

Native Sustainment

The North Fork Mono Tribe's Stories, History, and Teaching
of Its Land and Water Tenure in 1918 and 2009

Jared Dahl Aldern

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

from

Prescott College

in

Education

with a Concentration in Sustainability Education

May 2010

Steven J. Crum, Ph.D.
Committee Member

George Lipsitz, Ph.D.
Committee Member

Margaret Field, Ph.D.
External Expert Reader

Theresa Gregor, Ph.D.
External Expert Reader

Pramod Parajuli, Ph.D.
Committee Chair

Copyright © 2010 by Jared Dahl Aldern.

All rights reserved.

No part of this dissertation may be used, reproduced, stored, recorded, or transmitted in any form or manner whatsoever without written permission from the copyright holder or his agent(s), except in the case of brief quotations embodied in the papers of students, and in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews.

Requests for such permission should be addressed to:

Jared Dahl Aldern

2658 East Alluvial Avenue, #103

Clovis, CA 93611

Acknowledgments

Gratitude to:

The North Fork Mono Tribe, its Chairman, Ron Goode,
and members Melvin Carmen (R.I.P.), Lois Conner, Stan Dandy,
Richard Lavelle, Ruby Pomona, and Grace Tex
for their support, kindnesses, and teachings.

My doctoral committee: Steven J. Crum, Margaret Field, Theresa Gregor,
George Lipsitz, and Pramod Parajuli
for listening, for reading, and for their mentorship.

Jagannath Adhikari, Kat Anderson, Steve Archer, Donna Begay, Lisa Bennett, Paul Burkhardt,
Noël Cox Caniglia, Richard Cellarius, Dirk Charley, Jon Christensen, Joan Clingan, Lori Clune,
Barbara Cross, Steve Crouthamel, Charles Ettner, Michael Cuddington, Robin Maria DeLugan,
Bill Deverell, Glenn DeVoogd, Patricia Dixon, Dorian Fougères, Ross Frank, Ed Grumbine,
Kamyar Guivetchi, Ken Hansen, Barry Hill, Mary Anna Sung Hsi, Andrea Johnson, Kimberly
Johnston-Dodds, Brad Jones, Gaylen Lee, Linda Locklear, Rick Medrick, John Minkler, Jim
Mullooly, Erin Potter, Dereka Rushbrook, Mark Somma, Jordana DeZeeuw Spencer, Priscilla
Stuckey, Eileen Walsh, Steven Walker, Katherine Ward, Mike Wilken, La Querencia neighbors,
and audiences at the 2010 Conference of the American Society for Environmental History,
at Palomar College, at Prescott College, and at San Diego State University
for helpful responses and conversations.

Karyn Finnell, Rich Lewis, Jody Lichtenberg, Deb Morrison, Vita Marie Phares,
Kistie Simmons, and other Prescott College staff members, faculty members, and administrators
for invaluable and always-professional support and assistance.

Staff members at the Auberry Branch of the Fresno County Public Library, the Bancroft Library,
the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, the Henry Madden Library at Fresno State,
the National Archives at San Francisco, and the Sierra National Forest
for their expert counsel.

The staff of the California State Department of Water Resources
and the Center for Collaborative Policy (California State University, Sacramento),
and fellow members of the 2009 California Tribal Water Summit Planning Team
for their collaboration.

My fellow members of Cohort 2 of the Prescott College Ph.D. Program
for their comradeship.

The Aldern, Grunwald, Hsi, Sung, Groethe, Solbach, Lim, and Shindo families
for their interest in my work, for their hospitality, and for their countless generousities.

Mary, Natalie, Jackie, and Belinda
for their sustainment.

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the North Fork Mono (or *Nium*) Tribe's historiography and oral narratives about its land and water tenure. I begin with a recounting of my recent experiences with writing elementary school curriculum about Native American people and the environment and a discussion of the clash in worldviews that this work brought to the surface. Then, by drawing on secondary sources, on archival research into federal land records and anthropologists' correspondence and field notes, on an analysis of the content and structure of traditional stories recorded by the anthropologist E. W. Gifford in 1918 (and of Gifford's publications), and on my participation in and observation of the 2009 California Tribal Water Summit, I describe the traditional Nium fire regime and the history of the Tribe's land and water tenure. My dissertation supports the Tribe's sovereignty and environmental jurisdiction; I focus on an investigation of how the Nium have expressed water tenure and rights in the watershed of the San Joaquin River and on how Nium stories operate as educational media. My literary and historical analysis shows how Nium narratives can drive ecological restoration and how these narratives sustain people, land, and water by articulating the connections among all these entities. In clarifying this sustainment – this persistent, reciprocal support and nourishment among Nium people, land, and water over time – for a broader audience, my objective is to contribute to other groups' capacities to sustain themselves and that which surrounds them – to accomplish the goal, in other words, of sustainability education.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	iii
Abstract	iv
Figure 1 Map of the Upper San Joaquin Watershed	vii
Chapter One	
Introduction:	
Stories, Relationship, and Sustainment.....	1
“The Story Needs to Paint a Clearer Picture:” State Curriculum Alignment.....	3
Further Collaboration with Ron Goode.....	5
Worldview and Cosmology	7
Gifford’s Stories and Nium Stories.....	8
Ecological Legitimacy, Recognition, Sovereignty, Jurisdiction, and My Work.....	9
My Work in Relation to Others: A Brief Review.....	12
Historians, Ecological Indians, Sustainability, and Conservation.....	17
History and Narrative Education.....	24
Notes on Sources.....	27
Cosmology and Policy.....	28
Chapter Two	
A Brief History of Nium Fire and Land Tenure to 1918.....	31
Nium Trails and Fire.....	32
Anglo American Invasion, Settlement, and Changes in the Fire Regime.....	37
Livestock Grazing and the Preservation Movement Affect the Nium.....	40
Hydropower in the Sierra.....	43
Indian Homesteads, Allotment, the Winters Decision, and Water.....	44
Tourism.....	50
Education, Labor, Alcohol, and Wildfire.....	53
Chapter Three	
Fairy Tales and Respectable Antiquity: Gifford and the Nium.....	57
Gifford’s and Kroeber’s Claims.....	58
Gifford’s Correspondence Regarding the North Fork Mono.....	61
The Upshot.....	69
Chapter Four	
Nium Story and North Fork Mono Land and Water.....	72

Animism and Sustainability: A Community Includes All Things.....	76
Parallelism, Parataxis, Seriation, and Causality.....	80
Cultures of Place.....	84
Five Nium Stories.....	86
 Chapter Five	
Water Stories, Education, and Meadow Restoration.....	103
The State of California Makes Space for Stories.....	105
The Tribal Water Summit.....	107
The Summit Starts.....	109
“We Have to Have a Lesson:” Stories and Education at the Summit.....	111
History, Stories, Rights, and Responsibilities.....	116
“The Doors Are Opening:” Discussions of Next Steps at the Summit.....	119
Native Water Rights and Meadow Restoration.....	122
The Beneficial Uses of Water in Montane Meadow Restoration.....	127
 Chapter Six	
Total Recall and the Move from Sustainment to Sustainability.....	134
Intercultural Teaching and Learning.....	137
Conclusion (and Future Work).....	146
 Appendix	
Constitution of the North Fork Mono Tribe, Article I: Territory.....	150
 Figure 2	
The North Fork Mono Tribe’s 2007 map of its traditional territory.....	151
 Figure 3	
E. W. Gifford’s 1932 map of North Fork Mono and surrounding lands.....	152
 Figure 4	
A.L. Kroeber’s map of south-central California (1925).....	153
 Figure 5	
Map of linguistic groups in central and southern California.....	154
 Figure 6	
The U.S. Bureau of Reclamation’s map of the proposed Temperance Flat Reservoir.....	155
 Figure 7	
Map of the Waters of the San Joaquin Valley and the Central Sierra Nevada.....	156
 Bibliography.....	 157

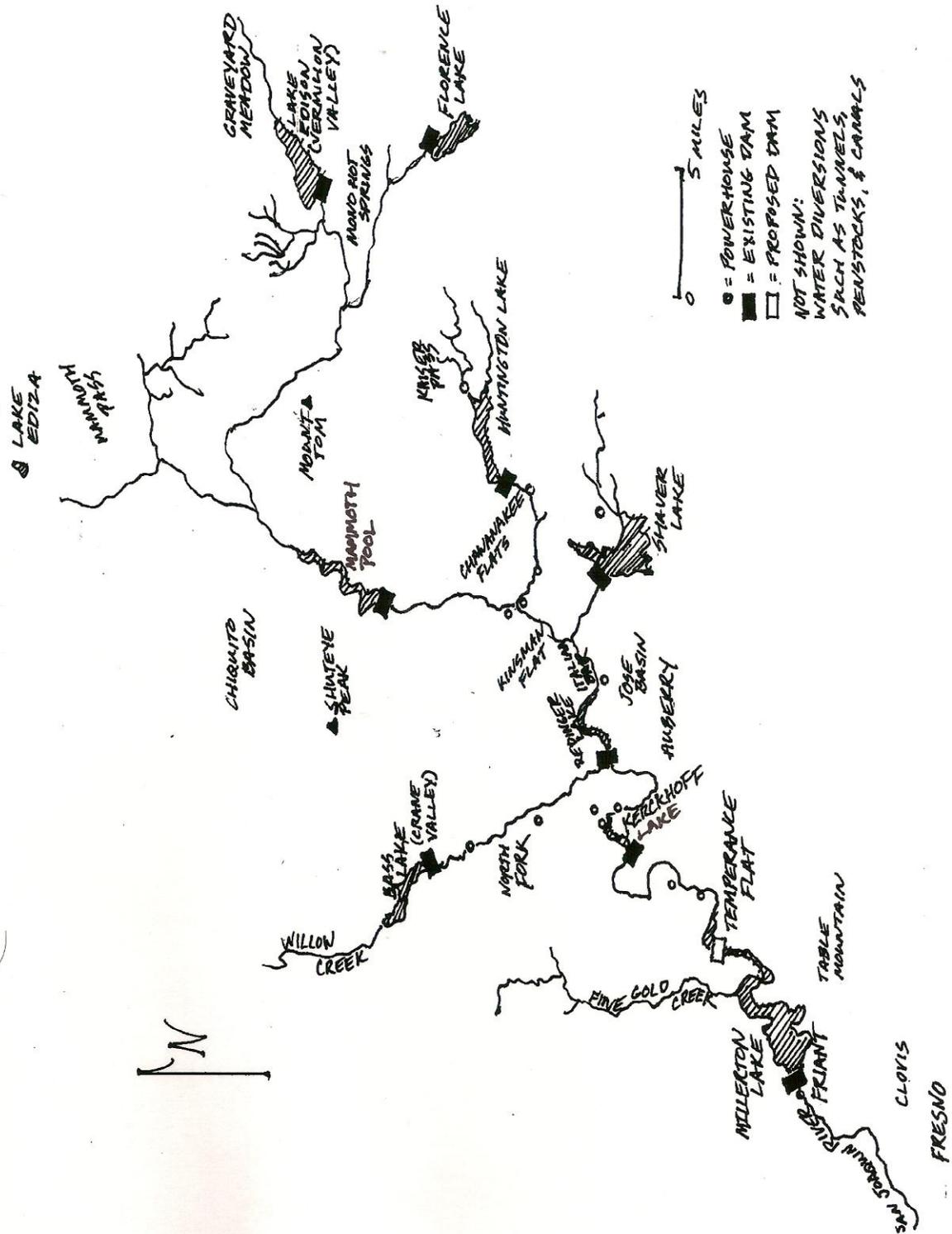


Figure 1: Map of the Upper San Joaquin Watershed

Chapter One

Introduction: Stories, Relationship, and Sustainment

It is difficult to separate the perception of the landscape by any one culture or people from their ecology and territoriality. Dispossession of the land predicated the displacement of traditional environmental relations and loss of traditional membership in nature.

-- Richmond L. Clow and Imre Sutton (2001)

This dissertation tells stories about stories. My interest is in stories as a method of education, as a method of increasing the capacities for thought and action in individuals and communities. As a sustainability educator I am particularly interested in stories that increase the capacity of communities to sustain, support, and nourish relationships with land and water – stories that interconnect people, land, and water – and I believe that the stories of the North Fork Mono Tribe (or, in their own language, the *Nium* or “people”) provide a model of just such a set of narratives. Here I investigate how Nium and other Indigenous storytellers foster human connection with land and water as well as a concatenation among places, while narrators working within Western cultural traditions tend to reflect a mentality of power, causality, management, and control over people and natural resources.

Let me begin with a few brief stories myself. In July 2009, my doctoral committee chair, Dr. Pramod Parajuli, traveled from Prescott, Arizona to Fresno, California to visit me and learn more about my collaborative work with the North Fork Mono Tribe. I introduced Parajuli to Ron Goode, Chairman of the Tribe, and the three of us, along with my seven-year-old daughter and Parajuli’s friend, Dr. Jagannath Adhikari of the Nepal Development Research Institute, made a forty-minute drive into the Sierra Nevada foothills to visit the North Fork Mono Tribe’s Crane

Valley meadow restoration site, near Bass Lake in the Sierra National Forest. We carefully walked through some very healthy patches of poison oak as Goode pointed out the sedge root, deergrass, and other plants that are making a comeback at the site as a result of the restoration efforts of his Tribe.

When we arrived at a spring in the middle of the meadow, the summer heat lifted the aroma of the surrounding mint plants to us like an upwelling of water. Goode gave a paper grocery bag to each of us and invited us to gather some of the mint plants for tea. His only condition was that we thank the mint as we gathered it. My daughter and I did so, and our family still draws from the bag of mint leaves in our pantry for cups of tea.

But why thank a plant? I knew from my previous experiences of working with Native peoples that doing so was a commonly expected ritual when gathering plants. The answer to the question of “why” hints at some of the profound differences between Nium relationships to land and scientific land management that form one of the main themes of this dissertation. Kenneth Boulding once wrote:

If man believes that natural objects like stones, wind, water, and crops are moved by essentially arbitrary wills, either he will despair of manipulating nature to his own advantage or he will attempt to do this in the same way that he would attempt to manipulate his fellow man – that is, by attempts at verbal or symbolic communication, in the form of incantation and ritual. It is not until animism is replaced by an attitude which regards will as essentially and solely a property of the minds and souls of men, rather than of inanimate objects, that a scientific and technological attitude toward the world becomes possible. (1964, pp. 15-16)

Goode asked us to try to communicate with what Boulding would call a natural object. By thanking the mint we placed ourselves into a relationship with a plant that falls outside of scientific and technological views. Though thoroughly versed in science and technology, Goode has not replaced his animistic attitude with one that regards will as solely a human property. Thus the need to thank plants for what they are willing to provide to us at locations such as the

Crane Valley restoration site. Nium knowledge of the locations of these sites has passed from generation to generation through stories that specify Nium place names and help to frame relationships between humans and place – or, more precisely, among humans and other persons in places. These narratives and their sustainment¹ of relationships to land and water – the connections among story, land, and water – form the subject of this dissertation.

“The Story Needs to Paint a Clearer Picture:” State Curriculum Alignment

Goode and I struck up a professional collaboration in 2007 to write third- and fourth-grade curriculum units about the relationships among California Native Americans and their lands for the State of California’s Education and the Environment Initiative (EEI), a multimillion-dollar curriculum development effort. Part of our task was to work with the National Geographic Society to produce a map of Native California, a task that we accomplished (California Environmental Protection Agency, 2009), but not without some difficulties and compromise. Goode and I suggested using hachured lines, arrows, overlapping colors, or labels without borders on the map to represent the complex, dynamic interactions among Native peoples prior to the arrival of Europeans in California. The response we received from the National Geographic mapmakers was, “Cartographers like to have solid lines on their maps.” Although we succeeded in achieving some changes in the map – such as replacing the precisely drawn red borders between Native groups that appeared in National Geographic’s first draft of the map with softer, broader, gray borders in the final version – the final product still tends to

¹ I use the term *sustainment* to denote a demonstrated achievement of having sustained human community, land, and water over a continuous period of time in the past, as distinguished from *sustainability*, the ability or capacity to sustain these entities for some time into the future.

reinforce an inaccurate view of Native cultures as self-contained and rigidly bounded within specific territories.

A more serious challenge in our work with EEI, a challenge that in the end Goode and I could not surmount, came when we tried to integrate Native stories with the curriculum associated with the map. Our idea was to build the curriculum around representative Native stories from each of seven regions of California. As a first step we proposed focusing one of the fourth grade lessons on Singing Jack's 1918 telling of the story of Coyote attempting to fly.²

The reception from our EEI editors was not positive. One of them responded to us in an email:

By the end of this story, I have learned about many animals, that coyote went to get water in a basket and can climb trees. I haven't learned about goods and services in the environment that humans relied upon to live... The story needs to paint a clearer picture of the natural system. It would also be ideal to have the story tell of ways that animals (or, even better, humans) use parts of the natural system that the story describes to survive.

For the editors at EEI, Singing Jack's story did not align well enough with California's state academic content standards. Their view was that if we were to integrate Native stories into the EEI curriculum at all, the stories "needed" to paint a scientifically "clear" picture of the ecosystem. It became apparent to Goode and me that our editors wanted to selectively draw on portions of Native narratives that they saw as well aligned with academic content standards and, specifically, with scientific views of the land. On the other hand, the EEI editors were not willing (nor able, it seemed) to approach the stories as primary historical sources, as rich narratives that could help students make connections, or as texts that could provide insight into Native views of human interactions with other members of the natural community at particular times in history. I was struck by what I saw as the disrespect shown by the editors toward the

² Published by E.W. Gifford in "Western Mono Stories" (1923); see Chapter Four of this dissertation for a reproduction of the story.

story – a disrespect that nearly all Native peoples have experienced in schooling: “the lack of respect that has been attached to [Natives’] historical understanding, and the consequent and concomitant misinterpretation of their cultural knowledge” (Akan, 1992, p. 34) .

Further Collaboration with Ron Goode

Our contract with EEI eventually came to an end over the disagreement about the appropriateness of using Native stories for the curriculum, but it was at this point that my collaboration with Goode really gained momentum. Though he and other North Fork Mono tribal members were well aware of Gifford’s general ethnography, *The Northfork Mono* (1932), they had not been so aware of “Western Mono Stories” until I brought the article to their attention (though perhaps their inattention to the document was a studied neglect; after all, why read stories published by an anthropologist when you are hearing most of the stories directly from your elders and other community members?). Goode asked me to help write a comprehensive land tenure history for the North Fork Mono Tribe. Honored, I enthusiastically accepted the invitation, and this dissertation is one step toward that comprehensive history. I told Goode that I intended to focus initially on how Gifford’s framing of the stories he recorded in 1918 and published in 1923 had affected Nium land tenure, or how Gifford’s view of the stories was at least symptomatic of the dominant culture’s view of Nium relationship to land at the time. Goode was supportive of the idea but he cautioned me to be sure to let the stories speak for themselves, for if I were to read too much into them, he said, I would be “thinking just like Gifford.”

In the spring of 2009 Goode and I spent a day in Berkeley, California, where I had arranged for some research time at the Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Bancroft

Library. At the Museum we listened to the master copies of the recordings that Gifford made of North Fork storytellers in 1918. Though the audio quality of the recordings had deteriorated to the point where it was not possible for Goode to make out many individual Nium words, the expressive voice of Singing Jack called to us over the decades and we clearly heard the rhythms of his paratactic sentences that I discuss in Chapter Four.

Later that day at the Bancroft, we began a methodical review of Gifford's papers. Goode started to go through the hard copies of Gifford's correspondence in the files of the Berkeley Department of Anthropology while I, in a small room adjacent to the Library's main reading room, read the microfilmed field notes that Gifford took in North Fork in 1918. At one point I took a brief break and checked in with Goode, asking, "Have you found anything exciting?"

Goode shook his head and said, "Man, they saved *everything*."

I replied, "Well, if it's okay with you, let's keep going with it. There might be something in there about his work in North Fork."

Perhaps an hour later, Goode came into the microfilm viewing room. When I saw him I immediately began to tell him about some place names I had found in the field notes that I thought were significant, but he interrupted me to say, "Come out to take a look at what I found." He then showed to me Gifford's 1930 correspondence with William Shebley, quoted in Chapter Three, that demonstrates so plainly Gifford's long-held belief that the Nium were "recent arrivals" on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada and his discounting of the stories he recorded as trivial "fairy tales."

"Is this what you're looking for?" Goode asked me.

"This is absolutely classic," I responded.

Goode was eventually to allude to the contents of that letter at the 2009 California Tribal Water Summit and in the Tribal Water Stories Project described in Chapter Five of this dissertation. Goode invited me to join in the planning process for the Water Summit, and he and I continued throughout that process to keep the stories in Gifford (1923) in mind and to focus on the persistence of the role of story in Nium environmental interactions. As noted in Chapter Five, Goode was to state twice at the Tribal Water Summit that he had been “fired” from the EEI curriculum job, and also to state his disdain for phrases that our EEI editors had been fond of using, such as “ecosystem goods and services” and “Native American survival on the land.” Goode’s allusions to our elementary-level curriculum work within the State of California water planning process confirmed for me how complex and how significant are the interactions of epistemology, pedagogy, and environmental planning. In the pages that follow, I draw on my collaborative research with Goode and others to show how Nium storytellers have helped to sustain and nourish interconnections among people, land, and water for uncountable years, and to indicate how stories, as educational media, can sustain these relationships into the future.

• • •

Worldview and Cosmology

Nium views of land and water differ from the Anglo-American perspectives that dominate official approaches to land tenure and management. The scientific, neoclassic-economical view does not generally acknowledge that, as Prugh asserts, “humans and their systems... *symmetrically coevolve* with natural systems” (1995, p. 33). However, an animistic

exchange, such as my thanking the mint, implicitly acknowledges this coevolutionary process. Prugh notes that coevolution – or reciprocal evolution – entails a change in a natural system that leads to a human response and vice versa. An awareness of the concept of reciprocal evolution “strongly implies the critical importance of adaptability, the need to preserve multiple ways of relating to the natural world and the wisdom of choosing policies that preserve future options in the face of uncertainty” (Prugh, 1995, p.33). The custom of thanking plants while gathering from them implies both a relationship with a specific history and also the preservation of future options. Following this custom, for instance, one could negotiate relationships with species as they newly appear at locations on a mountain slope due to the forces of climate change.

The dynamic, reciprocal relationship between the Nium and other members of the land is like the dynamic, ever-evolving relationships among the members of a family. The character of relationships between Indigenous peoples and their lands is a result of their faith, confirmed by their stories, in their autochthony. If a group of people shares the belief that their ancestors emerged from the Earth, that the Earth is in fact their mother, then it follows that they are related to all other things to which that mother gave birth.

Gifford’s Stories and Nium Stories

As sketched above, my collaboration with the Tribe began with a focus on Edward Winslow Gifford’s “Western Mono Stories,” for the purposes of writing an elementary school curriculum. Gifford arrived in North Fork in July 1918 with a specific scholarly agenda. He took the similarity of the North Fork Mono language to the Eastern Mono or Owens Valley Paiute language to indicate that the two Uto-Aztecan language groups had been separated for only a short while (see Figure 3, Figure 4, and Figure 5). By 1918 part of Gifford’s agenda was

to show that the North Fork Mono were “recent arrivals” on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada – perhaps even more recent arrivals, he conjectured, than the Anglo Americans who had rushed into the area in the 1850s.

The year 1918 fell during a period of great physical and social displacement for the Nium. In a series of interrelated events, by that year the Nium had seen treaties that guaranteed reservation lands to them go unratified by the United States Senate; had lost meadows, mountains, waters, and their interconnecting trails to homesteaders, hydroelectric developers, miners, ranchers, recreationists, and timber companies; and had seen their cultural traditions, including their traditional land and water tenure, discounted and dismissed by forest and school officials who enforced assimilationist policies. It is my contention, elaborated in the chapters that follow, that Gifford’s claim that the Nium were “recent arrivals” was symptomatic of a colonialist perspective that imagined the geography of Nium homelands not as occupied territory but as empty space. If Gifford’s claims weakened the indigenous association of the Nium with the western Sierra, the storytellers he encountered in North Fork told stories that sustained their interactions with the land – and their stories continue to sustain those interactions today.

Ecological Legitimacy, Recognition, Sovereignty, Jurisdiction, and My Work

In times of turmoil – say, for example, of global climate change or economic depression – Indigenous narrative could greatly reward those who would learn from it and reciprocate its gifts. Jace Weaver encourages those who benefit from Native knowledge to be *communitists* – to take action on behalf of the communities that own the stories (Weaver, Womack & Warrior, 2006). Similarly, Miller (2008) encourages historians to make sure that their writing benefits Indigenous communities, though she notes that literary theorists are well ahead of historians in

this area. It is in hope of contributing to the community that I have worked with Ron Goode and the North Fork Mono Tribe. I would hope that among the outcomes of my research for this dissertation will be new insights into the history of the land and water tenure of the Tribe and, through my involvement in the Water Plan process, the land and water tenure of Native American people throughout the state of California. My historical and textual research and my interactions with Goode and other tribal members have taught me about stories and songs, and I have come to better understand how narrative and reciprocity sustain human community and the community of the land.

As Goode and I continue to integrate Nium narratives into our mutual work, I would also hope that our efforts help the North Fork Mono Tribe to gain greater recognition and greater *ecological legitimacy*, that is, for the Tribe to be seen increasingly by state and federal officials as environmental stewards, “caring for the land in a sustainable manner” (Pulido, 1998). Les W. Field writes that “for Native Americans in the United States, sovereignty is inseparable from official federal recognition of tribal status” (2008, p.8), and Darren Ranco asserts:

In the context of Native American issues in the United States, [ecological legitimacy] is critically intertwined with the politics of recognition – the ability of a particular group of Indians to be recognized by the federal government as a semi-sovereign government that is “deserving” of certain rights and protections. (2007, p. 42)

The North Fork Mono Tribe has not gained federal recognition, and this unacknowledged status has indeed presented challenges to the Tribe’s sovereignty and ecological legitimacy, but the Tribe has successfully advocated for its sovereignty and its members’ rights in nonfederal arenas. As Ranco notes, “while the terms of recognition may be a legal mandate, the terms of legitimacy are a social fact” (p. 42). The North Fork Mono Tribe has established the social fact of ecological legitimacy for itself and has asserted its sovereignty and jurisdiction. The Tribe has gained official recognition from the State of California and the County of Madera, some of its

members' allotments constitute a trust relationship with the federal government (Roth, 1996; quoted in Goode, 2007a), and its Rancheria – comprising a subset of the Tribe – has gained federal recognition. Furthermore, the Tribe regularly negotiates lands policy agreements with the Sierra National Forest, and based on what I learned at the Tribal Water Summit in 2009 (see Chapter Five), I believe that the lessons that Nium narratives comprise can increase the Tribe's ecological legitimacy further and lead to yet wider recognition of its jurisdiction over the land as a sovereign tribal nation.

The stories that scholars tell about Native American people and their origins can influence political processes and have profound impacts on communities. Mandelbaum explains:

Communities are characteristically indifferent of the proliferation of formal theories. The multiplication of stories, however, puts them seriously at risk... Alternative histories that challenge the boundaries of the group and its capacity for moral discipline and instrumental effectiveness threaten the identity of individuals and the meaning of membership. (1991, p. 210)

The narratives of scholars such as Gifford, the stories they have told about the spatial boundaries and the composition of the membership of the Nium community, can have profound effects on the integrity of the community and on the North Fork Mono Tribe's request for federal acknowledgment. I offer this dissertation in the service of academic requirements and deadlines but after meeting these obligations, I hope to continue to assist the Tribe with remapping the land and collecting stories, place names, genealogies, and oral histories – and perhaps publishing them in book or multimedia form. My purpose is to help sustain the community.

My hope is that any impact that my scholarly work has on the North Fork Mono community will be positive, though I know that my position as an outsider, the language that I use, and my intellectual limitations will all conspire to insure that I will produce distortions and make errors as I relate my own stories about Nium stories. The very structure of Nium narratives

and the conceptual network they form resist my attempts to encompass them under an overarching narrative. Yet as diverse as the stories are – as diverse as they must be – my intention is that my attempts at linking them to each other and to sustainment and sustainability will be a contribution, not another hurdle thrown in the path of the Nium by an outside scholar. Though I cannot encompass the stories with a metanarrative, I attempt here to make space for them to be heard. I have learned that repetition of the stories – multiple hearings or readings – helps me to learn fresh lessons with each repetition. As Karl Kroeber (2004) recommends for the reading of all Native stories, I encourage the reader to read the stories reproduced here in Chapter Four multiple times, also.

Collins (1998) writes that in Indigenous communities, solidarity results from shared language, ceremonies, spiritual beliefs and rituals. He adds that Native responses to loss of land, sovereignty, and community cohesiveness “have included warfare, a range of religious movements, judicial and legislative efforts, and extralegal direct political action” (1998, p. 9). After reading and hearing many Indigenous stories over the past few years and collaborating with Native scholars and activists, to Collins’s list of Native responses I would add reciprocal educational efforts such as the telling of stories to non-Native audiences.

My Work in Relation to Others: A Brief Review

What authorizes me? What right do I have to write this dissertation? To answer these questions, I would first ask the reader to keep in mind that this *is* a dissertation – a provisional and not a more finished, conclusive product – within which I am documenting my learning. To provide a bit more background on how I came to my interests in North Fork Mono history and story, I would add that I relocated to Fresno in 2006 to direct a history education program at

California State University, Fresno, after having lived in San Diego County, California for some two dozen years. I taught in elementary and high schools in San Diego's sparsely populated mountains, collaborated on various educational, cultural, and environmental programs with several of the region's American Indian nations, and pursued interests in environmental history and American Indian studies to the level of completing a master's degree in the subjects (see Aldern, 2002).

When I moved to Fresno, I wanted to learn as much as I could about my new home, and I kept in mind some words of Donald Worster's that I had read years before: "[W]hat is old among us may by that very fact be worthy of respect and mimicry... what is *very* old may be wise" (1995, p. 81). I asked: Who and what are here in Central California, and who and what have been here for a long time? I sought a relationship with the local Indigenous community because I wanted to learn about local history and land. I found that I shared a concern for the sustainability of local land and water with the North Fork Mono Tribe, and this dissertation serves as documentation of that shared concern. My experience in working with the Tribe (and other tribes, at the California Tribal Water Summit as documented in Chapter Five) has allowed me to corroborate what the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences asserts of Indigenous belief systems, within which the traditional Western "distinction between the political, the religious, and the scientific does not seem entirely reasonable or valid" (Wallerstein, 1996, p.88). My knowledge of sustainment and sustainability has increased through my study of the historical experiences of the Nium, and I have been able to meet Nium and other Native peoples, to develop new acquaintances and friends, and to build my understanding of the transdisciplinary nature of much Native epistemology and pedagogy. Kincheloe and Steinberg (2008) write of building a "cubist" view of the world by combining

Western and Native views, and I believe that that is the sort of view I have begun to construct here.

Lee (1998) draws on stories and focuses on his own Nium³ family's history and laments losses of land and relationships with land. My study draws on my working relationship with the North Fork Mono Tribe and on archival sources to describe, from my own, outsider's perspective, broader Nium responses to Western histories. Throughout most of my research, Ron Goode and I have collaborated, but neither he nor I have dominated the working relationship; we have walked alongside one another. Goode has not co-authored this dissertation, and I will not seek his approval of the final version of this document before I submit it to Prescott College, but I will present the Tribe with copies of it. I do not know that my theories about Nium story will be of use to the Tribe, but perhaps my reproduction of stories and my description of their context and their contrast with the stories of anthropologists will be of some help to the community.

I do not speak or understand the Western Mono language and I am not a linguist, and therefore can only report on the context and content of English versions of Nium stories. My analysis of the stories is thus limited in part by the limitations and distortions that the English language and transcription impose on Nium narrative.⁴ A linguist might delineate a story's form from its content more rigorously than I have; in fact, I have tended here to *infer* content and authors' and storytellers' claims at least partially *from* the forms of their narratives. I am a historian engaged in reasoned speculation, constructing plausible explanations based on standard historical practice and on conversations with contemporary Nium people about how to interpret

³ In the orthography that Lee employs, he spells the word, "Nim."

⁴ See Kroskrity (2009) and Loether (1991) for examples of linguistic studies and the insights they provide into North Fork Mono stories and the value that Nium people place on their language and narratives.

the stories I study, and about how to put the documents to use in service of the people today. With Eckstein (2003), I believe that my genre of qualitative analysis of story and sustainability “acknowledges the limitations of human knowledge and the uncertainties of life” and that “a focus on storytelling emphasizes the elusiveness of truth and the complexity of desire” (p. 14) as well as the complexities of historical experience.

For my own literary analysis of published Nium stories and their sustainment of land and water I have tried to follow the approaches of Karl Kroeber and of Barbara Eckstein – both of whom are cited many times in this document. On a more general level I have felt the influence of American Indian literary critics D. L. Birchfield, Lisa Brooks, Robert Warrior, Jace Weaver, and Craig Womack, who describe a criticism devoted to the interests and cultures of Native nations, as well as Native historians such as Rebecca Bales, Myla Vicenti Carpio, Donald L. Fixico, Devon Mihesuah, Susan A. Miller, and Angela Cavender Wilson (now Waziyatawin), who have advocated for and demonstrated the writing of history that contributes to and sustains Native communities. The writings of educators Linda Akan, Gregory Cajete, Sandy Grande, Joseph Kincheloe, and Shirley Steinberg have influenced my view of Native stories as lessons, and the educational proposals of the literary scholar Mihai Spariosu have, as I explain in Chapter Six, provided a useful framework for my approach to intercultural, collaborative research. The term *parataxis* – which, as I elaborate in later chapters, embodies a crucial concept for my understanding of Indigenous narrative – first caught my attention several years ago in a review of Birchfield’s *Oklahoma Basic Intelligence Test* by Betty Booth Donohue (1999), and to subsequently find through the work of the classicists Carolyn DeWald and Eric Havelock that the device of parataxis has also contributed to sophisticated, open, reciprocal narrative structures in literatures outside of Native North America was of critical importance to the development of my

ideas. Finally, I am indebted to the ideas of the philosopher Robert Chapman, who emphasizes that education is always a practice laden with value and who recognizes the individual's responsibility to the whole that flows from seeing the land as an integrated concatenation of places.

Were the various authors I have listed above to read this dissertation, they might not endorse what I have written, but my reading of them and of others cited herein has helped to form the lens through which I view Native history and story, and that view has led me to the following questions: How do Nium stories sustain land and water, and, conversely, how do land and water sustain Nium stories? Another way to ask these questions might be: how does the structure of the stories *reflect* and – through the influence of the content and structure of stories on human behavior – *affect* the structure of the land and of surface and subsurface water? I believe that the narratives' trope of *walking* links places together and evokes an environmental regimen. Bringing more stories to the fore, I hope that my study will provide a service to the North Fork Mono community by examining how those stories work to defend land and water claims. I also hope that my dissertation will allow the stories to teach to a broader audience about sustainment, and that it will allow readers to learn about sustainment and sustainability.

Clifford (1997) and Cruikshank (1998) have written of Native cultural artifacts as land claims, and their approaches to the study of cultural products have influenced my own. Collins (1998) emphasizes the importance of place names and deixis in narratives, and Moore and Tlenn (2007) reviewed Southern Tutchone stories as expressions of land claims, principally through the stories' employment of place names and directionals. Here I offer a land-based study of stories in historical context, intended to be of use to the tribe as it documents its land and water tenure and restores its watershed. During my investigations I have found it an instructive exercise to

take the stories' content literally. The Cahuilla elder Alvino Siva once said that to believe that humans can transform into bears, you have to be an Indian (Dozier, 1998). Though I am not an Indian, I have found it a valuable approach to take what the stories have to teach at face value and ask, as the pragmatist philosopher William James might have asked, if this story were true, what difference would it make in the way we conduct ourselves in the world? What difference does it make – for education or for policy – if people can transform into bears, if people were created *here* in this place, if water is sacred?

Historians, Ecological Indians, Sustainability, and Conservation

Rather than taking the content of Native stories so literally, Shepard Krech (2000, 2007) bluntly questions the objective truth of Native stories and criticizes the utilitarian value of Native beliefs such as the idea that buffalo survive the winter at the bottom of Great Plains lakes or that it is necessary to return the first salmon caught to the sea to ensure an abundant population. It seems to me that, with these objections, Krech misses the real purpose of studying Indigenous stories. I prefer to ask what the stories – or networks of stories – can tell us as historical or geographic sources. Numerous authors (see, for example, Cruikshank, 1998; Brooks, 2006; Lightfoot & Parrish, 2009; and Snyder, 2001) have remarked on the importance of stories in Native culture. Here I inquire into how Nium stories function as educational media within their own community and, lately, outside of their community.

Recently, some of the key scholarly debates about American Indian interactions with the environment have centered on Krech's provocative book, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (2000). Krech disparages the myth of American Indians as the "first environmentalists" and discounts the notion of Natives as conservationists. In their recent collection focused on

critiques of Krech's book, Harkin and Lewis caution, "Taken to the extreme, equating Indians with nature has the potential to deny Indians their history, their humanity, and even their modernity" (2007, p. xxii). Brian Hosmer adds the question, "What does it mean, for scholarly inquiry and for Native communities, when we seek answers for present-day problems in the experiences of indigenous peoples?" (Harkin & Lewis, 2007, p. xv).

This is a fair question, posed to those of us who would treat Native history and story as lessons in a curriculum of "sustainability education." Harkin and Lewis point out that *sustainability* can carry at least three distinct meanings in relation to ecology: 1) recurring, structural relations; 2) long-term persistence; and 3) "political support for sustainability, conservation, and a host of issues specific to industrial society" (2007, p. xx). I believe that the primary weakness in Krech's argument is that in his criticisms of the image of the "ecological Indian," he confuses the first meaning of sustainability for the third, and he discounts the second.

In Harkin and Lewis's volume, Krech criticizes the indigenous understanding of animals as "infinitely renewable."

It is very difficult to reconcile such beliefs or the behavior based on them with Western-style conservation. It is not that respect gets in the way of the latter but that its content needs to become compatible with certain tenets of conservation biology. (2007, p. 13)

Krech is particularly critical of any conflation of conservation with sustainability, writing that rather than a consciously crafted conservation policy, it was an "epiphenomenon" of "low population density, limited technology, low demand for commodities, or other variables" that led to sustainability in precontact Native cultures (2007, p. 13). Krech privileges conservation over sustainability because he believes that conservation involves "intentionality" – that is, conservationists intentionally control nature in order to achieve their ends. "In this view, practices are conservationist not because they have sustainable consequences but because they

meet intentionally formulated ends” (2007, p. 13). In Krech’s view we must *cause* changes – in other words, we must have agency and power – in order to qualify as conservationists.

