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# The Sun Dance of the Northern Ute

By J. A. JONES

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# THE SUN DANCE OF THE NORTHERN UTE

By J. A. Jones*

## INTRODUCTION

The problem of this paper is to determine what role the Sun Dance has played in Ute culture. The Sun Dance has been selected as a focal point from which to discuss Ute culture because it is now the principal, vital native feature remaining. Its adoption in 1890 marked a period of culture strain. From that time, attitudes and values of the old culture were attached and integrated into the ceremony until now, in another period of culture strain, the Sun Dance has become a symbol of revivalism. It is apparent, therefore, that the history of the Sun Dance among the Ute is essentially the history of Indian-White contact, and the social, economic, and political insecurities which have arisen among the Ute from this contact.

The Indians involved in this contact situation are principally the Northern Ute bands now located on the Uintah and Ouray Indian Reservation in Duchesne and Uintah Counties of northeastern Utah. These bands are defined today as the Uintah, White River, and Uncompahgre, and number about 1,500 people. In the aboriginal state, however, there were other, smaller band divisions, and their range extended far beyond the limits of their present reservation.

Steward postulates:

> . . . that the ancestors of the recent Intermontane Shoshoneans were formerly in the Western Great Basin and in southern Nevada, where, through contact with a Basket Maker, or Derived Basket Maker culture, they acquired . . . [certain] traits, and subsequently they spread throughout the Intermontane area [Steward, 1940, pp. 454–455].

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*I wish to express my thanks to those who aided me in the preparation of this monograph.

Dr. Florence Hawley, heading the University of New Mexico Summer Field Session in Ethnology for 1948, was responsible for my introduction to the Northern Ute, and helped in guiding my field work during that summer. I am indebted to Dr. William Duncan Strong for securing financial aid from Columbia University which enabled me to continue my field investigations among the Northern Ute during the summer of 1949. To him and to Dr. Alfred L. Kroeber I am grateful for helpful suggestions regarding the manuscript. My thanks go to Dr. Dimitri B. Shimkin for lending me his manuscript on the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance and permitting me to quote from it. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Julian H. Steward, whose scholarly guidance was invaluable in the preparation of this monograph. I wish also to express my gratitude to the individual Northern Utes and to the Indian Service personnel of the Uintah-Ouray Reservation who provided much of the material of which this monograph is composed. Finally, I am indebted to my wife, Lilian Fuller Jones, for her assistance and encouragement, both in the field and in the preparation of the material for publication.

Before the Shoshoneans spread to the East, however, a developmental Pueblo culture disseminated traits over a considerable area. After the Pueblo peoples disappeared in the northern periphery and retracted throughout the Southwest, Shoshoneans, who are presumed to have been in western and southwestern Nevada, perhaps already differentiated into their present linguistic divisions (Northern Paiute, Shoshone, and Ute-Chemehueve), expanded throughout their recent territory (Steward, 1940).

Some data exist on the locations of some of these small bands of Ute-speaking Indians in the early documentary material. Steward (1937) and Cooke (1938) have made tentative reconstructions based on these early sources. My research tends to corroborate their findings generally, but some new evidence may be added to fill out the picture. The accompanying map (fig. 13) is based on a combination of Steward's, Cooke's, and my data.

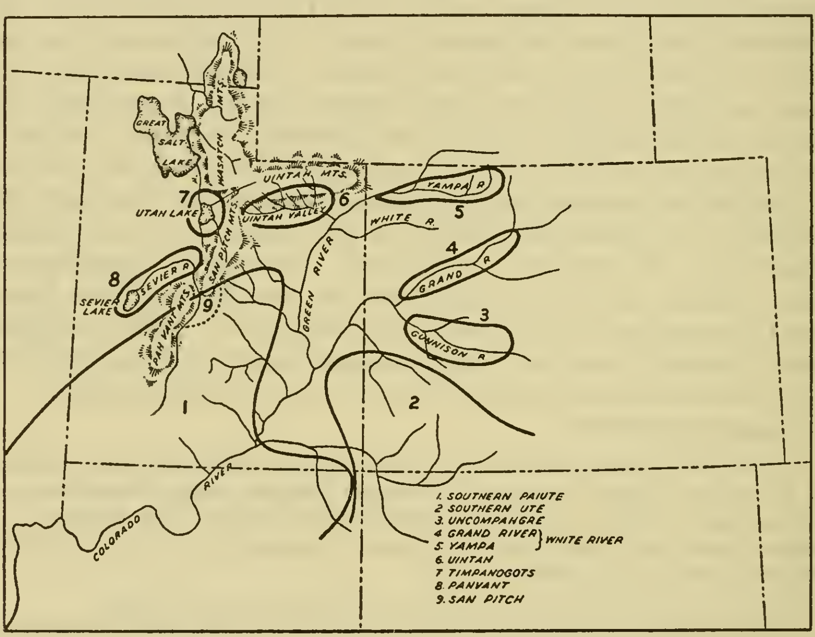
GREAT SALT LAKE
WASATCH MTS.
UINTAH MTS.
UTAH LAKE
UINTAH VALLEY
YAMPA R.
WHITE R.
GREEN RIVER
GRAND R.
GUNNISON R.
SAN PITCH MTS.
SEVIER R.
SEVIER LAKE
PAH VANT MTS.
COLORADO RIVER
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
1. SOUTHERN PAIUTE
2 SOUTHERN UTE
3. UNCOMPAHGRE
4 GRAND RIVER } WHITE RIVER
5. YAMPA
6. UINTAN
7 TIMPANOGOTS
8. PANVANT
9. SAN PITCH

FIGURE 13.—Distribution of Northern Ute groups.

The eastern division of the Ute, now generally called the White River band, seems to be a consolidation of two bands known as the Yampa and the Grand River. The consolidation was completed around 1879 under reservation conditions at the White River Agency in Colorado (Ute Commission, 1879, p. 282). Previous to White contact, these bands ranged along the White and Grand Rivers in

Colorado and as far east as the South Platte, which was Arapaho territory.

The Uncompahgre, or Tabeguache, band of Ute ranged to the south of the Yampa and Grand River bands. Their territory lay between the Colorado and Gunnison Rivers (Ute Commission, 1881, p. 384). They moved to the Ouray Reservation, just south of the Uintah Reservation in Utah, in 1881.

The country south of the Colorado River was inhabited sparsely by the Southern Ute bands as far south as the headwaters of the Cimarron along the border of New Mexico (Clark, 1885, p. 391). The Colorado Plateau was a natural boundary which prevented the Southern Ute from having much contact with the rest of the Ute. Steward says,

> Most of the Colorado Plateau was either too high or . . . too dissected with narrow and often impassible canyons and gorges to have favored human occupation [Steward, 1940, p. 448].

And again,

> . . . some Ute in Colorado who found the bison comparatively inaccessible, remained very much like the western (Nevada Shoshone) people [Steward, 1940, p. 496].

It is a matter of historic fact that the Southern Ute did not take part in the series of culture changes that their neighbors to the north and west of them did, and they have not been included in this paper for that reason.

The northern division of the Ute was the Uintah band. Their range was about 150 miles long by 100 miles wide by 1825, the center of their territory being the confluence of the Uintah and Green Rivers, in the Uintah Basin (Dale, 1918, p. 151; Forney, 1859, p. 732). After acquiring the horse they roamed this area in several groups, all called "Utahs" by the Whites (Hatch, 1862, p. 350). Perhaps these groups would have crystallized into stable bands with territorial rights had it not been for the restrictions of reservation life that were imposed upon them.

Escalante saw no inhabitants of the Uintah Basin when he went through, but he did see tracks of men and horses and fires from hunting camps in that area. His guide told him they could be either Ute or Comanche, both of whom hunted in the Basin. The Timpanagos that Escalante described at Utah Lake in 1776 have been identified as Uintah bands by Cooke and Palmer (Cooke, 1938, p. 628; Palmer, 1928, p. 39).

Chief Walker was the leader of Utes living around Utah Lake, and called Timpanagos in the 1840's before the Mormons came in (Fremont, 1887, vol. 2, p. 386). It is possible that in the 70 years that elapsed between Escalante's visit and Fremont's that a new people could have moved into the area around Utah Lake and become Timpanagos (a word descriptive of the area), but it seems unlikely. Escalante's Timpanagos and Walker's Timpanagos may well have been the same people.

The Timpanagos were displaced from the shores of Utah Lake and moved to Spanish Fork where a farm was set up to take care of them (Tourtellotte, 1870, p. 606). They became scattered among the other bands and ceased to exist as a separate band. By 1866 most of them were on the Uintah Valley Reservation, where they were numbered with the Uintah (Head, 1866, p. 124).

The western division of the Ute consisted of the Sevier Lake or Pahvant Ute, the Sanpitch or Sampit Ute, and the Fish Ute. The first mention of the Pahvant appears in Russell's diary. He found them at the southeast tip of Utah Lake in 1841, and said, "They had fine horses and lodges, and were partial to the rifles of the White man" (Russell, 1921, p. 122). When the first contact with the Mormons occurred, the Pahvant were led by a man named Kanosh, who welcomed the help of the Mormon missionary, Jacob Hamblin, in his efforts to teach the Indians agriculture. At that time they were camped along Corn Creek in Millard County, Utah (King, 1947, p. 32).

Most of the Pahvant moved to the Uintah Reservation in 1867 (Head, 1867, p. 174), but some remained behind. Steward says "a small remnant of Pahvant Ute live at Kanosh, Utah" (Steward, 1938, p. 222).

The Sanpitch band also were possibly Ute, but from the descriptions of them they must have taken on Plains trappings very late. Ferris describes them as of 1844 as "the most miserable human beings we have ever seen" (Ferris, 1940, p. 410). At that time they were without horses. Thirty years later, Hurt describes them as Utes, from the dialect they speak, "though they are greatly inferior to them in many respects." They lived on the shores of Sevier Lake and along the Sevier River (Hurt, 1876, p. 460). Dialect differences from Southern Paiute are possibly not great enough to differentiate them, and certainly they resemble them culturally more than they do the Ute. It is possible that they should be reclassified as Southern Paiute. Head says they moved to the Uintah Reservation in 1866, where we may assume they lost their band organization in the same way that the Timpanagos did (Head, 1866, p. 124).

The Fish Ute resided aboriginally in the vicinity of Fish Lake (Gottfredson, 1919, p. 327) or "Red Lake south of the She-be-retches" (Tourtellotte, 1870, p. 606). Palmer places them on Red Creek, an upper tributary of the Paria River (Palmer, 1928, p. 48) but this may be too far south. They are first mentioned in the

Reports to the Indian Commissioner in 1867 by Head (1868, p. 609), who says they numbered 100. From the Indian names for the Fish Ute band that Steward and Cooke received from their native informants, Cooke was able to identify this band as the one which was led by Black Hawk (Cooke, 1938, p. 692). Head states in 1869 that "The principal chiefs, including Black Hawk, for many years engaged in active hostilities, are among the most industrious Indians upon the reservation" (Head, 1869, p. 699). This places the leader of the Fish Ute on the Uintah Reservation, and since no other record is to be found of the destiny of the Fish Ute, it appears that they were absorbed as were the Pahvant, Timpanagos, and Sanpitch by the Uintah. If the identification with Black Hawk is faulty it is possible that these people were Southern Paiute rather than Ute, although we know so little about the Fish Ute that we cannot even say (apart from the identification as Black Hawk's band) that they had horses.

The Cum-um-bah, or Weber Ute, are sometimes classified as Ute, and sometimes as Shoshone. Hurt described them as "a hybrid race between Shoshonees and Utahs" (Hurt, 1876, p. 460). In 1867 Head reports on the Weber Ute as follows: "This tribe is formed from members of different Utah and Shoshone bands, the Utah element largely predominating in their language" (Head, 1867, p. 174). At the time of the coming of the Mormons, they occupied the territory which included the site of present Salt Lake City (Alter, 1944, p. 55). This was the area which James Bridger, famous frontiersman and scout, told Brigham Young was "something of a no-mans-land between the Utes in the South and the Shoshones in the North" (Clayton, 1921, p. 278).

According to figures supplied by F. H. Head, superintendent of the Utah Agency in 1866, there were about 600 Weber Utes at that time. He states, ". . . these Indians are the most worthless and indolent of any in the territory. Their land is nearly all occupied by settlers, among whom they beg their maintenance." He lists their horses at only 50 (Head, 1866, p. 123), showing either recent acquisition or lack of need of horses in the food quest. It is apparent that at this early date, the Weber Ute had already reached that stage of dependence on Whites that is characteristic of rapidly deculturating Indians.

Whether the Weber Ute were true Ute, or actually a coalition of individual Ute and Shoshoni-speaking families, no evidence may be found that they ever joined the Utes living on the Uintah Reservation. Several definite statements appear in the Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that they refused to do so (Head, 1866, p. 123; Tourtellotte, 1870, p. 605).

The cultural background section (pp. 212–239) is organized into historical periods showing the factors at work that caused the changes in Ute culture which made it what it is today. The first period discussed is the pre-horse period. The second is the post-horse, pre-White contact period. The third is the White-contact period, beginning in 1847 with the coming of the Mormon settlers. The fourth is the reservation period, beginning in 1866 with the end of the Indian-Mormon wars. The fifth is the reorganization period, beginning in 1937 with the adoption of the Ute Constitution and By-laws for the governing of the tribe under the provisions of the Wheeler-Howard Act.

These five historical periods are set off in this way to underline the changes in Ute culture. These changes are most marked in subsistence economy, and the results of these changes are to be found in every facet of the culture. Economic insecurity led to social insecurity, and the inconsistent Government policies toward the Indians has led to political insecurity without alleviating either the economic or social conditions. These insecurities, in turn, have resulted in a sullen uncooperativeness on the part of the Indians themselves, which makes ethnographic research among them very difficult. More important, however, is the reaction against White culture which has come about in recent years. The Sun Dance has become a symbol of the native culture, and a revivalistic nativism is growing up around it. This development is not restricted to the Ute, and some discussion of the scope and form of this phenomenon will be taken up in the third section, pages 252–254.

It was not possible to collect quantitative data to support the hypothesis that there is considerable insecurity among the Ute stemming from the existing economic, social, and political conditions. Such data were not available to me. Psychological tests which might produce quantitative evidence of any such widespread anxieties have never been taken of the Northern Ute. Figures on actual per capita income or consumption of food have not been compiled. In my research, nevertheless, I questioned numerous individuals who informed me that they, and others of their acquaintance, existed at what may only be termed an extremely low standard of living. Personal observations bore out these statements.

## CULTURAL BACKGROUND

### PRE-HORSE PERIOD

The cultural background of the Ute may be divided into five historical periods in order to illustrate the culture change which resulted in the adoption and retention of the Sun Dance.

