connected to one another through shared history, familial ties, ceremonies, language and culture (Kelley and others 2017:4.246).

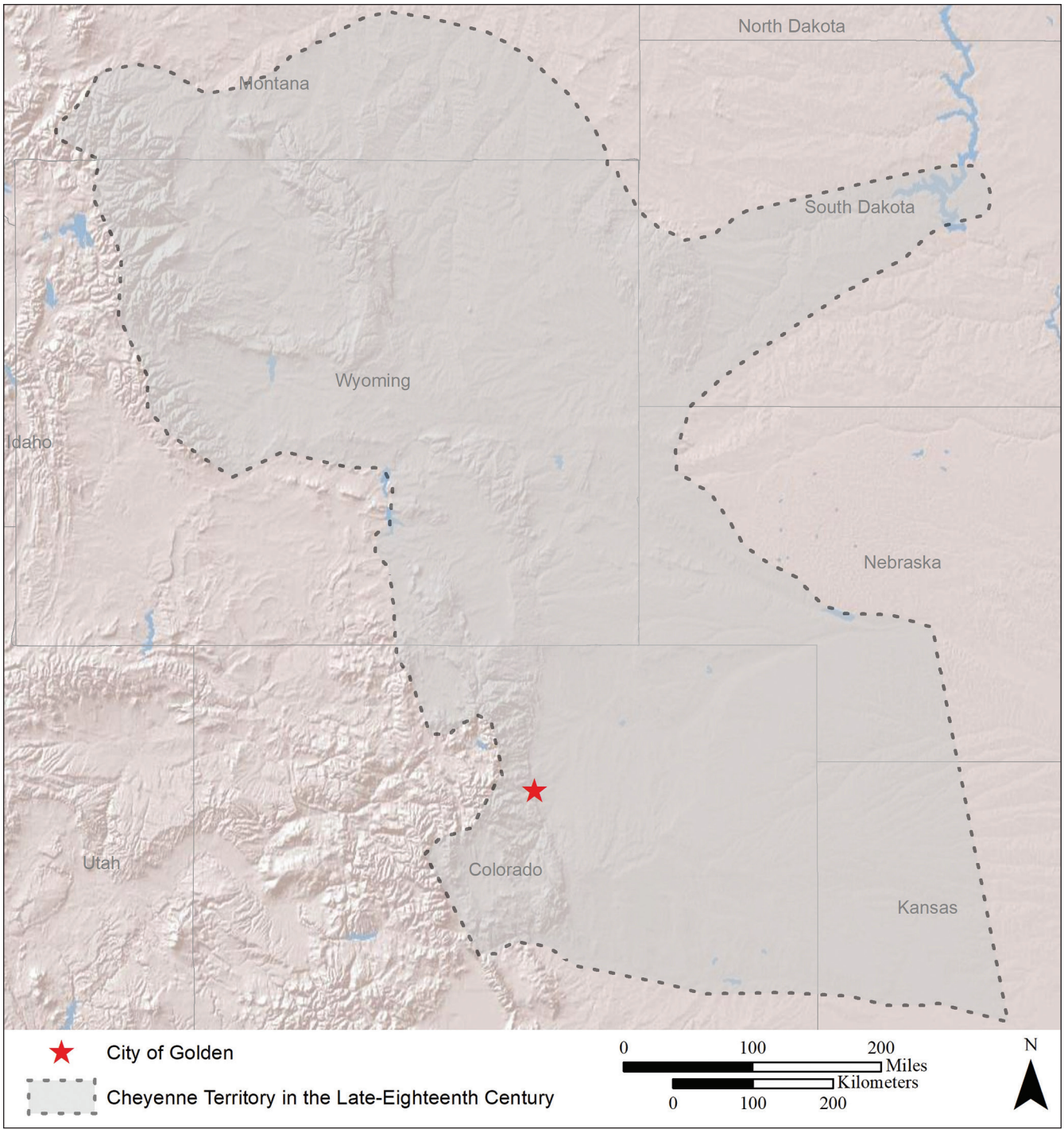

Figure 5.1. Cheyenne documented territory in the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw Cheyenne traditional territory expand. The Cheyenne occupied several villages along the Cheyenne River near the Black Hills in South Dakota. By the end of the eighteenth century, they camped and hunted along the North Platte River in southeastern Wyoming (Moore 2001:863). In the early-nineteenth century, bands of Cheyenne allied with Arapahos, and began traveling to the South Platte River, where they eventually established villages along the Arkansas River east of Pueblo by 1820 (Berthrong 1986:25–26). The establishment of Fort St. Vrain and Bent's Fort along the Arkansas River in Colorado marked a transition for the Cheyenne, with the

Table 5.1. Cheyenne Place Names in the Golden Region

Cheyenne Place Name	*Locations*	*Literal Translation*
Hena'éo'hé'e[N]	Laramie River (Tributary, North Platte River)	"Goose River"
Heséovó'eo'hé'ke[N]	Sand Creek (Tributary, South Platte River)	"Sand Creek"
Ho'honáevo'omēnėstse[N]	Rocky Mountains	"in the mountains, on a rock"
Ho'honáéva[N]	Rocky Mountains	Not specified
Ho'néhetaneo'hé'e[N]	Pawnee Creek (Tributary, South Platte River)	Not specified
Hótoanáo'hé'e[N]	Purgatoire River (Tributary, Arkansas River)	"Difficult River"
Hotóao'hé'e[N]	Cimmaron River (Tributary, Arkansas River)	"Bull River"
Mótsėsóoneo'hé'e[N]	Arkansas River	"Flint River"
Oó'evótȧhtséo'hé'e[N]	Apishapa River (Tributary, Arkansas River)	"Scolding Woman River"
Pónoeo'hé'e[N]	Sand Creek (Tributary, South Platte River)	"Dry Creek"
Vénȯhó'kȯhtséo'hé'e[N]	Republican River	"Wild Cherry River"
Vétaneo'hé'e[N]	South Platte River	"Fat River"

Northern Cheyenne trade centered along the Missouri River and the North Platte River, and the Southern Cheyenne trade centered along Front Range of Colorado (Moore 2001:865). Intertribal relations were an important component of Cheyenne life along the Front Range. In addition to the alliance with the Hetanevō'e[N] (Arapaho) and Váno'étane[N] (Northern Arapaho) people, cultural advisors have stated that they engaged with Mo'ȯhtávėhetane[N] (Ute), Mȯhtséheonetane[N] (Apache), Hotóhkéso[N] (Oglala Lakota), Ho'óhomō'e[N] (Sioux), Ho'néhetane[N] (Pawnee), Šé'šenovotsétane[N] (Comanche), and Sósone'e[N] (Shoshone) people along the Front Range (Chief Dull Knife College 2017; Kelley and others 2017:4.247; Moore 2001:863–865).

Cheyenne place names are embedded with cultural information and Indigenous knowledge. Cheyenne placenames for landscape features found in the project area were recorded by Chief Dull Knife College (Table 5.1). In addition to these place names, many towns and areas near Golden, Colorado, were named after the Cheyenne people, including Cheyenne County east of Colorado Springs; Cheyenne Mountain southwest of Colorado Springs, Chey-enne Wells, a settlement along the Kansas-Colorado border; and Cheyenne Pass (Elliot 1999).

HISTORICAL EVENTS

Cheyenne oral traditions and archival records indicate that Cheyenne people have been in Colorado since at least the late-eighteenth century. The traditional territory of the Cheyenne was heavily affected by the incursions of American migrants in the mid-nineteenth century (Moore 2001:865). In 1803, the majority of Cheyenne lands were obtained by the United States under the Louisiana Purchase. In 1825, Cheyenne representatives signed their first treaty with the United States, which recognized the United States as a trading party with authority to regulate trade. The treaty was signed by six Cheyenne leaders (Berthrong 1986:22; Kappler 1904:232–233). In the 1830s and 1840s, two major trading posts were established in Cheyenne territory. Fort William (Fort Laramie) was established in 1834 on the North Platte River, and it became a major trading hub. Bent's Fort, established by brothers William and George Bent on the Arkansas River, also served as a major trading post (King 2015; Moore 2011:865). Bent's Fort became inextricably linked to the Southern Cheyenne when William Bent married Méstaa'ėhéhe[N] (Owl Woman), a Cheyenne woman who was the daughter of Vóhpenonóma'e[N] (White Thunder).

