

Creation of a Cooperative Protection Agreement between
the United States Forest Service and the Mono Lake Paiute
Kutzadika Indian Community for Protection of Kutzadika
Sacred Sites on Federal Land

A Project Report

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Project Report Titled

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this Masters Project is to critically examine dynamics between the United States Forest Service (USFS) and the Kutzadika Paiute at Mono Lake, California from two different theoretical anthropological points of view, and then to propose ways to move forward to design a program for collaborative protection of cultural and sacred archaeological sites. By applying a Weberian perspective to consider power dynamics involving the United States Forest Service (USFS) and an interpretive and post-structuralist perspective on Kutzadika cultural maintenance, this project considers how and why dynamics exist between these stakeholders regarding the archaeological sites, and how meaning and power influence the way stakeholders view heritage. This Native American tribe seeks to preserve their way of life, honor their ancestors, and negotiate with the federal government, yet they are limited by their understandings of the bureaucratic structure of the federal government, and have to date not been able to bargain effectively for resources to be allocated for protection of their heritage sites. The deliverable of this project mediates between the groups to propose a culturally sensitive and viable plan which promotes the needs of both stakeholders.

With great pride, it is now possible to state the deliverable: a joint sacred site protection agreement was reached protecting a women's ritual bathing and cleansing site at the Pumice Mine. Relief carvings of vulvas are chiseled into rock next to the small bathing pool that once held water from a natural spring. The site is in danger of destruction, and through the joint efforts of the Kutzadika Tribal chairwoman, a United States Forest Service archaeologist, and myself using lawyering settlement skills, the site will remain a valuable part of Kutzadika Tribal heritage.

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I. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

On the eastern side of the Sierra Mountains of California lies highway, State Route 395, paralleling the Sierras in a north-south direction. An important juncture with state Highway 120, the famous Tioga Pass Road through Yosemite National Park intersects with Highway 395 after crossing the Sierras. At this intersection, the view eastward is startling because of the barren hills off in the distance, and dry land forming a basin (Fletcher 1987: 1). Water gathers in the lowest section of the basin, remnants of an inland sea. The water level was higher until the 1930's when much of the water was drained away and transported to Los Angeles to accommodate that city's growth needs. The shallow, intensely salted and alkaline basin, known as Mono Lake, supports a unique ecosystem of life. This environment helps sustain the Mono Lake Kutzadika Tribe, the indigenous community of Northern Paiute who have made Mono Lake home for generations. Today, there are very few Kutzadika tribal members, and since their tribal status was rescinded in the early 20th Century the federal government classifies the Kutzadika as an Indian community, rather than a federally recognized tribe and sovereign nation.

Just to the south of the Mono Lake is National Forest land that the Kutzadika Indians historically occupied, prior to the 1850s and the arrival of ranching and mining in the basin. This forest land is now under the control of United States Forest Service (USFS). Within these forests lie sites of cultural heritage, including sacred Indian sites, some being for burial purposes, and others for various religious ceremonies. The Kutzadika want protection for their cultural and sacred sites; protection from looters, and possible governmental authorized land-use change that would destroy the sites. Currently,

the issue of looting is the predominant concern of the Kutzadika community because substantial amounts of material and artifacts have been removed from sacred sites. Certainly, the public's interference with individual sites is of primary concern to the Kutzadika community.

Also within the forest is the historic site of Mono Mills, a sawmill that provided lumber for the growing mining town of Bodie in the second half of the 19th Century (Billeb 1968: 35). There is evidence in the historical record of three ethnically based worker communities at the mill: the Irish, the Chinese, and the Paiute (1968: 125-132). Few structural foundations remain, but the metal artifacts the inhabitants left behind that now scatter the surfaces of the formerly inhabited communities are the subjects of great interest to looters. The artifacts do not concern the Kutzadika; what does concern them are the looters that disrupt this site and older, sacred ones in its vicinity. The looting of burial sites and disturbance of the skeletons of their ancestors has occurred in recent memory, and community members fear their ancestors' bones sitting on the fireplace mantles of fortune hunters. Similar concerns are for desecration of ceremonial sites near Mono Lake, especially following recent looting of entire rock art panels outside of Bishop, CA by collectors (Caulfield 2012).

One problem lies in the fact that the USFS Law Enforcement Division lacks funds and staff. There is only one law enforcement officer (LEO) in the Bishop, California office that maintains jurisdiction over the Mono Lake area forest land containing the Kutzadika sacred sites. The LEO patrols a vast amount of land within the Bishop area, too much for one person to keep safe from looters. Another problem is undisclosed position of the USFS on this issue of Kutzadika sacred site protection, particularly given

the unrecognized status of the tribe. The USFS is not releasing a statement of their willingness, or unwillingness to engage in site protection.

Therefore, two competing interests emerge: the first is that the USFS manages designated forest lands within the US in accordance with federal law, and it must create policy and balance the demands of interested stakeholders; and the other is the interest of the Kutzadika to protect their heritage sites and ancestors' graves which are located on land under the management of the USFS. How the USFS and the Kutzadika conceptualize the land and cultural resources therein, choose to deal with protection of these resources, and communicate their interests is the subject of this project.

An assumption is made that the stakeholders' interests are potentially contradictory, leading to the conclusion that land management and sacred site protection are mutually exclusive. The purpose of this project is to uncover whether, in fact, this assumption is false so the stakeholders can move forward with cultural and sacred site protection. To aid in developing a cooperative, collaborative engagement between the USFS and Kutzadika, this project explores how the USFS and the Kutzadika might better work together to jointly protect cultural and sacred Indian sites around Mono Lake. It also explores more fully the primary interests of these two primary stakeholders in the conservation of ecological and cultural resources in this region.

Historical Background of the United States Forest Service (USFS), and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM):

To understand the historical context of why areas around Mono Lake are currently federal lands, this section will briefly track the history of Mono Basin. In 1848, after the Mexican-American war, Alta California was ceded to the United States by Mexico, and two years later, in 1850, Alta California became organized as the State of California (Harlow 1989:27). In 1852, Lt. Tredwell Moore led what is now known as the first white party to have entered Mono Basin. As a result from the information that Moore provided, in 1853 Mono Lake appeared for the first time on a published map of California, the Trask 's Map of the State of California (Fletcher 1987: 22). In 1853, pursuant to the California Enabling Act (10 Stat. 244), surveys began to plot and chart California's land. A.W. Von Schmidt performed the completion in 1855 of a survey of the land around Mono Lake. Two subsequent surveys, one in 1877 and a dependent resurvey in 2001, set the coordinates of Mono Mills that are in use today (Bureau of Land Management, Government Land Office webpage).

Mono Mills and much of the ranching settlement of Mono Basin followed the 1870s mining boom in Bodie that led to the increasing demand for timber and lumber by 1880. Henry Yerington, along with owners and investors in the Bodie Standard Mine, purchased timber tracts that lay south of Mono Lake, and this group formed the Bodie Railway and Lumber Company in 1881. Initially, the company purchased 10,280 acres of forested land, although it is not clear from whom this purchase was made. Land transactions from 1895 to 1905 are somewhat scarce, yet around 1905 the Bodie Railroad and Lumber Company relinquished 320 acres to the State of California, then leased some land. According to the historian Fletcher (1987) the Bodie Railway and Lumber

Company paid taxes on 14, 796 acres of timber, and to maintain the right to exercise right of way for the railroad on 720 acres on cut-over land in 1904. Previously, the Company did not pay taxes on 4,500 acres of cut-over land, therefore California exercised its reversionary interest and reclaimed the land under state ownership (Fletcher 1987: 78). In 1906, property was transferred to the Mono Lake Railway and Lumber Company until 1915 when the business ceased. The earliest Forest Service report about this tract is authored by W.A. Langille from 1904.

The USFS is charged with protection, conservation, management, and use of the Nation's forest, rangeland, and aquatic ecosystems by integrating ecological, economic, and social factors. The mission of the USFS is to sustain the health, diversity, and productivity of the Nation's forests and grasslands. As set forth in law, this mission is to achieve quality land management under the sustainable multiple-use management concept to meet people's diverse needs. The USFS bases its commitment to land stewardship and public service as the framework within which natural resources are managed (USFS Mission Statement). Implicit in this statement is the agency's policy for collaboration with stakeholders, partners and the public.

Historical Background of the Kutzadika:

The Mono Lake Kutzadika tribe was categorized by early anthropologists grouped as Northern Paiute (Steward 1933) yet it remains a distinct cultural group with its own language and traditions. The language comes from the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan family (Lamb, 1958: 98). The name Kutzadika means "fly-larvae eaters" in their own dialect (Sprague, 2003: 3).

According to Collin Busby (1979), demographic data on Mono Lake Paiutes in aboriginal times are extremely sparse. Busby cites Davis (1965) who estimated that the semi-permanent population of the Mono Lake Basin was not much over 200 people. Reliable information may be available through various archival sources, but according to Busby, no statistics or observations are currently available in the anthropological literature. A population density of one person per four (4) square miles derives from Davis' figure of 800 square miles, both usable and unusable land, for the Mono Basin. At present, the Mono Lake Paiute are included in the overall population figures for the Northern Paiute. (Busby 1979:126).

Aboriginal food sources for the Mono Lake Paiute include mountain sheep, deer and jackrabbit, vegetable foods derived from seasonally available plants, insect larvae, and brine flies. were (Busby 1979:142). Busby's (1979: viii) analysis is that their trade network prior to contact with settlers was primarily with the Owens Valley Paiute to the south and Yosemite Valley Miwok on the western side of the Sierras. Fletcher (1987:4) provides a refined list of raw materials for trade to include salt, obsidian, pumice, as well as red and white paints, sinew-backed bows, rabbit skins, and baskets made from raw materials. These networks of goods and people were sustained through the historic period as well. Fletcher, Sprague, Davis, and Busby are all in agreement on the topic of traditional Kutzadika characteristics, but only Fletcher and Sprague indicate that hunting, gathering, and trade continued until the intrusion of the white man in 1850 (Fletcher, 1987: 2,3; Sprague, 2003: 194, 195).

The Kutzadika in the historic era, much like their ancestors, did not live year round in Mono Basin. Depending on the season, they would move to various locations: to

the hills north or east of the lake in autumn, east of Mono Lake to lower elevation valleys for the winter, and returning in late spring to Mono Basin and Rush Creek. The Mono Basin and its surrounds provided enough seasonal food for the Kutzadika but not for the additional needs of Euro-Americans in the 1800's (Fletcher, 1987: 4) Conflict over resources and land tenure was a source of stress for Mono Basin communities. The addition of European settlement, which brought with it ranching and agriculture, forced the Kutzadika to occupy marginal land that was insufficient for hunting or gathering. The Kutzadika were limited to gathering of some greens, insects, seeds, nuts, and other subsistence items around Mono Lake (Fletcher 1987: 3). Increasingly their mobility was limited by settlers fences and changing biotic communities from cattle grazing. Out of necessity, the Kutzadika began working wage-earning jobs for companies like the railroad and lumber company managing Mono Mills (Sprague 2003: 85).

Besides food resources, the incursions of ranchers and settlers required wood fuel from forests in the Basin. In established towns of Bodie and Aurora, tensions over construction materials and fuel led to elevated costs and extreme measures for access to these resources. These mining towns used pine forest firewood, and to meet the demand for it a 32-mile railroad from Bodie to the forests south of Mono Lake and a mill town were built to provide the cordwood and milled lumber. Because of their familiarity with the landscape, flora and fauna of the Mono Lake area, the Kutzadika were employed by the railroad and mill company to scout, construct, and maintain this railroad in the early 1880s, and were considered excellent workers (Fletcher, 1987: 77). Billeb (1968) credits the Paiutes as being instrumental in the creation and running of Mono Mills.

The Paiutes also receive credit for persuading mill owners to harvest Jeffrey pine trees rather than the Piñon pine, as they believed the Pinion pine was sacred (Fletcher, 1987:73). Pine nut crops were of economic importance to the Paiutes, and, as is typical of many cultures and religions worldwide, things of importance become sacred and remain preserved. The Paiute's suggestion was to log the Jeffrey Pine forests located at Mono Mills, rather than using the Pinion pine.

The Paiute negotiated their new way of life in the historic era by sharing access to lake and riverine resources and by selling pine nuts and other goods to the Chinese and Euro-Americans. They lived at Mono Mills, along with Chinese and Euro-Americans, in ethnically segregated neighborhoods. They likely only lived in this neighborhood seasonally, and maintained their traditional rounds in the Basin at other times of the year (Fletcher, 1987: 4; Billeb, 1968: 129), yet were vital in the success of both this town and Bodie. Certainly, living in close proximity with other foreigners has its risks; lack of immunities is one such risk. Emil W. Billeb, the mill supervisor, remembers the Paiute as a group who struggled with disease brought in by the Chinese and Euro-American laborers (Billeb, 1968). Although there is no statistical data on this point, the Kutzadika population must have dwindled due to the introduction of unfamiliar diseases.

According to the 2010 Federal Census the population of Lee Vining and Mono City totals 394 inhabitants; only 4.5% of those reporting identify as American Indian and Alaska Native (Mono Basin Community Plan, 2012). Yet, the tribal enrollment includes 67 Kutzadika members today. All the tribal members are descendants of Mono Lake Paiute community. Only 31 of the Kutzadika tribal members live in or near Lee Vining, California (Mono Basin Community Plan, 2012).

Despite their small tribe membership, the Kutzadika continue their traditions, maintain their language, and continue to honor their ancestors. Since the 1970's, the Kutzadika have been developing a petition for federal recognition as a tribe. Contemporary issues regarding access to food resources and land tenure are addressed through some federal services. A grant award from the Administration of the Native Americans (ANA) has the aim of providing subsistence funding for the Kutzadika community (Mono Lake Newsletter, Fall 1999). Tribal concerns are discussed by a tribal council whose office is in the Lee Vining community hall. The tribe has a formalized constitution, enrollment Ordinance, and an Election Ordinance (Mono Basin Community Plan, 2012)

Project Objectives and Anthropological Approach

This paper examines two relationships: the first is the relationship discussed in theoretical mode between the federal government and Native Americans. The basis for discussing the role of bureaucracies in government and in a democratic political system relies on the work of Max Weber (1922, 1946). Weber's perspectives can be applied to an analysis of the vast structural differences between governmental and tribal political systems. Weber also provides direction on how to view a bureaucratic structure like the USFS through Native American perspectives. The second focus compares the Western archaeological community and Native Americans by examining a variety of sources. Writings by Sonya Atalay (2006), T.J. Ferguson, Barbara Little (2007), Jeremy Sabloff (2006), Davina Two Bears (2006), and Joe E. Watkins (2003) that are discussed in this project urge present day archaeologists to include Native Americans in all aspects of

decision-making, intervention, excavation of remains and artifacts, site usage and protection, public projects, research, data collection, education and building community cohesion. Additionally, the authors argue for a re-examination of archaeological perspective to shift towards Native American priorities rather than traditional Western academic archaeological curiosities; they are unanimous about deconstructing and decolonizing archeology, and giving Native Americans voice.

Max Weber's "Class, Status, Party" (1922) posits how a bureaucracy works. Weber bases wealth, and ultimately class status, on land ownership (1922:99). Application of these ideas to the Kutzadika-USFS relationship provides some insight into the dynamics involved in their interactions and missions. According to the Weberian perspective, the Kutzadika's status is impacted due to historical power inequalities regarding land ownership and jurisdiction. Therefore, the Kutzadika have no power over the federal government or any land that is in control of the USFS. The Kutzadika are not landowners of the land they consider their sacred sites. Therefore, since they must follow federal law, the ruling class imbued with power will exercise control over the land and determine the issue of site protection.

Weber also sees a class struggle between mere land occupiers and workers, and powerful landowners. Since both of these groups have conflicting goals and values is very challenging to create cooperative solutions (1922:99). Weberians may see the Native American struggle as class strengthening to bond together against the federal government. However, the USFS is not likely interested in sharing power; retaining ownership of the land puts their stakeholder position in much stronger position than the Kutzadika.

Weber's trademark study of the hierarchical pyramid is entitled "Bureaucracy" (1946). A bureaucracy can set established in any public or private organization, business, or entity. A bureaucracy defines everyone's role and finds compatible ways to reach common objectives. The division of labor is very clear with highly regulated, common, often procedural work tasks. Decisions are usually top-down, with middle level employees and forcing them, and organize workers make these decisions functional (Weber 1946:148-150).

Weber writes about applying law to bureaucratic reason, and he concludes that bureaucracies deal well with the reason. Behind every single bureaucratic act, there is either one of two reasons: following norms or balancing ends and means (1946:170). Weber writes in blunt terms that the bureaucracy is "*the* means of caring community action over into rationally ordered societal action." (1946:177) Therefore, since the bureaucracy is an instrument of power, he who holds the power controls bureaucracy. The conclusion Weber draws is that democracy promotes bureaucracy. Despite the fact that democracy opposes the needs, rules, effects, decisions and lacks of humanity, bureaucracies make democracies run (1946:180).

However, a logical deduction of Weber's bureaucratic model is that the bureaucracy closes opportunities for some disenfranchised groups, like that Kutzadika. Thus, the purpose of this social research design is to propose the use of public archaeology to open up the worlds bureaucracies create.

Shackel (2004) gives a broad, inclusive definition of public archaeology. Shackel cites Little (2002a:1) and uses Little's definition as a starting point: as a discipline, public archaeology includes education, community cohesion, entertainment, and economic

development. Shakel adds that communities are seeking a sense of their own past, and want input into the decision making process of their heritage development. Shakel bluntly takes the position that archaeologists are not gatekeepers or cultural brokers. Community involvement is crucial to the discipline of public archaeology, and archaeologists are awakening to its importance (Shakel 2004: 2).

The Kutzadika at Mono Lake want to protect their sacred Indian grounds but the bureaucratic USFS is not cooperating. The goal of creating a collaborative agreement to protect sacred Indian grounds will take great effort, proper timing, and luck.

One possible avenue for the Kutzadika is using historical archaeology that bridges Weberian bureaucracy, modern subjectivity, science, and history found in the archaeological record to create a collaborative agreement to protect sacred burial sites. According to Barbara J. Little (2007), historical archaeology promotes the public benefits of archaeology through knowledge and understanding of data to give voice to those who have been colonized. Little believes that public archaeology that includes collaboration with communities to encourage civic engagement and civic renewal promotes a useful heritage. This will give strength, she believes, to estranged groups to cooperate and work out issues for heritage preservation (2007:136). However, taking a very different view is archaeologist Jeremy Sabloff (2008) advocating for site preservation for economic reasons. Among many of his arguments in favor of action archaeology is that descendant's community projects benefit financially from site preservation by means of tourism. Little will argue that collaborate work is beneficial for the profession; whereas Sabloff will counter argue that the community's finances should be the determinative factor is group work.

Advocating for indigenous archaeology are T.J. Ferguson (1996), Davina Two-Bears (2006), and Sonya Atalay (2006), and each of them varies in the amount of collaborative work that should occur with non-Indians. Ferguson writes that NAGPRA and the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) guide his thinking about mitigating the impact on sacred sites. The NHPA allows tribes to implement historic preservation programs, share work, management and compliance responsibility with the historic preservation officers. This scenario exists with the Kutzadika and the USFS.

