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Native American Consultations
and
Ethnographic Assessment

The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley, California



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Cover Photograph: James Hill, Jr. (Paiute, 1921-1994) and his nephew Ed Williams (Paiute, born 1943), Fish Springs, near Big Pine, California, July 26, 1994. Photograph by the author. Used with permission of Jeanette Negrete, niece of Jim Hill and sister of Ed Williams.



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**Native American Consultations
and
Ethnographic Assessment**

The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley, California

November 1995

Lawrence F. Van Horn, Ph.D.
Cultural Anthropologist
Resource Planning Group

MANZANAR
NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE • CALIFORNIA

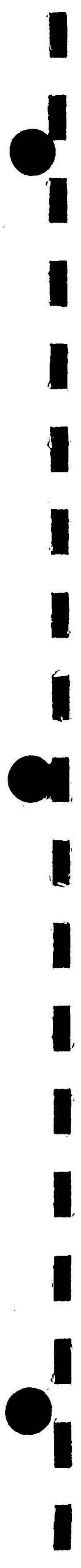


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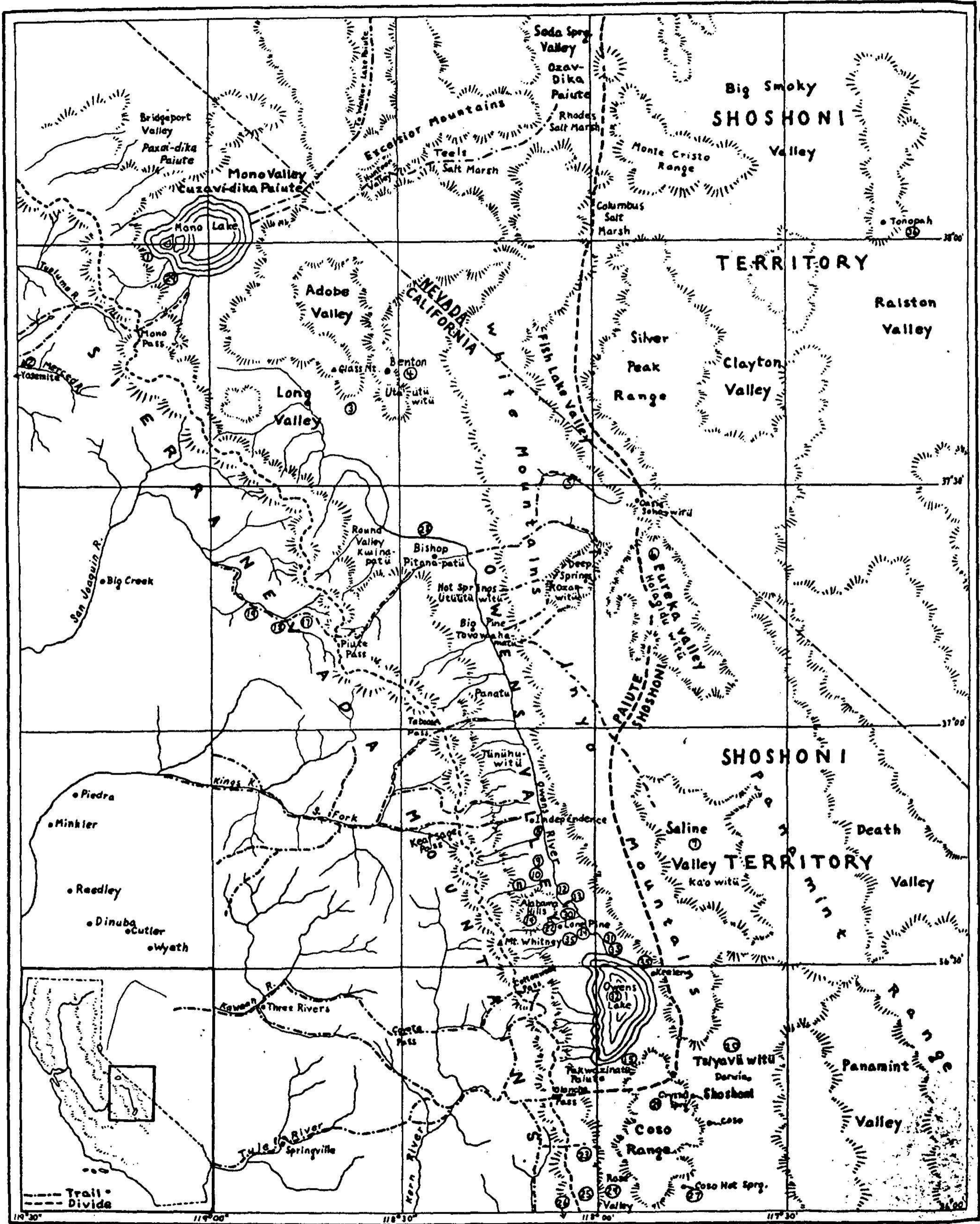


James Hill, Jr. (Paiute, 1921-1994)

PREFACE

The first part reports on the consultations with the American Indian peoples of the Owens Valley conducted during June and July of 1994 in relation to their concerns with planning for Manzanar National Historic Site, California.

The second part constitutes an ethnographic assessment involving the Owens Valley Paiutes and Shoshones. It discusses possible ethnographic resources within the park and other historical and contemporary Indian links to the Manzanar site during the three periods Manzanar commemorates — aboriginal times before European contact, the fruit-orchard town of Manzanar, circa 1905 to 1935, and the Manzanar War Relocation Center, 1942 to 1945.



Traditional Paiute Settlements in the Owens Valley, California (Julian Steward 1933:324-325)

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November 1, 1995

Lawrence F Van Horn
United States Department of Interior
National Park Service
12795 W. Alameda Parkway
Denver, CO 80225

RE: Steward, Julian H./Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute, UC
Publication in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Volume 33,
Number 3 (c) 1933 Regents of the University of California Press

Dear Lawrence Van Horn:

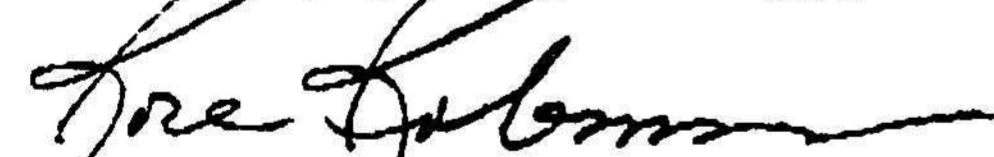
Thank you for your faxed letter requesting permission to use a map
from the above mentioned UC Publication, showing traditional Paiute
Indian settlements in Owens Valley, California.

Originally published under the provisions of the Copyright Act of
1909, this publication has passed into the public domain. As you
probably know, materials in the public domain may be used without
anyone's permission.

The National Park Service report sounds very interesting and I am
sure the map will be great addition to all the other information
made available to park visitors.

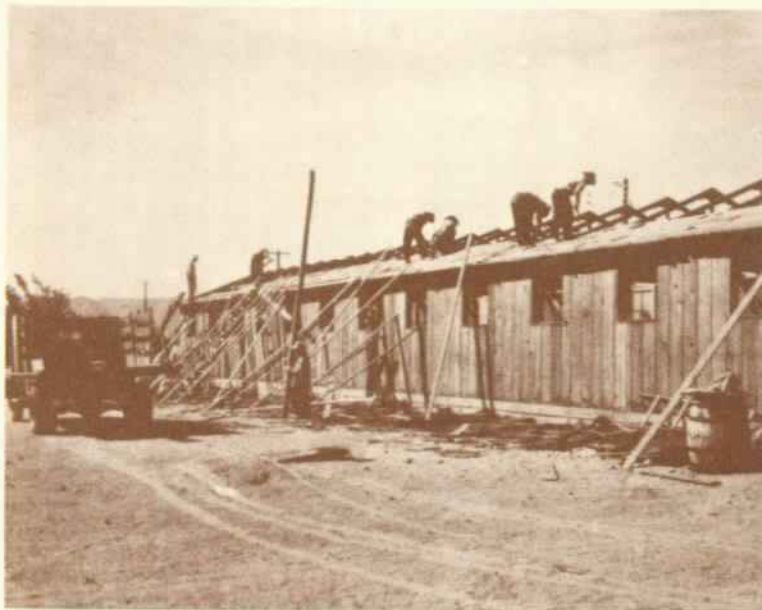
Keep up the good work!

Sincerely yours, a Happy Camper!



Rose Robinson
Permissions Supervisor

RER:msw



"Manzanar became the home of some 10,000 Japanese-American men, women and children who were relocated as the result of Executive Order 9066. During this particular phase of occupation, 1942-1945, some of the Owens Valley Paiute [and Shoshone] men helped to erect and eventually tear down [or remove] the structures of the relocation camp" (Richard Stewart 1995a)



Manzanar War Relocation Center
Toyo Miyatake Photograph Collection
Toyo Miyatake Studio, San Gabriel, California
Courtesy of Archie Miyatake

NATIVE AMERICAN CONSULTATIONS

June 16 through June 25, 1994
and
July 18 through July 31, 1994



Manzanar War Relocation Center
Toyo Miyatake Photograph Collection
Toyo Miyatake Studio, San Gabriel, California
Courtesy of Archie Miyatake



NATIVE AMERICAN CONSULTATIONS

PURPOSE OF NATIVE AMERICAN CONSULTATIONS

The purpose of this Native American consultations report is to provide information to the National Park Service planning team for the ongoing Manzanar general management plan — information about American Indian groups who may have traditional and/or contemporary interests in the lands now occupied by Manzanar National Historic Site or who may have planning suggestions for its future uses. Consultations with American Indians or other Native Americans, such as Alaskan Natives or Native Hawaiians, as may be appropriate to a project, are required for compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and other laws and policies, such as Executive Order 12898 of February 11, 1994.

Consultations with American Indians in the Owens Valley of California — Paiutes and Shoshones — were requested by the former Western Regional Office of the National Park Service, San Francisco, now the Pacific-Great Basin Systems Support Office within the Pacific West Field Area. This work is part of the ongoing Manzanar National Historic Site general management plan and environmental impact statement (GMP/EIS).