Traditional practices that sustain land and water in and of themselves do not meet Krech’s definition of conservation. Krech asserts, further, that Native people’s oral testimony as to the long-term persistence of their conservation practices or sustainability is suspect. Documentary evidence of past practice is immune from presentism, he writes, but oral evidence is not so immune (2007, p.16).

Ranco takes Krech to task, writing that his “lack of appreciation for the historical and contemporary aspects of colonization within Indian communities shows a troubling avoidance of power issues” (2007, p. 40).

The fact that the United States has pursued colonization by removing Indians from their lands (removal), fragmenting reservation lands through land reform (allotment), and forcing Indians into land practices of Euro-American origin (allotment again) seemingly has no place in Krech’s attempt to understand contemporary Indian practices. Moreover, Indian community decisions that Krech believes do not fit the ecological Indian stereotype were made in the context of tribal governments originally brought into being as neocolonial arrangements to extract resources from retained Indian lands (Indian reorganization). (pp. 40-41)

Ranco further argues that epistemology is a critical issue to consider when groups attempt to establish ecological legitimacy.

One key aspect of ecological legitimacy is knowledge. Are you a legitimate finder of fact in a particular environmental dispute? This aspect hits “traditional” Native and other cultural and racial minorities hardest, because their knowledge is not typically understood by outsiders, let alone legitimized in environmental disputes. (p. 44)

The question of whose narrative about land and water is most valid is often a determining factor in environmental politics. Ranco writes, “Erasures [of a community’s history] occur in the context of a politics of knowledge, wherein distant expertise is normalized in deciding the fate of indigenous rights” (p. 47). Citing the work of James Clifford on the basis for the official

recognition of Native identity, Ranco emphasizes the importance of story and historical narrative in legal decisions: “the recognition of objectivity in courts of law is driven as much by narrative as by whatever data come to bear on the truth” (p. 48).

Narrative expresses legal jurisdiction, and, as I discuss in Chapter Five, Nium stories are tools of ecological restoration – tools as surely as are fire, maps, and shovels – and ecological restoration is, in turn, an expression of water rights. Mountain meadow restoration as guided by Nium stories differs in fundamental ways from the scientific planning and management regimes of the Sierra National Forest. Vine Deloria, Jr. once succinctly contrasted scientific and Indigenous world views:

Although western science gives us a sophisticated technology to approach land management, its premises rest on the belief that the works is a gigantic machine, that science discovers internal mechanisms, and that technology adjusts them accordingly. There is ... a rejection of the [Indigenous] idea that the natural world might have knowledge, feelings and intelligence in and of itself (1992, p. 49).

Deloria emphasized that in the Native view, “everything was related to everything else in personal and functional ways.” Focusing on this idea of personal kinship, Dennis Rogers Martinez coined the term *kincentric ecology*, an approach to understanding the land that focuses on the study and appreciation of relationship and reciprocity. Martinez contrasts *kincentrism* with both the pervasive anthropocentrism of much Western thought and also with the biocentrism of deep ecology, and he identifies a “living and sacred relationship between the people and the earth” as the object of restoration (1992, p. 67).

Through my recent work with Goode and other members of the North Fork Mono Tribe, I have learned that this sacred bond is not merely theoretical, nor is it a relic of a romanticized past. Native sustainment of land and water flows not from a desire to control the environment, as with Krech’s conception of conservation, but from a desire to maintain and nourish kinship.

An engagement with stories such as the traditional stories recorded by Gifford (1923) and reproduced in Chapter Four, coupled with conversations about the stories that investigators such as Gifford told about the Nium in his letters and publications, can begin to restore lands and waterways by *re-storying*⁵ them. Re-storying the Central Sierra Nevada with Nium narratives helps to restore interdependent relationships among living beings within the landscape. I have also learned that fully restoring these relationships means restoring North Fork Mono land tenure, or how the people held the land in the past, and how the land has held the people.

Lightfoot and Parrish (2009) identify two competing points of view within the scholarly community on historical Native populations in California that could inform current sustainability programs. Ethnographic work with contemporary natives – mostly women – describes a spiritually mediated sustainability. The archaeological view, on the other hand, tends to emphasize the data of bones, hunting implements, and the activities of men. With its focus on stone points the archaeological record tends to show a bias toward evidence of hunting of large animals, not small fishes or insects. It is true that many plant processing implements such as grinding tools remain, but perishable items such as cordage and baskets are mostly silent in the archaeological record. (Lightfoot & Parrish, 2009, pp. 89-93).

Lightfoot and Parrish point out that ethnographic methods have their biases, also. These authors grant that “Oral traditions ... have maintained stories... for many years,” but they state that it is not clear how far back sustainable practices go. Also, stories have little to say about adaptation to changing conditions. Natives were no doubt overexploiters at times, and implementation of conservation practices may have changed. Yet it is a reasonable assumption that these times of exploitation stimulated interest in sustainable practices. The judicious use of

⁵ Gary Paul Nabhan coined the term, *re-story*: “To restore any place, we must also begin to re-story it, to make it the lesson of our legends, festivals, and seasonal rites” (1997, p. 319).

fire was one of these sustainable practices (Anderson, 2006; 2009; Lightfoot & Parrish, 2009, pp. 94-95), and Lightfoot and Parrish describe an extensive, complex Indigenous fire regime in California that they term *pyrodiversity*, more about which in the next chapter .

My general approach to the work at hand has been that of a historian. George Harwood Phillips notes some of the differences between the approaches that historians and anthropologists take in the study of Native American groups:

On the one hand, historians have been trained to investigate intersocietal activity within large regions and thus conceptually are well prepared to examine Indian-white and inter-Indian relations over time. But many are methodologically ill prepared to understand the activities and behavior of nonliterate peoples. On the other hand, anthropologists are well prepared to investigate distinct, usually small-scale groups, but many lack the training necessary to fully appreciate the dynamics of multisocietal interaction, especially when Euroamerican societies are involved. (1993, pp. 6-7)

Phillips points out further, “Because anthropologists of the American Indian tend to place the people they study in culture or linguistic areas, they often overlook processes of interaction” (1993, p. 7) – a phenomenon I saw play out during my work on the National Geographic map described above. However, the focus of historians on Native interactions with non-Native society produces its own distortions of events. “Because historians of the Indian often present their data within time frames exclusively created to trace and analyze Euroamerican activity,” writes Phillips, “they often fail to understand that the historical watersheds occurring in Indian and Euroamerican societies seldom intersected” (1993, p. 7).

As a Euroamerican historian I am bound to be guilty of the distortions that Phillips notes as inherent to historiography. When I inquire into why Nium storytellers told the stories they did in 1918, and in the manner in which they told them at that particular time, my inclination is to take into account historical context such as the effects on federal lands policy of various acts of Congress and the economic activity in California of the World War I era. Yet if I had had the

chance to ask them directly about their motivations, the storytellers themselves may have said that they were only retelling stories that did not belong to them individually, but to their people collectively, stories that had been passed down through innumerable generations. Still, I must frame the story that I tell about Nium stories with a chronology that was created to trace Euroamerican activity so that I can understand Nium storytelling as an educational strategy that has persisted over time – a curriculum not only for their own people but for outsiders and intruders. As Phillips writes:

When a region occupied by Indian peoples is selected as the spatial framework for the investigation, the ethnohistorian acknowledges the historical importance of the “original” inhabitants. But only against a backdrop of conventional chronology can Indian activity be followed. Comprehending the strategies implemented by the Indians is impossible without tracing the activities undertaken by the intruders. (1993, p.11)

In March 2010 I attended the American Society for Environmental History’s annual conference in Portland, Oregon. The participation of a significant number of biologists and literary scholars lent a vital, transdisciplinary air to the conference, and provocative discussions across disciplines abounded. Historians spoke of the crisis that history, with its highlighting of dynamic change, had created for ecological restorationists who search for a historical baseline conditions, or a *reference ecosystem*. Historians also grappled at the conference with the crisis that the current focus in academe on sustainability – with its vague definitions and its fixation on future capacities – had created for the discipline of history. During the question-and-answer session following one excellent roundtable⁶ discussion that I attended, I suggested that historians consider emphasize the term *sustainment* instead of sustainability, pointing out that historians study continuity as well as change and that we can investigate past achievements – sustainment –

⁶ The Historiography of Over-consumption, Undermanagement and Sustainability. A roundtable at the 2010 Conference of the American Society for Environmental History, March 12, 2010, Portland, Oregon. Session Chair: Richard Tucker. Roundtable Participants: Susan Strasser, Marcus Hall, Martin Melosi, Richard Tucker, and Michael Egan.

in human-environment interactions over the long haul as well as we can inquire into dynamic transformations of societies and their lands.

The ideas of sustainment and sustainability could also be important intellectual resources for Native American peoples to draw on as they defend their lands, sovereignty, and identity. As David Getches has written,

In the long run, American Indian tribes must stake the future well-being of their economies and cultures on their lands. This truth is nothing new, but it takes on fresh vitality in an era when the opportunities for anchoring tribal land and resource use to an ethic of sustainability have never been better. ...For many tribal peoples, a sense of mutuality and interdependence between humans and the rest of nature ensures that resources will be treated with stewardship. Used, to be sure, but used thoughtfully, gratefully, and in ways that preserve their availability so future generations can endure on the land. (2001, p. xiii; p. xv).

Getches suggests that while sustainability goals can present significant challenges to many governments, Native governments have already internalized the necessary tools and outlooks. As all governments focus more on sustainability, non-Native agencies have an unprecedented opportunity to collaborate with and learn from Native nations.

An essential piece of sustainability is the engagement of the people of a place in determining how to best conserve and use resources. This demands new concepts of governance – new at least to the historically top-down structures of state and federal establishments. Tribes are, by contrast, well situated for governing sustainably. They are close to the ground, close to the people. Many are culturally and spiritually committed to walking lightly on the land, using resources with a consciousness of the need to give back, and to thinking generationally. (2001, p. xv)

History and Narrative Education

Though I approach my subject largely with a historian's mindset and methods, this is a dissertation in the field of sustainability education, not history, and some of my work falls outside the traditional methods and methodologies of history. Richard White has written that historians who study Indigenous groups from outside those groups' oral traditions are "prisoners

of the documents” and that we do a kind of literary analysis of written texts that rarely include Indigenous voices (1997, p. 93). White asserts that the limitations of documents make the recovery of a past, “purely Indian view of the natural world” impossible. “We are connoisseurs of misreadings,” he writes. “We rarely know Indians alone; we always know them in conversation with whites.” White’s assessment of the “middle ground” that emerges from the reading of historical documents that constitute “conversations between people who do not completely understand each other” (p. 93) is compelling and could bear on an analysis of the conversations between Gifford and the Nium in 1918, as well as on a search for the middle ground between today’s Native peoples and those officials they address in such venues as the Tribal Water Summit, described in Chapter Five.

But regarding White’s point that the limitations of documents “imprison” historians, my collaborative historical research with members of the North Fork Mono Tribe has led me to see some historical documents not so much as jailers but instead as liberators, as gatekeepers that provide access into plentiful past worlds and myriad past worldviews. Whether I encounter them in spoken or written form, Nium stories are living narratives awaiting a receptive audience. They are not simply artifacts to be analyzed, sorted, and explained.

Dipesh Chakrabarty characterizes much historical scholarship as the “process of translation of diverse life-worlds and conceptual horizons about being human into the categories of Enlightenment thought” (2000, p. 71). Chakrabarty calls traditional Western historical inquiry *History 1*, an analytical approach that tends to characterize all encounters between cultures as exchanges within abstract categories such as labor and capital, categories that “eventually tend to make all places exchangeable with one another” (p. 71). Chakrabarty also posits the existence of another genre of history, *History 2*, the sort of history that might concern itself “with more

affective narratives of human belonging” (p. 71). Chakrabarty writes that a history of music and of the development of differences in individuals’ musical ears could provide an example of History 2, a genre of history that has to do with discernment, with delineating places rather than making them exchangeable. When I read the Nium stories that Gifford published in 1923 as historical documents, I collaborated with living Nium storytellers in the interpretation of the stories, and Nium leader Ron Goode also collaborated with me in the interpretation of the archive of Gifford’s letters in the Bancroft. Thus the documents, for all their limitations, have also enabled conversations and exchanges of ideas. Chakrabarty calls this sort of dynamic construction of knowledge a “bartering” of understanding across cultural thresholds, a direct exchange “where life forms, although porous to one another, do not seem exchangeable through a third term of equivalence such as abstract labor” (2000, p. 71). In such processes we do not labor for one another or sell goods to each other, but we might tell one another stories. To amend White’s assessment, in collaborative history we are connoisseurs not only of readings and misreadings but also of recounts, of tales. And sometimes these tales are stories *about* stories. We come to know one another not alone, as insulated, bounded groups, but in interactive conversation and story.

Stories are a most important means of education in many Indigenous cultures. Residing in the minds of storytellers, narratives are portable devices that can make multiple connections in a virtually unlimited number of places. As Lee writes of his early childhood, “My classroom was everywhere, all the time. I learned my ancestors’ songs and stories that have been shared from generation to generation; they taught, among other things, how to care for and share with everyone and everything” (1998, p.5).

Stories in a Native group's repertoire operate together – there is no one prime narrative, but instead a gathering of stories that refer to each other through the mechanisms of parallelism and parataxis in much the same way as hypertext can link words, sentences, and paragraphs from various documents. As Akan wrote, “Repetition in text is made for refocusing in (an)other context(s). A ‘good talk’ has lots of repetition to help us draw verbal circles of existence” (p. 17). Gayton, employing the earlier, rather clinical language of salvage ethnography, also wrote of the importance of repetition in her characterization of Western Mono educational narratives as repeated, ceremonial rituals, emulating and sustained by the “the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment” that “set up a conditioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine” (1946, p. 246). I explore these ideas in more detail in Chapter Four. For now I will add that for those who encounter Native stories in written form, the educational value of the devices of repetition, parallelism, and parataxis becomes most apparent with repeated readings of the stories. Reading the stories again and again, we commune with the storytellers of the past.

Notes on Sources

My reading of Goode (2007a) and Lee (1998) led me to a realization that the year 1918, when Gifford recorded Nium stories in North Fork, represented a crossroads in Nium history, a time at which a number of social forces had converged upon the Nium, culminating in the nearly complete loss and fragmentation of their lands. In Chapter Two of this dissertation I begin by relying mainly on secondary sources to build historical background from the 1790s to the early twentieth-century. I elide much of the Spanish and Mexican periods of central California history, as these topics are covered in detail by many other authors; I am most interested in

illuminating the displacements of the Nium following the Anglo American invasions of the 1850s. I begin to use more primary sources, primarily the correspondence of federal officials, as I build context for Nium storytelling in the 1910s. My analysis of the correspondence will show that in the view of these officials the Nium merely “camped” on the land and did not own it in the sense that settled agrarians could own land. Thus the view of the Forest Service aligned with the early twentieth-century anthropological views of the Nium – or of American Indians generally – as recently arrived, temporary residents, and they justified the enclosure of the land into the public domain and the expropriation of the communal lands of the Nium. In Chapter Three I draw on E. W. Gifford’s correspondence with Alfred Kroeber and others to show that Gifford’s view of the Nium as recent immigrants was a key element of his argument about their land tenure in 1918 (though he changed his view toward the end of his career). Sources for Chapter Four include Nium stories as published by Gifford and as well as an exposition of the literary theory that provides a basis for my interpretation of the stories. Other sources for this dissertation include ethnographies by Gifford and Anna H. Gayton, Gaylen Lee’s published history and memoir (1998), books and manuscripts by Ron Goode, personal communications with Goode and Nium elder Melvin Carmen, archaeological articles and reports, various documents from the June English collection at the Madden Library, and government documents such as public domain allotment applications.

Cosmology and Policy

As discussed in Chapter Four, the animism and parataxis of Native narrative can combine with its specificity of place names to construct community history and sustain ecological community. These narrative characteristics may result directly from Native people’s

autochthony; the consequences of the notion that people emerged from a particular place in the Earth – that the Earth is quite literally the people’s mother –include holding to such additional notions as kinship with all the other things that emerged from the same mother and an intense interest in knowing the names and the detailed stories of places on the Earth. Expressing these ideas through narrative leads to and reinforces actions that sustain the community and the land.

As Vine Deloria, Jr. (2005) wrote,

That tribes have been able to maintain their discrete identities as national groups can be attributed to their steadfast adherence to their mission as a distinct people, as revealed to them in creation or upon one of their migrations. In the sense that tribes have a divine function within a specific world period, Indians do not see themselves as an ethnic group within a larger society but as a small yet faithful remnant of a people called to a larger vocation... Tribes are, therefore, ultimately guided by internal prophetic instructions rather than external political and economic events, and the success or failure of the tribe in dealing with unexpected problems can be traced to this concern with fulfilling their cosmic responsibilities. (pp. 23-4)

One such cosmic responsibility could be the duty to retain land as an intact whole, a complex of places populated by human and non-human persons, connected by trails and by the breath formed into the speech of story. In fact, a holistic view – a perception of the land as an intact whole – and of one’s position within the land fosters such responsibility (Chapman, 2007).

In her introduction to Whaley and Bressette’s *Walleye Warriors*, Winona LaDuke writes that a system of ethics “enforced by the social strength of intact, long-lived communities” leads to sustainable life on the land for Indigenous communities (Whaley & Bressette, 1994, p. xii).

These ethics, social strength, and sustainability are supported by Indigenous narratives, told and re-told over the course of thousands of years. Stories of a particular event can become history, and if retold and reshaped by multiple storytellers, parable (Kwachka, 1992; Mandelbaum, 1991). In its persistence, narrative sustains communities and their relationships with land.

Kwachka emphasizes this point in her studies of narrative among Koyukon people: “Although

these [traditional] stories are rarely told today, the narrative, as a social and rhetorical structure, has not only persisted but flourished” (1992, p. 71).

Through my historical research in collaboration with the North Fork Mono Tribe I have come to understand something of Nium story and its relationships to cosmology, curriculum, history, epistemology, planning, and policy. In Chapter Two, I explore the historical context of Gifford’s 1923 article to provide insight into why he framed the stories in the way he did and how, on the other hand, the stories sustained Nium relationships with land and water by functioning as vehicles of education within the Nium community. In Chapter Three, I discuss the lessons Gifford learned from the stories. Although he seems to have missed most of the stories’ meanings at the time that he recorded them, Gifford later came to acknowledge the long-term relationship with land that the tales express. Chapter Four describes an approach to reading Native stories and presents several stories reproduced from Gifford (1923), plus one from Lee (1998). Chapters Five and Six make the case for the great value that the stories hold today – to the Nium as well as to those officials and members of the public who will listen to and learn from them.

As a historian focused on certain periods in Nium history – primarily the early twentieth century – I may indeed be, at least to some extent, a prisoner of the documents (White, 1997). As an educator, however, I hold out hope that my focus on story and on *sustainment*, a result of a long, continuous stretch of historical actions and processes, will influence *sustainability*, the theoretical potential or capacity to sustain environments. I study a relationship to land and water that, historically, a specific group of people have sustained – a historical relationship that could serve as a model for sustainability education programs.

Chapter Two

A Brief History of Nium Fire and Land Tenure to 1918

The most damaging misconception that Europeans brought with them to California – as well as to the rest of the continent – was the belief that they were entering a “natural wilderness.”

-- Florence Shipek (1993)

The year 1918 marked the height of a time of great change for the Nium. In this chapter I discuss how, by that year, a number of forces had converged on them, including the expropriation of their traditional lands, waters, and trails by the U.S. government, private landowners, and corporations; official suppression of the traditional fire regime; overgrazing of montane meadows by cattle, sheep, horses, and pack animals; hydroelectric power development, with its dams, tunnels, penstocks, and reservoirs; and increasing recreational use of the Sierra National Forest. The end results of these pressures included a movement of the Nium out of the High Sierra to concentrate around the town of North Fork and nearby missions, schools, and Indian land allotments (Lee, 1998; Snyder, 2001), as well as such social effects and economic adjustments as increased consumption of alcohol and engagement in wage labor. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary of the history of the North Fork area which will enable the reader to understand the Indigenous fire regime and the spatial boundaries, movements, and historical land uses of the Nium community, as well as the political and economic pressures on the people and their land leading up to 1918, when E.W. Gifford recorded the stories for “Western Mono Myths” (1923). Over the years, Nium responses to these pressures included the telling of stories that represented an alternative to the education delivered to North Fork children at public and mission schools.

Nium Trails and Fire

Descriptions of the aboriginal territory of the Nium have differed depending on whether the author is Nium or non-Native. In the 1790s, when Spaniards established missions along the Central California coast, the Nium lived where their stories tell us their people have always lived: along trails that interlace across the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, from the mountains' crest to the Central Valley floor, in the extensive watershed of the San Joaquin River. One of the primary differences in various authors' descriptions of this territory lies in their degree of emphasis on the trails that interwove throughout the area, making multiple connections among places and peoples. Gifford (1932), for instance, made no mention of trails in his ethnography's overview of North Fork Mono lands. Instead, his text, along with a map he published (reproduced here as Figure 3) portrayed the Nium as residing within borders as well defined as those dividing European nations.

[The North Fork Mono] occupied the most northerly portion of Western Mono territory. North and west of them were the Southern Miwok; also west were the Chukchansi and related Yokuts groups; east, but separated by the high Sierra Nevada, were the "Eastern Mono" of Mono and Owens valleys; and to the south, other divisions of Western Mono, those of the south drainage of the San Joaquin river, of the Kings, and of the Kaweah river drainages. (p. 15)

In contrast, Lee's description of the territory from the Nium perspective emphasizes the connections that trails provided among places and peoples.

Trails, some still visible, crisscrossed the Sierra Nevada then, at places now known as Fine Gold Creek, Italian Bar, Kinsman Flat, Chiquito Basin, and Graveyard Meadow, enabling my ancestors to travel from place to place... In some places, these trails were bisected by the main trail from the San Joaquin Valley, which began near today's Friant. From Graveyard Meadow, Grandpa said, the family often traveled a trail now called the "old French Trail," toward the mountain we know today as Mammoth, to visit friends east of the Sierras...

Throughout the western Sierras, on both sides of the San Joaquin River, were other settlements of people who also spoke our language...

Beyond our borders, to the west and southwest, in the lower foothills and on the floor of the San Joaquin Valley, still live our immediate neighbors... who called themselves Dalinchi, Toltichi, and Dumna. To the northwest, along the Chowchilla and Fresno rivers, lived the Wowa, who identified themselves as Chukchansi, as they are still called today. Scholars have collectively identified all of these tribes and many other San Joaquin Valley tribes as Yokuts. To the northeast, in the foothills and mountains at and beyond the modern-day village of Ahwahnee, still live the Kosomo, whom scholars identify as Miwok. (1998, pp. 17-18)

Similarly, the North Fork Mono Tribe's petition for federal acknowledgment stresses the importance of the trails and the dynamic economies, cultural exchanges, and travels their existence implies:

Another aspect of the Tribe's traditional territory is the massive network of trails leading to and from Mono villages, hamlets, campsites, sacred grounds, gathering, and trading areas. These trails extend to the coast of the Pacific Ocean in the west, over the Sierra Nevada Mountain Range in the east, and both northerly and southerly along the Sierra Nevada Mountain Range. (Goode, 2007a)

For a detailed description of Nium territory see this document's Appendix, which consists of a section of the Constitution of the North Fork Mono Tribe as reproduced in Goode, 2007a. For an associated map, see Figure 2.

The reticulate Nium trails, perhaps better envisioned as intertwining corridors than as the well-defined roads and hiking trails of today's National Forest, undulated up, down, and across the foothills and higher elevations of the Sierra, interconnecting the specific areas mentioned by Lee (1998) and Goode (2007a) and crossing the San Joaquin River at several points – notably at Horseshoe Bend or *Tsobotebau* (Nium for *crossing*), where a bridge crosses the river today. Thus the Nium had regular contact with other Western Mono peoples in the Jose Basin and within a complex network of routes comprising Shaver Lake, Chawanakee Flats, Huntington Lake, Kaiser Pass, Florence Lake, the Vermilion Valley, and Mono Pass. (Gifford, 1932; Hindes, 1959; Lee, 1998; Snyder, 2001).

Goode (2007b) and Snyder (2001) have described an intricate set of movements of people along these trails. Goode's 2007 "Tribal Restoration" article in the North Fork Mono Tribe's newsletter, *Briefing*, critiques the

mythical concept that the Indian was nomadic and moved from the lower lands to the higher ground depending on the time of year or so called season... Some members of families did this. But if you study the edible herbage and movement of the animals it was not feasible for all to move in any one direction.

Not that all families or family members gathered all food products. They didn't. That's why we had the barter system. Different families, different members of the family indulged in various subsistence activities. Some were hunters, others gatherers and yet others fishermen, or medicine practitioners.

Goode emphasizes that all Nium had permanent homes, from which some family members traveled at various times for various purposes.

In addition to their importance in trade, trails played a key role in the indigenous fire regime in the central Sierra Nevada – that is, in the area's particular patterns in the frequency, intensity, severity, and spatial extent of fires. Nium travelers set fires along the trails to encourage the growth of favored plants in the meadows and forest. As Lightfoot and Parrish have noted for California, generally: "Anthropogenic fires tend to be set along corridors of movement and occupation... indicating that the pathways of logistical travel provided an excellent opportunity for spreading fires into more distant corners of tribelet territories" (2009, pp. 134-5). Lightfoot and Parrish also note that "a relatively modest-sized tribelet could have managed [a] region using fire ecology," in part by "employing multiyear rotational cycles for burning resource patches, [and] a relatively small population could have maintained a sequence of prescribed burns that would have kept resource diversity and productivity high." As explored further in this and other chapters, Native Americans in California, including the Nium, encouraged a fire regime with a high frequency of low-severity small fires, producing "a

dynamic mosaic of ever-changing plant successions and communities even within the same basic vegetation type” (pp. 99-100).

Lightfoot and Parrish argue further that the California Native system of pyrodiversity supported a higher population density than crop agriculture would have supported. Much earlier, the anthropologist Alfred Kroeber acknowledged as much (see Chapter Three), and palynological data that I helped collect in 2004 in San Diego County seem to agree. These data suggest that the Iipay people of the Sentenac Cienega area may have once raised corn but that they subsequently abandoned the practice in favor of burning resource patches (Davis, Eastoe, Aldern & Robbins, 2005).

The picture that emerges from such data is one of ancient California peoples who were not ignorant of agriculture. Rather, they chose a most productive form of agriculture, one that was – and continues to be – unrecognizable *as* agriculture to most Euroamerican farmers, scientists, and federal land managers. Goode writes that although the North Fork Mono continue to advocate for a similar fire regime today, physical conditions and official attitudes that have developed over the last one hundred fifty years make the task a formidable one.

It’s still the same today, we are no different. What has changed is that our lands are no longer conducive to the concept of a “garden of eden.” For ten thousand years our people managed the land. For the last 100 years the US government (US Forest Service) has had control of the land. So now when they have fires, everything burns.

We have tried to teach our neighboring agencies how to use fire. It is the nature of the white man to be scared of fire. It is the belief of the Mono that fire is good and if something bad happens then there must be a reason that the land need to be cleansed.

Just look at the beneficial results after a fire has gone through an area. One to two years and most of it green. The animals return because they can move about and eat plentiful. (Goode, 2007b)

Likewise, Lightfoot and Parrish describe a sophisticated system of interaction with the land throughout pre-contact California, a system based upon a varied, adaptable rotation of fire frequency and intensity.

Multiyear rotational cycles would have enhanced biological diversity and productivity through the creation and enhancement of environmental mosaics – complex quiltlike environments with multifaceted habitats – teeming with varied kinds of food, medicinal, and basketry resources. (2009, pp. 117-8)

In the Sierra Nevada, the interaction of fire, topography, and floods produced a complex, patchy pattern of vegetation in riparian areas. Wet meadows, with their finely structured, moist fuels such as sedges, may have acted as firebreaks until late in the season (Dwire & Kauffman, 2003), allowing the Nium to steer and diminish fires by using slope, prevailing winds, and fuel characteristics. These prescribed fires would have helped to prevent invasion of meadows by conifers, deciduous trees, and shrubs that desiccate meadow soils by intercepting rainfall.

Anderson (2009) interviewed Dan McSwain, a Nium elder who confirmed that his people's traditional practices included such carefully designed cycles of burning.

The Indians used to burn in the fall. They burned in the oaks, chaparral, ponderosa pines, and fir. They burned around the Chiquita Rock Creek area at about 4,000 ft. Different areas were set on fire in the fall, brushy areas, not the same spots every year. Now the fires burn everything. When they'd start a fire they'd burn from the bottom of the slope. It would burn too slow from the top. In those times it would seldom get in the crown of trees. It would just burn the grass. The biggest mistake the Forestry people made is to try and prevent fire. They burned every two or three years. You could ride a horse anywhere without running into the brush. Now you can't even get off the road. The same is true in the higher mountains. (Anderson, 2009, p. 153)

Prescribed fires enhanced the growth of desired plants and, by eliminating competition for water and reducing the interception of rainfall by trees and shrubs, raised the water table. Fire – and perhaps smoke from low-intensity fires – reduces pests such as insects and pathogens (Goode, quoted in Anderson, 2009, p. 168; Melvin Carmen, personal communication). The Nium prized the green shoots and straight stems of grasses and other plants that resulted from frequent burning of the land. Fire was an indispensable tool in the maintenance of fertile montane meadows (Lee, 1998; Goode, 2007b; Lightfoot & Parrish, 2009; see also Chapter Five of this dissertation).

Anglo American Invasion, Settlement, and Changes in the Fire Regime

Though the Nium initially had little direct contact with Spanish missionaries or soldiers in the eighteenth century, the Spaniards' impact on the Nium's coastal trading partners was profound (Castillo, 1998), and the Spanish ecological footprint – in particular, the introduction of horses, sheep, cattle, and infectious diseases to Central California – permanently changed the Nium economy (Field & Leventhal, 2003). Later, Anglo Americans, who as a group were to cause far greater changes in Nium lifeways and in the Sierra Nevada fire regime, began to trickle onto Nium lands – a few fur trappers at first, followed by one of John Charles Fremont's military expeditions in the 1840s.

At the conclusion of the U.S.-Mexican War, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo left California Indians with the right to occupy the land, but in practice the United States government never upheld or acknowledged this right. Within the span of a year of the signing of the treaty the Gold Rush began to exert extreme new pressures on the Nium and their lands, bringing not only swarms of miners to the creeks but, soon after, settlers who planted crops and introduced livestock to the meadows. Prior to the 1862 Homestead Act, various legislative acts, including the 1850 Swamp and Overflow Act, made possible the legally sanctioned private settlement of montane meadows in the Sierra.

Several armed conflicts between Natives and the new arrivals broke out, culminating in the Mariposa War and the treaties of 1851-52 that reserved lands for the North Fork Mono and other tribes, but these treaties were never ratified. Thus the North Fork Mono Tribe has never actually ceded land to the United States and its aboriginal title has never been extinguished.

When tribal members refer to the Sierra National Forest as their land, they mean it quite literally.

As the Tribe's petition for federal acknowledgment puts it:

The territorial jurisdiction of the North Fork Mono Tribe extends to all lands, air, water and minerals within the counties of Madera and Fresno, State of California, in the vicinity of the North Fork Rancheria, which are part of the traditional territory of the North Fork Mono Tribe. (Goode, 2007a)

The Civil War brought new pressures on Nium lands. With cotton in short supply, the demand for wool skyrocketed in the Union states, and shepherds moved tens of thousands of sheep from overgrazed land in the Central Valley to meadows in the Sierra Nevada. By the 1870s the population of livestock and people had markedly increased in the high Sierra and fires became significantly more frequent than they had been under the Indigenous fire regime (Kilgore & Taylor, 1979; Anderson 2006; Anderson 2009; Lightfoot & Parrish 2009). Preservationists such as John Muir began to decry sheep in the Sierra as “hoofed locusts” (1977, frontispiece; p. 116; p. 199; p. 349) and when spring floods wiped out towns and farms in the lower elevations a general outcry rose against overgrazing and excessive burning of the forest by shepherds and cattle ranchers, who lit fires to encourage growth of new grass and browse for the next grazing season. “Fire follows sheep like night the day” was a common saying of the time (Shinn & Sargent, 1959, p. 227). The United States Army and, eventually, the U.S. Forest Service began to see depopulation of the forest and complete fire suppression as essential to their mission of preventing erosion and conserving the timber resources of the Sierra. (Lee, 1998, p. 146; Anderson, 2009, p. 154; Stephens & Sugihara, 2006; Pyne, 2001).

A few forest rangers and local settlers advocated for what they called “Indian burning” or low-intensity, “creeping fires,” but Indigenous people of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries rarely spoke of burning practices with ethnographers. The paradigmatic, traditional stories that Gifford recorded speak of fire, but only rarely did Natives talk with ethnographers

about frequent uses of fire. As Lightfoot and Parrish note, “Burning prohibitions probably affected the ability of Native elders to recount details of fire management to early ethnographers, as they were growing up when traditional burning practices were being increasingly curtailed by government agencies” (2009, p. 95). The prohibition of fire led, however, to the buildup of the fuel load throughout California, and to a new fire regime. “[W]ith the advent of fire suppression practices, especially after 1905, the nature of the fire regimes changed dramatically across California, with fewer, larger, and more severe fires” (Lightfoot & Parrish, 2009, p. 113).

The reluctance of the Nium to discuss burning practices in the early twentieth century may be similar to the experience I had in an interview in San Diego in the early twenty-first. In my interview with Kumiai elder Teodora Cuero, she decried the current burning practices by *rancheros* in Baja California.

We always conserve the plants because my parents and my grandparents always told us not to be walking all over them or to be pulling them out for no reason. We always take good care of them. Everything that is part of nature, we take care of. The rivers, the rocks, the sand; we have been told to take care of all of this. But now I’m seeing that it’s all over; it’s finished. Sometimes too there are big fires that burn the whole *sierra* and that’s very bad. That shouldn’t be. They shouldn’t do that. (Aldern, 2004)

Yet Cuero approved of the judicious use of fire: “[T]he only thing that actually favors [the growth of creosote] is when it burns. When it burns all the way down to the ground and there’s nothing left, then if it rains, it grows back more beautiful” (Aldern, 2004). Thus Cuero disapproved of and denied involvement in setting the large fires plaguing Baja California in the early 2000s, but clearly acknowledged the utility of burning for encouraging the growth of certain plants. Perhaps the situation was similar for the Nium in the early 1900s – they wanted to avoid blame for large-scale forest fires but they knew very well of the advantages of low-intensity, frequent fire.

Livestock Grazing and the Preservation Movement Affect the Nium

In the late nineteenth century, local Anglo sheepmen and ranchers competed for mountain meadow grazing rights with shepherding Basque and Portuguese immigrants (Warrin, 1997) and large, Central Valley-based ranching operations such as Miller & Lux (Theodoratus Cultural Research, Inc. and Archaeological Consulting and Research Services, Inc. [TCR/ACRS], 1984, pp. 290-294). TCR/ACRS (1984) state that, “Although the... Anglo ranchers did not immediately realize it, their greatest ally in the competition against ‘basquo’ and giant corporations for the mountain pasture lands was the Forest Service” (1984). As preservationists pushed for greater protection of public lands from overgrazing and fire, Army patrols and rangers working for the General Land Office began to enforce regulations by arresting shepherds and turning their sheep loose to scatter into the forest. (Farquhar, 2007, pp. 204-5; TCR/ACRS, 1984, p. 294). This was not always an easy task; the sheepmen hired experienced scouts – possibly Nium or other Native American men – who helped with evasive actions. In 1895, Army Captain Alexander Rogers wrote to the Secretary of the Interior that the shepherds “band together and hire men who act as scouts, and from commanding points, watch trails. When the troops are seen, they give warning and the sheep... are driven out. With the small force I have (I have only 46 horses), it is very difficult to keep out the sheep” (quoted in Smith, 2009; see also Farquhar, 2007). Gradually, however, the sheepmen gave way and by 1913 sheep were eliminated from the Sierra National Forest, replaced by cattle and Anglo cattle ranchers who were more likely to adhere to the terms of grazing permits (Shinn & Sargent, 1959; TCR/ACRS, 1984; Farquhar, 2007).

As ranchers struggled over and secured grazing rights in many of the montane meadows previously occupied and maintained by the Nium, Anglo homesteaders settled in the fields with

the most potential for orchards and crop farming. The 1862 Homestead Act and other nineteenth-century land acts represented an official acknowledgment in policy of the basic human rights of civil society as espoused by Enlightenment philosophers such as John Locke. Locke asserted two rights that formed the foundation of society: 1) the right to defend one's own person, and 2) the right to the fruit of one's labor. All property rights flow from these basic principles, which comprise a view of any particular piece of land as a commodity that belongs not to a community but to an atomistic individual who sells the products of his (and in the nineteenth century, property owners and homesteaders were overwhelmingly male) labor on the open market. As James Collins has written, the "theoretical underpinnings of modern political order presume this radically free, isolated individual" (1998, p. 80), and collective rights are either ignored or viewed as a threat to individual rights. Modern contract theory presumes that radically isolated persons individually own their bodies and their capacities (which they can increase through education), and they have the right to exchange them in the market. Collins points out that this is a patriarchal view; unschooled Native Americans who held land in common "lacked rights because they lacked responsibility and reason. They were children, not fathers" (1998, p.89).

Native peoples and their approach to land tenure have not fit in well with the dominant, Western frameworks of law and civil society. Locke argued that it is labor applied to land and resources originally commonly held – "in a state of nature" – that creates wealth (Collins, 1998, p. 93). Collins argues that it was on this basis that Locke defended the rights of agricultural elites to claim that land and "improve" it for more productive forms of capitalist agriculture. In Europe, in the view of the elite, underdeveloped land was "waste" and members of the working class had no reason, no property and therefore no rights. In nineteenth-century North America

“reasonable” Indians ended up with small allotments and the right to sell the land; “wild” Indians remained “landless.” As discussed further in this and other chapters, the equation of European-style agriculture with property rights justified the expropriation of the Nium and other Native Americans, and the same equation continues to threaten the land and water tenure of the Nium today.