Arguing strenuously that tribes have the power to decide how archaeologists should handle archaeological findings rather than having the federal government make those decisions; Ferguson (1996) believes that NAGPRA requires new work strategies for collaborative efforts between tribes and archaeologists. Ferguson's strongest point is that "by establishing and building on cooperative relationships, archaeologists and Native Americans can be powerful allies in efforts to preserve archaeological resources from alluding or development." (1996:74) It seems that Ferguson encourages archaeologists to collaborate, regardless of ethnic background, but Davina Two-Bears, an Indian archaeologist, may disagree.

Davina Two Bears (2006) flatly rejects the need for federal legislation of site protection. The Native Americans learned to care for their sacred sites and have done so for centuries. Therefore, she concludes, Native Americans, and the Navajo in particular, make excellent archaeologists. Two-Bears writes that there are several Native American archaeological schools and programs in existence. Students learn federal law and policies and engage in field school training. Navajo archaeology students record sites rather than excavate. Two Bears advocates for increased financial sources, university positions, and

personnel in historic preservation departments. Ferguson might find that Two-Bear's reluctance to collaborate is too harsh; why scoff at sympathetic archaeologists, perhaps finding Sonia Atalay's position more reasonable.

Sonya Atalay (2006) argues for a combined set of theories and practices to blend the shared interest of the indigenous groups with Western trained archaeologists to produce an ethical and socially constructive rebuilding of cultural heritage. Atalay writes that the blending of indigenous people's heritage management with Western archaeology will produce an ethical and socially just model of decolonized archaeology (2006: 297). In sum, Atalay states that one group, particularly colonizers, cannot control all the knowledge from archaeology and the archaeological record. All research should be public (2006: 301).

Research Design

This research seeks to identify the ways that the USFS and the Kutzadika can best work together to jointly protect sacred Indian sites around Mono Lake. The approach of this project has much in common with positivist and interpretive social research models; however, it is framed in critical perspective. As with the positivist perspective of mixing the real world with the natural world, the critical perspective shares this view of the environment, although in this case, the social, economic and political factors are the natural world. The interpretive world seeks to examine how humans make meaning; the critical view is how meaning shapes people when subjected to oppression. This critical approach to the framing of the research question clearly identifies the oppressors and the

oppressed, and the underlying assumptions are to empower the oppressed, and that this writer must advocate for the Kutzadika. (Loseke 2013: 25)

Several outcomes from this project provide tools for mediation between USFS and Kutzadika regarding site protection. First, through site visits with the Kutzadika tribal council, known sacred sites and cemetery locations were systematically recorded. These records of site description and interpretation, photography of their current status and appearance, and GPS location were given to the tribal council for control over their dissemination and use. Second, meetings between stakeholders help clarify each party's interests and concerns, initiate dialogue, and help develop relationships of trust. Finally, a Strategic Plan for site protection was proposed. Although originally planned as the deliverable, a collaborative protection agreement was not signed and finalized through this project; however, vital meetings from this project brought together the stakeholders and initiated an ongoing conversation about interests and concerns. Because the stakeholders met and negotiated some details of site access and knowledge about site meanings, this project resulted in a draft Strategic Plan for the mutual protection of sites and issues that proposal to stakeholders for further discussion. The Strategic Plan proposes a collaborative protection agreement by articulating interests of each group, calling attention to previously uncommunicated concerns, and recommending steps for moving forward. Since this writer is an attorney, it is reasonable to expect that the USFS may follow the legal advice to continue to meet with the Kutzadika to show good faith but not agree to any deal, therefore complying with statutory mandates of stewardship and avoiding governmental liability in case of injury or death to a private citizen. However, it is the hope of this project that the outcomes will lead to more substantial

dialogue and collaboration—and even formalized agreement on site protection—in the coming years.

II. THEORY

The purpose of this Masters project is to critically examine dynamics between the United States Forest Service (USFS) and the Kutzadika Paiute at Mono Mills California and examine it from two different theoretical anthropological points of view. The first will be applying a Weberian perspective to the United States Forest Service (USFS). The second point of view is from the Postmodernist perspective of the Kutzadika, a Native American community residing at Mono Lake, California. The goal of this project will be to use Weberian approaches and knowledge from post-structuralists Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, and interpretive theorist Clifford Geertz as the basis to propose a collaborative meeting between the USFS and the Kutzadika to create a plan to share protection of sacred indigenous burial grounds. Barbara Little and Jeremy Sabloff describe the value of doing public archaeology work. The idea of collaborative project work is from academic papers from Native American anthropologists perspectives, such as those proposed by Sonia Atalay, Vine Deloria, T.J. Ferguson, Tessie Naranjo, Davina Two-Bears, and Joe E. Watkins. Drawing on this literature, the project explores the topics of: How can Native Americans preserve their way of life and get what they want from the federal government? How can Native Americans understand the bureaucratic structure of the federal government, and with this knowledge use it to their advantage?

It is beneficial for Native Americans to use Weberian insight when examining the hierarchy and functions of the federal government. A bureaucracy is an relatively efficient, multi-tiered, regimented and compartmentalized structured entity that functions in a mechanical and impersonal manner to produce a result or answer. Governments and private businesses use bureaucracies, so it is advantageous for any outsider to know if he

or she must work with bureaucrats. It is prudent to become familiar with the workings of a particular bureaucracy to learn its idiosyncrasies, how to navigate through a maze of workers and procedures, expected timelines for decisions, and channels of operation through which requests and decisions will travel. Working with bureaucracies is like looking into one-way glass; a person only sees their reflection, but those behind the glass are in control and view the entire scene.

The Kutzadika will benefit by learning the inner workings of the local Bishop, California, District office of the USFS, and each higher administrative level of the USFS bureaucracy, its personnel and procedures to better strategize how, when, and to whom they should submit a request. By understanding how the USFS evaluates, decides and processes their requests, the Kutzadika can better anticipate whether the USFS will grant or deny their request for collaborative sacred site protection. The Kutzadika should read Max Weber's landmark article "Class, Status, Party" (1922) that explains in detail how a bureaucracy works. Weber also provides direction how to view a bureaucratic structure like the USFS through Native American eyes.

Weber's "Class, Status, Party" (1922) provides the reader with a blueprint to the analysis of societal hierarchies. He defines class by three principles, generally dealing with economic interests and causal life chance components. Choices within a community or choices a person makes to make a living, determines an individual's class. (1922: 98). Weber bases wealth, and ultimately class status, on land ownership. (1922: 99) This is critical to the theme of this essay; land that is under the jurisdiction of USFS is sacred Kutzadika Indian land, however, the Kutzadika do not have control or ownership of the land. Therefore, not being property owners in a Weberian perspective, the Kutzadika fall

into a lower class and have no power over the federal government or the land within control of the USFS. The Kutzadika do not own the land they consider sacred sites, therefore, not being property owners of this sacred Indian land, Native Americans must follow societal rules and laws created by the ruling class, the federal government. The ruling class is imbued with power in this analysis, and the power of the USFS influences governmental policy while diminishing power of the Kutzadika. When the Tribe becomes a stakeholder with a seat at the bargaining table, the Kutzadika, from a Weberian perspective, are not likely to be powerful stakeholders. Nonetheless, such equity is a powerful objective for the stakeholders to seek.

A Weberian view of this situation suggests class struggle between business owners and workers, or renters and landowners. Both groups have conflicting goals and values that make it very challenging to formulate cooperative solutions (1922:99). Weberians may see the Native American struggle as class strengthening because it forces people in the same class and situation to bond together against the federal government. The Native Americans want to create an opportunity to change something important in their lives by increasing protection of their sacred Indian burial sites, maintaining social honor, filial piety and ancestor worship. The USFS, however, does not see eye-to-eye with sharing power, and is unwilling to change, or even to raise the issue of land protection, all the while keeping power by retaining ownership of the land. This is not surprising approaching this from a Weberian perspective since the USFS can use its bureaucracy to shield itself from loss of power.

Weber's trademark is his study of the administrative system of hierarchical pyramid-shaped, entitled "Bureaucracy." Bureaucracies are impersonal hierarchies that

deal with a variety of functions in numerous settings. A bureaucracy allows many people to work together in mutually compatible ways to reach certain objectives and perform certain tasks. The bureaucracy clearly defines everyone's role. Work tasks are very specific since there is a very clear division of labor. Many written rules take the shape of lower level regulations, commonly called standard operating procedures. Bureaucracies apply policies all the way up to the highest levels of government. Decisions are usually top down, with middle level employees enforcing them, and ordinary workers make decisions functional (Weber, 1946:148-150).

Bureaucracies influence their employees and outsiders differently. Employees do routine, ministerial work within a limited range of tasks. Typically, employees only know how to do their specific job, but some employees do know how to do other jobs. Weber's model suggests that bureaucrats seldom know the underlying policies establishing why they must do specific job requirements and tasks; so, they merely function. Oftentimes, they function at very high levels that produce volumes of output. However, oftentimes employees are burdened with too much work and produce very little output. Once employees finish handling paperwork, the employees forwards it to the next employee who performs the next operation along the required path towards completion. By doing this on a daily basis, bureaucrats work together like interlocking gears (1946: 164-166).

Outsiders submit a request to the bureaucracy, and no communications among outsiders and bureaucrats occur. The outsider seldom learns of the progress, if any, the request gains. Typically, an outsider cannot find an employee who knows about any particular request, or what stage the request is currently. The first time the outsider learns about the progress of a request is when a decision arrives in the mail. One perspective is

that the outsider may view the bureaucracy as a dark, slow, unaccountable grinding machine where no one bureaucrat is at fault for any action or inaction since personal employee responsibility and accountability is irrelevant. Another perspective is that bureaucratic wheels do grind, that favorable results sometime occur, and an efficient bureaucracy is better than chaos.

According to Weber, the structure of state power strongly influences culture, its management form, and ability to control. Cultural demands depend on wealth, and increased bureaucratization is a sophisticated method of providing organization and structure to the materialistic demands of the masses. Materialism may consist of consumer goods, societal functions and values such as education, highways, waterways, and other items and activities requiring regulation (Weber 1946:163).

It is the precision, directness, efficiency, and lack of ambiguity that Weber raises as positive points of bureaucracies. Applying these qualities to the regulatory needs serves the public good. A trained bureaucracy is superior and cheaper, according to Weber (1946:165), to the traditional methods of honorific service.

In today's fast-paced, computerized world, some Weberians may argue that the bureaucracy is necessary more than ever before. However, other Weberians might see this structure as overly broad, therefore highly critical of its expanse. Technology speeds transactions efficiently and accurately, and a competent, highly structured organizational system can process digital information. Bureaucracies keep growing and adapting to the modern world, and in order to handle the global capitalistic marketplace and its billions of daily transactions the universal need for bureaucracies is mandatory. The more

sophisticated, complicated, and specialized modern culture becomes, the greater its need for bureaucracies (Weber 1946: 165).

Bureaucrats operate within the limitations of their jobs in calculable rules and do so dispassionately. Removing the emotional element and the humanizing aspect of wants and needs from processing and decision-making allows the machinery of a bureaucracy to grind and produce outcome. Emotions such as love, hatred, irrational and personal subjective elements are interferences in a bureaucracy, and their removal promotes the calculability of predictable results. Weberians see this as virtuous (1946:165,166).

Weber writes about applying law to bureaucratic reason, and concludes that bureaucracies deal well with reason. Behind every single bureaucratic act, there is either one of two reasons: following norms or balancing ends and means (1946:170). Weber then writes in extremely concrete, blunt language that the bureaucracy is all-powerful. The bureaucracy is "the means of carrying community action over into rationally ordered societal action" (1946:177). The bureaucracy is the instrument of power; he who has the power controls the bureaucracy. The completion of an administrative task creates an almost unbreakable power relation.

This brings Weberians to the ultimate point regarding equality: democracy. He presents a regrettable conclusion that we all wish that we did not have to recognize and accept, but unfortunately, we must; democracy promotes bureaucracy. Despite the fact that democracy opposes the needs, rules, effects, decisions, and lack of humanity, bureaucracies make democracies run (1946:180). However, a logical deduction of one effect of Weber's bureaucratic model is that the bureaucracy closes opportunities for some disenfranchised people or groups. This project suggests that one method for

alienated groups to gain access into the political, social and economic arenas is with the use of public archaeology; it can open up the worlds bureaucracies create. This is the precise position that relates to the issue at hand: the Kutzaedika at Mono Lake want to protect their sacred Indian grounds but the bureaucratic USFS is not cooperating, and it will take great effort, proper timing, and luck to create a collaborative agreement to protect sacred ground.

Weber influenced post-structuralist Clifford Geertz (1973) who advocates the use of symbolic anthropology. Weber used the term “verstehen,” the German infinitive meaning, “to understand,” to show empathy for those the anthropologist is trying to understand. Weber urges the anthropologist to grasp the meanings behind the informant’s behavior, as well as their motives.

It is Michael Herzfeld (2001) who credits Geertz with redirecting anthropological focus to meaning, and not onto an objectified form (2001: 13). Geertz (1973) observed that the Balinese are concerned with understanding the reason for their human existence rather than economic costs related to cockfighting. Geertz (1973: 477) credits Weber with the insight to require the anthropologist to increase the meaningfulness of the cockfights, and not take the activity at face value.

Geertz writes about thick description, the many layers of meaning that surround an event, such as a cockfight, which he hopes to discover and identify. He explains the extensive hierarchy of rules regarding the cockfight. Geertz mentions the power of the umpire, and the village chief as leaders of social structures, leading Geertz to recognize the bureaucracy within the cockfighting hierarchy. There are bets to be made, social status to be redefined or reassured, ritual to follow, and the reemphasis that Balinese

culture will continue. Each role is defined and understood by the participants, just as they are in a Weberian bureaucracy. It is arguable that both Geertz and Weberian perspectives on bureaucracies are closely aligned despite differences between an animal betting sport, and a governmental or corporate organization.

The Kutzadika Indians can view the situation of site protection at Mono Lake through the eyes of a Foucaultian poststructuralist. According to Herzfeld (2001), the poststructuralist views power as an act, and may be analyzed by viewing individual practices and patterns that power confirms or disrupts. The synthesizing and crystalizing of the activities of power are demonstrated in accordance with cultural rules, and interpreted by interested individuals. Foucault, writes Herzfeld, rejects any question about the legitimacy of power, also rejecting the inquiry into representation as a metaphysical component of the nature of power. In pragmatic terms, Foucault clearly states that power can be diffusely distributed (2001: 122-123, 188).

Jacques Derrida (1989), a French philosopher and post-structuralist, was highly influential in the poststructuralist movement and deeply influenced anthropology. Herzfeld, evaluating Derrida's discussion of Western values, understands Derrida's objective to determine what constitutes writing. Herzfeld argues that writing need not be in "graphological" representation. Western perspectives shape a hierarchical representation that is high prejudicial when it categorizes oral cultural as lesser or "archaic." Herzfeld notes that oral literature and oral poetry are examples of non-"graphological" communications that Western bias labels as lesser (2001: 246).

One of the original proponents of the post-processual approach is Ian Hodder (2012). He claims that it is impossible for archaeologists to interpret data and pre-

histories of cultural or ethnic groups that are not their own. Hodder sees the role of archaeologists is to provide people within the groups whose ancestral remains or artifacts are within the area under excavation, as the only ones to have the power to construct their points of view and have those views stand as authoritative. Hodder posits that archaeologists put too much bias in their own interpretation on the historical record (2012:16).

The Kutzadika, as well as all Indian tribes and communities, may use the Postmodernist and post-processual viewpoints, and the ideas of ethnographers, especially regarding voice and agency, against the federal government. As outsiders, the white man cannot possibly understand what the deeper meanings of Indian traditions, beliefs and ceremonies; only insiders can comprehend the true understanding of their culture. The USFS is unable to know the religious importance of sacred burial grounds because their subjective opinions are full of bias and do not matter. The Kutzadika are capable of speaking for themselves; they have their own voice and agency to protect their ancestral sacred sites.

In theory and practice, historical archaeology provides a means for the Kutzadika to gain additional voice and agency. Historical archaeology bridges the knowledge the Kutzadika gain by examining the Weberian bureaucracy with the post-modernist and post-processual positions of subjectivity, and can combine science and history with the archaeological record to create a collaborative agreement to protect sacred burial sites.

Perhaps one method for the Kutzadika to advance their desire for cultural and sacred site protection is to engage in historical archaeology, and begin by examining its theory. According to archaeology professor Barbara Little (2007), the field of historical

archaeology successfully crosses borders between theoretical perspectives, academic departments, history, sociology, and cultural studies. Little claims that applied research also utilizes critical race studies, museum and public history studies. She writes that the goals of historical archaeology go beyond professional goals towards the needs of the public and the participants who value the research and excavation gained from the archaeological record. Little (2007: 22) believes that the public benefits through knowledge and understanding of the data, as well as site usage and collection for educational purposes and community cohesion.

Additionally, Little writes that the documentary record is unlikely to be free of bias. Quite the opposite, it will denigrate the words of enslaved and disenfranchised people. What historical archaeology can do, Little believes, is to give voice to those people who the oppressors deem uncivilized and unworthy. With insight, Little states that understanding native peoples lives are worthy of study; therefore, questions about colonialization will need to change. She suggests asking how cultures that are under economic, political, social, military, and ideological domination to adapt, cope, resist, change and survive. These pressures lead to the anthropological concepts of acculturation, and according to Little's phraseology, "creolization," the blending of races and ethnic groups (2007: 55).

Little posits that public archaeology includes collaboration with communities to support and encourage civic engagement and civic renewal. A socially useful heritage, Little believes, produces and informs a community that is aware of its heritage and can figure out ways to use it in the present (2007: 136). The Kutzadika can definitely benefit by following her suggestions, and seek to engage the USFS in collaborative dialogue.

One of Little's most poignant writings is her section focusing on grassroots efforts, and advocating for governmental assistance in heritage areas. Estranged groups and the government must cooperate to work out issues that concern identity, power, and control of these heritage areas. Little also writes that in many cases, preservation of heritage areas is the key factor to identify, preserve, and characterize the history and heritage for local residents.

Of critical importance and relevance to Kutzadika sacred site protection is precisely what Little strongly argues for: social inclusion of unidentified and non-represented groups that are absent from the bargaining table. Social inclusion, Little continues, means expanding opportunities and interpretive space that encourage cultural transmission and community involvement. Once the community is involved, heritage issues surface, so it is useful for the community to engage in self-reflection, engage in dialogue, and plan goals for information they uncover and decisions that they must make (2007:140,141).

Another historical archaeologist who advocates for action archaeology is Jeremy Sabloff (2008), describing action archaeology as "involvement or engagement with the problems facing the modern world through archaeology." His intention is to work for living communities, and not just nearby or vicariously through them (2008: 17). Sabloff presents four themes in his book *Archaeology Matters* (2008), and they are worth noting. Sabloff's first theme is the archaeologist working to increase the potential for a sustainable future world by using specific, on-the-ground research projects, and through formulating general models showing successful or unsuccessful histories or trajectories of sustainable growth over substantially long periods. Warfare, Sabloff's second theme, is

not a biological imperative despite the fact that it is present in the archaeological record in pre-industrial times. The reasons for warfare, he claims, are for food, labor, and raw materials (2008: 66-67). Sabloff believes that archaeology can assist in answering questions regarding cities, his third theme, specifically, their well-being, environmental exploitation, security, and redevelopment within the goals of economic opportunity. Archaeology can preach for the need for urban environmental adaptation to promote long-term sustainability. The fourth theme, and germane to Kutzadika sacred site protection, is site preservation, artifact looting, tourism and its related economic developmental impact on archaeological sites and resources. He lists many descendant community projects to substantiate site preservation and its benefit to local economies and preservationists.