The first period may be designated as the pre-horse period. What the culture was previous to the introduction of the horse must be at least partially conjectured. As Steward said:

> Northern Shoshone and Ute customs appear to have been so completely revamped after the acquisition of the horse that it is doubtful whether their pre-horse culture will ever be known. There is much reason to believe that these people formerly resembled their western kin, but full proof of this is lacking. [Steward, 1940, p. 477.]

The "reason to believe that these people resembled their western kin" is the restricting influence of the natural environment which the Ute shared with the Nevada Shoshone. The whole intermontane area is characterized by high altitude, dry climate, and hence restricted quantities of edible plant and animal species, and limited possibilities for agriculture. A comparison of Lowie's (1924) material on the Ute, and Steward's (1941) on the Nevada Shoshone bears out the fact that in the main elements of culture, such as crisis rites, shamanism, and games, as well as in some features of material culture, the Ute continued to resemble the Shoshone even after the introduction of the horse.

The elements described below as being pre-horse do not include two ceremonies, the Bear Dance and the Sun Dance. The Bear Dance seems to have originated among the Northern Ute, and has had a spread south and west from the place of origin in the last 70 to 80 years (Spier, 1928, p. 273). The Sun Dance came into Ute culture during White-contact times, and has just recently begun to spread to Great Basin tribes (Steward, 1941, p. 266). These ceremonies could not be held unless a surplus of food stuffs existed to feed a large number of people, and such surpluses occurred in the Great Basin very rarely. For that reason, the distribution of cultural elements not dependent on a surplus of food could be expected to be different from the distribution of these two ceremonies.

Some of Lowie's data on the Ute resemble the material that Steward gathered from the Western Shoshone. This distribution of culture elements suggests that previous to the acquisition of the horse the Ute resembled their western neighbors culturally. In discussing crisis rites, Lowie takes up birth, adolescence, marriage, and death.

> A woman in travail assumed a kneeling position and clung to a big stick planted in front of her. One female attendant clasped her around the waist, squeezing her, another made the delivery, cut the navelstring, and washed the infant, who lay about for a month or a month and a half, when a cradle board was made. The morning after the birth the father must run around in the hills. He will break a branch, run, place it on a tree, break another limb, run on, and continue in this fashion all day; otherwise he would never catch any deer. . . . There are other regulations to be followed. Neither parent must use his fingers to scratch himself lest they leave black marks; instead a wooden scratching stick is

> carried in the braid or other part of the hair for one month. Further it is forbidden for both to rub their eyes during the natal period lest their eyes get sore or even become blind. . . . The woman must remain indoors for a month and never drink cold water or eat meat; these taboos extend to her husband, but only for four days. [Lowie, 1924, p. 22; see Steward, 1941, p. 314.]

Adolescence rites were observed for women, but not for men.

> When a girl menstruated for the first time, an old woman made her take a bath and washed her thoroughly. She had to remain alone in a blood lodge for ten days, when she was again washed by the old woman. Thereafter her period of seclusion was shortened by a day every successive month until it was reduced to the normal span of three days. [Lowie, 1924, p. 273].

The menstrual hut was still in vogue when Lowie visited the Uintah in 1912 (Lowie, 1924), and when Steward was there in 1932 (personal communication). Menstruating women were not allowed to eat meat for fear their husbands would have bad luck in the hunt. They were never allowed to attend a dance, although social intercourse was not completely denied them. The young men were allowed to court women in the menstrual huts, although cohabitation at such a time was considered dangerous to the health of both sexes (Lowie, 1924, p. 273; Steward, 1941, p. 317).

Marriage was a casually arranged affair among the Ute. According to Lowie, a girl's father generally approached a prospective husband for his daughter and invited him to move into the household. Residence was usually matrilocal for awhile, but later married couples usually lived with the husband's relatives (Lowie, 1924, p. 275; Steward, 1941, p. 311).

Death and burial customs show the same marked similarity between eastern and western Basin tribes. The property of the dead person was either buried with him or destroyed on his grave (Lowie, 1924, p. 280; Steward, 1941, p. 319). Relatives mourned and cropped their hair.

Shamanism was widely spread throughout the Basin, among the Ute as well as other Shoshoneans. Lowie said:

> Some Shamans were good, others bad. The latter were sorcerers who caused people to fall sick. If several (good) shamans believed a certain bad shaman was responsible for an illness, the Ute killed the sorcerer as soon as his supposed victim died. This idea of killing a bad medicine man seems to be very fundamental with the Ute. Curing was accomplished by sucking and singing. Power to cure was received in dreams. (Lowie, 1924, pp. 191-192; Steward, 1941, p. 320).

Lowie mentions shinney and hand (guessing) games for the Ute, and Steward shows wide distribution of them over the rest of the Basin (Lowie, 1924, p. 257; Steward, 1941, p. 302).

In dress, Lowie mentions the rabbitskin robe, which was finger-woven from long strings of rabbitskin (Lowie, 1924, p. 216; Steward, 1941, p. 293). The shredded sagebrush covered, dome-shaped wickiup, Lowie says, is old Ute, while Steward gives it a distribution over the rest of the Basin (Lowie, 1924, p. 216; Steward, 1941, p. 293). The same distribution occurs for the sweat lodge (Lowie, 1924, p. 308; Steward, 1941, p. 284).

The Ute had both basketry and pottery. The pottery they used they dug out of old pueblo ruins in the area, according to my informants. Lowie said:

> Jim Duncan told me that among his people (Uintah) stone-boiling with baskets and pot boiling had been in vogue. The former was repeatedly referred to by Ute informants. [Lowie, 1924, p. 226; Steward, 1941, pp. 282, 291, 294.]

The basketry cradle, gathering baskets, pitched water baskets, trays, and the basketry hat were all known to the Ute. The Nevada also had winnowing trays, which were absent among the Ute (by 1912) (Lowie, 1924, pp. 241, 250; Steward, 1941, pp. 291, 295, 298).

Some subsistence activities of the Ute recall a pre-horse period. Lowie said that in late summer and fall

> . . . old women would go up the mountains in quest of berries, taking along willow baskets with a burden strap. On returning home they spilled the berries out on the ground and dried them, then put them back into the baskets, dug a big pit and put the berries in their containers into the ground, covering up the hole with dirt. In the winter when other supplies were lacking they would take the berries from the caches. [Lowie, 1924, p. 201; Steward, 1941, p. 281.]
>
> Rabbits were hunted communally; the Uintah used nets, made from bark fibre. . . . [Lowie, 1924, p. 199; Steward, 1941, p. 273.]

In the desert areas of western Utah, the transition to horse culture did not take place until White-contact times. Ferris found the Sanpitch in the desert area south of Utah Lake, in 1844, and described their condition in the following words:

> These are by far the most miserable human beings we have ever seen. The barrenness of their country, and scarcity of game, compel them to live by separate families, either in the mountains, or in the plains. In the latter, they usually select the most barren places to encamp, where there is apparently nothing but sand, and wormwood or sage. Here, the women and children are employed in gathering grasshoppers, crickets, ants, and various other species of insects, which are carefully preserved for food, together with roots, and grass seed. From the mountains, they bring the nuts which are found in the cones of the pine, acorns from the dwarf oaks, as well as the different kinds of berries, and the inner bark of the pine, which has a sweet acid taste, not unlike lemon syrup. In the meantime, the men are actively employed in hunting small animals, such as prairie dogs, squirrels, field mice, and larger animals, or birds, which fortune sometimes places within the reach of their arrows. They likewise take fish with simple instruments. . . . The Sann-pitch are generally quite naked, though in some instances a small piece of skin is fastened before them. The women all wear a piece of skin, reaching from the middle to the knees, and instances are not uncommon where they possess a leathern shirt, but no other article of dress. They are extremely shy . . . [Ferris, 1940, p. 267.]

Ceremonies present a somewhat different picture in their distribution, and this brings up an interesting point for discussion. The Circle Dance or Round Dance is widespread throughout the Basin, but the Bear Dance seems to be aboriginal with the Ute, and present elsewhere in the Basin owing to recent borrowing (Lowie, 1924, p. 299; Steward, 1941, pp. 323, 324). The Ute ceremony is performed early in the spring in a circular enclosure. According to the traditional account, a bear gave the dance to the people, and the alleged object is to conciliate the bear species. Both men and women participate, facing each other, and dance to the accompaniment of music produced by scraping a notched stick until in the last night's activities one dancer falls to the ground from real or feigned exhaustion (Lowie, 1924, p. 299). The women choose male partners in an aggressive fashion, and it is the role of the males to be coy and diffident. The Bear Dance is essentially a mating dance, with the religious element of only minor importance (Steward, 1932, p. 273), but it is a manifestation of the widespread phenomenon of Bear Respect.

The question is raised: Why were the Ute able to hold a spring ceremony of this sort when other Basin peoples were not? Throughout the rest of the Great Basin, where the environment provided a very meager subsistence at best, the spring of the year was perhaps the hungriest season of all. Certainly no group living under such conditions would find itself in a position to hold a ceremony of the proportions of the Bear Dance when there was barely enough food to provide for a group the size of one extended family.

It is possible that the typically Basin subsistence items were more abundant in the Ute range than they were in the western areas where the Bear Dance was absent aboriginally. It is unlikely, however, owing to the nature of these items, that they would provide the necessary surplus to feed a greater than normal assemblage of people in the spring. It therefore follows that a considerable addition to typical Basin fare must have been available to the Ute. The meat of large game animals would have supplied this addition to their diet. These could have been deer, antelope, or buffalo, or perhaps a combination of these animals which wintered in the foothills of the Wasatch and Uintah Mountains, as did the Ute themselves. It was perhaps the higher level of subsistence afforded the Ute by the presence of large game animals which allowed the rapid development of horse bands organized around hunting among the Ute. It is a matter of historic record that the horse band developed among the Ute while their western kin led a foot-going, food-gathering existence until they were placed on reservations and learned agriculture.

### POST-HORSE, PRE-WHITE-CONTACT PERIOD

Wissler (1914, p. 2) states that the Ute probably had horses as early as 1600. He bases this statement on the documentary evidence of early explorers that other tribes below the Platte and lower Missouri were well supplied with horses by 1682. Since the Ute, with the Comanche, Apache, Kiowa, and the Caddo were in contact with the Spanish in the Southwest at that time, Wissler believes that these tribes stole from the Spanish the horses with which they supplied the rest of the Plains.

Haines (1938, p. 436) says "horses spread simultaneously on both sides of the Rocky Mountains." She further gives documentation to show that the Cayuse, Nez Percé, Flathead, Blackfoot, and Crow all obtained their horses from Shoshone-speaking people. Her postulated dates for Plains tribes' acquisition of horses range from 1600 to 1700.

Nothing would be gained by reviewing the source material used by Wissler and Haines, because the first direct historical reference to the Ute occurs in 1776 in the Diary of Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante. Escalante (Harris, 1909) and a companion explored part of the Great Basin in search of a route from Santa Fe, N. Mex., to Monterey, Calif.

In the entry for September 6, 1776, Escalante wrote—

> . . . Here were three Sabuagana huts from which came six men to our camp, and among them one who had just arrived from the land of the Commanches Yamparicas, where with four others, they had gone to steal horses. He said the Commanche had all gone away.

At that time, Escalante was at a location just north of the Gunnison River in western Colorado.

Escalante identifies the Sabuaganas as Ute, and mentioned that some Timpanagos were visiting them from Utah Lake (Harris, 1909, p. 146). Therefore, the eastern Ute had horses by 1776, and used to obtain them by stealing them from the Comanche. The Timpanagos were being raided at that time by Northern Shoshone, who had horses. It is possible that the Timpanagos visiting the Sabuaganas had come seeking horses with which to fight the Northern Shoshone.

Escalante did not mention horses in Western Utah, and it is possible that, except for areas around Utah Lake, Sevier Lake, and the Sevier River, horses arrived very late. The areas just mentioned were all occupied by Ute, and had enough grassland to support horses. The northern bands of Ute acquired the horse and horse trappings of the Plains probably by 1800. Ashley met the Uintah in 1825, and described them in this manner:

> These people were well dressed in skins, had some guns, but armed generally with bows and arrows and other such instruments of war as are common among

> the Indians of the Missouri. Their horses were better than Indian horses generally are east of the mountains, and more numerous in proportion to the number of persons. [Dale, 1918, p. 151.]

The same year Ashley made a camp on the Green River about 10 miles below Brown's Hole on the site of an old Ute camp—

> . . . where several thousand Indians had wintered during the past season. Their camp had been judiciously selected for defense, and the remains of their work around it accorded with the judgment exercised in the selection. Many of their lodges remained as perfect as when occupied. They were made of poles, two or three inches in diameter, set up in circular form, and covered with cedar bark. [Dale, 1918, p. 144.]

It would have been impossible for such a large gathering of people to live together without horses. With horses, the stored surpluses of dried meat, berries, and seeds could be transported to a central location. A camp of the size described by Ashley would have been quite safe from the attacks of war parties, which was an added security.

Acquisition of the horse seems to have been responsible for the development of the band in the Basin. Where the horse was, there also was the band. As Steward (1937, p. 632) says, "It is an empirical fact that the western limit of the horse was also the western limit of the true band." Where grazing conditions did not permit the spread of horse culture, the people continued to live in small, bilateral family groups as among the Sanpitch described above.

The horse changed the subsistence economy of the Ute by making it possible to use new methods of hunting which resulted in more food. Communal bison hunts in the Basin undoubtedly were responsible for the decrease of the buffalo there. Fremont (1887, vol. 2, p. 218) says the buffalo were extinct in northern Utah by 1832. Hurt (1876, p. 461) gives the date as 1825. With the extinction of the bison in the Ute range, either bison had to be hunted east of the Rockies, or the communal hunting techniques had to be adapted to other game in order to support groups of people larger than single families. It seems that both of these developments occurred.

Lowie (1924, p. 199) mentions the hunting of rabbits on horses by the surround method. This was probably applied to deer and antelope as well, as occurred among the Gosiute (Steward, 1938, pp. 34–36). Bison hunting took the Ute into the Plains east of the Rockies where they trespassed on Arapaho and Cheyenne hunting grounds. This led to enmity between the Ute and these Plains tribes, which was expressed in typical Plains fashion. War parties raided east and west, and the Ute soon learned the Plains war patterns (Hurt, 1876, p. 461).

The importance of warfare led to the importance of war leaders. According to Clark, ". . . the recurring wars that then took place between the Ute and other tribes of Indians brought to light the fighting qualities of the warriors, and the bravest men were made chiefs" (Clark, 1885, p. 390). This process of elevating warriors to positions of prominence within a band was noted as early as 1776 by Escalante (Harris, 1909, pp. 179–183), but the great impetus given warfare as an item of cultural importance probably occurred 50 years later with the extinction of the buffalo on the Ute range. Horses were wealth, and when the Ute possessed large enough herds to make the effort profitable, it is natural that other tribes would try to steal horses from them. Their intermittent warfare with the Wind River Shoshone is attributed to horse-stealing raids about 1834, by Clark (1885, p. 386).