As Anglos homesteaded in Sierra meadows they displaced the Nium, who resisted by various means. Homesteader’s dams in streamcourses blocked the migrations of fishes, and the settler’s fences and guns excluded the Nium from traditional hunting and gathering grounds. Newspapers in the region documented settlers’ concerns about Indian “stealing” of livestock and crops (Phillips, 2004). C.E. Kelsey’s 1906 report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs noted that many stockraisers had fenced oak groves to prevent Native access to acorns (pp. 6, 8-12). Encroachments on Nium lands increased with land policy legislation such as the 1878 Timber and Stone Act, ostensibly written to encourage small scale timber operations but in practice subject to widespread fraud (many claims later reverted to public domain and the Sierra Forest Reserve created in 1893) (Farquhar, 2007).

In the meantime, environmental preservationists and conservationists were building momentum in their battles against large-scale grazing and timber operations in the Sierra. The Sierra Forest Reserve was created in 1893, under the administration of the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior. In 1905, with the area still under regular Army patrol, the responsibility for the reserve was transferred from the General Land Office to the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the supervision of the new U.S. Forester, the Progressive reformer Gifford Pinchot. The area was then renamed the Sierra National Forest (Farquhar, 2007, pp. 207; 213-4).

Hydropower in the Sierra

The creation of the forest reserve had set the stage for hydroelectric development in the Upper San Joaquin River watershed. Eventually, many meadows that the Nium had occupied for centuries disappeared under the waters of storage reservoirs. As the markets for electricity in Fresno and in Southern California rapidly expanded, dam construction proceeded apace – sometimes with official approval, sometimes without.

In 1895 John Eastwood had gained approval from the General Land Office for Powerhouse No. 1 on Willow Creek. Eastwood's San Joaquin Electric Company (SJEC) floundered in its first few years as low rainfall led to decreased flow in Willow Creek; there was no water to turn the turbines. Eastwood soon began to consider creating a reservoir in Crane Valley to increase the reliability of the water supply. "Had the SJEC's first few years of operation comprised a period of normal rainfall it is unlikely that the absence of a dam would have constituted a critical problem" (Jackson, n.d.), but the troubles of SJEC had made dams and reservoirs absolutely necessary in the minds of Eastwood and other hydroelectric developers. In 1901 Eastwood's partner, John Seymour, was arrested for building a dam at Crane Valley without a permit (Rose, 1994).

By 1910 the Forest Service was in charge, but the permit process for hydroelectric projects was still not clear, and Sierra National Forest Superintendent Charles H. Shinn, who was having trouble keeping up with homestead and hydroelectric development applications, was under pressure to resign (Rose, 1994, p. 41). That year ten preliminary permits for hydroelectric developments were issued. Tiring of what he saw as needless bureaucratic delays, the Los Angeles streetcar magnate Henry P. Huntington started the massive Big Creek project in 1910

with only a preliminary permit in hand. By 1918, wartime economics resulted in extreme pressures for more electric power and prompted much anger from developers about delays in permitting processes. This is when the Kerckhoff Dam was built, cutting off salmon runs into the upper San Joaquin watershed. Eventually, Kerckhoff and the Crane Valley, Big Creek, and Central Valley projects together inundated thousands of acres of Nium land. In the Sierra National Forest, the surface area of reservoirs totals 16,000 acres. (United States Department of Agriculture, 1991).

Indian Homesteads, Allotment, the Winters Decision, and Water

Amid the pressures of this frenetic water and power development, Nium land holdings contracted into a collection of small Indian allotments, a rancheria, and a few homesteads. The process started slowly. By the mid nineteenth century over 11,000 parcels of land had been patented to individual Native owners across the nation, but only a handful of Indian homesteads were established in the Sierra following the Indian Homestead Acts of 1875 and 1884, and those were usually issued to Nium women whose white husbands negotiated the legal process for them (Lee, 1998). In 1887 the federal General Allotment Act, or Dawes Act, set a widespread process in motion to allot land to Native Americans in severalty – each allottee would receive forty acres of irrigable agricultural land, eighty acres of non-irrigable agricultural land, or one hundred sixty acres of land suitable only for grazing – but the legislation at that time applied only to those living on reservations, and the North Fork Mono had no reservation. Officials floated various proposals to issue permits or leases to Indians to occupy public-domain forest lands in the late 1890s and early 1900s, but the Nium – by this time quite skeptical of provisional and temporary

guarantees – greatly preferred the security of patented land. “All the Indians very much want a ‘piece of paper’ on their land,” wrote Forest Supervisor Charles Shinn (1907).

At the time that the movement to establish Indian homesteads and allotments began to build momentum, the Nium still lived over the full range of their original lands. As W. B. Noble noted in his *Out West* magazine article, “A Day with the Mono Indians” in 1904:

We are here in the heart of the Mono country. These Indians are scattered far and wide, up and down the foothills and still more numerous on the higher slopes of the Sierras. Their mountain home... gives them a security from encroachments of the white man which their neighbors of the valley might enjoy. For although there is no Indian Reservation, the sanctity of the Forest Reserve affords them a permanent and secure retreat.

The motivations for establishing Indian homesteads and allotments varied. The 1905 rediscovery of the unratified treaties of 1851-2 in the files of the United States Senate prompted Natives and their allies to advocate for land, educational and other rights, and, generally, what was past due to them.⁷ The federal government issued fee patents to each allottee but held them in trust for a period initially designated as twenty-five years – during which time the land could not be alienated or encumbered – as a way to prevent white land speculators from obtaining the land. As the legal scholar Felix Cohen noted in 1941, however, “the express purpose” of the Dawes Act “was to encourage Indians to abandon their tribes and adopt the ‘habits of civilized life’” (p. 208). Cohen wrote:

The supreme aim of the friends of the Indian was to substitute white civilization for his tribal culture and they shrewdly sensed that the difference in the concepts of property was fundamental in the contrast between the two ways of life. That the white man’s way was good and the Indian’s way was bad, all agreed. So... allotment was counted on to break up tribal life. (Cohen, 1941, p. 208).

⁷ For summaries of the reform efforts, see Dutchke, 1988 and Vane, 1992.

The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs acknowledged in 1905 that California Natives' aboriginal title to land had never been extinguished.

The wrongs of the landless Indians of central and northern California, parties to unratified treaties, have been before the Office for a number of years...[A]n investigation of existing conditions among homeless Indians of California... is now being prosecuted by Mr. C. E. Kelsey, formerly secretary of the Northern California Indian Association. It is hoped that the matter may be presented to Congress in such form that some small reparation will be made to the Indians on account of the vast area covered by these treaties which has been appropriated by the Government, but to which the Indian title was never properly extinguished. (Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1905, p. 106)

In 1906, the Commissioner reported the following at the close of Kelsey's investigation and census (which included the North Fork Mono):

That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to expend not to exceed one hundred thousand dollars to purchase for the use of the Indians in California now residing on reservations which do not contain land suitable for cultivation, and for Indians who are not now upon reservations in said State, suitable tracts or parcels of land, water, and water rights in said State of California, and have constructed the necessary ditches, flumes, and reservoirs for the purpose of irrigating said lands, and the irrigation of any lands now occupied by Indians in said State, and to construct suitable buildings upon said lands, and to fence the tracts of land purchased, and fence, survey, and mark the boundaries of such Indian reservations in the State of California as the Secretary of Interior may deem proper. One hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act.

The services of Mr. Kelsey have been secured as a special agent to carry out the provisions of this act, and it is hoped that the deplorable conditions found by him well [sic] be at least ameliorated, and that the Indians of California will be put into a position where they will be protected from the aggression of white people and have a fair chance to make a living. (p. 133)

Despite the promises of the purchase of water rights and infrastructure for "Indians not now upon reservations," it is doubtful whether any of the hundred-thousand-dollar appropriation was ever seen in the North Fork area.

After Gifford Pinchot became the Forester of the United States in 1905 he recruited a friend, Frederick Erskine "Fritz" Olmsted – a nephew of the famed landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, for whom Pinchot had worked as the forester at George W. Vanderbilt's vast

Biltmore estate in North Carolina – to fill the position of Chief Inspector at the San Francisco District Office of the United States Forest Service. Fritz Olmsted soon engaged in a dialogue with his superiors in Washington about how to apply the guidelines of the Forest Homestead Act of June 11, 1906 to withdraw land from the public domain of the Sierra National Forest for Native American homesteads. The Act of June 11 required that land withdrawn from the public domain be chiefly valuable for agriculture, but Acting Forester James B. Adams, responding to the pleas of local forest rangers, thought he saw a loophole in the law that would allow Native Americans to homestead forest land “in the Indian way.” In 1907 Adams wrote to Olmsted:

I believe that the nature and mode of living of the Indians might justify considering them on a different footing from white men, and that lands from which a white man could not secure a livelihood could be properly listed for entry by the Indians.

Olmsted disagreed in his reply to Adams two weeks later:

In my mind there is absolutely no reason why Indians should be treated any differently from white men. The purpose of the Act of June 11, 1906, is to open lands to agricultural settlement. The Indians would not use these lands for this purpose. If a white man wanted them for camp sites (and that is what the Indians will use them for) he would be obliged to lease them. I can see no reason whatever why the Indians should be privileged in this regard. (Olmsted, 1907; emphasis in the original)

In his letters Olmsted reiterated the mission of the Forest Service as envisioned by his friend Pinchot, who summed up his philosophy in his book, *The Fight for Conservation*: “The first duty of the human race is to control the earth it lives upon” (1910, p. 45). Under this view those forest tracts not appropriate for private farms were to be conserved for the value to the public of their timber and water resources. “Conservation means the greatest good to the greatest number for the longest time,” wrote Pinchot (p. 48). Olmsted’s letters show that he subscribed to this utilitarian view wholeheartedly and saw it as the Forest Service’s duty to retain control of the land.

...if the Indians held their lands under “trust patents” the control of these lands by the Forest Service would be remote and ineffective, whereas under leases the control would be direct. This in my mind is quite important when we consider that such “trust patents” might cover 10,000 acres, each tract involving more or less complete control of some kind of water. (Olmsted, 1907)

His explicit concern that trust patents might lead to Native American control of water causes one to wonder if Olmsted was anxious, specifically, about the outcome of such contemporary judicial cases as *Winter v. United States*. At the time Olmsted wrote the letter excerpted above, *Winters* (as it is known today), a case involving water use conflicts between Montana’s Fort Belknap Indian Reservation and upstream, non-Native farmers and ranchers, was about to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. In early January 1908, “to nearly everyone’s utter astonishment” (McCool, 2002), the Court ruled in favor of the Indians of Fort Belknap, finding that when the United States had reserved land for the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre peoples of the area, it had also reserved water for their future use (Hundley, 1982; McCool, 2002). Thus the Court instituted what has since been known as the Winters Doctrine and the United States recognized reserved water rights for the first time – more about which in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

Whatever its underlying basis and motivations may have been, Olmsted’s view of Nium land tenure as “camping” prevailed, and long term leases rather than homesteads became the strategy of choice for the Forest Service regarding the Nium. The wheels of bureaucracy turned excruciatingly slowly, however, and while the Forest Service tried to collaborate with the Indian Office to shape the lease system, the pressures built on local rangers to accommodate the Nium around North Fork. Charles Shinn repeatedly wrote to Olmsted, and on February 3, 1909, Olmsted sent an urgent telegram to Washington: “Have long term leases for tribal Indians been approved? If so, can I issue them?” The reply (Adams, 1909) was in the negative.

Sherburne F. Cook (1971) wrote that due to the history of unratified treaties and the resultant absence of reservations, plus the sudden overrunning of the region by Anglos in the nineteenth century, California Indians became “submerged” demographically, submerged in a sea of white people. Dozens of Nium villages were also literally submerged under reservoir waters during hydroelectric development of the San Joaquin River. It is perhaps also not too great a stretch to envision Nium land disappearing into a sea of paper as Forest Service and the Indian Office struggled with the implementation of laws governing homesteads in the public domain. And, culturally, Nium lifeways were inundated by the idea that agriculture and control of the land were the crucial elements for property rights and proper conservation.⁸

The number of public domain allotments granted to Native people did increase in the decade following the enactment of the Indian Allotment Act of June 25, 1910, but this legislation was careful to specify that Indian allotments must show no “power possibilities,” that is, no potential for hydroelectric power. Prior to approval of this legislation the Forest Service had already enacted the policy as a regulation. Associate Forester A.B. Potter directed Olmsted as follows on May 17, 1910:

In any case where the Indians are occupying lands which are of greater value as power sites than for agricultural purposes or lands which are needed for other public purposes, a report to that effect should be made with a view to having the Indians select some other area of equal value to them in their allotments.

The Act of June 25 amended the Dawes Act to provide

that where any Indian entitled to an allotment should settle upon lands of the United States not otherwise appropriated he should be entitled to have the same allotted

⁸ The idea that agriculture is necessary to justify rural land ownership extended throughout the twentieth century and continues to be a force today. North Fork Mono Tribe member Sylvena Mayer Goode saw her allotment application denied in 1983 because the land in question was deemed to be more valuable for timber than for agriculture (Sierra National Forest, Bass Lake District archives), and Native landowners today are threatened by the revocation of the tax breaks provided by the Williamson Act unless they can show that their agricultural lands are producing marketable crops (Ron Goode, personal communication).

to him in the manner provided for allotments to Indians residing upon reservations. (Cohen, 1941, p.208)

This act authorized the Secretary of the Interior

to make allotments within the national forests to Indians who were living on lands included in a national forest or who had made improvements thereon and were not entitled to an allotment on any existing reservation... The allotments made from national forests were to be 'lands more valuable for agricultural or grazing purposes than for the timber found thereon.' (Cohen, 1941, p.208)

The allotments to individuals did not affect established relationships between the federal government and tribes. As Cohen (1941) pointed out, "the allotment of lands in severalty did not in any way affect the guardian-ward relationship existing between the national government and the Indian" – but, of course, relations between the United States and the North Fork Mono Tribe had been only vaguely defined due to the failure of the U.S. Senate to ratify the treaties of 1851-2. Nevertheless, to verify eligibility for an Indian allotment an individual had to state a tribal affiliation on their allotment applications, and Nium applicants entered "North Fork Mono." One could argue that by granting the allotments the United States was recognizing the North Fork Mono Tribe and acknowledging a government-to-government relationship. In any case, by 1917 some seventy allotments had been granted on the Sierra National Forest, but not all of them to North Fork Mono people (Barrett, 1917).

Tourism

As Nium land holdings shrank to this small set of allotments, public recreational use of the forest boomed. Recreation in the Sierra National Forest has resulted in some of the most significant impacts on Nium homelands. Rose (1994) and TCR/ACRS (1984) have summarized the recreational history of the forest. In the 1890s the first recreational campers appeared, traveling Nium trails with numerous pack animals that grazed and trampled meadows, adding to

the already significant impacts of cattle and sheep. Over time, the Forest Service, timber operators, and hydroelectric operators turned many of the main trails into roads. Sportsmen began to travel the roads in motor vehicles for the first time in 1910. In November 1913 Huntington Lake was completed and it soon became a popular destination and a gateway to the High Sierra. In 1915 the Huntington Lake Resort opened and began to attract tourists, who rode partway to the resort on the San Joaquin & Eastern Railroad that had been constructed during the development of the Big Creek hydroelectric project.

The year 1916 represented something of a turning point in the recreational history of the forest. In February of that year the First Annual Ice and Snow Carnival was held at Huntington, and it was reported in glowing terms by a popular journalist of the time, George Wharton James. The Ice and Snow Carnival took place midway between the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the entry of the United States into World War I, and a reading of James's report of his trip to Huntington Lake provides insights into recreation as an escape for privileged vacationers from the pressures of their lives in a time of war and also into contemporary non-Native views of animals, lands, and waters in the Sierra Nevada. From James's "Foreword:"

It was one of the perfect parties that show how happy man can be with his brother when he desires to be. It was a joyous and glorious contrast to the awful hell of fierce war raging on the other side of the earth, for while German and English, Austrian and French, Pole and Slav were to be found in the party, there were no other notes heard than those of kindness, of helpfulness, of brotherliness, of love. (1916; unnumbered page in "Foreword")

James preceded his account of the winter carnival with an extended, enthusiastic description of the technological triumph that the Big Creek hydroelectric project represented, followed by a sketch of the attractions of the area for hunters, fishers, hikers, and campers.

To the hunter the whole region is one of allurements. Small and large game of all varieties abound. From the Lodge a score, two score, of trips may be made, some nearby and easy, others farther away and arduous, to the wilds of the higher and more remote

parts of the mountains. Here, during the season, it is seldom that bear and deer may not be found. Foxes, lynxes and wildcats also abound, though, of course, the season for these is the winter, when their fur is at its best.

But it is particularly to the fisherman, the angler for mountain trout and other gamey fish, that the region makes its great appeal. Experts assert that it is the most highly favored fishing locality in the American world. ... And to those who are "run down," overworked, weary of the endless round of modern business life, of society with its wearisome monotony and soulharrowing frivolities, what could be more beneficial than to recuperate amid these glorious, majestic and inspiring scenes? Here one soon gains serenity, poise, strength and power. (p. 29)

Writing of the Ice and Snow Festival itself, James was unremittingly exuberant as he described sledding, skiing, snowshoeing, and such diversions as "a novel game of tennis" with "snow shoes for rackets and pine cones for balls."

Talk about unadulterated delight! Here we were. Most of us men and women from the city, unused to rude participation in Nature's winter delights on mountain heights, yet already in deep and profound sympathy with them, and enjoying them to the full. (p. 40)

James was also careful to assure his readers that the group kept up its high spirits during the festival's evening activities.

And who shall tell of the fun in the social hall each evening, when the great open fire roared itself red in the face of the giant throat of a chimney? Chestnut roasting, corn popping, apple baking, singing and dancing obtained until a late hour. The author was called upon to tell folk-tales of the Indians who used to make their summer homes in these mountains, and his "How the Karoks Got Fire" will doubtless long be remembered. (pp. 45-46)

Thus, at a lodge by a reservoir that had inundated a meadow previously occupied for centuries by Mono people, Euroamerican tourists were regaled by stories adapted by an Anglo writer from the narratives of a people who, according to that writer, had made "their summer homes in these mountains," but whose homelands actually lay five hundred miles north, along the Klamath River.

The year 1916 also marked the beginning of Maurice A. Benedict's tenure as Supervisor of the Sierra National Forest. Benedict was to become the great road builder, roads that have

since led millions of visitors beyond Mono Hot Springs and Vermillion Valley and on into the high Sierra. Also in 1916, Fresno State Normal School (later to become California State University, Fresno) established a summer school at Huntington. It operated for twenty-five years, accommodating about two hundred fifty students each summer. And the first official map of the forest was published in 1916, aimed at recreational hunters, showing the best camping sites and where the highest concentration of various game species could be found (Rose, 1994, p.72; an original copy of the map is in California Indian Library Collection at the Auberry Branch of the Fresno County Library in Auberry, California). By the 1920s automobiles and trucks replaced cattle drives, and recreational users started to intensively compete for resources such as mountain meadows. “About that time... At Mono Meadows, not far from the hot springs, where the native American Indians had long gathered, [rangers] built yet another ranger cabin – providing the first known permanent structure in the ‘unexplored’ area of the forest” (Rose, 1994, p. 56).

Education, Labor, Alcohol, and Wildfire

All of the pressures described above – homesteading, the introduction of livestock, the creation of the forest reserve, fire suppression, hydroelectric development, and non-Native recreation – pushed the Nium out of the high Sierra and limited travels on their wide-ranging trail network. The final result was the extreme fragmentation of Nium territory – of Nium land as an intact whole – into a small set of isolated lots that, together, constitute only a miniscule fraction of the overall acreage of the Sierra National Forest.

Nium displaced from the mountain meadows with which their people had interacted for centuries began to concentrate in the area around the town of North Fork. A Presbyterian

mission school was established there in 1903, and a rancheria for “landless Indians” was established adjacent to the mission in 1916. Men came into the missions later than the women and children, as wage labor opportunities still existed in the higher elevations for men. The Nium valued the education offered at mission and public schools, but with their emphasis on assimilating students to mainstream society and wage labor, schools tended to keep Nium children from learning about traditional practices. “Mom watched her Grandma Lizzie, but because she was at the mission school she didn’t actually begin making baskets until she was a mature woman” (Lee, p. 170). Schools disrupted the Nium educational repertoire of story and close attention to dreams.⁹ Schools aimed to transform young people, and allotment to transform the heads of households. The two processes were sides of the same assimilationist coin.

The colonial forces of the Forest Service, churches, and schools combined with economic pressures to create ideal conditions for alcohol abuse among the Nium. Lee mentions alcoholism as a destructive force among the Nium in the early years of the twentieth century (1998, p. 73; p. 148). Heavy alcohol use and its attendant social problems nearly always follow colonization and its impoverishment of indigenous peoples. As Nikelly (1994) writes, “economic domination [creates] poverty, deculturation, social stratification, and the dissolution of community cohesiveness –ideal conditions for increased alcohol consumption.” In turn, with its disruption of reciprocal social relationships, the introduction of alcohol accelerates not only chemical dependency but also a dependency on the currency to needed to purchase alcohol. Impoverished people thus tend to become dependent upon both alcohol and the cash to buy it, and alcohol use and the market economy cycle together as mutually reinforcing social pressures (Whaley & Bresette, 1994, p. 19). Reformers saw schools as reform tools through which to save the Nium,

⁹ “Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and came both unsought and sought to these people” (Gayton, 1946, p. 246).

to integrate them into the market economy, but did not see the losses for the Nium that came with schooling and wage labor. In the early 1900s reformers trained their sights on reducing alcohol consumption by Native people in the North Fork area, and Forest Supervisor Charles Shinn saw the efforts as part and parcel of his fire suppression efforts. “If Shinn was not a teetotaler he was at least a sworn enemy of the North Fork taverns, figuring they had contributed to the inordinate number of fires that had occurred in and around North Fork.” (Rose, 1994, p. 42).

By the early twentieth century, the Nium fire regime described earlier in this chapter had been thoroughly disrupted, but fire and its suppression were the sources of ongoing controversy within the Forest Service (Pyne, 2001; Anderson, 2006; Lightfoot & Parrish, 2009). Audie Wofford, the North Fork District Ranger starting in 1906, “regarded wildfire as ‘warfare’” (Rose, 1994, p. 57). In 1908 Gifford Pinchot visited the Sierra National Forest and camped with Ranger Gene Tully, who was one of the few advocates within the Forest Service for a program of “light burning” or what many called “Indian burning.” Rose relates a conversation between Tully and Pinchot. “In addition, the ranger from the school of hard knocks wanted to discuss something he had never been able to openly discuss with Shinn: light burning.” (Rose, 1994, p. 36; Tully, n.d.). But the inaugural issues of the 1911 *Sierra Ranger* – the National Forest’s internal newsletter – are full of exhortations from Forest Service personnel to cease light burning practices and follow the more “scientific” approach of total fire suppression.¹⁰ Pyne writes that rangers of the time felt “in their bones” the evil of fire (2001). The lone voice within the Forest Service in favor of Indian burning seems to have been Gene Tully, who wrote years later that Shinn was a “brilliant literary man but absolutely impractical as to field management” and that

¹⁰ Copies of the *Sierra Ranger* are in the June English Collection in the Henry S. Madden Library at California State University, Fresno.

many lives would have been saved had the National Forest adhered to a policy of “creeping fires.” Tully resigned from the Service in 1914 (Rose, 1994, p. 70). A hand-scrawled note in the Sierra National Forest records in the National Archives Branch in San Bruno, California mentions officials burning brush in 1913, but overall the official voice of the Service heavily favored fire suppression, and that is what is preserved in the archives today.

Still, debates about fire and its suppression raged in the popular press in 1920. A neighbor of Shinn’s, Stewart Edward White, complained about fire suppression directly to the Forest Service and in the press (Rose, 1994, p. 68). Wofford continue to argue against “Indian-style” burning and for wildfire “to be suppressed wherever and whenever it showed its fiery head” (Rose, 1994, p. 57). Anderson (2006) points out that fire suppression worked pretty well at first, in the sense that fewer large fires broke out in the early 1900s, but in the meantime new trees and shrubs grew, presenting dangerous new fuel levels and fire conditions. On October 2, 1917, less than a year before Gifford recorded Nium stories in North Fork, a huge fire nearly engulfed the Sierra National Forest headquarters. The Nium had lost their hold on the land to the United States Forest Service, and the rangers’ orders prevented the land from receiving the Nium’s periodic gift of fire. But the Nium and their land had begun to speak back.

Chapter Three

Fairy Tales and Respectable Antiquity: Gifford and the Nium

Ethnographies are guided by an implicit narrative structure, by a story we tell about the people we study.

-- Edward M. Bruner (1986)

Edward Winslow Gifford arrived in North Fork, California in July 1918 with a particular scholarly agenda. Gifford, who pursued no formal education after graduating from high school and yet eventually rose to the rank of Professor and Director of the University of California's Museum of Anthropology, was a protégé of Alfred Kroeber, the Boasian founder of California anthropology. Working under Kroeber's guidance, Gifford slowly pieced together a broad picture of Native American culture and social structure in Central California. As noted earlier, Gifford was struck by the similarity of the North Fork Mono language to the Eastern Mono language of the Owens Valley,¹¹ and by the time of his 1918 field work, a clear part of his agenda was to show that the North Fork Mono were "recent arrivals" on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, perhaps more recent arrivals, he conjectured, than Anglo Americans in the nineteenth century. His recording and transcription of Nium stories, stories that he characterized as "fairy tales," were ancillary to his main goal of supporting his model of migrations and cultural diffusion, a model that he hastened to publication in the 1910s to position his own work favorably against that of other scholars.

¹¹ Subsequent linguists have continued to emphasize this similarity and its implications for theories of movement of the Nium. See, for instance, Lamb, 1958.

If Gifford's claims tended to weaken the indigenous association of the Nium with the Sierra's western side, the storytellers he encountered in North Fork told stories that sustain that association – and continue to sustain it today. Chepo,¹² Daniel Harris, Singing Jack, Molly Pimona Kinsman, and Mrs. George Teaford may not have narrated their tales as direct arguments against Gifford's thesis, but gathered together they stand in contradistinction to many of his initial claims. As the establishment of the Sierra National Forest, Indian allotment, and other factors combined to dispossess the Nium, the stories that Gifford collected – even in the sometimes distorted versions of them he published – form another sort of history of Nium land tenure, a history that intertwines narrative, sustainment, and the community of land.

In this chapter and the next I contrast the goals and narrative styles of Gifford and other anthropologists with the goals and styles of the Nium storytellers. My methods in both chapters comprise traditional historical practice – a “reading and re-reading of documents,” as Richard White puts it. White adds that much of what historians do “is literary analysis, but with a difference... Deconstruction is, in a sense, what historians have done for a considerable time. We look for assumptions; hidden threads of connections; we probe for absences” (1997, p. 93). Reading Gifford's narrative and correspondence, probing them for assumptions, connections, and absences, and generally reading Gifford's ethnographic narratives against the stories of the Nium, contrasting views of North Fork Mono land and water tenure emerge.

Gifford's and Kroeber's Claims

E. W. Gifford wrote scholarly arguments, deducing claims from a broad theory about Native society and culture in California and supporting those claims with evidence to advance

¹² Gifford spelled the name as “Chipó” but other contemporary sources had it as “Chepo,” which is also the spelling of the family surname today.

causal arguments about matters such as where and when the Native groups he encountered had migrated. Kroeber and Gifford identified the North Fork Mono as a “tribelet,” a subdivision of the group of peoples in the central and southern Sierra that the anthropologists labeled as Western Mono (Figure 3). Just before starting his 1918 fieldwork in North Fork, Gifford wrote to the linguist Edward Sapir.

Apparently these people are newcomers in the San Joaquin watershed, and I think that because of this, they offer an excellent study of diffusion... One of my chief aims will be to determine so far as possible to what extent they still preserve the culture of their Great Basin kinsmen, and to what extent they have adopted the culture of the neighboring Miwok and Yokuts. (Gifford, 1918a)

Gifford and Kroeber, along with Samuel A. Barrett and Robert Heizer, were later to testify on behalf of California Indians in the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) cases of the 1950s (Vane, 1992). Kroeber presented the anthropologists’ view as scientific and objective. In his summary of his testimony, titled “Basic Report on California Indian Land Holdings” and published in 1974, Kroeber wrote of the motivations of anthropologists for inquiring into Native land tenure.

Speaking generally, the information has been obtained as the result of a thirst for and a quest of knowledge. It is, in other words, information of an historical or descriptive character comparable to studies in the natural history of an area. [Scientists’] motivation, usually, was not in any sense political, nor was it gainful. Rather was it dictated by sheer intellectual curiosity, as basically both human history and natural history are motivated. (Kroeber, Driver, and Lounsbury, 1974, p. 11)

According to Kroeber, these purely intellectual motivations were accompanied by an objectivity that was inherent in anthropological studies of “primitive” Native Americans, an objectivity absent from other disciplines in which investigators could not maintain sufficient distance from their subjects.

Also a factor is the cultural distance between primitive natives and civilized Caucasians. The difference between them, between their points of view and interests, is so great that there is rarely any political bias or motive involved in

inquiries as to native conditions. [In political history] partisanship tends to creep in on the side of one nationality or the other. However, where primitives are involved the gulf is so much greater that the attitude of the anthropologist or ethnologist is relatively impartial, and almost as free from bias as the attitude of a botanist or zoologist in describing the nature or distribution or numbers of animals and plants. (pp. 11-12)

Consistent with his view of Native Americans as primitive peoples, Kroeber claimed a connection between the population density of pre-contact California and the character of their land tenure.

Where one gathers wild foods, or depends on hunting and fishing, even where the land is fertile and fruitful, it is obvious that its resources must be sooner exhausted. There is no replanting, no restocking, there is no breeding; and so the human population is bound to scatter out increasingly to find its food. (p. 17)

Yet for all the supposedly intrinsic power of agriculture to concentrate large populations of people into more compact areas, Kroeber acknowledged that Indigenous California had been more crowded than the areas of North America where Natives farmed before the arrival of Europeans. “At that,” he noted, “[the California population] was heavier per square mile occupied than it was for instance in the [areas where] Indians did practice corn, bean, and squash agriculture in addition to hunting and fishing.” Until very recently (Lightfoot & Parrish, 2009) there has been little acknowledgement among scholars that California Natives may have deliberately chosen a regime of prescribed burning as a more productive form of raising food and other cultural resources than what Western peoples recognize as agriculture.

The question of whether Native Americans engaged in agriculture prior to contact with Europeans bears on what Edward Said termed the *imaginative geographies* of colonialism:

The perception of the colonial space is determined by images and discourses created and spread by those who detain power. Describing the Orient as a blank space, the colonial empires tried in fact to justify the cultural annihilations and political invasions they committed overseas. (1979, p. 55)

What Said asserted about the Orient applies as well to the Sierra Nevada. Under the Western, Lockean view, if the North Fork Mono were recent arrivals, if they were nomadic, if they did not cultivate the land but merely camped upon it and burned it without apparent rhyme or reason, then government officials would be justified in describing the Sierra National Forest not as a Nium homeland but as a blank space on the map, ripe for colonization. With Gifford's analysis of story and other ethnographic data, he participated in a colonial project's cultural annihilation and political invasion. The remainder of this chapter explores how Gifford's assumptions and perspectives shaped his research; Chapter Four begins a reinterpretation of the stories Gifford collected.

Gifford's Correspondence Regarding the North Fork Mono

A lengthy series of Gifford's letters to his mentor Kroeber lays out quite clearly his general scholarly goals and his specific objectives for the field work in North Fork. Taken as a whole, their correspondence of the 1910s reveals a pair of extremely busy academics addressing matters such as concerns about the health of Ishi (up until his death in March 1916),¹³ the day-to-day business of the Museum of Anthropology (including personnel matters, the management of collections, and schedules for lectures to the public and school groups), teaching duties in Berkeley, and gossip about competing scholars. In one fairly typical exchange with Gifford in the field, Kroeber wrote:

January 5, 1915

Dear Gifford,

¹³ For accounts of Ishi's life, see Kroeber, 1961; Heizer and Kroeber, 1979; and Kroeber & Kroeber, 2003.

Can you pick up enough leached acorn meal to fill a baking powder can and mail it to me? I think Ishi would appreciate it. I hope you got your check.

ALK

Amid all this activity, Gifford formulated his main argument about Native social structure in Central California with the aid of Kroeber's critiques and guidance. Gifford eventually developed a broad perspective on Native California society and culture, expressed like a bird's-eye view of the cultural landscape in works like his co-authored introduction to *California Indian Nights Entertainments* (1930). "In California there were three civilizations present," Gifford and Gwendoline Harris Block wrote, indicating that the Native cultures of northwestern and of southern California represented extensions of the Northwest Coast and Southwest culture areas, respectively. "Only in central California," they continued, "do we find a truly typical Californian civilization, which had developed largely in the heart of California, that is, in the Great valley. This typical central Californian culture extended into the Great Basin, east of the Sierra Nevada, where it was found in less pronounced and less developed form" (Gifford & Block, 1930, p. 22).

Gifford first encountered the Nium while completing field work among neighboring Miwok peoples in 1915. He wrote to museum staff in December of that year to notify them that he was extending his trip and would spend several days in North Fork. As a young curator, Gifford had already shown himself to be a keen, aggressive interviewer who knew how to push for the information he wanted. Regarding his work with a Miwok elder in 1914, for instance, Gifford wrote to Kroeber, "I find it has been advantageous to pump him dry on dances, ceremonies and shamanism, before beginning on pedigrees. Now I have a long list of titles, both shamanistic and ceremonial, to ask about in the case of each individual" (Gifford, 1914a).

Several days later he detailed how he used the face of his pocket watch to prompt descriptions of Miwok roundhouse dances: “The second dial represents the door, the 12 the drum, the center of the watch the fire.” Immediately following this methodological tidbit, Gifford offered an indication that through all his interviews he never lost his focus on his true goal, the elucidation of social structure. “The two stories I got,” he wrote, “were taken only because I thought I might get something about moieties out of them. They were both failures” (Gifford, 1914b). Kroeber responded to Gifford with lengthy, generally positive critiques of his notes and detailed criticisms of photographs Gifford had taken (“out of focus,” “over exposed,” “under exposed,” etc.).

Just prior to his 1915 trip to North Fork, Gifford laid out a few preliminary data on the North Fork Mono, apparently gathered from interviews with a Nium elder who happened to be in Jamestown, California, where Gifford was conducting field work among the Miwok. After his initial interviews with this elder, Gifford wrote to Kroeber describing Mono moieties (what he later termed phratries – more on these below – and what the Nium refer to as the “sides” of their people), personal names, and “pets” or guardian spirits (Gifford, 1915a). Kroeber indicated some of the scholarly disagreements of the day with his reply: “Be shy of connecting the moiety totems with the guardian spirit... [C. Hart] Merriam’s confusion will seem vindicated... If I were doing it I should consider a ten foot pole in order” (Kroeber, 1915b).

Merriam was not the only investigator whose work the Berkeley anthropologists viewed with skepticism. Soon discussions of a heated competition with the peripatetic linguist and ethnologist John Peabody Harrington surfaced in Gifford and Kroeber’s correspondence. In a letter written on New Year’s Eve, 1915 to Kroeber after an encounter with Harrington, Gifford worried that Harrington had data on Yokuts social organization: “This may be the wrong way to

feel about the matter, but I must say that I am a bit disappointed to find that some one else was in the field ahead of me” (Gifford, 1915f). Kroeber tried to reassure Gifford that Harrington posed no substantial threat to the work that Gifford was trying to complete, and that Harrington was only trying to squeeze what information he could out of Gifford. Kroeber also made plain his disdain for Harrington’s rather unsystematic research methods in passages such as this piece of advice to Gifford, after Gifford had considered collaborating with Harrington on research among the Chumash people of California’s south coast:

And forget the Chumash. You wouldn't get three pages of print in three months. Harrington has nothing else to do but live with some old woman indefinitely and gossip Spanish with her. You can't; but you can do much better things. (Kroeber, 1916b)

In addition, Kroeber’s numerous comments along the lines of, “I can just see Harrington’s pathological secrecy sticking out of his answer to you” made clear his personal distrust of the man (Kroeber, 1916a).

Kroeber’s assurances aside, the idea that Harrington would beat him to publication lit a fire under Gifford, and he rushed to publish a paper on social organization in Central California. He had already spent a couple of months in the field, crisscrossing the Sierra. In late October and mid-November 1915 he was in North Fork, laying out what he saw as the basics of the structure of moieties among the Mono in the vicinity. At this point he noted that at least one of his sources indicated that “the Mono on the east side of the Sierra Nevada do not have a moiety organization” and he also noted similarities between Yokuts and Mono naming customs (Gifford, 1915a). By December 2 he was in the Owens Valley, declaring, “it is certain that the moiety organization of the western Mono never came from this direction” (Gifford, 1915b). The next day he wrote again, asserting that North Fork Mono moieties were comparable to those of

the Miwok, Chukchansi, and Gashowu on the western side of the Sierra, but that the North Fork kinship system was like those of the Native peoples of Bishop and Bridgeport.

The complex social data with which he was grappling confounded Gifford. “That Mono nut,” he wrote en route back to the Central Valley, “is going to be a hard one to crack: it looks very much like two groups of clans rather than 2 moieties... Now you see why I feel like tearing my hair over this west Mono problem” (Gifford, 1915d). Upon his return to North Fork, however, his thinking had begun to clear. “I think the Mono tangle is beginning to disentangle itself,” he wrote, and he went on to propose that *phratry*, a more general term than moiety,¹⁴ offered the best description of the structure of North Fork Mono society. One could characterize this conclusion as provisional, as an indication of a young anthropologist putting a semblance of order on a complex, dynamic social milieu. However provisional it may have been, though, Gifford put the conclusion to use in service of his claim that the Mono had only recently come to the western Sierra, musing whether the phratries he perceived had resulted from the superimposition of Central California-style moieties on a Great Basin-style clan system or, on the other hand, if clans had formed within moieties. He clearly favored the former possibility, as it seemed to lend credence his migration theory (Gifford, 1915e).