The period of 1850 to 1879 was defined by a series of failed treaties, intertribal warfare and battles with the United States Army (Moore 2001:865). In 1851 the United States negotiated the Treaty of Fort Laramie with four Cheyenne leaders, along with Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboine, Crow, and Sioux cultural advisors (Fowler 2001:842; Kappler 1904:594–596). This treaty described the jointly held Cheyenne and Arapaho territory, placing the area that would become the City of Golden within Cheyenne and Arapaho territory as recognized by the United States. The treaty did nothing to prevent the influx of American settlers into the region. The Treaty of Fort Wise in 1861 sought to further reduce tribal territories and establish a small Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation on the northern banks of the Arkansas River and the western banks of Sand Creek (Kappler

Figure 5.2. Delegation of Cheyenne leaders in Washington D.C. in 1863. From left to right: Lean Bear, William Simpson Smith (interpreter), Standing in the Water (killed at Sand Creek), and War Bonnet (killed at Sand Creek). Photographer unknown, copyright of the Trustees of the British Museum.

1904:807–811). A delegation was Cheyenne leaders went to Washington D.C. in 1863 to negotiate additional peace agreements (Figure 5.2).

Over the next three decades, various bands of Cheyenne were involved in over 50 documented conflicts with the U. S. Army throughout their territory. This led to the further loss of most of their traditional territory (Figure 5.3). These conflicts included massacres at peaceful Cheyenne encampments on Sand Creek in 1864, and on the Washita River in 1868 (Berthrong 1986: 195–223; Moore 2001:865; NPS 2017 and 2021). Mo'ôhtávetoo'o[N] (Black Kettle) was killed at the Washita River massacre in 1868. These attacks, along with other atrocities, continue to have lasting impacts on the Cheyenne and Arapaho people today (Hardorff 2008; Moore 2001:865–866). In 1999, LaForce Lee Lonebear, a Northern Cheyenne tribal member whose ancestors were at Sand Creek, started the Annual Sand Creek Massacre Spiritual Healing Run and Walk. The 173-mile route takes place between the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site and downtown Denver (NPS 2019d).

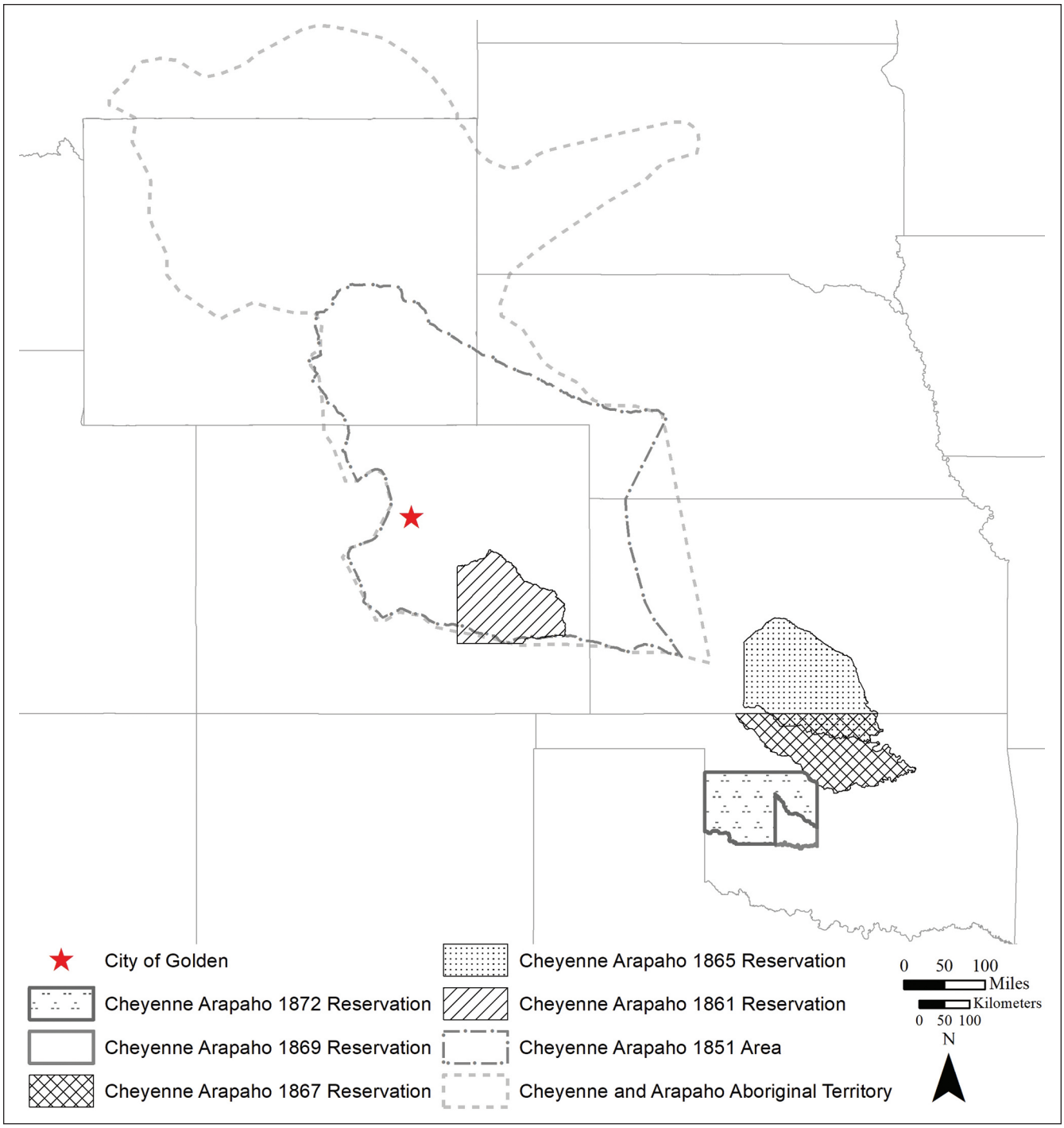

Figure 5.3. Changes in land tenure for the Cheyenne from the early nineteenth century to 1872.

Multiple treaties with the United States led to the establishment of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in north-central Oklahoma. This started reservation life for the Southern Cheyenne (Fowler 2001:842–843; Kappler 1904:887–892, 982-989, 1012–1015; Moore 2001:865). These treaties included the Treaty of the Little Arkansas in 1865, the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, and Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The treaties of 1867 and 1868 prohibited travel off the reservation, and this restricted access to sacred places, and hunting and gathering areas. The treaties also physically separated the Cheyenne tribes on different reservations, and required the northern bands of Cheyenne