Other accouterments of Plains culture acquired by the Ute after the introduction of the horse were the tipi, which replaced the wickiup (Lowie, 1924, p. 220), and the increased use of animal hides for dress, and containers. Pottery and basketry became less important in the culture (Lowie, 1924, p. 216). The Ute did not adopt the travois, however, which was almost universal in distribution over the plains (Lowie, 1924, p. 249).

Religion remained as individualistic as ever, owing to the stress on individuality in the war complex, as well as the extension of the pattern of self-sufficiency from the old foot culture. Lowie speaks of individually acquired supernatural powers for luck in war (including invulnerability to bullets), luck in gambling, and luck in hunting. Such powers came to an individual in dreams from the supernatural being who controlled the power, and this supernatural became a sort of a guardian spirit for the individual (Lowie, 1924, pp. 291–298). Steward discusses these elements of culture as being present among the Nevada Shoshone (1941, p. 264) and the Northern Shoshone and Gosiute (1943, p. 286).

With the coming of the traders into their area, the Ute found a new way to acquire material possessions. Antoine Robideau set up a trading post in the heart of the Uintah range in 1832 for the purpose of obtaining furs from the Indians. Sage, who visited it in 1841, mentioned that the Indians trapped for Robideau, trading skins for rifles, knives, gunpowder, red cloth, blankets, and vermilion. He said, "Skins are very abundant in these parts as the natives, owing to the scarcity of buffalo, subsist entirely upon small game which is found in immense quantities" (Sage, 1858, p. 232). The fort was destroyed in 1844 by the Ute because of their personal dislike of its proprietor, and for the trade goods that Robideau kept there (Reagan, 1934, p. 60). This violence against Whites is characteristic of period 3, which began 2 years later, with the coming of the Mormon settlers.

## WHITE-CONTACT PERIOD

In 1847 the first wagon train of Mormon immigrants reached the Salt Lake Valley and settled down. Four years later the Government established an Indian agency to act as mediator between the Ute and the settlers. Already changes had taken place. Wilson, an Indian Service employee on his way to California, wintered at Fort Bridger in 1849, and reported the fish and game around Utah Lake had been greatly depleted by the settlers. He reported, further, that the Uintah Basin was still unaffected, because the emigrants used the famous South Pass, which was north of the Uintah Mountains. The Wasatch Mountains to the west of the Uintah Basin acted as a barrier to settlement by the Salt Lake Valley nucleus of Mormons (Wilson, 1849, p. 1004).

Stansbury, who was in Utah surveying for the U. S. Bureau of Topographical Engineers in 1852, said in his official report:

> Upon terminating the field work for the season, I dispatched three men, one of whom was my guide and interpreter, with a small invoice of goods, to trade for horses among the Uintah Utahs, with directions to await my orders at Fort Bridger. Reports afterwards reached us that a bloody fight had taken place between the Sioux and the Yampah Utahs, which latter tribe reside in the vicinity of the Uintahs. [Stansbury, 1852, p. 120.]

At this time the Yampah were evidently still going to the Plains to hunt, and had evidently incurred the enmity of Sioux who roamed central Wyoming at that time.

Brigham Young was appointed the first superintendent of the Utah Indian Agency. In his official capacity he tried to make peace between the Ute and the Wind River Shoshone in 1852 (Young, 1852, p. 437). Shortly after that, the Timpanagos under the celebrated Chief Walker, conducted a number of raids against the Mormons themselves. The direct cause for these raids, known in the literature as "Walker's War," was, according to Jones, an altercation between a Mormon and one of Walker's men. The Mormon hit the Indian with his gun for beating his squaw. The Indian was killed, and the growing bitterness of Walker against the Whites ended in an attempt to wipe them out. Just previous to this incident, Young had declared the slave trade carried on between the Ute and the Spanish in New Mexico illegal. The Spanish were forbidden to buy the Paiute children which Walker and his band bought or stole from their families, and a lucrative business stopped (Jones, 1890, p. 56). Walker and his band were camped on Utah Lake at this time, which, according to Wilson, was being settled by the Mormons.

Walker reached his position of prominence by leading raids into southern California against the Spanish settlements there. Jones speaks of one such raid in 1852 in which Walker drove off over 1,000 horses (Jones, 1890, pp. 41–42). According to Frémont, Walker's band also held up wagon trains bound for California, which, after paying a tribute in goods to Walker, were allowed to proceed safely (Frémont, 1887, vol. 1, p. 386).

Young made peace with this powerful chief in 1855 (Hurt, 1855, p. 518), and set up a series of farms the next year to teach the Indians how to make a livelihood from the soil. The Pahvant under Kanosh were settled on Corn Creek Farm in Millard County, the Sanpitch were settled on Twelve-mile Creek Farm in San Pete County, and Walker's band were settled on Spanish Fork Farm in Utah Valley (Young, 1856, p. 776). Walker died before his band left for Spanish Fork (Burton, 1862, p. 475), however, and Jones said his band split up (Jones, 1890, p. 42).

In the next few years, reports from Indian agents give a picture of what was happening to the Ute. Forney at Whiterocks in the Uintah Basin wrote in 1858 that he had had a visit from two Ute bands under Sanpitch and White Eye, and they were starving (Forney, 1858, p. 561). He further stated that the whole Utah Valley was taken up in farms with 8 towns of from 300 to 4,000 people scattered through it. The Indians that had lived in that area were settled at Spanish Fork, and Salt Creek (in San Pete County) on farms. Forney engineered new peace talks between the Wind River Shoshone and the Ute during that year (Forney, 1858, p. 565).

The next year he stated the Ute were destitute, and:

> It is my clear conviction that the immigration of a white population into this territory has had a deleterious effect on the Indian. Game cannot exist except in the fertile, watered valleys; these, with a few exceptions, are occupied by a thrifty population, and, consequently, the game is exterminated. [Forney, 1859, p. 733].

On October 3, 1861, by Executive Order of President Abraham Lincoln, the Uintah Valley Reservation was created. Consequently the Indian agents at that time endeavored to induce the Indians to move to that reservation. This became official policy on May 5, 1864, when an Act of Congress authorized the sale of all Indian reservations theretofore made in Utah except the Uintah Valley Reservation and directed that as many Indians as possible be collected and placed in Uintah Valley.

Violence broke out again, however, in 1865, which temporarily halted the process of confining Indians to reservations. Jones said the immediate cause was the whipping of one of Black Hawk's men by a white man (Jones, 1890, p. 166). A series of raids occurred immediately after that. The underlying cause was hunger, however, and possibly smallpox epidemics as suggested by Lavender (1948, p. 79).

The war threatened to become general when one of the band chiefs, Sanpitch, was arrested for supplying Black Hawk with ammunition, and was killed while trying to escape. Since Sanpitch was a relative of Tabby, who was then Uintah chief, this upset the Uintah. Short rations during a hard winter on the Uintah Valley Reservation made the situation worse. Head was then agent at Whiterocks, the agency town on this reservation. He described the state of affairs in the following words:

> The Uintahs were previously somewhat ill-disposed from the nonreception of their presents, and from the fact that almost no provisions had been furnished them during the winter. The winter was one of unusual severity, and they had nearly perished of starvation. Agent L. B. Rinney, in charge at the Unitah agency, was guilty of gross neglect of duty, and had expended the liberal appropriation made by the government in such a manner to be of almost no benefit to the Indians. The Indians were greatly exasperated against him from his having made countless promises to them which were not fulfilled. The causes above named united in producing much ill-feeling among the Indians, who prepared for a general war. Large numbers were assembled in Uintah valley. The white laborers at the Indian Farm at Whiterocks were much alarmed and left the reservation. [Head, 1866, p. 125.]

To complicate matters, Superintendent Irish had made treaties with all the Ute in 1865 to induce them to settle on the Uintah Valley Reservation, and the Senate refused to ratify the treaties. In 1867 Head warned that ratification should be accomplished immediately to keep the Ute from starting a general war. He quoted Tabby, the Uintah Chief:

> . . . should war break out between the whites and Indians, or should they be induced to join Black Hawk's band (which they have frequently been urged to do) the "Great Father" in Washington would see the folly in not keeping his word. [Rhodes, 1867, p. 181.]

Black Hawk was shot through the lungs in a raid on Round Valley and he ceased raiding from that time on (Alter, 1931, pp. 99–108). Eventually he settled down on the Uintah Reservation and turned his hand to farming (Head, 1869, p. 669).

Alter quotes Black Hawk as saying in 1870 just before he died that raiding was forced on him because of the starvation of his people. The Ute had lost their hunting and fishing grounds to the Whites, and his warriors were whipped and occasionally killed by the Whites (Alter, 1931, p. 108).

Jones, who was instrumental in eventually pacifying the Indians said that bad management in the agency was responsible for the state of starvation which the Indians found themselves in most of the time (Jones, 1890, pp. 174–175).

To the Whites, every time the Indians behaved in an unpredictable manner, it seemed as if total war was about to be thrust upon them. As a consequence, the authorities were continually reassuring the people of the peaceful intentions of the Indians to prevent panicky Whites from shooting Indians indiscriminately. The quotation is from a contemporary newspaper with the dateline June 21, 1870. It reads:

> Mr. M. J. Sheldon, Government Interpreter for Uintah, reported that the Tabbywatts, Piemps, and Yampa Utes, from the White River country, the Uinta Utes, Snakes, Bannacks, and other northern tribes of Indians were assembling in the Bannack country, fifty miles east of Bear Lake Valley, to perform their traditional religious rites. They meant peace, and when through with their rites, would disperse. [Alter, 1932, p. 391.]

### THE RESERVATION PERIOD

By 1870 most of the Utah Ute were on the Uintah Valley Reservation, although they still left the reservation for their annual hunts.

Some of the Uintah at this time were seriously trying to farm. Powell visited the Whiterocks agency in 1869, and had a talk with the old chief, Sowiet, and his wife. He found Sowiet to be senile, but his wife

> . . . has much to say to me concerning the condition of the people, and seems very anxious that they should learn to cultivate the soil, own farms, and live like white men. After talking a couple of hours to these old people, I go to see the farms. . . . It will be remembered that irrigation is necessary, in this dry climate, to successful farming. Quite a number of Indians have each a patch of ground, of two or three acres, on which they are raising wheat, potatoes, turnips, pumpkins, melons, and other vegetables. . . . They are still occupying lodges, and refuse to build houses, assigning as the reason that when anyone dies in a lodge it is always abandoned, and very often burned with all the effects of the deceased and when houses have been built for them, they have been treated the same way. [Powell, 1875, p. 42.]

Sowiet's senility left the Ute without a leader of enough prestige to demand allegiance from all the bands. Head reported of this:

> The various distinct bands and tribes of Utahs are virtually without an efficient head chief whose authority would be everywhere recognized. Tabby, the principal chief of the Uintas, is not fully recognized as their chief by the small bands of Sanpitches, Yampas, Timpanogs, and others upon the Uinta reservation, and in case of the recurrence of petty stealing raids there is no recognized head chief who can be held accountable for the depredations, or whose authority to punish the offenders would be acquiesced in by all. The office of head chief is elective, all the different bands of Utahs being entitled to a vote; but no action will be had in the premises during the life of Sowiet, and the present somewhat anomalous condition of affairs will doubtless continue so long as he shall live. [Head, 1868, p. 610.]

During this year the crops suffered so much damage from grasshoppers that very little was saved for the harvest. The Ute had dropped their old habit of eating the grasshoppers, and decided that it was not very intelligent to raise food for grasshoppers to eat, since they had no value (Dodds, 1868, pp. 615–616). Therefore, the Ute backslid as farmers. In 1871, Thompson, one of Powell's crew in the exploration of the Colorado River, stopped off at Whiterocks and commented on this situation.

> I am not very impressed with the success of the attempt to civilize the Indian. The employees at the Agency plough the land, furnish seed, dig the irrigating ditches, cut the grains; in fact do all the work that requires the use of tools. The Indians irrigate a little. The bucks make the squaws do the work while they race horse or loaf around the Agency. . . . Employees all without exception, state that the Indians will steal from Mormons at every chance, especially horses and cattle. The employees do not seem to care how much stealing is done by the Indians, provided the Mormons are the sufferers. . . . Others have been known to steal and get blankets. Two or three months ago a trapper was killed by some Utes. The agent presented the meandoers with presents to teach them to do so no more. [Thompson, 1939, p. 28.]

He visited one of the Indian camps nearby, and wrote this description of it.

> Went to Lo-ki-wa-no's wickiup first. He has a lodge of canvas and a summer home of boughs. Was lying on a buffalo ribe. Squaw was smoking an elk skin. Fire in middle of wickiup. The boys sat in a ring and smoked with the host, and a visitor. He seemed to be the most industrious, best dispositioned Indian among them. Has perhaps two acres of wheat, one of potatoes, one of corn that he has done most of the work on. Has it fenced with a sort of a brush fence to keep out the goats and stock. His squaw looks old but seems to enjoy life better than most of them, that is, is not abused as much. [Thompson, 1939, p. 29.]

Critchlow reported in 1874 that the Ute under his supervision disappeared from spring to fall on their annual hunt (Critchlow, 1874, p. 584). He started a day school at Whiterocks in 1875, but was not very successful, according to his own testimony. Nevertheless, from 1875 on, some sort of school was always provided at Whiterocks for the education of Ute children. Critchlow reported in 1877 that some of the band leaders appeared dissatisfied with the Uintah Valley Reservation. Kanosh took his Pahvant back to their old haunts south of Utah Lake, and a Sanpitch band returned for a while to San Pete County (Critchlow, 1877, p. 578). Some of these drifted back to the Uintah Valley Reservation, but Steward mentions a remnant of Pahvant still to be found at Kanosh, Utah (Steward, 1938, p. 222).

The Yampa and Grand River bands were at Meeker, Colo., under a separate agency at this time. Their history was more or less parallel to the Uintah during the 30 years between 1847 and 1877, but in 1878 they unfortunately were put under the jurisdiction of an agent, N. C. Meeker, who was determined to civilize them immediately. Meeker wrote in his report for 1879, "I should like to have plenty of land in cultivation, with tools all ready; take away their horses; then give the word that if they would not work they should have no rations" (Meeker, 1879 a, p. 125). He further stated that he believed too much time was spent in gambling and horse racing, and wished to stop these pursuits. Meeker did not understand his charges. He sent an article to the American Antiquarian the same year depicting the Ute as friendly and peaceful, but lazy, and needing the stern hand of discipline to give them more industrious and orderly ways (Meeker, 1879 b, pp. 225–226).