¹⁴ Gordon Marshall’s online definition of *phratry* reads as follows:

In many pre-industrial societies, social organization is based on kinship groups through descent in either the male or female line, but these kinship groups are then aggregated according to non-kinship principles into larger groups which (in some cases) the anthropologist Lewis H. Morgan termed ‘phratries’. Examples include several American Indian and Australian Aboriginal tribes. In other societies, extended kinship groups include the clan (usually a matrilineal descent group), and gens (patrilineal descent group). It is now common to designate as phratries any grouping or association of clans which recognize some relationship to each other. Often, therefore, phratries are organized around either a division of labour or distinct ritual functions. moieties (the division of societies into two groups, based on any principle, such that there is a dual organization of the whole) are a particular form of phratry. However, all of these terms are subject to the vicissitudes of context, and have sensibly been used in very different ways. Students of kinship groups therefore have to live with a great deal of variation in the use of (sometimes poorly chosen) terminology—and are strongly advised to verify specific definitions and usage in particular circumstances.” (*A Dictionary of Sociology*. 1998. Retrieved November 03, 2009 from Encyclopedia.com: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O88-phratry.html>)

With Kroeber on an extended trip to the East Coast and the perceived competition from Harrington bearing down on him, Gifford enlisted the help of his colleagues T. T. Waterman and J. Alden Mason to publish the data he had collected less than two months previously. Upon seeing the publication (Gifford, 1916a), Kroeber chided Gifford for overreaching and publishing tentative and erroneous information and conclusions in this article. The tone of Gifford's letters to Kroeber immediately became apologetic: "The miserable little six-page paper on 'Dichotomous Social Organization' has been a lesson to me. No more do I depend on Waterman, Mason, or anyone else but you to pass upon a paper" (Gifford, 1916b). Kroeber softened his stance to assure Gifford that the damage done was not too great. Nevertheless, Kroeber advised Gifford to collect more data as soon as he could. "It's time we know something about the Mono," he urged (Kroeber, 1916b).

It was not until mid-1918 that Gifford garnered the funds and time for more extensive work in North Fork. In the meantime, Kroeber offered plentiful advice, line-by-line edits of Gifford's writing, and much encouragement, assuring Gifford that he was on the right track, generally, with his thinking about Mono social organization. At the outset of his field work in the summer of 1918, however, Gifford found the going slower and more expensive than he would have preferred. "[T]he war is making it very difficult to obtain Indian informants at \$1.50 a day as formerly," he wrote to Kroeber on July 16. "Their services are much in demand everywhere, and the average male Indian makes \$3 a day" (Gifford, 1918b). A few weeks later he complained from North Fork in a letter to a clerk back at the museum in San Francisco, "Work is going fairly well, although not as well as I should like. These heathens decline to work on Sunday. I wasted last Sunday and the prospects for to-morrow look no more promising" (Gifford, 1918c).

It was during this 1918 summer excursion that Gifford collected the bulk of the data that he eventually published on the North Fork Mono. His experience of racing to press in 1916 apparently led, however, to an abundance of caution in handling his data. The stories Gifford recorded and transcribed in 1918 were not published until five years later (more about that article in the next chapter), and his general ethnography, “The Northfork Mono,” containing lengthy verbatim extracts from his 1918 field notes (now in the Bancroft Library), did not appear until 1932.

During those intervening fourteen years, Gifford kept his focus on his thesis that the North Fork Mono were very recent arrivals – perhaps even more recently arrived than the first Anglo settlers – to the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. According to Gifford’s 1918 field notes, the Nium elder Wiunu had told him that rainbow trout issued from a “great rock” near the headwaters of the San Joaquin, and Wiunu claimed to have seen the rock. Before Gifford took his ethnography to press he wrote to the California State Division of Fish and Game in the hope that information about recent introductions of fish to the San Joaquin River could help him date the origins of Mono stories.

Mono folklore asserts that rainbow trout issue from a great rock at the headwaters of the San Joaquin. What I desire to learn is if rainbow trout are native to the region or occur there only through plantings. If the latter is the case then the fairy tale about their issuing from a rock is of recent origin. If rainbow trout are native the fairy tale may have a very respectable antiquity. (Gifford, 1931)

W. H. Shebley, Chief of the Bureau of Fish Culture, succinctly replied to Gifford the next week:

Your letter of April 30th received. The rainbow and steelhead trout were native of the San Joaquin river system on the arrival of the whites in California.

The steelhead ascended as far as natural conditions would allow them. The upper stretches of the San Joaquin and the tributary streams were inhabited by the rainbow trout, the type that is now found in the Kings River. (Shebley, 1931)

Despite Shebley's confirmation that the trout were native, Gifford chose not to ascribe any "respectable antiquity" to the "fairy tale." One sentence, "A large rock at the head of the San Joaquin river was believed to be the place from which rainbow trout issued," formed the totality of his discussion of the matter in publication (Gifford, 1932, p. 53).

Gifford did acknowledge in 1932 that he "could obtain no story of a migration from across the Sierra... According to their myths, also, the Western Mono of Northfork always lived where they are now" (p. 16). He also presented evidence that would seem to imply that the North Fork Mono had resided on the western side of the Sierra since ancient times:

All of these Western Mono groups were in their cultural outlook definitely of the San Joaquin drainage rather than that of the Great Basin. Their general mode of life was more like that of the foothill Yokuts and the Miwok than that of the Eastern Mono. (1932, p. 15)

Near the conclusion of his ethnography, Gifford adds, "There is much about the Northfork Mono that suggests close affinity to other tribes on the western slope of the Sierra" (p. 55).

Later in his career, Gifford wrote of a contrast in physical types between the Owens Valley Paiute and Western Mono peoples:

Although speaking a language only slightly different from that of the physically distinctive Western Mono, the Eastern Mono are unlike them in physical type and belong instead to the widespread California type to which with their other neighbors, the Washo and Miwok, belong... The Western Mono type will probably be found to have relatives elsewhere. (1951, pp. 86-87)

Years after publishing "Western Mono Stories," in his testimony to the Indian Land Claims Commission, Gifford spoke generally of the relationship of story to land tenure in California.

Legends and myths of the California Indians, as well as the archaeological evidence of centuries-old village sites, testify to the great antiquity of the occupancy of the land... In Central California the creation stories tell of no wanderings of the ancestors, but imply that the various stocks were created in the regions where the Caucasian explorers and settlers found them. (1954)

Thus by the time of his 1950s testimony, Gifford appeared to have modified his position on the immigration and land tenure of the Nium. His notes for his ICC testimony indicated that he believed that North Fork Mono land tenure dated from ancient times and he characterized Nium travels as hunting excursions out of the hamlets they occupied or extended trips to visit and trade with their “trans-Sierra neighbors, the Eastern Mono.” (1954, p.22)

The Upshot

Initially, Gifford’s main evidence for the recent migration of the North Fork Mono was linguistic. Subsequent linguists have confirmed that Western Mono became differentiated from the Eastern Mono language of the Owens Valley no longer than five hundred years ago (Lamb, 1958; Jackson 1989). And as Jackson (1989) has noted, it is newly arrived populations that are most “culturally plastic,” adapting and modifying the established customs of their new lands, so it is easy to understand why Gifford looked for indications that the Mono had adapted customs from Central California groups. Still, subsequently discovered archaeological evidence indicates that the Mono have been in contact with the Yokuts of Central California for a very long period of time, importing items and materials such as obsidian from the east side of the Sierra to the west “for the entire known prehistoric record of the southern Sierra Nevada” (Jackson, 1989, p.364). It may, in fact, be impossible to pinpoint precisely when the Nium “arrived” in Central California by referring to the archaeological record.

Gifford’s scholarly papers comprised a certain kind of story about the North Fork Mono, and his purposes as an ethnographer and community outsider were to draw particular sorts of boundaries around the people and to support his claims about their origins and migrations. These claims, perhaps better characterized as wishes, essentially supported colonial notions and the

Fritz Olmsted idea that “the Indians were camping.” The Nium were not settlers with a Lockean claim to land as private property, for they did not, in Olmsted’s and Gifford’s view, engage in agriculture or “work” the land. Possession of the fruits of one’s labor is a basic human right under the heritage of the Enlightenment. If one is camping and not laboring, however, one has no fruits and no rights.

Later investigators – Gayton (1930; 1948) and Jackson (1989), for instance – have amended Gifford’s initial theories but not rejected them wholesale. As discussed further in the following chapter, because Gifford presumed the validity of his migration theory in 1918, he listened to Nium stories with his ears tuned not for surprises, as Eckstein (2003) urges us, but for confirmations of his hypothesis. Gifford thus missed most of the stories’ importance as expressions of land and water tenure – how, that is, the Nium *hold* land and water, their interrelationships with land and water. In addition, then, to the direct expropriation represented by unratified treaties, the establishment of Sierra National Forest, and the administration of public domain allotments, the Nium have had to defend their land and water against the scholarly claims of Gifford and other scholars who have attempted to characterize the Nium as recent arrivals with only tenuous cultural associations with the west side of the Sierra.

A decade before Gifford went to North Fork, Kroeber had begun extensive fieldwork among the Yurok in northwestern California. Kroeber referred to Native peoples as “primitive” throughout his career and, as he indicated in his ICC testimony quoted above, he felt that such a stance was necessary for anthropologists to remain objective and scientific in their portrayals of the peoples they study. This emphasis of Kroeber’s on an anthropologist’s obligation to remain objective is revealing in view of his lifelong reluctance to shape his notes on the Yurok into a

comprehensive history of the people. “Perhaps I cannot write of the Yurok in this way,” he told his wife, Theodora Kroeber. “I feel myself too much a Yurok” (Kroeber, 1976, p. xiv).

Gifford was apparently burdened by no similar identification with the North Fork Mono, and no corresponding writer’s block. He maintained his distance from his object of study; he had a scholarly reputation to establish and protect, and the ethnography he wrote comprised a history of the group. The Nium, on the other hand, held alternative views of their own community’s history, expressed in the very stories that Gifford recorded.

Chapter Four

Nium Story and North Fork Mono Land and Water

The centrality of place in the indigenous thought-world is explicitly conveyed through tradition and language and implicitly through the relationship between human beings and the rest of nature.

-- Sandy Grande (2008)

In “Western Mono Myths” (1923), E.W. Gifford discounted the stories he collected in North Fork in 1918 as dealing “with trivial matters,” and he further claimed that only two of the stories were cosmogonical and that none of them qualified as a migration story (p. 302). From the Nium perspective, however, the matters discussed in the stories were anything but trivial, several of the tales are creation stories, and many comprise descriptions of movement on the land. Nium storytellers all have distinct individual styles, and as Eckstein (2003) recommends for any story, these narratives must be listened to with an ear for surprise, but a common thread among all the stories that Gifford recorded is their tendency to sustain Nium community. Considering the historical circumstances under which the storytellers talked to Gifford (see Chapter Two), I view their stories as narratives that sustain Nium culture and also function as claims to land and water. Taken together these stories constitute what Nelson has called a story “bundle” (2008, p. 5) and what Brooks terms a “gathering” of stories, an artistic and intellectual gathering directly analogous to the physical gathering of plants, each story contributing to a “literature that gives life to the words, solidifies them in the landscape, allows them to be gathered and carried on” (2006, p. 243). In this chapter I elaborate on ideas introduced in Chapter Three to investigate how Nium story and land sustain each other.

My methods are mostly historical but my methodology draws in part from recently developed sustainability theory. Eckstein and Throgmorton have provided a theoretical basis for

directly connecting story to sustainability and to political processes. “[S]tory, sustainability, and democracy are mutually constitutive,” they write (2003, p.4). I would also assert that story, sustainability, and *community* construct each other. Further, if community comprises land, and we consider plants, animals, rocks, and water as full community members, then I would assert that story, sustainability, and *land* are mutually constitutive. Story and land sustain each other. Anderson (1999) writes of moving from a human-centered study of basketry to a land-centered study of basketry, an inquiry that draws on the physical content and structure of artifacts to infer human-environment interactions. Here I take my first steps toward an analogous, land-centered inquiry into another sort of cultural artifact, studying stories and their narrative content and structure to infer land tenure.

As Eckstein writes, “Most storytelling – arguably all storytelling – is about setting community boundaries, including some audience members within its territory and excluding others” (2003, p. 13). Eckstein identifies four salient aspects of story and storytelling that bear on the relationship among story, sustainability, and education:

1. Storytellers have the power to imagine communities (and prescribe community boundaries). Once imagined in story, communities then defend claims – for land, for instance – against others.
2. Stories always have a spatial dimension.
3. To serve both sustainability and democracy [or community], most stories need to be understood as multiply voiced and listened to with an “ear for surprise.”
4. “And last, the ability to listen with an ear tuned to surprise takes education – formal and informal – in how stories work” (2003, p. 6)

Storytellers have the power to imagine communities and to prescribe social and spatial community boundaries. This is imagination in the Kantian sense, that is, storytellers form an *image* of communities, just as maps form images of land. As Mandelbaum has written, “If you are trying to construct a nation then your stories should focus on individuals as citizens and on the salience and integrity of the national space and its public orders” (1991, p. 211). The Nium view is that animals, plants, and natural forces are citizens of their nations. This view is consistent with Benedict Anderson’s definition of a nation: “it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (2006, pp. 5-6). As I discuss below, the Nium image of community – the North Fork Mono nation and its national space – includes all things: humans, plants, and animals as well as things and forces such as wind, fire, and water.

Eckstein’s fourth point bears on how this dissertation functions as educational inquiry or, if you will, as an educational lesson. This chapter’s purpose is to increase my (and my readers’) capacity to listen to the stories and to hear their advocacy for Nium land. Thus my methods are historical, my methodology draws on sustainability and literary theory, and my practice – or how I put theory into action – consists of education. This dissertation works in some ways as curriculum.

Eckstein (2003) is concerned with the intertwining of story and sustainability in the context of urban planning. Here I begin to explore how the Nium have used story in the service of forest and watershed planning. As a first step, I describe below how the narratives that Gifford recorded (though not without some distortions) hold certain qualities in common with

Native American narratives, generally. These narrative characteristics include¹⁵ an integration and expression of animistic beliefs; a broad parallelism that operates among and across stories, along with a prevalent paratactic, additive, or seriated sentence structure, as opposed to the hypotactic, subordinated sentence structure of much Euroamerican literature;¹⁶ and place names and deictic expressions as essential elements of narrative that often carry rich denotative and connotative meanings. Investigating these characteristics in a few of the stories recorded and published by Gifford, I provide examples here of how the Nium used story to form images of their community – or, to use Eckstein’s term, to imagine their community – in 1918, and how their stories defended claims to land and water.

With my inquiries into the discourse between Nium stories and anthropologists’ writings, I am not so much interested in defining a divide between orality and literacy as I am interested in Native American people’s claims of autochthony: “their claim to be from *here*, their claims to particular lands and indigenous origins” (Collins, 1998, p. 161). When Singing Jack said of the Nium, “they belonged here,” he rendered moot the question of who is “correct” about the origins of the North Fork Mono, for the Nium have been here long enough to *belong*, to establish tenure and relationship. Still, as I make this claim I am also wary of the hazards of presenting an inventory of general characteristics of “Native,” “Indigenous,” or “autochthonous” narrative or discourse that would sweep a tremendous amount of cultural diversity under the rug. It may be true that, as in Womack’s words, “No one can write, or say anything about the world, without

¹⁵ I do not claim that these three characteristics comprehensively describe oral narrative or Native American discourse but I do believe that paying attention to them can help a reader or listener understand how stories express land and water tenure.

¹⁶ See DeWald, 1998 for a discussion of the contrasts between the open, paratactic narrative style of Herodotus and Thucydides’ “conspicuous” authorial control of his narrative, a model that “still forms the basis of good non-fictional prose style” (p. xviii).

ever using generalizations” and that “To escape essentialism entirely one would have to quit writing and speaking” (Weaver et al., 2006, p. 96), but I am mindful of Collins’s caution that “representations of a people can become a straitjacket on their historical possibilities” (1998, p.197), and also of Robert Warrior’s call to look “for something different than the positing of grand schemes and systems that describe the general features of indigenous life around the world” (Weaver et al., 2006, p. 191). It is with these caveats in mind that I begin to explore how narrative structure and discourse style help to build Native American community history and sustain ecological community, and how expressions of animism and place help to articulate history as well as jurisdiction or political and environmental legitimacy.

Animism and Sustainability: A Community Includes All Things

Bruchac (2003) emphasizes that in the view of most Native American cultures, all things are conscious:

Just as every point on a circle is equal to every other point, no place being closer to the center than any other, all created things are regarded as being of equal importance. All things – not only humans and animals and plants but even the winds, the waters, fire, and the stones – are living and sentient. (pp. 10-11)

Many Native stories express and articulate animistic beliefs. Ong (1967) noted a connection between animism and orality, with its attendant auditory approach to learning:

In a world dominated by sound impressions, the individual is enveloped in a certain unpredictability. ... [S]ound itself signals that action is going on. Something is happening, so you had better be alert. Sounds, moreover, tend to assimilate themselves to voices.... A world of sounds thus tends to grow into a world of voices and of persons, those most unpredictable of all creatures. Cultures given to auditory syntheses have this background for ... their tendencies to animism. (p.131)

While Ong's connections among sound, voice, unpredictability, and personhood may leave an impression of a magical, fearful worldview among oral cultures, the literary scholar Karl Kroeber ascribed a more rational, ecological foundation to animism:

Indians spoke to animals because they assumed that each species had its own system of communication by which individuals passed information back and forth. Observing that animals acted consistently and displayed intelligence in their behavior, Indians adopted the view that one got along best with other creatures by attributing to them capacities equivalent to those that make possible our cultures. This view facilitates understanding of the complex interplay of reciprocity and competition that constitutes any ecological system. (2004, p.68)

The rational, observation-based concept that humans can use speech and song to communicate with nonhumans remains current in Native communities – “Deer songs continue in Yaqui communities as a very real vehicle for communication with the larger natural community in which Yaquis live,” write Evers and Molina (1987, p.18) – and ritual and ceremony reinforce the idea. Vera (1993) wrote that attending Yowlumni sweat house ceremonies revealed the power of communication with non-human persons to him: “While in one of these ceremonies I realized all things in our natural world still understood the Yowlumni language.”

Cruikshank (1998) emphasizes the idea that Indigenous stories describe “mutually sustaining” relationships between “human and non-human persons” (p.8). She cautions against making the analogy to ecosystems too direct, however, and expresses skepticism at the idea that biologists can “extract data” from Native narratives.

Knowledge in hunting societies is encoded at critical points in a belief system, sustained over centuries, that conceptualizes animals and humans as sharing a common world and their connections as mutually sustaining. When it becomes incorporated into a Western framework, it is reconstituted to formalize relationships between people and becomes embedded in hierarchy and inequality. (p.70)

Rather than viewing natural resources as scarce, many Indigenous peoples see resources as infinitely renewable. In this view, kinship and reciprocity bind human and non-human persons

into social relationships and, as Cruikshank reminds us, social relationships are rarely straightforward (pp. 59-60). Indeed, the relationships portrayed in the Nium stories presented later in this chapter are rife with portrayals of deceit and conflict; it is no less sustaining to acknowledge the truth of many family and social relations.

Discussing “tricksters,”¹⁷ Karl Kroeber expanded on his explanation of animism in Native stories, stating that animals not only display intelligent capacity but they also liberate our imaginations and “make all things possible” (2004, p.76). The world comprises animistic power, power that is available to and exchanged among all, in a manner analogous to the continually balancing and re-balancing exchanges of energy in an ecosystem. To take a few examples of events from Native stories in California, bobcats use fire to hunt rabbits, willows emasculate coyotes, women transform into willows, and men and women transform into bears (DuBois, 1904; Spier 1923; Storer & Tevis, 1996). While such a dynamic view of community falls far from that of an idealized democratic citizenship, taken together the stories tell of humans and non-humans sustaining one another both materially and spiritually. “The divinity of the cosmos is constituted by multifarious forces constantly influencing each other and self-transforming – to no purpose beyond that of sustaining the vitality of the whole” (Kroeber, 2004, p.110).

Indeed, within the stories that Gifford collected in 1918, multifarious forces and transformations sustain an image of an entire community that includes humans and other persons. Gifford wrote, “As is usual in central California, many of the characters are animal in name and largely in attributes; although frequently both the human and animal aspects of a single character make their appearance in one and the same story” (Gifford, 1923, p. 302). The stories

¹⁷ A caveat from Creek novelist and critic Craig S. Womack: there “is no such thing as a trickster in indigenous cultures,” and having assumed the universal applicability of the term, we have not considered its limitations or distortions (Weaver et al., p. 155).

that Molly Kinsman Pimona told Gifford are particularly rich in animal and plant characters, but all of the tales include other-than-human persons – often to the exclusion of humans – and water frequently appears as a powerful agent of transformation.¹⁸ The Nium considered these beings and things to be full citizens in their community. As Gayton (1946) wrote, “a most characteristic circumstance of Yokuts and Western Mono culture [is] that men and animals are peers” (p. 262). Gayton further explained that Mono attitudes toward animals were most clearly expressed in recounting of daily events. “So often has this intangible appeared when Yokuts or Western Mono speak of the activities of birds and animals that it is clearly an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world” (1946; p. 262). Lee writes of his own Nium family:

The family listened to and watched everything, for everything spoke to them: the land, the sky, the wind, the rain, the snow; the plants, the birds, the insects, the animals. Each was a friend revealing when to move to the cool air of the mountains or return to the warmer climate; when to hunt and gather, to hold ceremonies, to build the winter camp, to gather materials for basket making. (1998, p. 27)

Many stories view animals as reincarnated relatives. “[T]he old people await us, as animal people, and life continues,” according to Lee (1998, p.44). After a story about his grandfather’s fishing prowess, Lee writes, “Grandpa’s success wasn’t due to any special expertise. He knew the fish were his equals, his sparring partners. He’d talk to them and listen to them. And he’d catch them” (1998, p. 84).

¹⁸ “Water was venerated and regarded as immortal,” according to Gayton (1930, p. 76). Gayton later cited a Yokuts-Western Mono Man, Sam Osborne: “According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal ‘because it is everywhere and never dies.’” (1948, p.242).

Parallelism, Parataxis, Seriation, and Causality

The rhetorical style of many Native American narratives helps storytellers and audiences to sustain community, in particular as storytellers are often disinclined to evaluate, seek causes, or predict the future, but rather, leave this part of the storytelling event up to the audience (Beck & Walters 1977, Scollon & Scollon 1981, Kwachka 1992). Karl Kroeber (2004) also discussed the tendency of Indigenous narratives to employ broad parallelism, supported by sentence-level parataxis.¹⁹ Parallelism and parataxis help to build a narrative structure that presents “actions, scenes, characters, and speeches that have no direct causal connection” (Kroeber, 2004, pp. 4-5). Kroeber noted that instead of connecting cause and effect directly within sentences such as “Bears hibernate because it becomes cold,” the Native paratactic style of narrative is more along the lines of, “Bears hibernate. It snows.” Such parataxis makes the relationship between events equivocal and the story open-ended. “The paratactic style leaves more to listeners’ imaginations – they are not *told* what the relation of two events is; they are encouraged to imagine different possibilities and implications” (Kroeber, 2004, p. 5; emphasis in original). Moreover, Kroeber continues, the employment of a paratactic narrative style helps to sustain the community:

The Indian teller evokes his listeners’ freedom to imagine. The teller does not trace out explicit connections; he provokes listeners to conceive of these. He is not telling a story he privately invented but one that belongs to his people, one that has been told before and will be told again by others. Indians valued excellent recitalists, especially if they were inventive and innovative. But tellers and audience sought new meanings in old stories. Indian tellers did not “express” their subjective feelings; they exerted their talents in the service of stories worth telling because they sustained the health of their community. (p. 5)

Parataxis can help to link ideas among a complex of stories, and Native American groups do not comprise the only people who have made use of the device. As DeWald has written in

¹⁹ Parataxis, according to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, entails “the juxtaposition of clauses or sentences, without the use of connecting words: *I’ll go; you stay here*” (Parataxis, n.d.). Hypotaxis, on the other hand, entails syntactic subordination, usually through the use of conjunctions.

regard to the Classical Greek histories of Herodotus, a paratactic compositional scheme enables an author to sustain connections to a network of ideas:

Many more different kinds of interpretive patterns can simultaneously be sustained, interwoven in various ways with one another, since the author is not constrained to define one theme as dominant or to follow one overall topic or logical train of thought throughout. (DeWald, 1998, p. xix)

To assert that a narrative does not follow one “overall logical train of thought” is not to say, however, that it is illogical; instead, paratactic compositions allow for *multiple logical connections* among a whole set of stories. What DeWald notes of the diverse interconnections among the histories written by an individual, Herodotus, may apply as well to the multiple storytellers and multiple versions of stories among Native American groups such as the Nium, particularly when, as in 1918, the stories were told in the context of forest planning and land disposition issues such as ongoing hydropower development and the Indian allotments of the time. As Eckstein writes, “[T]he whole network of stories received and told in response to a certain planning issue, moment, and territory is bound to be in excess of any author’s intention to contain it” (2004, p. 20).

DeWald writes further of the experience of reading Herodotus’ paratactic style:

It is up to us to notice structural analogies, thematic echoes, or similarities in language or tone that suggest possible comparisons or contrasts to be drawn... In this narrative everything is potentially important and interconnected, but Herodotus rarely tries as author to dominate the connections, or tell us which ones he thinks relatively more important. (1998, p. xx)

DeWald also points out that parataxis coincides with a reciprocal worldview; for Herodotus, “[t]he spheres of biology, geography, ethics, and politics are all governed by a deep-seated underlying reciprocity and balance. ...The world for Herodotus is a single interlocking grid whose underlying self-regulatory mechanisms preserve its natural balance” (p. xxxvii).

A paratactic style helps to sustain themes of reciprocity and balance within a story, and the employment of such a narrative structure may indicate that a storyteller chooses not to evaluate the motivations of characters within the story or to seek to explain causes and effects within the plot. In his work on early Greek narrative prior to Herodotus, Havelock noted its lack of causal analysis.

The causative type of thinking presupposes that the effect is more important than the cause... This reverses what we may call the...natural order, in which the doings are linked in that series in which they occur in sensual experience, and are each in turn appreciated or savoured before the next one occurs. (1982, p. 185)

The structure of many Native American narratives also reflects the seriated nature of sensual experience. In fact, many Nium stories have the feel of a description of a walk along a winding trail during which, to use Havelock's words, each experience is "in turn appreciated or savoured before the next one occurs." Each experience, each surprising sentence helps to build multiple connections in the listener's mind, rather than one overarching causal explanation.

Contemporary Nium stories often reflect the same feeling; with these ideas in mind it is easy to imagine that the first word in the title of Gaylen D. Lee's elegantly composed book, *Walking Where We Lived: Memoirs of a Mono Indian Family* (1998), was not a merely casual choice.

Scollon and Scollon (1981) note a lack of causal analysis in Athabaskan story and ascribe this disinterest in causation to Athabaskan storytellers' reluctance to overtly evaluate the motivations of a story's characters or to impose the storytellers' own views on their audiences – an attitude arising from a deep cultural ethic of respect for individual choice. Scollon and Scollon also note that Athabaskan narratives emphasize parallel themes, rather than a tightly wound plot with one event following another in a "logical" sequence of cause and effect. What English speakers often perceive as prodigious feats of memory (e.g., recitation of a very long

narrative or of a complex series of songs) may in the Athabaskan view be achieved by reference to a well-known set of narrative themes (Scollon & Scollon 1981).

Scientists have recently begun to see paratactic narrative as an important tool in building understandings of the ecology of landscapes. In *Supply-Side Sustainability* (2003), a book that amounts to an extended discussion of the suitable physical scales for studying the natural environment and the appropriate tools for analysis at each scale, Allen, Tainter, and Hoekstra identify narrative as a particularly appropriate analytical tool to apply at the scale of landscapes, and these authors assert that seriation – the paratactic organization of a series of events, one after another like beads on a string – can lead to a view of land as consisting of intricate interrelationships: “Narratives... make equivalent otherwise disparate relationships, and equivalence follows seriation” (232). As with Herodotus and Native American story, impressions of equivalence, reciprocity, and balance follow seriation and parataxis in landscape ecology.

Cruikshank (1998) notes that Native elders’ life stories often consist of travel narratives, seriated events that tell of wide mobility and that frequently “crosscut” the boundaries of maps drawn by scholars, educators, and bureaucrats (pp. 16-17). Cruikshank also identifies songs about events in specific places as anchors that attach Native history to the land. In this way, seriated stories and songs can function as interactive indices between performers and audiences.²⁰ As explored further in the next section of this chapter, the place names and deictic terms of Indigenous narratives build inventories of places and events for communities. Terms of place, embedded in the parallelism, parataxis, and seriation of Native narrative, are devices, links

²⁰ On the participatory, dialogical nature of oral discourse see, among many other sources on the topic, Ochs, 1997. Also, Goeman (2008) emphasizes the inherent focus of Native oral discourse on relationship – speech is made of breath, and breath is an exchange that connects all living things.

within an informational structure that in practice functions much like digital hypertext (see Haas (2008) for a development of this simile in the context of wampum), and that sustains a worldview of equivalence, reciprocity, and balance (Scollon & Scollon, 1981).

Cultures of Place

As noted above, Allen, Tainter and Hoekstra argue that narrative is a particularly effective tool for understanding ecology at the landscape scale. Stating that postmodern narrative “turns exactly on the intrinsic position of the narrator,” Allen, Tainter, and Hoekstra interpret “position” literally as the physical location of the narrator. “The storyteller has a point of view that must be made explicit in a high-quality narrative,” and storytellers speak from places: “A story is commonly of things happening in places, and *place* is a landscape term. Landscapes can unlock ecological understanding particularly because they invite narrative treatment” (Allen et al., 2003, pp. 231-2). In this section, I briefly explore investigations of the importance of place names and deictic words – words that refer to location or other physical and contextual characteristics of a situation – in the discourse of Tolowa people and a Southern Tutchone speaker. Following this section is my presentation of Nium stories.

In his study of Tolowa history and language, Collins (1998) shows how place names, stories, and songs constitute a “rich discourse of location” (p. 133) for Tolowa people, comprising “a name for every riffle in the creek” (p.134). According to Collins, the preservation of names, songs, and stories “should be seen as a continuation of a traditional culture of place, and a response to *displacement*...” (p. 135). Collins writes, “Place names were inventories of village territory,” leading to an “intricate place orientation, interwoven with practical and mythical preoccupations” (pp. 138-9). Furthermore, by using place names and discussing their

associated events, Tolowa families lay out land claims, detailing their rights to use the land as their tradition dictates (p. 139). The language they employ ensures that these land claims are not general or abstract but are models of specificity. An oral story's deixis situates the teller precisely in relation to the story's persons, places, and time. One Tolowa story that Collins cites uses a deictic phrase ("he paddles right there") no fewer than five times, and Collins emphasizes that this parallelism orients listeners to a particular space, offering "a classic example of talk creating social spaces out of physical places" (p.147).

Moore and Tlen's recent analysis of Elijah Smith's broadcast radio interviews in the Yukon with Southern Tutchone elder Solomon Charlie illustrates how an intricate employment of deictic terms can "show the importance of trails to indigenous claims to the land," as Charlie locates historical narratives and precisely traces travels in pursuit of game and fish (2007, p. 273). Place names are salient in these narratives, and equally important to the story's audiences are directionals: "a sophisticated narrative exposition of deictic expressions to project a linguistic emblem of Southern Tutchone identity for a larger broadcast audience" (p. 272).

Southern Tutchone... consider it essential to visualize the places described in the stories, but even without place names, they are able to picture how events unfolded at that place by interpreting the cues provided by the directionals. (p.274)

Demonstrating a comprehensive knowledge of land in the region and its resources, Charlie's broadcasted stories help to sustain Southern Tutchone identity and they also

provide a holistic sense of the history of the Klukshu region in spatial terms...The directionals evoke, in the minds of listeners, a sense of the interconnectedness of the entire region, and its human and non-human inhabitants *that justifies efforts to retain the land as an intact whole. Such narratives provide a marked contrast to the discourse of government land claims negotiations, which focus on the allotment of small parcels of land.* (p.282; emphasis added)

Native narratives that help to justify efforts to retain land as “an intact whole” and that counter the claims of dominant powers exert Indigenous environmental jurisdiction.²¹

Five Nium Stories

The first four stories below – three published by Gifford in 1923 and one by Lee in 1998 – incorporate in varying form an episode wherein Coyote decides to catch gophers. Gifford claimed of the stories he collected, “As a whole the collection of tales deals with trivial matters” (1923, p. 302), but his limited perspective and focus on his own scholarly agenda did not allow him to see how the stories form a narrative network that imagines, represents, and sustains a human and natural community. When I first spoke with Ron Goode, Chairman of the North Fork Mono Tribe, about “Story 20” he said, “This is a creation story. It’s about the creation of the Eagle side and the Coyote side of our tribe,” and Lee presents a version of the story as an alternative to the Bering Strait migration theory. Although translation and transcription distorted the stories in Gifford’s publication,²² this creation story’s recurrence in the four sources testifies to its significance as cosmogony and its persistence over time. To encourage readers to form their own impressions of salient themes, I have removed the titles that Gifford imposed on the stories and identified them only by their storytellers along with numbers corresponding to the order in which they appear in Gifford’s publication. I also recommend Karl Kroeber’s approach

²¹ Note that, etymologically, *juris-diction* equates to *law-speak*. To the extent that Indigenous stories give voice to environmental law (in the social sense) and ecological law (in the scientific sense), that is, to the extent that they articulate the nature of relationships among human and other members of the community of land, these stories constitute environmental and ecological jurisdiction. And to the extent that dominant political entities *recognize* this jurisdiction, Native nations attain ecological legitimacy.

²² Also, the published versions of the stories differ from Gifford’s own handwritten transcriptions, as they appear in his microfilmed field notes in the Bancroft Library. In publishing Story 20, for instance, he embellished his transcribed “we fly” to “we shall fly.”

to reading Native American stories: "My personal experience is that at about the tenth rereading I am just beginning to get the hang of the narrative's richer implications" (2004, pp. 12-13). If the idea of ten readings seems a bit excessive at first, at least two or three should allow readers to begin to make up their own minds about the narratives before moving on to my conclusions for this chapter.

Story 19: "Told in Mono by Chipó, an old man, and translated by Mrs. George Teaford" (Gifford, 1923, pp. 352-354)

Eagle was chief. He was up on a high smooth rock, looking at the people. "I will take care of you people, now," he said. "I am the chief. I am going to be the greatest chief in the world. I am going to sit here in this bright light and look like the sun all of the time. I will call all of you my children. I will look after you. I will take care of all you children."

Prairie Falcon and Crow came and settled down close to Eagle's place. The two were great friends and they camped together. Eagle said, "You folks must stay right there. You will have to stay there altogether, now." Prairie Falcon and Crow practised shooting each other with bow and arrows. Crow asked Prairie Falcon, "What on earth are you doing?" - "Oh, nothing, nothing at all," responded the latter. Then Prairie Falcon and Crow set out on a journey, but before they started the former sang on the edge of the cliff.

Prairie Falcon made a wooden shinny ball, but every time he tried the ball it broke. He said to himself, "What can I do now? If I cannot get a proper shinny stick, what am I to do?" Every time he struck the ball it broke. He returned home each night and every time he came home, he brought a mountain quail with him. Then he would set out again in the morning for the same place. When he arrived there he made shinny balls.

Two sisters of Prairie Falcon's, both Cormorants (wíisiaye), lived with him. These two girls were playing basket ball one evening when Prairie Falcon brought home a number of mountain quails for supper. Next morning, when he went back to the place where he was making balls, he found an egg presumably laid by one of his sisters. As soon as he struck the egg it gave evidence of being about to hatch, for a chick made a peeping noise within it. Then he tried the egg with his shinny stick and found that it served admirably as a shinny ball. Moreover, it kept going once he struck it. "This is just what I want," he said, very much pleased. He took great care of the egg and, taking it with him, set out on a journey down to the plains. He set out to see that place down on the plains where formerly gambling contests were held. Meadowlark lived at that place and it was he whom Prairie Falcon went to see and with whom he arranged a shinny contest. Upon returning home, Prairie Falcon said to his two sisters, "We are going to Meadowlark's place down on the plains to gamble. Now we will start." So they set out.

Prairie Falcon's people had been worsted by Meadowlark (panowate) in an earlier contest. They had all forfeited their lives and been skinned by Meadowlark and his people. A great swarm of flies infested the place where the killing and skinning had taken place. Coyote

came to the place. "What is wrong that there are so many flies here?" he thought to himself, as they swarmed about him and hummed in his ears. Just then Coyote heard Prairie Falcon singing as he was passing. "Well," said Coyote, "that must be my sister's son." Then he asked him about the presence of the swarm of flies. "My people," answered Prairie Falcon, "were all killed here, so I am going again to Meadow-lark's place on the plains for another contest."

"What can I do alone here?" asked Coyote. "I want to go with you." Prairie Falcon and Coyote travelled until they reached the house of Owl, also the mother's brother of the former. Prairie Falcon said to Owl, "My uncle, I may never return, for I am going down to the plains for another contest with Meadowlark."-" I will be in the contest myself," said Owl. "I shall blind your opponent. That is what I will do." Gopher was the next individual that the travellers encountered; and he said, "I shall go along. I shall make holes for your opponent's ball to roll into." The party rested for a while and Prairie Falcon sang while they rested. Next they came to Skunk's camp. Skunk, too, volunteered to go, saying, "I will go along. I shall fix things for you. I will turn loose my scent bag and they will not be able to bear my odor. I will go along." Swan (horut), another mother's brother of Prairie Falcon's, was the next person whose camp was visited. "My uncle," asked Prairie Falcon, "what are you going to do to help me?"-"I am going along," said Swan, "and I shall trumpet to confuse your opponent." When the party arrived at Meadowlark's place, Prairie Falcon erected his house right beside the ground on which the contest was to take place.

The following morning the game started, Prairie Falcon playing against Meadowlark, a fat man and chief of the plains tribe. Just before the game commenced there was much shouting to the prospective players. "Get ready. Finish your meal. We are going to start now." Girls of Meadowlark's tribe poked fun at Prairie Falcon's people. "See the gambling. See the gambling," they cried. Prairie Falcon's people did not allow this to perturb them but remained quiet.