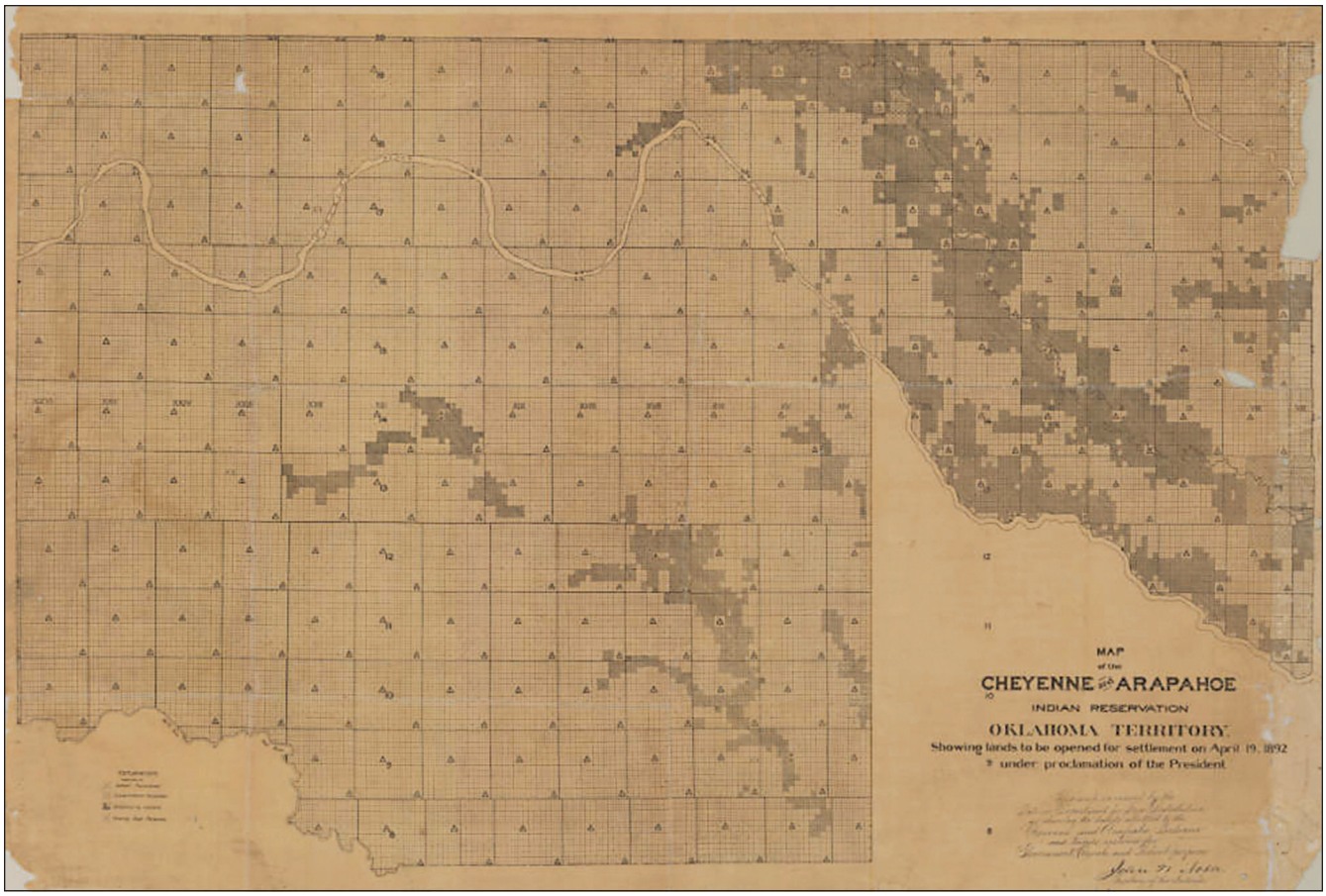

Figure 5.4. Map of Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in 1892. Dark squares represent allotments to Cheyenne and Arapaho tribal members. The remaining portion of the reservation was opened to settlers on April 19, 1892. Photograph from the Oklahoma State University Digital Map Collection, Catalog No. G4022 .W4F7 1892 .U5.

and Arapahos to relinquish any claims to other reservations. In 1887, the Dawes Severalty Act was passed, providing a mechanism to dismantle reservations by allotting small tracts of land to individual tribal members and then returning the rest of the reservation to the public domain. Most of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in Oklahoma—over 3 million acres, or seven eighths of the reservation—was deemed surplus land and opened to settlement by non-Native people in 1892 (Figure 5.4) (Moore 2001:865).

The Northern Cheyenne continued to engage in battles over their traditional territory led in part by Ónonevóo'-xénéhe[N] (Twos Moons), Little Wolf, and Vóóhéhéve[N] (Dull Knife) (Moore 2001:1865). Four major battles occurred in 1876, including three in Montana on the Powder River, at Rosebud Creek, and at Little Big Horn, and one in Wyoming on Crazy Woman Creek. In 1884, following a decade of imprisonment and relocation, the consolidated Northern Cheyenne obtained their own reservation in eastern Montana.

Cheyenne and Arapaho people are connected through intertribal alliances and social relations, and the fate of their traditional territories was intertwined by federal Indian policy. Each tribe, and the family groups and bands within those tribes, retain their own oral traditions and experiences. Figure 5.5 illustrates the devastating loss of Cheyenne and Arapaho land due to the policies of the United States, including during the period when Colorado was a territory.

INTERPRETATION OF THE GOLDEN REGION

The Golden region is situated in the western part of Cheyenne traditional territory in Colorado. The history, land use, and ceremonies of the Cheyenne are associated with many places in Colorado that are also connected to Golden. Northern Cheyenne cultural advisors identify multiple significant sites along the Front Range, including the Arkansas, South Platte, and North Platte Rivers, Sand Creek, Bent's Fort, Camp Weld, Cheyenne Mountain, the Santa Fe Trail, the

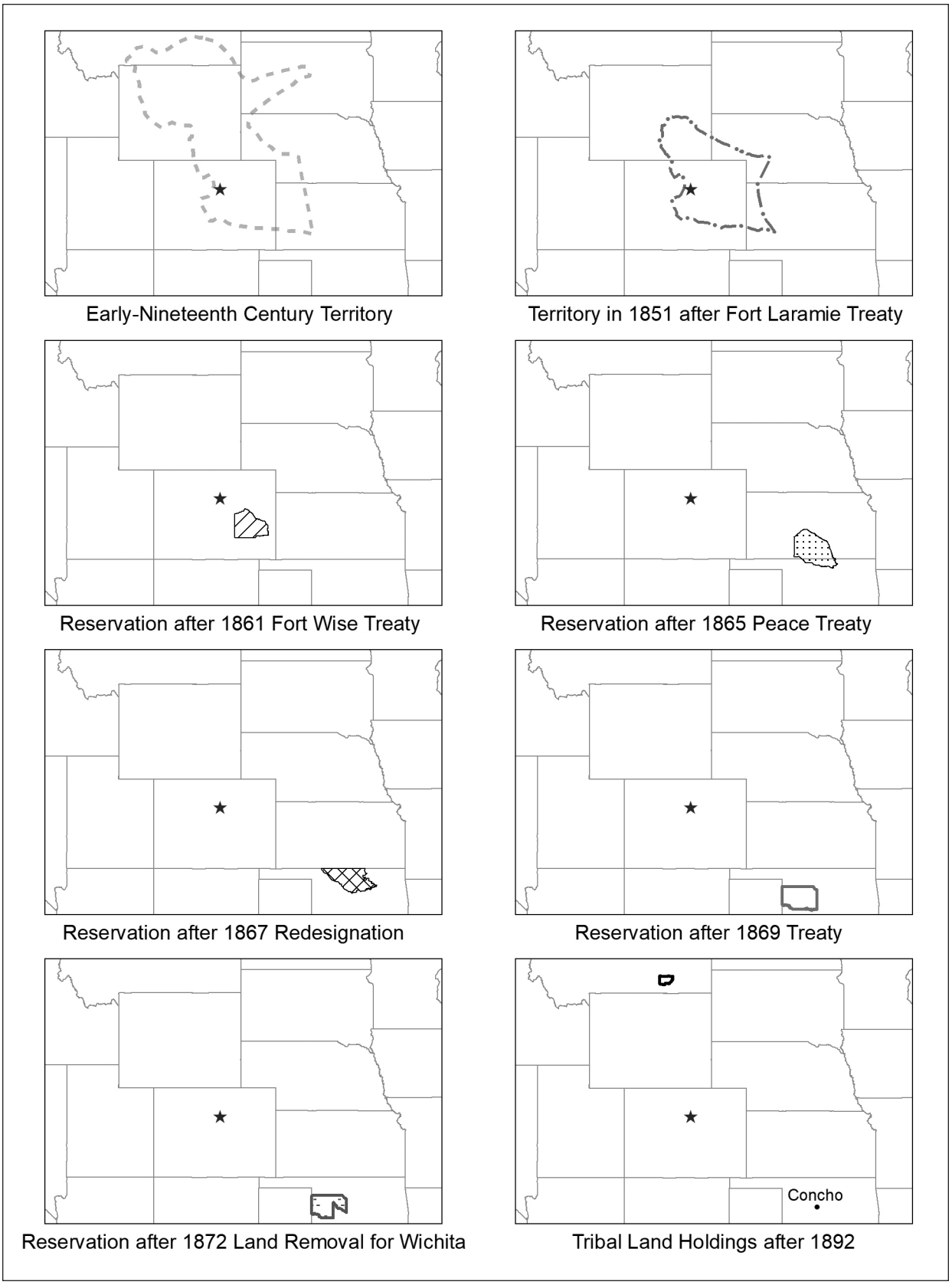

Figure 5.5. Changes in Cheyenne access to traditional territory and tribal holding during the nineteenth century.

Bozeman Trail, and the places and trails created during the Gold Rush (Kelley and others 2017:4.24 to 4.26). Northern Cheyenne cultural advisors have stated that the Front Range was a gateway to plants, animals, and other important cultural resources that could not be found in the prairie. The foothills of the Front Range served also as places to camp, engage in ceremonial activities, and harvest resources (Kelley and others 2017:4.24). Virtually all events associated with Cheyenne lifeways in Colorado occurred along the Front Range.