Meeker set about his reforms by plowing up the race track for a wheat field. The Ute rose under the leadership of a war chief, Douglas, and massacred the agent and most of his agency officials. News of this electrified the Whites in this area. At the Southern Ute Agency in Colorado, Page, the agent reported:

> Three days after the massacre of Agent Meeker, at White River, about 250 miles distant by trail, six young bucks arrived here and endeavored to induce the Southern Utes to join them in a general war; scalp and war dances were held day and night, and a grand council was held at the agency, and for a time there seemed but little doubt of their success. [Page, 1880, p. 139.]

A commission from Washington came out to settle the trouble. They had the Ute living under the White River Agency jurisdiction rounded up, whereupon they made a treaty with them. The White River Indians were moved under guard soon after to the Uintah Valley Reservation where they were given land, much to the consternation of the Uintah. The Uncompahgre were removed from their reservation in Colorado, and given land just south of the Uintah Valley Reservation in 1881 by the same commission. The war scare reported by Page, combined with the fact that valuable mineral deposits had been discovered on their reservation forced the move (Ute Commission, 1881, pp. 383–390).

In 1883, Davis reported interband friction developing between the Uintah and the White River bands because the White River Indians got annuity payments as a result of the treaty following the Meeker massacre, and the Uintah got nothing because they had been peaceful. Furthermore, the Uintah had not been compensated for the lands taken away from them and given to the White River for settlement (Davis, 1883, p. 198).

This sort of interband friction and rivalry was not so much the result of old hatreds as it was of new frustrations. They were raising one-third of their subsistence by farming at that time, obtaining one-third through hunting and fur trapping, and receiving one-third from the Government in the form of rations (Davis, 1884, p. 200). None of these sources of supply were secure. Hordes of grasshoppers often destroyed the crops, game was scarce, and at that time Government rations were even more scarce. Thus the Ute became acquainted anew with economic insecurity. The old insecurity of living in an inhospitable environment had been solved by the development of the communal horse band. Having known security, they felt more bitter about losing it than they would have if they never had known it. The interband rivalry already reported in 1883 shows that the Ute had learned that aggression toward Whites was best repressed. The agency officials could and did withhold rations from noncooperative Indians, and the Indians had become dependent on those rations. Therefore, the aggression was turned inward upon members of the group who, though Indians, belonged to different bands.

It is probable that there was an increase of fear and suspicion of witchcraft at this time. Lowie mentions the practice of killing shamans suspected of witchcraft (Lowie, 1924, p. 191). Hamblin said in 1862 that "This very prevalent idea of good and bad medicine, among the Indians, gives evidence of a very general belief in witchcraft" (Hamblin, 1881, p. 64). Gottfredson (1919, p. 231) adds that "They [the Ute] are very much afraid of witches and crazy people." These references all refer to this general time in history (1860–80) and show that there was in the culture an institution by which personal frustrations could be resolved. Critchlow mentioned an increase in sickness among his wards in 1881 (Critchlow, 1881, p. 215). Because sickness was believed caused by witches, it is evident that with more sickness, there would be a general belief in an increase in witchcraft, and a suspicion of shamans and deviants as being responsible for the state of affairs.

In my researches among the Ute, I found a widespread fear of witchcraft. One informant told me that I was foolish to eat with people to whom I was not related. He said that the danger of being poisoned by evil-minded people was enough to make any Ute extremely cautious. When fear of witchcraft reaches the proportions it has on the Ute Reservation, it becomes obvious that frustrations inherent in the cultural situation have found an outlet in aggression toward neighbors.

The Ute, in 1886, still retained many of the outward appearances of being Indians culturally. They were described by White—

> . . . blankets, leggins, moccasins, gee-strings, paint and feathers constitute the fashionable or prevalent Ute costume, and the brush wickiup or the cloth or skin tepee is the almost universal Ute habitation. [White, 1886, p. 444.]

In this year Fort Duchesne was built to police and protect the Indians on the reservation. Negro soldiers were stationed at Duchesne, and some racial intermixture took place between the Ute and the Negroes (Gilbertson, 1913, p. 363). My informants told me that the Indians had hated the Negroes, however, and were very bitter about their presence at the fort.

The Indians themselves still spent most of their free time with their gambling, however, and showed little interest in settling down and becoming farmers. In 1888, Agent Byrnes tried to curb this practice again. He reported:

> There has not been as much gambling during the past year as heretofore, as I have entirely broken up all gambling at, around, or about the agency, and the police force (Indian) are under instructions to break it up wherever it is practiced. [Byrnes, 1888, p. 220.]

The Ghost Dance of 1890 seemed to have affected the Ute but little. Mooney reported the Ute were present at Wovoka's second dance in 1889 at Pyramid Lake (Mooney, 1896, p. 802). If they tried a Ghost Dance on their own reservation, there is no record of it. One of the objects of the dance was to bring back all the dead. Fear of the dead evidenced by Ute burial practices shows that this would be inconsistent with their desires. The year 1890, is the one quoted by Lowie (1919, p. 405), Spier (1921, p. 495), and Shimkin (1953, p. 472) as the date of the actual introduction of the Sun Dance to the Ute, however. This is more fully discussed on pages 239–241, but it may be suggested here that the Sun Dance was for the Ute at this time what the Ghost Dance was for the Plains Indians.

The first Christian missionaries to come to the Ute appeared in 1897. A this time the Episcopal Mission was established at Whiterocks (Randlett, 1897, p. 286). A mission is still maintained by this sect there, and probably gave to these people the first Christian doctrine outside of Mormonism. Shimkin (1953) believes, however, that Wind River Shoshone missionaries proselyted among the Ute as early as 1890.

In 1886 the General Allotment Act was passed specifying that all Indian reservations were to be broken up, with 160 acres to be allotted each family head, and 80 acres to be allotted each single person over 18. Conditions on the Uintah and Ouray Reservation were not ready for the dismemberment called for by the law. Congress finally took notice of this situation, and on May 27, 1902, another Act of Congress authorized an allotment of 80 acres of irrigable, agricultural land for each head of a family, and 40 acres of such land to each other member of the Ute tribe then residing at the reservation. By Acts of Congress on June 19, 1902, March 3, 1903, and March 3, 1905, about 250,000 acres of nonirrigable land were set aside as a grazing reserve, to be kept intact as tribal land (Taylor, 1931, pp. 29–32).

By June, 1905, the allotment of land to individual Indians was completed, and unallotted land was opened to sale to Whites by lottery (Leupp, 1905, p. 145). In protest against this invasion of what the Ute considered their domain, 600 of them took their cattle and belongings and left the reservation. They were rounded up in Wyoming and settled in South Dakota on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation. The Sioux did not want them, so when the Ute had killed and eaten all their livestock, they asked to be taken back to their own reservation. The Whites who moved onto the reservation were generally dissatisfied with the land their lotteries gave them, and many of them moved away after a few years. Without irrigation, land in this area is worthless for agricultural purposes because of scanty and uncertain rainfall.

The Indians' lands were put in shape for farming starting in 1906. Wright summed it up:

> Since the Uintah Basin is an arid country, the Government passed an Act in 1906 authorizing the construction of the Uintah Indian Irrigation Project. Out of the proceeds of the land sales, and the homesteads, there was appropriated $600,000 to build the project. Various appropriations were added from time to time until now the total has run into many millions of dollars. This project covers approximately 80,000 acres and contains 22 canal systems, which divert water from all the streams. No storage facilities were created, just diversions. A land-subjugation program was initiated by the Government to level and clear, plow and fence the Indian allotments. For that purpose tribal funds were used. Some of the allotments at the present time have as much as twelve to sixteen hundred dollars debt against them for the subjugation work done to get these lands into cultivation. [Wright, 1948, p. 335.]

Lowie visited the Ute briefly in 1912. He was unable to establish rapport with the Ute at Whiterocks, and was forced to use Southern Ute informants at Ignacio, Colo., for most of his data. He reported:

> Shoshoneans in general are extremely reticent about divulging ethnographic information, and in the case of the Northern Ute this sentiment is intensified by a feeling of hostility against whites generally. [Lowie, 1924, p. 191.]

He was asked to pay what he considered exorbitant fees for both interpreters and informants at the Uintah Reservation which shows the Indians had become aware of the cash econony of White culture at that time.

Densmore visited the Northern Ute to make a study of their music in 1916. Her only observation of interest here was that despite a proclamation by the agency outlawing the Sun Dance, it was held as usual (Densmore, 1922, p. 79). At this time Government policy attempted to discourage elements of native culture. The intent was to civilize or acculturate Indians as rapidly as possible, and elements of native culture which harkened back to old ways of doing things were erased when possible.

The same year, according to La Barre, peyotism was introduced.

> A Sioux introduced peyote to the Uintah and Ouray Agency. The Ute around Fort Duchesne have used peyote "on the sly" since before 1916; the cult was vigorous around Randlette, Utah, by the spring of 1916. [La Barre, 1938, p. 120.]

Several of my informants told me that the agent at that time made every effort to stamp out peyotism. Supplies of peyote were confiscated and destroyed when they were located, and meetings were broken up with fines for the participants. Nevertheless, most of the old fullbloods joined the movement, and it became fully embedded in the culture. Its Christian symbolism was progapanda for White acceptance, but in effect it has not worked out that way. It is one of the few attempts to achieve a group solidarity as Indians that has come from within the culture, after its introduction. Unfortunately in accomplishing this, the Ute have given the neighboring Whites another characterization to add to the stereotype of lazy, dirty, drunken Indian that has grown out of the contact situation. Taking of peyote has become limited almost entirely to old fullbloods among the Ute, and young fullbloods who identify themselves with Indian culture. As such, peyotists have become a factional group, with the generally better educated mixbloods forming a pro-White faction against them.

Steward visited the Ute in the early thirties. He observed both the Bear Dance and the Sun Dance. Of the Sun Dance, he said that it had become so commercialized as to be meaningless to the Ute themselves (Steward, personal communication). The Bear Dance, however, retained some of its old form, although its function had presumably changed partly owing to "restrictions imposed upon the dance by the Indian administration" (Steward, 1932, p. 263). His opinion was that the Ute were in a state of extreme deculturation, having lost much of their old culture, without much success at substituting elements of White culture in its stead.

In 1934, when the Wheeler-Howard Act was passed offering to Indians a method of achieving a measure of self-government, the Ute considered adopting the Charter and Constitution drawn up for them by the Indian office to take advantage of this opportunity. Foremost in this action was a group of young mixbloods who saw in it a chance to take the tribal government into their own hands. When Kroeber visited the Ute Reservation in 1900 on a collecting trip for the American Museum of Natural History, he saw almost no mixblood Indians there. These mixbloods were born after the influx of Whites into the reservation in 1905, when many of the White settlers took Indian wives. Their efforts to achieve ratification of the measure were successful in 1937, and period 4 of Ute history began.

### THE REORGANIZATION PERIOD

The ratification of the Constitution and the Charter was neatly engineered by the Indian Agency at Fort Duchesne. By 1936 the agency knew who was in favor of the reorganization, and who was not. Therefore, the ratification vote on the Constitution was held on December 19, 1936. In mid-December in this section of Utah, most of the roads are blocked by deep snow, and many of the Ute were kept from the polls. My informants told me that agency trucks rounded up those who were favorable to the reorganization, but the fullbloods, who live in the foothills in the winter were not well represented. It passed by a vote of 347 for and 12 against.

The Constitution has the same powers embodied in it that the Charter has, and some tribes adopt only one or the other. It is interesting, however, that the vote on the Charter was held on July 6, 1938, and it was accepted by a vote of 213 for to 8 against. During July in Utah excellent weather prevails, and the fullbloods were clustered in their summer quarters around the small towns where the polls were held. Nevertheless, in spite of a larger potential vote, the actual vote fell off by about two-fifths.

Elections were held in January of 1937 for members of the Tribal Business Committee. Again, the fullbloods were out in the foothills, and a slate of mixbloods took office as a result. By July of 1938, many of the people were already disillusioned about the reorganization, and even some of those who had voted for the Constitution refused to vote for the Charter. The Ute have trouble organizing themselves under a leader. As individuals they behave as independent units, and few leaders can command over a few handfuls of followers. Therefore, when they disapprove of something, they behave in a negativistic manner. They become sullen and noncooperative, and ignore the efforts of the White administrators to enlist their cooperation. This accounts for the light vote on the ratification of the Charter, and also explains why disapproval was not actively voiced at the polls.

One of the members of the Tribal Business Committee informed me that it has become necessary to ask for nominations for the Committee repeatedly before there is any reaction. What happens, is that all of the old chiefs who are descendants of the pre-reservation band chiefs, are nominated, and the fullblood vote is split, allowing the few mixblood candidates to ride into office.

The first change in the culture to be brought about by the reorganization was the replacement of the old chiefs by the Tribal Business Committee. By 1937 chieftainship tended to be hereditary. Sons of men who had led horse bands took over their fathers' positions at their deaths. Their authority had deteriorated to the point of being spokesmen for their band members when the agent requested such a spokesman.

Therefore when decisions for the tribe were made by a group whom the people considered outsiders, a feeling grew among the Ute that a betrayal had occurred. The mixbloods had represented themselves, truthfully, as being better able to cope with Government red tape than the non-English speaking, fullblood tribe members. They were not, however, the mere spokesmen for the people that the old chiefs had been. My informants told me that most tribal business is carried on without the knowledge, and sometimes without the approval of the people.

The issue between the mixbloods and the fullbloods that has resulted in a growing and increasingly bitter factionalism is merely one of orientation. The names "breed" and "fullblood," are used by the Indians themselves to distinguish those who, regardless of the biological definition, are oriented toward Indian or White culture. Some individuals who are part White identify with their fullblood Indian friends, and are accepted without prejudice. Having one English-speaking parent who, being a member of the dominant culture is usually dominant in the home, has a certain advantage for mixblood Indians. They pattern themselves after the White parent and accept the standards of White culture as their own. They usually get more education and end up with more economic security than the fullblood tribe members.

The personal philosophy of Collier, the administrator who pushed the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act, has resulted in other changes on the tribal level. Collier (1947, pp. 154–155) listed seven principles in his book, Indians of the Americas, which guided him in his office of Indian Commissioner.

1. Indian societies should be continued in their native state, regenerated, or recreated.
2. Indian societies, whether ancient, regenerated or created anew should be given status, responsibility and power.
3. Each and all freedoms should be extended to Indians, including guarantee of the right to organize, proclamation and enforcement of cultural liberty, religious liberty, and unimpeded relationships of the generations.
4. The land should be held, used and cherished in the way the particular Indian group desires.
5. Freedom should include positive things like guided organization, extension of credit to be managed co-operatively, education, conservation of natural resources and acceptance of tribal responsibility.
6. Indians must be given the experience of responsible democracy.
7. Integrated research by specialists on the tribal level to solve the social and economic problems of Indians is imperative to the success of the program.