"You have a pretty good ball," said Meadowlark as he examined Prairie Falcon's. "Let us trade balls." But Prairie Falcon would not do so. The game started in earnest and the players drove their balls as far as the Coast Range (Panakap); then they turned and drove back. "Look at them coming," shouted Meadowlark's daughter, and then to Meadowlark's wife she said, "Look at them coming. Your husband is ahead." Prairie Falcon had been behind him since they had started the game. In fact, he had fallen far behind him. However, when Meadowlark made a turn, Prairie Falcon drove ahead of him. Prairie Falcon looked back and saw Meadowlark behind him. A crowd of people stood by the hole into which the ball of the winner was to be driven. Prairie Falcon won the game.

"Well, you win already," said Meadowlark. "You had better take my wife. Do not say anything to me any more about playing this game. I will give you my daughter, too. I wish I could give you all of the beads I have." "You destroyed all of my people, burned them alive," sternly replied Prairie Falcon. "Now give me back their skins. Give them back to me."-"All right, I will return them to you," said Meadow-lark, and he did so. Meadowlark's people had started a big fire in anticipation of his winning and of again destroying Prairie Falcon's followers by casting them into the flames. The latter's people now turned the tables and cast Meadowlark's people into the flames alive, burning them all.

After the massacre of Meadowlark's people, Prairie Falcon and his followers returned to their hill homes. As they returned Prairie Falcon left each of his uncles at his proper place. Upon arriving home, he buried all of the skins which he had brought with him. He said to his people, "Lie quiet to-night. I am burying the skins and I want you all to sit still and listen for any sounds that they may make." The skins were then buried where their

owners formerly had lived. Towards morning the listeners heard the skins remark, "Is it not cold? Is it not cold?" The Cormorant girls then set fire all around where the skins were buried. After that all of the people came out of the places where their skins had been buried. Then they began to pound acorns that day.

"I think that we people are going to fly from our nest," said Prairie Falcon. "All right," the people said. Then Prairie Falcon told Coyote to get a bucket of water, saying, "You go for the water and when you return you will turn into Eagle and fly." Coyote scratched the dirt in happiness over his prospective transformation. They all started to fly and shouted to Coyote as he was getting the water. Coyote said, "Well, I must climb up the tree. I will get there too just the same. The shadows look pretty close," he continued as he mounted the tree. "I will soon catch up with them, once I have reached the top of this tree." Having reached the top, he tried to fly, but fell to the ground with a thud. Then he went to the camp, seeking a bow and arrows. He went to where they were cooking acorns. "I can eat acorn bread anyway," he said by way of solace. When he tried to eat the acorn bread it turned into stone. Then he scratched around and saw a gopher at work. He sneaked up to the gopher and caught him. "Ah!" he cried, "I shall live anyhow." Then he smacked his lips and laughed all over.

**Story 20: "Told in Mono into a graphophone by Singing Jack, a shaman.
Translated by Daniel Harris from Univ. Calif. Mus. Anthr. Graphophone records
2124 and 2125" (Gifford, 1923, p. 355)**

They belonged here [North Fork], the people who were hunting at Pakadidikwe, a place near the headwaters of the San Joaquin River. They hunted, hunted deer for five days. After they had hunted five days, they ate the deer meat with acorn soup. After they had eaten, they told Coyote to get water. "When we drink water, we shall fly, all of us," they said.

So Coyote got water in a basket. He went over the hills for it. The others flew and they named themselves: eagle, prairie falcon, and all sorts of birds. When Coyote returned, he saw his friends flying. He threw down his basket. He started to fly. He was going to be an eagle, he said. He fell to the ground. Then he climbed a tree and started to fly from the top, but fell again.

He saw a gopher (müi) coming from under some leaves. He thought he would catch that gopher. He said to himself, "This is a very fine life. This is what I shall do all the time. I'll catch all the gophers. I'll never get hungry. This is my meat."

Story 21: "Told in English by Mrs. Molly Kinsman Pimona" (Gifford, 1923, pp. 355-356).

Prairie Falcon went hunting. He and Coyote went together.

They camped. Prairie Falcon picked up a small smooth stone, which he put under his head for a pillow. Next morning he found himself on top of a great, precipitous rock, as tall as a large tree. Coyote became much excited. He bit the rock in his attempt to climb it. He tried every means to reach Prairie Falcon, but in vain.

Then he enlisted the aid of Mockingbird, a great chief. Mockingbird told him to send the Mice up for Prairie Falcon. The Mice tried, but failed. Then they had Flicker try, for they thought he might reach Prairie Falcon with his long tongue. He attempted to climb to where Prairie Falcon lay on his back, but failed. California Woodpecker then made the attempt with similar result. Nuthatch (kabikabina) scaled the rock, but he was too small to bring Prairie Falcon down.

They went after Measuring Worm who lived in the foothills. Coyote went for him first, but he paid no attention to Coyote. Dove went down for him. Dove was a Chukchansi and talked to Measuring Worm in Chukchansi, which was also his native tongue. "All right," said Measuring Worm. "Take your fires off the ground, for I am going up there with the water. I'll go up in the water." He came up into the mountains. He asked where Prairie Falcon was. All the people were dancing around the great rock, making the dust fly.

Measuring Worm wrapped himself about with a milkweed-fiber carrying net, in which he intended to place Prairie Falcon. He scaled the rock in two steps and brought Prairie Falcon down.

Chief Mockingbird said, "Let us all assemble and go out to hunt deer." They hunted and killed some deer and had a great feast. Then all flew, including Coyote.

They sent Coyote down to get a bucket of water. Coyote slid up and down the great smooth rock, when he went for water. All of the people flew over him and made fun of him. Then he thought to himself, "I shall fly." He tried, but he fell, striking the ground hard. He climbed a pine tree. "I am going to be an eagle," he said. He again tried to fly, but fell to the ground.

Then he saw a gopher poking his head out of the ground. He caught the gopher and ate it. "I am going to be a coyote," he said.

Eighty years after Chepo, Singing Jack and Molly Kinsman Pimona told their stories to Gifford, Gaylen Lee published a version of the Coyote and Eagle story, as told to him by his grandmother:

All the animals gathered at Chu:wani, from all over the hills. They talked and danced all night, before they were supposed to fly and become Indian people. The morning came, when they were supposed to fly and go all over the world. They painted themselves with colors of the rainbow, and became the colors that animals have now by dipping their hands in the paint and touching their bodies. All the animals came out onto a flat open area. Once everyone got there, they sent Coyote down to get water before they flew. "We shall all drink water before we all fly," they agreed. They told one another about which animal they would be. Coyote wanted to be Eagle, so he said, "I'm going to be Eagle and walk around very proud." So everyone said, "Yes." After this, he went down to get the water. He went down in the valley, to the spring. He got the water and started back. As he started up the hill, he saw a huge shadow. He saw the sky blackened by the animals that had started to fly. He set his bucket down and ran fast as he could, over to a high rock. He started to fly, but fell down to the ground. He kept this up for a long while, until he tired. Gopher kept sticking his head out of the ground to see what was going on. Coyote saw him and said he should stay there and eat things on the ground

and be like this always. He went after Gopher but was too tired to eat him. He said, "Well, I guess this is the way I'm going to be. I will stay here and eat whatever is here." He did not become a great Eagle. Instead, he became Coyote, who is cunning and fast. All the animals that left populated the world, and either became people, as we are today, or remained animals. (Lee, 1998, pp. 6-7)

Finally, below I reproduce another story that Singing Jack told to Gifford. Note the frequent reference to the trail and the richly detailed place names and directionals in this narrative.

Story 9: "Told in Mono into a graphophone by Singing Jack, a shaman. Translated by Daniel Harris from Univ. Calif. Mus. Anthr. graphophone records 2126-2147" (Gifford, 1923, pp. 326-333).

Haininu was the younger brother. Baume gwesu was the elder brother. Baume gwesu was born near Wiitcunap [a small lake reputed to be without inlet or outlet, with high cliffs on the western side, and lying close to the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada, in Inyo county; perhaps identifiable with Lake Ediza].

The younger brother, Haininu, saw in that lake [Wiitcunap] a "water baby" (paxwa). Haininu threw a stone at it. His older brother was seated, watching him as he threw a stone at the water baby. The water baby attacked Haininu when he threw the stone at it. The water rose and sought to overwhelm Haininu, but failed. He jumped from rock to rock, Haininu did. As he jumped, he exclaimed, "Haininu!" and the water rushed at him again. He shouted again, "Haininu!" He jumped from one rock to another, saying, "Haininu!" The water pursued him to the sky, far into the sky, far into the sky. It was about to catch him. He made a hole in the sky. There he lay. He was dead. The water had missed him. He was wet. Half of his body was wet. The water receded. Haininu arose and came down to the water baby's place. Baume gwesu, the elder brother, was watching his younger brother. Haininu killed the water baby.

Baume gwesu sang, "Baume gwesu, Baume gwesu," etc. After Haininu had killed the water baby, they left, they left that place. The elder brother said to Haininu, "You sing. You sing now, my younger brother." Haininu sang, "Haina, Haininu, Haina, Haininu," etc. The younger brother said, "You sing now, my elder brother." Baume gwesu sang, "Baume gwesu, Baume gwesu," etc.

They were singing while on their way to Diinigiiba [near the head-waters of the San Joaquin river]. In Diinigiiba they saw Bear swinging, swinging on a sapling. They started to descend the hill to Bear. The elder brother said to his younger brother, "That is our father's sister having a good time on the tree, swinging." The younger brother said to the elder brother, "I'll go down there and see her." Then he went down, while she was swinging.

When he came to his father's sister, he perceived that she was enjoying herself. "Let me try," he said. His father's sister replied, "All right." His elder brother was sitting on a great ridge of the mountain above. Haininu sat down on that sapling. His father's sister said, "Sit a little more to this side."-" Right here?" he asked. His father's sister replied, "Yes. Right

there. Now we'll swing." His father's sister swung him up and down, a little higher each time. When she had him rising very high with each upward movement of the sapling, she suddenly released the tree. When she released it, Haininu was projected far into the sky. He turned back, came back, and, as he was falling, he said, "Sandy place." When he came down he struck feet first in a sandy place. He went far in and only his eagle head-feather projected above the ground.

He arose from where he struck. He approached his father's sister again. He said, "Let me try. You get on. I'll swing you." His father's sister mounted the sapling. Haininu swung her up and down, swung her up and down. Haininu released the sapling and Bear was projected skyward. Haininu shouted, "Hit the ground. Hit the ground." So she did. She was killed by the fall.

After he had killed Bear, he returned to his elder brother. His elder brother was seated and singing. Baume gwesu sang, "Baume gwesu, Baume gwesu, " etc. When he had finished he told his younger brother to sing. Haininu sang, "Haina, Haininu, Haina, Haininu," etc. They were going on their way and had reached Haekaman [a pass on the Mammoth trail across the Sierra Nevada]. They sat down there to rest.

While they were resting, the elder brother said to Haininu, "There are our father's sisters. Our father's sisters are the Winds." The Winds were living on posita [a kind of seed]. Haininu said, "All right. I'll go down and see our father's sisters." The elder brother said, "All right. Get a lunch from our father's sisters. Don't tease them," he said. "Don't hurt them." "All right," said Haininu.

Haininu arrived at the place where his father's sisters were making baskets. They said, "Hello," and Haininu replied, "Hello." "Whither are you going?" asked his father's sisters. "I am going down to the plains, whence I'll never return," he said. "I have come down to get a lunch from you." His father's sisters asked, "What?" Haininu answered, "My elder brother told me to come down here and get a lunch. I don't know what." One Wind laid her basket down and entered her house, where she got some posita. She put it in a bag. She said, "Drink water with it. That's all," she said. She gave it to him.

Haininu had made holes in his father's sister's basket, while she was in the house. As soon as Haininu left, she picked up the basket. She saw that it was full of holes. She said, "We'll see him. We'll kill him." They pursued him. The Winds roared. Before he had gone far they overtook him. His father's sisters seized a great tree and threw it at him. He exclaimed, "Haininu!" They pursued him all over the mountains. They threw bushes and rocks at him. He escaped each time, exclaiming, "Haininu!" They chased him back to his starting place. There Haininu hid in a cave among the rocks on a mountain. His father's sisters hurled a great tree at him, but could not reach him. Then the Winds gave up the chase and returned to their house.

Haininu left the cave. He went to his elder brother. His arrows were scattered everywhere. He said to himself, "I'll go and see my father's sisters (the Winds)," he said. So he did, while his father's sisters were making baskets. He drew his bow to the uttermost and shot his father's sisters (the Winds) with his arrows. He killed them. Their children went into holes. He got some hot ashes and threw at them.

Haininu returned to his elder brother. His elder brother was singing, "Baume gwesu, Baume gwesu," etc.-"Now we are going," said the elder brother. "Now you sing, my younger brother," he said. Haininu sang, "Haina, Haininu," etc. When they were through singing, the elder brother said, "Nothing more like this. We are going to the plains." They were on their way. They passed Mozidue [at the head of San Joaquin river]. From there they went up the

mountain. They passed Pakadidikwe [a hunting-place near the headwaters of the San Joaquin river, at too high an altitude for permanent residence]. They came to Pisikwii [a precipitous peak called by the whites Big Tom]. They sat down below Pisikwii. While they were sitting there, the elder brother said to Haininu, "Our father's sister is living on fish. She is a water baby." The elder brother sang, "Baume gwesu," etc.

The younger brother went down to see his father's sister. The elder brother went along the trail and the younger brother went down. The elder brother warned him, "Don't tease her or hurt her." He arrived while his father's sister was making a basket. Haininu said, "Hello," to his father's sister. She said, "Hello," to him. His father's sister asked, "Whither are you going?"-"I'm going down to the plains," he said. "I came down to get a lunch." She asked, "What?" She went into her house to get him a lunch. Meanwhile Haininu seized her basket. He made holes in the basket. She brought him the lunch. Then Haininu left.

As soon as she saw the holes in the basket, she said to herself, "I'll go and kill him." She overtook Haininu and seized him by the thumb. He exclaimed, "Haininu!" His father's sister dragged him toward the water as Haininu grasped at trees and bushes. His father's sister pulled the trees with him, and the rocks. She kept repeating, "You are going to go into the water." She got him to the edge of the water. Haininu pulled back as hard as he could. His father's sister was already sitting in the water and Haininu thought to him-self that his thumb ought to break. So it did. As he escaped he exclaimed, "Haininu!"

Haininu returned to the place where he had been caught. His arrows were scattered everywhere. He said to himself, "I'll go down and shoot my father's sister." And he shot her and killed her. He returned to his elder brother. He was singing.

The elder brother was singing, "Baume gwesu," etc. He told his younger brother, "We are going. Now you sing, my younger brother." Haininu sang, "Haina, Haininu," etc. Then they came down to Hukuntukwe [below Big Tom]. They passed Hukuntukwe. As soon as they reached the top of the mountain, they sat down. They rested. The elder brother said to Haininu, "There are our father's sisters, the Rattlesnakes, living on posita seed."-"I'll go down and see them," said Haininu. "Don't hurt or tease them," warned his elder brother. Haininu descended. Baume gwesu went on and sat on a ridge and sang, "Baume gwesu," etc.

Haininu went down to his father's sisters. They were making baskets. They asked, "Whither are you going?" Haininu replied, "We are going down to the plains. We'll never return. My elder brother sent me down to get a lunch."-"What can we give you? What can we give you?" they asked. "Go over there and see if there is anything over there," one said to the other. So she went. Haininu had already made a hole in her basket, when she came out with posita. She gave it to him and he left.

As soon as he had left, his father's sisters picked up their basket. They saw the hole in the basket. "We'll go over and kill him," they said. Haininu was going to his elder brother. He was already half way. The Rattlesnakes took a short cut and outstripped him. Each made a nest beside the trail, one on each side, but one a bit ahead of the other. They piled up stones and lay in wait for him. Haininu came along. The first one bit him and he exclaimed, "Haininu !" He jumped to one side and the second one bit him. "Haininu !" he exclaimed. The Rattlesnakes went home. Haininu went a short distance and then looked at his foot. It was bleeding. He reached a large flat rock. He was getting worse. One foot felt as though it were longer than the other. As soon as he reached a little stream, there he lay dead.

His elder brother watched him. His elder brother came down to him, where he was lying. He said to himself, "There you are now." He looked around. He laid his quiver on a rock. Then he took his arrows and laid them on the rock. He took the best one, the middle

one. Then he struck his younger brother with it. As he struck him, his flesh flew off in bits. After a while he awakened him. Haininu looked around. Haininu said to his elder brother, "What are you doing? Awakening me?" Baume gwesu said to his younger brother, "I did not awaken you. Look at your body. What is the matter with you?"

Haininu arose and collected his arrows, which were scattered all over the large flat rock. He went down to his father's sisters. He shot them with arrows and killed them. The little children were in small holes. He shot at them with arrows but could not hit them. He threw hot ashes at them. Haininu returned to his elder brother. "Now we are going," he said. Baume gwesu replied, "All right." They crossed Pohaininu [a creek]. They went up the hill and sat down. Baume gwesu said to his younger brother, "There is our mother's brother, Coyote, tanning hides. We'll go over there and visit him." Coyote was making a large fire. The two brothers arrived. Coyote spread his own hide on the ground and told them to sit on it. "No," they said, "we'll sit out here on the rock, right here." Coyote asked, "Where are you going?"-"Mother's brother, we are going to the plains. We shall never return. We are going to be killed. You stay. We are going."-"All right," said Coyote, "I'll hear of you being killed later."

They departed. They went over the rock. There they saw their mother's brother, Deer. "I'll go there and visit him," said Haininu. "I'll borrow his flaker" [referring to the deer's antlers from which flakers for obsidian arrow points are made]. "Don't hurt him," said Baume gwesu. "All right," answered Haininu. Baume gwesu told his younger brother to get an old flaker, a worn-out one.

There was Deer with his flakers [antlers] stuck up on his head, all good and straight. As soon as Haininu arrived Deer asked where he was going. "We are going to the plains, from which we shall never return, my elder brother and I. I came down to get a flaker from you, one that is worn out."-"I haven't one," said Deer. "Right there is one," retorted Haininu. Deer gave him the old one, but Haininu said, "No, the other one." Haininu examined the old flaker which Deer had given him and said, "No, I want the other one, the new one that is good and straight."-"This is the only one I have," remonstrated Deer. "Yes, that's the one I want," persisted Haininu. Then Haininu chased Deer. He dragged him around by the flaker [antler] on his head. Deer protested, "You're hurting me, you're hurting me. I'll give it to you."-"This is the one I want," said Haininu. So Haininu looked at that flaker. "This is the one I want," said Haininu. "It is the only one I have, this new one," said Deer. "Well, I'm off," said Haininu. So he left. "All right," said Deer. Haininu returned to his elder brother. His elder brother was singing, "Baume gwesu," etc.

As soon as Haininu arrived, he said, "We are going." The elder brother said, "All right." They went over the hill. There were Water Snakes [patoko] near the trail. The elder brother said, "There are our father's sisters, Water Snakes, making baskets. We'll go down and see them." So they started down. Haininu went behind his elder brother, singing, "Haina, Haininu," etc. The elder brother told the younger brother, "Here is our father's sister's home; they are living under a big rock, making baskets." Baume gwesu said to his younger brother, "We're going." So they started off. They went a little way and Haininu stopped. The elder brother went on. Haininu came back to his father's sisters' home and he split that big rock in two. He shot his father's sisters and killed them.

He left that place. He went on the trail and caught up with his elder brother. Then they came to a place named Tanoba [east of Chiquito]. They rested there. They were on their way. They were singing and singing and singing. Then they came to a place named Yauyau

and they sat there and sang. Baume gwesu sang first, "Baume gwesu," Then he said to his younger brother, "Now you sing." Haininu sang, "Haina, Haininu."

From that place they started and they came to a place named Ictekuna. They looked around. Haininu asked his elder brother which way they were going. He said from Ictekuna they were going around. Then they left and they came on westward. They passed around Pauwinene (Shut-eye). They tarried there. "We'll make it right here," they said. Then they started to build a rock wall. Baume gwesu said, "This is not a very good place." He left that place and went on the ridge. "We'll go down below," he said. "All right," said Haininu. Below Ictekuna they made other rock walls in two places. "This is too far," said the elder brother. "This is not a very good place." They left there. "All right, we'll go over to Tcinihitii (Table mountain)," they said. So they started. They saw nothing on the way.

They got to a place named Danabau [near Table mountain, both Mono and Chukchansi lived there]. There they made a big rock wall. When they finished building the rock wall, they looked down on the plains and they said, "This is too far from the plains." They left that place. They went on to a place named Pagauwa [above Friant on Madera side of the San Joaquin river]. They made a small rock wall there. They loitered and looked down on the plains. "We will go over to Yoninau," [west of Friant on Madera side of the river]. They arrived there. They started to build a big rock wall. They made six rock walls there. When they had finished, Baume gwesu said to his younger brother, "Now you go." So he did. He went over to a place where the elk lived. As soon as Haininu arrived there, the elk pursued him. Dust was flying all over. They chased him toward the west. His elder brother said to himself, "Now they are after my younger brother." His elder brother was watching him. About the edge of the ocean he turned back and the dust flew. His elder brother could not see him very well. He could see the eagle feather on his head. He watched that. They chased Haininu down south. They chased him back. He was coming toward his elder brother. "Now my younger brother is coming," said the elder brother. The dust was flying. He could see the eagle feather above the dust. The younger brother went towards the elder brother and passed right through the gate. He went over the rock wall, Haininu did. Haininu passed his elder brother. As soon as he passed his elder brother, he fell down dead.

As soon as an elk went through the gate after Haininu, the elder brother shot it. He shot just one, but all of them died. Then Haininu came to life, returned to his elder brother, and they started skinning the elk. They skinned only one, but all were skinned. They said they were going to eat them. "Now, younger brother, make the fire," said Baume gwesu. "Now, elder brother, cut me off a piece of that meat," Haininu said. "We have good coal here." So his elder brother handed the meat to him. He put it on the coals. As soon as he shut his eyes the meat was gone. "My meat's gone," said Haininu. "Cut me a piece again." He put the meat on the coals and again it disappeared. "Cut me off another piece," requested the younger brother. As soon as he shut his eyes the meat once more vanished. "What makes my meat go under these coals?" asked the younger brother. He began to dig. He saw an elk rise from under the coals, and it tried to catch him. The younger brother said, "Haininu!" The elk went after him. The elk said, "Sobwa" [call of the elk]. They went after him on his way among the trees. They went through the brush and Haininu said, "Haininu!" The elk could not catch him. Then his elder brother took those hides and bundled them up and started off this way [toward the mountains]. Haininu and his elder brother were separated right there. Haininu was lost in the brush.

[It would be hard for mortals to-day, if Haininu had not killed the mother Wind. Only her offspring blow in the world to-day and the caves in the mountain passes are their

homes. The killing of the mother Rattlesnake by Haininu made life better for people to-day, for her descendants are not so powerful as she. The same is true of the she-Bear that he killed. Her posterity have never equaled her in strength.]²³

Chepo, Singing Jack, and Mollie Kinsman Pimona told their stories to Gifford during the height of dam and hydroelectric development in the Upper San Joaquin River Watershed, and also during the period when the allotments discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation were very much in process and under negotiation. In the face of these challenges and the displacement they caused, these stories all express the sovereignty of the Nium people and their relationship to and jurisdiction over their land as an intact whole. The narrators do so through their integration of the themes of kinship and animism; through the use of the devices of parallelism, parataxis, and seriation; and through the employment of place names and deixis.

All the stories express animism and kinship with non-humans; as Ron Goode explained to me, the sides of the Nium community reflect relationships among forest beings. In sum, these stories assert that animals and forces such as wind are persons related to the Nium – they belong to the extended Nium family and together with humans they constitute the Nium community. Molly Kinsman Pimona's story, like all those she told to Gifford, includes an especially diverse set of animals, and note that Pimona also referred to reciprocal relations with the neighboring Chukchansi people (in the persons of Dove and Measuring Worm). In focusing on animals and plants, Pimona imagined the Nium community more in terms of the extent of its membership – of who is a member and who is not – than in terms of its physical, spatial extent.

Parallel and paratactic constructions reinforce themes such as the transformative power of water throughout all the stories. That the episode of Coyote deciding to catch gophers recurs in

²³ Gifford included this section, as reproduced here, in brackets; apparently the explanation is Singing Jack's.

three stories told to Gifford as well as in Lee's transcription of the same episode eight decades later shows the cultural persistence that can result from such thematic constructions. The story of Haininu and Baumegwesu has also persisted over time; the California Indian Library Collection at the Auberry, California public library includes a 1980s recording of Nium elder Rosalie Bethel extemporaneously retelling the story, and elder Melvin Carmen launched into an enthusiastic recounting of the story when I asked him about it in 2009.

Story 19, like the other stories that Chepo told to Gifford, describes a broad territory for the Nium, as represented by the travels of Prairie Falcon and Crow: from the high cliffs of the Sierra to the plains of the Central Valley and "as far as the Coast Range (Panakap)." Singing Jack's use of place names and directionals in the stories reproduced here is elaborate and detailed, and they constitute a strong assertion of Nium autochthony and an extensive claim to land. "They belonged here," he tells us in Story 20, and his use of a place name (Pakadidikwe) and directional terms (e.g., "near the headwaters" and "over the hills") sketches out part of Nium territory.

In Story 9, Singing Jack details numerous Nium place names and their locations throughout the Central Sierra Nevada, tracing a sinuous line of travel from just east of the Sierra crest to the Central Valley floor, through the vast area that lies between what are now Yosemite and Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Parks.²⁴ Spoken in the Nium language or read aloud in English, the brief, paratactic nature of Singing Jack's sentences results in a cadence that emulates walking over the mountainous terrain. One way to read the seriation of Chepo's and Singing Jack's travel narratives is to note that they allow the narrators to sketch out what amount to "oral maps" of Nium land.

²⁴ A reader can follow this line of travel by reading Story 9 with a map such as the one in Figure 1 at hand.

Indeed, a portion of Goode's description of North Fork Mono territory in the Tribe's 2007 Petition for Federal Acknowledgment reads like an inventory of places from Singing Jack's and Chepo's stories.

Points of interest and reference within the North Fork Mono Tribe's territory are as follows: The San Joaquin River Drainage from the Sierra Nevada mountain peaks on the East to the Finegold Creek Drainage on the West. Fowler Mountain, Kerckhoff Lake, Horseshoe Bend, and Redinger Lakes on the South; over to Jose Basin encompassing Chawanakee Flats, Mammoth Pool, Huntington and Edison Lakes, Mono Hot Springs, Reds Meadow and Hot Springs, Granite, Chiquita and Rock Creeks to the East; Crane Valley, Shuteye Peak, Fish Camp, and Wawona areas to the North; and Northeast to Little Yosemite Valley north of Post and Madera Peaks.

For all their spatial detail, however, the stories are not only maps or delineations of territory; they work on multiple levels of discourse or explanations of experience. As Akan wrote of Salteaux stories – and I believe that the same is true of Nium narratives – a particular tale can simultaneously present at least four levels of knowledge: ceremony (thus the value of repeated words, phrases, and rhythms), reality (such as physical descriptions of places), meta-reality (such as images of networks of interconnected places) and moral and spiritual lessons, or “those aspects of personality that are located within us”²⁵ (Akan, 1992, p. 18). Because of their multilayered structure, Nium stories and other Native stories comprise lessons not only for young people but for people of all ages and stages of intellectual development; this is what staff members of the California State Department of Water Resources discovered recently about Native stories, as detailed in the next chapter.

Operating across all the levels of narrative noted above, the trope of walking is not simply a rhetorical device or analogy. There is, to paraphrase Hayden White, significant content

²⁵ I would think that full access to the latter level of knowledge would require Native membership in a particular group, though it is true that Basso, for instance, through his long association with the White Mountain Apache, has provided insight from an outsiders' perspective into the ethical and other philosophical knowledge that can flow from place-based historical tales.

in the form of these stories. The use of parataxis, seriation, and the metaphor of the walk, as Akan wrote of Saulteaux stories, is “precisely gauged as a referential maxim” (1992, p. 33) in Nium stories. Rather than seeking to explain causes and effects Nium storytelling links local places together as a regional whole in playful and generous ways. “By accepting the possibility of a relationship of all things to each other, there are no boundaries,” Lee writes. “As Grandma said, ‘Everything is just the way it is. Just accept it, don’t ask why’” (1998, p. 11). By way of contrast, a focus on causality is closely tied to the desire for power and control. Ron Goode’s distaste for the terms *land management* and *water management* – more about that in Chapter Five – is tied to his view of kinship with the land. A healthy relationship with one’s kin does not usually entail seeking absolute control over the causes and effects of behaviors within the family. Gifford Pinchot’s (and Shepard Krech’s) vision of conservation requires close attention to causes and effects, to intention, to the “first duty” (Pinchot, 1910) of control over the land. In contrast, the Nium vision of relationship with the land, as expressed in narrative, has led not to conservation and control, but to active participation in the land and to its sustainment.

Robert Chapman’s educational theories may be relevant in this regard. Drawing on various authors such as Martha Nussbaum, William Cronon, David Orr, and Wendell Berry, Chapman declares that the goals of education include the “recognition of the realm and extent of humanity,” and increasing the capacity to make connections. Regarding disciplinary specialization, Chapman notes that “as goes wholeness so goes responsibility” (2007, p.62). Education is a practice, he writes, meaning that values are intrinsic to education – and, I would add, to storytelling as an educational medium. Chapman points out that it is out of its moral dimension that such goals of education as increased capacity for “constructive wonder” (speculation), deliberative thought, and discernment arise (p. 63), and it is experience that most

increases the ability to *discern*. He writes, “truth defined through the language of axioms and formalised rules (abstractions) is different from truth as directly related to and arising out of experience in place; here truth is closely related to discernment” (p. 67). Chapman emphasizes that the two approaches are not contradictory, but discernment most often arises “perceiving the world as given to human experience, unmediated by narrowly imposed theoretical categories.” This is the world as it presents itself to us on a walk, or in the experience of listening to the paratactic utterances of a story, one after another. If we respond to nature as “an integrated and often discordant system,” Chapman continues, we can reinstate – and interconnect – the “local aspects of truth” that occur in our direct experience of them (p. 67). “More than anything else,” he emphasizes, “the ecological crisis is... caused by our failure to see things as connected” (p. 68). Our task is to discern the land as a concatenation of places, and that is what Nium narratives, with their animism, parataxis, and directionals, help storytellers and their listeners to do.

In the face of the challenges of physical displacement and allotment, the Nium stories published by Gifford trace out and link together hunting grounds and gathering sites, express reciprocal relations with animals and plants, and testify to the potent forces of fire and water. Fire and smoke are sometimes used as weapons in conflicts between various persons, but fire also resurrects the dead (as in Story 19) and can be put to use to increase the flow of a spring (Story 3 (not reproduced here); Gifford, 1923, p. 306). Also, controlled fires can make waters rise (Story 21).

Water, with its transformational powers, runs as a narrative theme throughout the thirty-four stories that Gifford recorded, and the substance is shown to have great power for ill and for good. There have been massive floods, according to the stories, and water once covered the

world, but powerful animals dammed the water and continue to hold it back from the land. Various players in the stories participate in sweat ceremonies, bathe in creeks, or employ the transformative power of water, wishing it to rise up and surround their foes – or water, in the form of torrential rain and hail, kills them. Coyote and his daughter are scalded to death in a spring, as are Salamander, Rattlesnake, and Bluebird. Crow drowns in a lake. When Walking Skeleton comes to a creek he falls to pieces, and in another story Haininu dies by a stream, though he is later resurrected. Water babies attack Haininu, and rising water chases him to the sky, but the winds advise him to drink water with *posita*. Baumegevesu puts his leg across a creek for bears to cross and then withdraws it, drowning one of the bears. In another story Measuring Worm stretches across a creek for Bear, but pulls the same trick on him in the end, and Bear drowns. Rainbow Trout and Sucker Fish travel to the head of the San Joaquin, but find too little water there, and Water Snake swallows Rainbow Trout. Prairie Falcon saves the day by creating more water in the river. In another story, when Prairie Falcon is attacked by hornets, he tries to escape by plunging into cold water, diving through snow, and standing in the rain, and eventually is successful when he jumps into a hot spring. Water holds the promise of flight for its drinkers, and Measuring Worm uses a rising wall of water to rescue Prairie Falcon from a great rock.

The persistent view of water as powerful and sacred asserts the sovereignty of the Nium and their relationship to and jurisdiction over their land as an intact whole. As Cruikshank reminds us, stories such as these can crosscut static, visual maps. The birds-eye view and solid boundary lines of most Euroamerican maps, like Michel Foucault's panopticon,²⁶ privilege one point of view and do little justice to dynamic, crosscutting, open-ended stories of place. In

²⁶ For a consideration of Foucault in the context of a discussion of Native discourse, see Scollon & Scollon (1981).

California, maps of Indigenous groups, such as the one on which I worked with National Geographic, have tended to reinforce Alfred Kroeber's (and E. W. Gifford's) view of Indigenous groups as "rigidly holistic and bounded cultures" (Collins, 1998, p.60). Scholars and their maps tell stories, in other words, and these stories can hold legal significance. As Cruikshank notes, "Control of narrative representation . . . carries material consequences" (1998, p.168). She bemoans the "unequal weight accorded to different narratives" (p. 63) of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, and argues that Indigenous stories of events in specific places may contrast with existing maps and comprise claims to land.

Narratives sustain communities and comprise their jurisdiction, and as expressions of sovereignty the stories have legal, political, and economic implications. Traditional Nium narrative helps to drive political and environmental activities of the North Fork Mono Tribe today, such as Sierra Nevada meadow restoration and opposition to relicensing of hydropower dams. The next chapter explores the Tribe's invocation of the transformative potential of water during these activities and its contribution of traditional stories to the 2009 California State Water Plan Update. Repetition of such stories in multiple voices, so often difficult at first to understand, may eventually teach scholars and policymakers to hear them (see Eckstein, 2003, p. 27).

Chapter Five

Water Stories, Education, and Meadow Restoration

Every culture has the inner potential to renew or transform itself primarily through the imagination and its creative forms.

-- Mihai I. Spariosu

In the River Stories Collection at the Coke Hallowell Center for River Studies in Fresno, California is a videotape of a 2002 interview that Gaylen Lee conducted with the Nium elder, Grace Tex. During the course of the interview Tex mentions a memory of Singing Jack, one of the 1918 storytellers discussed in the previous chapter.

We used to go down there and fish... with our grandparents, with our older people, like that little old man named Singing Jack... he used to come by the house there and us kids, Kathleen and I, we'd go, go fishing down there. We were just teenagers. There was bass and trout and suckers. Before the dam – we were 9 or 10 when the [Kerckhoff] dam was put up – they used to spear salmon. We'd all camp for a week or so. That was before the powerhouse.

As educational media, stories fulfill various functions within a community. Kwachka identifies the categories of Koyukon stories, for instance, as traditional tales, historical narratives, and topical narratives “created out of daily life and honed by repetition until, if of sufficiently general interest they enter the historical repertoire” (1992, p. 71). Singing Jack’s knowledge of Nium lands and fisheries brought Grace Tex and her sister to fishing grounds that were soon to be destroyed by the Kerckhoff Dam and its reservoir. Now a topical narrative of daily life (“Singing Jack took us fishing”) has entered the Nium historical repertoire (“we used to go fishing down there”), and the Tribe knows very well what Kerckhoff has submerged. In turn,

if historical narratives are honed and repeated sufficiently they can enter a community's traditional, paradigmatic narrative canon.

As discussed in the previous chapter, many of the stories that Gifford recorded at the time of the Kerckhoff construction testified to the physical and spiritual power of nature. And many other Nium stories – topical, historical, and traditional – offer lessons about water. After the 1920s, as the river came under firmer control of the Forest Service and electric utilities, the Nium continued to fish the waters of the San Joaquin, but the river irrevocably changed and the fisheries have declined and collapsed over time. Ron Goode's summaries of his interviews with the Nium elders Ulysses Goode (Ron's father) and Melvin Carmen reveal how their interactions with the waters of the river changed over time (Goode, 2003).

Many of these elders' water stories had to do with fishing and other means of procuring food. The Nium have identified the dams on the San Joaquin as the prime agents of change, the main culprits in the decline in fish and other animals. Dams disconnected the upper watershed from the ocean and ruined the salmon runs, and the reservoirs that the dams created also disconnected places from each other, blocking the migrations of terrestrial animals.

Uly told of the different families who speared suckers during his time and made some interesting comments about them. He also talked about the Hoo'ya (caterpillar), the mussels and clams, ... he attributed the loss of fish, clams, mussels, hooya, and the deer hunting to the time of when Mammoth Pool Dam was erected [in 1959]. ...Uly commented the spearing of suckers began to fade out in the 1960's. Due to the diminishing of the fish and the carrying on of the tradition in the next generation.... Uly stated, "When the Dam went in, that put into a change and a chain of effects that was never rectified nor did the whiteman ever admit to it. This change affected the Indians' way of life and their culture to this day." (Goode, 2003, p. 4)

Similarly, Melvin Carmen pointed to dam construction as a destructive force in the lives of deer and other species.

Melvin relates during the building of the Redinger Lake Dam as well as the construction of Mammoth Pool that hundreds of deer died because they became

confused with the loss of their trails and crossings. The dams on the river totally changed the way of life for the animals, their habitat, the environment and thereby changed the Mono way of life. The hydro system also destroyed the mussel population and eventually the fish and sucker habitat as well. (Goode, 2003, p. 6)

Lee (1998) also notes the changes wrought by the 330-foot high Mammoth Pool Dam and its reservoir.

Still affected by the dam are descendants of the deer herd that was hunted by my ancestors. They are forced to swim across Mammoth Pool Reservoir during their June and September migrations. The U. S. Forest Service closes the reservoir to all activity during each migration to protect the deer from boaters and other intrusions. They claim that the deer are not stressed by their lengthy swim across the impounded water. My family knows otherwise. (p. 90)

Such histories and stories sustain narrative connections between stream and sea, between one deer-browsed meadow and another, and between the Nium and their land and water. The opportunities for state and federal land and water administrators to hear these narratives during their own educational and vocational careers have been few. In 2009, however, Nium and other Native storytellers began to find new ways to make themselves heard.