Sabloff discusses the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and the creation of the fascinating and very moving African-American Burial Grounds and Museum in Lower Manhattan, as example of how community involvement and rethinking archaeological collaboration with communities can lead to successful projects. He stresses the need for long-term context concerning the archaeological perspective rather than short-term fixes. Sabloff cautions about not shying away from engaging the public using archaeological data for political purposes; he encourages data sharing. Archaeologists, however, should exercise caution since groups tend to use evidence for their own means and construe data in their own ways (2008: 97-101). The Kutzadika do not have the population and power of the African American community in New York City, however, their goal of protecting sacred burial sites is the same. This lends credibility as a precedent, with the strong argument that a collaborative approach

avoids a prolonged disagreement and subsequent lawsuit that the African American Burial Grounds committee filed, and won.

It is possible for the Kutzadika to put archaeological theory into practice. One suggestion is deconstruct and decolonize archaeology. Native American professor and archaeologist Sonya Atalay (2006) advocates for a collaborative approach to decolonize the archaeology of indigenous peoples. Atalay proposes that to decolonize archaeology it needs to be deconstructed. This means viewing, researching, recovering and investigating Indigenous practices, experiences and traditional knowledge systems. She proposes that deconstructed archaeology can be global and collaborative among stakeholders and descendent communities (2006: 292). Atalay writes that the western archaeological approach is definitely scientific, but this polarizes the religious interests of indigenous peoples (2006: 295)

Indigenous archaeology seeks to place indigenous people in charge of setting their own agenda to investigate their own heritage. This includes, according to Atalay, asking questions, determining what and where to excavate, interpreting history, and disseminating knowledge reflecting their systems of cultural resource management. By following this model, indigenous people engage in counter-discourse that redirects conversation back to colonizers and their interpretations (2006: 294). This counter-discourse takes Foucault a step further than his argument to deconstructing texts to unveil the true discourse; counter-discourse redirects the deconstructed discourse in the direction indigenous communities choose to take.

Atalay suggests a combined set of theories and practices to blend the shared interests of indigenous groups with the archaeologists to produce an ethical and socially

constructive rebuilding of cultural heritage. She advocates indigenous peoples research history, science and heritage management to blend with Western archaeology, thus producing an ethical and socially just model of decolonized archaeology. (2006: 297). A consideration is to view indigenous archaeology in the context of post-processual theory. In the past, archaeologists were subject to criticism for not being members of the indigenous group under study, as well as ignoring the wishes and beliefs of the descendants. This explains the development of Cultural Resources Management archaeology (CRM), and public archaeology. Atalay contends this extends further towards the theory of decolonization of society and archaeology (2006: 284, 292). In sum, Atalay states that one group, particularly colonizers, cannot control all the knowledge from archaeology and the archaeological record. All research should be public (2006: 301).

T.J. Ferguson (1996) writes about the expansion of Cultural Resource Management (CRM), and its placement from university control, into the commercial and corporate arena. The growth of CRM moves archaeology more clearly into the political domain. NAGPRA has much to do with the growth of CRM, Ferguson writes, and the need for CRM is greatest where Native Americans perceive archaeological heritage sites need protection (1996:65,66). Ferguson points out that Native American remains and artifacts on private property belong to private individuals. However, when investigations are on federal or tribal lands, Native Americans must engage in consultation with archaeologists, which provides for greater opportunity for collaboration.

Other applicable laws other than NAGPRA are the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, known as ARPA (PL 96–95), and the National Historic

Preservation Act of 1966, known as NHPA (PL 74–292). Stakeholders must consider Native American values for the management of archaeological sites and historical properties. The NHPA also requires that stakeholders must take Native American religious and cultural importance to sites and buildings, including cultural properties of sacred sites, natural resource collection areas, and some ancestral archaeological sites on the National Register of Historic Places.

Ferguson (1996) believes that the inability to mitigate adverse impact to cultural property, particularly sacred sites, produces a quandary for Native Americans and collaborating archaeologists. The NHPA allows tribes to implement historic preservation programs, and more importantly, share work, management and compliance responsibilities with the historic preservation officers. This scenario exists with the Kutzadika and the USFS.

Tribes have the power to decide how archaeologists should handle archaeological findings, rather than having the federal government make those decisions (Ferguson 1996: 67). NAGPRA requires archaeologists to create new work strategies to collaborate with Native American tribes, and change the colonizing archaeological perspective to one of inclusion to develop better relationships with Native Americans. The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) also assisted in creating a more cooperative working environment and reshaping archaeological attitude towards collaborative workings with Native Americans (Ferguson 1996: 67; saa.org/repatriation issues).

Native American interest in archaeological activity increased dramatically in the last 20 years. Ferguson (1996: 69) writes that many tribes now have historic preservation programs, on-the-job training with archaeologists, work-study programs, resource

management seminars, museum work, and educational programs (1996: 69). Ferguson urges that important underlying issues can be reconciled through negotiation. For example, opposing scientific and Native American worldviews and points of view can be resolved through discussion (1996: 70).

Ferguson examines the post-processual archaeological approach. One view is to allow and encourage Native Americans with their own oral traditions to create a past that is relevant to them. However, the post-processual approach is often controversial within the Native American communities because topics of renewed interest can be controversial. For example, religion, power, gender roles, treatment of the dead and their artifacts, and authority structures may not be appropriate topics for all indigenous groups. Ferguson then writes a very powerful comment that directly applies to this paper and that is "By establishing and building on cooperative relationships, archaeologists and Native Americans can be powerful allies in efforts to preserve archaeological resources from alluding or development" (Ferguson 1996: 74). Without doubt, this statement is the essence of this writer's position and efforts.

A famous Native American taking the postmodernist approach is Vine Deloria Jr. (1969). He advocates for a nationwide re-examination of the ways that colonizing society handles their relationships and interactions with Native Americans. A multitude of issues face Native Americans: issues of land trusteeships, the loss of land acquisition rights, broken treaties, a tax exemption status, the promotion to farmer status rather than back to hunter-gatherer status, and a host of other concerns plague them (1969: 31). Deloria demands that the United States should stop trying to fool the rest of the world about its intentions because US has always been "a militarily imperialistic world power eagerly

grasping for economic control over weaker nations" (1969: 51). Deloria makes no secret of his dislike for anthropologists, and is highly critical of their motivations, justifications, mindset, financial effects, and points of view. Deloria despises the feeling that some anthropologists claim they are helping to bring Indians into a civilized world (Deloria 1969: 93-100).

Deloria pens with biting sarcasm. His discussion of bureaucracies within the government agencies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is humorous but may represent a common perspective of native peoples. He urges viewing the bureaucratic nature of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in a political sense. His writings describe how bureaucrats and congressional representatives struggle to deal with Indian issues but always manage to avoid doing something for the betterment of the Native American population (Deloria 1969: 125-145). The Postmodernist view is that bureaucrats and congressional representatives are unable to do anything beneficial because they will never understand another's culture. Politicians and office workers flounder or ignore the reality of the needs of other cultures.

Davina Two-Bears (2006) also sets forth the Postmodernist approach by flatly rejecting the need for federal legislation of sacred site protection. Since the Navajo cherish their land, they learned it to care for it and have done so for centuries. Therefore, Two-Bears announces, Navajo make excellent archaeologists. Navajo students, Two-Bears writes, are learning CRM techniques, how to collaborate with non-Navajo coworkers, learning federal law and policies and engaging in field school training. Once again, the Weberian bureaucracy shows itself to the Native Americans regarding

archaeological site protection and cultural values that clash with Navajo beliefs (2006:382).

Digging in sacred sites is a terrible thing for a Navajo to do. Therefore, contradicting the bureaucratic requirements to perform archaeological work and then undergo student training in archaeology seems to be an oxymoron. Navajo archaeologists record sites, and then avoid them rather than excavate. However, explaining archaeological work in the Navajo language to community members usually facilitates the community accepting the work and notice (Two-Bears 2006: 384). Two-Bears writes about archaeological training programs, and how Navajos, not non-Navajos, should occupy the highest positions within archaeology and historic preservation departments. Her worry is that Navajo archaeology departments are constantly seeking financial sources run the risk of closing (2006:386).

Another author who outright rejects an archaeological approach is Tessie Naranjo (1995), a member of the Santa Clara Pueblo. This Postmodernist approach refuses to acknowledge science as a basis for understanding the migration of the Santa Clara Pueblo. Naranjo claims that the Pueblo know their stories about movements from one locale to another. Naranjo claims that the Pueblo are more interested in the bigger picture rather than the details archaeologists tend to focus upon (Naranjo 1995: 247). The Pueblo also value storytelling, and story details are not crucial to the knowing of the story. Every Pueblo tells a story a different way, and they see this all as true because the details are unimportant. Naranjo continues that every truth and every person is valid. (Naranjo 1995: 249). Naranjo concludes that for the Indian, knowledge comes from within people and the community, and arises from consensus. The stories validate the power and force of

movement of the Pueblo, not scientific data that comes from outside sources (Naranjo 1995:250).

This project shows that a problem in Mono Lake, California, can take on Weberian, post-structuralist, postmodern, and post-processual theoretical approaches, public archaeology theory, public archaeology practice, and practical approaches. The Weberian approach requires the onlooker to study the interaction between the Kutzadika and the USFS as a matter of typical bureaucratic functioning. Inaction, delays, avoidance, and potential corrections at the local level are all within the administrative specialization of a bureaucracy. The Postmodernist rejects the necessity of a bureaucracy because a hierarchical structure of outside agencies and government officials do not understand the deeper meaning and values of another culture. The Postmodernist views the Weberian bureaucracy as an overly reifying structure that ignores the role of cultural authority, the power to make truth claims, and assert its power.

These anthropological schools of thought genuinely reflect the viewpoints and situations at Mono Lake, and the challenge will be to find common ground to create an agreement despite the different anthropological viewpoints. Atalay's (2006) suggestion is to start with the cultural groups in descendent communities, and allow these groups to determine if outside archaeological intervention is desirable. Groups can debate topics such as how much intervention is desirable, a power structure, rights of possession of artifacts, interpretations of history, and museum displays. After the descendent community decides how much non-Native archaeological invention is allowed, and the purposes for the intervention, the archaeological community can look to the interests of other stakeholders and the public for their input and assistance (Atalay 2006: 300).

The USFS, through the Bishop, California regional office, will advance many arguments regarding the protection of sacred Indian land at Mono Lake. No doubt their arguments will be the lack of law enforcement officers, lack of funding and budget cutbacks, low priority, lack of manpower and willingness to get the Kutzadika to help, and the unwillingness to release or share power over the sacred Indian ground. The USFS is an enormous bureaucracy with an extensive inventory of forestland to regulate. The efficiency under which they operate is bureaucratically sound; it meets all of the aforementioned elements posited by Weber. The officials within the administration can argue that the specialize nature of job skills that are necessary to control this vast amount of land within the Bishop region of Forest Service land is simply beyond the ability of an untrained individual. USFS bureaucrats will undoubtedly worry about liability issues if any Kutzadika suffer an injury by looters pilfering artifacts from the site. If the USFS is legally responsible for injury to a nongovernmental volunteer, the bureaucratic regulatory scheme will jeopardize the chance for any collaborative action.

An interesting approach may be a blending of the Weberian, post-structuralist, and Postmodernist perspectives. As Watkins (2003) points out, the joint stewardship of land requires indigenous groups and the archeological community to reconstruct the living history of past events. This requires knowledge, research, histories, culture, collection and collecting work, stories and interpretation by all concerned groups. No group, particularly any group with a Western oriented perspective, has the right to interpret the past, control it, speak about it, display it, or profit from it. Watkins resounding states that the land is more than a merely source for data collection; ancestors and spirits live there, and have influence on modern life (Watkins 2003:277). Certainly,

no outside group such as the USFS can interpret the religious significance of the Kutzadika sacred burial ground and claim it unworthy of protection.

III. METHODS

The objective of this research project is to explore the available evidence, avenues and potential for a collaborative site protection agreement by using qualitative methods, and, if possible, produce a deliverable of a site protection agreement covering at least one sacred site. The techniques of in-depth interviewing, observation, and document analysis were used to explore themes of each stakeholders' motivations and values regarding cultural resource protection, inequalities and legacies of historical power structures in the Basin, and resource management perspectives.

At appropriate times, this writer disclosed to the parties that during various phases of this project he assumed different roles. During interviews, the introductory phase setting up a meeting, and during a collaborative meeting, I announced that as a Master's degree student, this issue is the focus of my Master's project. As a caveat, I stated that obtaining the Master's degree, and successfully completing this project with a deliverable joint protection agreement, was my primary objective. As a student in the Master of Applied Anthropology program, I agreed to be neutral during interviews and meetings.

During the meeting that would be the critical focal point of this project, I acted as a mediator, urging the stakeholders to reach common understandings to create an agreement. This was successful; the stakeholders agreed that a sacred site at the Pumice Mine site needed joint protection, and they would cooperate to ensure its safety.

Timeline

In the summer of 2012, I participated in the Mono Mills Field School, and by chance and luck stumbled into this unique scenario: the law enforcement officer of the

USFS approached Professors Sunseri requesting to see their permit to excavate. The Law Enforcement Officer (LEO) did not anticipate seeing a permit but was visibly upset to see the produced permit issued without his knowledge. He was greatly annoyed that bureaucratic coworkers did not notify him of the issuance of the permit. He is always concerned for his safety when approaching sacred burial sites or historic sites for fear of encountering looters.

The LEO granted an interview about his precarious situation as the sole LEO for the Bishop Office region of the Inyo National Forest. Another meeting then followed with the archaeologist and liaison from USFS, a Kutzadika representative, Professor Charlotte Sunseri, Professor Jun Sunseri, and myself. These two meetings shaped this Masters project and research design project, and set up the problem to be addressed: can these two groups meet again in good faith to discuss cooperative arrangements to protect sacred Kutzadika sites, and thereby assist the LEO and USFS in their responsibility as the forestland stewards? What is at stake for each party with respect to treatment of this site and the USFS lands, and what are the primary concerns of each party?

Ethnographic and oral interviews were conducted with individuals from the Kutzadika, the Kutzadika Tribal Council, and the Forest Service to gain their perspectives and positions on sacred site protection. The Kutzadika Tribal Council included the elected chairperson and a contingent of elders who speak for its community. Some of the remaining Kutzadika are still in the Mono Lake area. Others, however, have sought employment elsewhere and could not be interviewed.

The interested personnel for the Forest Service are expected to include the staff archaeologists, Tribal Relations officer, and law enforcement officers, who will voice

their concerns about shared sacred site protection. At this point in time, there was little communication between the Tribal Council and the USFS. There were personnel changes made within the USFS, and the lack of continuity slowed the possibility of continuous, meaningful communication. This project stagnated because there was no progress made towards scheduling or attempting to schedule a face-to-face meeting between the stakeholders.

I initiated email contact with USFS archaeologist and tribal liaison Jacqueline Beidl suggesting that Kutzadika Tribal Council was interested in meeting to formulate an agreement for joint sacred site protection. The Forest Service archaeologist responded with an email stating he or she was receptive to the idea of a meeting, and that I should recontact when my idea was further solidified.

I turned to Professors Charlotte Sunseri and Jan English-Lueck for their assistance, and an idea was proposed to encourage the scheduling of a meeting for joint sacred site protection. The proposal was to be called a Strategic Plan, wherein I would offer my services, either as a neutral go-between to both stakeholders to help them write their positions and concerns and present it to the other stakeholder, or a take on a more formal role as attorney advocate. In essence, I would be assisting in the drafting process, and shuttling between the stakeholders with the stakeholder's written positions and exchanging drafts in an effort to bring the stakeholders closer together on the strengths and challenges to formulating a joint sacred site protection agreement.

To initiate this process, I took the advice of Professors Sunseri and English-Lueck and drafted a Strategic Plan. Then, I emailed both the USFS and the Tribal Council to offer my services in accordance with the Strategic Plan. The content of the Strategic Plan

requested that both stakes draft, with or without my assistance, a position paper that stated their proposals and concerns for joint sacred site protection. The position papers would be exchanged, with or without my help, and the process would continue as long as necessary until the likelihood of a stakeholder's meeting was possible. The Strategic Plan is in the Appendix section of this project.

After the completion of the Strategic Plan, I telephoned and emailed the field archaeologist and Tribal Council chairwoman Charlotte Lange, and attached my Strategic Plan that suggested my willingness to assist in the formulation of a joint sacred site protection agreement. After a very short period of time, telephone contact was reinitiated with both stakeholders, and they expressed willingness to meet. It can be assumed that the combination of telephoning, emailing, and the Strategic Plan provided the impetus for the stakeholders to meet. Either stakeholder did not request my drafting assistance, and this was also taken as an encouraging sign.

The Kutzadika Tribal Council meets on the first Friday of every month in Lee Vining, California, and Tribal Council chairwoman Charlotte Lange placed the field archaeologist and I, and the topic of sacred site protection, on the January 6, 2017, Tribal Council agenda. Regrettably, a snowstorm, coupled with flooded conditions, prevented travel to the Tribal Council meeting on this date. Therefore, our participation and a sacred site protection agreement agenda item was postponed to the February 3rd, 2017, Tribal Council meeting. Regrettably, the February 3rd meeting was also postponed due to inclement weather.

Fortunately, another opportunity arose; the Forest Service archaeologist and I attended the Society of California Archaeologists annual conference on March 10, 2017,

in Fish Camp, California. I arranged a meeting, and scheduled a conference call with the Tribal Chair, the Forest Service archaeologist, and myself on that same day. Persistence prevailed. After my prompting and encouragement during the conference call, Tribal chair Charlotte Lange raised what has become the object of the deliverable joint protection agreement.

The conference call revealed an important concern the Tribal Council had regarding protection of a sacred site on federal land that requires the assistance and cooperation of the Forest Service archaeologist and representatives of a pumice excavation company that owns land surrounding an open, uncovered Kutzadika women's ritual bathing and purification site. The women's bathing site is approximately 15 feet below surface level, and is surrounded by rock containing vulva carvings, and a small basin once filled with water from a natural spring.

Sampling Strategy and Variables

In this ethnography there are two groups; the Kutzadika and the USFS. Informants needed to be selected from both groups. Feedback was necessary to understand the breadth of the issues. The sampling variables of informants for the USFS include stratification by job, responsibilities and power by job classification, and identifying whether the informant is a gatekeeper or a decision-maker. For the Kutzadika, sampling variables include age, rank within the tribal government, status as an employee of the Forest Service, place of residence, and proximity to Mono Lake.

The underlying purpose of selecting variables that focus on the bureaucratic hierarchy is to identify the sources of power, the policy reasons directing the use of those powers, the path needed to create and reach a collaborative agreement, and the rationales that can lead to successes or obstacles. For the USFS, the organizational variables will be a job status, job power, and the decision-making capability to bind USFS to an agreement. For the Kutzadika, the tribal council is the presumed decision-making body. It must be determined whether a council decision represents the voice of the Kutzadika community. Organizational variables will help determine that if the tribal council reaches an agreement, can that be challenged in court by a tribal member, by the USFS or a third party not privy to an agreement.