The Northern Cheyenne Tribe and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma have participated in collaborative ethnobotanical research that supports the Indigenous knowledge system held by Cheyenne people (Hart 1981; Kelley and others 2017; Northern Cheyenne Tribe 2020). Several studies review ethnobotanical information pertaining to the Cheyenne people (Bernier 2004:40; Campbell (2007; n.d.; Grinnell 1923; Moerman 1998:645–646). The diversity of plant species found within a three-and-a-half-mile radius around Golden make an ethnobotany exhibit a possible interpretative theme for the Golden History Museum and Park. Southern Cheyenne cultural advisors noted in this project that the abundance and diversity of plant life found near Golden today provided their ancestors with all the elements that needed to practice their traditional lifeways and today provide for the spiritual, physical, and cultural health of the tribe. A total of 98 plant species or genera used by the Cheyenne are found within a three-and-a-half-mile radius around Golden (Table 5.2). All native plant species found in the Golden region are valued by contemporary Cheyenne people because they are found within their aboriginal territory. Although ethnobotanical uses of these plants are known, they constitute a part of Cheyenne intellectual and cultural property and cannot be shared at this time.

Table 5.2. Cheyenne Traditional Use Plants found in the Golden Region

Scientific Name	***Common Name***	***Cheyenne Name***	***Translation***
Acer negundo	Box Elder	Me?eshkemaha?	"Sap"
Achillea lanulosa	Western yarrow	Hehaaheseeo?otse	"Cough medicine"
Achillea millefolium	Yarrow	Hehaaheseeo?otse	"Cough medicine"
Actaea rubra	Baneberry	Motse?eotse	Refers to raising children
Agropyron spp.	Wheatgrass	Not specified	Not specified
Allium spp.	Wild onion	Xaoehehestavo; tohtoo?exaoenestavo	"Skunk nuts;" "Prairie skunk"
Ambrosia artemisiifolia	Ragweed	Mo?ohtaavano?estse	"Black sage"
Ambrosia psilostachya	Western ragweed	Mo?ohtaavano?estse	"Black sage"
Amelanchier alnifolia	Serviceberry; Juneberry	Hetanemenotse; Hetanemeno?eshe?e	"Man berry;" "Man berry bush"
Arabis spp.	Rockcress	Heoveheseeo?otse	"Yellow medicine"
Arctium minus	Burdock	Not specified	Not specified
Arctostaphylos uva ursi	Bearberry; Kinnikinic	No?aneonotse; ma?kemenotse	"Red berry"
Artemisia frigida	Fringed sage	he' evano' estse	"Women sage"
Artemisia ludoviciana	White sage	hetanevano?estse	"Man sage"
Asclepias speciosa	Showy milkweed	matanaavo?estse; matanaamaxestse	"Milk plant;" "Milk wood"
Aster spp.	Aster	hestovootseheseeo?otse	"Ear medicine"
Astragalus adsurgens	Standing milkvetch	ma ?xeheoovo?estse	"Big scabby weed"
Balsamorhiza sagittata	Arrow leaf balsamroot	hetone?eheseeo?otse	"Bark medicine"
Calochortus gunnisonii	Mariposa lily	exaano?kane	Not specified
Capsella bursapastoris	Shepard's purse	ota?taveheseeo?otse	"Blue medicine"

continued

Table 5.2. (continued)

Scientific Name	*Common Name*	*Cheyenne Name*	*Translation*
Carex spp.	Sedge	mehnemehno?estse	"Serpent plant"
Carex stipata	Sawbeak sedge	Not specified	Not specified
Chenopodium spp.	Lamb's quarters	Not specified	Not specified
Cirsium arvense	Canada thistle	heshkovo?estse	"Thorny plant"
Cirsium undulatum	Wavyleaf thistle	not specified	Not specified
Cornus sericea	Red osier dogwood	a?oomehesono; ma?koomehesono	"Red bark"
Crataegus spp.	Hawthorn	nakomis	Not specified
Eleocharis spp.	Spike rush	Not specified	Not specified
Elymus spp.	Wildrye	Not specified	Not specified
Epilobium spp.	Fireweed	ma?eheseeo?otse	"Red medicine"
Equisetum spp.	Horsetail	heheva?xestse; mo in a am es se e ohk	"His tail weed;" "Elk Medicine"
Ericameria nauseosa	Rubber rabbitbrush	me?eshkaatseh?estse	"Hairy plant"
Erigeron spp.	Fleabane	a?oma?ohtseheseeo?otse	"Pink colored medicine"
Eriogonum umbellatum	Sulfur flower buckwheat	heseeo?otse	Not specified
Fragaria spp.	Wild strawberry	veeskee'ehemeno'esee	Not specified
Gaillardia aristata	Blanket flower	not specified	Not specified
Galium boreale	Northern bedstraw	not specified	Not specified
Geranium spp.	Wild geranium	matomenevo?estse; matomeneheseeo?otse	"Nosebleed plant;" "Nosebleed medicine"
Glycyrrhiza lepidota	Licorice	ma?kehahanovaso	Not specified
Grindelia squarrosa	Curlycup gumweed	ho?eetohkonah	Not specified
Gutierrezia sarothrae	Broom snakeweed	not specified	Not specified
Helianthus spp.	Sunflower	ho?enoono	Not specified
Heterotheca villosa	Hairy golden aster	not specified	Not specified
Heuchera spp.	Alumroot	heoveheseeo ?otse	Not specified
Juncus spp.	Rush	not specified	Not specified
Juniperus communis	Common juniper	heshkoveshestoto?e	Not specified
Juniperus scopulorum	Rocky Mountain juniper	ve ?evesh estoto ?e	Not specified
Koeleria cristata	Prairie Junegrass	naasetovo?estse	"Sacred plant"
Lithospermum incisum	Western Gromwell	hohaheanoistut	Not specified
Lithospermum spp.	Stone seed; Gromwell	hoaheanotahtsestotse; noaheanohtsetotse	"Trying to revive;" "Put feeling in"
Lomatium orientale	Wild parsley	Not specified	Not specified
Lomatium spp.	Biscuitroot	motsenestotse	Not specified
Lygodesmia juncea	Skeleton weed	matanaaheseeo?otse; matanaamaxestse	"Milk medicine;" "Milk wood"
Mahonia repens	Oregon grape	mehmemenotse	"Spicy Berries"

Table 5.2. (continued)

Scientific Name	***Common Name***	***Cheyenne Name***	***Translation***
Mentha arvensis	Wild mint	mahpemoxeshene	"Water mint;" "Water perfume"
Mentzelia spp.	Sand lily	vo?omeheseeo?otse	"White medicine"
Mertensia ciliata	Broadleaf bluebell	matanaavo?estse; matanaamaxestse	"Milk plant;" "Milk wood"
Monarda fistulosa	Horse mint	ve?ohkemoxeshene	"Bitter mint"
Nasturtium officinale	Water plant	mapevotz	"Water plant"
Onosmodium molle	False gromwell	Not specified	Not specified
Opuntia polyacantha	Plains prickly pear	mahta'omunst	Not specified
Oxytropis lambertii	Sweet root	wi'keisseeyo	Not specified
Oxytropis spp.	Locoweed	ve?ohkeheseeo?otse	"Bitter medicine"
Phlox multiflora	Many flowered phlox	heshkovaneo ?o	Not specified
Pinus ponderosa	Ponderosa pine	shestoto?e shestoto?emenotse	Refers to the tree; refers to the cones
Plantago spp.	Plantain	Not specified	Not specified
Polygonum spp.	Bistort	Not specified	Not specified
Populus angustifolia	Narrowleaf cottonwood	Not specified	Not specified
Populus deltoides	Eastern cottonwood	xamaahoohtsetse	Refers to a large tree
Potentilla spp.	Cinquefoil	vano?emoxeshehohpe	Sage mint soup
Prunus americana	Wild plum	ma?xemenotse; maemeno?estse;	"Big berry;" "Big berry bush"
Prunus virginiana	Chokecherry	menotse; meno?estse	"Berries;" "Berry bush"
Psoralea spp.	Scurfpea	hestamoa?ano; hestamoa?kano; he?ka?evo?emota?eno	"Devil's turnip
Ratibida columnifera	Prairie coneflower	she? shenovotseheseeo? otse	Rattlesnake medicine
Rhus aromatica	Aromatic sumac	Not specified	Not specified
Rhus trilobata	Three-leaf sumac	ho?atoono?estse; noaheyonste	"Smoke issues"
Ribes aureum	Golden currant	heyohhestastemenste	Not specified
Ribes cereum	Western red currant	Not specified	Not specified
Rosa arkansana	Prairie rose	hennehnoh	Not specified
Rosa spp.	Wild rose	henene; heneno?e	Refers to the rosehips; Refers to the bush
Rubus idaeus	Raspberry	Not specified	Not specified
Rumex crispus	Curley dock	hohaso?e	Not specified
Sagittaria latifolia	Arrow leaf	heshexova?tovotse; hetanhese'eo'oste	Not specified
Salix amygdaloides	Peachleaf willow	meno?keo?o	Not specified
Salix exigua	Coyote willow	maxemeno'ke	Not specified

continued

Table 5.2. (continued)