The State of California Makes Space for Stories

In January 2008 North Fork Mono tribal members Ron Goode and Melvin Carmen began collaborating with the California State Department of Water Resources (DWR) and the Center for Collaborative Policy (CCP) at California State University, Sacramento on the California Water Plan's 2009 Update and on the plans for a statewide Tribal Water Summit. The California Water Plan, which is updated every five years, is a resource for policymakers and the general public, providing

basic data and information on California's water resources including water supply evaluations and assessments of agricultural, urban, and environmental water uses to quantify the gap between water supplies and uses. The Plan also identifies and evaluates existing and proposed statewide demand management and water supply augmentation

programs and projects to address the State's water needs." (California Department of Water Resources, 2009).

The Water Plan is intended as a resource for policymakers at the local, county, regional, and state levels as they formulate regulations. As such, the actual authority of the document is limited, and DWR's goal, as Mandelbaum (1991) has claimed is the goal of many planning agencies, appears to be not so much to resolve conflicts over policy and public options as it is to maintain and manage those conflicts. The Water Plan is not a regulatory document and does not focus on a single project, as would an environment impact statement. Perhaps we can view the document's primary purpose as making space for stories so that policymakers can begin to listen and learn from them (Eckstein, 2003).

Carmen became particularly involved in the Water Plan Update's forest management strategies documents and he insisted on making space for his stories within them, advocating for a watershed approach to forest management with careful re-establishment of the Native fire regime as an essential piece of the effort. The 2009 documents marked the first time that forest management has been included in a Water Plan Update, and, according to personal communications I have had with DWR and CCP staff members, it is doubtful that forest strategies would have made it into the document without Carmen's advocacy. Kamyar Guivetchi, who headed the Update efforts for DWR, recently wrote to me in an email:

I met Melvin Carmen for the first time at the first Regional Tribal Water Plenary meeting in January 2008 at Clear Lake. It was at this meeting that Melvin suggested the addition of the Forest Management strategy to the CA Water Plan. There was a lot of support for this at that meeting and later by members of the Water Plan Steering Committee (State government agencies) and public Advisory Committee (stakeholders)... Melvin attended the workshop to review the first draft of the Forest Management strategy narrative and reviewed subsequent drafts" (email received March 8, 2010).

Lisa Beutler of CCP wrote to me, “Melvin attended all the workshops we had on the topic. He brought an element of common sense grounded in his historic perspective of changes he had personally seen in the watershed” (email received March 8, 2010). Carmen passed away in September, 2009, before the completion of the Water Plan Update, but his efforts to educate State officials about the interconnections of forests and water were successful, and DWR has dedicated the forest strategies document to his memory. As I argue later in this chapter, the forest management strategy, including its emphasis on the need to restore montane meadows, can be read as an assertion of Native American water rights, of connections between land and water, and of the “beneficial use” of water.

The Water Summit

Another new component of the 2009 Water Plan Update was the State’s organization and support of the first-ever California Tribal Water Summit, an event with the explicit objective of incorporating tribal perspectives into the Water Plan. At Goode’s invitation I joined the Tribal Water Summit Planning Team in early 2009. The team’s efforts culminated in the first-ever California Tribal Water Summit, held on November 4 and 5, 2009 at the Radisson Hotel in Sacramento.

The Tribal Water Summit Planning Team consists of over 30 tribal leaders and members and staff, as well as representatives from state agencies, and together we are designing and hosting the Summit. The theme of the Summit is "Protect Our Sacred Water." The Summit will provide an opportunity for the highest Tribal and State government officials to explore common interests, discuss policy issues, identify solutions, and promote dialogue among agencies and programs responsible for water resources management in California. A desired outcome is a "roadmap" with strategies for preserving Native water rights and providing for the sustainable management of California's sacred waters. (California Department of Water Resources, n.d.)

Another way to characterize the Summit is as a forum for the telling of stories from tribal perspectives. I was involved in the Tribal Water Stories Project, the goal of which was to record stories from multiple tribes up and down the state before, during, and after the Summit, but when I could attend the general session of the Summit I heard many stories there, also, including topical, historical, and traditional narratives. Later, at a post-Summit Planning Team meeting, Steve Archer of the Big Valley Band of Pomo Indians categorized the content of stories told at the summit as stories about spiritual relationship, stories about water rights, and stories about water needs. These three categories intersect one another, and all the stories comprised educational lessons for the non-Native officials in attendance. As the Summit's official proceedings document notes:

Tribal perspectives emanate from several elements: cultural, in that water is sacred, belongs to all life, and that to disrupt and destroy the ecosystems dependent upon water is to threaten the survival of Native people; legal, in that Tribes have senior rights guaranteed by Federal acts and upheld by the Winters Doctrine; and practical, in that high-quality water is necessary for domestic and economic use. (California Department of Water Resources, 2010a, p. 20).

For the account of the Summit that follows I draw from three sources. In order to minimize disruptions of the flow of my account, I have mixed the sources freely and will cite them here rather than throughout the following pages. These sources are: 1) my notes taken while I was present during the event; 2) summaries of the Summit speaker's narratives as written by CCP staff members and published by DWR in its official proceedings (California State Department of Water Resources, 2010a); and 3) my transcriptions of portions of the twelve hours of video recorded during the main Summit sessions and recently made available as streaming video on the Web (California State Department of Water Resources, 2010b).

It was as I analyzed these sources after the Summit that it became clear to me that its Native participants viewed the Summit primarily as an opportunity to educate state officials.

“We have to have a lesson,” said Ron Goode at one point, and he and other Native participants offered many lessons over the two days of the summit: explicit lessons about water and both explicit and implicit lessons about how to listen to and learn from Indigenous story.

The Summit Starts

Early on the first day of the Tribal Water Summit, Mark Cowin, DWR’s Deputy Director, announced that the state legislature had passed a comprehensive water bill the previous night (see California Office of the Secretary of State, 2009), legislation that will place a \$13 billion bond measure on the November 2010 California general election ballot. The water bill, the result of long, closed-door negotiations among Democrats, Republicans, and powerful water interests such as the Westlands Water District (an agricultural irrigation district in west Fresno County), proposes the construction of new dams, other infrastructure projects, and the implementation of various conservation and restoration programs. “It’s a great package,” said Cowin. “We can find ways to work together as true partners... and find new ways to communicate.” Later in the Summit, other state officials reinforced Cowin’s message about the benefits of the water bill, while claiming that the State was opening the door in an unprecedented way to collaboration with the tribes. Mike Chrisman, California’s Secretary of Natural Resources, offered that “Tribal perspectives are critical as the California Water Plan moves forward,” but he trumpeted the legislation passed on November 4th as a way to “address California’s deteriorating water system.”

Lester Snow, DWR Director, acknowledged that “water management has to be different today than it has been in the past, because California is at higher risk than other places in the world.” Snow addressed the looming challenges of climate change and pointed out that the

Sierra Nevada snowpack has already decreased and storm patterns have changed. Claiming that “Past hydrological performance will no longer help to reliably predict future benefits,” Snow claimed. “A new approach is needed to comprehensively manage California’s water resources,” he continued. “Many mistakes have been made in the past and there is a lot to fix... but improvement takes one step a time and today is one of those.”

Many Native participants in the summit, however, took the passage of the bill on the eve of the summit as an affront. They openly wondered why they had gathered at the summit if the water bill was a done deal, and questioned why Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger was not present at the Summit or did not, at the very least, send a video message to the gathering. At one point, a Native participant compared the whole experience to “a bad acid trip,” and many participants voiced the concern that the Summit was only one more example of tokenism toward Native Americans, of lending the appearance of consulting with tribes when in fact all the decisions had already been made.

Referring to the Winters Doctrine, Danny Jordan of the Hoopa Valley Tribe stated that it is a fundamental problem that the State only recognizes adjudicated water rights, as this policy applies solely to Native people and is discriminatory. Tribal water rights should be recognized as senior, Jordan said, and should provide protection for tribal fishing practices. Jordan noted that the water legislation passed November 4th did not include any mention of tribal water rights precisely because the State defers to the federal government on this matter.

Ron Goode added that in spite of their attempts to defer to the federal level, in practice State decision makers actually wield great power over Native American water. He pointed out that when Pacific Gas & Electric (PG&E) sought additional water rights and permission to raise its dams, the utility went not to the federal government but to the California Public Utilities

Commission, a state agency. Goode also spoke against provisions of the water bill, including its endorsement of a plan for another dam on the San Joaquin – this one at Temperance Flat – that would inundate dozens more Nium archaeological sites (Gleick, 2009; United States Bureau of Reclamation, 2009; see Figure 6). Goode related some of his experiences negotiating with PG&E and Southern California Edison during the relicensing processes for hydroelectric dams on the San Joaquin and Kings rivers, when representatives of the utilities said simply, “We’re not going to change our management style.” Goode pointed out that the message of the new water bill amounted to the same: the State seems unwilling to change its management style. “But a new dam does not create water,” he said, nor do dams benefit tribes or their fisheries – instead, they only promote development. As an alternative, he continued, “we have to work on the watershed.” Thus he alluded to the necessity – elaborated later in the Summit (and later in this chapter) – of restoring montane meadows to be the water-storage “sponges” they once were. State officials, Goode lamented, did not yet sufficiently understand this concept. “We have too many dams on the San Joaquin River and now we are going to have more.”

“We Have to Have a Lesson:” Stories and Education at the Summit

At the Water Summit I witnessed firsthand how stories can function as educational lessons. The Summit’s Tribal Water Stories Project was the officially designated space for stories, though many were told during the Summit’s general session. Dorian Fougères, the lead facilitator from CCP for the Tribal Water Summit, explained to me that the idea for the Water Stories Project originated with the telling of a story at a meeting. At a 2007 meeting between DWR and tribal representatives, Bradley Marshall of the Hoopa Valley Tribe told a creation story – a story of his people’s emergence from the mud along the banks of the Trinity River –

that clearly articulated a sacred kinship with land, water, plants, and animals. DWR representatives at that meeting said that they had never heard such a story and that it helped them to understand Native views and practices in a way that, previously, they had not. This experience led DWR, in consultation with members of its Tribal Communications Committee, to create a Tribal Water Stories Project to integrate narratives into the 2009 Water Plan Update. The Tribal Water Summit Planning Team sent a letter to all California tribes, inviting them to submit stories for inclusion in the Water Plan. Below I quote the letter at some length.

We are writing to invite you to submit a “Tribal Water Story” to the California Water Plan Update 2009 (CWP). This is an opportunity for your Tribe to explain – in its own voice – how you have been connected with water resources in the past and continue to be connected with water resources in the present. Your story will be included in a special section of the CWP Reference Guide, and help to educate thousands of State agency officials, water district managers, non-profit organizers, and members of the public throughout California.

The idea of having interested California Native American Tribes tell their own stories about water as part of the CWP emerged from the work of the Tribal Communication Committee (TCC). This voluntary committee was convened by the Department of Water Resources in October 2007, to help everyone involved in the CWP to communicate appropriately and effectively with California Native American Tribes. The Committee released a working draft Tribal Communication Plan in July, 2008 (see <http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/tribal2>). Objective 8 of the Plan is to “*educate State, local and federal government, and water purveyor executives and planners about the historical and ongoing relationships between California Native American Tribes and water, especially cultural and religious practices.*” Related water management practices are also especially relevant and educational (for example, meadow restoration), as well as stories about how climate change has started to affect Tribal water resources. Stories were identified as a particularly powerful and effective tool for accomplishing this objective because they are about real people and places and histories. The CWP was identified as a major State plan with a very large distribution network. (Tribal Communication Committee, Tribal Water Stories Sub-Committee, & the California Department of Water Resources, 2008)

Note the salient themes of this invitation letter: stories as connections to water, as educational tools, as expressions of practice such as meadow restoration and adaptation to climate change. Over a dozen water stories were submitted to the project before, during, and after the Tribal Water Summit. Some of these stories came in written form, and storytellers

recorded others on video in a designated area adjoining the main Summit session room. Goode submitted a written Nium creation story, modified from a version that Gifford published in 1923 (Goode, 2009a). This story, told to Gifford by Mollie Kinsman Pimona, narrates the damming of waters by Prairie Falcon, Crow, and Coyote. Goode also submitted a contemporary narrative about the North Fork Mono position on relicensing of hydroelectric dams. Together, the traditional and contemporary narratives warn about the misuse of water and argue for restoration of the entire watershed.

Goode offered other stories during his verbal comments and also within a written comment, submitted on the Summit's first day, criticizing the pervasive use in official land policies and plans of economic metaphors and of terms such as "management:"

We have to have a lesson. The word "manage" is OUT! The Native peoples of this land "lived on the land", they did not survive from it. What does that mean? It means they prepared for 3-5 years and they thought in terms of 3-7 generations. So what they did today had to be good for their grandchildren's grandchildren. We do not manage, no one manages me, I manage no one. Creator gave all things life, with the same breath as he gave us. So therefore we all have the same spirit. This means the animals, plants, elements, rocks, grass, water etc. We live to care for the land and the land will take care of us. When Mother Earth is happy, we are happy. Food is plentiful for the animals, the animals and plants and herbs are healthy. When koch the pig is big and fat and the apple is big and fat and they look delicious over our fire, we are dancing and celebrating fruits of our harvest and giving thanks to our Father Creator and our Mother Earth. No one manages that.

Goode also shared his experience from an earlier forest management strategies meeting, where a quotation written on the board read, "If no one is out in the forest, and no one is using the forest, does it have value?" He said he felt this quotation represented a classic "management" perspective on the environment, which reduces forests to nothing more than goods and services, but he stressed that the forest always has value (whether humans are present or not) and cannot be managed.

The vision of plenitude that Goode expressed and a call to restore the conditions that make such plenitude possible was an overriding theme for Native speakers at the Summit, as was the need for State agencies to learn about tribes' relationships with water as expressed by their stories. These stories were integrated with pleas for acknowledgment in policy of Indigenous peoples' daily lives and their multiple interactions with water. North Fork Mono basketmaker Lois Conner related a story during the Summit of having to relocate her plant gathering activities to the Kings River because of water quality concerns along the San Joaquin, and the "Highlights" section of the Summit Proceedings document contains the following quotation from the discussions.

State agencies needs [sic] to be educated about how Tribes live with water, for example. Cultural uses are not included in basin plans. Total Maximum Daily Load (TMDL) levels are set based on data that doesn't include fishing Tribes' lifestyle, for example in Clearlake and the Bay-Delta. Indian religious freedoms and sacred sites are not protected. The impacts of land development on Tribal communities are not acknowledged. State agencies do not understand how the history of California's indigenous communities and the conflicts they faced continue to shape their communities today.

The obstacles to employing stories in either public, informal educational efforts or formal classroom instruction are formidable, however. Recalling Gifford's pejorative characterization of his people's stories as "fairy tales," Goode called for Native American people and State officials to carefully consider the meanings of Native narratives. His call encapsulates his own narrative *about* Native stories, and also his response to Gifford's narratives about Native stories, the ethnographic narrative that Goode and I reconstructed partially through our reading of Gifford's letters in the Bancroft Library.

Your water story is about what our elders told us centuries ago --- that was passed down. What were they saying to us? What did they mean by their story? So often we looked at those stories as entertainment. Researchers and anthropologists tried to mythologize them – make them grander of illusion. And in the end they became fairy tales. But they are far from fairy tales. When we read what is being said [in our stories]

told thousands of years ago ... and yet they come right here today, where we are, and the situations we are involved with on the land, in the water – everything that’s out there. We’re still telling that story.

Goode also referred twice during the Summit to the experience that he and I had during our work with the California State Education and the Environment Initiative (see Chapter 1). He stated that he had been “fired” from a curriculum design position because of his advocacy for Native stories in the curriculum, and he tied the disrespect shown toward the stories to an instrumentalist, management-oriented worldview. On the first day of the Summit, Goode said:

I do not like the word management. It’s about “goods and services” – what drove people from the east coast to the west coast. I got fired from a job writing curriculum for third and fourth grade because it was about goods and services and they [the EEI editors] didn’t understand that Coyote could fly. I don’t manage. But I can ask the clouds to go away. Can you?

During his closing remarks on the second day of the Summit, Goode brought up the curriculum writing experience again.

I got fired, trying to write some curriculum. It was about water stories. ... If we had this right – where our water comes from and where it goes and what the Trinity River does and what the San Joaquin River does – or what they’re supposed to do – then our kids would know. Our Native kids, when they are in the classroom and they hear the teacher talking, how do you think they feel when they know what the real answer is, instead of what’s being taught to them?

At another point, Donna Begay, Chairwoman of the Tubatulabals of the Kern River Valley, tied the inability of many policymakers to accommodate the Native perspective to the errors and omissions of the narrow education these officials have received from the educational system. “Institutional learning is siloed,” said Begay, and she added that many textbooks assume that California history started with the arrival of Spanish soldiers and priests, ignoring the history that came before. As a matter of environmental justice, Begay urged tribes to “be ready to write your history statement” for inclusion in grant proposals and legal claims.

History, Stories, Rights, and Responsibilities

In a lunchtime talk on the importance of historical research to tribes (and to those who work with them) entitled, “Recognizing the Past to Look to the Future: Historical Documents related to California Indians and Watersheds,” Kimberly Johnston-Dodds of the Native American Liaison Branch of Caltrans discussed the documentation of changes in watersheds over time, Native and nineteenth-century non-Native place names as windows into tribal and community histories, and the connections of documentary history to current issues and future concerns such as water rights and rights-of-way ownership. Johnston-Dodds emphasized that when state, federal and local officials learn and recognize California Indian history, such knowledge provides a foundation for better relations between government officials and Tribes.

Mark Franco, Headman of the Winnemem Wintu Tribe, presented a Summit briefing paper on the theme of Rivers, Stream, Dams and Fish. Franco explained that he wrote the paper not only from the perspective of a human but from the perspectives of fishes and birds as well. His paper, he said, flies over California, looks at things from the top, and describes the way California looked before the large-scale dams and water diversions – a view that serves as a metaphor for the Native, comprehensive view of the system.

To close the first day of the Summit, Chris Peters, Yurok-Karuk and President of the Seventh Generation Fund for Indian Development, told an ancient water story from the Klamath River region about a hungry water serpent who snatched and killed the people who ventured into an estuary to fish. A culture hero paddled out in a canoe filled with stones that the people had heated in a fire to extreme temperatures, and he jumped out of the canoe just in time to escape the jaws of the serpent, who swallowed the rock-filled canoe and perished from consuming the red-hot rocks. Peters explained that today, tribal stories and traditions are like those heated

stones in the belly of the beast – “our stories are burning,” he said – and eventually Native contributions to planning processes such as the California Water Plan and legislative deliberations will “kill the dragon” that controls Native waters in the state. Peters urged tribes to emphasize responsibilities over rights in their negotiations with state and federal officials, saying, “We don’t have water rights, we have water responsibilities. We don’t have sovereign rights, we have sovereign responsibilities.”

Caleen Sisk-Franco of the Winnemem Wintu Tribe began the second day of the Summit by stating that Native peoples once took care of the land, and as more land and resources were taken away, the people persisted. Society has outgrown itself, she asserted, and it is time to prioritize preserving the environment. Sisk-Franco talked about a spring on Mount Shasta that has dried up for the first time in her people’s history, and how, over time, they have lost more and more land to corporations and government agencies. Archaeologists take all the artifacts from village sites, she said, officials deem the land to be in poor condition, and outsiders do not understand the value the land holds for the Tribe. She encouraged participants to recognize that everyone is in the situation together, and pointed to the river rocks that had been placed on each table. She explained these are the rocks the salmon choose to spawn in, that these are rocks for wishing. She asked participants to select a rock to hold in their hand, to take it home, let it teach them, and to think about how to get clean water running over them again. When the salmon go, she said, so will the Indian people.

As an introduction to his presentation on the history of water in California, Mark Franco first presented a video on the Winnemem Wintu Tribe’s struggles to continue to interact with its land, much of which is already inundated by reservoirs and the rest of which is threatened by proposals to raise the heights of dams. After the video, Franco explained that water is not a

commodity to sell, but rather that it was given to people so people would take care of it. To sell water would be like selling blood from one's body. He said that during the time of the missions, the Spanish colonists understood the premise that there was enough water to share. Thousands of people did not rely on one spring, and people did not settle out in the desert. Later, though, when the miners came, Native peoples in the mountains were killed or forced to become slaves, their land was taken away, and hydraulic mining destroyed habitats. Water rights were given to companies who washed the hillsides away and created massive floods because there were no more trees and rivers could no longer meander. He explained that people have now commoditized water, and today they continue to make profits from the public trust. Franco applauded Secretary Chrisman and Director Snow for their efforts for improving California's inclusion of tribes in water planning, and he called on Summit participants to think in terms of solutions, for only after trying to solve the problems can participants say they have done everything they could.

Monty Bengochia of the Bishop Paiute Tribe stressed the importance of understanding how the Earth was created, and that all life has a right to life and water, including plants, animals, and people. As stewards and caregivers of Mother Earth, all people have the right and responsibility to manage water in order to support plants, animals, and people. Bengochia talked of a time when people could talk with animals, and though he said Native people cannot do so anymore, all Indigenous rights to water need to be protected so that people can interact with the land and its inhabitants in traditional ways.

Goode spoke during a general discussion session, reiterating the theme that having dependable water supplies requires thinking at the watershed level. He explained that the upcoming discussion of next steps would be a good opportunity for Native people to help

educate the State about how to work with water resources. He noted that the State has been operating a certain way for a long time and this will take time to change. Watershed planning processes, he emphasized, must include tribal perspectives.

“The Doors Are Opening:” Discussions of Next Steps at the Summit

Along with tribal water stories came many specific suggestions for the next steps to take in the process of the engagement of tribes in California water policy issues. Mark LeBeau of the California Rural Indian Health Board cited the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, pointing out that the document protects the right to traditionally-held resources for indigenous communities. “Tribes should modify as necessary and then endorse the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and then lobby and force the State and Federal government to do the same.”

Other comments reiterated that action was needed to restore lost water rights. Below I present a brief compendium of comments, excerpted from the Water Summit proceedings document.

Water is today’s gold, and Tribal people could be killed tomorrow just as they were over gold; yet we are people and we are families, and we have a right to water – nobody owns the water, not Tribes, not the State, not the federal government.

To be sovereign and to be sustainable, Tribes must stand on their own – this is more important than making more treaties with agencies that have a poor track record of honoring them.

If all Tribes asserted their water rights, this would change California water entirely.

The definition of “public trust” has changed over time, and is no longer good for balancing needs for water and needs to protect ecosystems.

The greatest source of power for Tribes are their values and responsibilities – Tribes will be the ones who protect watersheds and endangered species in the future.

State agencies do not look at Indian communities as true partners. The California Legislature is setting policies for the next century, but has not consulted Tribes.

Tribes do not have the same planning capacity as the State of California. The State should protect groundwater basins and make funds available to Tribes to address their water issues.

The State should respect Tribal fishing rights and practices – Tribes who harvest seaweed, mussels, and abalone have had these rights abrogated by the Marine Life Protection Act.

State agencies need to dismantle the administrative barriers that prevent Tribes from being fully involved in State policy. This includes non-Federally recognized Tribes, and Tribes that are in the process of being recognized.

State agencies must communicate more with each other and with Federal agencies, and provide consistent messages and processes for involving Tribes. Otherwise Tribes spend their time and resources clarifying organizational questions rather than addressing substantive issues.

Requiring non-Federally recognized Tribes to partner with Federally recognized Tribes in order to access State grant funds is demeaning. The State must consider its responsibility to all of its Native people.

Like the California Water Plan and the California Department of Transportation's Environmental Justice Plan, the State should use the definition from California Senate Bill 18 (2004), which refers to Federally recognized tribes and those listed with the list maintained by the California Native American Heritage Commission.

Planning processes should recognize Tribes as sovereigns, like the California Water Plan does. Tribes may have similar concerns as environmental justice groups, but are sovereign nations.

Danny Jordan presented the Hoopa Valley Tribe Position Paper on water rights. Jordan urged tribes to define and document the purpose of their lands, because otherwise their water needs will be recorded as zero. Using science to define and document these purposes is becoming the standard, Jordan said, and is critical to winning legal cases. If a purpose has not been identified, tribes should have a mechanism to borrow water from surrounding lands. Tribes should consider not only their current land uses, but also their future land uses; twenty-five years

ago the gaming industry did not exist, Jordan pointed out, and now it is often a major water user on tribal lands.

Eagle Jones, Redwood Valley Rancheria, presented his experiences as a technical advisor for Tribal communities throughout California on water and wastewater activities, as part of his work for the Rural Communities Assistance Corporation. He said he brings his understanding of water as sacred to address challenges in domestic water usage, as well as traditional and cultural usage. Jones summarized his work addressing contaminated water supplies, as well as working with passionate people concerned with water resources on tribal lands. He encouraged tribes to educate their youth about their struggles to protect water. He asked Summit participants to remember to treat the Earth well, that it was loaned to us by our children, not given to us from our ancestors.

Near the end of the Summit, one Native participant made a compelling statement to the State officials in attendance. He said that in order to build an effective communication network – one of the stated goals of the Summit and of the Tribal Communications Committee – State agencies should “incorporate the tribal nations in the way they *say* they need to be incorporated. The State needs to work with the tribal nations in the way they say they need to be worked with. That’s not necessarily the same as other stakeholders.” Thus this particular participant articulated the implications of the stories that Natives had told throughout the two days of the summit: the storytellers had spoken not for themselves as individuals but for their tribal nations, including the other-than-human members of those nations, to whom humans are directly related. This is why Ron Goode had spoken of the impossibility of managing water and the land, and of the ill fit of economic metaphors when referring to the kinship he has with the beings that

populate the land and water, and it is why Chris Peters spoke of responsibility to water and of sovereign responsibilities rather than rights.

In his closing remarks, Goode announced that doors are opening for all California Native American tribes, and now everyone must walk through and join the others at the table. He recognized the frustrations of participating, but asked that everyone set aside their anger, for if tribes do not speak up, they will not be heard. “We have been training the Forest Service and the the National Parks,” he said, “and now we must start the training of the State.” Goode repeated a few quotations from the two days’ discussions, challenging everyone present to take a new approach to water and to recognize that water rights is not just about people, but also plants, animals, and fish. He encouraged everyone to listen to the water and how it whispers, and closed the Summit with a water song.

Native Water Rights and Meadow Restoration

Native American water rights had constituted a major topic of discussion at the Summit. As with most dialogue surrounding the subject (Hundley, 1978), the Winters Decision of 1908 and federal, reserved water rights figured prominently in the Summit discussions. Curtis Berkey of Alexander, Berkey, Williams and Weathers LLP presented the Summit’s briefing paper on tribal water rights (a paper written by California Indian Legal Services). He explained that tribal water rights are created by Federal law, although tribes as land owners have water rights under State law as well. The Winters Decision stated that when a reservation is created, the tribe is entitled to sufficient amounts of water to meet the primary purpose of the reservation, and most reservations (and allotments) were created for agricultural purposes. Quantification of the amount of water due any particular reservation is based on that reservation’s practicable irrigable

acreage (PIA), expressed in acre-feet per year. To quantify and reserve their water, tribes must describe the crops being grown on the reservation, and prove that it is economically feasible to grow them (meaning that the crops have market value). Berkey asserted that water does not have to be used for the purpose stated; quantification only establishes a standard for the amount of water a reservation can claim.

Another key question is the prior appropriation date. In a time of shortage, Berkey explained, the prior appropriation doctrine determines which water users are entitled to water. For most water users the prior appropriation date corresponds with when water from a particular stream was first put to *beneficial use*, usually defined as irrigation. Berkey clarified that the challenge is in taking this law and turning it into an enforceable right to get results for communities now. Stream adjudication is a very long and time consuming litigious process, and while quantification offers a clear resolution to water rights questions for non-Natives, quantification is usually more of a mixed blessing for tribes (McCool, 2002). As McCool writes of quantification, “It means giving up the open-ended promise of the Winters Doctrine and settling for whatever they can get in the hard bargaining of the negotiation process” (2002, p. 75).

One of the many unresolved questions surrounding the Winters Decision concerns whether reserved water rights apply to Indian reservations only or also to public domain allotments held in trust by the federal government. Another question, crucial to the future of water in Indian country and explored in some detail by Hundley (1978), concerns the still-unresolved legal question of who reserved the water in the first place. The failure of the Supreme Court to indicate clearly in its 1908 decision who had reserved water rights, the federal government or Native peoples themselves, “obscured the fundamental nature and extent of the

right” (Hundley, 1978, p. 465). In 2009, we are still dealing with the ambiguity of reserved water rights. Berkey, in presenting the paper at the Tribal Water Summit, asserted one commonly held view: that water rights were reserved by the federal government when any given Indian reservation was created. Goode, on the other hand, asserted in his water rights Position Paper (Goode, 2009b) that Native peoples had reserved the water rights on all their lands within their aboriginal territory, from an ancient time beyond the reach of legal records. The only records we have of this ancient time, in the case of the North Fork Mono Tribe, are the old stories, some of which Chepo, Daniel Harris, Singing Jack, Molly Pimona Kinsman, and Mary Teaford told to E. W. Gifford in 1918 and that Nium narrators continue to tell today.

Hundley explicates the salient uncertainty of the Winters Decision well (the title of his article terms the situation one of “confusion elevated to principle”), and because the argument of his article relates directly to the discussions of the nature and extent of Native water rights at the Summit, I excerpt at some length his explanation of the significant distinctions between the two positions:

The difference between the two views is critically important... The principal characteristic of the first view is the assumption that the Indians were reserving something that was already theirs, in this instance a water right that extended back in time to prehistory, to that unrecorded point when the Indians first arrived and made the New World theirs. The Indian right would be similar to, indeed a part of, the long-recognized Indian "right of occupancy." The United States, as absolute territorial sovereign and the inheritor of European claims based on "discovery and conquest," held title in fee to all lands that were part of the public domain, including Indian lands. But the Indians by virtue of their prior presence possessed a so-called right of occupancy which only the national government could extinguish. Thus, the Indian water right, in the words of those who advocate this view, can be traced to "time immemorial" and is "prior and paramount" to the rights of all non-Indians. Moreover, their rights would possess the character of a private property right protected by all the guarantees afforded private property in the U.S. Constitution. Then, too, if the Indians themselves had reserved the water, they would have retained all the potential beneficial uses of the water, not just those for agricultural or pastoral purposes. To say that the practical implications of this position are far reaching would be an understatement. The implications, quite simply, are staggering.

...On the other hand, if the second view is correct – that is, if the federal government reserved the water for the Indians – then the situation would be markedly different. First off, the Indian right, according to the advocates of this position, would extend back in time only to the date when the federal government created the reservation. Thus the right of a reservation would be junior to the claims established by all earlier arriving non-Indians. Moreover, some legal experts suspect that such a right, rather than constituting a personal property right, would attach only to the reservation and could not be severed from it. In essence, the United States would have reserved water to which it had title for lands to which it had title. The emphasis here would be on the rights of the United States rather than on the aboriginal rights of the Indians. Which of the conflicting views did the Court advocate, or seem to advocate, in the *Winters* decision? Did the Indians themselves reserve the water or did the federal government reserve it for them? The answer seems to be that the Court advanced both theories and yet unequivocally endorsed neither. Put another way, the Court, despite the ease with which the warring camps of lawyers have insisted that the decision supports their view and no other, seems to have delivered a muddled opinion. (1978, pp. 466-468).

Goode's "Tribal Water Rights" position paper (2009b) advocates strongly for the first view, namely, that the North Fork Mono Tribe holds senior water rights in the entire watershed of the upper San Joaquin River. Goode draws specifically on his Tribe's stories to make his case.

Tribal water rights starts with our creation stories, water stories, animals stories, and old stories. Our storytellers, recorded by early researchers tell of our existence at the water heads to the creeks and rivers. They tell how our land was formed with water by Creator with coyote, falcon and crow in charge.

After stating, "Water is an element running through all our stories," Goode then lays out a brief history of the Tribe and disparages Gifford's 1918 hypothesis that the Nium were "recent immigrants." Goode then urges Native peoples to lay claim to water not only within their reservations but also within their broader watersheds.

Traveling around the State, I hear how many tribes and reservations have taken their water rights back and now are in control of their water as it pertains to their reservation. Yet, in their backyard is their sacred mountain from which some bottling company is extracting their water from their sacred springs and making millions off of it, with no residual to the people of that mountain or spring.

Goode also wonders why non-Native farmers and others do not join in the efforts to improve watersheds through ecological restoration and the prescription of fire to increase the reliability of the available surface water supply.

Eight years my tribe spent on the hydro relicensing for Southern California Edison on the San Joaquin River. We met monthly, never saw any farmers there talking about the improvement of our watershed. 15 to 20% of the precipitation is lost because of the brush canopy. Another 5 to 10% is lost down the canyons on evaporation because of the brush. In a drought year that 25% would sustain their operation.

Goode puts his advocacy for watershed restoration and his assertion of reserved rights in the context of the relationships among humans, land, and water that Nium stories describe. He includes in his position paper his own story of his uncle making offerings to black water snakes at the San Joaquin in order to ensure his safe passage on a fishing trip in a treacherous part of the river canyon. Emphasizing the guidance that stories provide for autochthonous, Native peoples, Goode urges Native Americans to lead by example and to educate non-Natives.

You as the descendants of this land and water, don't forget your stories. Don't forget to make your offerings because those black snakes are real not mythological, only their appearances may very well be in another form. By our example, our brothers in the Agencies may come to have a better understanding of the land and water.

Several other Summit participants pointed out that California Indians' water rights have never been abrogated by treaty, and thus the attempt to tie the priority date for reserved water rights to the date that the U.S. government created any particular reservation is fruitless. For the tribe in question, these participants emphasized, its title to the remainder of its original watershed has never been extinguished. These participants asserted that tribes hold senior water rights in every watershed in California. Moreover, though many non-Indians wish to quantify the amount of water due to any particular tribe as that amount that can be put to the beneficial use of irrigating the tribe's land for purposes of commercial agriculture, tribes claim a *responsibility* to the entire watershed. To reframe the argument in the context of the legal language of water

rights, tribes can justify restoring watersheds as a beneficial use of water. As Mark Franco of the Winnemem Wintu Tribe stated at the Tribal Water Summit, “We need to document tribal watersheds; our footprint is being erased. Watershed restoration is crucial. Protect the watershed from the top down.”

The Beneficial Uses of Water in Montane Meadow Restoration

In recent years the North Fork Mono Tribe has negotiated with the U.S. Forest Service and other agencies to establish a half dozen restoration sites that conform to the indigenous fire regime and to the land and water tenure expressed by traditional stories. At the four-acre Crane Valley Restoration Site (the site I visited with Ron Goode, Pramod Parajuli, and others in July 2009) on the Sierra National Forest, for instance, the project goal is to achieve sustainable harvest of cultural resources, such as basket plants. The North Fork Mono Tribe began restoring the Crane Valley site in 2003, by which time it had become overgrown with saplings, brush, and invasive plants; the sub-surface water level had fallen due to the evapotranspiration of this overgrown vegetation. Over the past seven years the water table has risen as the Tribe, the U.S. Forest Service, and various volunteers have removed invasive plants, decreased the understory, and enhanced the cultural resources through trimming, thinning, and burning (Goode & Aldern, 2009). When I asked Goode and tribal elder Melvin Carmen how they selected the site for restoration, they told me that their tribe’s basketmakers specified the site. Located near traditional trails, now known as Madera County Roads 426 and 223, the site was well known among tribal members, and story has sustained their knowledge.

When Carmen convinced DWR to include discussions of forestry strategies and meadow restoration in its 2009 California Water Plan Update, he asserted Nium water rights,

responsibilities, and jurisdiction. He simultaneously claimed a beneficial use of water, since the water retained in meadow soils because of active restoration benefits such culturally important plant resources as acorns, deergrass, mint, mushrooms, sedge root, and soap root. These cultural resources – traditional foods and materials – are sustained not by what is generally recognized as commercial agriculture but by traditional Nium land tenure and practices such as prescribed fire.

The rivers and creeks that flow down the steep, granitic slopes of the Sierra Nevada carry sand and gravel, spreading sediments in areas of relatively low gradient and replenishing the soils of the meadows – wetlands and semiwetlands with finely textured soil materials, covered in rushes, sedges, and grasses (Ratliff, 1985) – that dot Nium homelands. Historically, floods have interacted with geomorphology, climate and weather, fire, groundwater structure, and vegetation composition and structure to create and maintain meadows (Dwire and Kaufman, 2003). In addition to the Nium cultural resources listed above, meadows also provide critical habitat for threatened and endangered species such as the mountain yellow-legged frog, the willow flycatcher, and the Bell's vireo (California Department of Water Resources, 2010c).

Intact meadow soils function as water storage tanks. The most recent United States Forest Service inventory shows that the 11,000 meadows in the national forest throughout the Sierra Nevada comprise about 220,000 acres.²⁷ The forest management strategies document of the 2009 State Water Plan Update includes an estimate that these meadows could potentially store as much as 500,000 acre-feet of water (California Department of Water Resources, 2010c). Within the Sierra National Forest, nearly 600 meadows comprising a total land area of about 9,000 acres could store up to 20,000 acre-feet of water, which is equivalent to the amount of

²⁷ Barry Hill of the U.S. Forest Service provided data to me on April 16, 2010 regarding the number and extent of meadows in the Sierra Nevada as a whole and also within the boundaries of the Sierra National Forest.

water that would provide for the needs of 80,000 people for one year.²⁸ Instead of allowing rainfall to immediately run off as would a deep gully or channel, undamaged or restored meadows absorb and slowly release water into streams, thereby increasing the amount of summer (dry-season) water available to downstream users. As the DWR forest strategies document puts it:

Meadows with intact vegetative cover act as natural reservoirs, regulating streamflow ... through storage and release of snowmelt and rainfall runoff. ... These meadows attenuate flood peaks and prolong dry-season base flows. ... Meadows therefore increase available water for downstream farms, communities, and hydropower facilities. (California Department of Water Resources, 2010c, p. 23-11)

This regulatory function of meadows could become increasingly important for human water supply as climate change results in decreased snowpack in the high Sierra. Precipitation formerly retained in the higher elevations and slowly released through the summer as snowmelt will fall progressively more in the form of rainfall that, in the absence of alternative forms of storage such as intact meadow soils, would run off at once.