Methods Applied to Project

The methods of this project include ethnographic interview, observation, and document analysis. All interviewees were provided with an informed consent document; only those individuals providing consent were interviewed. Interviews were conducted in locations most accessible and comfortable for interviewees, typically in their homes, the Lee Vining Museum, and Mono Lake Community Center. All interviews were completed and recorded with an audio recording device, and then transcribed. Prior transcribed interviews conducted with the Kutzadika streamlined the interview process. The willingness of Forest Service personnel to cooperate in interviews was determined internally within the organization. The information from these interviews allowed this writer to evaluate the positions of the participants regarding site protection and land management and used to determine an approach to schedule and frame a meeting.

The information gathered from the interviews is the subject matter research for the project. The research information provided by all the stakeholders was analyzed to determine their interest in sacred site protection, and this research information was distributed among the shareholders to promote transparency. The research information served as the basis for the collaborative process attempting to secure a joint sacred site protection agreement.

Donileen Loseke (2013) writes that in-depth interviewing promotes extended discussion with the respondents that can measure the complexity of how people think and feel about the complications of the topics. She cautions that in-depth interviews are very time-consuming and only generate data from few respondents. Therefore, the results cannot be generalized beyond the sample (Loseke 2013:90). Interview questions focused on the aspects of the organizations, their values and concerns for the land and sites. Topical interview questions include the following:

- How much of a priority is protection of sacred sites located on USFS land?
- Does the USFS and the Bishop Office understand and appreciate the Kutzadika spiritual beliefs that protection of sacred sites is necessary and obligatory upon them?
- Do the Kutzadika understand and recognize that the USFS is understaffed and underfunded, making protection of sacred sites very difficult, despite their willingness to protect the sacred sites?

- How much time, or what percentage of the LEO's workload should be, and is devoted to sacred site protection? Does the USFS believe, and do the Kutzadika believe that current LEO protection of sacred sites is adequate?
- If current protection of sacred sites is inadequate, are the USFS and the Kutzadika open to negotiating a collaborative agreement for sacred site protection?

After the interviews were transcribed in full, I selected relevant testimony regarding age, rank within the tribal government, status as an employee of the Forest Service, place of residence, and proximity to Mono Lake to be coded by hand. Additionally, with observation and documentary data, they were evaluated and analyzed. My determination was to schedule a meeting with the stakeholders. Unless there were agreements with the stakeholders ahead of time, documents were exchanged for review by the other stakeholder. An underlying premise is full and fair disclosure afforded to both stakeholders. This writer is keenly aware that there was, is, or will be confidential internal USFS memorandum and various documents that the Kutzadika, and potentially us, will not be able to see. As LeCompte and Schensul (2013) write, "...researchers must seek to define as data those elements that present phenomena through the eyes of the community members themselves." (2010: 145)

The technique of observation is to empirically analyze how people actually act, rather than how they claim they act. Again, as with in-depth interviews, meanings and motivations cannot always be measured. (Loseke 2013: 90) The observation phase of the

project mainly was conducted at organizational events and meetings, including tribal council meetings and public community meetings.

Document analysis was used throughout the research. Documents, transcripts, court or policy proceedings and bulletins may lead to social products. As one would expect, documents are data and do not show how people interpret the contained information. (Loseke 2013:90) The primary documents for study include prior interviews with and oral histories of the Kutzadika, relevant tribal council records and minutes, relevant burial records of the remains at the sacred sites, relevant records of previous sacred site protection efforts by the Kutzadika and the USFS, relevant policy statements, directives, testimonies or bulletins issued by the USFS at either the federal, regional or local levels, prior agreements for site protection with Native American tribes, communities or groups, and relevant prior interviews with USFS personnel.

Themes and Variables of Study

What are the barriers preventing the Mono Lake Paiute Kutzadika Indian community and the United States Forest Service from sharing or opposing perspectives about site protection and management, and how can these stakeholders work together to jointly protect sacred Indian sites at or near Mono Lake, California?

In order for the Kutzadika and the USFS to proceed to the negotiating table, both sides needed to understand each other's values and position. This is akin to the litigation process of discovery, a mechanism whereby the parties in a lawsuit exchange information and answers so that everyone is aware of litigants and witnesses' opinions, facts and

beliefs. The results of discovery promote arriving at the truth, thereby encouraging parties to seek settlement.

For this project, the information was obtained by interview with stakeholders, and then exchanged. In essence, the interviews are the required information, and the information gained from the interviews is the results. By disclosing how all the stakeholders feel about preserving sacred sites and protecting cultural resources, the stakeholders can appreciate how the other side views sacred site protection. After the stakeholders reviewed the information resulting from the oral interviews, a meeting was scheduled to bring all the stakeholders together, keeping the goal in mind to create an agreement for sacred site protection.

In order to make any progress towards a negotiated agreement, it was necessary to conduct research. As an anthropologist, the most complete method to gather research in this situation is first person accounts in the form of oral interviews. These oral interviews are the information. Without this information there was no possibility of a meeting.

It must be kept in mind that this is both an applied project. The information must be current, relevant and beneficial so it can be applied to the goal. Since this is a real world problem, success depends on the research results applied in a pragmatic way. Thus, this I obtained results at the same time as fulfilling the role of anthropologist. This allowed me to interview, obtain results, synthesize and apply the results to act as a neutral mediator and facilitator coordinating the meeting to promote communication and cooperation, and attempt to obtain a negotiated agreement.

The cultural variables focus on the status, positions and opinions of the stakeholders based on their viewpoints formulated from their employment or heritage.

This project does not focus on the interior workings of the USFS. The purpose is to determine who has the power to bind the USFS to an agreement with the Kutzadika, what factors are decisions based on, to what extent and value the USFS places on site protection, and if the USFS will see an agreement as precedent setting evidence for Kutzadika federal tribal recognition. For the Kutzadika, cultural variables will be age, status, interest in preserving sacred sites, physical proximity to the site, willingness to volunteer to guard the site, whether payment for a security guard is required to guard the site, and most importantly if there is the desire or interest to have the site protected.

If there are gatekeepers within the Kutzadika community, they must be identified before proceeding to participant observation. The participant observation phase may be a moot point at this stage because no sacred site protection by the Kutzadika is currently in progress.

Since I worked alone, the goal was to avoid repeated interviews, with the first and only interviewing being effective and informative. With USFS, the situation becomes more difficult. There is no requirement or legal process to mandate any employee of the USFS to agree to an interview. Thus far, there is only one employee who I was aware of who was willing to participate in a second interview. The first one was done during the field school in 2012. Subsequent conversation revealed that this USFS employee no longer held the LEO position and he refused to participate further in this project. Any USFS employee could simply refuse to be an informant, or could be told by superiors not to disclose information. The hope was that the decision-makers would participate in an interview to provide enough information to move forward. An additional goal was to discover what the USFS would agree to or set conditions for sacred site protection. It

could be that an agreement acknowledging that no further use of or impact of tribal recognition be used as evidence from this effort. A stipulation in an agreement may be limited in sphere and focus, and not be used as evidence for tribal recognition by the federal government. If there were obstacles, the hope was to uncover them so they could be corrected in the future to promote safe site protection.

Expectations

One might expect in this project that, due to a lack of precedent, the USFS would not enter into a collaborative agreement with the Kutzadika. I expected that the USFS would be unwilling to create a cooperative agreement with the Kutzadika because of the lack of precedent, and the existence of so many variables. The issue of site protection must be of minimal concern, if any concern at all, to the USFS. Presumably, it sees the Kutzadika as a non-issue that can be easily avoided. The USFS responsibilities are many, the size of land jurisdiction is large, it is understaffed and underfunded, and the Kutzadika are a powerless group of a few elderly Native Americans. There is no reason for the USFS to concern itself with site protection of a very minor, insignificant community of ancestral remains. Much looting has already occurred on this land, therefore much damage has already been done, and perhaps the worst is already over. To use a trite idiom, the USFS has bigger fish to fry.

A reasonable prediction was that since there is no precedent for a jointly protected USFS sacred site on forestland cooperatively guarded by a citizens group of Native Americans applying for federal tribal recognition, no agreement would occur. Furthermore, assuming there is no precedent, the USFS would make this particular issue

a precedent looked at nationwide. Should something go wrong, the USFS officials who made this decision to cooperatively guard sacred sites will lose esteem in the eyes of the eyes of their superiors and perhaps be demoted on the grounds of poor judgment. If, however, other precedent exists in other jurisdictions between a joint citizens group seeking tribal recognition and the USFS to guard sacred sites, there are other variables that need to be considered. They include how much land is involved, how many LEO's are working with in that jurisdiction, are there budget problems within that USFS office area, how much looting has occurred on that USFS land, how many sacred sites there are within that jurisdiction, and how many tribes in the area are willing to help guard the sacred sites.

The Kutzadika had everything to gain by seeking an agreement with the USFS. The religious importance of cemetery sites and sacred or ceremonial sites is understood; their ancestors rest in the Earth in land that is sacred. Spirits rest in their souls and remains and deserve to be undisturbed. Therefore, since this topic is understood by every school-aged child in the country, the genuine belief in sacred sites is not a variable. The variables will focus on Tribal Council approval, and the practical aspects of guarding the site.

IV. RESULTS

The focus and goal of this project was to build a bridge between the Forest Service, a recognized bureaucracy, and the marginalized Kutzadika community by deconstructing the obstacles separating them. The task for this project was how to find a way to open the world up between the Forest Service and marginalized Kutzadika community, and to create dialogue leading to protection of indigenous sacred sites. The remedy was public archaeology, and its invitation to provide voice and agency to the Kutzadika community, and promote joint stewardship of sacred sites.

It was opportune at this point in the project to review the themes stemming from the theory behind this project. As a starting point, it was necessary to acknowledge that inequalities exist in this scenario in two realms: the Euro-American and Native American, and the other being the power holder juxtaposed against marginalized peoples.

It is a matter of acknowledging history showing that colonizers established Weberian bureaucratic power structures. These structures kept colonizing societies together and marginalized peoples suppressed. The resulting inequalities in the power structures left many people disenfranchised and subservient to the colonizers.

To determine the needs of the Kutzadika community, numerous prominent Tribal members were interviewed by members of the San Jose State University field school. I read each transcribed interview, and conducted a few interviews myself. After finding criteria that was of concern to each informants, I created a grid of all the criteria. I tabulated each concern by hand by scoring the responses into the appropriate category. The results were clear; protecting sacred sites, specifically respect for the dead, was an overwhelmingly important concern.

To demonstrate the importance Kutzadika have for ancestors and their burial places, an excerpt from the interview with Cecil Rambeau and Leroy Williams shows the significance of remembrance:

“In between [the houses] there was a grave, but I don’t much remember, well above there you know you were talking about those rocks. They’re a little above your house. That was a grave, I can’t quite remember.” (Cecil)

“Like I say, they never told us where this grave was. They don’t point it out. Some families do, and we go back and remember. Out of respect you brought flowers, not [frank] flowers.” (Leroy)

An interview with Auggie Hess also points out the long-standing relationship the Kutzadika had with the land, and the preservation and remembrance of their ancestors. In response to a question about whether his family retained or lost some of the Indian ways and customs after his Paiute mother and Swiss father got married, Auggie discussed the importance of burial grounds and respect for the ancestors. He mentioned that there was no need for family compromise or tensions, and that Paiute ways were passed on to the children because of time spent with his mother and her family.

“My dad was a nice going... he always kinda go-happy and everything was okay with him. But they do have a grave there at Rush Creek where all the old people got buried. That is where Young Charlie is buried... There is an old Indian cemetery there. And there is a lot of old timers buried there. But my grandmother was buried out here in the Mono Lake Cemetery. And all my brothers, my two brothers are buried there and my mother and dad are buried. Mono Lake Cemetery they call it.” (Auggie)

The pattern of remembrance and using graveyards as important sacred sites and cultural landmarks is referenced in an interview with Joe Sam. When asked what documentation, papers, pictures might contribute to the Kudzedika case for federal recognition, Sam mentioned a cemetery in use in the 1940s. This cemetery, and others like it, represent places of remembrance and value to the community and are not currently used for new

burials. Some of these locations are not on public lands or places where there is open access, but are still in community memory.

“In fact there is a cemetery that we went to a while ago. That has been there since when...The grave is from 1902. My great-grandmother is buried there.” (Joe)

An interview that I conducted with a Forest Service Law Enforcement Officer (LEO) also sheds light on the vital need for sacred site protection, as well as the safety of individuals patrolling Forest Service land. He highlights the problems of Paiute sharing sensitive knowledge about sites with individuals outside the tribe.

“Some of the problem with arch[aeology] stuff is the inability to exchange information, and some of the fault is on our side. Our staff archaeologist has a better understanding than I do about what is sensitive, and can be looted. I don’t know enough about it, and I feel that I don’t get enough information about it... So, I may be walking into a bad [looter] situation right from the start but be completely unaware of it.” (LEO)

This LEO identified particular policies and structural limitations of the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management. He points out both issue of safety of individuals patrolling Forest Service land and inability to adequately provide protection for cultural and sacred sites which results from this type of gaps in the information shared with non-archaeology staff. Other issues are more structural, highlighting the problems of Paiute sharing sensitive knowledge about sites with individuals outside the tribe.

Primarily, he points out problems accessing protected site information from inside the Forest Service as well as the Bureau of Land Management.

“Another problem I have with these arch sites is time, time and limited patrol. But, that’s a reoccurring problem in all law enforcement agencies. The best I can do is to give the perception of control. ...There is a policy that after darkness I cannot patrol by myself. If something bad is going to happen, it can happen in the middle of the day or the dead of night.” (LEO)

“We don’t currently have a compatible system where I can go in---we currently have a database where I enter my reports and information---and I can go in and look up incident reports my fellow officers have done. But this data base system is incompatible with the system the bureau of Land Management has. A majority of Native American sites are on BLM land. We tend to have the higher elevation forested country, and BLM has lower elevation land. I have no other way to access BLM information other than by calling a BLM officer. The best way to solve a problem is to have as many facts about an area as you can possibly have, such as where it’s located and what problem are being seen. A lot of times we simply just don’t have the information. This makes it problematic.” (LEO)

While site locations and descriptions are confidential and shared professionally among archaeologists, they are protected by law. This creates a setting in which Paiute can’t access what information is being made available to other archaeologists or to easily directly communicate with law enforcement or archaeologists about the sites of particular concern to them.

“There is a small band of Native Americans and they have knowledge of the area but they may not want to share that information with us or the agency. There may always be, and I don’t want to call it fractured, but a damaged relationship that is ongoing and always trying to build a bridge. I can certainly understand their reluctance and not want to share the information...If we exercise control over an area of land, the hierarchy of the Forest Service thinks it knows what is best, but sometimes it doesn’t. I think that lack of information is one of the biggest issues we face in trying to protect some of these sites... I would think that even once a year, folks from the Forest Service, law enforcement folks from BLM, the archaeologists representing those agencies, a District ranger, and whoever else we may need, and we could all sit down and collaborate and discuss what we see as a problem in this area.” (LEO)

The most startling and glaring fact that comes out of these interviews is the request that sacred sites protection is of great value to both stakeholders; they want this same thing. All of the interviewees share this common goal, therefore this begs the question: what prevents them from collaborating more often to solve the issue of sacred site protection? Each stakeholder knows what the other stakeholder values. Each stakeholder knows each other’s limitations. The obvious answer is rich, meaningful, open

communication and collaborative effort between the stakeholders to provide the forum for mutually beneficial sacred site protection and problem solving. The law enforcement for the Forest Service indicates that the result of this type of collaboration could both protect sites against looting, as well as have a better chance of sharing information which might result in prosecution of a looter who is active across multiple locales.

With the stakeholders' mutual concerns as the impetus for the selection of this project topic, the need for my intervention to facilitate a problem-solving collaborative joint sacred site meeting between the stakeholders was clearly established. The meeting that followed between the Forest Service archaeologist and tribal chairperson Charlotte Lange on March 10, 2017, held by conference call, is the culmination of all the work of this project. It produce the deliverable joint site protection agreement.

Prior to the March 2017 conference call, both the Forest Service archaeologist and the Tribal Chairperson had prior interactions, are on collegial, working and speaking terms, and consider themselves to have a good working relationship. The Forest Service archaeologist and I originated the conference from the Tenaya Lodge in Fish Camp, California, while attending the Society of California Archaeology Conference. Tribal chairperson Charlotte Lange was at another location in Southern California. By using the speaker feature on my cell phone, the Forest Service archaeologist and I were able to hear and speak to the Tribal chair. I also used an electronic tablet to record the conference call for transcription. The entire conversation in the conference call was cordial and informal, taking a relaxed tone.

The Kutzadika sacred sites that were disclosed to me, and some were mentioned during the conference call, are documented by my GPS sightings, but for reasons of

confidentiality are not listed in the appendix. The Forest Service, pursuant to law, protects these sites. The tribal chair was satisfied that the Forest Service is monitoring these historic cemeteries. However, Chairperson Lange made the Forest Service archaeologist aware of a concern that previously was not considered a problem. One ceremonial site, containing pumice outcrops with vulva features carved in relief into the rock, is located near Mono Lake and is described as a female ritual bathing practices site. The tribal chair indicated that the site is part of a pumice mine located on was once under the ownership of the federal government, then was transferred to the pumice mine company, but then reverted back to the federal government and placed under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service. The Forest Service archaeologist acknowledged the responsibility of the Forest Service to preserve and to protect the ritual bathing site containing the carved reliefs. Photos of the reliefs are attached in the appendix. Presenting the tribe's concerns about this site and its protection, Chairperson Lange voiced concerns which were new to the Archaeologist.

“One of our concerns by the pumice mine, and we fear that they are going to cover that over at some point, and we're not going to have that saved. I know that is public land, but the tribe had some concerns about that, and we're going to lose that so we need to figure out some way to protect it... So, that is one of the Tribe's biggest concerns at this point.” (Tribal Chair).

Responding that the US Forest Service has some artifacts from that area that they also wish to repatriate, the Forest Archaeologist offered a trip to this site to begin the process.

“And we have the artifact that we need to repatriate from up there, too. Unfortunately, I haven't been up there myself, so I think we need to schedule a field trip out there this summer to make it a priority so I can see the site, and talk about the repatriation so we can do that” (Archaeologist) .

The tribal chair is worried that loose pumice rock surrounding this ritual bathing

site, which is in a sunken area, will be pushed into the features and be destroyed. This concern has merit. In the early 1960's, a vulva carving fell off of the side of a rock due to natural breakage. For safekeeping, UCLA archaeologist Emma Lou Davis moved the carved pumice panel to UCLA for preservation. The artifact is to be repatriated at a future date with the approval and cooperative efforts of the Forest Service and the Tribal Council. There did not appear to be any urgency to repatriate the feature since the Tribal Chairperson believed it to be in safe keeping at UCLA, and no mention was made of preparations for its return and safe keeping by the Tribal Council.