Scientific Name	*Common Name*	*Cheyenne Name*	*Translation*
Scirpus spp.	Bulrush	ve?ohkeheseeo?otse	"Bitter medicine"
Senecio spp.	Groundsel	heoveheseeo?otse	"Yellow medicine"
Solidago mollis	Golden rod	Not specified	Not specified
Sphaeralcea coccinea	Scarlet globe mallow	hestomoa?akati ?ano; wikiisse'eyo	Not specified
Stellaria media	Chickweed	oitzetanovotz	Not specified
Symphoricarpos occidentalis	Snowberry	mehmemenotse	"Spicey berries"
Taraxacum officinale	Common dandelion	heyevstamo'e	Not specified
Toxicoderndron rydbergii	Poison ivy	hotommotse	Not specified
Typha spp.	Cattail	vo?heneotsevo?e(stse); vohpo?heneotsevo?e;	"Fat plant"
Verbascum thapsus	Common mullein	Not specified	Not specified
Vitis riparia	Wild grape	Not specified	Not specified
Yucca glauca	Soapweed Yucca	hestahpan o?e; hestahpan'eeste	Not specified

RECOMMENDATIONS

Representatives from the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma Tribal Historic Preservation Office made the following recommendations:

1. Cultural advisors would like to visit the Golden History Museum and Park and surrounding sites of interest in Jefferson County with elders for educational purposes and to provide additional interpretations and recommendations.
2. The Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes Tribal Historic Preservation Office would like to consult on future exhibits at the Golden History Museum and Park.
3. The Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes Tribal Historic Preservation Office requests to consult more on the archaeological sites and landform features in the City of Golden.

CHAPTER SIX

Summary and Recommendations

THIS STUDY PROVIDES an overview of ethnographic information on six Native American tribes associated with region around Golden, Colorado. The six tribes, representing three Native American groups, discussed in this study are: (1) Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, (2) Northern Arapaho Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, (3) Northern Cheyenne Tribe, (4) Southern Ute Indian Tribe, (5) Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah & Ouray Reservation, and (6) Ute Mountain Ute Tribe. Due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, limited funding, and study schedule, ethnographic field visits to Golden with cultural advisors were not possible during this study. Instead, virtual meetings and a review of relevant published materials form the foundation of this report. Not all six tribes were able to engage in a full review of this report. Review meetings were held with the Tribal Historic Preservation Offices of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Southern Ute Indian Tribe, Ute Indian Tribe, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe.

SUMMARY

Contemporary Indigenous communities consulted during this project conceptualize the Clear Creek Valley and associated tablelands as a place within their aboriginal homelands. While the settlement by Euro-Americans of the Clear Creek Valley created lasting and profound effects for the Indigenous people of the area, it is a secondary, and less important part of their history. More important, were the lifeways and histories that preceded Euro-American settlement for the 12,000 years prior. Ute bands, including the Moghwachi, Tabeguache, and Uncompahgre have called the area home since the time of their Creation, and Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes view the Front Range of Colorado as part of their traditional homelands for over three centuries. Indigenous terms for landforms, plants, animals, trails, waterways illustrate the connections between traditional knowledge systems and oral traditions and historical events. Indigenous terms for locations overlap in five area places (Table 6.1).

A review of recorded Native American archaeological sites in Golden determined that at least 59 known sites have been recorded in the area. To date, the significance of these sites has only been evaluated from a Euro-American perspective and set of values. Participating tribes and previous ethnographic research conducted along the Front Range and in Colorado indicate that these sites have likely been undervalued, and that their significance to elicit more information and understanding of Indigenous lifeways in the area should be assumed. In general, these sites represent a continuous Indigenous presence in the area and every effort should be made to create opportunities for Native American cultural advisors to evaluate these ancestral sites for their historic and contemporary significance.

The Clear Creek Valley is rich in plant diversity and the number of plants listed below support tribal oral traditions of use in the area. At least 185 plants found within the Golden Region are traditionally by the tribes discussed in this report. Of these plants, 34 have documented traditional uses by all three groups (Table 6.2). In addition to these species and genera, all plants within tribal aboriginal territories have value and significance to tribes, regardless if there is a documented use in the publicly available literature. The presence of traditional use plants, as well as animals, pigments, and other resources holds a special cultural significance for Indigenous people. Gathering resources from their homeland is a culturally meaningful way to maintain their connections to this place. It is important that plants are still significant and factor in to their worldview.

Table 6.1. Ute, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Place Names in the Golden Region

English Name	*Ute Name*	*Cheyenne Name*	*Arapaho Name*
Arkansas River	ʻavatʉ páa “Big Water”	Mótsėsóoneo'hé'e “Flint River”	—
Denver Area*	Tia-pʉ[S] Tíiapʉ[N]	Vétaneo'hé'e “Fat River”	Niinéniiniicíe “Animal Fat River”
Longs Peak	Panakáavi̲[S] “Shining Mountain”	—	Nenissótóyóúʻu “Two Guides”
Pikes Peak	Tavakáavi̲[S] “Sun Mountain”	—	Heeyótoyóó’ “Long Mountain”
Rocky Mountains	Unyyooweechyugwi-y[S] “They Sit in a Row”	Ho'honáevo'omēnėstse Ho'honáéva “Rocky Mountains”	Oóóxonee’noho’óoóyóóʻ “Rocky Mountains”

[S] denotes a Southern Ute term; [N] denotes a Northern Ute term; * Term may apply either to Denver or the South Platte River

Table 6.2. Plants in the Golden Region Used by All Three Tribes (Ute, Cheyenne, and Arapaho)

Scientific Name	*Common Name*	*Scientific Name*	*Common Name*
Achillea millefolium	Yarrow	*Lithospermum* spp.	Stone seed; Gromwell
Amelanchier alnifolia	Serviceberry; Juneberry	*Mahonia repens*	Oregon grape
Arctostaphylos uva ursi	Bearberry; Kinnikinic	*Mentha arvensis*	Wild mint
Artemisia frigida	Fringed sage	*Opuntia* spp.	Prickly pear
Artemisia ludoviciana	White sage	*Pinus ponderosa*	Ponderosa pine
Artemisia spp.	Sage	*Populus angustifolia*	Narrowleaf cottonwood
Calochortus gunnisonii	Mariposa lily	*Prunus virginiana*	Chokecherry
Chenopodium spp.	Lamb’s quarters	*Rhus trilobata*	Three-leaf sumac
Cornus sericea	Red osier dogwood	*Ribes aureum*	Golden currant
Crataegus spp.	Hawthorn	*Ribes cereum*	Western red currant
Ericameria nauseosa	Rubber rabbitbrush	*Rosa woodsii*	Wood’s rose
Fragaria spp.	Wild strawberry	*Rubus idaeus*	Raspberry
Fungi	Mushroom	*Salix amygdaloides*	Peachleaf willow
Grindelia squarrosa	Curlycup gumweed	*Typha* spp.	Cattail
Juncus spp.	Rush	*Verbascum thapsus*	Common mullein
Juniperus communis	Common juniper	*Yucca glauca*	Soapweed Yucca
Juniperus scopulorum	Rocky Mountain juniper		

Some plants may be absent from these lists due in part because protocols about divulging cultural information, differing between tribes, and among bands, families, and individuals, has often restricted the amount of information that has been shared. The lack of ethnobotanical information about specific plants does not indicate a lack of use or knowledge by a given group; it indicates a lack of study and there is much to be learned about tribal ethnobotany. Tribes recognize that their ancestors practiced their traditional life-ways in their ancestral lands and as such would have interacted with all plant species. Cultural advisors are confident that, depending on the context, specific ethnobotanical uses can be shared in the future and more species identified along the Clear Creek Valley. The information shared in this report is provided to illustrate the diversity and scope of traditional use plant species that are present

and provide the groundwork for future research and sharing of cultural information.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following is a summary of recommendations pertaining to future Native American consultation, ethnographic research, and interpretative themes.

Native American Consultation

Native American government-to-government consultation differs from ethnographic research. Governmental entities, including the State of Colorado, Jefferson County, and the City of Golden, should regularly consult with American Indian tribes which are culturally and historically associated with the cultural resources in their jurisdiction (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation; Hanschu 2014).