These principles seem very clear when considered separately but they contain certain inconsistencies. The first two principles voice the assumption that the deculturation process can and should be stopped and even reversed. If this were carried to its logical conclusion, we might expect the reoccurrence of war parties raiding each other on the Plains, or a return to seed gathering as the subsistence economy in the Basin. Practically, it means that the forces for conservatism among Indians would be sponsored in their fight against modern medicine, education, and scientific agriculture. This has actually happened to some extent, but principle No. 5 has tended to offset the effects.

The phrase "enforcement of cultural liberty," in principle No. 3 is particularly unfortunate. Factionalism occurs in most Indian groups today. The Indian Office has taken sides from time to time, a practice that has caused the factionalism to become more bitter. Principle No. 4 has been interpreted in the light of attitudes current among Indians in the Southwestern Pueblos. Communal ownership of the land is supposed by the Indian Office to be the universal Indian usage, and this has been put into effect where possible. Principle No. 6 is in direct opposition to Nos. 1 and 2. Democracy is a particular method of political organization that has grown out of Western European history, and is foreign to most Indian cultures. The need for research emphasized in principle No. 7 has been used to put across the six other principles, and has been directed toward that goal. Directed culture change is certainly an end to be aimed for, but when we know as little about the mechanics of culture change as we do now, the success of such an attempt will be questionable.

The effects of the reorganization on Ute culture were manifold. Peyotism had been suppressed as destructive to the property, and health, of those who partook in the ceremony until 1937. The Indian Office recognized it as a true, Indian religion in spite of its recent introduction, and peyotism was legalized and protected. Today on the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, peyote is taken by most of the fullblood Ute in weekly ceremonies. It has become a year-round integrating factor for those who identify themselves with Indian culture, and according to administrative officials is the biggest stumbling block to a real integration of the whole people that exists today. Very bitter factionalism has grown up, particularly in the last few years, between those who profess to follow this true, Indian religion, and those who see it as a practice which degrades all Indians in the eyes of the surrounding Whites. This split is particularly serious in view of the fact that the ruling faction, the mixbloods who do not generally become peyotes, do not recognize the cause behind peyotism. If the need for security were not so great among non-English-speaking fullbloods, it would not be sought in this typically negativistic fashion.

Communal ownership of land has been pushed by the Indian Administration. It has become policy to return land individually held to the tribe. The reason advanced for this is that some land is so tied up in heirship that it cannot be conveniently worked. Land was not allotted on the Ute Reservation until 1905, and some allotments are owned by the original allottees. A lawyer who represents individual Nez Perce told me that probating of wills by the Indian Office is so slow and so badly done that it is impossible to unsnarl the tangle before the statute of limitations runs out. This means that the complicated fragmenting process must be undertaken in spite of the will, and a new parcel of land becomes difficult to work because of the number of heirs claiming it. My informants told me that this was the case among the Ute also.

Land is returned to tribal ownership in two ways. The Annual Report of the Uintah and Ouray Tribal Business Committee for May 31, 1948 (p. 2), shows both of these processes being employed:

> The Tribal Land Division has purchased 38 tracts of land from individual Indians for a total of 2,820.04 acres. Of this amount, 2,220.04 acres were purchased with tribal funds at an expenditure of $23,418.98 plus settlement of old tribal reimbursable indebtedness in the amount of $1,364.70. From Indian Reorganization Act Funds, 8 tracts of land totaling 600 acres have been purchased at a cost of $8,327.60. In addition to this acreage two tracts of land have been conveyed to the tribe in settlement of reimbursable indebtedness, with no cash involved. The acreage totaled 80 acres and the reimbursable indebtedness settled was in the amount of $1,047.03. In addition to that amount of reimbursable indebtedness settled through land sale money, more than $3,000.00 in cash has been collected from the heirs on their own reimbursable indebtedness in addition to that allowed them in settlement of old debts by the conveyance of land.

The indebtedness mentioned has come from the workings of the Uintah Indian Irrigation Project. Wright (1948, p. 335) described it as a land-subjugation program initiated by the Government to level, clear, plow, and fence the Indian allotments. Among other things, 22 canal systems were built to supply water for irrigation. Tribal funds were used, and the cost was charged against the individual allotments, amounting to as much as from 12 to 16 hundred dollars. Annual charges for water have been leveled against these allotments whether water has been used or not. My informants told me that pressure is put on individuals to sell their land to the tribe to wipe out the indebtedness that has been built up through the years. Land that has outstanding debts against it cannot be worked by the owner. I was informed of one case where a crop was confiscated and sold to cover the debts of one man who planted his crops in disregard of the agency order. This matter was discussed at the Uintah and Ouray General Council Meeting, May 31, 1949 (p. 8 of the minutes). One Indian complained:

> It seems to me that if we are going to have to pay the price of water that we pay today it will not be very long until we will be unable to put in our crops. Last year I paid $57.00 and this year $70.00. . . . After paying for water, we are unable to buy seed to plant. I am pleading for my people. This water charge should be cut down. Farmers can't go out to earn money for water and still buy seed. I guess children will have to eat water this winter.

Figures for actual land ownership do not appear in any of the ordinary sources. Dale quotes a statement from the Superintendent of the Uintah and Ouray Agency given him on January 10, 1947.

> In 1947 they numbered 1,472 people, owning 53,334 acres of trust-allotted irrigable lands upon which they had first water rights, together with 511,160 acres of tribal grazing lands. . . . Most of the irrigable land is leased to whites, although in 1946 the Indians farmed about 4,000 acres. They owned at that time about 5,000 cattle and 7,000 sheep which were cared for under three livestock associations. [Dale, 1947, p. 250.]

The smallest farms in this area are 40-acre plots, and most farms comprise 80 acres. If only 4,000 acres were being cultivated in 1946, there were between 50 and 100 families actually living on farms. This would take care of 400 people at most. What did the other thousand do? The cattle and sheep mentioned were handled by cooperatives, which means that a few riders were hired to look after the herds, and the marketing, etc., was handled by the agency. The people had very little to do with stock. The communally held lands are used for grazing purposes by the cattle associations, although of recent years the tribe has begun to buy up farm land which has been assigned for irrigation farming purposes to Indians.

The general attitude of the Ute toward this collectivist trend is that it is contrary to every native value they still possess. In the aboriginal state, the Utes were individualists. Even in the days of communal hunting, band allegiance was voluntary. The personal attraction of an individual, and the regard and respect in which he was held by a number of people was the foundation of the band. Individual families traveled and hunted with those congenial to them. Communal ownership of material goods did not exist. Ownership of land was a concept that was very hazy, since bands trespassed onto each other's territory more or less at will. None of their experiences during the White-contact period tended to promote a feeling of communal interest. The Ute today are as individualistic as ever, and only the insecurities they suffer in common seem to be bringing them to common action.

The Indian Administration has encouraged the manufacture of native arts and crafts in an attempt to regenerate old culture values. Among the Ute an Arts and Crafts Guild was set up by a special Government employee from Washington. Articles of beaded buckskin were the sole produce of the Guild. Money for supplies to start the project was loaned by the Tribal Business Committee. Unfortunately there seems to be no outlet for the manufactured articles. The prices charged are very high in comparison to comparable merchandise obtainable in the nearby towns. This is typical of the Indian Office's effort to create a specialized Indian business style without training the people who must run it, in modern merchandising, advertising, bookkeeping, and the other principles of modern business. The project seems to be failing.

Education has been stressed by the Indian Administration, and yet facilities for education have been curtailed on the reservation. This is due principally to budget slashes by Congress, but an eighth-grade education is all that has ever been available for most Ute. One tribal official told me that the young mixbloods who spoke English in the home were sometimes sent to Sherman, in Riverside, Calif., for high school. A few have gone on to college and are leaders today, but there are still a number of children on the reservation who never attend school at all, and grow up speaking only their native tongue.

In 1939, a modern 30-bed hospital complete with surgery and dispensary was built by the U. S. Public Works Administration at Fort Duchesne, the present agency headquarters. The head resident nurse informed me that a resident physician had never been employed, and most cases had to be sent out for care in one of the neighboring towns, with individual families responsible for their own medical bills. She said that tuberculosis took a frightful toll every year, and only a few cases ever received treatment.

To supply the lack in modern medical facilities, the Ute today have been forced to turn to peyote and prayer, or rely on the shaman. Some cures are achieved in the Sun Dance by individuals who dance for that express purpose. Modern shamanism is still a very strong force on the reservation. Most shamans are believed to inherit power from dead relatives who were shamans. Either men or women may possess these powers, and there seems to be no preference for either sex in terms of popularity as doctors.

Informants say shamans may have weather-control powers and divining powers as well as curing powers. All such power to control supernatural forces comes in dreams, or in an unconscious state occurring occasionally in the Sun Dance when a dancer faints from hunger and exertion. Curing is accomplished through songs, manipulation, sleight-of-hand, and sucking. Sickness is believed to be a result of object intrusion, and comes from evil-minded people who practice witchcraft. Shamans themselves are often under suspicion for witchcraft, especially when they have lived a long time.

Shamanism and peyotism would both eventually lose their curing functions if it were possible to obtain adequate modern medical treatment. As long as the old people live and continue to influence the younger people, however, it is probable that it would be very difficult to introduce modern medical practice. There is a question, too, of how much sickness with a psychosomatic origin would continue to respond to native treatment, but possibly good results from native treatment would be common. Anyway, as conditions stand today, both shamanism and peyotism are forces for conservatism, as well as institutions to handle sickness. It is predictable that these elements will be retained with their present functions in this culture for some time.

In no respect may the Ute be said to have benefited from the reorganization. Most of them still live in one-room, dirt-floor cabins in the winter, and tents in the summer. The men wear blue jeans and big cowboy hats, and the women wear cheap calico dresses and shawls. Both men and women spend their free time on the gambling grounds, instead of in the fields, and consequently live on a diet of garden vegetables and wild fish and game in summer, and go hungry in winter. The average family is in debt to the trader at the general store. The future of the children appears to be limited to this sort of life at the present time.

## SUMMARY

The five historic periods discussed under Cultural Background are summarized here, with emphasis on the culture changes which occurred in each period.

The pre-horse period was characterized by a subsistence economy which was based primarily on gathering. Hunting was an individual undertaking rather than a communal one, and large game animals had to be eaten where they were killed since no adequate method of transporting the carcass of a bison or an elk, or a bear, existed at that time. Basketry, the wickiup, the bow and arrow, the net, and the rabbit-fur cloak were material culture elements in the Ute pre-horse culture.

The primary social group was the biological family unit. Larger groupings occurred in the fall when wild seeds could be harvested, and in winter when family groups lived near these caches of food. Spring and summer found the family groups scattered over a wide expanse of territory, since the inhospitable environment could not support large groups with the technological equipment for exploiting the natural surroundings possessed by the Ute at that time.

Ceremonial life was restricted to the Bear Dance, held in the spring just before the temporary winter villages broke up, and certain social dances such as the Round Dance, which were held whenever conditions permitted. Crisis rites were emphasized. For women the onset of menstruation was marked in a ceremonial fashion. There were restrictions on both the mother and the father when a child was born. Burial practices were designed to carry the family through the period of readjustment that the removal of a member would entail.

The principal religious figure in pre-horse culture was the shaman.

Through supernatural powers he controlled, the shaman was able to cure the sick, discover witches, control the weather, and predict the future. The shaman was a specialist in the sense that he filled a special role in the culture, but there probably was not enough demand for his services for him to procure a living thereby.

The post-horse, pre-White-contact period was marked especially by changes in the subsistence economy, and in social organization. The acquisition of the horse allowed new and more efficient methods of hunting to be practiced. Hunting communally, a number of mounted men were able to surround, kill and transport back to a central location small herds of large game animals. Out of communal hunting practices grew bilateral bands, somewhat nebulous in character at first, but eventually crystallizing. They were composed of unrelated families and were not landowning, but they were named, and had a political unity, strengthened by need for protection in warfare.

As the new methods of hunting reduced the game herds, competition for hunting grounds grew. Horses were needed to exploit what hunting there was, and horses came to be regarded as wealth. Eventually the Ute were forced to seek the bison herds in the Plains to the east of the Rockies, where they came into unfriendly contact with Plains tribes. They were raided both for their horses and for trespassing by Arapaho, Cheyenne, Sioux, and Wind River Shoshone, and the Ute learned the Plains war patterns in this fashion.

Leadership qualities in men came to be recognized, both for civil and war activities, and individual leaders became known outside of the small band. Occasionally small bands associated themselves together under the leadership of one of these widely recognized men for purposes of raiding or defense. Hatch mentions the Uintah being organized into four subbands all under allegiance to one man (Hatch, 1862, p. 204).

Religion met a new need during this period. The growing importance of warfare gave an impetus to seeking individual powers for warfare. Guardian spirits gave individuals protection against enemy bullets, as well as luck in hunting, gambling, and love. Supernatural powers came in dreams, and such dreams were often sought by sleeping in places inhabited by the spirits controlling the powers. Shamanism continued to be important in combating sickness, and wounds received in battle were treated by shamanistic individuals.

Period 3, the White-contact period, was foreshadowed by the influx of fur traders in the 1830's. The Indians received rifles about this time and met the incoming Mormon settlers in 1847 on equal terms. The settlers took over the fertile, watered valleys for their farms and consequently reduced the number of food animals and plants upon which the Ute had subsisted. Some of the bands turned to raiding the settlements as a substitute for hunting, and between 1850 and 1870 occasional trouble broke out between the two peoples. By 1870, however, the Ute had become dependent on Government rations for a large part of their subsistence and were kept in check fairly well by the threat of withdrawal of this support, and period 4, the reservation period, began.

By 1880 almost all of the Ute north of the Colorado River were on the present Uintah and Ouray Reservation. They turned to farming in an unenthusiastic way to make up the difference between the amount of Government rations issued and the amount of food needed to stay alive. In this period consolidation of the various bands of Northern Ute into three large bands was accomplished. The present Uintah, White River, and Uncompahgre bands are a result of this consolidation. Leadership degenerated to the point where a leader was a spokesman and nothing more.

In 1897 the first Christian mission was established among the Ute at Whiterocks. This mission remained, and today it is still the only Christian mission among the Ute. The Indians had long been familiar with some of the tenets of Mormonism, but drew a careful distinction between it and Christianity. Only a few mixblood Indians who were born into Mormon families have embraced that doctrine, owing to the long history of mutual dislike in which the Ute and the Mormons have held each other.

Peyotism was introduced about 1916 by a Sioux medicine man. This religion was underground until 1937 when it was legalized and protected, but informants say that 20 years previous to this most of the fullbloods were members of peyote groups.

The reorganization period started in 1937 after the ratification of the Ute Constitution, and the subsequent election of the Tribal Business Committee. Since its inception, the Tribal Business Committee has been controlled by the mixblood faction on the reservation, and has become more and more unpopular with the fullblood majority in the tribe. For the first time in the history of the tribe, the political power was placed in the hands of a group who were activated by a desire to conform to White culture standards.