Historically, meadows have become drier over time due to several factors. Overgrazing of meadows in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Chapter Two) resulted in widespread erosion and the formation of gullies that drained groundwater. Another factor in the desiccation of meadows is the increase of trees and shrubs (due to fire suppression) that intercept rainfall. Much of the water held on the surface of the trees evaporates during or after a rainstorm, instead of infiltrating into the groundwater supply. As Goode pointed out in his water

²⁸ I arrived at the 20,000 AF estimate by multiplying the upper end of the California Water Plan Update's estimate for potential water storage capacity in montane meadows throughout the Sierra Nevada (SN) by the fraction of the total SN meadow surface area contained within the Sierra National Forest (SNF; data provided by Barry Hill):

$$(500,000 \text{ AF potential SN meadow storage}) \times \frac{(9,000 \text{ acres of meadows in SNF})}{(222,000 \text{ acres of meadows total in SN})} \cong 20,000 \text{ AF}$$

rights position paper, a dense cover of trees and shrubs intercepts a significant amount of rainfall and prevents the infiltration of water into the aquifer. In fact, studies of urban runoff have shown that conifers can decrease rainfall infiltration by as much as 45% (Herrera Environmental Consultants, Inc., 2008). Moreover, recent investigations suggest that many meadows could have more connection to upland groundwater than previously noted by scientists, and the flow of groundwater into meadow soils increases with reductions in the density of trees and shrubs on hillslopes and the concomitant reductions in interception and evapotranspiration (Loheide & Gorelick, 2007; Loheide, Deitchman, Cooper, Wolf, Hammersmark, & Lundquist, 2009).

Anderson writes that anthropologists have, to this point, not considered in detail the watershed-scale effects of Indigenous fire regimes, but investigators from other disciplines have recently begun to reflect on the broad scale of these effects.

The major focus has been on plant manipulation for *food* viewed in isolation, not in the broader context of prehistoric subsistence systems and how these systems fit within and influence dynamic and diverse forest, woodland, shrub, and grassland ecosystems.

In the past two decades, however, findings from diverse disciplines – ethnobotany, pyrodendrochronology, paleoecology, archaeology, ecology – have deepened our understanding of pre-Columbian California landscapes and the significant and complex role the approximately 310,000 Indians from five to six hundred tribes played in shaping them. (2006, p. 336)

We can also add hydrologists such as Loheide and his co-authors to the list of scientists who have begun to consider the significance of watershed-scale ecosystem dynamics. Thus scientists increasingly confirm the importance of restoring an entire watershed, as Goode persistently stresses. Meadows and uplands are connected, and fire can sustain these connections. The idea is to restore the meadows and increase their storage capacity, but also to increase infiltration throughout the watershed by mechanical thinning of trees and shrubs or by reintroducing the Nium fire regime throughout the forest.

The Water Plan Update also acknowledges a link between lowered groundwater levels and the risk of wildfire. Citing multiple previous investigations, the forest strategies document states, “Drying of meadow soils allows invasion by drought-tolerant brush and conifer species that contribute to heavy fuels loading and add to the risk of catastrophic wildfires” (p. 23-12). In addition, the Fuels and Fire Management section of the Water Plan Update recognizes water quality problems and threats to Native cultural resources that have arisen due to fire suppression.

High fuel loads that develop in the absence of fire or fuel-reduction treatments eventually lead to catastrophic high-intensity stand-replacing fires that generate large volumes of eroded soil and ash ... as well as nutrients such as nitrate nitrogen, ammonium nitrogen and phosphate phosphorus... Fire exclusion can also lead to negative effects on water quality owing to unnaturally large accumulations of forest litter that increase concentrations of nutrients in runoff from forests... Fire exclusion can also be detrimental to plants harvested by Native Americans for traditional and cultural purposes. (pp. 23-17 to 23-18)

In its discussion of the need for restoration, the Water Plan document acknowledges eroded montane meadows cause multiple problems for the entire water system:

Eroded meadows lose their capacity to store and release water ... Gullies convey and concentrate flood peaks more rapidly than well-vegetated meadow surfaces, and therefore aggravate downstream flooding and reduce recharge of meadow aquifers ... Channel erosion in meadows adds to stream sediment loads through bank erosion and headcut retreat, adversely affecting downstream water quality and reservoir capacity. ...Erosion of meadows adversely affects aquatic and riparian habitats by altering meadow hydrology. Fish passage is not possible through incised channels that are dry for much of the summer months, and the reduced discharge of cold water stored in meadows is likely to increase downstream water temperatures, to the detriment of cold-water aquatic species such as trout. Wildlife species that depend on wet-meadow plant communities are displaced when meadow water tables drop below rooting depths. (p. 23-12)

In sum, the 2009 Update of the California Water Plan asserts that meadows represent an essential form of water storage that will become more important as climate change reduces the Sierra Nevada snowpack that has previously acted as a water bank for the state of California.

The importance of meadows in regulating streamflow is likely to increase as climate change results in a shift from snowmelt to rainfall-dominated runoff at mid-elevations in the Sierra Nevada. ...Meadow restoration is a form of groundwater banking

that can provide a wide array of ecological benefits in addition to enhancing water supplies. California's forests encompass the headwaters of the major rivers within the Sierra Nevada, and include thousands of meadows. A regional approach to meadow restoration could help to meet the State's needs for high-quality water and aquatic habitat and help offset the effects of climate change.

Like dams, meadow restoration does not create "new" water, but alters the temporal distribution of streamflow so that less water flows downstream during peak runoff periods in the winter and spring when water is not in high demand, and more is released during the summer low-flow season when demand is great... Increased groundwater storage in meadows would be likely to enhance summertime instream flows ... a function that will become increasingly important because of climate change. (p. 23-13)

The Water Plan Update also claims that meadow restoration in the Sierra could have global effects as others learn from the efforts in California.

Alluvial valleys in mountainous areas throughout the world, including Africa, Australia, Europe, and South America, are faced with erosion and water-supply problems similar to those facing California's Sierra Nevada montane meadows. Many of these alluvial valleys provide water, crops, and forage that sustain local communities and economies. Successful restoration of meadows in California could provide methodologies that are applicable to critical land and water degradation problems around the world. (p. 23-14).

Another chapter of the Water Plan Update deals in detail with ecosystem restoration, emphasizing the need for an awareness of sustainability.

Water and flood management projects that incorporate ecosystem restoration are likely to be more sustainable than those that do not. Projects are more sustainable (that is, they operate as desired with less maintenance effort) when they work with, rather than against, natural processes that distribute water and sediment. To include ecosystem restoration in a project usually requires a degree of return to more natural patterns of erosion, sedimentation, flooding, and instream flow, among others. This, in turn, makes such projects harder for natural processes to disrupt and easier to maintain. An expected benefit is cost savings over the life cycle of such projects because repair and maintenance should cost much less. ... Projects that incorporate ecosystem restoration should be more sustainable (and cheaper in the long run) than those that do not. (California Department of Water Resources, 2010d, p. 22-9)

Thus the Water Plan Update ties restoration – including montane meadow restoration – to sustainability and to the idea of working with land and water rather than trying to control them.

And although the Water Plan does not go so far as saying so, I would summarize one of the

principal lessons of the Tribal Water Summit by noting that restoration of tribal water rights and of the opportunity for tribes to fulfill their cosmic responsibilities to land and water, responsibilities that their stories tell them were given to them at the time of creation, may yet turn out to be a most sustainable water “management” strategy.

The nationally-known Nium basketmaker Ulysses Goode once said that he was attracted as a young man to basketry because it was a means to "make an extraordinary object out of ordinary materials. Putting the basket together [is my favorite part]. It's the culmination of all your work. You see these sticks and stuff out there in the hills, and then you've put this basket together" (National Endowment for the Arts, 1999). As Nium artists weave the cultural materials of Sierra hills and meadows into an intricate order, so do storytellers entwine land and water into extraordinary narratives. The Tribal Water Summit offered tribes a chance to recount and teach about their interconnections with water and land. The next steps are up to those who would continue to listen to and learn from the stories.

Chapter Six

Total Recall and the Move from Sustainment to Sustainability

Western civilization, unfortunately, does not link knowledge and morality, but rather it connects knowledge and power and makes them equivalent.

-- Vine Deloria, Jr.

A few days after declining an invitation to participate in the Tribal Water Summit in Sacramento, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger held a signing ceremony for California's new water bill at Friant Dam, within view of the sites of the rock hunting blinds that Singing Jack described in 1918 in the story of Haininu and Baumegwesu and not far from the bill's proposed site of the Temperance Flat Dam. Following the ceremony, in an interview with the editorial board of the *Fresno Bee*, Schwarzenegger spoke excitedly about the plans for water in California. He referred to his movie *Total Recall*, saying that instead of a Peripheral Canal to divert water around the Sacramento Delta from northern California to farmers in central California and housing developments in southern California, plans were underway to bore tunnels to carry the water underground. "We had the machines in *Total Recall*," he said. "It bores through the land and cements the wall as it goes." He added that the real machine is bigger and more powerful than the one that appears in the film.

Frank Grady (2003) has written that action films such as *Total Recall* – in which the overriding theme, interestingly enough, is the interaction of dream and memory, of illusion and reality – constitute a kind of autobiography for Schwarzenegger, and the governor seemed to confirm this idea in his Fresno interview by referring to a scene from the science fiction movie as if it were a memory of an incident from his life. One thing he failed to mention in the interview,

however, was that the character he played in *Total Recall* did battle against those big tunneling machines as a leader of a (literally) underground resistance. It is no small irony that instead of playing the part of the hero who, in the film, accesses ancient cultural memories, frees water and air from corporate control, and transforms a harsh planet into a wild, natural thing of beauty, Schwarzenegger now fills the role of a policymaker who negotiates with corporate interests to control water and distribute it through precisely engineered, large-scale systems.

At one point in *Total Recall*, the rebel leader Kuato asks Schwarzenegger's character, Dennis Quaid, "What do you want?"

"The same as you: to remember," Quaid/Schwarzenegger replies.

"Why?" asks Kuato.

"To be myself again."

"You are what you do," responds Kuato. "A man is defined by his action, not his memory."

Schwarzenegger has apparently taken part of the message of the film, and Kuato's advice within it, to heart. During his *Bee* interview he drew on cinematic dreams to tell a story of visionary deeds. "I'm all about the big issues," he said. "That's why I wanted to become Governor – to address the things that other governors and legislators in the past have shied away from." Thus the water bill appears to Schwarzenegger to be yet one more successfully met challenge in a heroic quest. But as Grady writes, "heroic success entails the erasure and loss of history, as heroism covers its bloody tracks" (2003, p. 42). As Schwarzenegger misremembers the moral message of his film (that is, to fight against the machines) and covers his tracks, the water bill and the big ideas and state-of-the-art machines it represents threaten to erase yet more

Nium history. As noted in the previous chapter, if built, the Temperance Flat Dam would inundate dozens of Nium archaeological sites.

Stories in the form of a heroic epic sell with the American public. Perhaps Schwarzenegger understands this phenomenon better than do many politicians, but all successful politicians operate on the principle instinctively; they must appear as heroes to the electorate. Most of our schools' textbook authors also understand the power of the epic, framing the history of the United States as a heroic sweep – complete with reluctant heroes, villains, crimes, and victims – from the execution of our wars to the rise of industrialism, the control of nature and its processes, and the incorporation of new immigrants into the American melting pot.²⁹ In the story that textbooks tell of the settlement of the West, Native Americans are most often presented briefly and as metonyms for the wild, for all of nature and the natural resources – the goods and services – that had to come under the control of the citizens of the United States in order to advance the causes of democracy and freedom. Thus, as participants in the 2009 Tribal Water Summit pointed out, the bloody tracks of most Native history has been erased from our classrooms, and educated children grow up to become, among other members of our public, policymakers who have never heard a Native story.

Yet there is cause for optimism. Nium storytellers offer an alternative education, providing stories that comprise geographic, cognitive, and spiritual territories. In 1918, few, if any, outsiders listened carefully to the stories of the Nium who spoke with E. W. Gifford, and many in our current educational system still refuse to hear them. However, Melvin Carmen, Ron Goode, and other Nium have recently offered lessons to California natural resource agencies, and agency personnel have begun to hear and understand these lessons. As members of the North

²⁹ For a brief study of a heroic epic as presented by a contemporary high school history textbook, see Aldern, 2008.

Fork Mono Tribe share their stories, experiences, and hopes with more outsiders, they strengthen their ecological legitimacy and sovereignty, but people from outside the tribe can also benefit from the strengthening of the Nium community, as these outsiders begin to see new ways to enter into relationships with a great community that consists of people of both the present and the past, of other living things, and of land and water. In this concluding chapter, I draw lessons from my collaborative historical research with the North Fork Mono Tribe and our interpretations of the stories told by Nium people, by scholars, and by government officials to suggest a general approach to education across cultures.

Intercultural Teaching and Learning

Research and academia cannot replace stories and the ancient modes of teaching and learning that the stories employ, but scholars and the modern educational system can help to bridge epistemological, ontological, and cosmological divides between groups of people (Akan, 1992). Indigenous philosophies that honor knowledge gained from dreams and peoples who communicate through the devices of metaphor and parataxis cannot easily be reconciled with the hypotactic, evidence-based modes of inquiry of Western academia, but acknowledging that the differences are largely cosmological and contextual can be a first step toward finding common ground between cultures. The pressure for Indigenous thinkers to conform to the Western worldview is a continuing challenge – “The constant pressure to adapt, conform, or change our epistemologies to fit the western perception of reality is often disturbing for adults and almost always confusing for youth,” wrote Akan (1992, p. 37) – but Native communities continue to use ceremony and story across generations to sustain relationships with land and water. As Akan wrote, “Youth who are grounded in a philosophy that says that there are some things in life that

cannot be explained – but that this is okay – may not be so overwhelmed with scientific causal theory” (p. 39). Akan explains that stories comprise sacred relationships and that in an Indigenous network of story and ceremony, “epistemology cannot truly be separated from ontology and cosmology” (p. 37).

For non-Native policymakers and other outsiders interested in working across cultures, to hear and understand Native story requires education in how to listen to them (Eckstein) and the development of what Spariosu calls *global intelligence*:

I define global intelligence as the ability to understand, respond to, and work toward what is in the best interest of and will benefit all human beings and all other life on our planet. This kind of responsive understanding can only emerge from continuing intercultural research, dialogue, negotiation, and mutual cooperation. (2004, p. 6)

Global intelligence, according to Spariosu, requires lifelong learning and is an emergent phenomenon, beyond any individual agent’s ability to contain it.

Developing his concepts of global intelligence and *intercultural responsive understanding*, Spariosu makes many productive suggestions for collaborations across cultures. First he notes that it is *not* usually productive to equate knowledge with power or control, instead noting that “power produces certain forms of knowledge, which may become irrelevant or transfigured in other, non-power oriented, reference frames” (2004, p. 15). Spariosu suggests that, as a way of shifting perspectives in cross-cultural projects, instead of looking for linear causes and effects during their investigations (for “linear causal thinking is a form of hierarchical thinking, proper to a mentality of power” (p. 137)), scholars might find it more fruitful to search for social and natural relationships characterized by “mutual causality or causal reciprocity” (p. 31) and remain open to various sorts of creative cultural motivations: “there are many human factors other than power that motivate the various collective imaginations, such as playfulness,

curiosity, generosity, love and care for others, aspiration toward personal development, spiritual transcendence and self-transformation, to mention only a few” (p. 58).

Perhaps we can benefit by thinking of knowledge as power in certain situations, and in those instances we might wish to think of learning as gaining greater control, and of the world as a mechanical system. However, all metaphors and models have limits, and alternatives abound. If we choose to think that knowledge is courage, for instance, then we learn in order to take risks, and the world becomes a contest of wills. Or if knowledge is art, then we learn in order to express and integrate, and the world is a painter’s canvas or a well-designed basket. And if we can think of knowledge as generosity and gratitude, then we might learn in order to give and receive gracefully, and the world becomes charity and love.

Spariosu writes, “One should remember that theories have a performative...value.” He notes that just as there are no developed or undeveloped nations, but only developing nations, so also are all individuals perpetually developing. There are no fully educated individuals, only learners. Spariosu adds that the basic evaluative question should be, “How productive is any particular theoretical blueprint for sustainable human development?” (2004, p. 58). This dissertation has argued that stories also have performative value, and so one could ask, “How productive is any particular *narrative* for sustainable human development?” In other words, what sort of narrative is open-ended enough to encourage readers or listeners to continually make new connections along their educational journeys?

As we collaborate across cultures and nations, Spariosu urges us to aspire to responsive understanding, a term that “conveys the idea of responsibility, understood not as the thou-shalts and shalt-nots of conventional morality, but rather as a free and generous response to the calling of the other” (2004, p. 58). In order to find common ground, these calls and responses should

move over the broad, humanistic fields of story, literature, and art: “What one would need to change in the first place is precisely the rather widespread practice of subordinating all values and beliefs to political, utilitarian goals” (p. 76). Before attempting to garner political support for sustainability, conservation of ecosystem goods and services, and a host of environmental issues specific to industrial society, one first needs to learn how to listen to and learn from varied, multifarious stories. One might need to accept, for instance, that in certain contexts water is sacred and that Coyote can climb trees and aspire to fly.

Spariosu suggests that scholars, and humanists in particular, can contribute to greater intercultural responsive understanding by creating *liminal universities* that operate in the cultural thresholds between nations and that aim to break down disciplinary and institutional boundaries. “The project of a liminal university would require going beyond both the contemporary bureaucratic paradigm and the academic unionist or ‘democratic’ one, but also beyond the disciplinary paradigm as a whole, in all its academic and nonacademic aspects” (2004, p. 191). This disciplinary paradigm, the division of intellectual labor that arose ultimately from positivistic notions of science, is what Donna Begay expressed in metaphor at the Tribal Water Summit when she spoke of “siloeed” institutions and their neglect of Native history. Textbooks based on Western positivistic epistemology – even new curriculum units that purport to incorporate the Native view – are almost sure to neglect Native stories and histories, because textbooks and other official curriculum materials must adhere to academic content standards, and Native narratives do not conform easily to accepted “divisions of academic labor, disciplinary specialization, analytic languages and standards, and distinctive methodologies” (Spariosu, 2006, p. 8).

Spariosu asserts that engaging in intercultural studies requires “intercultural responsive understanding, communication, and cooperation...and learning experiences at the liminal intersections of various cultures” (2006, p. x). This idea of responsive understanding, these exchanges of call and response, may be similar to Chakrabarty’s (2000) idea of the intercultural translations within History 2 (see Chapter One, above) as a process of intellectual bartering. I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to respond to Ron Goode’s and others’ calls to engage in such learning experiences during the course of my research and to have contributed to some discoveries (or recoveries) in the archives – and by archives I mean both the physical archives of such institutions as the Bancroft Library or the Bass Lake District headquarters of the Sierra National Forest and also the figurative archives that Nium stories comprise. In an essay on archival research methods, Steedman writes, “I would ask all who were to use any kind of archive to think hard about the idea of finding things: about loss, the search for what has been lost, the dream of finding it, and plenitude” (2005, p. 21). I feel that I have helped to find a few lost things over the past couple of years and I dream of finding more and helping to restore plenitude, of continuing as a historian to “narrativise... absence into presence, and into time” (Steedman, 2005, p. 21). It may be that the experience of historians and other archival researchers leads in some cases to an intellectual orientation that is well suited for the reading and hearing of narratives across cultures, for as Steedman puts it, one of the great privileges of archival research is that “the archive forces a practice of reading that may be called epistolary. When you read in an archive, you nearly always read something not intended for your eyes” (p. 24).

Through such reading and listening, one might begin to negotiate the cognitive terrain of another culture. As Spariosu points out, acts of cognition are acts of interpretation, and in its

selecting, combining, ordering, omitting, ignoring, suppressing, and telling interpretation makes a world (2006). What the California State Education and the Environment Initiative's curriculum editors did in 2007 was to ignore and suppress stories in order to make a space for school children to learn about ecosystem goods and services, management, and Native "survival" on the land. What the California Department of Water Resources did with its sponsorship of the Tribal Water Summit in 2009, on the other hand, was to begin to build a new space for the interpretation of Native stories, to move toward a more dynamic relationship with the Other. Spariosu, drawing on the work of the feminist theorist Gabriella Schwab, writes of cultures moving toward a "different form of inner coherence, based not on domination, but on flexibility and openness to change" (2006, p. 24). Spariosu adds that "the radical question is to change the mentality that makes 'survival' an overriding value in human communities and to put this value in its proper place within the reference frame of a mentality of peace" (p. 55). Survival, in the sense of ensuring the sustainability of limited water supplies, is surely an overriding concern for DWR, but with the Summit, California State officials also made space to hear such comments as Ron Goode's assertion that his ancestors "lived on the land; they did not survive from it."

I was impressed with DWR's approach to its participation in the planning of the Summit (and much of the credit for this approach must also go to Dorian Fougères and the Center for Collaborative Policy), an approach that incorporates a transdisciplinary attitude and works against the silos of institutional knowledge. This attitude, Spariosu writes, necessarily involves a discounting of the notion that knowledge is power: "A transdisciplinary approach to knowledge requires philosophical and scientific presuppositions and practices that are entirely different from their disciplinary counterparts. It does not presuppose that knowledge is power, but only that power produces certain forms of knowledge" (2006, p. 34). Academics interested in designing

research programs and curriculum in intercultural studies or sustainability education would find a rich archive in the proceedings of the Tribal Water Summit if they were to focus, as Spariosu urges, on “emergent phenomena of reciprocal causalities and... ways in which one could engage in positive action to achieve mutually enriching relations and world conditions” (2006, p. 44).

To achieve these enriching relations and conditions, cross-cultural researchers should emphasize the very distinctions that may at first seem incommensurable. “The question would be... of allowing cultural and literary differences to enrich us mutually and to delight us with their overflowing, generous abundance” (Spariosu, 2006, p. 72). We can access the generous abundance of these differences by allowing varied stories to stand side by side, thus building the sort of cognitive, interpretive view that Kincheloe and Steinberg (2008) call “cubist.” To do so will require attention to building reciprocal relationships: “What we need to learn or relearn in the first place is how to relate to each other and to our environment in mutually beneficial ways” (Spariosu, 2006, p. 115).

Native stories, such as those reproduced here in chapters Four and Five, offer rich views of such mutually beneficial relationships. Though Spariosu writes of *global* intelligence and of work among diverse nations and cultures, he acknowledges the primary importance of the *local* and of collaboration with local, traditional cultures. “The first task of an intensive learning society... is to become aware of its complex links to traditional culture and fully fructify such links, instead of rejecting or repressing them” (2006, p. 117). The initial push for such intensive learning experiences may come from outside academia or schools; it may begin, for example, with collaborations among tribes and planning agencies, rather than within programs such as California’s Education and Environment Initiative, the curriculum program that rejected Goode’s and my attempts at making complex, meaningful links to Native story.

For schools and universities to become truly liminal institutions, academics must be ready to engage in History 2, to fully engage in narratives and activities that do not distribute themselves neatly into the Enlightenment's categories of analysis. Scholars must call to members of cultural groups outside the academy, and they must be prepared for the diverse responses they receive. Some of the tribal stories that the California Department of Water Resources received in response to its call were sharply and passionately delivered, but they all offered lessons about the nations that Native peoples represent. The knowledge gained from these lessons does not align well with scientific positivism, academic content standards, or disciplinary specialization. Instead, such knowledge is consistent with Native views of kinship with and responsibility to land and water – consistent, that is, with Native sustainment.

Interaction with Native story offers researchers, water planners, forest planners, and others the opportunity to come closer to what we might term “total recall” – closer, that is, to access into the deep memory, the archives that these stories provide. Mandelbaum (2003) includes narrative as a “technical support” tool for planners on a coequal basis with other technical support systems or tools, such as planning theory, models, and information technology systems. Mandelbaum stresses that for stories to be useful for planners, 1) they must come in a recognizable form, with recognizable content;³⁰ 2) the storytellers must carefully craft the foregrounds of their stories (for, otherwise, the narrative's purposes are unlimited); and 3) a story must have a clear beginning and end. As Mandelbaum writes, “[W]e do not need to know what God did before the creation of heaven and earth,” but he adds that “some narratives make no sense until we create a new beginning” (2003, pp. 190-191). To elaborate Mandelbaum's point,

³⁰ Or planners must learn to recognize the story's content. Eckstein writes, “[H]ope for sustainability, whether it means preservation or change, may reside in a planner's ability to distinguish story truth from data truth and to recognize, interpret, and defamiliarize the use of duration, frequency of repetition, voice, chronotope, scale, spatial perspective, and remoteness in the stories they hear and tell” (2003, p. 30).

some Native narratives make no sense unless we keep their beginnings clearly in mind. We do not need to know what happened “before” the Nium arrived on the western slope of the Sierra if we only accept that their autochthony – their emergence in Pakadidikwe or Chu:wani – makes the Earth a mother for them, and it also makes relatives – brothers and sisters – of all other forest beings that emerged from the same Earth.

Yet we must also keep in mind that sometimes a story needs a new conclusion. It is then, Mandelbaum writes, that “narrative gives way to action and history to planning” (2003, p. 191). Perhaps, for instance, montane meadows are restored and the places described by Nium stories and histories begin to offer a hedge against climate change. The sustainment of stories gives way to sustainability.

History and story determine identity – they help us to remember who we are or to learn who others are. But whose stories will “win out” and guide future planning? In the San Joaquin River Watershed, for instance, will it be Arnold Schwarzenegger’s heroic epic or the Nium’s abundant narrative network? Mandelbaum (1991) writes that a planner’s job is to manage and maintain a diverse set of stories, not to resolve their conflicts, and management and maintenance are probably the goals of the DWR. But wide gaps remain between the colonial, imaginative geographies that envision the Sierra National Forest as empty, public lands to be conserved (and controlled) and the imagined communities of the Nium, who envision the forest as kin, as a full set of relatives who sustain the Nium and who are, in turn, sustained by the Nium.

Through its stories and its history of its land and water tenure, the North Fork Mono Tribe claims the Sierra National Forest as part its original land. Though the federal Branch of Acknowledgment and Research of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has not recognized the Tribe, paradoxically, some North Fork Mono tribal members still live on public domain allotments in

the Forest, allotments held in trust by the federal government. This trust status implies that the United States, if indirectly, acknowledges the existence of the North Fork Mono Tribe and also asserts that the Tribe has ceded its lands, much of which the Sierra National Forest now comprises (Goode, 2007a). As Collins writes, “trust status presumes an Indian claim on federal support ‘in perpetuity’ in exchange for original land cessions...[and] Indians are as aware of [this trust status] as other Americans are of the Constitution (1998, p.122).” The North Fork Mono Tribe has no reservation, but it has a trustee: the federal government. And what is the role of the trustee? The legal scholar David Getches writes that the role “could include at a minimum firm legal protections for the integrity of the land base and for the tribes’ sovereign prerogatives and access to first-rate technical assistance” (2001, p. xv). He adds that “where tribes lack funds, the trustee should fill the gap. In all cases the trustee can undergird tribal initiatives to exercise sovereignty and stanch the attempts of other governments and non-Indian interests that resist that sovereignty” (p. xvi). Since the Forest Service – not the Bureau of Indian Affairs – has been, from the time of Charles Shinn and Fritz Olmsted, the agency that has fulfilled the federal trust responsibility to the North Fork Mono, the Tribe could reasonably expect the Forest Service to continue to do so. Involvement in forest management plans and watershed restoration are of critical importance to the integrity of the Tribe’s land base, water rights, and, generally, its exercise of its sovereignty and jurisdiction.

Conclusion (and Future Work)

This dissertation is a work – as yet unfinished – of collaborative history and education. I have felt privileged during my research and writing to walk alongside Ron Goode and other members of the North Fork Mono Tribe, but I want neither to lead them nor to simply follow

behind in their footsteps. I began with a goal of elucidating the context of Nium stories – specifically, stories told in 1918 and in 2009 – and also the context of ongoing land tenure issues. During the course of this work I have learned something about how people can find common ground and sustain one another, and I have also learned something of how story and land can sustain each other.

Indian allotment and hydroelectric development in the Sierra were the twentieth-century continuations of the assaults on the Nium economy and land base that began with the eighteenth-century arrival of Spaniards in California. The stories that the Nium told in the early 1900s asserted their land tenure. Stories form images of land and community, shared among teller and audience. And stories go yet further, carrying the moral force to guide the treatment and restoration of land as a community to which people belong. For uncountable years narratives have sustained Nium communities and comprised their jurisdiction, and as expressions of sovereignty the stories have legal, political, and economic implications. Today, North Fork Mono people continue to apply their stories' lessons to restore land and human kinship with the land.

My stated goal has been to investigate the years leading up to 1918 and also current issues. I have not yet investigated much of the rich history of the intervening nine decades, and there are many complex Nium stories that I have yet to hear. In order to better comprehend the lessons of Nium stories, and the alternatives these lessons present to the stories told by others, in the future I will want to read in the archives of North Fork-area mission and public schools. My inquiry into the social history of the Nium ca. 1918 could also benefit from an investigation into the direct effects on tribal members of United States involvement in World War I, to which I have alluded but not thoroughly explored (one, might ask, for instance, how many Nium served

in the U.S. military and were thus absent from North Fork in the summer of 1918). The full records of the Indian Claims Commission – including those in Washington, D. C. – also warrant investigation, since they represent detailed documentation of the stories that E. W. Gifford, Alfred Kroeber, and other anthropologists told about the land tenure of California native peoples. And I want to read more of the records in the archives of the National Archives and Records Administration in San Bruno, California, of the North Fork Mono Tribe, and of the Sierra National Forest offices in Clovis and North Fork to build a better understanding of the locations of former and existing allotments, homesteads, leases, and villages. This further archival research could lead to the production of a map of North Fork Mono lands and to support for the Tribe’s position in negotiations it undertakes in planning and dam relicensing processes. In addition, I will further transcribe and analyze the videos and publications from the 2009 California Tribal Water Summit, more of which continue to be released even as this dissertation is completed. Finally, as my work progresses, I will interview Nium elders and read and listen to Nium stories in the collection of the Sierra Mono Museum and the California Indian Library collections at the Auberry and North Fork public libraries in order to increase my fluency in Nium literature and the Nium language.

In the meantime, the Nium find themselves in nearly constant negotiation for identity and for land with outsiders. Events like the Tribal Water Summit have begun to make room in the public space for Nium and other Native stories, but Mandelbaum has asked a cogent question: “As members of overlapping communities within a pluralistic field, how do we preserve incommensurable meanings and accounts of the world when resolute action seems so often to demand that we settle on a single Truth?” (1991, p. 211). Publicly shared stories might well be disparaged as trivial or incoherent – as Gifford denigrated stories told in 1918, and State

curriculum editors belittled one of the same stories in 2007 – and Mandelbaum suggests that simplification of complex alternatives and domination by one overarching narrative are constant dangers: “The devolution of narratives into chronicles and the construction of a regime of fact is closely tied to a strategy that insists that since there is only one historical reality, all disputes about the past are ultimately resolvable” (1991, p. 211).

An alternative approach is to sustain stories that interlink humans, land, and water, rather than to seek to resolve disputes about history. When I have given public talks about Gifford’s migration theories and the Nium’s discomfort with them, audience members have sometimes asked, “But when *did* the Nium arrive?” My reply has been along the lines of, “It doesn’t matter exactly when they arrived. The Nium have lived on their land long enough to develop a deep relationship with it, expressed through story, from which others can learn.” Can we preserve narrative diversity in the Sierra Nevada and, as Spariosu asks, can we transit from one incommensurable world to another? Perhaps. The Tribal Water Summit and its Water Stories Project may provide models of just the sort of liminal spaces needed to sustain stories and the incommensurable worlds they narrate. In our dialogues about sustainability, a focus on the ideas of survival and adaptability may not be more important than increasing, as Spariosu writes, “creativity, love, generosity, altruism, curiosity, play, symbiosis, and so on” (2004, p. 157). And as Ron Goode says, the door is open – for Native Americans and for everyone else.

Appendix

CONSTITUTION OF THE NORTH FORK MONO TRIBE

ARTICLE I: TERRITORY

The territorial jurisdiction of the Tribe shall extend to all lands within the counties of Madera and Fresno, State of California, in the vicinity of the North Fork Rancheria which are part of the traditional territory of the Tribe. The central location of where the majority of members of the North Fork Mono Tribe reside is within a 10 mile radius in all directions from the North Fork Mono Indian Rancheria, and the Sierra Mono Museum in North Fork, California. The traditional geographical territorial boundary of the North Fork Mono has been for hundreds of years and still is as follows: Starting at the SW corner, where Fowler Mt. and the San Joaquin River join. Following the San Joaquin River east from Kerckhoff Lake around Long Ridge to Redinger Lake. Heading in an eastern direction including Kinsman Flats, Chawanakee Flats, northern section of Jose Basin, proceeding along Stevenson Creek to the northwest edge of Shaver Lake. Proceeding east including the northern section of Shaver Lake to Tunnel Creek. From Tunnel Creek east to the crest of the Sierra Nevada Mountains in the vicinity of Mt. Darwin, including Coyote Lake, northern parts of Dinkey Creek, Helms and Dusty Creek, North Fork of the Kings River, Fleming Creek, and the South Fork of the San Joaquin River. From Mt. Darwin proceeding north along the crest of the Sierras as the eastern boundary of the North Fork Mono. The eastern traditional line includes Mt. Humphreys, Mt. Tom, Mt. Morgan, turning northwest to Mammoth Ht. and the Minaret summit to the north edge of Ritter Range. This area includes the South and Middle forks of the San Joaquin River, Vermillion Valley and the sacred grounds of Mono Indian Hot Springs. In the northeast area it includes Red's Meadow and Devil's Postpile. The northern line turns west from the Ritter Range to the Merced River in the Yosemite Valley where Chief Teniya lived with his band of Ahwahnachees. This area includes the North Fork of the San Joaquin River. The territorial boundary turns from the Merced River at the west end of the Yosemite Valley angling south to Crane Valley (currently Bass Lake). This area includes Wawona and Fish Camp. The traditional boundary turns and angles southwest from the western point of Bass Lake to the O'Neals area. The area includes Manzanita Lake and the current town of North Fork in Madera County. The traditional territorial boundary is then completed by turning southeast from O'Neals across the table mountains to Fowler Mt. and the San Joaquin River. This area includes Fish Creek Mt. And the territory shall include such other lands as the Tribe hereafter may acquire legal or beneficial title to. (Goode, 2007a)

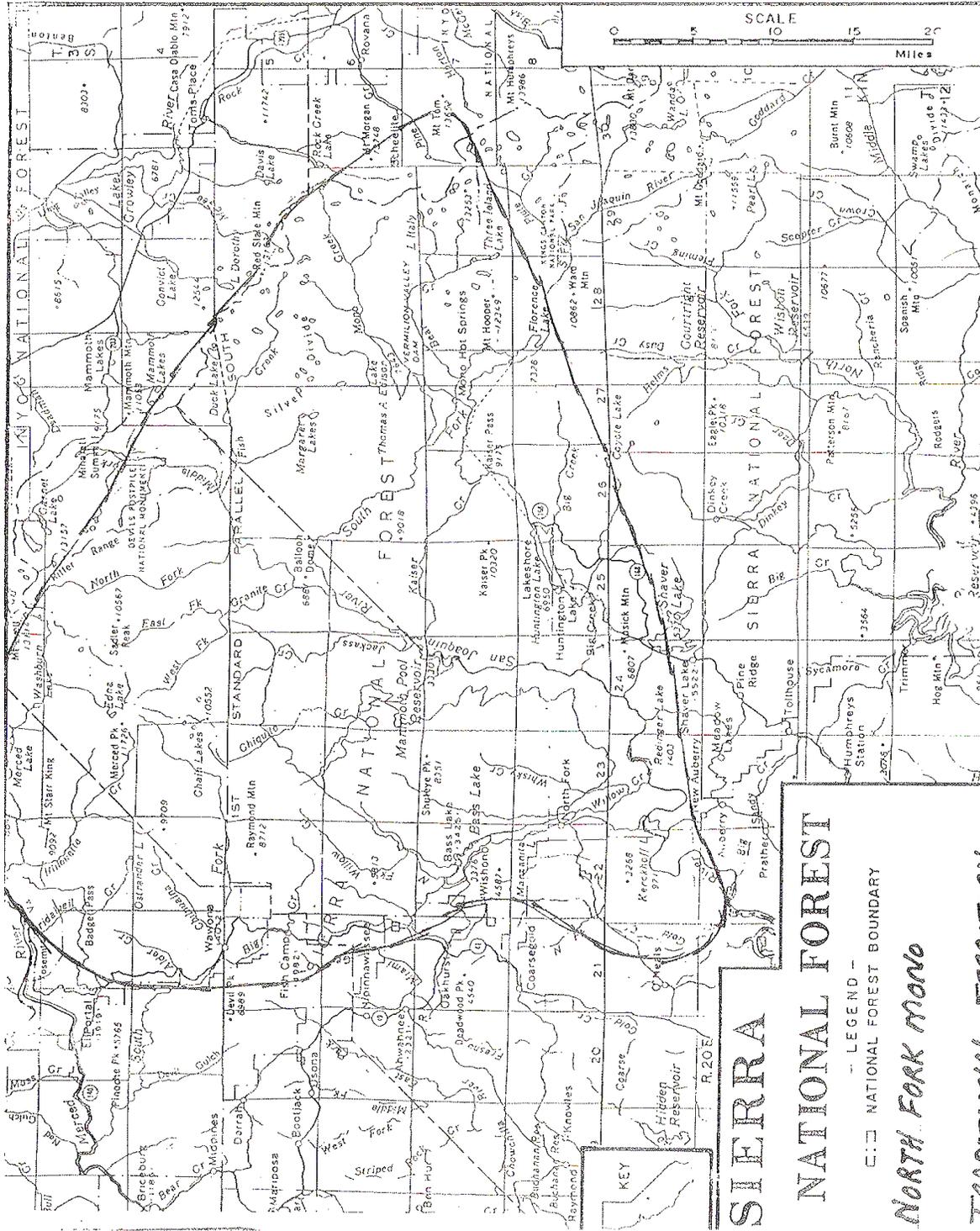
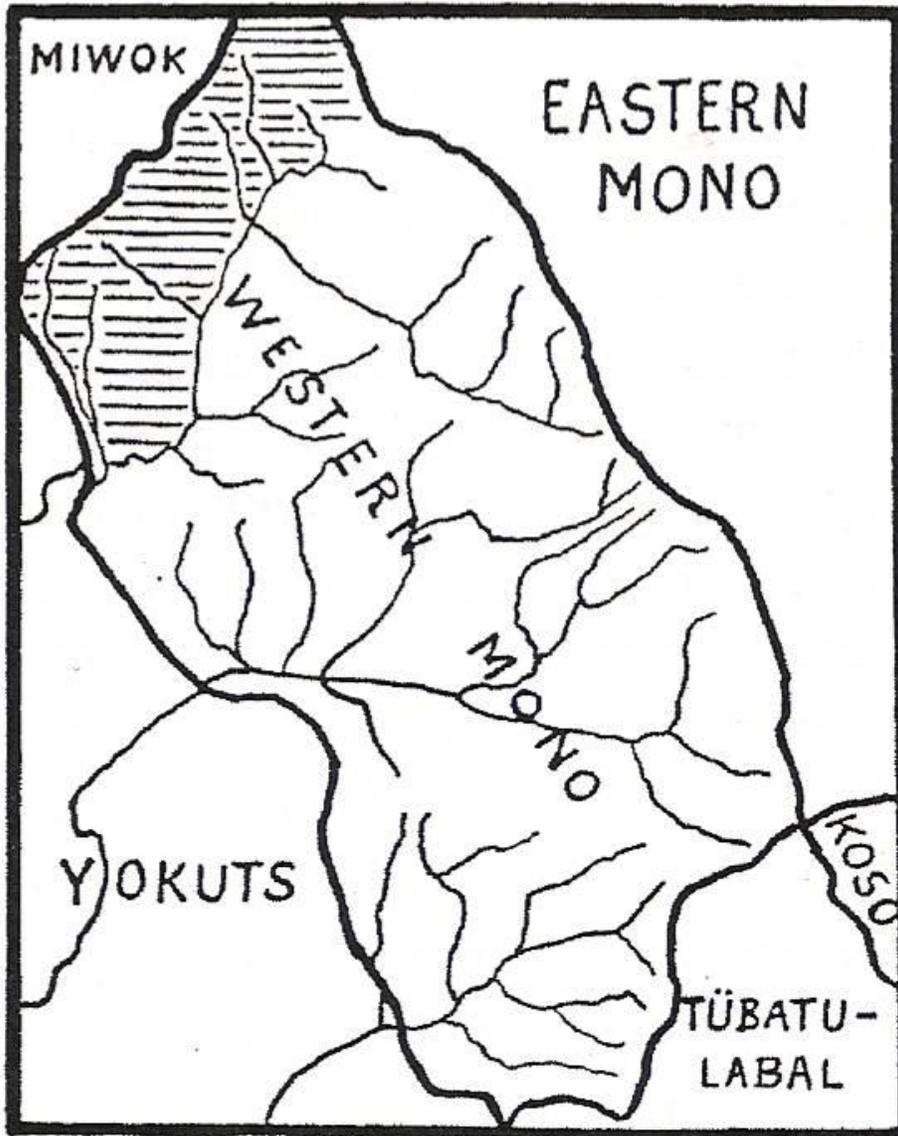


Figure 2. The North Fork Mono Tribe's 2007 map of its traditional territory (Goode, 2007a).