Separate from the legally required consultation for compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act and other federal and state legislation with federally recognized tribes, it is recommended that the Golden History Museum and Park also conduct outreach with the Denver Indian Center, the Denver American Indian Commission, and other groups to make sure Native Americans living in the Denver urban area have an opportunity to participate in planning and research activities associated with cultural resources of interest to them.

Ethnographic Research

In-person collaborative ethnographic research should be funded in the Golden region to better document Native American historic and contemporary connections, appropriate interpretative themes, and management of ancestral sites and traditional use resource areas. All tribes participating in this study indicated their desire to continue ethnographic research and consultation with the Golden History Museum and Park. The Museum should contact these tribes and their associated tribal museums to discuss their desired outcomes and level of participation in future endeavors. Ideally, Tribes should be included in the project design, grant applications and, and research phases of the project. Based on a review of the recorded archaeological sites and of plant species, in-person site visits are recommended at the following locations: North Table Mountain Park; South Table Mountain Park; Windy Saddle Park, Lookout Mountain Nature Center and Preserve; Apex Park, Clear Creek Canyon Park, and along the Clear Creek Trail. A list of site numbers and descriptions is provided as a confidential appendix to this report.

American Indian Tribes each maintain their own preferred practices and protocols for ethnographic research and consultation. In general, ethnographic research includes the following:

1. Cultural advisors should be reimbursed for their time and travel expenses during ethnographic research.
2. Research themes should be developed in consultation with associated Native American communities.
3. Each tribe's form of government should be recognized and each tribe's process for consultation must be complied with.
4. Tribal officials, through historic preservation department or tribal leadership, often serve as liaisons between tribal elders and outside agencies, and tribal officials are responsible for government-to-government consultation for compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act and other laws.
5. Tribal officials and tribally designated cultural advisors are uniquely qualified to provide agencies and institutions with legitimate interpretations of places, resources, and histories of traditional territories.
6. Tribal officials employ valid methodologies and conventional scientific investigations to make determinations and recommendations about cultural resources and they should be engaged with as equal partners.
7. All tribes associated with the Golden region should be invited to participate in future ethno-graphic research.

Recommendations for Future Research

Contemporary Native American people continue to be connected to the Clear Creek Valley and the Golden Region and want to engage in the interpretation of their ancestral sites. In-person ethnographic field research is valuable in that it affords cultural advisors with opportunities to reflect on both the tangible and intangible elements that are present on the landscape and discuss their historical and contemporary connections to the area. Cultural advisors participating in this study explained that information pertaining to specific landforms, Indigenous language terms, family histories, and traditional use resources requires in-depth consultation and place-based ethnographic research built on positive collaborative relationships. Where information is sparse, future projects have the opportunity to engage

with Indigenous communities on themes that are of mutual interest and benefit.

Multiple areas of future research were identified by project stakeholders. These include:

- Information on traditional lifeways practiced in the region;
- Funding Indigenous exhibits at the Museum that are tribe specific and focus on a theme that is of significance to that tribe. This may include a exhibits on tribe-specific ethnobotany, history relation to traditional landscape, discuss of traditional lifeways, or interactions between Indigenous people and Euro-Americans.
- Clarifying representations of tribal traditional territories;
- Cultural significance of notable landscape features including North and South Table Mountains, and Clear Creek;
- Cultural significance of the region's plant, animal, minerals, archeological material, Indigenous trail networks;
- Culturally appropriate terminology, representation and interpretative displays;
- Inclusion of culturally appropriate reference material;
- Inclusion of other traditionally associated tribes on future consultations and ethnographic research;
- Collaboration with regional entities engaging in projects that pertain to Indigenous historic and contemporary use of the area. This could include: Denver Museum of Nature and Science, Jefferson County, City of Golden, US Fish and Wildlife Service, and other museums located along the Front Range.
- Collaboration with tribal heritage centers, elder groups and museums including the Ute Indian Museum located in Montrose, Colorado, and the Southern Ute Cultural Center and Museum located in Ignacio, Colorado.
- Use of digital story maps and online platforms as alternative ways to expand public understanding of Indigenous connections to the Clear Creek Valley and Colorado Front Range.

References Cited

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
2022 Protecting Historic Properties. Electronic document, https://www.achp.gov/protecting-historic-properties, accessed February 28, 2022.

Anderson, M. Kat
2005 Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and Management of California's Natural Resources. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Berkes, Fikret
2012 *Sacred Ecology*. Routledge, New York.

Berthrong, Donald J.
1986 *The Southern Cheyennes*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, Oklahoma.

Bernier, Gabriel Ruben
2004 Ethnobotany of the Northern Cheyenne: Medicinal Plants. Master's Thesis, University of Montana, Missoula. Electronic document, https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/9300, accessed February 22, 2022.

Burns, Sam (editor)
2003 The Utes of West Central Colorado, the Uncompahgre and White River Bands: An Ethnographic Overview. Office of Community Services, Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado.

Cajete, Gregory
2000 Native Science: Natural Laws of Interdependence. Clear Light Publishers, Santa Fe.

Callaway, Donald, Joel Janetski, and Omer C. Stewart
1986 Ute. In *Great Basin*, edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo, pp. 336–367, Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 11, William C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Campbell, Gregory R.
2007 An Ethnological and Ethnohistorical Assessment of Ethnobotanical and Cultural Resources at the Sand Creek National Historic Site and Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site. Volumes 1 and 2. Missoula: University of Montana.
n.d. *Chapter 4: Arapaho Ethnobotany*. Electronic document, http://theplantlady.net/resources/Arapaho%20Ethnobotany.pdf. Accessed on February 24, 2022.

Carrillo, Richard
2020 Spanish Exploration in Southeastern Colorado, 1590–1790. In *Colorado Encyclopedia*. Electronic document, https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/spanish-exploration-southeastern-colorado-1590%E2%80%931790, accessed February 28, 2022.

Cassells, E. Steve
1983 *The Archaeology of Colorado*. Johnson Publishing, Boulder.

Center for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the West (CSILW)
2022 *Arapaho Word Lists, Place Names*. Electronic document, https://www.colorado.edu/center/

Center for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the West (CSILW) (*continued*)
csilw/language-archives/arapaho-word-lists/place-names, accessed February 22, 2022.

Chamberlin, Ralph V.
1909 *Some Plant Names of the Ute Indians*. American Anthropologist 11(1):27–40.

Chapman, S.S., Griffith, G.E., Omernik, J.M., Price, A.B., Freeouf, J., and Schrupp, D.L.
2006 *Ecoregions of Colorado*. US Geological Survey, Reston, Virginia. Electronic document, https://gaftp.epa.gov/EPADataCommons/ORD/Ecoregions/co/co_front.pdf, accessed February 19, 2022.

Chapoose, Betsy, Sally McBeth, Sally Crum, and Aline La Forge
2012 Planting A Seed: Ute Ethnobotany, A Collaborative Approach In Applied Anthropology. *The Applied Anthropologist* 32(1):2–11. Electronic document, https://hpsfaa.wildapricot.org/Resources/Documents/AppliedAnthropologist-2012/No.%201/Chapoose%20et%20al_2012_32(1)_2-11.pdf, accessed February 19, 2022.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal Tribune
2020 Petition filed to ensure Tribal input in official renaming process for Mt. Evans in Colorado. 30 November. Electronic document, https://cheyennearapahotribaltribune.wordpress.com/2020/11/30/petition-filed-to-ensure-tribal-input-in-official-renaming-process-for-mt-evans-in-colorado/, accessed February 7, 2022.

Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma
2022 *Tribal History*. Electronic document, https://cheyenneandarapaho-nsn.gov/project/tribal-history/, accessed February 7, 2022.

Chief Dull Knife College
2017 *Cheyenne Dictionary*. Electronic document, http://www.cdkc.edu/cheyennedictionary/index.html, accessed February 7, 2022.

City of Boulder
2021 *Tribal Consultation*. Electronic document, https://bouldercolorado.gov/services/tribal-consultation, accessed February 22, 2022.

City of Golden
2022 *Golden History*. Electronic document, https://www.cityofgolden.net/live/golden-history/, accessed February 22, 2022.

Colorado Transcript
1869 Distinguished Visitors. 4 January: 4. Golden, Colorado.

Colwell, Andrew
2003 Arapaho Place Names in Colorado: Form and Function, Language and Culture. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 45(4): 349389.
2005 Arapaho Plant Names. In *Papers of the 36th Algonquian Conference*, edited. H.C. Wolfart, pp. 135171. University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

Conetah, Fred A.
1982 *A History of the Northern Ute People*, edited by Kathryn L. MacKay and Floyd A. O'Neil. Ute Indian Tribe, Fort Duchesne, Utah.