To facilitate preservation and repatriation related to the pumice ceremonial site, both parties raised a basic concern for access. To reach the sacred site, a drive up a dirt road is required. To gain entrance to the pumice mining area, a gate consisting of an elongated metal bar swings across the dirt road and is locked to a post on the other side. Neither the Kutzadika nor the Forest Service has a key to the padlock that protects the sacred site; only the pumice mining company representatives have the key. There was no discussion if acceptance of the key by the Forest Service archaeologist required the need to follow any bureaucratic procedures within the Forest Service.

To evidence that the Forest Service archaeologist was concerned about the protection of the site, as well as possible trespass onto federal land, the following comment was made during the conference call:

“The mining company has no right to destroy that site, so title was transferred to the mining company, and the Forest Service got back title to the land. I think the mining company is pretty aware that they are not supposed to go onto our parcel. If we're not going up there and monitoring it, how do we know things aren't happening?” (Archaeologist)

The conversation continued with discussion about possible cemetery

encroachment, a spillway, and a June Lake Utility Commission issue dealing with another site, but the Tribal chair is unsure of its location and content.

“We have to gain access to the holding through the mining company, so we’ll need to coordinate some dates. Since I’m coming up there anyway it would be a great opportunity drive around and look at other sites you’re interested in. We can grab the BLM archaeologist to come along if he’s interested...They [the locales of interest] are documented as a site. We acquired that land specifically to protect the site. Years ago, in the 60’s or 70’s.” (Tribal Chair)

To contextualize policy and decisions about site protection, it was vital to discuss issues of Forest Service resources (e.g. finances and manpower) and the reality of meeting requests of the Paiute. The Tribal Chairperson indicated an understanding about time constraints and the busy schedules of the few people tasked to oversee cultural sites in the forest. Productive discussions considered the particular context of sites and various factors contributing to estimates of their relative vulnerability and responsibility for monitoring site conditions.

“There’s a lot more rock has fallen down...We did have a harder time getting in there, this time. It just needs attention because you just don’t go up there...A couple of our tribal members are pretty good about driving around and monitoring because they live near there, too. But regarding the pumice mine, no, we just cross our fingers, really. Keep monitoring like we do. It is out of the way...We can go out more often, and we [not the Forest Service] should be responsible for that. Once we note something, we can contact the Forest Service. Right now they’re very busy.” (Tribal Chairperson)

“My assumption is that the site is somewhat protected from the public and vandalism because it’s surrounded by the pumice mine, so the pumice mine actually performs some form of protection. So if something is happening we need to get there and take a look at it. If something is happening, so if it is something that is directly or indirectly caused by the mining then that is something we can approach the company with.” (Archaeologist)

The Forest Service Archaeologist suggested that if a site seemed to be actively hunted or vandalized, the first step would be to notify the LEO so they could add extra patrols around the site and vicinity. Still, the shared responsibility to monitor sites when

possible was emphasized, and highlighted the potential partnership between organizations. Some suggestion to bring in a third party of land owners—either the LA Department of Water and Power or the pumice company near Mono Lake—showed the willingness to work together and trust in the Forest Service to use their position of authority for mutual benefit. This was particularly true for sites on the pumice company’s land, which need to be accessed by the tribe but are secured by lock and key.

“As a partnership, we can monitor it as well. Once we meet with the guy that owns the mine, he usually doesn’t mind us going in there every once in a while, and he’s usually pretty good about it. Sometime they lock that gate. We’re not going to go in there all the time. Maybe just on their off days or a weekend.” (Tribal Chairperson)

“We should definitely meet with reps from the company, and make sure they know what that enfolding is and why it’s there, and be eyes for it since they’re up there all the time. Maybe they would be willing to give you guys a key so long as you make some sort of agreement with them.” (Archaeologist)

To facilitate the inspection of the pumice mine site, the Forest Service archaeologist and Tribal chair have scheduled a field trip to the mine site. This will allow the Forest Service archaeologist to appreciate the necessity and value of this sacred site containing the reliefs. In order to coordinate the protection of the remaining features, the stakeholders agreed to seek approval from, and the attendance of mining company executives who will accompany them to the sacred site. The Forest Service archaeologist suggested that they also invite the BLM archaeologist to inspect the sacred site. By having all potential stakeholders cooperate in the inspection and decision making process, the goal of sacred site preservation can be achieved. The Forest Service archaeologist indicated that the mining company is forbidden by law to trust pass upon the ritual bathing site at the mine because it is protected by the Forest Service and his federal land. The archaeologist indicated that the forest service itself would immediately respond to a

situation of trespass or desecration should that occur. The stakeholders will ask pumice mine company officials give them each a key to a gate that bars entrance of the road to the mine site where the ritual bathing area and features are hidden from public view.

Another Tribal Council concern is the potential encroachment of newly constructed houses being built too close to sacred sites, particularly historic cemeteries. Tribal chairwoman Charlotte Lange voiced some concern about a cemetery near Mono City, but acknowledged that luckily most people aren't aware of its location. A complicating feature of this cemetery is that it spans the boundary between the BLM and Los Angeles Department of Water and Power property. The Forest Service archaeologist reiterated that the federal government holds much of the land so no building can occur on that land. Additionally, a spillway is of concern because possible water runoff may destroy a burial site. However, the Forest Service archaeologist stated that that area is being monitored. Also, a topic of discussion was June Lake regarding a utility committee letter that is presenting the need for further review. Both of those sites are outside the scope of this project.

Deliverables to the Tribe and the United States Forest Service

Throughout this project, there were periods of several months where progress stalled. As a possible remedy to provide impetus to restart dialogue among the stakeholders, and as mentioned earlier in this project, Professor Jan English-Lueck suggested that I draft a deliverable, a Strategic Plan, a strategy that offered my assistance how to formulate and present concerns among the stakeholders. This deliverable is the secondary deliverable; the primary deliverable was a joint site protection agreement.

Although neither of the stakeholders acknowledged the Strategic Plan by signing it, I strongly feel the effort was not in vain. Dialogue among the stakeholders has been revived, and it may well be assumed that the receipt of the Strategic Plan prompted motivation for the renewed effort. The Strategic Plan is in writing, and therefore can be utilized by the stakeholders in the future should cooperation become stagnate. The Strategic Plan can be found in the appendix of this project.

As has been stated numerous times in this project, the goal is to have a written and signed joint sacred site protection agreement as the primary deliverable. Fortunately, the stakeholders did agree to jointly protect the women's ritual bathing site at the pumice mine, but the agreement is oral; neither stakeholder thought it necessary, or expedient, to formalize the agreement in writing. Therefore, the primary deliverable is intangible, but the goal was accomplished. I am pleased that this project contains both the primary and secondary deliverables, with the goal successfully reached.

V. DISCUSSION

My first encounter with the LEO for this project was in July 2012, when he approached professors Charlotte and Jun Sunseri asking for their excavation permit during the Mono Mills field school. The LEO was flabbergasted not having been informed of a Forest Service issued permit. I knew there was bureaucratic confusion. Without advanced notice of an issued permit, the LEO had reason to fear for his own safety, the safety of the students and professors, and the archaeological site. Since the bureaucracy that should ensure the protection of sacred sites did not do the job it was legally charged with doing because of internal hierarchical non-communication, then how could sacred sites ever be protected?

The Forest Service, it became immediately clear to me, would be an interesting bureaucracy to examine, and its relationship with the Kutzadika tribe would be very interesting. This led me to the need for discussions with the Forest Service LEO, and Kutzadika Tribal Council and community to get their views on what the problems were, and what values were to be supported.

The values that I coded from interviews with Tribal Council and community members were consistently repeated. Regardless of each informant's age, standing in the Tribal Council or community, place of residence, and proximity to Mono Lake, the overwhelming response was to the desire to protect graveyards, stone carvings, and other sacred sites before the sites, and the tribal members were gone. After interviewing the informants, the research question surfaced by itself: could a bureaucracy and a disenfranchised, unrecognized federal tribe be brought together to collaborate and reach

an agreement to protect the sacred sites deemed valuable by the Kutzadika Indian community.

Perhaps my ego was over-inflated, but I felt fairly confident that my legal skills and experience as a lawyer dealing with government structures would be of assistance. As a former government attorney, I am intimately familiar with how a bureaucracy functions from the inside. My tactic that dogged persistence, coupled with a meritorious argument bolstered with supporting law, could produce an avenue into the bureaucracy and produce a successful outcome.

It is also important to note that neither stakeholder required nor insisted upon a memorandum of understanding. The intention was that a formal legal document, would force the stakeholders to cooperate. Fortunately for the stakeholders, they firmly believe that a memorandum of understanding, MOU, is unnecessary because the protection of the last sacred site, namely, the promise of mine relief site, can be protected by a face-to-face meeting that includes the representative from the mining company. All stakeholders agree that should a memorandum of understanding be necessary in the future, they both can go that route, however, now this is not the case. Both stakeholders are relying upon the good faith of the other stakeholders, viewing successful past efforts to build this relationship, and continued cooperation in the future. The expenditure of human capital is more valuable to the stakeholders and a formal written memorandum of understanding. Although this is a risk that a lawyer would advise not to take, the stakeholders believe that the goal can be accomplished informally and illuminate the need for any formal structure. Therefore, the primary deliverable of this project, the protection agreement, is an oral commitment between two stake holders.

Both stakeholders agreed that joint monitoring is an acceptable practice and should continue. The Tribal council is keenly aware of the very slim resources allocated to the Forest Service, so the Forest Service archaeologist continues to be open to Tribal Council help and informal monitoring. The Kutzadika informally monitor their sacred sites by a windshield drive-by performed by several tribal members. The stakeholders left open the potential for future joint visits to sacred sites, with the understanding that if any tribal members find a site was vandalized they will notify the Forest Service and the law. It is clear from the trend in anthropology and archaeology that preserving heritage for future generations, as well as current appreciation and value, is a value many groups deem important. What is also clear is the need for applied anthropology to connect academic discourse with real world situations, combining these factors to solve a problem by creating a solution. The goal of this project is to use scholarship to create a way for mutual stakeholders to benefit by collaborating for mutual benefit.

A joint sacred site protection agreement, although clearly thought of previously by the Kutzadika community and the USFS, never proceeded forward due to governmental reluctance, policy decisions, and personnel changes. This collaborative effort presented a rare opportunity for two willing stakeholders to collaborate, and actually set their signatures to a document that shows good faith towards cultural preservation.

The sacred sites belonging to the Kutzadika consist primarily of cemeteries, homesites, and rock art. It is self-evident that burial places, previous living sites, and artistic treasures should be protected. Regrettably, looting has occurred on the rock art, artifacts laying on the surface of housing sites were taken by treasure hunters, and there is

always a potential for desecration of burial sites. What may have saved the buried sites from desecration are their remoteness from the roadways.

The USFS finds itself in a delicate position; in the area the sacred sites are located, there is only one Law Enforcement Officer (LEO) who patrols and protects hundreds of acres of USFS land in Inyo County. Even with the best of intentions, this is an unreasonable burden to place on the USFS, Bishop, California office and its LEO. Therefore, with collaboration between the Kutzadika and the USFS, both stakeholders can help each other and themselves by sharing sacred site protection and formulating an agreement.

There is no doubt that the Kutzadika value the sanctity of their ancestors. The interviews presented in this thesis clearly show that the Kutzadika's descendants honor the burial places, and consider them holy. Because of the remote locations of some of these burial sites, they may soon be forgotten. Many of the descendants do not live near Mono Mills probably due to its isolated location; therefore, the memory of the sites may soon be entirely forgotten.

This future, however, shows hope and promise. By creating a sacred site protection agreement, the Kutzadika and the USFS community can jointly maintain the sacred sites. Of course, there is no guarantee that any defacing, looting, or neglect may occur. There is one thing that will inevitably happen if nothing is done, and that is, nothing. Sacred sites will soon disappear, and that would be pitiful. One need only visit the sacred sites with Kutzadika community members, as this writer did, to feel the emotional attachment and spiritual connection they have for their ancestors. This attachment and connection means a great deal to a small community, of Native

Americans, and the USFS can wear a white hat by allowing joint sacred site protection of a duty it is already charged to do.

VI. Conclusion

The submission of two deliverables was accomplished. I drafted and presented a Strategic Plan to the stakeholders, and a joint sacred site protection agreement was reached, but it was arrived at by an unanticipated method; cooperation. The Tribal council cooperated with various Forest Service archaeologists and supervisors who, throughout the years, occupied those positions. Currently, the stakeholders credit the good working relationship between them for the successful monitoring and preservation of sacred sites. Sacred sites are currently being protected. The one remaining site at the pumice mine is the only site in immediate need of protection.

The bureaucratic structure within the Forest Service is structured in accordance with the laws, rules and regulations that mandate its performance. As previously written in the Weberian analysis in Chapter 2, bureaucrats become specialized in the limited scope of their restricted parameters and duties for their particular job. In the present situation with the Forest Service, the field archaeologist has the responsibility to do face-to-face discussions with tribes and Native American communities to maintain good relations and solve problems. This has been accomplished with the Kutzadika and the Forest Service, but only for a limited period of time. The current Forest Service archaeologist indicated that inheriting good working relationships helps in solving problems when the need arises. This has not always been the case, otherwise the need for this project would never have been necessary.

If a Forest Service archaeologist is unable to resolve issues facing Indian tribes and communities, or is uncooperative with Tribal Council representatives, the Tribal council can circumvent the archaeologist and go up the bureaucratic ladder to the line

duty officer who has supervisory and decision-making powers over issues the archaeologist encounters. The role of the line duty officer is to make decisions that are presented to him or her on a piece on paper, without necessarily having left the chair behind the desk. In a typical bureaucratic scenario, the “in” basket of a line officer contains stacks of paper that require the line duty officer’s decisions. The decisions can be rational, impersonal, and clearly one sided without taking into account the lack of humanistic impact it may have on Native American communities or tribes. Line duty officers, with their decision-making powers, may very well be adept at making decisions; regrettably, the decisions may not always be what Native Americans tribes and communities envision. So, if a problem reaches the desk of a line duty officer, there is the risk that the request of the tribes and communities will be rejected. It is therefore pragmatic and reasonable to solve problems before they enter the grinding machinery of the bureaucracy, and only engage the bureaucracy when there is no other alternative.

It was an interesting journey to explore importance and meaning about Max Weber's writing. Weber’s dissection and analysis of the bureaucracy are profoundly relevant to this project. The Kutzadika, being economically socially and labeled as marginalized, clearly demonstrate that they do not have control over ownership of the land their sacred sites rest upon. They have no control over government policy, and struggle to have influence on local governmental policy. Regrettably, since this is an intra-tribal matter, other tribes are unable to band with the Kutzadika to help access the Forest Service bureaucracy. By sealing itself from outsider attack and challenge, the bureaucracy maintains its shield and grip on power. Decisions made from top down policymakers filter through the bureaucratic workers doing in their routine functioning,

and policy decisions become the rules and regulations that reach Forest Service workers, and specifically archaeologists, whose boots touch the ground.

Weber's rational deduction about bureaucracy hits to the heart of this project; bureaucracies promote democracy. By making the bureaucracy an impassionate machine that slowly hammers out decisions, applicants and stakeholders are pushed to deal with each other before entering the bureaucracy. This returns us once again to the underlying foundation and ultimate conclusion of this project: a bureaucracy promotes the civilized discussions between stakeholders that is necessary for a democracy to function, and that a democracy cannot survive without a bureaucracy.

To gain access to the bureaucracy, the Kutzadika's needs were in accord with the writing of Jacques Derrida who emphasize the need for deconstruction of bias of their history and value of sacred sites. Derrida's postmodernist approach encourages the Kutzadika to arrive at their own interpretation of their own history; it is not for the Forest Service, or anyone else, to do that.

A strong voice for public archaeology is Barbara Little, and the Kutzadika, by permitting me to work with them, engaged in and extended an invitation to practice public archaeology. The need for more opportunity for civic engagement, and social usefulness, invaluable heritage, and civic renewal, are values that Little seeks to incorporate into situations like the present one. Little would be pleased that this project would stem from grassroots work, in fact, it went subterranean into a geological depression 15 feet below ground level where the women practiced ritualistic bathing.

Fortunately, the Tribal Chairperson and the Forest Service Archaeologist had positive interactions before I undertook this project. Still, the important effort to preserve

these carving reliefs was never approached until my efforts to practice public archaeology were performed. Sonya Atalay (2006) would appreciate the need for the Tribal Council to deconstruct and decolonize the views set forth by others. By engaging in collaborative dialogue with the Forest Service, its potential refusal to safeguard the site can be reduced. Giving voice to their desire for site protection, the Kutzadika and I engaged in public archaeology, as well as what Michael Foucault describes as counter-discourse. The Kutzadika needed power that is expressly granted in a democracy, allowing the public to open the lid of the metaphorical jar containing the bureaucracy. So the challenge was what method would I use to approach and negotiate the Kutzadika's need for increased sacred site protection. The choice was to use public archaeology.

The method that the stakeholders chose to meet in person to solve the problem of joint sacred site protection, is so basic, obvious, and humanistic that the solution should have been easy to obtain. Yet despite prior dealings based on a good relationship, the pumice mine relief features were not disclosed and remain at risk for potential damage. It is now possible for the Forest Service, the Pumice Mining Company, and the Kutzadika to jointly protect and patrol the site. The stakeholders succeeded by minimizing the need for intervention into a federal bureaucratic system that can grind its wheels slow slowly and impartially without regard to the human wants and needs to accomplish goals. The weight of the bureaucratic structure forced the stakeholders to decide on a course of action that is mutually beneficial. The stakeholders will meet with the Pumice Mine Company representatives and will ask for their cooperation in protecting the reliefs located on federal land that borders the company's property, and obtain a key to the gate that opens and closes the road up to the pumice relief sacred site allowing the Forest

Service and the Kutzadika to access the area.

It is worth noting that without my intervention the Kutzadika's concern for the protection of the pumice relief sacred site would not have been presented to the Forest Service for an indefinite period of time, if at all. Cooperation among the stakeholders and Pumice Mine representatives will take some testing, effort, and good faith. Should this fail to occur, then the next step would be a memorandum of understanding (MOU), or, in accordance with the Weberian bureaucratic model, bypassing the field archaeologist and entering the bureaucratic structure of the Forest Service, and present the issue on paper to the line duty officer for a passionless decision.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

Transcript of interview of Cecil Rambeau during the Mono Mills Field School in 2012

Cecil: "Family tree...they're not like this picture...they're all one big family you can't say you're not my brother you're not my sister, you can't just say that, you go down the line and you look at it we're all related, everybody. Up there and then when they were talking about those Yosemite people, some of those people are from the Bridgeport Tom family. The Bridgeport Tom I don't know how many daughters or sons he had, but then they had children and their children. It's a long time ago, you just look into it, it's pretty close. You got married with you... they're rockin' around with you and you're my sister, you know, real close. You can't do that. Now we're all scattered out, I mean, not everybody, but you don't know. You could be my sister or you know we could be the same family, you know they call it another brother or sister."

Julianne (Student): "Could that be from the ..."

Cecil: "Your grandfather, your grandfather could have had two or three wives."

Julianne: "Wow."

Cecil: "Ya, he's your brother because you have the same mother."

Leroy: "But what about when, what happened before, you don't just start from what Tom did, did he have a father and mother. The other side..."

Cecil: "I don't know, I never really, nobody ever brought that up."