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the time of initial European contact, just 50 years after Columbus's first voyage across the Atlantic, the land that now constitutes the state of California had a population of some 300,000 (Lewis et al. 1994:22).

Today, the 1990 United States Census indicates 242,164 American Indians and other Native Americans living in California. This number constitutes more than any other state except Oklahoma, whose Native American population is 252,420. About two-thirds of California's Native American population are descendants from indigenous peoples of what is now California; the other one-third comes from different parts of the United States. The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley are from the Great Basin cultural area, now portions of California and Nevada; otherwise very few Owens Valley Indians are from elsewhere in the United States. Since contact with Europeans, Spanish, Mexican, and American influences and intermarriages have resulted in dramatic cultural change for the Paiutes and Shoshones. Nevertheless, much remains in the form of continuing values, rituals, and beliefs maintained through certain subsistence and religious activities and linguistic traditions. As noted, cultural and historical details of these indigenous peoples of the Owens Valley are presented in Part Two, the ethnographic assessment related to Manzanar National Historic Site.

California before European contact was inhabited by many indigenous peoples whose languages and other cultural traits were diverse and well adapted to the varied landscapes, which range from sea coasts to deserts to mountains. The latter two regional environments relate to the Owens Valley, with a once verdant riverine habitat. The Owens River Valley is noticeably less green today, according to the memory of some informants. This resulted from the steady buying up of land for water rights by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (DWP) and the subsequent diversion of water to the city, a trend that began early in the twentieth century.

Approximately a century and a third ago, Indians in the Owens Valley were captured by the United States Army and subjected to a forced march south to Fort Tejon. This action was preceded by several

years of armed conflict as the Owens Valley Indians saw their way of life being threatened by settlements, grazing, and mining. About one third of the valley's Indian population was caught in the removal. Many escaped, nonetheless, and even more returned later, requiring a military presence in the valley as perceived by settlers, which began on July 4, 1862, as Camp Independence, and known later from 1865 to 1877 as Fort Independence (Cragen 1975; Michael 1993b). These native people after 1863 (Richard Stewart 1995a) returned to their permanent villages, established along creeks flowing down from the mountains, and seasonal treks were made into the mountains for fall pine-nut gathering and hunting. Georges, Bairs, Shepherds, and Symmes creeks apparently were such aboriginal population centers in the Manzanar area .

A few of the American Indian people interviewed indicated they were born at Georges Creek, at Symmes Creek, or at Manzanar itself. Manzanar, circa 1905-1935, flourished as a prosperous commercial fruit-growing town with an abundance of apples, pears, and peaches until the land was gradually acquired by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power in the 1920s and 1930s. Indians at Manzanar, and elsewhere in the valley, worked for Euro-American ranchers, farmers, and fruit growers, especially John Shepherd whose ranch incorporated much of what is now Manzanar National Historic Site. Some Indians took the settlers' names for their own surnames.

The reservation system as known today in the Owens Valley stems from two executive orders of 1915 and 1916 establishing the Fort Independence Indian Reservation and from an act of Congress of April 20, 1937, (50 United States Statutes at Large 70) exchanging land between the federal government and the Los Angeles city government for the current Indian reservations at Lone Pine, Big Pine, and Bishop (Walter 1986). It is generally perceived that these three reservations as part of the agreement did not retain any earlier water rights; Fort Independence did retain its water rights. However,

it may not be correct to state that [the] Bishop, Big Pine, and Lone Pine [reservations] did not retain water rights following the land exchange agreement; the government agencies overseeing the exchange probably exceeded their authority in this exchange. The issue will surely be played out in the future, either in court or in negotiation with the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (Michael 1995).

Executive Order 2264 of October 28, 1915, signed by President Woodrow Wilson, established the Fort Independence Indian Reservation, and Executive Order 2375 of April 29, 1916, again signed by President Woodrow Wilson, enlarged it. Reservation population figures are given below in the section on methodology.

METHODOLOGY AND WORKING ASSUMPTIONS

Discussion in this report at times is in the more informal and familiar first person because of the personal contact involved in one-on-one interviews and small-group meetings — the basic methodology. In introducing myself, I explained my National Park Service affiliation as a cultural anthropologist in planning at the Denver Service Center. I expressed the desire of the National Park Service to establish and maintain ongoing relations with American Indian groups in the Owens Valley in conjunction with the new unit of the national park system at Manzanar. I explained the mandate of Manzanar National Historic Site to interpret the entire range of human diversity over time in the Manzanar area (National Park Service 1993). I asked about any possible traditional or historical interests in the site, about cultural details that might be shared with the National Park Service for management and interpretation, and about suggestions for the future interpretation of the park to visitors.

The July 1994 task directive established the formal methodology of ethnographic interviewing for this project, guided by seven working assumptions for gathering data (Van Horn 1994):

- (1) The Manzanar locality in what is now the central part of Owens Valley, Inyo County, California, was used traditionally by specific Paiute-Shoshone groups whose descendants reside today in all four reservation tribal communities in the Owens Valley. From south to north, they are Lone Pine, Fort Independence, Big Pine, and Bishop. These communities will constitute the primary focus of the study as sources of informants.
- (2) The Timbisha-Shoshone group in Death Valley may not have been as directly involved in the Manzanar locality but should be consulted to find out about any information or issues the group may have concerning Manzanar. This group will be approached for formal consultation through the communication procedure in place established by Death Valley National Monument [now Death Valley National Park] as part of its ongoing relations with the tribe.
- (3) Some families and subgroups may have been more involved in the Manzanar locality than others. The study will seek out especially those whose ancestors had direct traditional ties to the area prior to military subjugation of the nineteenth century.
- (4) Ties will be sought to the apple-growing town of Manzanar that existed at the site during the early twentieth century, prior to the mass purchasing of land for water rights by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. Interaction with the World War II Japanese-American war relocation center was probably low, but questions will be asked about wartime interaction. Any information that may be useful to my colleague Historian Harlan D. Unrau, [former] Branch of Planning, Western Team, [now] Resource Planning Group, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, will be provided him for his larger history study of the Manzanar experience, such as the names of military policemen (MPs) or civilian employees at Manzanar with American Indian heritage or ties to local American Indian communities.
- (5) To what extent is there an analogy from an American Indian perspective between the nineteenth-century American Indian military subjugation and relocation and the twentieth-century Japanese-American military roundup and relocation? In other words, are there parallels in perceived civil rights or human rights violations? The study will be sensitive to such suggestions and perceptions and report them if they come up.
- (6) Some American Indian concerns may not be within the scope of the general management plan and its ideas and anticipated historical themes. Nevertheless, any concerns brought up will be duly reported. The desire of the National Park Service to establish and maintain ongoing relations with American Indian groups who have interests in the Manzanar site will be conveyed. On-site visits and other types of meetings will be encouraged when feasible for future contact between the park and particular groups.
- (7) Consistent with the park's legislation and legislative history (Public Law 102-248, March 3, 1992, 106 United States Statutes at Large 40-44) the study will provide information to assist in the interpretation of Native Americans associated with the lands comprising Manzanar National Historic Site and environs.

I made contact with four Paiute and Shoshone governments in the Owens Valley by meeting with their respective tribal chairpersons, north to south: Allen Summers, Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Bishop Community of the Bishop Colony (population 927 within the reservation, 69 adjacent); Cheryl Andreas, Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute-Shoshone Indians (population 371 within the reservation, 32 adjacent); Richard Wilder, Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians (population 83 within the reservation, 40 adjacent); Sandra Jefferson Yonge, Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Lone Pine Community (population 232 within the reservation, 64 adjacent). I understand from Frank Fryman, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) archeologist, that these tribal names are the official, formal ones currently in use and listed in the June 1994 tribal directory compiled by the BIA Sacramento Area Office (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1994).

Contact was made by telephone and letter (Ross Hopkins 1994) with the Timbi-Sha Shoshone Band to the east in Death Valley. This group expressed no interest in having me meet with them except on the vague possibility of my attending a tribal council meeting sometime in the indefinite future. The message by way of Richard Boland, tribal administrator, was that the leadership feels that Manzanar is a matter for the Owens Valley Paiutes and Shoshones because it is in their territory.

Although attempts were made to contact the Utu Utu Paiute Tribe of the Benton Paiute Reservation, which is several miles northeast of the Owens Valley almost to the Nevada border, scheduling a meeting at a mutually possible time did not materialize. However, I did talk informally with Joseph Saulque, the vice chairperson.

I interviewed 57 American Indians, mostly one to one in their homes or offices. Three of the sessions had two interviewees present, and two sessions had three present. I conducted four small-group meetings, ranging from five to fifteen participants. I found one Indian woman who worked at the Manzanar camp during World War II as a relocation officer (Martinez 1994) and another who was married to a military policeman (MP) stationed at Manzanar (Copley 1994). Several Indians were involved with Manzanar in the construction of the barracks and in the dismantling of the facilities after the war. I also interviewed 22 non-Indians, including two cultural anthropologists who have worked in the area, Catherine Fowler and Nancy Peterson Walter. Other non-Indians represent local business persons with a knowledge of local history; plus one person who was interned at Manzanar, Paul Kimura, and two locals who regularly made deliveries of goods to Manzanar, Leroy Cline and Jack Hopkins.

The sample of people interviewed in terms of the number and types of persons contacted hopefully represents a worthy cross-section of tribal and other Owens Valley interests. Word of mouth led me from one person to another, one recommending another for their different types of local knowledge. Serendipity played a role as when Paul Kimura walked in the Eastern California Museum, when I was there doing research, on a visit from Illinois, where he now lives. He had been interned at Manzanar as a boy.

GENERAL FINDINGS

As part of the style of Part One, my narrative is continued in the first person. A few of the Native American people with whom I talked asked why the Japanese-Americans were being singled out for a recognition of suffering at Manzanar, and by extension other World War II Japanese-American detention camps, when "we [American Indians] were here first and have suffered longer [from the Euro-Americans]." The feeling seemingly is that the First Americans should be properly recognized. I explained that my report on Native American consultations for the general management plan should

help meet their concerns on this matter as well as their receiving a copy of the draft plan from the planning team. Also follow-up contact is intended by the park superintendent, Ross Hopkins, after the general management plan is concluded.