Crow Language Consortium
2022 *Crow Dictionary Online.* Electronic database, https://dictionary.crowlanguage.org/#/E/many, accessed April 26, 2022.

Crum, Sally
2009 *People of the Red Earth: American Indians of Colorado*. Western Reflections Publishing Company, Lake City, Colorado.

Duncan, Clifford
2003 The Northern Utes. In *A History of Utah's American Indians*, edited by Forrest S. Cuch, pp. 167–224. Utah State Division of Indian Affairs and Utah State Division of History, Salt Lake City.

Elliot, Donald R.
1999 *Place Names of Colorado: A Genealogical and Historical Guide to Colorado Sites*, edited by Doris L. Elliot. Colorado Council of Genealogical Studies, Denver, Colorado. Electronic document, https://history.denverlibrary.org/sites/history/files/Place_Names_of_Colorado.pdf, accessed January 28, 2022.

Flores, Devin and Holly Norton
2019 Christmas 1854: The Tragedy that Ended El Pueblo. History Colorado, December 23. Electronic document, https://www.historycolorado

.org/story/2019/12/23/christmas-1854-tragedy-ended-el-pueblo, accessed January 28, 2022.

Fort Collins History Connection (FCHC)
2021 *Warshinun (Chief Friday)*. Electronic document, https://history.fcgov.com/explore/friday, accessed February 22, 2022.

Fowler, Loretta
2001 Arapaho. In *Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, pp. 840–862, Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13 Part 2 of 2, William C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Friday, Colleen and John Derek Scasta
2020 Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and Ethnobotany for Wind River Reservation Rangelands. *Ethnobiology Letters* 11(1):14–24.

Friday, Hubert
2022 *William Friday: Northern Arapaho Leaders*. 3:31 mins. Cache la Poudre River National Heritage Area. Electronic file, https://www.poudreheritage.info/video/hubert-friday-northern-arapaho-leaders/, accessed February 22, 2022.

Givón, Thomas
2011 *Ute Reference and Grammar.* John Benjamins Publishing, Philadelphia.
2016 *Ute Dictionary*. John Benjamins Publishing, Philadelphia.

Grinnell. George Bird.
1923 *Cheyenne Indians*. Yale University Press, New Haven
1995 Some Cheyenne Plant Names. *American Anthropologist*, v(7): pp 3843.

Hanschu, Chantalle, Ernest House, Jr., and Joseph A. Garcia.
2014 State Tribal Consultation Guide: An Introduction for Colorado State Agencies to Conducting Formal Consultations with Federally Recognized American Indian Tribes. Colorado Commission of Indian Affairs, Denver. Electronic document, https://ccia.colorado.gov/sites/ccia/files/documents/CO%20State-Tribal%20Consultation%20Guide_0_0.pdf, access March 1, 2022.

Hardorff, Richard G.
2008 Washita Memories: Eyewitness Views of Custer's Attack on Black Kettle's Village. The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.

Hart, Jeffrey
1981 The Ethnobotany of the Northern Cheyenne of Montana. *The Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 4(1): 155.

History Colorado
2018 Ute STEM Video Exhibit. https://www.historycolorado.org/ute-stem-video-exhibit, accessed February 22, 2022.

Hopkins, Maren P., Barry Price Steinbrecher, Michael C. Spears, and T.J. Ferguson.
2020 Ethnographic Overview of Chimney Rock National Monument, San Juan National Forest, Colorado. Anthropological Research, Tucson, Arizona.

Iden, Thomas L.
1929 A History of the Ute Indian Cessions of Colorado. MA thesis, Western State College of Colorado, Gunnison, Colorado.

Jefferson County Historical Commission
2021 From a Tree to Today: Connecting Indigenous People to Jeffco Parks. 17:37 mins. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ikaYGyMi3sw, accessed February 22, 2022.

Kappler, Charles J.
1904 *Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Vol II, Treaties*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Electronic document, https://cdm17279.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/kapplers/id/29743/, accessed February 22, 2022.

Kelley, Shawn, Sean O'Meara, Damon Hill, and Karen Koestner
2017 United States Air Force Academy Ethnographic and Ethnobotanical Survey. Parametrix, Inc., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Kelley, Shawn, Sean O'Meara, Damon Hill, and Marilyn Martorano
2019 Native American Traditional Use Study of Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve. Parametrix, Inc., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

King, Judy
2015 William Bent. In Colorado Encyclopedia. Electronic document, https://colorado encyclopedia.org/article/william-bent, accessed February 28, 2022.

Koons, Michele L., Mark D. Mitchell, Maritza Hernandez Bravo, Taylor Hitte, Jennifer Moss Logan, and Erin Baxter
2021 The Magic Mountain Community Archaeology Project. *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 8(4): 213228. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/20518196.2021.1972560, accessed February 22, 2022.

Living Heritage Anthropology, Parametrix, and Ute Mountain Ute Tribe
2019 Ute Mountain Ute Tribe Traditional Cultural Properties Study of the Navajo-Gallup Water Supply Project Area. Parametrix, Inc., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

McBeth, Sally
2007 Native American Oral History and Cultural Interpretation of Rocky Mountain National Park. University of Northern Colorado, Greeley.
2008 Ute Ethnobotany Project: Summary Report of a Cooperative Project of the Grand Mesa, Uncompahgre, and Gunnison National Forests and the Grand Junction Field Office of the Bureau of Land Management. University of Northern Colorado, Greeley.
2019 Native peoples of the Florissant Valley: Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument, Colorado. University of Northern Colorado, Greeley. Electronic document, http://npshistory.com/publications/flfo/eoa.pdf, accessed March 1, 2022.

Moerman, Daniel E.
1998 *Native American Ethnobotany*. Timberline Press, Portland, Oregon.

Mooney, James
1897 The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. In *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892–1893,* edited by John Wesley Powell, pp.641–1110. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C. Electronic document, https://repository.si.edu/handle/10088/91672, accessed April 14, 2022.
1907 Cheyenne. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by Frederick W. Hodge, pp.250–257. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30. Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C.

Moore, John H., Margot P. Liberty, and A. Terry Starus
2001 Cheyenne. In *Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, pp. 863–885, Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 13, Part 2 of 2, William C. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Moss, Paul
2005 *Arapaho Historical Traditions: Hinono'einoo-3itoono*. Edited and translated by Andrew Cowell and Alonzo Moss, Sr. University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Naranjo, Alden, B.
1997 Interview at Indian Grove. Video recording on file at Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve, Mosca, Colorado.
2018 Interview at Capulin, Colorado by Sean O'Meara and Shawn Kelley, La Botica Interdisciplinary Research Project, PaleoCultural Research Group, June 9.
2019 Ute Places Names. Transcribed by Stacey Oberly. Southern Ute Indian Tribe Cultural Preservation Department.

National Park Service (NPS)
2019a History and Culture. Electronic document, https://www.nps.gov/sand/learn/historyculture/index.htm, accessed February 19, 2022.
2019b The Life of Silas Soule. Electronic document, https://www.nps.gov/sand/learn/historyculture/the-life-of-silas-soule.htm, accessed February 19, 2022.
2019c Joseph Cramer Biography. Electronic document, https://www.nps.gov/sand/learn/historyculture/joseph-cramer-biography.htm, accessed February 19, 2022.
2019d Annual Spiritual Healing Run-Walk. Electronic document, https://www.nps.gov/sand/planyourvisit/annual-spiritual-healing-run-walk.htm, accessed February 19, 2022.

Nelson, Charles E.
1967 The Archaeology of Hall-Woodland Cave. *Southwest Lore* 33(1):1–13. Electronic document, https://archaeologycolorado.org/sites/default/files/Nelson%201967%20Hall-Woodland%20Cave.pdf, accessed February 22, 2022.

Newton, Cody
2020 Nineteenth-Century Trading Posts. In *Colorado Encyclopedia*. Electronic document, https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/nineteenth-century-trading-posts, accessed March 1, 2022.

Northern Cheyenne Tribe
2020 Appendix H: Northern Cheyenne Tribe Culturally Significant Plant List. In *Surface Water Qualities Standards*. Northern Cheyenne Tribe, Environmental Protection Department, Lame Deer, Montana. Electronic document, https://www.cheyennenation.com/nct/epd/Northern%20Cheyenne%20Water%20Quality%20Standards%20April%2010%202020.pdf, accessed February 19, 2022.

Oklahoma State University (OSU)
2022 Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Electronic document, https://treaties.okstate.edu/, accessed February 22, 2022.