Nancy: "So, you don't know your parents or your grandparents? You know your parents."

Cecil: "Oh I know that, my parents on that side down here, this guy who used to run it here, Joe, he was the chairman of this place, he started it, this here, see this here, he had some pull in Washington or someplace, anyway, he knew all these people, and this place here why my aunt said my dad's cousin..."

Julianne: "Your dad's cousin?"

Cecil: "Well, her mother and my dad's mother were sisters, but they married two different Frenchmen, that's how we got here. Over there, my mother is related to his people, my people, well we're all related."

Julianne: "Somewhere down the line."

Cecil: "Yes, not very far at all, but cousins and things but still not that far off. I mean like cousins, another lady or another man and whatever it is, ya know. Still you're my brothers and my sisters just because you have a different mother or the same father, that doesn't make us different. We're not at a distance to every family [member], we're marrying our own sisters, so how do you know? That's what we were saying. Like we were just saying about Bridgeport Tom, Bridgeport Tom he had a good sized family. You knew all of them."

Leroy: "I know Bridgeport Tom, I didn't know any of his offspring. I didn't know his offspring that well, I didn't even know his daughters, maybe a little bit."

Cecil: "Did you know HarryTom?"

Leroy: "Ya, I know."

Cecil: "Well that was Bridgeport Tom's son."

Leroy: "I didn't know a lot of the old ladies, like when I was growing up. Like he's got to describe this now, like that time, I didn't know them that well but Harry Tom I knew a little well because he wanted to be with them. Just before he died this is a kind of funny story too. He knew I was comin' the last time I went...the ranch. Just when I got there he knew I was coming. He went in the house, put on his best shoes. Nobody knew I was coming, but he did."

Cecil: "Yes...but in those days people, like I talked with different ...he probably had that power too, he was a medicine man. Bridgeport Toms dad was a medicine man.

Julianne: "His dad was a medicine man?"

Cecil: "He was one of those guys who could heal you. That's what, he probably, when they, if they were asked for in that time to go out and to heal someone. Like at night when they were asleep this is what I heard, they know how to do things ya know. They dream about it, they were told how they gotta go somewhere and heal somebody, well they dreamed about it. You know what all they gotta do, this and that, they go to do these things that what they do. They already were told this is what to do.

Julianne: "Did you hear that from your father or from family?"

Cecil: "No, my father, I don't think they had any people that were, that had that kind of a power or spirit.

Nancy: "No more medicine men in your father's generation?"

Cecil, "Not over this side, I don't know about this side."

Julianne: "On your mother's side?"

Cecil: "Mother's side, on that side..."

Julianne: "Were the medicine men and the healing..."

Cecil: "No that I don't know, see, my grandmother Annie, she and Young Charlie, did they ever mention...?"

Leroy: "Yes, people talk but I don't know if they ever considered him a medicine man, but he had some type of healing powers. There is a lot of stories go on about if you use it the right way it will work if you use it the wrong way it will work the opposite. You can heal your best friend or your sister I heard..."

Julianne: "You can pull it from different areas to heal, in a way?"

Leroy: "Uh huh, they say you'll hurt the one you love the most like family, like a brother or like a sister. It seems like that's the way it went. You direct it at someone you love the most, it works something like that. ...it might not hurt you, you could be healthy forever..."

Julianne: "You'll hurt someone else."

Leroy: "You'll hurt the one you love. I see it now. I see it, Cecil sees it."

Cecil: "Well you know that's the people, well, by, we're going to go right back into God. I don't know if you believe in God. But our Indian people we do and that's what we were just talking about. If you don't believe in God you know, you'd be a bad person. That if you did something to Leroy, if she does something to Leroy it goes down the latter and it will either get you..."

Nancy & Julianne: "Or someone you love."

Cecil: "Yes, then maybe somewhere down the line you have four or five children, and you said someone you loved, that's going to come out, or those will come out for

doing wrong to Leroy and that's why you see, maybe your child and that's what's called ah ha."

Julianne: "You are saying it's like a circle or a backlash."

Cecil: "Maybe your husband or your lover, he gets sick all the time and it's on account of what you done to him or what you done to me."

Leroy: "You look around..."

Julianne: "How you treat someone will somehow affect your life."

Leroy: "It's our tradition, our people. We still follow a lot of the old ways."

Cecil: "Ya."

Leroy: "You know the simple way, not a big showboat way. You've heard about this, like the sweat lodges it happens all over. You don't just start a sweat lodge because you want. It's special and sacred. Some of our people started it because of the money. It doesn't work, it works the opposite."

Julianne: "It affects people horribly from greed."

Leroy: "Just because it's not the Indian way, the old way. People change it. The white society, they try to copy it and it just goes crazy."

Julianne: "People don't understand what they're doing and it could backlash in a horrible way."

Nancy: "They charge money for it."

Cecil: "Well the doctors like that you ask someone for a healing or something like that, he doesn't ask you for money. He'll go out and do what you ask him to do but he won't take no money."

Julianne: "Could he take a gift?"

Cecil: "Oh yes, you can give him this here. But you've got to support him for however long he stays at your place for healing. Maybe it takes five days you've got to keep him going for five days. Feed him and clothe him and everything. Maybe before he leaves people can give him a can a coffee or whatever they can afford. Without no money, well you could give him money for a gift. He doesn't ask you for it. He won't ask you but you can give whatever you can afford."

Julianne: "If he asks for money it would go a negative way because a form of greed would be introduced?"

Cecil: "He doesn't..."

Julianne, "That's understandable..."

Cecil: "They won't ask for it but he'll take gifts you know."

Julianne: "Almost like a trade system in a way. You help heal me I will give you what I worked on."

Cecil: "Ya."

Leroy: "...most times you use your most valued possession. I won't give this up to just anybody, it's so special." (Bear tooth necklace around his neck)

Julianne: "But if that happens..."

Leroy: "...what means most to me."

Julianne: "Because he helped you and you could have passed away so you give up something that's a piece of you."

Cecil: "Ya, you receive something that's good for you because if you're gone...for being nice to people...I don't say to hell with you if you don't like it. By not helping, maybe you could give him a glass of water."

Julianne: "At the VA I gave my doctor a nice glass I picked up over in the New England states. In Boston, it was a form of kindness."
Cecil: "Well, that's good."
Leroy: "That means more than money."
Julianne: "Ya, especially gifts for gifts."
Cecil: "Not just a piece of candy or chewed gum, something you like."
Julianne: "Then you cherish it."
Cecil: "Ya."
Julianne: "Do you have any of the traditional medical like herbs or teas?"
Cecil: "Ya."
Julianne: "From this local area, from the plants?"
Cecil: "No, I have, I can tell ya, he could tell ya to go out like this [tolsa?]
Leroy: "Have you got some?"
Cecil: "Ya, I've got some. I use it when I have pains and aches, lately..."
Nancy: "What's it called?"
Cecil and Leroy: "Tulsa."
Julianne: "What is it?"
Leroy: "It's a root, a sweet, tall plant that grows in the high country. We gather it in the fall before it starts dying off"
Inaudible, everyone talks at once.
Julianne: "Do you drink it or do you eat it?"
Leroy: "...you smoke it, depends on how you want to use it. I have some in my truck I carry it most of the time for like a bad feeling or something like that. It's good for colds, I don't catch a cold, this has something to do with it. I carry some, I carry the root and break a chunk off. I use it all day long. I do use it for if you get stomach cramps that'll settle it. But you're going to have to believe it. A lot of people use it because they think it's medicine, it is medicine, but you have to use it right, you have to believe in it."
Julianne: "What would be the thing it cures, not cures but helps out?"
Leroy: "If you believe it, it helps people eat who have pangs, shoulders, and aches, allergies. I've got allergies and it settles it down. 'Cause I believe it can and it does. We use it because we believe it's medicine. Some people don't believe."
Julianne: "Don't believe in the power of it."
Leroy: "Everything has spirituality...if you believe in that it'll work."
Julianne: "What's it taste like?"
Cecil cuts off pieces of the root for everybody.
Julianne: "Are there other kinds of roots?"
Leroy: "Ya, depends on what areas you go and what you want it for, you have your sagebrush..."
Cecil: "Just put that on your tongue..."
Julianne: "Woah, that's a powerful smell, it smells like peppermint kind of. It's real interesting"
Nancy: "Do you put it on the tongue or under the tongue?"
Leroy: "I put it under the tongue, it will last longer."
Julianne: "Thank you very much."
Nancy: "Thank you."

Cecil: "Ya, it's pretty good."

Leroy: "I don't want to use it right now, I'm drinking coffee."

Julianne: "Interesting taste."

Cecil: "If you know a lot of us we're used to our medicines that we get now days, you know the medicine we take, these pills or capsuls, or whatever the doctor tells you to take, well they are coated. They could be some of this stuff. You don't know. It's coated so you can't taste the bitterness, so you swallow it easy. So it's like candy. There's nothing to it. It's easy. It's not coated, the real stuff."

Leroy: "My niece, up in [Rockan?] they buy a lot of medicine, you tell them what works with me and they'll go buy it. I use to tell them all that stuff is not good for you. ...All that stuff you read the labels, a lot of the labels you read have red willow or the stuff we use. It goes by names that we don't understand..."

Cecil: "Sagebrush you can use for a cold or a cough."

Julianne: "Do you burn the sagebrush?"

Cecil: "No, you suck on it. You can put it with this and make tea out of it."

Julianne: "Sagebrush is the stuff we see everywhere like at the site?"

Leroy: "...you can use any part out there...there's a local plant I gathered in October ...you can't use it until one year after..."

Julianne: "How did you guys learn about the traditions of the roots. Especially like the sagebrush and poisonous plants?"

Cecil and Leroy: "Grandmothers. We all know it."

Julianne: "Oral histories being passed down especially when you're out fishing and hunting?"

Cecil and Leroy: "..."

Nancy: "What's your mother's name?"

Cecil: "My mother?" pause, "Alice"

Nancy: "Just Alice?"

Cecil: "Her husband was Ed. You've got a family tree there?"

Nancy: "I've got a family tree."

Julianne: "Is that OK?"

Cecil: "Ya." Really quiet.

Julianne: "Thank you."

Cecil: "They're all gone."

Nancy: "We're doing this family tree to help get the tribe acknowledged."

Cecil: "I am acknowledged."

Nancy: "Federally acknowledged. They want to connect the native peoples from the eighteen hundreds to the ones that are now, that's why we want to do a family trees."

Julianne: "It will help with the Government, we're actually really close and we're doing research with newspaper articles finding people. What we're trying to do is connect their descendants, people like you and try to link them back. Once we do that you guys should be able to be federally recognized. Or to almost that point. Pretty close."

Cecil: "Some of us like my mother, she would be, like Ned my Father. Well he isn't all Indian he's part...well then you get my dad's family tree [it] only goes through his mother."

Julianne: "His father."

Cecil: "His mother is Indian. Her husband was white."

Julianne: "Was white?"

Nancy: "What was his mother's name?"

Cecil: "Jennie"

Nancy: "Did she have a last name?"

Cecil: "She was a Walker before Fred Rambeaux"

Julianne: "Walker, and then that's her maiden name and then...?"

Cecil: "Fred Rambeaux"

Julianne: "Do you know what yearish she was born?"

Cecil, "No...I wanted to find out here, we have property, that trust land..., but then the lady that was there she said, well we were talking about different places like cemeteries, and a we were pickin [primitis] then we came down here. We were doing something and then she says, 'I know where all that grave is up at the cemetery at Wildrose.' She said, 'The Rambeau's is up there, I know where that grave is.' Wallace and I, Wallace thought he knew, but he raised up here too. We went up there to try to look, it wasn't the right way I thought it was. We couldn't find it."

Nancy: "So did you know Alice's parents maybe?"

Cecil: "Ya, they're from Mono Lake."

Nancy: "Ah, that's good. So, what was her father's name?"

Cecil: "Young Charlie."

Julianne: "Were you closer with your mother's side?"

Cecil, "My mother's grandfather" Pause

Nancy: "Young Charlie was married to?"

Cecil: "He had two wives."

Nancy: "Ah ha, OK."

Cecil: "That's why I was saying."

Nancy: "That's how you get so related."

Cecil: "I don't know, I had a paper here I don't know what I done with it, people ask me, I'll make a copy, I'll bring it back."

Julianne: "Ya."

Cecile: "I never see it."

Julianne: "We'll try and get you a copy of this right here, this recording. We have a computer that we just plug it in and it'll translate what we say."

Leroy: "None of the family wrote up a history."

Cecil: "No, just in a, well Clarence might have it."

Leroy: "That's what I mean somebody must have it."

Cecile: "Somebody must have it."

Julianne: "Do you know aunts and uncles, do you have a lot of them?"

Cecile: "Well,...just on my mother's side. There would be, well Henry Jamison is my grandfather"

Julianne: "Henry Jamison is your grandfather?"

Cecile, "It's my mother's dad, and his wife was Annie Jamison. It's my mother's mother."

Julianne: "Your mother's mother was Annie Jamison"

Cecile: "Yes."

Julianne: "That's probably a good era because we're trying to go from the 1880's to the 1920's and find out who those people are and how you are descended from them."

Cecil: "That paper that I had it goes way back, I think 18-something."

Julianne: "That's what the Federal government needs, the bureau of Indian affairs.

Do you
have it?"

Cecil: "...I gave one to Norman but he's gone."

Julianne: "If we get that paper work in we can turn it in to, to Indian Affairs to help you guys build a background and connect people."

Leroy: "It seems to me that [Clarence] would have it...they share information.

Cecil: "I don't know Leroy. You know that land over there, Farrington, he has a letter over there which Betty got, one of the daughters of Farrington, family"

Leroy: "I know about that..."

Nancy: "So, your family lived at Farrington?"

Cecil: "Yes, well they had rights, they used to down at Mining Creek. They moved from Mining Creek when D. W. P. came in and bought you know all the property and everything and told them that they'd let you stay up here by Farrington."

Nancy: "We have a map you could show us on there."

Julianne: "Is Farrington off 139 comin' off of that hill?"

Leroy: "395 ya mean?"

Julianne "Ya, you see off in the distance?"

Cecil: "...the trailers out there.

Julianne: "Kind of on the hillside right there?"

Nancy: "See if you can get him to find it on the map."

Julianne: "It's right off 395"

Cecil: "Near Mono Lake."

Nancy: "Is it on here?"

[Map shuffling]

Cecil: "Ya got Mono Lake?"

Julianne: "Here's Mono Lake."

Leroy: "A lot of those places...cemeteries, could be just one grave."

...

Cecil: "Did you know right there where, where we're stayin', your old house up there, it's down this way, ...that old house, your old house, my grandfather's old house down there, old house, your old house from here. In between there was a grave, but I don't much remember, well above there you know you were talking about those rocks. They're a little above your house. That was a grave, I can't quite remember."

Leroy: "Like I say, they never told us where this grave was. They don't point it out. Some families do, and we go back and remember. Out of respect you brought flowers, not [frank] flowers.

Cecil: "There's places all along there that hillside up there."

Julianne: "Up off of 395. Like you're driving down 120 and then you make a right onto 395 it's going to be on the left hand side. Ya."

Cecil: "Ya."

Julianne: "Up off of Farrington road. Is it kind of a dirt road?"

Cecil: "yep."

Julianne: "OK."

Leroy: "this used to be a main high way." "It was King Ranch."

Julianne: "OK." " Did they stop and actually...?"

Leroy: "That was one of the locals." "How far up the road is it...?" "Cal-trans right away...?" "It already has cables in there."

Julianne: "That's true."

Cecil: Yea. Up there. You know where we used to go swimming? Rush creek. There used to be a place where we used to swimming. There is cemerty out there.

Leroy: I don't know who is all in there?

Cecil: I don't know whats out there.

Leroy: Yea.....

Cecil: It's on my mom's side. It just go's on.

Julianne: How long where you at Farrington for?

Cecil: Most of my life.

Julianne: Did you family live there before that?

Leroy: The reservation is really not that old.

Julianne: OK. This one here?

Cecil: not even 25 years old. Iv'e been here for 20 years.

Julianne: So before that you lived over at Farrington?

Leroy: yea.

Julianne: Doing most of you live over at Farrington?

Cecil: Not all ways

Leroy: there are ranches around here.

Julianne: OK.

Cecil: This place here [Benton] They got it from. Like I said it They guy probably knew them. Washington DC/ Sacramento. They worked for the base. This place here right here. But my aunt on my dads side, said that there is place that down here. She just said. You knew. They use to tell us this. That is a park. They made this for a park here but don't know where it was at but this but then she got old. They road that she[us] came in on. You.

Julianne: Yes.

Cecil: where that tribal building us. Right in there somewhere. Used to be a dump.

Julianne: Oh wow.

Cecil: That was years ago. You knew, when there was peope they used to work around here in those mines.

Julianne: hey used to dump right there?

Cecil: Yea, they used too. This YellowJacket road go's right down By it. It 120. That old store up there?

Julianne: Yea?

Cecil: Right there and the and this here was right there, where that old. Where that old center was.

Julianne: the round one?

Cecil: I think that road. That old Yellow-Jacket road goes through where that dump used to be that goes down.

Julianne: Is that Dump from the 1800's?

Cecil: Probably longer than that...?

Julianne: Probably longer than that...?

Leroy: How many people live at the old place? The old housing?

Cecil : Yea, well there was the.

Leroy: A lot of families?

Cecil. Yea, There was Washington. Where the road goes around there? Yea right there. Used to be middle good..... well they used to have a place in there. Some other peoples and we used to stay way up there. On the camp site. We used to stay with my Aunt and them. Ada and Else.

Julianne: Ada and Else?

Cecil: Yea, they are on my dad's side.

Julianne: Dad's side.

Cecil: But they have a different name. Their mothers were sister.

Julianne: OK, their mothers were sisters.

Cecil: and they used to live on the end of this site here. In the middle.

Julianne: In old Benton?

Cecil: Yea, where the old house where, but some of them are down now.

Julianne: probably back in the 60's, 70's and 50's?

Cecil: well we used to play on the end over there, something like that.

Julianne: where they the same age as you? Your cousin Haily and Ada?

Cecil: They were my aunt.

Julianne: Your aunt. Sorry.

Cecil: My dad's cousins. They have the same mother. Their mothers were sisters. Jenny Rambeau and Mary Jane Saulque.

Julianne: fathers English name. the American and European name.

Cecil: that is French.

Julianne: That was French

Cecil: Saulque.

Julianne: That's SAULQUE.

Cecil: UE

Julianne: OK, UE.

Leroy: You related to Phil?

Cecil: well now we. Now we get in to this. I had a little piece of paper. One lady was asking me.

Julianne: This right here.

Cecil: this one.

Julianne: there is some right here too.

Leroy: ask them.

Cecil: Now. Can you see it?

Leroy: it here do you want me to read it?

Cecil: just look at it.

Leroy: is that information?

Cecil: Yea, that what that lady was asking. And what I know of that of that family the Saulque's.

Julianne: yea, the Saulque's?

Cecil: Yea.

Julianne: are they still around here?

Cecil: No. Most of them are gone.

Leroy: Jack and.

Cecil: See that. Jake is that guy's grand father. The first one.

Leroy: You have to explain that one to me.

Cecil: You said Jake was Saulque. Yea but they got there name. They got name because John raised them up..