The myth of the general extinction of California Indians should be dispelled, especially in the Owens Valley, where the indigenous groups at the time of European contact have much continuity over time, culminating in living representatives today. An important point to understand is the wish to bring out links, through effective interpretation, between traditional peoples and contemporary groups so that the average American visitor does not perceive American Indians as static entities and as only part of the past. As one person said, "We have been trapped in the past." This sentiment was widely expressed by the Paiute and Shoshone interviewees.

Both the local Indians and non-Indians interviewed were generally very supportive of the work of the National Park Service and freely shared information and perceptions. Some political, economic, and ideological competition came out in the interviews and other interactive situations, but by and large the Indian interviewees showed great respect towards the traditional territories and cultural prerogatives of other groups and for one another as individuals. I was impressed with their knowledge and courtesy.

I routinely asked about possible sacred sites at Manzanar, but no site-specific information was forthcoming. A body of sacred, religious knowledge apparently survives that the Owens Valley Paiutes and Shoshones generally do not want to share with non-Indians (Vernon Miller 1995). Mountain and creek settings are important along with certain rock and cave formations, which are often the locales for legendary events such as creation stories and trickster (Coyote) tales. For example, a site associated with Paiute creation is located on the Sierra Nevada side of Big Pine in the Coyote Hills (Richard Stewart 1995b).

Manzanar apparently was a traditional-use area in the sense that permanent camps or villages were located in the vicinity, as on Georges Creek and Symmes Creek. An oral-history tradition indicates the presence of human burials. One inadvertently was found as part of a National Park Service 1993 archeological survey. Buried remains of individuals who may be ancestors makes a place more powerful in terms of the possible presence of spirits or other supernatural beings and forces.

The Winnedumah Paiute Monument, as named on maps, is a natural rock formation on the crest of the Inyo Mountains ten miles or so to the east of Independence. It may be the closest thing to a sacred site in the Manzanar area. The legend of Winnedumah, discussed in Part Two, concerns American Indian connections to Manzanar over time from the links of traditional territory to Manzanar as a place of employment.

AMERICAN INDIAN CONSULTATIONS ON THE MANZANAR PROJECT LIST OF SPECIFIC IDEAS FOR PLANNING CONSIDERATION AT MANZANAR:

- Explain that the land was Indian land; it belonged to the first inhabitants — Native Californians — long before it was taken away.
- Tell about Indian history, such as: (1) aboriginal peoples and traditional territories; (2) Spanish and Anglo exploration and settlement, and the resultant impacts on Indian groups; (3) the forced relocation in the 1860s by the United States Army of one third of the Indian population of the Owens Valley; (4) escape and return from the 1860s relocation; (5) working for predominantly Anglo ranchers

and farmers; (6) the socioeconomic impacts of the City of Los Angeles and its Department of Water and Power (DWP) acquiring land for water rights; and (7) the history of Indian reservations and communities in the Owens Valley, from various attempts at the turn of the century through the 1930s, when the reservations were established, to the political power of today.

- "We are still here!" "Tell about us today" — the American Indians in the Owens Valley — and how certain values and beliefs survive even if other aspects of Indian culture have changed.
- Investigate and explain the similarities and differences in human rights violations between the internment of Japanese-Americans at Manzanar during World War II and the forced removal of Paiutes and Shoshones during the 1860s from the Owens Valley — including Anglo usurpation of Indian lands and the military control of American Indians and Japanese Americans in terms of the values of the dominant, larger American society.
- Establish a nursery for plants native to the Owens Valley of California and environs and demonstrate through ongoing exhibits and an annual festival how they were/are used by its first peoples.
- Sponsor an annual festival in which the American Indians of the area are celebrated through demonstrations of native plants and seeds, basket making, pottery production, irrigation prior to European contact, hand-game playing with the accompanying songs, and other expressive and subsistence aspects of the traditional Paiute and Shoshone cultures
- To the extent that there were Indian villages near Manzanar as part of a larger traditional-use area, provide for some American Indian living history so that, for example, re-constructed traditional houses for interpretation may be seen as an integral part of village life and not just as static objects.
- Explore the possibilities of cooperating with the Paiute-Shoshone Culture Center in Bishop, the Eastern California Museum in Independence, the Laws Railroad Museum in Bishop, and the Maturango Museum in Ridgecrest on facilities and programs so that the National Park Service complements but does not compete with these existing institutions.
- Re-construct some of the beautiful Japanese-American gardens with waterways and bridges, the design of which became a distinguishing characteristic of Manzanar.
- In addition to the gardens, re-construct or rehabilitate other physical manifestations of life in the detention camp such as the auditorium, barracks, cemetery, guard towers, hospital, latrines, and mess halls.
- Address the inherent racism and inequality in the fact that the structures for the American citizens behind the barbed wire were characterized by flimsy wood and tarpaper coverings while the American citizens who ran the camp lived in much more substantial quarters there.
- Suggest that films about Manzanar and the war-relocation-camp experience be incorporated into the annual fall Lone Pine Film Festival, including panel discussions and bus tours to the site as part of the tours to film locations in the Alabama Hills west of Lone Pine.

- To promote better government through citizen participation, establish an information center for all citizens of the Owens Valley to learn of cultural, educational, employment, and training opportunities, and obtain information on health-care and American Indian programs.
- Make a good-faith effort to hire qualified Native Americans for the Manzanar staff; provide training to help Native Americans obtain park ranger jobs in the future.
- Create new outreach programs of interpretation — including shared exhibits and field trips to other institutions — that focus upon the whole range of human activities and human diversity through time at Manzanar and involve volunteer groups to help implement them. The Friends of the Eastern California Museum is such a group.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I recommend that the momentum gained from my American Indian consultations be maintained through follow-up contacts by Superintendent Ross Hopkins. Further contact is needed on a regular, ongoing basis. Everywhere I went, I mentioned the superintendent's name and his taking up of residence in Independence, California, by the fall of 1994. He is quite interested in enlarging his scope of contacts and friends in the Owens Valley Indian community. The people would welcome such interest.

There seems to be a great deal of interest in exploring the possibility of the National Park Service complementing and working in conjunction with the existing cultural/historical institutions in the Owens Valley, namely the Eastern California Museum, the Laws Railroad Museum, and the Paiute-Shoshone Cultural Center. Additional space and the more effective use of existing space for the curation of archeological, ethnographic, and historical artifacts and the sharing of interpretive exhibits and programs are topics to discuss as well as archival and library space for historical documents and books. I recommend that the superintendent and the planning team initiate further consultations to pursue these ideas.

Mechanisms for future cooperation among participating partners could include memorandums of understanding in which specific relationships, roles, and activities are identified. Projects and programs might be jointly sponsored, and agreements might be reached to loan artifacts for temporary exhibits.

AMERICAN INDIAN CONSULTATIONS

**American Indian Persons or Persons with Indian Heritage Interviewed,
June 16 through June 25, 1994, or July 18 through July 31, 1994**

Cheryl Andreas Smoker (Paiute), Tribal Council Chairperson
 Raymond Andrews (Paiute), Tribal Board of Directors Co-Chairperson
 Eleanor Bethel (Paiute)
 Freida and Steve Brown (Paiutes)
 Ruth Brown (Paiute)
 Pearl Symmes Budke (Paiute)
 Delores Buff (Paiute), Tribal General Council and Business Council Treasurer
 Truman Buff (Paiute)
 Irene and Leslie Button (Paiute and Shoshone respectively)

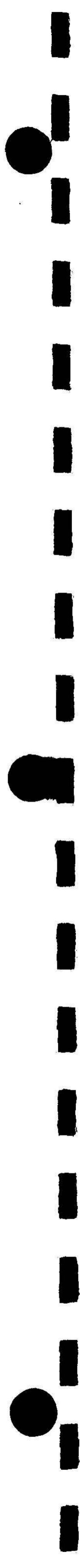
Rose Hill Copley (Paiute), Once Married to Manzanar MP
Rosemarie Denver (Paiute), Tribal Council Director
Jessie Durant (Paiute)
Terald Goodwin (Shoshone), Former Tribal Chairperson
Eleanor Hemphill (Paiute)
James Hill Jr. (Paiute)
Ellen Howard (Paiute)
Patty Howard (Paiute), Tribal Board of Directors Member
Matthew Jaqua (Scot and Apache), Son of Manzanar Camp Employee)
Ronald D. Knox (Paiute), Tribal Bookkeeper
Ernie Lasky (Shoshone), Businessperson
Tom Lone Eagle (Paiute), Tribal Vice Chairperson
Jessie Manuelito (Paiute), Tribal Board of Directors Member
Viola Martinez (Paiute), Former Manzanar Employee
Daniel J. Miller, Sr. (Paiute), Tribal Consulting Services Chairperson
Daniel J. Miller, Jr. (Paiute)
Irvin R. Miller (Paiute)
Vernon J. Miller (Paiute)
Martha Lenbek Mills (Shoshone)
Tom Moffett (Paiute)
Bertha Moose (Paiute), Tribal Cultural Resources Officer
Gaylene M. Moose (Paiute), Tribal Cultural Resources Committee Member
Laurine "Lee" Napoles (Paiute)
Neddeen Naylor (Paiute), Former Tribal Chairperson
Priscilla I. Naylor (Paiute and Shoshone), Tribal General Council and Business Council Secretary
Jeanette Negrete (Paiute)
Beverly Newell (Paiute, Shoshone, and Navajo)
Dale Newell (Paiute, Shoshone, Navajo, and Cherokee)
Geraldine Pasqua (Paiute), Tribal Board of Directors Co-Chairperson
Clara Rambeau (Paiute), Tribal Cultural Resources Committee Member
Grace L. Romero (Shoshone)
Margaret Romero (Paiute), Tribal Board of Directors Member
Maud M. Shaw (Paiute)
Lena Lenbek Sluyter (Shoshone)
Valerie L. Spoonhuner (Paiute), Tribal Board of Directors Member
Dorothy Stewart (Pima Who Married a Paiute), Artist
Richard Stewart (Paiute and Pima), Artist and Art Teacher
Allen Summers (Paiute), Tribal Council Chairperson
Jeanette Swift (Paiute and Shoshone)
Christine Watterson (Paiute), Tribal Board of Directors Member
Ernestine West (Paiute), Tribal Board of Directors Member
Richard Wilder (Paiute), General Council and Business Council Chairperson
Ed Williams (Paiute)
Cindy Yandel (Paiute), Tribal Council Secretary
Sandra Jefferson Yonge (Shoshone), Tribal Chairperson,
John A. Zucco (Shoshone)