O'Meara, Sean, Maren P. Hopkins, Michael C. Spears, and T. J. Ferguson.
2021 *Ute Ethnographic and Ethnobotanical Research in the Bonita Peak Mining District*. Prepared for the Southern Ute Indian Tribe. Anthropological Research, LLC, Tucson.

Opler, Marvin K.
1941 The Integration of the Sun Dance in Ute Religion. *American Anthropologist* 43(4): 550–572.

Prucha, Francis Paul
2011 American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790–1834. In *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, edited by David H. Getches, Charles F. Wilkinson, Robert A. Williams, Jr., and Matthew L. M. Fletcher., pp. 91–93. Thomas Reuters, Saint Paul, Minnesota.

Ruppert, David
1996 Consultation notes and Interview Transcripts from Tribal Consultation at the Great Sand Dunes National Monument with Ute Tribal Representatives Clifford Duncan, Betsy Chapoose, and Alden Naranjo, Jr., June 4. On file at Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve, Mosca, Colorado.

Schweich, Tom
2022 *Plant Check List for Golden, Jefferson County, United States*. Electronic document, https://schweich.com/checklistCOJefGolden.html, accessed February 19, 2022.

SEINet
2022 Arizona New Mexico Chapter, Map Search. https://swbiodiversity.org/seinet/collections/map/index.php, accessed February 28, 2022.

Smith, Anne M.
1974 Ethnography of the Northern Utes. *Papers in Anthropology No. 17*. Museum of New Mexico Press, Santa Fe.

Soldier Wolf, Mark
2022 Northern Arapaho Past and Present. 3:25 mins. Cache la Poudre River National Heritage Area. Electronic file, https://poudreheritage.org/video/mark-soldier-wolf-northern-arapaho-past-present/, accessed February 22, 2022.

Southern Ute Indian Tribe
2022 History of Southern Ute. Electronic document, https://www.southernute-nsn.gov/history, accessed February 7, 2022.

Stoffle, Richard W., Kathleen Van Vlack, Rebecca Toupal, Sean O'Meara, Henry F. Dobyns, and Richard Arnold
2008 *American Indians and the Old Spanish Trail*. Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.

Strapp, Darby C. and Michael S. Burney
2002 Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, CA.

SWCA
2018 *City of Golden Historic Preservation Plan*. Prepared for the City of Golden. SWCA

SWCA (*continued*)
Environmental Consultants, Salt Lake City. Electronic document, https://www.cityofgolden.net/media/GoldenPreservationPlan.pdf, accessed February 19, 2022.

Toll, Oliver W.
1962 *Arapaho Names and Trails: A Report of a 1914 Pack Trip*. Rocky Mountain Nature Association, Estes Park, CO.

Ute Indian Museum
2019 Plant List for the Ute Indian Museum Native Garden. Ute Indian Museum, Montrose, Colorado.

White, Crawford
2022 Northern Arapaho Along the Poudre. 2:14 mins. Cache la Poudre River National Heritage Area. Electronic file, https://poudre heritage.org/video/crawford-white-northern-arapaho-along-poudre/, accessed February 22, 2022.

Witherspoon, Y. T., editor
1993 *Conversations with Connor Chapoose: A Leader of the Ute Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation*. University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 47. Department of Anthropology and Oregon State Museum of Anthropology, Eugene.

Appendix A. Informed Consent

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH, LLC
TUCSON, ARIZONA

ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE GOLDEN-AREA
NATIVE AMERICAN TRADITIONAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

CONSENT FORM

Anthropological Research, LLC is working with your tribe on an Ethnographic Study for the City of Golden and Golden History Museum. The study involves a literature review, virtual oral history interviews, and virtual review meetings to discuss your tribe's interpretations about the area, discuss tribal values, and provide firsthand oral-historical knowledge of the area. The purpose of this project is to develop a summary of your tribe's history, land use, and values of Golden, Colorado and surrounding area along the Front Range of central Colorado. The primary deliverables for this project will include a comprehensive report that is appropriate for the general public. The goal of this project is to provide the City of Golden and Golden History Museum with information about your tribe's history and people to use in the interpretation of the Golden History Museum.

1. You do not have to answer every question you are asked. You can refuse to answer any question that asks for information you don't want to reveal.
2. Virtual oral history interviews will be recorded and portions of the interviews may be transcribed for use in this report, and educational and interpretive materials.
3. Information provided during work sessions will be used in preparation of reports and educational publications authorized by your tribe.
4. Reports and educational materials prepared for this project will be reviewed by tribal research participants before the reports are disseminated to the City of Golden
5. Information provided by your tribe will be archived at the cultural preservation offices of your tribe for use in future tribal projects.

We thank you for your assistance with our work.

_____ _____

Print Name, Date Signature

_____

Anthropological Research, LLC., Researcher, Date

Appendix B. Research Questions

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH, LLC
TUCSON, ARIZONA

ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE GOLDEN-AREA NATIVE AMERICAN TRADITIONAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

General Interview Guide

1. Can you describe the cultural significance, both historically and presently, of the Golden region to your tribe?
2. Can you describe how this area fits within your tribe's cultural landscape?
3. Are you able to share any terms in your language for places or resources found within this region?
4. Are there traditional-use resources associated with the Golden region?
5. Are there any oral histories that are associated with the Golden region?
6. What would you like the City of Golden and its residents to know about your tribe?
7. How would you like to move forward with research, representation, or consultation in Golden that would be of benefit to your tribe?
8. Are there published materials regarding your tribe that you can recommend?

Appendix C. Recorded Archaeological Sites and Isolated Finds within a Four-Mile Radius of the City of Golden

Site Number	*General Site Type*	*Associated Culture*	*NHRP Eligibility*
5JF.223	Camp (hearths, lithics, and other features)	Archaic, Late Prehistoric	Eligible
5JF.9	Cave	Late Prehistoric	Eligible
5JF.1728	3 tipi rings and 2 earthen features	Unknown Native American	Eligible
5JF.1718	Tipi ring	Unknown Native American	Eligible
5JF.29	Lithic scatter	Archaic	Not Eligible
5JF.10	Lithic scatter (excavated)	Archaic; Late Prehistoric	Not Eligible
5JF.1193	Historic mine with lithic scatter	Historic and Unknown Native	Not Eligible
5JF.963	Lithic scatter	Late Archaic and Woodland	Not Eligible
5JF.30	Lithic scatter	Late Prehistoric	Not Eligible
5JF.1190	Isolated find (Projectile point)	Late Prehistoric or Protohistoric	Not Eligible
5JF.166	Isolated find	Protohistoric	Not Eligible
5JF.165	Isolated find	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.167	Isolated find	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.171	Isolated find	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.1011	Isolated find (1 flake, 1 bone)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.1788	Isolated find (2 flakes)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.1786	Isolated find (flake)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.2578	Isolated find (flake)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.2577	Isolated find (Projectile point)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.2620	Isolated find (Projectile point)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.2579	Isolated find (tool)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.2618	Isolated find (tool)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.2619	Isolated find (tool)	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.964	Lithic Scatter	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.965	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.1191	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.1783	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.90	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.169	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.170	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.1765	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible

continued

Site Number	*General Site Type*	*Associated Culture*	*NHRP Eligibility*
5JF.42	Pit structure	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.1212	Tipi Ring	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.962	Tipi Rings, cairns, and Rock Art	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.966	Tipi Rings, cairns, and Rock Art	Unknown Native American	Not Eligible
5JF.1780	2 Burials, lithic scatter, shell, malachite, faunal remains (excavated)	Late Prehistoric	Undetermined
5JF.80	Lithic scatter	Late Prehistoric	Undetermined
5JF.83	Lithic scatter	Late Prehistoric	Undetermined
5JF.116	Lithic scatter	Paleo-Indian	Undetermined
5JF.12	Lithic scatter (excavated)	Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Late Prehistoric	Undetermined
5JF.1034	Burial (Cheyenne?)	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.526	Isolated find (quartzite rock)	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.527	Isolated find (quartzite rock)	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.783	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.784	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.989	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.1715	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.82	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.84	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.106	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.127	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.284	Lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.782	Lithic scatter; historic trash scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.802	Open lithic scatter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.1265	Rock shelter	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.2467	Tipi ring	Unknown Native American	Undetermined
5JF.1217	Tipi ring, lithic scatter, and historic prospecting pit	Unknown Native American and Historic	Undetermined
5JF.26	Sheltered camp, hearths, lithics, faunal remains, ceramics	Ute and Archaic	Undetermined