Julianne: so they are not blood.

Leroy: this people right here.

Cecil: Yea,

Julianne: these people are the ones who raised them.

Leroy: this happen a lot I remember. On my mom side.

Cecil: Yea,

Leroy : There is a lot of people with English names.

Julianne: Beacse they where raised by English families.

Leroy: a lot of things he worked for.

Cecil: That how they got the names Like Captain.

Leroy: There a lot of captains.

Cecil: like ah walter and Merideth change his name to Walter Bearard. But he is Merrideth he said. Sam Merrideth son. He must work for like you said. Bearnard? They live in Bishop or some where? That where they got that name Walter.

Julianne: I have a Question for you? Did any like Natives ever change there last name? Because of the hostilies because of the white man. Did they, Yea? Was it common for Natives to adop the white names?

Cecil: Yea!

Leroy" I don't think they took it themselves.

Julianne: Given to them?

Leroy: They were treated like Slaves.

Julianne: Yea.

Cecil: Like Leroy worked for you. For a long time and took your name.

Julianne: ok, yea.

Leroy:....

Julianne: ok, yea

Leroy: they used like anyone else. I guess.

Julianne. Ok, I get what your saying. I did not know that.

Leroy say your name was. I don't know what your last name is.

Julianne: Cadden.

Leroy: if your family needs help. It easier to remember your name than Indian name. No had Indian name in those days.

Julianne: yea.

Cecil: see that what well that was paper has the Indian name on it.

Julianne: Did you guys receive Indian names?

Cecil: Yea.

Leroy: Someone called you by your Indian name.

Julianne: Is that something you keep secret now, is that like part of your tradition?

Leroy: well, They were brought up to us this name. This name that I got.

Julianne: OK.

Leroy: they All ways said Lee vining. Was named Lee vining Because Lee Vining came over there. And that how they got Leroy. That what they say. I don't know.

Julianne: That where looking for the parents side of the time.

Leroy: ...Information... But they did. I used it.

Julianne: You remember any oral history? Form Mono Mills? From that time period? The Chinese camps?

Cecil: just from what I heard. You know. Maybe Before my time they used to be around there. Well but I hear my mother say. That they used to log around there.

Leroy: they lived there?

Cecil: they worked there.

Julianne: your mom said?

Cecil: Back in there somewhere? Where is that little sand flat is back that way more.

Leroy: where is that at?

Cecil: so you know where that is at?

Julianne: Could you show me on the map?

Cecil: I don't know where it is at?

Julianne: OK..... There we go.

Leroy: Ill Point it out.

Cecil: well she that they lived over there somewhere.

Julianne: What side of the family? Your mom's side? And it was her father and her mother? Or her

Cecil: well my dad Ned work there for logging cutting trees.

Julianne: ok, He was a logger...

Cecil: Yea, well...

Julianne: Until when? To the 1920's

Leroy: we came by the Flat by the right where the sleep corral was.

Julianne: Yea.

Leroy: that was on the left. From where we are coming. The big side of the flat. Father up toward Mammoth. That big coner we made.

Julianne: Yea yea yea.

Leroy: OK, go up that way. The you run into the little sand flat.

Julianne: Yea, that where his family Lived?

Cecil: That were they lived. They worked right there.

Julianne: They logged that area?

Cecil: yea.

Nancy: OK.

Julianne: that Neat, did they like did anyone else work there? Perviously before beside then.

Cecil: whole family I guess? That live around there

Julianne: Who ever lived there. Did you mom ever say who lived there. The whole family?

Cecil: they used to cut the tress down. They had these old saw blades.
 Julianne: OK.
 Cecil: they had these big saw. And the cross cut them or what ever they called them.
 Leroy: They did all kinds of work. They did everthing
 Julianne: Male and female would be out there?
 Leroy: Yea!
 Julianne: awesome!
 Cecil: In said I know how did the get those. The trees they cut them like that. The stomp you see.
 Julianne: the tall stumps.
 Cecil: She well we had to cut them. Like that because we couldn't cut way down to the bottom. They couldn't get way down there so they cut them. Where they can saw. She said that way they cut. You got a saw with two people. They pull it back and fourth. Well you pull and the other guy and he pulls it back you don't push you pull it. It kind of little wait on it.
 Julianne: they had a lot of gear for logging? Did they buy it from the Mono Mills market? Area Or.
 Leroy: there is a big company. They mined but logged. Timber. They burned a lot of wood. Maybe the bought out here? How big? There equipment built that railroad. They put it together there.
 J: Did you family get paid by the tree or hourly?
 C: I don't know? The worked by the hour.
 J: they Worked by the hour.
 C: by the end of the day. \$1 a day. Logging. A day.
 L: that was money in those days.
 J: did they follow the traditional ways? Like your mom and Ed?
 C: well I don't know what you would. Well you know...
 J: did the fish and hunt and there day's off.
 C: Oh yea!
 J: herbs and ...anything cultural? When you're out hunting. You go gather your herbs and stuff that you need? And the roots?
 C: I don't know I just hear. That when they talk about, you say winter I don't remember seeing the big sheep horn. But they say that they used to have them and bring them down. It was the way of life. Ther lake up there.
 L: This band up there now they are trying to induce the big horns all over.
 J: so the big horn have been here all over. For thousand of years.
 L: I cant say. This was the one of the rachers.... There is not many of them. You can track them.
 J; I don't see any wild life....
 C: bring down the sheep in the winter time. Bring down.,... Mono Lake. They had a corral. Did you ever see that corral?
 L: Yea.
 C; By Mono Lake.
 L: They corrals all over.
 C: Walter was saying they had big fence.
 L: they are all over. They never stayed in one spot....

C: They brought them down in the winter time. What ever they can use.

L: mono Pass. All these other passes. The camped in the summer.

J: Its not safe for the winter.

L:.... recent months....

C: then when they travel from here they go to mono lake because there is some much snow. Long time ago. We Had a lot of snow. And they would go.... What I can remember...that old road 120 father up is what I thought.We used to up there Mono Lakw through a lot of lakes... I used to go across where that big dip is. You drop off.

L: I don't know.

N: there is a lot dips.

C: big dips.... I think it bill Cannon..

L: all these road you see here and farely new. All the old trials are Indian trails.\

C: I go back.... Back....

J: the indian roads are all footpaths? That they would walk?

L: they were most of them. A lot of them had horses.... They just found the easiest way. For distance... for getting water. Stuff like that. They propley just laying there. To something comes along. That was they way to go.

J: That was smart.

L: then they build the freeways straighter.

C:.... Well that's the way the road went. It went over to Mono lake south end. Then it went across to Lee Vining. That...I barely remember how it go's. you know. Going a across that way. It was pretty out cold.

N. Do you mind me asking how old you are?

C. 75????

N. 75?

C. 76? Or something? I don't know?

N: not keeping track anymore?

C. I quit that when I got about 50. HAHA

N. I am about to turn 50 this year. This year in December I'll hit 50.

C. Its been a long ways. You from this state?

N: yea, from Sunnyvale. I remember when it was all orchard.

L: Got good memory. That is all it is now.

N: yea! Does look like anything like when I was kid.

C: you been around there? [Leroy].

L: Going to any city its different. Picture it before...

C: that was...

N: so that was. There was place called Steward a school? Did you go there? Do have any stories?

C: yea.

N: It wasn't happy?

J. If you don't feel comfortable you don't have to share.

N: Yea!

C: not really.... What I see later on you know. I went back there. Maybe I don't know what year we went back there again. But the.. it different then first time...but I have my tonsils taken out there. Other there in Steward.

J: where is Steward? How far is it from here? From Mono?

C: Lee Vining?

L: 108 miles. It used be about mile out side of the road on the out side of town....
Go's this way.

J:I it out side of Carson?

L: yea. That's where we had our last POWWOW.... The local.... What did they used to
call it before they called it the fathers day POWWOW. Spring celebration...
Something about spring.

C: I don't know?...

L: spring awaking? I can't remember?

J: Solstice?

L: maybe that Powwow was called fathers day...Weekend.

J: yea, father day is in May?

N: spring.

J: Yea.

L: I think that is what its named?

J: you have a later spring up here do you? It depends on the weather? Yea. Did all of
you cousins go to Steward? Was it a year round school? For you guys.

C: No. They Just took us away.

J: did the government force you to go?

N: yea...

J: Did they force school and that? Did they go to your parent and say that you had to
go to Steward?

C: I don't know. What... remember?

L: Sister said she went to two schools. Where they sent these kids. One was
Stewarts. Was that all boy's schools? At one time?

C: Stewart, yea

L: OK, I was not sure. Sherman? My sister went to Sherman.

J: Sherman?

N: Girls went Sherman.

L: something like that. I don't know? Some else was asking me these questions.

J: was it Charlotte? That asked about these questions?

L: well I told her.

J: how long did they do this for? How long was the program? For this?

C: Well to you got old enough to take care of your self.

J: then you stop going. When did the government shut down Steward? And...

C: It was long ago.

L: it was too long ago.

C: they started bring kids in from southern California kids.

L: State kids.

N: oh wow.

J: How big was it? And it was when you went to it.

C: It was only Paiute. Washoes and the shoshones.... And they were there.

J: Did they bring the Miwoks? Over too?

C: Miwoks? I don't know about the Miwoks? My grandfather is a Miwok.

J: did they come from?

C: I don't know I tried to find out.

N: Which grand father? Young Charlie?

C: No. Henry Setter.

N: Henry Setter? Henry Jameson? I got written down.

J: I grow up in Sonora. I went to school elementary with the miwok children.

C: Yea, Do you know anything about those MIwoks?

L: Like What?

C: Where they came from?

L: There are so many bands of them. I don't know... The biggest was Lucys mom brother. Bill Damingus. There Pomo. They went to school up there.

C: I don't know? Billy.

L: Billy mom went to school up there.

J: up at Sherman?

L: At Steward. I think that where she said.

J: They must take the band s from Steward? The must take the bands from the Sierra's eastern and western and the high Sierra's.

L: They started just locally. It seem like to me it was standard They had several of these schools around the country.

J: was ran by the government? Or where they ran by religion?

C: I don't know how they got us to go?

L:.....

C:.....

J: government go them? Was it like a Catholic school at all?

L: no, it just like county... all of us... Bishop.

J: was there any other Races there like white, Mexican, black , and Asian?

L: well, They hadIndians Like black guys they....

J: Buffol Soilders?

C:.... These are part black. There were some others there where black. But then they were indains..... but I knew them and their parents. Don Bucks dad. They had.. I don't know the other. You can see the hair yo knew that they weren't..

J: They were full Native. Do you still practice marriage through out the area? Or like traditional marrages? And stuff like that? So If you met some one like Miwoks in your 20's would you guy s go through ceremony?

L: when I go to Idaho p there they do that... They get married that way. Other did it. I guess.

J: how does you family feel about it?

L: My family ... customs in that area. I don't get it..... It seem like one just marry anybody anyways.

C: As long as you like something. That about its. Marry for the time being.

L: tomorrow.....

N: I've been Married for 23 years.

L: that's good.

C: Well, go luck. Stay with it.

N: He is a Good man.

C: Look at now days, well I hate say this but our people arounf here especially my family here. Well you if. If you where in jail, if you where in jail. I guess the closest

one in jail to you. Well I get married to you. The guy don't work he is jaiol all the time so lets get married in Jail. What good does that do?

J: Yea,

C: You got children there to feed and who is going to take care of them? Well-far. So if you have four or five kids out there or two.

J: are the families smaller now days?

C: How does well-far feed them? The whole family.

L: it depend on what you call family.

C: Your children...well-far feed?

N: I think its all of them.

J: yea, they.

C: If they have 5 Of them?

J: Yea

N: I have cousin, That had 7 of them who did it on well-far.

C: And they feed them all?

L: they did that here?

N: Yes.

C: I thought that they feed one or two.

N: No, as long as your not married. It's weird because its as long as your not married. They will feed you. If you get married they will stop.

C: Why get married?

N: that's only of you're a women. With babies.

C: Babies. Years ago you have another women. Another wife and make some more.

L: that Government?

N: I think it's the government.

J: it's the State. I think it's the state. That takes care of well-far and med-cal and stuff like that.

L: I don't know.. state pays them?.....

.....

C: well what else do we got to get too?

J: ok lets see some questions. What you normal type of food? Like customs around food. What was the main thing growing up that you were eating out at? Farrington.. Did you mostly buy froma market?

C: No,

J: Did you hunt and fish? Or garden.

C: We did have garden but I don't know. The people long time ago had used to live. Are you familiar with farrington?

J: I see it when I drive by it.

C; There used to be an old house.

L: you take that old road.

J: N: OK

C:Is there a little cabin still there? The log cabin.

L: you mean right in the corner there?

C: Well up that way there used to be along that fence line. We used to have a lot of water. Along that fence line there used to be rubarb and grapes. Those people used to have a little garden in there.

J: and that was to supply enough...

C: That was just for the summer. My mother's dad Henry he had a potato garden. Little

L: When I was growing up. We moved to town from out there and used to be little farms out there. Thought out th area because there was lot of water. Every on had a little plot. You can still see reminisces of the little farms.

N: that's when you were a kid?

L: yea, we moved to town. About every house had a little plot. It is not congested like it is now. So they grow stuff and kids where just kids. We would go through the strawberry patches at night. And things like that. Everybody had things like that all over. Corn, tomatoes whatever you needed. Fertile ground out there.

J: so people grow just tomatos and you guys would just barter with the.....

C: Potato....my grandfather.... He had a little potato farm going on. For the winter.

L: where you guys come from you have excess.

J: Yea.

L:spoil....

C: Then they used to have to sell of they keep thing like that potatos.

J: can it kind of?

C: No, they had under ground cellars.

L: got to Idaho and you will see them. All of the potato cells.....

J: they will stay good for a long time.

N: that was before refridgeration. Still go's on. Cool!

C: Frank and them

L: every house had them.

J: they were all under ground.

C: Cabin back door tunnel.

L: did ranches have them?

J: I was wondering how it worked back then. To make food last longer.....

.....

C: they done a lot of what you call canning.

J: for the winter. In the winter would you eat the excess that you had from the summer or store it? Because the winter are pretty hard up here. Aren't they? It get's cold?

C: Well up there...

J: but not down here?

C: I don't know...really... had any hard winter like up there. It hard up there and the snow....Yea up there though it gets cold.

L: yea they gather a lot of good stuff..... Call it buck.

C; they used to have the cart down there..... Like black berry or buck berry. I think buckberry.

L: it grows up the mountain. And in the creek.....

J: seasonal?

C: yea.

J: was that tradition for the past few hundred years?or was that?

L: its been going on forever.

.....

L: its been modernized... But all of the meat and game in those days where dried out.

J: leave it outside and then let it dry.

L: like beef jerky.

J: did you ever us the salt form Mono Lake.

L: Still do I have soap mad out of Mono lake.

N: where do you get it?

L: from the lake.

J: From the lake, south?

N: do you make it?

L: no I have friend that makes it.... Used to be friend.

N: that another story.

J: another questions is. When your mom was logging for Mono Mills what where the routes that they used? Was it that main road?

C: Well they lived not that to far from it... that walk abck to work there.

J: would they used Donkey, Mules and Horses?

C: The used Horses.

J: For Logging?

C: I don't know, but they had some old trackers for logging.

.....

L: they transported the machinery over there to the railroads.

C: then they put it together over there.

L: they used Oxen to get over there.... To get the parts over there.

.....

J: this is the end of the railroad for back east?

C: so straight to Reno from LA. Some where.

J: they would unlaid some where?

C: down there. They would call it Queen Station. You remember Janies ranch?

L: Over by Janies ranch?

C: That's Queen stations.

L: what was Janies ranch?...

C: HAHAAH That's where the women worked.... The truck drivers...

N: What kind house did they live in? did they?

C: well we stayed in. that was little tent? That house that my grandfather lived in. His family and my aunt married guy from here. And they he work at places. That all that lumber they got. That house the got from Lee Vining creek. Sold the property and moved over to Farrington. That's where they stayed. The other House.

J: when did they do that?

C: 30's? when every they sold the land in the 30's?

L: not sure when they sold the land? I don't k now when they where there? Before my time. I don't know how many alotments they had?

C: Well they had one down there by Lee Vining.... Then there suppose been who was where by Lee Vining creek. My grand motherand then my....

J: So your grand mother lived off Lee Vining Creek?

C: Yea, by Mono lake.

J: fresh water.

C: do you know where Lee Vining Creek is? Go down towards the lake.
 J: Leroy has been trying to show me. I think I've seen it.
 C: its right there.....
 L: you don't have learn everything. Just the general area.
 N: So do you know where that is on here?
 L: Lee Vining Creek?
 N: yea.
 L: oh yea. Below town. See that creek.
 J: Who did your family socialize with? When they were working at Mono Mills?
 C: Whoever they had.
 J: Chinese? Or the white man logging?
 C: who ever. Had contracts with them.....Just like now days if you have contract down here now if cutting hey or grass.
 J: you would interact with them.
 C: yea.

 J: was there any like ceremonies where practices back then?
 C:
 J: that would bring in other people? From the community and other areas.
 C: they never really socialized that much.
 J: ok then didn't socialized.
 C: Out siders like a... you know.. if your not indian.. well you wouldn't know. Would you?
 J: me? I am open.
 C: I mean your family. You wouldn't come around Leroy and my gathering.. the Indian Group.
 J: I'll be to shy.
 C: Yea you would.
 J: did you family ever invite? Close to a Chinese group or Hispanic group? Do say you want to join us? For a festival? Or place?
 C: That the truth its might..... most of that spiritual.... You just barely going to take that.
 J: what about the sheep herders and the sheep and cow herds would they join in the spiritual events?
 C: No
 L:no, but different events that they had.
 C: a lot of Spanish People from Spain.
 J: what kinda event would that be?
 C: dancing around.
 J: dancing around having a good time.
 C: all kinds of stuff. You know we like kind of like the powwow that good one. I say lets go to the powwow over here in Bishop the have pretty go dance down there. There will be people come from all over. What will come to your mind first?
 J: If I went to the Powwow?
 C: Lets say that I invite and al say they are going to have all over dances and drummers. What will come to your mind.

J: I think it would be awesome, but I study Anthropology.

L: you got Leroy drumming, you got her drumming and my drumming ok and big circle and the way they dance is different then you and I hoop-it-up. Now.

J: I would find very interesting. The style and everything.

C: You would go only one time and never go back.

J: one time. I would.

C: maybe but it's the same old thing over and over.

J: its not the samething. Each area has in own unique theme.

.....

J: its like festival every year.

L: we have the traditonal type.... They have these fancy dancing.

C: That's why I go down there to watch them. Dancers like that.

J: do you have your private dances. Like those in your community center? Your own private powwow in side... Public?

C: we some body that's.. you could do it right here if find someone.

J: is it getting hard to find someone now days. Is the tradition being lost over time?

Or

L: It depends you got what you call different tribes. Different sun dance it religious really religious. Iv'e been invite to but haven't really. My niece lives in Idaho one is married to guy from Fort Utah they put on Sun dances..... I haven't gone yet. Hopefully before my time comes I will make...

C: Those sun dance that he talking about are pretty interesting...

J: have you guys ever participated in a dance? Or circle.