**Non-Indian Persons Interviewed,
June 16 through June 25, 1994 and July 18 through July 31, 1994**

Kathy Barnes, Curator, Museum Specialist
Alice Boothe, Curator, Museum Administrator
Marvey Chapman, Hotel Proprietor
Leroy Cline, Retired Teamster Who Delivered to Manzanar
Mark Cole, Hydrologist
Bob Edwards, Regular Return Vacationer
Catherine S. Fowler, Cultural Anthropologist
Jack B Hopkins, Retired Businessperson
Helen Tomoko Hikido Kimura (Nisei), Interned at Topaz
Paul Kimura (Nisei), Interned at Manzanar
Fred Mankins, Cemetery Manager
Nancy Masters, Librarian
William H. Michael, Historian and Museum Director
Paul Payne (Married to a Shoshone), County Supervisor
Cheryl and E. Michael Pinchot, Vacationers
Tony Ramirez, Businessperson
Alan Robinson, Businessperson
Leonard J. Sluyter, Retired
Christopher "Kit" Scott Stewart, Vacationer
Nancy Peterson Walter, Cultural Anthropologist
Nan C. Zischank, Former Manzanar Camp Employee

Additional Persons Interested in Receiving the Draft Plan for Public Comment (American Indians and Non-Indians)

Richard Boland (Timbi-sha Shoshone), Tribal Administrator
Duane Shristian (Anglo), District Archeologist
Donald R. Cole (Anglo)
Frank B. Fryman (Anglo), Area Archeologist
Mary Nishi Haruta and Kizio Haruta (Nisei), Interned at Minidoka and Rohwer, respectively
Greg Hess (Anglo), Inter-Tribal Cultural Committee Chairperson
James A. Hirabayashi (Nisei), Cultural Anthropologist
Robert M. Laidlaw (Anglo), Cultural Anthropologist
Malcolm Margolin (Anglo), Publisher
Carin Matteson (Anglo), Assistant Motel Manager
Larry Myers (Pomo)
Joseph C. Saulque (Paiute), Tribal Vice Chairperson
Diane and John Silliman (Anglos), Businesspersons
Mark Webb (Anglo), Business Manager
Jane Wehrey (Anglo), Historian
Yoshiko Miko Yamamoto (Nisei), Museum Director

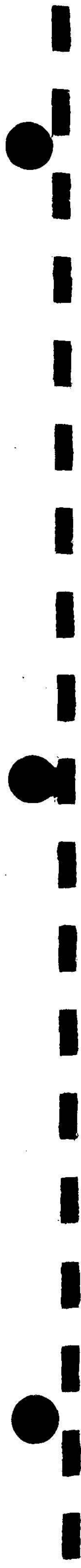


ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT

The Paiutes and Shoshones
of
Owens Valley, California



Manzanar War Relocation Center
Toyo Miyatake Photograph Collection
Toyo Miyatake Studio, San Gabriel, California
Courtesy of Archie Miyatake



ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT

DEFINITION OF ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT AND OVERVIEW

This basic report [ethnographic assessment] emphasizes the review and analysis of accessible archival and documentary data on park ethnographic resources and the groups who traditionally define such cultural and natural features as significant to their ethnic heritage and cultural viability. Limited interviews and discussions occur with the traditionally associated people in order to supplement and assess the documentary evidence and identify gaps in the available data (National Park Service 1994:25 of Chapter 2).

In this report, any ethnographic resources possibly related to the Manzanar area and war relocation site are identified and addressed as to their historical and current cultural importance to the contemporary Owens Valley Paiutes and Shoshones. An ethnographic resource is

any...landscape, or natural...or cultural...feature...linked by a subject community to the traditional practices, values, beliefs, history, and/or ethnic identity of the community (Nabokov et al. 1994:iii).

Ethnographic resources are

variations of natural resources and standard cultural resource types. They are subsistence and ceremonial locales and sites, structures, objects, and rural and urban landscapes assigned cultural significance by traditional users. The decision to call resources "ethnographic" depends on whether associated peoples perceive them as traditionally meaningful to their identity as a group and the survival of their lifeways. Some such resources may be designated by other terms and cross-listed in other National Park Service inventories. Sites defined as archeological for preservation purposes, for example, are ethnographic if traditional religious practitioners consider them significant sources of spiritual power. Members of associated groups may also ascribe meaning to properties in park collections perceived as sacred or as items of cultural identity and heritage. Groups also assign their own cultural meanings to natural landscapes and localities (National Park Service 1994:168 of Chapter 10).

TYPES OF ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES IDENTIFIED

The land itself is the first type of ethnographic resource identified. The cry, "The land was ours!" (Dan Miller 1994), is applied specifically to Manzanar as well as to the rest of the Owens Valley. Village sites before European contact have been identified in the Manzanar area on creeks flowing down from the Sierra Nevada such as Georges Creek or Symmes Creek.

The traditional land uses of hunting, gathering, and fishing have been identified for Manzanar. And it is possible that pre-contact Paiute irrigation could have been practiced in the Manzanar area because some of that irrigation knowledge seems to have been applied there and shared with Euro-American settlers in the contact period.

Legends of creation and other important events of cultural origin are referred to with story-specific locations in the Sierra Nevada, the Sierra foothills, and the Inyo Mountains. No such references through this study indicate Manzanar as a site associated with Paiute or Shoshone legends.

Possible sacred sites were routinely inquired about in the interviews and meetings, but none were reported for Manzanar, except for burials. Burials are of great significance. The presence of a prehistoric or historic burial in the earth makes that earth more sacred than normal. All of the earth is sacred and thus the land is sacred. But burials are more sacred. When burials are discovered, as part of archeological investigations or of any other park operations, the burial should be re-covered without further disturbance and elders informed. Given the Paiute and Shoshone acceptance of and membership in various Euro-American Christian denominations and resultant gaps in traditional Indian education, how to identify qualified individuals as traditional religious practitioners is the subject of internal Paiute and Shoshone debate (Richard Stewart 1995b). Nevertheless, elders should be informed, through the requisite Owens Valley tribal governments, to exercise their prerogative of performing proper ceremonies at the site (Andrews 1994; Bertha Moose 1994; Gaylene Moose 1994; Neddeen Naylor 1994; Rambeau 1994).

In the realm of ethnicity or group identity, connections to Manzanar as a fruit-orchard community are important to some Indian families because of intermarriage and direct kinship ties (Mills 1994). Employment connections to the town of Manzanar and living in the area, including George's Creek, are also part of this ethnicity (Dan Miller 1994; Irvin Miller 1994; Vernon Miller 1994). Similarly, employment at the war relocation center figures into the Paiute and Shoshone ties to Manzanar and may be considered part of the Owens Valley Indian identity (Martinez 1994).

There is also a strong tie to the pre-Manzanar (town of Manzanar) community of George's Creek and homesteaders like John Shepherd. Indians took (or were given by census takers) White surnames of the families for whom they worked — hence Indian names like Shepherd and Symmes. In other Owens Valley communities, this is evidenced by names including Goodale and Watterson and Naylor (Michael 1995).

The works of Jeffery F. Burton, National Park Service archeologist, should be consulted for the prehistorical and historical archeology of Manzanar (1995a, 1995b). For a Paiute perspective of Indian links to the Manzanar site over time, see Richard Stewart's "Manzanar: Rabbitbrush Place" (1995a). Richard Stewart participated in two walk-about at Manzanar with other members of the Secretary of the Interior's Manzanar Advisory Commission. The first, in April 1995, included Jeffery Burton who pointed out archeological sites as well as the place of the Native American burial he speaks of in his Manzanar work (see bibliography). The second walk-about took place on July 15, 1995 (Stewart 1995b). Ross Hopkins, Manzanar superintendent, was involved along with Vernon Miller, the other Paiute member of the commission. These occasions served as on-the-ground opportunities to relate what is known about the archeology, ethnography, and history of Manzanar to specific sites.

Former Paiute or Shoshone villages or camps are more likely now to be identified and managed as archeological resources, some of which may be linked directly to historic periods. Some of these could be ethnographic resources as well. A known Paiute residential site on George's Creek where Irvin Miller was born in 1920 is an example in the Manzanar vicinity (Irvin Miller 1994). Irvin's father, Harry Miller, worked as a ranch hand in the area, eventually getting his own place on the Fort Independence Reservation.

NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MANZANAR NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Established by Congress, the site of the Manzanar War Relocation Center became a park unit on March 3, 1992, as Manzanar National Historic Site, administered by the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior (National Park Service 1993; Rancourt 1993:30). Earlier, it

was listed in the California Historic Resources Register, and on July 30, 1979, the Manzanar site was listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its "exceptional importance...to the broad patterns of our history... specifically the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II" (Burton 1993c:1). As noted by Sue Kunitomi Embrey (1987:60), Secretary of the Interior's Manzanar Advisory Commission member, the highest status of historical significance to promote the recognition and preservation of cultural resources was achieved in 1985 when the National Park Service designated the site a national historic landmark, that is, Manzanar National Historic Landmark.

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY, MANZANAR WAR RELOCATION CENTER

Executive Order Number 9066, signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942,

soon led to the removal of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the west coast by the United States Army. Over 70 percent of those removed were United States citizens (Hopkins 1995).