A marked increase of economic insecurity was induced by policies directed by the Indian Office, and administered by the minority group in power. An attempt to collectivize land holdings has been partially successful, and has led each land owner to fear a forced land sale to settle old debts against his land. It has been increasingly difficult for families to get through the winter, because the food surpluses are harder to come by each year. There is no market for

Indian labor off the reservation, and no effort has been made to create such a market.

Religion has become a rallying point for the Ute during this period. Peyotism functions as a year-round integrating factor for fullbloods, and is the principal mechanism to combat disease on the reservation. The Sun Dance has become a political integrator, and is the dramatic symbol of the native culture around which a revivalistic movement is growing.

## THE SUN DANCE

### INTRODUCTION AND HISTORY OF THE SUN DANCE IN UTE CULTURE

The Sun Dance is generally believed to have been introduced to the Ute about 1890 by the Wind River Shoshone. The following reevaluation of the data is offered as being more complete than existing reconstructions, and better fitting the sequence of historical events which led to its introduction.

In 1868 a small party of Ute surprised a war party of Kiowa and Comanche, and in the ensuing skirmish captured two Sun Dance dolls which the Kiowa were using as war medicine. Mooney gives an account of this meeting, but neither identifies the Ute involved nor gives a consistent account of the ultimate disposal of the dolls. He states, however, that the Kiowa never got them back (Mooney, 1898, pp. 322–325).

At this time the agent for the Uintah Valley Reservation at Whiterocks, Utah, warned the Commission of Indian Affairs that the Ute were preparing for a general war. Large numbers of Indians were gathered in the area (Rhodes, 1867, p. 181). A contemporary newspaper ran an announcement in 1870 by the Government interpreter for the Uintah that various bands of Northern Ute, Northern Shoshone, and Bannock were assembling 50 miles to the west of Bear Lake Valley to hold "traditionary religious rites" (Alter, 1932, p. 391). There is no real evidence that any religious rites had ever been held by any such assemblage previous to this time.

The following hitherto unpublished letter was the source of the newspaper account.

> Heber City, Wasach Co. U. T.
> May ? A. D. 1870
>
> Col. J. E. Tourtellotte, Supt. Ind. Affrs. for Utah
> Salt Lake City
>
> Sir,
>
> I arrived here yesterday evening. This morning I started on my journey—Three miles from this place I came upon Tabby's and Tokona's lodges, consisting of thirty-five indians. I asked them when they intended returning to the Reservation. They informed me that it was impossible for them to go at present on account of the high waters. Tokona introduced me to three strange indians who he said live in the vicinity of Fort Bridger. They

> have come to these indians with word for all the indians to meet as soon as possible in the Bannock Country. An expressman left last night to carry word to all the indians south. They say that word is being carried to all the indians, east, south west and north to not fail to come as they intend to reserect their forefathers and all indians who wish to see them must be there. I have spent the forenoon endeavoring to dissuade them from going but they say the White man has nothing to do with this, it is the command of the Indian God and if they do not go they will sicken and die. Deeming it my duty to inform you of this movement I have returned to this place in order to do so. The place selected for the grand meeting is in the vicinity of Wind River—northwest of Washake's Reservation.
>
> . . . I suppose my expenses here will be about $5.00 having been detained unavoidably as Tabby wished I should write to you. He says they have no evil intentions but religious ceremonies.
>
> Yr. Obdt. Srvt.
>
> M. J. Shelton[1]

It would appear, of a certainty, that the 1870 Ghost Dance was known to the Ute, and perhaps participated in by them, although the Ute have a real fear of the dead, and the idea of resurrecting their ancestors would ordinarily not hold much appeal for them. At least they were amenable to new ideas insofar as group action for a religious purpose was concerned, particularly one hostile to the Whites. Furthermore, the Ghost Dance of 1870 was spreading at that time from the Northern Paiute around Pyramid Lake to the California and Oregon tribes.

At this time in California and Oregon, the native cultures of that region were undergoing a period of stress. Indian life was undergoing progressive disintegration owing to pressures from Whites and the resultant disruption of their aboriginal economic patterns. The influx of miners into California during the Gold Rush of 1849 and of the settlers who followed shortly after was the most important cause of cultural disintegration in that area (Du Bois, 1939, pp. 1–7). Comparable to this was the settling of the Mormons in Utah in 1847. By 1860 the Mormons had expanded from their original settlement through most of the fertile valleys in western Utah. The Ute had been displaced in the same fashion that the California tribes had been, and were suffering from the same sort of economic insecurity, brought about by the rupture of their aboriginal economic patterns.

It is possible that a Sun Dance was held at the 1870 meeting for the effect it would have on the assembled Indians. The Shoshone were familiar with the dance. According to Shimkin (1953) they had held annual Sun Dances since 1800. The Ute had just captured the Kiowa Sun Dance dolls from a Kiowa war party, and may have wanted to utilize their new possession. The Sun Dance itself was a dramatic affair, well fashioned to whip up war hysteria. This is the sheerest speculation, however.

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[1] Manuscript in U. S. National Archives, Washington, D. C.

One example of the Sun Dance being used in this way, is the following: In 1870, the Comanche, a Shoshone-speaking Plains tribe, attended the annual Sun Dance of the Kiowa. With the Kiowa and the Cheyenne, they discussed the possibility of holding an all-out war against the Whites. Richardson said of this meeting, " . . . the ceremony of the Sun Dance had come to have a social and political significance to every tribe in the Southern Plains" (Richardson, 1933, pp. 336–337). Three years later, in 1873, the Comanche decided to hold a tribal medicine dance similar to that which they had witnessed among the Kiowa. The dance was for "war medicine" and was followed by an unsuccessful raid against the Whites in southern Texas (Richardson, 1933, p. 372).

The question is raised, however, why did not the Ute utilize the Round Dance or the Bear Dance which were ceremonies well integrated in the culture around which to rally against white pressures? The Ute associated both the Bear Dance and the Round Dance with a good time. They were primarily social affairs, and attitudes the Ute held toward them did not correspond with the state of mind of the Utes in 1870. As Shimkin pointed out:

> In the crisis of 1890, tribes with well-integrated Sun Dances such as the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Dakota seized upon an alien rite, the Ghost Dance of the much-despised Paiute, as the agency for crystallizing their anxieties. . . . In all cases, there appears to be a correlation between the prior close functional integration of a ceremony and its psychological rejection at a time of overwhelming crisis [Shimkin, 1953, p. 435].

In 1881, Clark camped with some White River and Uintah on the Reservation, however, and at that time, he said, they had no Sun Dance (Clark, 1885, p. 388). Clark was familiar with the Sioux Sun Dance and expected it to be held as an annual ceremony if it were present. He describes the Bear Dance as such a ceremony. The Sun Dance was not held as an annual ceremony, therefore, until 1890, at which time Lowie (1919, p. 405), Spier (1921, p. 495), and Shimkin (1953, p. 472) state that it was introduced; so if the Ute took part in an 1870 Sun Dance, they did not incorporate it into their culture as an annual affair until 20 years later.

Shimkin stated—

> Between 1880 and 1905 the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance went through a period of profound change probably induced by the insecurity of early reservation life . . . (this) new form spread rapidly into the Basin, being adopted by the Bannock and Ute about 1890.

In 1890, another Ghost Dance came out of Northern Paiute country, this time sweeping through the Plains. Mooney stated that the Northern Ute sent delegates to Wovoka soon after the first Ghost Dance in January, 1889, and were present at the second one held soon after (Mooney, 1896, p. 802). There is no evidence that the Ute spectators at Wovoka's second dance in 1889 were able to introduce it to their own people on their return to their own reservation. Perhaps the Ute recalled the failure of the 1870 Ghost Dance they seem to have taken part in or at least witnessed. Furthermore the Ute were no longer ready to join in a general war for the extermination of the Whites. Cultural disintegration had gone too far. A concern for health had become uppermost in the minds of the Ute by 1890. The Sun Dance was introduced to the Ute from the Wind River Shoshone in this new cultural setting. The needs of the culture had changed, and the new ceremony was one which fitted a new need in the culture. Although the Ute participated in the new Sun Dance under the leadership of a shaman, the medical practitioner of the aboriginal culture, such participation was on an individual basis, and was motivated by the hope of a personally obtained cure for a personal malady. From 1890 on, the Sun Dance became an annual ceremony, like the Bear Dance.

An incident occurred in 1895 that put a new value into the dance. My informants told me that during the sham battle which preceded the Sun Dance as a regular part of the ritual, a man belonging to the White River band was accidentally shot and killed by an Uncompahgre. The Uncompahgre rode to the nearby Indian Agency headquarters at Whiterocks and asked for protection. Agency officials there stood guard over him to prevent relatives of the dead man from seeking revenge. Word was sent to the chief agent of the reservation, James Randlett, at Fort Duchesne, to send troops to guard against possible rioting. Randlett himself rode up to the scene of the trouble and conducted the Indian to jail, with a guard of 16 Negro troopers. The Sun Dance was not held that year. At this site, the Sun Dance had been held since its reintroduction by the Wind River Shoshone about 1890.

The next year fearing that agency officials would forbid the holding of the Sun Dance, the Ute moved the dance site to the flats near the Farm Creek Mountains by Snake John Spring (sometimes called John Reid Spring). They held the Sun Dance at this site in 1896, 1897, and 1898. In 1899, they brought the dance back to the area halfway between the present town of Neola, and the old Whiterocks Agency. Here it was that Kroeber saw the two lodges standing, and where the Sun Dance has been held yearly ever since. This site is approximately 5 miles west of the old dance grounds where the accidental death occurred.

During these 3 years the Sun Dance was held in the mountains, it became something of a symbol of defiance of the Whites. The first political importance for the Sun Dance was gained, since it had been held despite the disapproval of the agency officials. Densmore saw a Ute Sun Dance in 1914, and remarked that it was held that year against the orders of the agency (Densmore, 1922, p. 79).

When Steward was present in 1932, he believed the ceremony had become so commercialized that it no longer had any meaning for most of the spectators, although the participants took it seriously, dancing for cures for themselves or members of their families. Many of the people present used the holiday atmosphere as an excuse to become drunk. No seriousness of purpose was evident among the spectators, and it appeared to Steward that the whole ceremony would disappear in a few years (Steward, personal communication). What kept the Sun Dance alive was probably the realization on the part of the Indians that the agency would like to have it disappear. The Ute were dissatisfied enough with their lives, and with White overlordship which the agency represented, that they would have kept it for this if for no other reason.

The series of changes in the culture that occurred after the reorganization of the tribal government in 1937 brought new insecurities into Ute culture. This has been discussed in the section on Cultural Background, but for the sake of emphasis, they are listed here. Economic insecurity which the Ute had learned to live with because they knew nothing else became even more of a problem. The policies of the new Tribal Business Committee in regard to land usage deprived some individuals of their land, and all farmers of their peace of mind. The social insecurity which was evidenced in the treatment the Indians had come to expect from the Whites living in the vicinity and from the agency officials was extended to include mixbloods who were in control of the Government. Political insecurity was a new frustration for the Ute. Always before, their spokesmen could be expected to voice the wishes of the people. The Tribal Business Committee rarely even asked for opinions, however, preferring to follow the policies dictated by the agency. This was the cultural setting in which I found the Ute, and the Sun Dance when I witnessed it in 1948 and 1949.

## THE MODERN SUN DANCE

The present Sun Dance as witnessed in 1948 and 1949 still retains elements that were present when it was introduced. The dance form changes, however, each time it is given in response to instructions received by the participants in dreams. Some elements have become nonfunctional and have died out. Others have been incorporated into the total pattern so that they appear to be old. The following description is based on the present dance, but additions and subtractions from the old form of the dance will be noted where they are known to have occurred.

The dance is initiated during the last day of the Uintah Bear Dance in the spring when the old chiefs of the tribe gather together and decide who is to be the leader of the Sun Dance. Several men who have dreamed that they should lead the dance are interviewed before this time and their dreams are discussed. Sometimes the leadership is shared by two or three such men. A date is set coinciding with the full moon, usually late in July after the ground has been thoroughly dried out. This is an old practice among the Wind River Shoshone, according to Clark (1885, p. 361).

Individual dancers may pledge to dance with one or another of the leaders or may come in on their own, depending on what they have dreamed. Dancers who dance independently usually have been dancing a number of years, and there is a feeling of compulsion among them that continued dancing is necessary in order to keep a cure originally effected by dancing, or to renew shamanistic power that tends to disintegrate and become dangerous with too much use. Renewal is accomplished by contact with the supernatural during the Sun Dance.

It falls upon the leader to coordinate all aspects of the Sun Dance. With his assistants he must organize the work groups, handle the finances, direct the song practice, and supervise the actual construction of the lodge. Before the dance, he must instruct the novices who are pledged to dance under his leadership in the proper actions and attitudes. If one of the dancers becomes sick while dancing or faints from exhaustion, he must either provide for the services of a shaman or, if a shaman himself, take care of the sick man.

It is modern practice to receive money for the feast which follows the dance and to pay the work groups from funds allocated by the Tribal Business Committee for that purpose. The money received from the sale of tickets to White spectators, and from the sale of food and drink concessions is given away to Indian visitors after the dance to defray their expenses. The dancers are not paid, but a small sum of money is set aside to provide watermelon and soda pop for them after they get through dancing so they can replace lost body water. The Sun Dance leader and his assistant with a member of the Tribal Business Committee are in charge of purchases, payments to workers, and other financial matters.

The dance chief is the first to move to the dance grounds. He picks the site of the lodge, which must be within the camp circle, clockwise from the last site. He marks the spot with a small tree and sets his own camp directly west of it with the doorway to the east. His shelter must be either a tipi or a brush house made of poplar branches leaning against a rectangular framework. Another shelter or shade is built near his for the dancers. Here the dancers dress before the dance and here the drums and the buffalo head are kept. If the wind blows cold at night, song practice may be held inside on the nights preceding the dance.

Song practice, which is held for 3 weeks in a desultory fashion near the gambling grounds, becomes very serious after everyone moves to the dance grounds. For 3 or 4 nights preceding the dance, the Ute gather around the drum in front of the dance leader's tent to rehearse. Individuals who have dreamed songs teach them to the other drummers at this time, and old songs are revived. Since the Ute visit other tribes at Sun Dance time, songs that have been introduced on other reservations are also used. At present, many Ute feel that to have a song sung at the Sun Dance that has been dreamed might shorten one's life. The dancers, however, say that they can feel the power in the dreamed songs, and prefer them to the ones that have been deliberately composed.