Northfork Mono (shaded) and neighboring areas.

Figure 3: E. W. Gifford's 1932 map of North Fork Mono and surrounding lands.

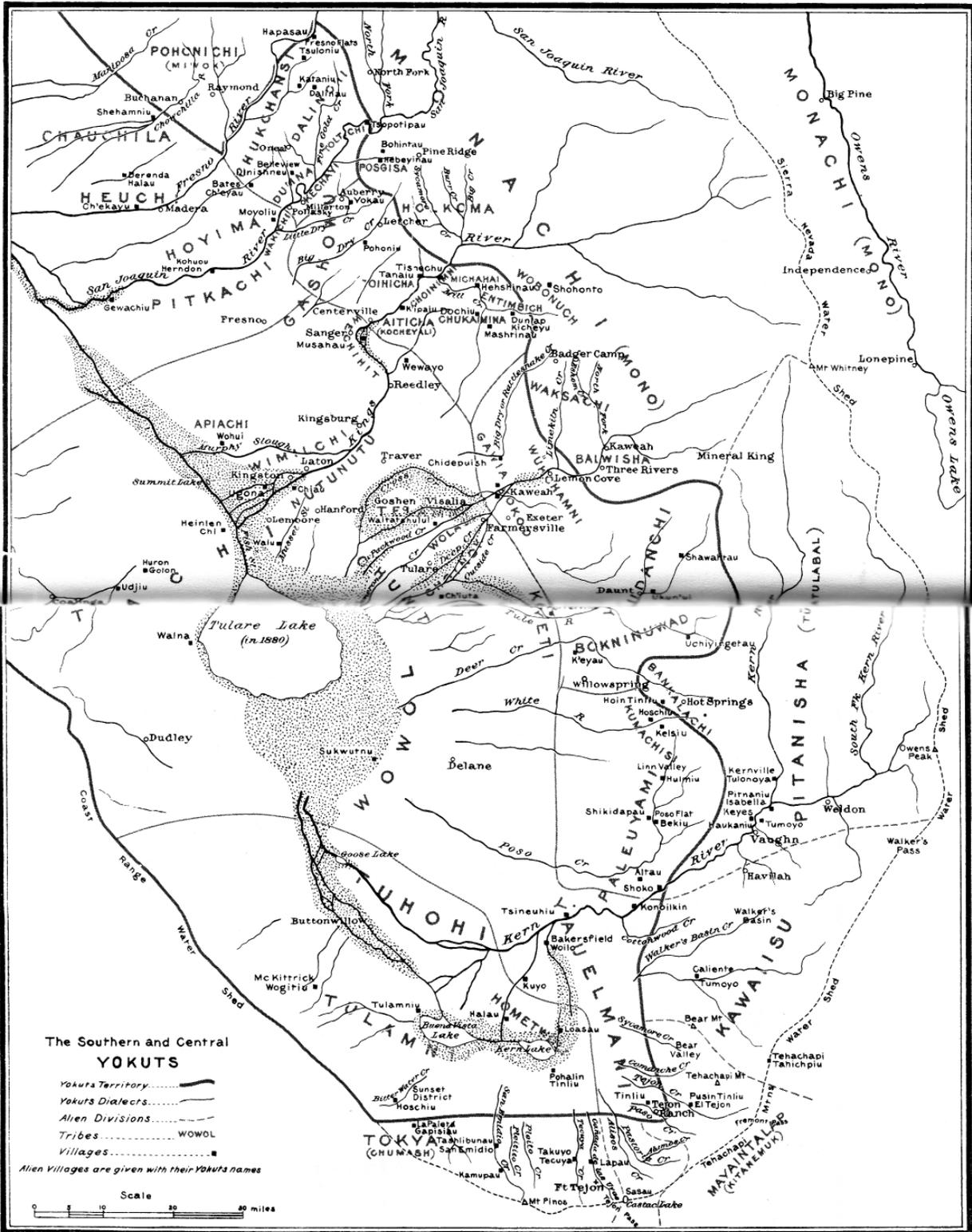


Figure 4. A.L. Kroeber's map of south-central California (1925). Digitized by Dan Anderson, 2004, 2007. http://www.yosemite.ca.us/library/kroeber/paiute_mono_koso.html#plate_47. Retrieved on May 15, 2010.



Figure 5. Map of linguistic groups in central and southern California. Uto-Aztecan speaking groups, including the Monache (Mono) are shown here in dark gray. Map courtesy of Dr. Margaret Field, San Diego State University.

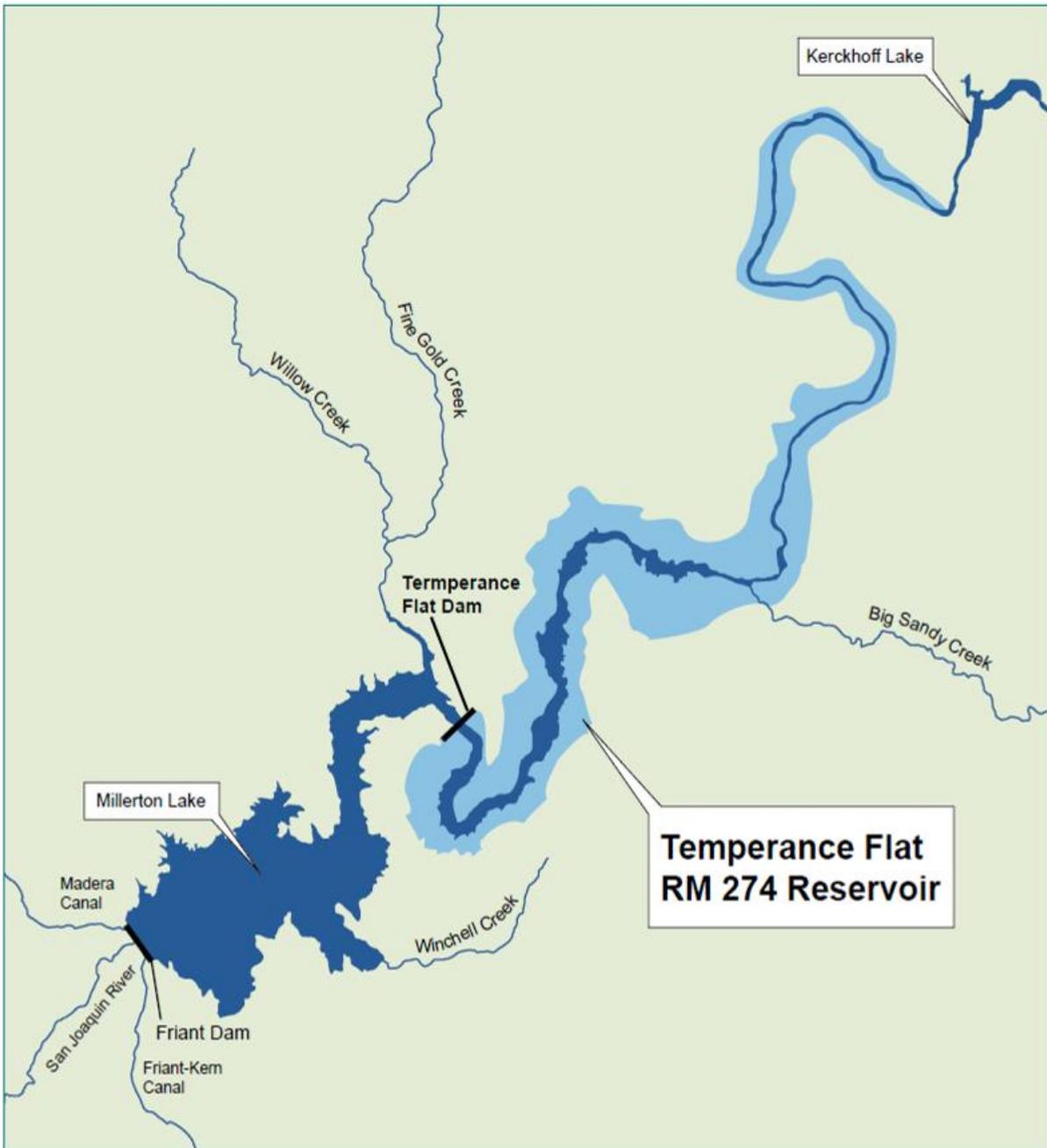


Figure 6. The U.S. Bureau of Reclamation's map of the proposed Temperance Flat Reservoir. Retrieved from <http://www.usbr.gov/mp/scca/storage/docs/USJRBSI%20Update%20June%202009%20Final.pdf> on May 3, 2010.

Bibliography

- Adams, J. B. (1907, August 31) [Letter to F.E. Olmsted]. Records of the United States Forest Service. Records Group Number 95. National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region, San Bruno, Calif..
- Adams, J. B. (1909, February 4) [Telegram and letter to F.E. Olmsted]. Records of the United States Forest Service. Records Group Number 95. National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region, San Bruno, Calif..
- Akan, L. (1992). Pimosatamowin sikaw kakeequaywin: Walking and talking. A Saulteaux elder's view of native education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 19(2), 191-214.
- Aldern, J. D. (2002). *Historical ecology in a land of confused relief: Using science, history, and myth to restore the great community in San Felipe Valley, California*. (Master's thesis). Prescott, AZ: Prescott College.
- Aldern, J. D. (2004). Interview with Teodora Cuero and Mike Wilken (translator). Transcript in the collection of the San Diego Historical Society, San Diego, California.
- Aldern, J. D. (2008). Of historical heroes and villains: Appeasement and the march to World War II. Lessons and activities for eleventh grade. Fresno, CA: The History Project @ Fresno State.
- Allen, T. F. H., Tainter, J. A., & Hoekstra, T. W. (2003). *Supply-side sustainability*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities* (New ed.). London, New York: Verso.
- Anderson, M. K. (1999). The fire, pruning, and coppice management of temperate ecosystems for basketry material by California Indian tribes. *Human Ecology*, 27(1), 79-113. doi: 10.1023/A:1018757317568
- Anderson, M. K. (2006). *Tending the wild: Native American knowledge and the management of California's natural resources*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Anderson, M.K. (2009). *Historical Native American resource use, harvesting, and management of California's oak communities*. Davis, California: Natural Resources Conservation Service.
- Beck, P.V., & Walters, A. L. (1977). *The sacred: Ways of knowledge, sources of life*. Tsailé (Navajo Nation), Arizona: Navajo Community College Press.

- Barrett, L. A. (1917, December 18). [Letter to to Lorenzo D. Crul]. Records of the United States Forest Service. Records Group Number 95. National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region, San Bruno, Calif.
- Basso, K. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press.
- Birchfield, D. L. (1998). *The Oklahoma basic intelligence test: New and collected elementary epistolary, autobiographical, and oratorical Choctologies*. New York: The Greenfield Review Press.
- Boulding, K. (1964). *The meaning of the twentieth century: The great transition*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Brooks, L. (2006). Afterword: At the gathering place. In Weaver, J. Womack, C.S., & Warrior, R., *American Indian literary nationalism* (pp. 225-252). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Bruchac, J. (2003). *Our stories remember: American Indian history, culture, & values through storytelling*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Pub.
- Bruner, E.M. (1986). Ethnography as narrative. In V. W. Turner and E.M. Bruner (Eds.). *The anthropology of experience* (pp. 139-155). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Cajete, G. A. (1999). *Igniting the sparkle: An Indigenous science education model*. Skyand, NC: Kivaki Press.
- California Environmental Protection Agency. (2009). California tribal regions. Map posted at <http://www.calepa.ca.gov/Education/EEI/Curriculum/Maps/TribRegions.pdf> .
- California Department of Water Resources. (n.d.). California Tribal Water Summit Web Site. Retrieved from <http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/tribal2/tws/>.
- California Department of Water Resources. (2009). California Water Plan Web Site. Retrieved from <http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/>.
- California Department of Water Resources. (2010a). California Tribal Water Summit proceedings. Retrieved from http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/docs/tws/CTWS_ProceedingsFull_v2df_02-08-10.pdf.
- California Department of Water Resources. (2010b). Streaming video of the 2009 California Tribal Water Summit. Part 1 retrieved from <http://cawater.rmxpres.com/webcast/data/tribalsummit1/msh.htm>
Part 2 retrieved from <http://cawater.rmxpres.com/webcast/data/tribalsummit2/msh.htm>

- California Department of Water Resources. (2010c). Forest management. California State Water Plan, 2009 Update. Volume 2, Chapter 23. Retrieved from http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/docs/cwpu2009/0310final/v2c23_forestmgmt_cwp2009.pdf
- California Department of Water Resources. (2010d). Ecosystem restoration. California State Water Plan, 2009 Update. Volume 2, Chapter 22. Retrieved from http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/docs/cwpu2009/0310final/v2c22_ecorestoration_cwp2009.pdf
- California Office of the Secretary of State. (2009). Safe, Clean, and Reliable Drinking Water Supply Act of 2010. SBx7 2. (Chapter 3, 2009), Cogdill. Retrieved from <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/ballot-measures/pdf/sbx7-2-ch-3-stats-09.pdf> .
- Carpio, M.V. (2004). Countering colonization: Albuquerque Laguna Colony. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 19(2), 61-78. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/pss/1409499>
- Castillo, E. (1998). A short overview of California Indian history. California Native Heritage Commission Web site. Retrieved from <http://www.nahc.ca.gov/califindian.html>
- Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Chapman, R. L. (2007). How to think about environmental studies. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 41(1), 59-74. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9752.2007.00544.x
- Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Clow, R.L., & Sutton, I. (Eds.). (2001). *Trusteeship in change: Toward tribal autonomy in resource management*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.
- Cohen, F. S. (1941). *Handbook of federal Indian law*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office. Retrieved from <http://thorpe.ou.edu/cohen.html>
- Collins, J. (1998). *Understanding Tolowa histories : Western hegemonies and Native American responses*. New York: Routledge.
- Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1905). *Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books/download/Annual_report_of_the_Commissioner_of_Ind.pdf?id=49oRAAAAYAAJ&output=pdf&sig=ACfU3U05K4DcK6yY7-9rtQcK6zU50Lyd_Q&source=gbs_v2_summary_r&cad=0

- Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1906). *Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books/download/Annual_report_of_the_Commissioner_of_Ind.pdf?id=49oRAAAAYAAJ&output=pdf&sig=ACfU3U05K4DcK6yY7-9rtQcK6zU50Lyd_Q&source=gbs_v2_summary_r&cad=0
- Cook, S. F. (1971). Migration and urbanization of the Indians in California. In R. F. Heizer & M. A. Whipple (Eds.), *The California Indians: A source book*, (pp. 551-561). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Cruikshank, J. (1998). *The social life of stories: Narrative and knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Davis, O.K., Eastoe, C., Aldern, J., & Robbins, N. Preliminary pollen analysis of Sentenac Cienega, San Diego County, California. Paper presented at the April 2005 meeting of the Arizona-Nevada Academy of Sciences.
- Deloria, V. Jr. (1992). Spiritual management: Prospects for restoration on tribal lands. *Restoration & Management Notes*, 10(1), 48-58.
- Deloria, V. Jr. (2005). American Indians. In J.D. Buenkner and L. Ratner (Eds.), *Multiculturalism in the United States: a comparative guide to acculturation and ethnicity* (pp. 23-46). Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- DeWald, C. (1998). Introduction. In Herodotus, *The histories* (C. DeWald, Ed., R. Waterfield, Trans.) (pp. ix-xli). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Donohue, B. B. (1999). Observations of *another* trotline runner: A critical discussion of D. L. Birchfield's *Oklahoma basic intelligence test*. *Studies in American Indian Literatures* Volume 11, Number 3, 66-78. Retrieved from <http://oncampus.richmond.edu/faculty/ASAIL/SAIL2/113.html>
- Dozier, D. (1998). *The heart is fire: The world of the Cahuilla Indians of southern California*. Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books.
- DuBois, C. G. (1904). The story of the Chaupe: A myth of the Diegueños. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 17 (67), 217-242. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/534223
- Dutchke, D. (1998). *Five views: An ethnic site survey for California*. Sacramento: California State Department of Parks and Recreation.
- Dwire, K.A., & Kauffman, J. B. (2003). Fire and riparian ecosystems in landscapes of the western USA. *Forest Ecology and Management*. 178 (1-2), 61-74. doi: 10.1016/S0378-1127(03)00053-7

- Eckstein, B. J., (2003). Making spaces: Stories in the practice of planning. In B. J. Eckstein & J. A. Throgmorton (Eds.), *Story and sustainability : planning, practice, and possibility for American cities* (pp. 13-36). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Eckstein, B. J., & Throgmorton, J. A. (2003). *Story and sustainability : planning, practice, and possibility for American cities*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Evers, L., & Molina, F. S. (1987). *Yaqui deer songs, Maso Bwikam : a native American poetry*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Farquhar, F. P. (2007). *History of the Sierra Nevada*. 2nd edition. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Field, L. W. (2008). *Abalone tales: collaborative explorations of sovereignty and identity in native California*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Field, L.W., & Leventhal, A. (2003). "What must it have been like!" Critical considerations of precontact Ohlone cosmology as interpreted through central California ethnohistory. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 18(2), 95-126. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/pss/1409539>
- Fixico, D. L. (2003). *The American Indian mind in a linear world: American Indian studies and traditional knowledge*. New York: Routledge.
- Fresno Bee*. (2009) Gov. Schwarzenegger speaks with editorial board. Streaming video. Retrieved from http://videos.fresnobee.com/vmix_hosted_apps/p/media?id=7217382&item_index=3&genre_id=3144&sort=NULL
- Gayton, A. H. (1930). *Yokuts-Mono chiefs and shamans*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California press.
- Gayton, A. H. (1946) Culture-environment integration: External references in Yokuts life. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 2(3). 252-268. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3628717>
- Gayton, A. H. (1948). *Yokuts and Western Mono ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Getches, D. (2001). Foreword. In R.L. Clow & I. Sutton (Eds.), *Trusteeship in change: Toward tribal autonomy in resource management*. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.
- Gifford, E. W. (1914a; October 10). [Postcard to A. L. Kroeber]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1914b; October 15). [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.

- Gifford, E. W. (1915a; November 11). [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1915b; December 2). [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. A. L. Kroeber Papers, 1869-1972. BANC FILM 2049. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1915c; December 3). [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. A. L. Kroeber Papers, 1869-1972. BANC FILM 2049. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1915d; December 6). [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. A. L. Kroeber Papers, 1869-1972. BANC FILM 2049. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1915e; December 18). [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. A. L. Kroeber Papers, 1869-1972. BANC FILM 2049. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1915f; December 31). [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E.W. (1916a). Dichotomous social organization in south central California. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 11(5), 291-296.
- Gifford, E.W. (1916b; February 7). [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. A. L. Kroeber Papers. BANC FILM 2049. Reel 25. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1918a; July 7). [Letter to E. Sapir]. Edward Winslow Gifford correspondence, 1916-1955. BANC MSS CB-768. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library,
- Gifford, E. W. (1918b; July 16) [Letter to A. L. Kroeber]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1918c; August 10) [Letter to Miss Simonds]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1923). Western Mono myths. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 36(142), 301-367. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/535047>
- Gifford, E. W. (1931; April 30). [Letter to Division of Fish and Game]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W. (1932). *The Northfork Mono*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gifford, E. W. (1951). California Indian physical types. In R. F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple (Eds.), *The California Indian: A source book*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Gifford, E. W. (1954). Material for testimony before the Indian Land Claims Commission. BANC FILM 2216, Reel 180. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Gifford, E. W., & Block, G. H. (1930). *Californian Indian nights entertainments; stories of the creation of the world, of man, of fire, of the sun, of thunder, etc.; of coyote, the land of the dead, the sky land, monsters, animal people, etc.* Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company.
- Gleick, P. (2009). Temperance Flat Reservoir falls flat. Circle of Blue Web Site. Retrieved from <http://www.circleofblue.org/waternews/2009/world/peter-gleick-temperance-flat-reservoir-falls-flat/>
- Goeman, M. (2008). (Re)mapping indigenous presence on the land in native women's literature. *American Quarterly*, 60(2), 295-302. doi: 10.1353/aq.0.0011
- Goode, R. (2003). Oral history summaries. Manuscript in the author's possession. Clovis, CA: North Fork Mono Tribe.
- Goode, R. (2007a). North Fork Mono Tribe federal acknowledgement clarification. Clovis, Calif.: North Fork Mono Tribe.
- Goode, R. (2007b). Article in *Briefing*, the newsletter of the North Fork Mono Tribe. Clovis, CA.
- Goode, R. (2009a). North Fork Mono Tribe water story. Sacramento, CA: California Tribal Water Summit. Retrieved from <http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/docs/tws/WaterStory1-NorthForkMono.pdf>
- Goode, R. (2009b). North Fork Mono Tribe water rights position paper. Sacramento, CA: California Tribal Water Summit. Retrieved from http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/docs/tws/CTWS_PPaper_NFMT_10-29-09.pdf
- Goode, R., & Aldern, J. D. (2009). Grant proposal to the Sierra Nevada Conservancy. Clovis, Calif: North Fork Mono Tribe.
- Grady, F. (2003). Arnoldian humanism, or amnesia and autobiography in the Schwarzenegger action film. *Cinema Journal*, 42 (2), pp. 41-56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1566515>. Retrieved on March 18, 2010.
- Grande, S. (2008). Red pedagogy: The un-methodology. In N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln, & L.T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* (pp. 233-254). Newbury Park, California: SAGE Publications.

- Haas, A. M. (2008). Wampum as hypertext: An American Indian intellectual tradition of multimedia theory and practice. *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, 19(4), 77-100. doi: 10.1353/ail.2008.0005
- Harkin, M.E., & Lewis, D. R. (Eds.), *Native Americans and the environment: Perspectives on the ecological Indian* (pp. 3-31). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Havelock, E. A. (1982). *Preface to Plato*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.
- Heizer, R. F., & Kroeber, T. (1979). *Ishi the last Yahi: A documentary history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Herrera Environmental Consultants, Inc. (2008). The effect of trees on stormwater runoff. Report prepared for Seattle Public Utilities. Retrieved from http://www.psparchives.com/publications/our_work/stormwater/lid/clearing_grading/Effect%20of%20Trees%20on%20Stormwater%20Lit%20Review-Herrera.pdf
- Hindes, M. G. (1959). Report on Indian sites and trails in the Huntington Lake region, California. Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Survey Report 48, 1-15.
- Hundley, N. Jr. (1978). The dark and bloody ground of Indian water rights: Confusion elevated to principle. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 9(4), 455-482. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/pss/967447>
- Hundley, N. Jr. (1982). The "Winters" decision and Indian water rights: A mystery reexamined. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 13(1), 17-42. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/pss/969063>
- Jackson, T. L. (1989). Reconstructing migrations in California prehistory. *American Indian Quarterly*, 13(4), 359-368. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/pss/1184521>
- Jackson, D.C. (n.d.). Biography of John S. Eastwood. Water Resources Center Archives Web site. Retrieved from <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/WRCA/eastwood.html>
- James, G. W. (1916). Winter sports at Huntington Lake Lodge in the High Sierras; the story of the first annual ice and snow carnival of the Commercial Club of Fresno, California. Pasadena, Calif.: The Radiant Life Press. Reproduced on the Internet Archive. Retrieved from <http://ia331420.us.archive.org/2/items/wintersportsathu01jame/wintersportsathu01jame.pdf>
- Kelsey, C.E. (1906). Report of the special agent for California Indians to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Kilgore, B. M., & Taylor, D. (1979). Fire history of a sequoia-mixed conifer forest. *Ecology*, 60(1), 129-142. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/pss/1936475>

- Kincheloe, J. L., & Steinberg, S. R. (2008). Indigenous knowledges in education: Complexities, dangers, and profound benefits. In N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln, & L.T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* (pp. 135-156). Newbury Park, California: SAGE Publications.
- Krech, S. (2000). *The ecological Indian: Myth and history*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Krech, S. (2007). Beyond *The ecological Indian*. In M.E. Harkin & D.R. Lewis (Eds.), *Native Americans and the environment: Perspectives on the ecological Indian* (pp. 3-31). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Kroeber, A. L. (1915a; January 15). [Letter to E.W. Gifford]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Kroeber, A. L. (1915b; November 28). [Letter to E.W. Gifford]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Kroeber, A. L. (1916a; January 7). [Letter to E.W. Gifford]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Kroeber, A. L. (1916b; February 29). [Letter to E.W. Gifford]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 61. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.
- Kroeber, A. L. (1925). *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78. Washington.
- Kroeber, A. L. (1976). *Yurok myths*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Kroeber, A. L., Driver, H., & Lounsbury, R. (1974). *California Indians, 4. American Indian ethnohistory: California and Basin-Plateau Indians*. New York: Garland Press.
- Kroeber, C., & Kroeber, K. (2003). *Ishi in three centuries*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Kroeber, K. (2004). *Native American storytelling: A reader of myths and legends*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Kroeber, T. (1961). *Ishi in two worlds: A biography of the last wild Indian in North America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Kroskrity, P. V. (2009). Embodying the reversal of language shift: Agency, incorporation, and language ideological change in the Western Mono community of central California. In P.V. Kroskrity & M.C. Field (Eds.). *Native American language ideologies: Beliefs,*

- practices, and struggles in Indian country* (pp. 190-210). Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Kwachka, P. (1992). Discourse structures, cultural stability, and language shift. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 93(1), 67-74. doi: 10.1515/ijsl.1992.93.67, //1992
- Lamb, S. M. (1958). Linguistic prehistory in the Great Basin. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 24(2), pp. 95-100. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/pss/1263639>
- Lee, G.D. (2002). Interview with Grace Tex. [Videotape.] River Stories Collection. Fresno, Calif: Coke Hallowell Center for River Studies, San Joaquin River Parkway and Conservation Trust.
- Lee, G. D. (1998). *Walking where we lived: Memoirs of a Mono Indian family*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Lightfoot, K. G., & Parrish, O. (2009). *California Indians and their environment: An introduction*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Loether, C. P. (1991). *Verbal art among the Western Mono* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 9117383).
- Loheide, S. P., II, R. S. Deitchman, D. J. Cooper, E. C. Wolf, C. T. Hammersmark, and J. D. Lundquist, 2009. Hydroecology of impacted wet meadows in the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Ranges, CA. *Hydrogeology Journal*, 17(1), 229-246. doi: 10.1007/s10040-008-0380-4
- Loheide, S. P., II, and S. M. Gorelick, 2007. Riparian hydroecology: A coupled model of the observed interactions between groundwater flow and meadow vegetation patterning, *Water Resour. Res.*, 43, W07414, doi:10.1029/2006WR005233
- Mandelbaum, S. J. (1991). Telling stories. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 10(3), 209-214. doi: 10.1177/0739456X9101000308
- Mandelbaum, S. J. (2003). Narrative and other tools. In B. J. Eckstein & J. A. Throgmorton (Eds.), *Story and sustainability : planning, practice, and possibility for American cities*. (pp. 185-191). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Martinez, D. R. (1992). Northwestern coastal forests: The Sinkyone Intertribal Park project. *Restoration & Management Notes*, 10(1), 64-69.
- McCool, D. (2002). *Native waters: Contemporary Indian water settlements and the second treaty era*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

- Mihesuah, D. A. (Ed.). (1998). *Natives and academics: Discussions on researching and writing about American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Miller, S.A. (2009). Native historians write back: The Indigenous paradigm in American Indian historiography. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 24(1), 25-45.
- Moore, P., & Tlen, D. (2007). Indigenous linguistics and land claims: The semiotic projection of Athabaskan directionals in Elijah Smith's radio work. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 17(2), 266-286. doi: 10.1525/jlin.2007.17.2.266
- Muir, J. (1977). *The mountains of California*. Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press.
- Nabhan, G. P. (1997). *Cultures of habitat: On nature, culture, and story*. Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint.
- National Endowment for the Arts. (1999). Ulysses Goode, Western Mono basketmaker. Retrieved from http://www.arts.gov/honors/heritage/fellows/fellow.php?id=1999_07
- Nelson, M. K. (Ed.) (2008). *Original instructions: Indigenous teaching for a sustainable future*. Rochester, Vermont: Bear & Company.
- Nikelly, A.G. (1994). Alcoholism: Social as well as psycho-medical problem: The missing 'big picture'. *Journal of Alcohol & Drug Education* 39(3), 1-12. Retrieved from <http://lifering.org/sep/bigpict.htm>
- Noble, W. B. (1904). A day with the Mono Indians. *Out West* 21, 413-421.
- Ochs, E. (1997). Narrative. In T. A. v. Dijk (Ed.), *Handbook of discourse: A multidisciplinary introduction* (pp. 185-207). London: Sage.
- Olmsted, F.E. (1907; September 13). [Letter to James B. Adams]. Records Group Number 95, Records of the United States Forest Service. National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region (San Bruno, CA).
- Olmsted, F.E. (1909; February 3) [Telegram to the Forester, Washington, D.C.]. Records Group Number 95, Records of the United States Forest Service, National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region (San Bruno, CA).
- Ong, W. J. (1967). *The presence of the word; some prolegomena for cultural and religious history*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Ong, W. J. (1982). *Orality and literacy: the technologizing of the word*. London and New York: Methuen.

- Parataxis. (n.d.). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Retrieved February 23, 2009, from Answers.com Web site: <http://www.answers.com/topic/parataxis>
- Phillips, G. H. (1993). *Indians and intruders in central California, 1769-1849*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Phillips, G. H. (2004). *"Bringing them under subjection": California's Tejon Indian Reservation and beyond, 1852-1864*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Pinchot, G. (1910). *The Fight for Conservation*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company,
- Polanyi, K. (1957). *The great transformation: The political and economic origins of our time*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Potter, A.B. (1910; May 17). [Letter to F. E. Olmsted]. Records Group Number 95, Records of the United States Forest Service, National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region (San Bruno, CA).
- Prugh, T., with Costanza, R., Cumberland, J.H., Daly, H.E., Goodland, R. & Norgaard., R.B. (1995). *Natural capital and human economic survival*. Solomons, MD: ISEE Press.
- Pulido, L. (1998). Ecological legitimacy and cultural essentialism: Hispano grazing in the Southwest. In D. Faber (Ed.), *The struggle for ecological democracy: Environmental justice movements in the United States* (pp. 293-311). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Pyne, S. J. (2001). The big blowup: The great fires shaped a century of fire policy. *High Country News*, April 23, 2001. Retrieved from <http://www.hcn.org/issues/201/10428>.
- Ranco, D. J. (2007). The ecological Indian and the politics of representation: Critiquing *The Ecological Indian* in the age of ecocide. In M.E. Harkin & D.R. Lewis (Eds.), *Native Americans and the environment: Perspectives on the ecological Indian* (pp. 32-51). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Ratliff, R. D. (1985). Meadows in the Sierra Nevada of California: state of knowledge. U.S. Dep. Agric., For. Serv. (Berkeley, Calif.), Gen. Tech. Rep. PSW-84.
- Rose, G. (1994). *Sierra centennial: 100 years of pioneering on the Sierra National Forest*. Tollhouse, CA: Three Forests Interpretive Association.
- Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. B. K. (1981). *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Pub. Corp.
- Shebley, W. (1931; May 7). [Letter to E.W. Gifford]. Records of the Department of Anthropology, 1901-[ongoing]. CU-23, Box 60. Berkeley, CA: The Bancroft Library.

- Shinn, C. H. (1907; June 16). [Letter to F.E. Olmsted]. Records Group Number 95, Records of the United States Forest Service, National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region (San Bruno, CA.).
- Shinn, J. T., & Sargent, G. T. (1959). Forgotten mother of the Sierra: Letters of Julia Tyler Shinn (concluded). *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 38 (3), 219-228. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25155261>
- Shipek, F. (1993). Kumeyaay plant husbandry: Fire, water, and erosion control systems. In T.C. Blackburn & K. Anderson (Eds.), *Before the wilderness: Environmental management by Native Californians* (pp. 379-388.). Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press.
- Smith, D. A. 2009. Yosemite: The cavalry years. The California State Military Museum website. Retrieved from <http://www.militarymuseum.org/YosemiteCavalry.html>
- Snyder, J. (2001). Map of Indian trails on the Sierra National Forest. Copy in the library of the Bass Lake District Headquarters, Sierra National Forest, North Fork, CA.
- Spariosu, M. I. (2004). *Global intelligence and human development: Toward an ecology of global learning*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Spariosu, M.I. (2006). *Remapping Knowledge: Intercultural Studies for a Global Age*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Publishers.
- Spier, L. (1923). Southern Diegueño customs. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 20, 297-358.
- Steedman, C. (2005). Archival methods. In Griffin, G. (Ed.), *Research methods for English studies*. (pp. 17- 29). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Stephens, S.L., & Sugihara, N.G., 2006. Fire management and policy since European settlement. In Sugihara, N.G., van Wagendonk, J., Shaffer, K.E. , Fites-Kaufman, J., Thode, A.E. (Eds.), *Fire in California's ecosystems* (pp. 431-443). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Storer, T. I., & Tevis, L. P. (1996). *California grizzly*. Berkeley; Los Angeles:University of California Press.
- Theodoratus Cultural Research, Inc./Archaeological Consulting and Research Services, Inc. (1984). *Cultural resources overview of the southern Sierra Nevada: An ethnographic, linguistic, archaeological and historical study of the Sierra National Forest, Sequoia National Forest, and Bakersfield District of the Bureau of Land Management*. Report to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, South Central Contracting Office, Bishop CA.

- Tribal Communication Committee, Tribal Water Stories Sub-Committee, & the California Department of Water Resources. (2008; October 10). [Letter to Tribal Leaders]. Retrieved from http://www.waterplan.water.ca.gov/docs/tws/CWP_WaterStoriesInvite_AllSigs_10-17-08.pdf
- Tully, G. (n.d.). Indian foresters. Typescript in the archives of the Bass Lake District Headquarters, Sierra National Forest, North Fork, CA.
- United States Bureau of Reclamation. (2009). Existing and future conditions in the study area. *Upper San Joaquin River Basin Storage Investigation. Plan Formulation Report*. Chapter 3. Retrieved from http://www.usbr.gov/mp/sccao/storage/docs/usjrbsi_pfr/ch3_existing_future_conditions.pdf
- United States Department of Agriculture. (1991). *Final environmental impact statement. Forest land and resource management plan. Sierra National Forest*. Retrieved from <http://www.fs.fed.us/r5/sierra/publications/pdfs/forestplan/00001755.pdf>
- Vane, S. B. (1992). California Indians, historians, and ethnographers. *California History*, 71, 324-341.
- Vera, M. (1993). The creation of language: A Yowlumni story. *News From Native California*, 7, 19-20.
- Warrin, D. (1997). An immigrant path to social mobility: Portuguese Atlantic islanders in the California sheep industry. *California History*, 76 (4), 94-107.
- Wallerstein, I. (Ed.). (1996). *Open the social sciences: Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the restructuring of the social sciences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Weaver, J., Womack, C. S., & Warrior, R. (2006). *American Indian literary nationalism*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Whaley, R., with Bresette, W. (1994). *Walleye warriors: An effective alliance against racism and for the Earth*. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.
- White, R. (1997). Indian peoples and the natural world: Asking the right questions. In D. L. Fixico (Ed.), *Rethinking American Indian history* (1st ed.) (pp. 87-100). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Wilson, A. C. (1997). Power of the spoken word: Native oral traditions in American Indian history. In D. L. Fixico (Ed.), *Rethinking American Indian history* (1st ed.) (pp. 101-116). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Worster, D. (1995). Nature and the disorder of history. In M.E. Soulé & G. Lease (Eds.), *Reinventing nature? Responses to postmodern deconstruction* (pp.65-85). Washington, D. C: Island Press.