They were ultimately placed in concentration camps called war relocation centers. Manzanar as an assembly and temporary detention center since March of 1942 under the Wartime Civil Control Administration was transferred to the War Relocation Authority as a war relocation center on June 1, 1942. It operated as one of ten war relocation centers until November 11, 1945, with a maximum population of 10,046 internees of Japanese ancestry (Nomura no date; Embrey 1987:13). Again, the majority of the evacuees were American citizens. The other nine war relocation centers, given with their dates of opening and closing, were: Poston, Arizona, May 8, 1942 to November 28, 1945; Tule Lake, California, May 27, 1942 to March 20, 1946; Gila River, Arizona, July 20, 1942 to November 10, 1945; Minidoka, Idaho, August 10, 1942 to October 28, 1945; Heart Mountain, Wyoming, August 12, 1942 to November 10, 1945; Camp Amache at Granada, Colorado, August 27, 1942 to October 15, 1945; Topaz, Utah, September 11, 1942 to October 31, 1945; Rohwer, Arkansas, September 18, 1942 to November 30, 1945; Jerome, Arkansas, October 6, 1942 to September 30, 1945. The number of internees totalled 113,798 (Nomura no date). An apology and a certain level of individual compensation came in 1988:

On August 10, 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed [into law] the bill [from Congress] providing an apology [from the United States Government], review of convictions and pardons of crimes for noncooperation, as well as payment of \$20,000 to each individual who was imprisoned under Executive Order 9066 (Rancourt 1993:34).

The comprehensive details of the Japanese-American experience during internment at Manzanar, 1942-1945, are being researched by Harlan D. Unrau, National Park Service historian. His extensive historic resource study of Manzanar National Historic Site is scheduled for completion in 1996 and for printing in 1997. When available, it should be consulted not only for what happened at the Manzanar War Relocation Center but also for how the site came to be selected for an internment camp, for the previous history of the fruit-growing town of Manzanar, and for the earlier Euro-American settlement of the area.

THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT ALONE

Many nations, including [ones in] South America 'rounded up' Japanese, Germans, and Italians and sometimes shipped them off to the U.S. [during World War II]....so did Australia [maintain] camp[s] very much like Manzanar (Kelly 1995).

And so did Canada. In a casual poll by the author of three National Park Service historians, none of them knew that about our neighboring country to the north.

Other citizens of the United States might find it worthwhile to realize that the Dominion of Canada did the same thing as the United States of America in violating the civil rights of its citizens of Japanese origin during World War II by arbitrarily impounding them in camps:

At home Canadian citizens of Japanese origin were evicted from their west-coast homes, their properties confiscated, and the community sent to camps in the interior soon after Pearl Harbor....Early in 1942...the Canadian government moved to dispossess and relocate all British Columbians of Japanese origin, even those who were Canadian citizens; families were split up and whatever property they could not carry was disposed of by the government. This was the culmination of decades of anti-Asiatic feeling on the Pacific coast (Cook 1991:459-460).

Under the shabby pretext that Japanese Canadians needed protection from their angry neighbors, the government...interned nineteen thousand men, women, and children, auctioning off their property for derisory prices. It was an inexcusable act, born out of half a century of racial prejudice. Generals, admirals, and the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] protested that there was no military justification for the act. Politics sufficed....By...1988...an apology [had been extended] to Japanese Canadians for their wartime internment and a \$21,000 payment to each survivor (Morton 1994:220, 318).

STATEMENTS ON THE SYMBOLISM OF MANZANAR WAR RELOCATION CENTER

Manzanar...the scene of a test of racial tolerance — the greatest test a democracy has ever met. We are face to face with the question of whether Americans can live in peace and security with fellow citizens of Japanese ancestry and Japanese who by virtue of our laws are non-citizens. They stand accused of no crime except their ancestry. To all of them we have pointed to American democracy as a better way of living. To fellow citizens we have commitments set out in the Bill of Rights. These thousands of them...are now held inside barbed-wire fence as a measure of national protection in this time of war. Protect who? Why? Where has the failure occurred? Is this democracy? (Ralph P. Merritt, Sr., December 25, 1942, in Merritt. Sr. 1942).

The apology was important. [However] the idea that the [United States] government actually said it was wrong doesn't make up for what happened[Yet] people...can learn from what has happened in the past so it does not happen again. We are a great nation, willing to acknowledge our errors. We are not weak. It takes a certain amount of strength to admit that we made a mistake (Sue Embrey quoted in Rancourt 1993:46).

Nations should and do use history to celebrate great achievements. But the greatest nations use history as a reminder that we can, and should, do better (Jerry Rogers quoted in Rancourt 1993:30).

Manzanar is a symbolic reminder that a nation of laws needs constantly to honor the concept of freedom and the rights of its citizens (David Simon quoted in Rancourt 1993:30).

Manzanar National Historic Site is as much a site of pride as it is a site of shame: all Americans should take pride in what those who lived there endured, for their courage is our courage. Further, it ought to be a distinct source of pride that we have, as a people, reached

sufficient maturity to recognize our mistakes, to create a visible symbol of the invisible past to teach future generations of the great fear and irrationality that at times descend upon a people in time of war (Robin Winks 1994:23).

THE NAME, MANZANAR

The late Alfred L. Kroeber, known as the dean of American anthropologists and as an expert on the Indians of California (Kroeber 1976), was researching his "California Place Names of Indian Origin" (Kroeber 1916) about the time Manzanar began to flourish as a fruit-growing community. Some evidence suggests that the name Manzanar came to the English language as a California place name from the Spanish language via the Paiute language, a process that no doubt would have intrigued Kroeber.

There seems to be no question that the name or term *manzanar* has a Spanish-language origin. *La manzana* means apple; *el manzano*, apple tree; and *el manzanar*, apple orchard or a garden of apple trees (Castillo, Bond, and Garcia 1964:133; Velazquez 1948:427). Alternative meanings in Spanish indicate that *manzanar* may refer to a block of houses bounded on every side by a street, that is, a square; it also may refer to the knob in the hilt or handle of a sword (Velazquez 1948:427).

The Totonac Indians of Mexico have *voladores* or "flying men" associated with the town of Papantla who employ a *manzana* as part of the amazing feats they perform in the air. These men practice ancient rituals to renew and fertilize the earth symbolically by "flying" from a wooden pole about 120 feet high erected in the town square. The *manzana* is a wooden spool about 16 inches in diameter placed at the top of the pole. The *manzana* revolves around the pole. Four ropes of four *voladores* are wound uniformly around the *manzana*. The four men let themselves fall backward, head first, their arms stretched open with their waist tied to a rope attached to the *manzana*. The *manzana* gradually spins and pays out the ropes as the *voladores* glide slowly down in a circle. The process takes a few minutes and is accompanied by sacred flute music played by a fifth *volador*, the leader, called the *caporal*, who is literally perched right on top of the pole (Vendrey 1994:46-52). The Spanish sword knob/hilt reference, mentioned above, would seem to be the analogy or denotation of meaning here for *manzana*. However, one can also imagine the circular *manzana* at the top of the very high pole as an apple with its skin being peeled and central seeds being scattered to the earth as the *voladores* descend.

In different cultures, "there are words which sound and appear similar but have different origins and evolution of meanings" (Kelly 1995) so there is no likely connection between the ritual of the *voladores* in Mexico with their *manzana* and Manzanar, California, except the Spanish language. In Papantla, Mexico, the pre-Columbian ritual of the *voladores* survived, but Spanish terms replaced the aboriginal Totonac terms through direct contact. In the Owens Valley, California, in the case of Manzanar, Paiute language borrowing from Spanish and then direct Paiute-Anglo contact may have been the vehicle of indirect Spanish influence on the Anglos who named Manzanar.

The Spanish-language origin of the name Manzanar in California is generally accepted (Houston and Houston 1974:69). Questionable is the role of direct Spanish involvement in naming the area. John Armor and Peter Wright may not be correct when they say,

Manzanar, which means "apple orchard," was named by the Spanish, who were the first to explore this valley, in the eighteenth century (Armor and Wright 1988:xi).

On the contrary, if early Spanish explorers did discover the area, they apparently left no records. There is Owens Valley linguistic evidence, however, of Spanish-Paiute contact.

An extensive Paiute vocabulary list of Truman Buff (Buff 1978), a Paiute elder of the Fort Independence Indian Reservation born in 1906 (Buff 1992, 1994) reveals a surprising number of Spanish words in Paiute — presumably words borrowed from Spanish for introduced items for which there was no Paiute equivalent. Buff lists manzana as the Paiute word for apple. In linguistic terms, this is an example of a loan word from Spanish into Paiute. In a 1994 interview, he volunteered the manzana-apple meaning associated with Manzanar (Buff 1994).

Of course, Anglos with knowledge of Spanish could have named Manzanar independently of any contact with the Owens Valley Paiutes. That indeed is the conventional explanation. This report just point outs the possibility of a Paiute connection in the naming of Manzanar because of the linguistic evidence, mentioned above, and the historical interaction of Anglos and Paiutes in the Manzanar area, discussed below.

An Anglo who well could have applied the Spanish term manzanar as an Owens Valley place name was George Chaffey (Michael 1994), one of the most prominent and controversial water developers in California....one of the foremost water developers of his generation and a prime example of the successful engineer as private entrepreneur... [who] appeared in the Owens Valley in 1905, laying plans for the establishment of a new water...irrigation...colony...settlement at Manzanar (Kahrl 1983:146, 219, 257).

George Chaffey based his settlement at Manzanar upon the purchase of John Shepherd's pioneer ranch on Shepherd's Creek by his younger brother, Charles Francis Chaffey, in July of 1905. The idea was to sell "tracts of 15 to 20 acres" through the Owens Valley Improvement Company (Michael 1993a:1) and in the process

put the whole Owens Valley under irrigation...[with] waters of the creeks running from the Sierras into Owens River...build an electric railway to Los Angeles to provide a ready market, and thereby turn the whole area into a prosperous agricultural district (Payne 1993:1, 5).

From historical and family perspectives, respectively, both William Kahrl (1983) and Harriet Chaffey Payne (1993), daughter of Charles Francis Chaffey, recount the ultimate inability after several years of George and Charles Chaffey to succeed at Manzanar. The fruit was popular (Leonard Sluyter 1994a) — apples, pears, peaches, plums, apricots — but not enough effective water rights could be acquired over the powerful and competing Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (Payne 1993:6). Thus the Chaffeys were not able to "realize what Owens Valley might have been" with the "magnificent development...and...production" of irrigation and agriculture as planned (Payne 1993:6). Both Kahrl and Payne cite the Manzanar name but do not comment on its origin.