As other people begin to move into the camp grounds, it is the leader's duty to see that they are placed within the circle where they ought to go. Most families return to the same place year after year, but if there is any doubt about who should occupy a campsite, the dance leader is appealed to for a decision. The Northern Ute camp circle is 300 to 400 yards in diameter, with an opening to the east. In 1948 and 1949 there were approximately 50 camps around the circle, with 2 to 10 people per camp. Visiting Indians camped to the west of the circle.

The morning of the day before the dance, the dance leader borrows a truck from the agency and takes his work group out into the mountains after the lodge poles. When possible, war veterans are picked because it is thought that the undertaking is fraught with danger. The poles are not scouted for or treated as enemies as was the custom elsewhere in the Plains. The center pole, a cottonwood, is chosen, prayed over, and cut down. It should be about 12 inches thick at the base, and be forked 20 feet above the ground. Twelve smaller poles (5 inches through and 10 feet long) are cut with little ceremony, and a number of rafters and perimeter poles of pine, chosen for their straightness, are cut down at the same time. The load is hauled to within one-half mile east of the dance grounds and dumped.

Formerly, the next morning everyone dressed in aboriginal costume and the sham battle was held (Lowie, 1919, p. 407). A brave man shot the center pole with an arrow, which was the signal for an attack by another group posing as Arapaho or Cheyenne warriors. The sham battle continued while the center pole was dragged into the camp circle. Ropes attached to the pole were fastened to the saddles of men on horseback to accomplish this. There was no feeling that bad luck would strike the camp if the pole touched the ground, and no ceremonial rests occurred as they did elsewhere on the Plains. When the skirmishing parties entered the camp circle, the sham battle turned into a parade. Both men and women rode beside the pole, and sang. Since the possessions of a dead man are buried with him or burned, the old costumes no longer exist, and the sham battle has been discontinued. The people can no longer dress the part.

A substitute for the sham battle which has also died out was the cowboy raid. The young men used to come riding into the camp circle from the east at daybreak. They shot their guns into the air, and lassoed dogs and children who were unwary enough to come within their range. Linton reports a similar mock raid in his article on the Comanche Sun Dance (Linton, 1935, p. 424). This was a clown invasion in which individuals smeared themselves with mud and chased people and animals all over the camp circle, hitting them with mud-soaked switches.

No ceremony attends the transporting of the center pole into the camp circle now. The dance leader merely gathers his work crew, helps them load all of the poles on a truck, and the load is then driven to the place previously chosen where the lodge is to be built.

The Northern Ute still believe that digging the hole for the center pole is a dangerous job. I was assigned the job in 1949, and was informed that when possible a non-Ute is always asked to dig this hole. Holes for the 12 side poles, however, may be dug by anyone willing to do this work. They were correctly placed by measuring the distance from the center pole to the side poles in the lodge that had been built the year before, and, using this measurement as a radius, circumscribing a circle around the center hole.

The side poles themselves are then cut to uniform length, and the center pole has the butt end flattened and the bark peeled for about 8 feet. Throughout the process of preparing the poles no special ceremony was observed, and no particular respect was shown to any of the poles. Red clay was then rubbed into the peeled surface of the center pole so that it would be cool to the dancers' touch, and a blue ring was painted around the pole at the top of the peeled portion. A bunch of willows was tied in the crotch with a piece of rope, and three colored flags were tied to the tops of the two forks.

No native symbolism is now attached to either the painted band or the bundle of willows. One informant stated that the willows kept the rafters from wedging the forks of the center pole apart, and thereby splitting it. Hoebel says in his article on the Hekandika Shoshone Sun Dance that the flags are for the dance leaders, one for each leader (Hoebel, 1935, p. 571). Since three men were associated in the Northern Ute dance as leaders in 1949, and two men the year before when two flags were used, perhaps this holds true for the Northern Ute as well. The flags may be a survival from the Plains practice in which dancers were tethered to the center pole by strips of rawhide, although torture elements were never accepted by the Ute. If it is a survival, however, it may have been diffused in this form from the Wind River Shoshone who did have torture elements.

When the center pole has been prepared for raising, the work crew gathers on either side of the pole. Extra workers may be recruited for this undertaking. In 1949, the dance leader had the Tribal Policeman stop the gambling that was being conducted near the concessions stand so that the people would come and help. At this time the pole is on its side so the willows will not be crushed, and has the butt end pointing east. The workers, including the dance leader, remove their hats, bow their heads, close their eyes, and to the rhythm of their clapping hands chant a prayer. At the conclusion of the prayer they make a feint at lifting the pole. On the third attempt the pole is raised. This is an illustration of how the old Plains sacred number four has been replaced by the Christian number three. Guy ropes are tied to the pole to direct its motion, and scissored poles are propped under it from time to time to let the workers rest. Once the pole is upright, it is oriented so that the crotch faces east, the forks north and south.

Time is a premium once the center pole is raised. Some workers put the side poles and rafters up while others gather brush for screening. A certain order is observed in placing the rafters, with the east-pointing rafter first, north second, south third, and the others clockwise, beginning with the one north of the entrance. By the time the side rafters are up, brush is ready to lean against the side of the lodge, and the lodge is soon completed. Except for the center pole, and the east-pointing rafter which has a dozen hawk feathers tied to it, no decoration is made of any part of the lodge at this time.

While the lodge is being built, the dancers are presumably resting and thinking of their coming ordeal. Actually some of the dancers work on the lodge, and the dance leader must always be present to supervise its construction. Before the dance begins all of the dancers must ceremonially wash, and put on the costumes they will wear for the first night of dancing. Some paint their faces and bodies, and others do not, depending on the instructions they have received in their dreams.

Just after sundown, the dancers file out of the shade that was constructed for their use and approach the rear of the lodge. The chorus follows the dancers, carrying the large two-headed drum. The dancers circle the lodge in a clockwise direction, blowing on the eagle-bone whistles that are suspended by a thong from their necks. They pass the entrance twice and enter the third time, thereby signifying their intention of staying in the lodge 3 days and 3 nights. The chorus follows and the crowd of spectators flow in.

Not all the dancers enter the lodge at this time. Those who have pledged to follow one or another of the leaders come in at this time. The dancers who have vowed to dance by themselves may come in any time up to midnight on the first night.

The dancers kneel before the center pole, facing east and chant a prayer terminated by the blowing of the eagle-bone whistles. As the dancers continue to kneel, the leader rises and walks to the center pole, where he prays for a moment in an almost inaudible voice. When he leaves the pole the dancers rise and take their positions near the back of the lodge. The leader stands directly under the east-pointing rafter, but other dancers are free to stand where they wish. All dancers maintain the same relative positions to the other dancers throughout the dance.

The fire is then lit by an old shaman who has the job of keeping it going throughout the night. Its real purpose is to keep the drum dry. Hoebel reports from the Hekandika Shoshone that any old man may perform the duty of fire tending (Hoebel, 1935, p. 574), but this position is an important one among the Northern Ute, and has been filled for many years by the same man. This man was, according to Steward, chosen in 1931 to lead the Uintah Bear Dance, and has continued in that office until the present (Steward, 1932, p. 264).

After the fire is lit, the chorus begins a song to the accompaniment of the drum. During the third song, the leader takes a short run toward the center pole and then hops slowly back, tooting his eagle-bone whistle. With the fourth song other dancers venture forth and dance up and back several times during each song until the crowd thins out. Then, one by one, the dancers go to sleep for the night, but the chorus continues to sing and drum until daybreak.

The next morning shortly before sunup, the dancers rise and warm themselves at the fire. Accompanied by guards, they drift out in twos and threes to an area not far from the lodge which they have for a latrine. A fire is kept burning there for their use by the same man who tends the fire in the lodge. I was interested to notice that these trips out were no less frequent toward the end of the dance than at the beginning in spite of the rigid restrictions on food and water.

A few minutes before the sun actually rises, the dancers shed their blankets and line up to the left and right of the center pole facing east. The chorus begins a sunrise song with more spirit than it has shown for hours. As the first rays hit the dancers, they lift their arms, and point them toward the sun, while blowing on their eagle-bone whistles. After a minute or two of this, they begin patting their bodies, washing in the sun's rays, and the spectators join in.

The dancers break formation when the song ends and, robed in their blankets, take seats around the fire. Each man holds a handful of earth from the foot of the center pole. A shaman sings a solo prayer and terminates it by blowing on his eagle-bone whistle. Then four songs are sung by all the dancers in unison, each ended in the same fashion. After the last song, the dancers pat their bodies with the earth from the foot of the center pole. The shaman then stands, goes to the pole, faces east with his back to the pole and prays in a low voice. When he finishes, the dancers go back to bed, and the chorus goes out for breakfast. In 1949, the shaman who led the prayers was not the dance leader, but a friend of his who had offered to dance with him.

In the period between the morning prayer and the start of the day's intermission, the buffalo head is hung from the center pole facing the dancers, and stalls are built so the dancers can have some privacy. The buffalo head used today is one stuffed by a taxidermist and is mounted on a board. It is the possession of the old shaman who tends the fire. Railings are set up to separate the dancers from the spectators and the chorus, and a strip of canvas is stretched around the back of the dancers' side of the lodge to protect them from the wind.

The dance follows this pattern until the third day when the dance leader announces he has dreamed it should end at such and such a time. The only important additions to the lodge are the Sun Dance doll, which is added in the intermission period on the second day, and, during the intermission on the third day, paths are dug in the ground for the dancers to dance in.

The dancers are expected to change costumes and paint during the intermission and generally ready themselves for the day's dance. Today, the costume consists of a Spanish shawl wrapped around the waist and held up by a beaded belt. A beaded pendant may be worn suspended from the neck, and white eagle plumes are attached to both little fingers. One dancer in 1949 wore a wig with two long, black braids. Old men are privileged to wear socks on their feet if they so desire, but everyone else must be barefoot.

The dance leader may ask the audience to cooperate in fulfilling a dream he has had that adds a new element to the dance. One I observed was reminiscent of an old Ghost Dance practice. The leader asked the women who were seated around the male chorus at the drum and who sang and shook branches to the drumbeat to shake out their shawls before leaving the dance lodge. Some women refused to comply with his request, but they were in the minority.

It has been mentioned that there are rigid restrictions on eating and drinking for the dancers. These are enforced by a group of special deputies appointed to guard the dancers. Spectators are forbidden to eat or drink in sight of the dancers in order to keep temptation from their minds. The dancers may smoke, however, and a calumet pipe was passed from dancer to dancer whenever the owner felt like lighting it up. The dancers are permitted to smoke manufactured cigarettes if they desire, and one dancer informed me that a definite preference is shown toward mentholated cigarettes.

During the third day's dancing the audience is very attentive. The dancers are expected to faint during the third day if they are going to, and this is good luck for everyone in the lodge. If this happens, the unconscious man is carried to his cubicle and left alone to recover consciousness when his visionary experience is over. It is traditional for such people to have dreams in which they drink large quantities of cool water. To the eye they appear refreshed when they begin to dance again.

A description was obtained of such a vision from one man. He said the buffalo head grew larger and larger and looked as though it were about to charge. Its eyes were fiery. Just before the animal charged, the man passed out. While unconscious he dreamed of walking to a stream east of the lodge, and of playing in the water. He said when he awoke he was no longer thirsty.

Curing of dancers and spectators is carried on by shamans during the last day. These shamans may be either dancers or old men among the spectators. Each will have with him a bundle of grass or an eagle-feather fan. If the sick person is not a dancer, he or she must remove his shoes before stepping into the sacred area of the lodge. The shaman prays silently over the person, bothing facing east, while the dancers dance with renewed vigor. Then the shaman brushes the patient's body from head to toe on all four sides and shakes the fan into the air to disperse the evil. This is repeated several times. If the shaman is a dancer he will blow on his eagle-bone whistle while performing the cure. The treatment is terminated by the shaman's sprinkling earth from the foot of the center pole over the sick person.

The dance ends suddenly and anticlimactically. At an appointed time the dancers just stop dancing and the chorus members leave their seats around the drum. The spectators wander outside the lodge and gather for the give-away which follows the dance. All Indian visitors sit in a line outside the lodge facing west, and several of the old Ute chiefs welcome them by shaking hands and saying a word to each. The presents, contributed by the dancers' families, are piled on a blanket in front of the Sun Dance pole and distributed to the guests. All the money from the sale of tickets to Whites is also given to the visitors at this time.

Meanwhile, the dancers change into their ordinary clothes, feast on watermelon, and when they have had enough they go to their camps. Aftereffects wear off with a good meal and a full night's sleep except for their feet, which remain tender for some time.

Special circumstances occurred during the Sun Dance of 1949, which should be reported. During the dance a violent wind arose, shaking the dance lodge. The branches laid against the lodge frame as a windbreak were blown off, and the whole lodge was pushed awry by the force of the wind. The center pole leaned to one side and pulled the side poles so that they threatened to come loose from the rafters they supported. The spectators ran to their camps for shelter from the wind and rain, only to find their own shades in the process of collapse. A halt was called to the dance while repairs were effected. An old dance lodge was torn up for braces and the sacred area west of the center pole was entered without protest from the dancers by spectators who sought to brace the side poles. A truck was backed into the lodge to push the center pole erect, during which time, the buffalo head was removed and set on the ground. After the lodge was rebuilt, the dance continued. Some of the spectators thought the lodge should be completely torn down and rebuilt. They maintained that the interruption was a sign that something had been done wrong, perhaps a dancer had broken his fast. The decision rested with the dance leader who said the dance should be finished, but there was much dissatisfaction among the old people.

The day after the dance a feast was held for all of the Ute and any of the Indian guests who cared to come. I was informed that the Ute had never used buffalo tongues for this feast although they knew the custom once existed among the Wind River Shoshone. They pointed out that the buffalo had disappeared from the Uintah Basin before the Sun Dance came in. Boiled beef is the main food item at the feast, but most families add their own bread and coffee to round out the meal. When the feast is over the camp breaks up and everyone goes home.

There is a rationalization of the Sun Dance into Christian symbolism. The individual Northern Ute may or may not believe in a Christian God, depending on his age, his degree of Indian blood, his economic position, and his experience. Most of them, however, agree that the Sun Dance is held in honor of the Christian God and know the Christian symbolism. The lodge itself is referred to as the House of God or the Indian Church. The center pole becomes the crucifix and the bundle of willows the body of Christ. The twelve side poles represent the Twelve Disciples and the sun is equated with the Christian God. The dancers walk around the lodge before entering, as "Christ walked around Jerusalem," and the three-night dance represents the "three nights that Christ was on the cross." The morning prayer becomes a prayer to the Christian God, and the hawk feathers on the east-pointing rafter become a guardian angel that looks after the dancers.

The social function of the Sun Dance has grown so that it has become more important than the Bear Dance as a social gathering. Visitors from neighboring reservations and the Ute themselves gather together to talk, watch the dance, gamble, and make friends. The practice of capturing a girl at night by drawing her into the folds of a blanket is a favorite with the young men. Flirtations have a chance to grow into serious attachments since about 10 days is given over to the Sun Dance. During the day, circumspect behavior is the rule, but at night, young people wander around in twos and threes seeking contacts.

### NATIVISTIC ELEMENTS IN THE SUN DANCE

In 1946, on the Wind River Reservation at Fort Washakie, Wyo., a Sun Dance was held in honor of the returning soldiers. My informants told me that in 1947 the idea of a Victory Dance caught on at Fort Hall, Idaho, and at Whiterocks. During 1947, 1948, and 1949, two Sun Dances were held each summer on all three reservations. The only difference in form from the regular Sun Dance is that an American flag is raised each morning and lowered each evening during the Victory Dance, while no ceremony of this sort occurs in the regular Sun Dance.

Participants in the Victory Dance must be fullbloods. The dancers are mostly young men, and some are war veterans. The attitudes present in the spectators is about the same, however, except everyone realizes that this is a reaction among the young fullbloods against the existing state of affairs. A feeling exists among the spectators that the Sun Dance is the perfect time for political action. Petitions are passed around among the fullbloods requesting that mixbloods be cut from the census roles, that the agent resign, that the Tribal Business Committee be recalled, that the Constitution and Charter of the Northern Ute be revoked.

Because I was a complete outsider, and might have outside influence, and because I was believed sympathetic, I was allowed to be present at some of the meetings that were held during the Sun Dance in 1949. Fullblood members of other tribes, Navajo, Southern Ute, Wind River Shoshone, and Bannock were present. I was told that similar meetings were held when visitors came to Fort Hall, or Fort Washakie, to attend the Sun Dances there.

Linton observed, "We may define a nativistic movement as any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of culture" (Linton, 1943, p. 230).

In terms of this definition, the Ute wish to revive the old political organization with their old chiefs as spokesmen for the people. They wish the Government to return to the practice of issuing rations so greater economic security may be obtained. They wish to remain individualists, and to participate or not as they see proper in cooperative schemes for land usage. They wish to control the spending of their own money in a manner satisfying to their personal desires rather than leaving it under agency control as it is now. They wish to disinherit the mixbloods who identify themselves with White culture and White attitudes, and who consider the fullbloods as an inferior group. Most of all, they want an end put to the dictatorial powers or the agent who interferes too much and too often in their lives.

These are the problems which the fullbloods talk about. They discuss ways and means of acting on these problems, and a growing feeling of unity is coming out of these discussions. In the peyote meetings during the rest of the year, these same matters are talked over in smaller, more intimate groups. The only instance to date where results have come from direct action by these discussant groups is the recall of one of the Tribal Business Committeemen for incompetency. This committeeman was elected to office on the strength of his success as a Sun Dance leader. He is a mixblood, and the fullbloods say of him that he used the Sun Dance to gain popularity so that he might be elected to fill a political office.

The actual Sun Dance ceremony is still taken very seriously by those who identify themselves with Indian culture. Individuals seek individual cures, and believe that they may achieve them by dancing and by faithfully observing the rules. In providing an answer to sickness, the most acute manifestation of insecurity, the Sun Dance is held in a reverent attitude by all of the people. As a symbol of the native culture, and as the rallying point for resistance to the overbearing White culture, the Sun Dance has an emotional value that is very strong in Northern Ute life.

It is interesting to see that the Sun Dance is spreading. Voget (1950, pp. 53-63) said the Crow recently adopted the Wind River Shoshone version of the Sun Dance after having lost their own version when the war complex died out in Crow culture. I was informed by an old Ute chief that requests were forwarded by mail for a dance leader to be sent to the Fish Lake Valley Paiute to direct a dance in 1950. Not all such efforts to transplant the dance have been successful, however. Steward mentions that the Sun Dance was introduced to the Shoshone at Elko, Nev., in 1935, but the people there did not accept it; it was too hard (Steward, 1941, p. 266). One wonders what conditions at Elko are like now, and whether the dance would be acceptable under the present conditions or not. This phenomenon of growth will determine whether the Sun Dance will be the vehicle to carry the nativistic movement arising on the Ute, Fort Hall Shoshone, and Wind River Shoshone Reservations throughout the Great Basin, or if something less dramatic, like peyotism, will be adopted for this function.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the pre-White contact period, the social organization of the Northern Ute was changing. The introduction of the horse allowed larger groups to live together, in cooperation for the food quest. The horse gave the Utes an opportunity to range more widely than was possible for individuals, or family groups, and permitted a surplus of food to be available at all times in the horses themselves. Horses were eaten when other food was unobtainable. Rifles made for more efficient hunting, and led to competition for choice hunting grounds as the game became scarce. Families were attracted to leaders with reputations as successful hunters, and war leaders and horse bands began to crystallize. At this time religion was oriented toward curing. The Bear Dance and Round Dance were both social and curing ceremonies. Participation was individual, although these ceremonies might be said to be embryonic collective performances.

The Mormon settlers arrived on the scene at this time and inaugurated the White contact and the reservation period. The Ute had had contact with White traders and fur trappers for over 10 years before this but without the pressures a large farming population brings. The settlers took the fertile river valleys for their farms where the Ute had once hunted deer and antelope. The Ute were pushed into refuge areas to the south and east and eventually were forced to beg or steal food from the settlers to supplement their diminished diet. Both Walker and Black Hawk led their bands in raiding the White settlements and immigrant wagon trains, and for a short time substituted these raiding activities for hunting. Eventually, however, all the Ute were pushed onto reservations where they were dependent on rations from the Government to survive.

The Ute were restless under the restrictions of reservation life, and from time to time threatened to resort to war to push the settlers from their old hunting grounds. This was especially marked in the 1870's when communication routes were very crude, and the Government rations did not always arrive when scheduled.

The general war did not materialize, however, and the Sun Dance was introduced. With settled habitation, came epidemics of smallpox and venereal disease that were beyond the power of the shaman to cure with the simple remedies he controlled. The Sun Dance was a new and dramatic ceremony that demanded more of the participants than had the Bear Dance or Round Dance. Although under the control of a shamanistic leader, participation in the ceremony was still on an individual level, and was the effort of an individual to obtain a personal cure for some malady. By 1890, the Sun Dance was an annual affair held as a curing ceremonial enabling dancers to obtain supernatural power to cure by being cured in this fashion themselves. Christian elements were incorporated into the dance either through the proselytizing of the Wind River Shoshone around 1890, or later through the peyote church about 1906.

An apathy stole over the Ute from 1900 on. Dr. Steward reported that the Sun Dance had become a commercialized tourist attraction by 1932, but still retained its curing function. The nativistic feature which marks the Sun Dance today was not in evidence at that time. With the reorganization of the tribal government, under the provisions of the Wheeler-Howard Act, however, a change took place. A historically oriented sketch of Government policy is imperative to the understanding of the effect that the 1937 reorganization had upon the Ute.

Government policy toward the Ute has never been consistent. Up until 1868, the Government had no positive policy except that of trying to keep the Indians from raiding the White settlers. From 1868 to 1887, the Ute agents, one by one, tried to turn the Indians into communal farmers. This effort met with a notable lack of success. In 1887, the General Allotment Act was passed, which broke up the reservations and gave a portion of land to each adult Indian, to be worked individually. By 1905 the Indians were all settled on their allotments, and the unallotted land on the reservation was thrown open to White entry. In protest against this act, 600 Indians left the reservation and traveled east. They were rounded up in Wyoming and settled in South Dakota on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation until they had eaten all their cattle and asked to be taken home.

Until 1937 this policy of forcing the Indians to live on their allotments was continued. At that time, however, a new philosophy of collectivism was introduced with the adoption of the charter and constitution written for the Ute by the Indian Office. The Ute were still too individualistic to handle such a system of government, however, and the political control of the tribe fell into the hands of the educated minority who proceeded to take personal advantage of their position. In turn for well-paying jobs provided them by the newly adopted constitution, this minority attempted to carry out the orders of the agent in rebuilding the economic system of the tribe. Longstanding debts against individual allotments for clearing and improving the land were settled by foreclosure, and the individual's lot became hard indeed.

This is surely an indictment against Government policy toward the Indians. The high ideals of the Indian Office were not realized in the application of them, and the emphasis on native values was unrealistically placed. Individualism is perhaps the value most emphasized in Ute culture, but this was ignored in favor of an overall collectivism which Collier believed was basic to Indian culture everywhere.

For the individual Ute today, the Sun Dance offers the only real means of obtaining recognition from the group. Exhibitionism is a prominent feature of the dance, and the individual who channels his exhibitionist tendencies into culturally acceptable ways is rewarded by the culture. The individual who has visionary experiences and becomes a shaman as a result of Sun Dancing acquires prestige. This prestige may be formally recognized by appointment to political committees as an important man, or election to political office as a representative of the people. Most often, however, rewards are to be found in increased prestige only, without the formal recognition.

The Sun Dance has become the binding factor for all of the Northern Ute who have remained culturally Indian. Those who have become oriented toward White values do not partake. It is the symbol of the native culture which has practically disappeared and all of the frustrations inherent in an acculturation situation are expressed through it. At the same time it has integrated this nativistic preoccupation with the value system in White culture. Christian symbolism has been attributed to various elements of the dance form, and the ceremony itself is held in honor of a Christian God.

The nativistic rejuvenation that exists at this time is pointed out by champions of Indian Agency policy as indicative of the successful guiding of Indian acculturation. That a feeling of unity among Indians exists, and is a growing phenomenon, cannot be denied, and that the Wheeler-Howard Act as administered by the Indian Service is the cause seems incontrovertible. However, on close analysis it appears that this is a reaction against this policy rather than a positive result of it. The fullbloods feel that they have been betrayed to the Whites by their usually better educated mixblood tribe members, who have become their official spokesmen under this program.

I have stated elsewhere in this paper that revivalistic nativism has grown out of the social, economic, and political insecurities that beset the Ute. The lack of quantitative data in substantiation of this statement is unfortunate, but unavoidable. Quantitative data is not available, because it has not been compiled. In place of it I have been forced to rely on the statements of informants as to the nature of interracial contacts, of agency policies, and of economic conditions. If these statements may be considered as typical, then no doubt can be held as to the presence of insecurity. The insecurity must be measured, furthermore, in terms of individual behavior, rather than empirically by psychological tests. This makes evaluation for comparative purposes with similar studies difficult. Until psychological tests are given and more complete statistics are made available on economic conditions, we must rely upon the testimony of informants and observers.

I have tried to show in this paper that the Sun Dance was adopted to fit a cultural need, and that it changed its role in the culture as the culture's needs changed. Cause here may be figured in terms of a changing subsistence economy which resulted in economic insecurity. The horse, the rifle, and the White settlers all contributed to making the natural food supply scarce, and forcing the Indians eventually to depend on the generosity of the Government for support. This led to social insecurity, as evidenced by the racial prejudices which have grown up owing to this inferiority of their society in terms of competition. The political insecurity which has grown out of the application of the Wheeler-Howard Act has increased other insecurities.

It may be said that revivalistic-nativistic movements are attempts to recapture a culture through a supernatural medium after realistic, direct methods of retaining that culture have failed. Insecurities for the Ute existing in their aboriginal state due to the inhospitable environment were combated by supernatural means. It is suggestive, however, that where nativistic movements arise will be found economic and social and political insecurity among the participant people. Such situations occur only when two patterns of culture are in conflict. One sign of stress is the turning of aggressive feelings inward upon members of the culture when the dominant culture is strong enough to frustrate aggressive acts toward itself. A rising incidence of witchcraft among the Navaho (Kluckhohn, 1944) and Zuni (Adair, personal communication) is an example.

Outside of actual rebellion, the only aggression possible for members of a submissive culture to show is a sullen, negativistic, noncooperation with administrative officials of the dominant culture. The Ute are in this stage, and, except for their paltry number, would be considered dangerous to the dominant society if their attitude were more widely shared. Among African Negroes, this stage is common and is giving much concern to the colonizing powers.

It is obvious that if nativistic movements are a reaction against a dominant culture by a suppressed one that the question of ultimate values must be weighed carefully. The technical superiorities in agriculture and medicine, for example, of Western European society may well be refused acceptance by peoples who hate the exploitation which must be accepted with them. This is obviously unfortunate. However, where nativistic movements arise, be they in the guise of cultural revivalism, messianic movements, or incipient nationalism, these problems also arise, and must be solved for the good of all concerned. The general question of nativistic movements is beyond the scope of this paper, but further research in this field should be immensely rewarding.

In conclusion, the Sun Dance of the Northern Ute should be historically oriented to the Sun Dance of the Plains. Shimkin has made the latest historical reconstruction of the Plains Sun Dance.

Shimkin postulates:

> . . . great elaboration of the original ritual appears to have developed in at least three centers: the Arapaho-Cheyenne, the Blackfoot and the Dakota. The first center, possibly affected by eastern and southern influences, may have contributed the concept of a vow as a basis of the Sun Dance, a complex mythology and symbolism; fraternity control of the ceremony, with adoption and wife exchange; as well as other details such as the sunrise ceremony. In the second center might have grown a great enrichment of ties with the buffalo—especially the tongue ritual; elaboration of outlets for war prestige and wealth through ostentatious property disposal; and lesser items such as plumes suspended from the dancers' little fingers. Spier has demonstrated the likelihood of a Dakota origin for the torture elements. [Shimkin, 1953, p. 407.]

This leaves unsettled what the functional role of the Sun Dance was in these Plains tribes. It is not within the scope of this paper to discover the role for each tribe in which it was a cultural institution; to do so would necessitate a number of studies paralleling the one just completed for the Ute. However, we may point to Spier's words in his Sun Dance monograph for a clue. Spier says in sketching a generalized Plains Sun Dance, "The performance of the ceremony coincides very nearly with the summer buffalo hunt, on which occasion the entire tribe come together from their separate winter quarters and camps in a great circle" (Spier, 1921, p. 461). Here the primary function appears to be the reinforcement of the ties which held the group together. After spending the winter in small bands, it is conceivable that the larger group, or the tribe, needed an institution designed to induce a feeling of unity in its members. The attitudes necessary for group cooperation would have to be fostered. The Plains Sun Dance is a tribal ceremony, with functionaries drawn from the public at large. Among some tribes, as the Cheyenne, Oglala, and Kiowa, the attendance of every able-bodied adult in the tribe was compulsory (Spier, 1921, p. 459). Quarreling was forbidden, and the military societies strictly enforced the peaceful conduct of all members of the group to insure the proper atmosphere for the dance.

The feeling is present among the Northern Ute that everyone who attends the Sun Dance will benefit from being present, and the dance is a definite force for integration since it is held for the public good. The conditions operative today in Ute culture cannot be compared with conditions operative among the Plains Indians at the height of their cultural florescence, however, and the roles played by the Sun Dance among the Northern Ute are understandably different from those of one hundred years ago among the Plains Indians.

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