The matter may be as straightforward as Manzanar being named as a Chaffey corporate artifact in 1910 when the townsite was platted. The date May 6, 1910, marks the establishment of the Owens Valley Improvement Company by George and Charles Chaffey to operate the irrigation settlement project at Manzanar. In August of 1910, Subdivision Number 1 of the company, about 500 acres, was platted with a townsite near the center. It had irrigation pipes installed to bring water from Shepherd and Bair creeks,

The type of irrigation system developed by [George] Chaffey was substantially more sophisticated than what existed on the [Manzanar] site before [the irrigation work of John

Shepherd with Indian labor]. With concrete pipe, [cement] lined ditches, and a community-owned water system, the irrigation component of the Manzanar development was one of its key attractions to purchasers (Michael 1995).

The land being developed for commercial fruit growing was officially called Manzanar Irrigated Farms and the town itself simply Manzanar. Two Spanish meanings of manzanar — an apple orchard and a housing square — could have been applied in 1910 associated with the laying out of the town in a grid pattern among the orchards, making the name Manzanar doubly appropriate.

Many Indians in the Owens Valley took the surname of the rancher-farmer who employed them (Vernor Miller 1994; Naylor 1994). Wilder is one of those names. It survives today on the Fort Independence Reservation (Wilder 1994). which has been traced to Manzanar during its "fruit days" (Wilder 1994).

Romeo Ashur Wilder, who was from the Central City-Grand Island, Nebraska area, came down from [the state of] Washington about 1900 and suggested the Spanish name 'Manzanar' (apple grove) for the locality [of Manzanar, California]. R. A. Wilder was an excellent husbandman (farmér), and provided a good income for his wife, Elsie, and later, a daughter [Ruth Gladys Wilder]. Manzanar was started with about 500 acres of apples, peaches and pears. At one time there were probably 2500 to 4000 acres under cultivation, much in alfalfa. There were drains all over the place, which had required miles of trench with inverted tile buried, to drain off the water. The latter was usually turned into pasture areas (Smith 1977:104).

Henry S. "Tom" Smith was born about 1903 in Dover, England. His father fortunately missed booking passage on the *Titanic* so he and his family safely crossed the Atlantic on another ship, the *Caromia*. Smith says that

in early spring 1913 we moved from...Los Angeles to Riverbank, near Modesto. In the late spring of 1914 we left there...my dad was a laborer...and landed in the George's Creek area....I attended school there, at the George's Creek school....In January of 1916, we returned from Los Angeles to Owens Valley (Manzanar) where I attended school until June...leaving in late August or early September for Colton [California]. I doubt if my family...ever returned [to Manzanar] but I did, in the summers of 1919 and 1920...I worked for Romeo and Elsie Wilder (Smith 1975:1, 1986:1).

It is interesting to note that the Wilder House has been located by the National Park Service as an archeological site in the Manzanar community (Burton 1994b:2). Although Tom Smith says that Romeo A. Wilder named Manzanar, he provides no background for the name or the circumstances of Wilder's possible involvement. Smith is silent on what relationships Wilder may have with George and Charles Chaffey. Was Wilder part of the corporate effort of the Chaffey's to found Manzanar?

Could Wilder or the Chaffeys themselves have been influenced by Paiute ranch and farm hands? Paiutes in significant numbers worked on spreads in the Owens Valley. They worked at George's Creek and were befriended and employed by John Shepherd (1833-1908) as early as 1862 when he pioneered a cattle ranch on George's Creek, moving to Shepherd's Creek and the Manzanar site in 1864 and eventually holding some 2000 acres (Wehrey 1993:2).

The wage-labor connection between [John] Shepherd and the George's Creek Indian community is important. Shepherd used Indian labor to construct roads both in Owens Valley

and to Panamint City. Wage labor became an important component of Indian subsistence as their lands were taken and their food crops destroyed by grazing (Michael 1995).

In sum, the idea suggested here for consideration is the Spanish-language origin through Paiute contact of the name Manzanar by Anglo adoption via a loan word for apple, as a European import, from Spanish to Paiute.

THE GREAT BASIN CULTURE AREA

Henry Raub, a former director of the Eastern California Museum, interestingly begins his "Story of Manzanar" (Raub 1988a, 1988b) with a reference to the Beringian migration(s) and the peopling of the New World. Human occupation may have occurred as early as 15,000 years ago in North America as part of Beringia, or the Bering Land Bridge, the one-thousand-mile wide land bridge or land connection between what are now Russia and the United States (Dixon 1993). Raub speaks of:

The first era...of the story of Manzanar...countless eons ago during the murky dawn of prehistory when descendants of aborigines migrating across the Bering [Land Bridge now submerged by the Bering] Straits from Siberia spread out through the American continent (Raub 1988a:20).

Many accounts of different peoples' cultural past provide for an origin in the place they currently occupy (Symmes n.d., Kerr 1936, Steward 1936, Wallis and Wallis 1955, Chalfant 1975, Powers 1982, Langdon 1993). However, the now submerged land form, the Bering Land Bridge, "sets the stage" (Adam 1994:1636) and provides an alternative explanation for the migration of ancestral peoples to have occurred in the distant past by way of gradual treks and ever eastward encampments from Asia over to Alaska (Dixon 1993, Grayson 1993).

To continue the story: "Eventually, Indians to be known as Shoshones roamed the area now known as Manzanar and mingled with Paiute Indians who pushed south down the Great Basin to halt their progress in what is now named Owens Valley" (Raub 1988a:20). The Paiutes and Shoshones who "met and mingled" in the Owens Valley are part of the Great Basin culture area (Kroeber 1976:581-582), which means they share certain geographic, historical, cultural, and linguistic affinities.

Portions of California, Oregon, Utah, Nevada, and Colorado, make up the Great Basin culture area, basically from the Sierra Nevada to the Rocky Mountains. Prehistorically, the Great Basin culture area shows evidence of such broad cultural sequences over time as the Paleo-Indian (12,000-9000 B.C.), the Great Basin Desert Archaic (9000 B.C.-A.D. 500), the Fremont (A.D. 500-1300), and the Paiute and Shoshone (A.D. 1300-present) as historic predecessors of the American Indians we know today of these names. The reader is referred to Volume 11, *Great Basin*, of the *Handbook of North American Indians* where the chronology and overview of cultural sequences are discussed, beginning with an introduction by Jesse Jennings (1986:113-119).

This report draws on the work of Susan Crowell (1995) who focuses on the western Great Basin and argues for greater prehistoric sedentism in home districts versus group mobility than generally thought by anthropologists, especially Julian Steward (1970), who depicts Great Basin groups as "mobile, nucleated family units, existing in a marginal environment, in pursuit of scattered and clumped resources" (Crowell 1995:2). Crowell describes the western Great Basin, home of the Great Basin Numic speakers mentioned in the following section on language, as a vast arid area of internal drainage

dominated by the rain shadow effect of the Sierra Nevada. However, lakes and marshes once were more widespread.

In Paleo-Indian times before 9000 B.C., the Great Basin was a place of steppes and marshes with abundant mega-faunal herds — big game. The prehistoric cultural patterns indicate, in general, that Paleo-Indians in small, mobile groups hunted large Pleistocene fauna for their primary subsistence.

During the Archaic period, lakes began to retreat and rivers and springs dry up. Plant distributions changed. People of the Archaic developed a broader subsistence base hunting and gathering a variety of animals and plants. Tools and other artifacts included seed-grinding implements, basketry, netting, fiber and hide moccasins, spears, digging sticks for digging up roots, and shell beads that were acquired in trade with California coastal groups.

The Fremont was characteristic of more sedentary villages supported by horticulture coupled with hunting and gathering. During the Fremont period, it seems, Numic speakers entered the Great Basin from the north and spread rapidly (Crowell 1995:4).

The Numic Paiutes and Shoshones in the Owens Valley were dispersed in kin-based groups with seasonal rounds tied to water sources and harvest cycles of mountain and valley. An aboriginal form of irrigation was practiced by the Paiutes of Owens Valley (DeDecker 1988:7; Lawton et al. 1993; Wehrey 1993:1). Because of ties to village and district apparently correlated with the management of resources, Owens Valley sociopolitical organization may have been more complicated than the typical extended family-band model of organization generally associated with the Great Basin. Between A.D. 600 and A.D. 1000 there apparently were population increases in the Owens Valley associated with greater exploitation of regional alpine ecological niches (Bettinger 1991:672). Consistent with Crowell's home-district hypothesis (1995), larger groups may have existed based upon territories and cooperation as to who used them when (Bettinger 1983:48). The modern configuration of the different groups in the Owens Valley seems to have occurred in the early twentieth century, with Paiutes north of a small incursion of Western Shoshones at the southern end around Owens Lake:

Besides those of central Nevada, other Shoshones also changed residence in the early years of the twentieth century....Other Shoshones also moved away from their native areas. Some left the region along the Nevada-California border and moved to the Northern Paiute area of Owens Valley in eastern California. The Shoshones made this decision for at least two reasons. First, in 1912 the Indian Bureau had established the Bishop Sub-Agency as an arm of the larger Carson Indian Agency in Nevada. The Bishop office was intended to serve both Shoshones and Paiutes living in Inyo and Mono counties. When some Shoshones of eastern Inyo County heard about this assistance, they moved westward into Owens Valley to secure some federal support. Second, Owens Valley had become the main travel route and trade center of eastern California, so it offered job opportunities. By 1930, according to an Indian Bureau census roll, the following Shoshone family heads were living in Bishop, Big Pine, and Lone Pine: Frank Bellas, Chappe Bellas, Bob Best, Louis Brown, Willie Brown, Nellie Burkhardt [sic, mother of Jack Burkhardt who worked as a guard at the Manzanar camp and is mentioned below in the section on Indian employment at Manzanar] and Georgia Button. The Shoshones intermarried with the Paiutes, and the Indians of Owens Valley now call themselves the Paiute-Shoshone Tribes of Owens Valley (Crum 1994:66).

LANGUAGES

The Owens Valley Paiute speak Mono, which with Northern Paiute makes up the Western Numic division of the Uto-Aztecan language family. The Panamint or Koso Shoshone, including those in Lone Pine, speak Panamint, which is in the Central Numic division of the Uto-Aztecan language family along with the Western Shoshone language, which is related to Comanche (Liljeblad and Fowler 1986:412). Owens Lake, it seems, was a dividing line; Koso Shoshone territory began on its shores to the south and east (Kroeber 1976:590). Shoshoneans are speakers of Numic languages:

The Uto-Aztecan [language] family....is one of the great fundamental families of aboriginal America, of importance in the origins of civilization, politically predominant at the time of [European] discovery, and numerically the strongest on the continent today. The association of our Shoshoneans of east and south California with this aggregate at the centers of native culture opens a far perspective....[our Shoshoneans] as kinsmen, however remote, of the famous Aztecs...[with] an unexpected glimpse of a vista of history...that the sites of the cities of Los Angeles and Mexico were in the hands of peoples whose affinity is certain....Of course...it was the ancestors of the Mexican Nahua and the California Shoshoneans some thousands of years ago who were associated, not their modern representatives, and, as to the former association, no one knows where it occurred (Kroeber 1976:575).

As a practical matter, the Owens Valley Paiutes and Shoshones recognize their separate languages, Mono and Panamint, respectively, although they call them Paiute and Shoshone. And they recognize differences in Mono dialects up and down the valley among the present four different Paiute groups in Lone Pine, Big Pine, Independence, and Bishop.

LEGENDS

Leonard Daughenbaugh (1988) in writing about the Sierra Nevada, the Sierra range as he says, refers to Indian legends:

Native Americans living on the eastern and western approaches to the Sierra were, undoubtedly, the first to travel and climb in the range, but only legends remain to describe the important part it played in their religious and ceremonial lives (Daughenbaugh 1988).

Some Owens Valley legends are alive and well and being told today. An example may be found in the person of Richard Stewart, a Paiute teacher living in Big Pine and member of the Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Commission to Manzanar National Historic Site. Richard Stewart has an impressive family legacy. Jack Stewart was his great grandfather, an important informant of anthropologist Julian Steward. A representative tale of Jack Stewart was reprinted in 1994 and provides an example of Richard Stewart's material (Jack Stewart 1994). Louis Steward was Richard's grandfather (1908-1977), and Richard is undertaking a thorough cataloging, translation, and transcription of the extensive audio tape recordings his grandfather made. These are very important and could contribute to the park's interpretation of its Paiute neighbors.

Richard Stewart participates in the local and regional community of Owens Valley and may be found on a summer's weekend with guests and friends in the field teaching his Paiute Pottery course, sponsored and encouraged by the Winnedumah Hotel and Eastern California Museum, both in Independence:

Paiute Pottery with Richard Stewart: Follow Paiute Richard Stewart into the world of the Paiutes. Gather clay from [Owens] Valley deposits. Grind and mix it, then fashion your own pieces using ancient Paiute techniques. Enjoy Richard's tales and musings on Paiute culture as you work under a giant mulberry tree and prepare for the traditional ritual of outdoor firing (Bergman and Chapman 1994).

Richard tells Coyote stories, known in some North American Indian cultures as Trickster tales, and goes to some length to relate a creation story centered in a cave and rock setting in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada in the Big Pine vicinity. Richard stresses how local variations exist in basic Paiute cosmology and how the stories often precisely and importantly relate to specific locales as part of their geography (Richard Stewart 1995).

The legend of Winnedumah figures significantly in Owens Valley culture. As a granite rock formation it is a prominent landmark on the crest of the Inyos east of Independence. Anglo Tom Smith learned about it as a Big Pine sixth grader in 1914 (Smith 1975). Paiute Truman Buff says that it must not be discounted as just a story (Buff 1994). Variations abound of the courage of a Paiute hunter and warrior standing fast against invading attackers and turning to stone in the process as an eternal reminder to defend what is important (Hamilton 1993:35-36). The lesson for the National Park Service may be to stand fast and protect and preserve Manzanar.

A BRIEF CULTURAL SKETCH

Subsistence included a great deal of dietary complexity, commanding a lot of respect about how different environmental zones and resources were utilized. For example, at the right time every summer, usually early July, the Owens Valley Paiutes, gathered the larvae or caterpillars of the pandora moth, *Coloradia pandora*, (Charles Irwin 1977b; Fowler and Walter 1985).

Subsistence among the Owens Valley Paiutes and Shoshones was heavily based upon the gathering of wild plants and small land fauna, often rabbits and other rodents, with a significant but smaller percentage of subsistence based upon hunting larger animals such as deer and antelope. The gathering of pine nuts was especially important and, to a lesser extent, acorns. There was no reliance aboriginally on animal husbandry, that is, the raising of domesticated animals, or on agriculture as we know it as the large-scale planting of field crops. However, plots of wild plants were cultivated through irrigation. Fishing figures in where available but not as much as hunting overall. A form of fishing was practiced in conjunction with irrigation as noted in the following section on irrigation.

At marriage, a small or token bride price was called for by way of a symbolic payment or transfer of goods to the family of the bride. Menstrual taboos involving the temporary segregation of women were and still are in practice (Budke 1994; Davis 1994; Fowler 1994b; Priscilla Naylor 1994a, 1994b; Neddeen Naylor 1994), for example, as on the annual Indian walk of spiritual renewal involving the Owens Valley and Yosemite National Park. Small extended families were the norm with some activities centering at times on the nuclear family, in which the father and mother with their dependent offspring behaved independently of other family members or family groups. Residence at marriage was sometimes with the wife's kin or in their locality, but often with the husband's. In the conventional view, communities were pretty autonomous with essentially no reference to any larger or regional decision-making groups. There was a tendency to marry out of the group, that is, to find a spouse in another community. Kinship descent was/is bilateral, like Euro-American reckoning, in which relatives were/are defined through both one's mother and father, not just the father as in patrilineal kinship descent, or the mother as in matrilineal descent. Often sons were expected to follow their fathers as

local headmen or political leaders. Houses were generally round in configuration and varied in brush construction with the season (Murdock 1967:110-113). Rock shelters augmented by brush, poles, and logs also served as dwellings (Charles Irwin 1977c:14). Religious specialists because of their spiritual training helped and healed people. Persons could be perceived of harboring or being in touch with evil supernatural powers and be accused of witchcraft.

PAIUTE IRRIGATION

A distinctive feature is Paiute irrigation in terms of water diversion through the construction of ditches. It was water management to promote the growth of certain plants, that is, the irrigation of plots of wild seeds. Irrigation was a community effort involving considerable labor. All the men might take part in building a dam of "boulders, brush, sticks, and mud" (Lawton et al. 1993:338). The irrigator of a plot was important in village social organization. Using an irrigating tool called the *pavado*, a pole 8 feet long and 4 inches in diameter, he had the "sole responsibility for watering the plot by a system of small ditches and dams of mud, sod, and brush" (Lawton et al. 1993:338).

It is interesting to note the interaction of irrigation with a form of fishing or fish collection:

After water was turned into the [irrigation] ditch, fish were recovered from the dry stream bed. The overflow water from irrigation was permitted to take its course and wander onto the Owens River. In the fall, before harvesting of the wild plants, the dam was destroyed and the water allowed to flow once more down its main channel. Again fish were gathered, but this time from the irrigation ditch (Lawton et al. 1993:338).

Of additional interest is the aboriginal origin of Owens Valley Paiute irrigation. Since this report suggests the Spanish origin via Paiute borrowing and then Paiute-Anglo contact for the naming of Manzanar, it is important to appreciate the indigenous roots of Paiute irrigation:

In the case of the Owens Valley Paiute, [Julian] Steward [1933] provides three words associated with the growing of plant crops: *tuwaju*, head irrigator; *tuva dut*, to irrigate; and *pavado*, the irrigator's pole. Catharine Fowler (personal communication) informs us that these are Paiute words and not derived from the Spanish. Possibly, a review of unpublished field notes of linguists working on the various Northern Paiute and Nevada Shoshone groups will elicit still more words related to irrigation of wild plants such as the words for "ditch," "fallowing," and "dam." We suggest, however, that the presence of these few recorded words in the Paiute vocabulary and the fact that the well-known Spanish term *zanjero* for irrigator did not diffuse from the Spanish missions. Whether future analyses of Paiute vocabularies can throw more light on dating the origins of irrigation in Owens Valley we must leave to linguists working in that area (Lawton et al. 1993:360).

PRESCRIBED BURNING

Although awareness is growing, a section on prescribed burning is offered here because it is still often an overlooked part of traditional aboriginal culture. Controlled prescribed burning — purposefully setting brush and ground cover on fire to promote new plant growth and seed growth for certain species in certain locations at certain times of the year as well as for hunting deer and rabbits — has been reported for the Timbisha Shoshones in Death Valley (Fowler 1994a:5-9, Paton 1995:50), the Western Mono Paiutes to the west of the Owens Valley Paiutes (Anderson 1993:161, Lewis 1993:91), the

Mono Lake Paiutes of the Eastern Mono Paiutes to the north of the Owens Valley Paiutes (Andrews 1994), and for the Owens Valley Paiutes themselves (Richard Stewart 1995b). In general, such use of fire was aboriginally perceived as "good, and useful to clean the country" (Fowler 1994a:6), and it is so regarded today (Richard Stewart 1995b).

Ethnographic studies of California Indians have demonstrated the great variety of plant and animal resources used for aboriginal subsistence. Whereas acorns [and pine nuts], large game (especially deer), and fish constituted the bulk of available food, large amounts of herbaceous plants and smaller game were also taken in the annual quest for food. Among the more important of the secondary sources were the seeds of various grasses and bulbs of lilies, both plant families being highly productive in terms of fire successions (Lewis 1993:79).

Traditional prescribed burning in the Owens Valley could have implications for Manzanar National Historic Site in managing and interpreting the natural resources of the park. This topic is presented for that consideration and to suggest it receive more attention in future ethnographic/ traditional studies associated with the site.

CRAWLING IN AND OUT OF THE MANZANAR CAMP, AN INDIAN LINK

Ina Jaffe (1994) for a recent National Public Radio program interviewed a Japanese American interned in one of the war relocation centers from age 5 to 8. He says that one of his greatest satisfactions was crawling in and out of the camp through or under the barbed wire, which was five-strand barbed wire:

Fencing (Contractor: C. J. Paradis, Los Angeles, California): The fencing project consisted of the removal of 5,000 lineal feet of old fencing and the installation of 18,871 lineal feet of new fence of 5-strand barbed wire around the boundaries of the [Manzanar War Relocation] Center area (Sandridge and Sisler 1946).

Photograph number 701 of Toyo Miyatake, a professional Los Angeles photographer interned at Manzanar who eventually was permitted to photograph life in the camp (Armor and Wright 1988:xviii-xx), clearly depicts the barbed-wire fence of five strands. Three boys are standing beside the fence looking inside the camp with the Sierra Nevada in the background (Embrey 1987:36). At Manzanar, Paul Kimura who was 8 in 1943 says

sure, it was quite easy to crawl or step through the barbed wire fence, we did it all the time. And we played a lot of marbles, ate, and went to school. That's what I remember. It was fun of a sort (Kimura 1994).

A Paiute from Big Pine, a boy of 10 at the time living in Lone Pine, says that he played marbles, too, inside the camp with Japanese American friends, with internees. Tom Lone Eagle (1994) tells of hiking from Lone Pine to the camp, negotiating the barbed wire, and spending time with friends and one family in particular who had young boys his age. According to general consensus, if anyone was able to sneak into the camp from outside on a regular basis, adventuresome Tom would have been so capable and so inclined (Dorothy Stewart 1994). As an American Indian, he figured that he "passed" as a Japanese American in the camp, but "I didn't flaunt it," he says (Lone Eagle 1994).

AMERICAN INDIANS MISTAKEN FOR JAPANESE AMERICANS

Viola Martinez (1994) reports that her uncle, Tom Gustie, a Paiute from the Bishop area born in 1895 (United States Senate 1932:15239), was detained upon leaving when making a delivery to Manzanar as a trucker's helper. The military police apparently thought that he was an internee trying to escape. Verification took awhile, according to the family story, before his identity was accepted.

At the annual pilgrimage of Japanese Americans returning to the Manzanar site, it is not uncommon as an Owens Valley Paiute or Shoshone to be asked about one's years of internment (Hemphill 1994). Many times Indians have attended these pilgrimages out of curiosity and shared interests in civil rights (Napoles 1994).

INDIAN EMPLOYMENT AT THE MANZANAR WAR RELOCATION CENTER

Robert Brown, assistant project director of the Manzanar War Relocation Center, estimates

that maybe fifty percent of all the administrators [of the war relocation centers]...or the relocation authorities...came from the Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA] (Brown 1944:19).

Is there any connection between BIA administrators and the hiring of Indian employees? Apparently not. Research thus far has not shown any relationship. Research has revealed four employees with Indian heritage — Jack E. Burkhardt, Viola Martinez, Johnnie T. Shepherd, and George Shepherd — who either worked at Manzanar during the detention-camp period or immediately afterward.

Jack E. Burkhardt, apparently a Shoshone and not a Paiute, was born in 1906 (United States Senate 1932:15246), died in 1969, and is buried in the cemetery in Lone Pine, where he had lived most of his life (Goodwin 1994). He is listed as a policeman on the 1943 organizational chart for Manzanar (Manzanar Organization Chart 1943). Presumably, he was a civilian guard for the camp administration facility and not a member of the United States Army Military Police (MP). Although he is not listed on the November 20, 1944, list of personnel published at Manzanar, members of Manzanar's appointed staff used the term guard. Three guards are listed for that date: Richard A. Clark, Max C. Logan, and Alfred D. Morgan (Manzanar Magpie 1944:4-6). It would appear that Jack Burkhardt was no longer employed at Manzanar when the first issue of the *Manzanar Magpie* came out (Manzanar Magpie 1944:4-6).

Jack Burkhardt was well known in Lone Pine and up and down the Owens Valley for liking and keeping horses and maintaining an extensive garden (Romero 1994; Zucco 1994). At the turn of the century, a "John Burkhardt was a watchmaker in Lone Pine" (Lubken 1977:153; Fisher 1993:49). It is unclear if there is any connection, whether by kinship or the taking of an Anglo surname.

Viola Martinez, a Paiute from the Bishop area, born in 1914, worked at the Manzanar War Relocation Center as a relocation officer. She interviewed internees for relocation to jobs outside the camp in the midwestern or eastern parts of the United States (Martinez 1994). She is not listed on the November 20, 1944, list of personnel published in the *Manzanar Magpie* (1944:4-6). But she does recall Walter Heath, with and for whom she worked. Walter A. Heath is listed as the "Relocation Program Officer" (Manzanar Magpie 1944:5). Viola Martinez attended the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and later became a certified teacher and social worker. One of her prized possessions is a copy of the now rare 1944 book by Ansel Adams, *Born Free and Equal, Photographs of the Loyal Japanese-Americans at Manzanar Relocation Center, Inyo County, California*.

Johnnie T. Shepherd and George Shepherd are listed as "Indian laborers" by Clyde F. Bradshaw, superintendent of Manzanar maintenance under the General Land Office, right after the closing of the war relocation center, in a memorandum of May 14, 1946 (Bradshaw 1946). Johnnie T. Shepherd was born in 1895 and George Shepherd in 1867 (United States Senate 1932:15240, 15244).

A related letter of May 9, 1946, from Hugh G. Fraser, clerk, Maintenance Department, Manzanar, California (new post office indicated in letter as Lone Pine, California) to "Dear Sir, Collector of Internal Revenue," San Francisco explains that Johnnie T. Shepherd should be classified for withholding purposes as a widower with five children, three under 18, rather than single. The letter is to correct "an error by the Manzanar personnel department" and indicates that "from October 16, 1945, to March 16, 1946, his employer was the War Relocation Authority....[and then] the General Land Office as of March 10, 1946" (Fraser 1946).

Many of the Indian people with whom I talked indicated that relatives or others in their communities had served at Manzanar as construction workers, both for setting up the camp and taking it down. At the end, whole buildings or portions thereof were moved to various locations in the Owens Valley. Something like that happened at the demise of the town of Manzanar, also, as one or two of those buildings survive, at least in Lone Pine (Goodwin 1994).

INTERMARRIAGE

One Indian link to Manzanar, the camp, concerns marriage. Rose Velma Hill a Paiute of Big Pine, born in 1912, but living in Lone Pine at the time and working in a restaurant as a waitress, married a military policeman (MP), Claude Lee Earnhardt, on April 20, 1945 (Copley 1994). A daughter was born, Rosalee Mary Earnhardt, married now and living in Big Pine as a member of the Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute-Shoshone Indians. The couple separated on July 3, 1949, and a complaint for divorce was filed on September 12, 1949 (Complaint for Divorce 1949). The family has photos of Claude Earnhardt in his MP uniform drinking at a restaurant or bar with fellow MPs. One picture includes a civilian woman with Earnhardt and another soldier.

Harlan Unrau, the National Park Service historian mentioned earlier, has researched the various MP escort guard companies, patrols, and service command units and should identify them and report on their dates of service at Manzanar in his forthcoming historic resource study. Little is known about Claude Earnhardt. He apparently was from North Carolina (Copley 1994; Negrete 1994; Williams 1994), and the court records indicate that he stayed around after Manzanar closed as a war relocation center.

Intermarriage between Indians and Anglos occurred historically in the Owens Valley. A notable example is that of Henry Lenbek, born in 1866 in San Jose, California. He married Mamie Brown, a Shoshone, some time after arriving in Lone Pine in 1894. The first of their six children, Sam, was born in 1910, followed by Patrick, Lena, Martha, Grace, and Fay (Mills 1977; United States Senate 1932:15246). I was able to interview Lena, Martha, and Grace (Lena Sluyter 1994, Mills 1994; Romero 1994) and learn of the Manzanar town holdings of their father. He invested in 1913 as an orchard grower with area cattle interests. By 1926, Lenbek had sold his Manzanar land to the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (DWP) but actually stayed and lived in Manzanar until 1934 when everyone had to leave (Mills 1977:122-124).

Another example of intermarriage involves Jacob Charles Miller, who "came to Owens Valley from Switzerland in the late 1800s and...married a Paiute woman, Jennie Goodale" (Heston and Kessler

1979:2). Their son, Harry Miller, (1894-1979) and his wife Ida Leila Johnson (died in 1952) lived and raised livestock on the Fort Independence Indian Reservation and had several children. One of them, Vernon Miller, born in 1927, is on the Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Commission for Manzanar National Historic Site.

RECOMMENDATION

There are those of the present-day Owens Valley Paiute community who oppose the creation of the National Historic Site at Manzanar. For those Native Americans who oppose the National Historic Site, it must be understood that federal archeological and cultural resource protection laws mandate that there will be no grave-related objects on view, skeletal or otherwise. Therefore, areas deemed culturally sensitive by the Native American representatives seated on the [Secretary of the Interior's] Manzanar Advisory Commission [Vernon Miller and Richard Stewart] will be excluded from interpretive trails and public reference (Richard Stewart:1995a).

In addition to developing possible cooperative resource management and interpretive programs, and other joint activities, the National Park Service could continue to improve relations with the Owens Valley Paiutes and Shoshones by assuring them that elders will be properly notified through the appropriate tribal governments of any Native American burials inadvertently discovered at Manzanar. Re-covering a disturbed burial upon discovery is correct and is National Park Service policy and practice. The burial discovered at Manzanar during a 1993 National Park Service archeological survey was re-covered with earth at the time and now has been pointed out to certain elders (Burton 1995; Richard Stewart 1995b).



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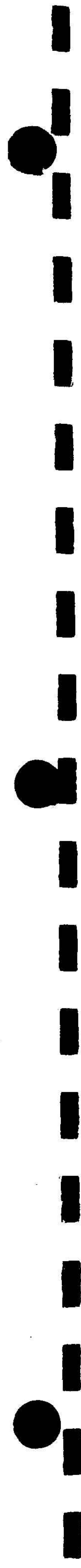
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Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.



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