C: Yea, when ever I go. Well just go and walk around in a circle. She got her drum and your singing and your sing this round here.. round drum and we one dance here and we go around we dance her drumming the you go around around. With different kind of dance. They got fancy dancer and women ladies dance.

J: You got different style of dancing? Was that passed down oral from your grand parents. And you and your mom and dads

C: Yea,

L: its all been modernized.

J: OK

L: a lot of these fancy dances are called costumes but we call it regalia. You know.

J: yea.

C: they don't like people the danceers

N: do you wear the regalia at the special event where its private.

L: what ever event you got is special. You might what you show to the public. The sun dance yo have special..... made for that. You know. It depend on who does what. They want you this way when go in to there area you do there way.

N:So sometime yo probley do it a little different.

L; I think there are so many tribes so close together that there problobly just one. I have heard different storie about people in Oregon. That live in California and how they care theres on. I don't know if that is traditional or not. I can say I never been to. I know people that go to them. I I say it modernized, so in different areas its not like powwow where it public where they can come. They like that because they are taping it. Its not suppose taped or pictures.

J: at Bishop they are not allowed to take pictures or anything like that?

L: You can take picture they will tell you that. But there are certain events that are not allowed to take a camera or recorder.

J: it kind likethe

L: Powwow say for example the dancers are doing there thing the traditional caring on wearing the regalia. Not like they do for show, so eagle feather is one sacred.... Each.. piece ornament but not ornament. They use that special for the male dancers. Used to be the only ones who could do the dance. No a days I notice that women wear them too. They wear them on a hat and if they're single they wear one. I think it's straight up and if they're married they wear it loose. Stuff like that. Different areas...but if you dropped that on the ground everything stops. Used to be that one of big medicine or higher, way higher, were the only one to do a little ceremony. Then I guess one of the great warriors used to be the one to pick it up. Now a days you use a veteran if he was there. We'll have him come and pick it up. Nobody else could touch it. Things like that especially. And nobody use one for special reason. I was given 2 eagle feathers. I never carry them with now but I am supposed too. I leave them at home. A lot things are so sacred. Everything is so modernized now. It does look the same way anymore.

J: it's lost its feeling in some way?

L: a lot of it has. You know because they not in charge of you anymore so when enter the powwow grounds and different areas.

J: Can the manifest in any ways.

L: no, no.... These powwows now are just are socialized... not like it used to be.

J: does it help the community out? When they are charge for people to come in.

L: you just have to have community that puts it on year after year Because it helps you out for next year.

J:K

C: They say when your doing something like that bad for you.

L: but not now days its for the public now.

C: doing what ever your doing what ever is sacried for that groups..... cant do that now because just like he said.

L: what place they stile some place cant get off the ground unless you charge admission.... Now...

J: OK, I am going to ask you questions about some recent memories about your life from growing up from like a child until like pretty much now. From your child hood what do you really like remember most about live over in the Mono area.

C: Well.... Yea.. I have two of them.. Yea but .. growing up I growing over there and over here. Well most of it will be over there.

J: Are some of the favortive places you like to go with your family? In the summer time jus to get a way.

C; We didn't go anywhere. We had everything right here.

N: yea, it true.

C: We would go fishing. We had it right there if you want go hiking. It right there something we or go around hunting. Like we go way over when have the aminals thing here.

J: Where would you go fishing at? What lakes/

C: You have June Lake, Grant Lake and sliver lake and.... Way up top Tioga lake , Toulumme medows ou can go all around there Lundy lake.

J: where was your favorite place to go to when your where younger?

C: the only place we would to is little place over there called Parker Lake. Or Walker lake or Gibes lake. We stay... lake up there. But it hard to et there. They have golden trout up there.

J: nice.

C: But these other places where we catch these native fish.

J: are they all trouts?

C: say what?

J: are they Mostly trouts, like rainbow, brown.

C: yea. German trout they are Native they better testing meat and cook better.... The planted fish...

J: the planted fish, yea they are not the best of the fish.

C: its something to keep you full.

J: what would you hunt? What would be your hunting grounds.

C: Right there.

J: right there.

C: Mono Lake.

J: Mono Lake.

C: the is deer, ducks things like that right there you don't have to go to far. Ducks. We used to have.... I don't remember seeing to many quails. Do they have any quails there that you rememeber?

L: Yea they still have quails there.

.....

J: would you use bird shoot?

C: birds?

L:when?

J: When you go hunting? With a shot gun? For the ducks stuff.

L: it matter on what you have a 22.cal

J: yea that a little bullet.

.....

C: Moslty Fishing. In the summer you have to walk. It was good for you.

L: Cecil he is a walker. We've done that pass over to Yosemite.

J: that whole back way?

L: we've done the whole thing.

J: was that the trail that that Pomo came over to Mono are?

L: I don't know the Pomo.

J:Ok

C: same one that got the got through the group. With Yosemite. That there pass how it started really. From what I hear. Do you remember Sam Kenny?

L: well, yea

C: he used to be singer for funrals and dance. Well he told me he was Pomo. He said lonmg time ago they used to stay right there by fish loop. Right there. Back in there they used to stay and when they came over. He said they well the gather pine nuts and take it over to Yosemite for trading. The go over to find the time for trading

arcorn. What even they had over there. That would trade with. They said they went through the year.

J: That one pass? That you used to hike when you were younger? That one.

C: this what I think.... The wnet there throuhgt Black rock, but he did say which way he went but through black rock. Over the Mono Lake and go over to Yosemite. But they did say anything about horse.

L: but there is trail. I never could find it It go's straight across the creators. Straight a cross.

C: THIs what they said. That is they took. They said the take ti Yosemite. Guess the took pine nuts. Over there to Kwasbe.

L: yea they took that and eggs. They took obsidian. They took what ever they had. They took some this.. little bush and big bush with the little green stems for tea.

J: and trade that?

L: Yea.

J: nice

L: They got plenty for food the got to use They do the same thing they are closer to oceans to get sea shells. Them things like that and bead what they don't have here they had to trade.

J: how lomg did that last until?

C: I don't know?

L: it tradtion that is caring on.

J: its still going on active.

L:First few years we did gather stuff and took over there. One year we took over rock where did they get it? Paul got it. But where did he get it?

C: I don't know?

.....

L: its over in that rock. And the and they carried that over. And the everything walk.. I rememeber that .. carried that part way. The they carried it the whole way. And then the next year the carred th e pipe but I am not sure if it is the next year. The they carried the hoop the little babe basket. You can see pictures of it. It has a little hood on it. One would care that. They carry different things like that. I don't know what they call that they call it the walks they tried to get and you know Marrshall tried to run it.

C: it thing he tried to....

L: they had different meaning for what they want. The start to drop the traditional anymore it got worse and worse. And last 4 and 3 years I just dropped out.

J: It goes through its ups and downs?

L: It's going down if it straightens up and is done the right way I'll walk it again, not 'til then.

J: Does a youth usually take charge of it or an elder or...?

L: We have a committee that supposedly it's supposed to work together. Eastern Sierra gets inside people...

J. OK

L. It started going downhill...

C: I used to get in it when they came over and all I could get was tea. I used to get that my sister and I used to gather and put it in a little bag and I used to have, you

know, some people that you know I respect or I had feelings for or something. And I would give one to that family and one to this family a bag of it and then they could take it back and have tea when they wanted.

L: There's a lot of things they don't have over there that we have. We see a lot of these baskets, different types of baskets with different colors.

J: That were made in a different area.

L: No, these willows and stuff they used, the color it is now, they're dyed by some roots from the other side that we don't have. The colors they bring that over there and they use that in the basket here. The coloring and the dying. There is stuff that they don't have that we have. Whatever it was they were short of that we had.

J: Whatever they have that you don't have you just trade that. That's interesting and its good that that is still going on.

L: We don't gather what they did. We try to continue the tradition on. We got enough pines maybe somebody will carry some. I'll carry a bag, I'll give to like we said some people up there that belongs to us we'll give it to them. They ask me a lot of times.and go out to the woods in certain areas they grow they call Pandora moth some seasons it has its uptake it depends on what time of year it is too. They grow to be about that long. You gather that and you dry it. A lot of people like that because they were originally used by grandfathers...if we can get some.

C: Yea, it's coming up here pretty soon.

L: The salt from Mono Lake we'll get some of that.

J: That's a big trader.

L: In the day there were a lot of things that were scarce...I guess they could use what they found in the cities too.

J: Cecil, did you ever play any sports growing up?

C: You mean what they play now?

J: Anything you played when you were younger, the sports you took pride in playing.

C: I don't know, it was a different kind of deal. Like baseball and things like that and all.

L: You used to play dodge ball with the girls.

C: Yea, that. You'd get in a big circle.

N: I think everybody played dodge ball.

C: It got a little rough. There was baseball and basketball, that's later when I grew up.

J: Did you play for like your high school or the school, did you play afterwards?

C: No, well, I played baseball later when I got older. I just never did I like to go to them. I like maybe 22 , 23 when I quit playing. I ask how play. Nobody asked usbut it's a lot of being out there. Yea. Basketball was it well iplayed it was good sports.... That where I hurt my leg. You know my heel. On that floor. That floor a long time ago with wasn't like this a cement. It was like this played at home on the ground. But are basketet you know we made our own to play.

J: so you made your own equipment? And stuff?

C: yes.

J: own sites.

C: yea

J: Play sports.

C: I guess we all done that. Who ever ant to play some thing and now we can't even get these kids out of the house. Look at there do you see anybody out there?

J: IIII, NO

C: right?

J: They are all watching TV.

C: The only. I guess the only one you see outside is who? ME.... Because they are all inside. I don't know? They don't enjoy themselves. This is the only time we can enjoy ourselves. You know? Now while we are still kicking you know. Wwe can do that down there. Can you?

J: No

N: No

C: yea we can go fishing I like to go when he go's out there fish and thing. I find myself now slow down a lot. I not like was over there you know.

L: Well you done it...

C: That it you see and chance you get. I go down there lets go to the casion where it cool. That is just excuse. You see.

J: yea, hahah. There is AC in there.

L: Asked me where to go out...Maybe you will come see me... I drive over here and nobody is home. Everytime I come over. Once and while always gone Bishop at the casion. You better be home some times. Not much of Cecil left.

C: well I haven't been gone never with my elders anymore. Janice she retried.

L: Grace was doing that.

C: She is? I haven't seen her?

L: your in different area.

C: They say she is... I haven't seen her.

L: She not there anymore not Janice.

C: No Grace, but that other little lady come over here every Monday. I like this waiting for, how would you say that off spring.

L: is that one who gives you the blood pressure checks?

C: yea

L: I know who your talking about.

N: so do you have any picture from the old day's?

C: noooo,

N: No thing?

C: Its bad luck.

N: oh ok. That good know.

C:I never have.

L: some body does have the pictures.

C: yea Lee.

L: Oh yea some body does. Someone family I know that.

J: what years did you end up joining the military?

C: Oh I left here in the 51.

J: In 1951?

C: Yea

J: for Korea?

C: yea.

J: where you Army, Marines, Navy?

C: well I joined the Marines.

J: Marines?

C: Yea. When I first went in.

J: Did you....

C: When I left Steward in 51. And this other guy I met in Lee Vining we went to LA and when we went to LA. We were hungry and no place to go and we were young guys and he said let go join the service and we waited in this long line you big long. Waiting around there. This other line was short and guys where going right through.

J: Marines?

C: Well I did know, but they took us. Well that's it is I was sent to San Diego.

J: To camp Penaltion?

C: Yea, at camp Penaltion. There we are. They put us in the barrickes and we stayed for a little while. Then they gave us our uniforms and got us in training. I only stayed there for 8 weeks.

J: For basic training?

C: yea, They sent us out.

J: what Marine unit where you in? With the 1st, 2nd disvion?

C: 1st.

J: 1st.

C: 1st Marine disivion.

J: 1st Marine Disivision.

C: First thing we know we where up there. Getting off a the Posaw, Korea.

J: yea.

C: Man it was cold. They sent us way up.

J: they sent you way up north?

C: yea.

J: Past the DMZ?

C: oh we where above the DMZ. Where they called chosen resavoir. We replace the 1st division that was locked in up there. The Korea they are bunch of black ants piss ants that is what they are.

J: yea.

C: when up that high. All the was thousands of those guys. And we replaced them and I stayed there for while. Oh was that cold.

J: you stayed throught the winter.

C: Its colder then Bridge Port. That place.

J: At least you had the coldness down.

C: anyways they sent us back down. There was hardly anything there. I don't know why the sent us there? But then came back to down to ... That where they sent us back to Japan. Then back to Camp Lajune in North Carolina. And I got discharged over there.

J: always on the east coast.

C: yea. Well they put us over there for rehab.

J: after you did you combat service.

C: yea we have rehab. Over there. I was scared. Scared. Scared.

N: taken the long line.

C: Scared.

N: taking the long line. You never found out?

C: no,haha I want to get out of there. That's why we took the short line.

L: maybe that was the line of rejects. You should have gotten in that one.

J: From Camp Lajune did you come back after wards?

C: yea I did.

J: How long was your service for?

C:3 years.

J: 3 years. Did you spend most of that time in Korea?

C: Well, about lets seen we spent 14 months over there. Oh man.

J: you were there for two winters.

C: It was cold. We came down to Soul durning the summer. Man there was mosquitos there. God my parner in pop tent would not even move. ... Those mosquitos, boy they were eating me up.

J: did you end up rejoining the service after the Marines?

C: oh yea! I came back here. And 54 in Lee Vining looking for work.

J: how old where at the time?

C: I was 21.. 22.

J: 22.

C: yea, I was looking for work over at the pumice. At that time they had lot of these aliens there.

J: aliens?

C: yea, Mexicans.

J: oh Mexicans.

C: yea, one of those. Yea you couldn't get a job. Then I went Mammoth. I tried look for work there I couldn't find nothing. Then I went to Bishop at that mine. Banay.

J: no, no, Jobs?

C: I went to the wrong place I should have went to that mills but I went up way up high there where they where mining. But I didn't know where to go? There weren't hiring. When I get back down the guy said do you know Robie Handras? He worked up there for a long time. I don't know how long. I was talking to him he said you should have went over to the mine I mean the mill. Said they where herring at mill when you were up there. I went back down. I was hungry, hungry. They gave us little. The missions in LA. They would give us these little bag lunch. There was no service there. You know we just eat. We were hungry. There was bunch people. And though oh heck..

J: go back in?

C: I asked this guy. Where was there and service. You know military service where they hire. Or not where you can reenlist. He said right over there. You go down the six street somewhere over there. I went down there met up with another guy and we went I said lets go in there in the Army. He had no eat no cloths just what I had on.

J: signed up right and ship off right then.

C: The sent us to Fort Ord. in California.

N: in Salinas right?

J: No Monterey.

C: where? Monterey Fort Ord

N: That's where my brother was born. My Dad was in the military. He was in the Air Force.

L: You probably moved all over.

N: My mom left my Dad before I was born. So I would have, they lived in Canada.

C: Oh

J: How long were you in the Army for did you go back to Korea?

C: That's how I got my second trip over there.

J: Was that at the end of the Korean War?

C: I didn't go that far the second time. Probably close to it. See when I went over there the first time there was hardly anything there. Everything was all tore up the trees were all...

J: Blown up.

C: Yeah. They didn't even have whole villages. When I got back the second time over there they had little stores and this and that.

J: G.I.'s bring the money in.

C: Well, yes.

L: Now has rebuilt it.

J: Was it still, were you still in combat? Was it still combat there in...

C: Well we had live amo going through there.

J: So you guys were self fire the lines?

C: When all they were not doin' it the last time.

J: Was it cease fire?

C: I don't know what it was, we were ready anyway. They had their pouch and everything filled up and all that. Just something that, well it wasn't too bad because I was...I didn't have to take boot camp over. They told me I already had prior [tag].

J: The Marines

C: What you would have here in the Army. So they let me go right on through.

J: It's still the same way. Say if you trained in the Marines and you go into the Army, basic training for the Army.

C: You don't have to.

J: No.

L: They told me that too.

J: So if you went Marines first and then you sign up for Army you don't have to do basic. And if you joined the Navy you'd have to do the Army basic training, or the Air Force. Yea.

C: Well that's all...

J: But the Marines, they don't have to do another basic.

L: ...it's about the same thing.

J: How long were you in the Army for, did you retire after it?

C: No, I was there nine years.

J: Nine years.

N: Wow.

C: I got out in '62.

J: Right at the beginning of Viet Nam.

C: I guess, I had nothing to do with that.

N: I thought it was '67.

J: '63 I think is when we brought the first troops to Viet Kong. It was really early.

L: It didn't start talk about getting out in the certain parts of the area...our troops, more or less true we started training people to go over there, stuff like that.

J: The build-up.

L: We're build up over there we had a lot of things...getting ready to go.

J: So you served twelve years all together?

C: Yea.

J: Between the Marines and the Army.

C: Yea.

J: That's a good [amount] of time. So you got out when you were about thirty-ish?

C: I was about, yea, I guess so.

N: Yea, because I just did the math.

C: I came back here again and tried to go back to Lee Vining and go to that pumice. I thought they should be hiring over there but they weren't.

J: What did you end up finding out here to work at after the Military? Nothing?

C: Nothing, I took off for Reno and then over there in Reno. I do like ... time, I was spacing those garlic plants. You know about that far apart.

J: You did agricultural work?

C: Farm work.

J: Farming work.

C: That's like the Japanese were payin' us \$10, I mean \$1, \$10 dollars, ten ones everyday. We'd go through life worse than the service for ten months. Stand in line about ten of us. Stand in line and get paid.

J: How long did you do that for?

C: Almost a month.

J: A month?

C: Pretty close. It's alright if you've got to have money. I had a, that's when I left all, then I met up with a guy from Garington or somewhere over there, an Indian fellow, thought maybe he was from Reno. He said, "Come on, let's go over to Stockton." They're picking fruit now or vegetables or something so we got over there but on the train from Sparks."

J: Sparks?

C: Yea, from Reno went over to Sacramento on the train.

J: Old Amtracs fault.

C: I guess that's what it was, but it took a whole day at that time. We went up through Donner Pass.

J: Donner Pass?

C: We went up through the tunnels.

J: I think they're still being used.

C: Yea.

L: ...

J: What did you do in Stockton?

C: I got to work on those ranches?

J: On the ranches?

C: Yea. I had to quit a couple of times. I took pickin' tomatoes ... I break out in a rash. Have you ever tried pickin' tomatoes, or anything...

J:...

C: Do you know they got ... and fuzz on the tomato plant.

J: Yea.

C: It can get into your skin or something.

J: That's what made you break out?

C: Yea, my whole hand [broke] out in a rash.

J: So after that when did you come back here and settle?

C: I came back here about in seventy I guess.

J: Seventy?

C: Not here but over at Lee Vining.

J: Lee Vining?

C: Seventy-two maybe.

J: What kind of jobs did you end up taking up here in Lee Vining.

C: There was nothing.

J: Ain't nothing.

C: So I didn't know that you could draw un-employment from the service.

L: Yeah, you can.

C: So I didn't know that and I don't know maybe John [Duderrow] told me. You know cause I couldn't find work. He said to go down there and apply for unemployment. So I did.

APPENDIX B

Interview with August "Auggie" Hess and his daughters, Vineca Hess and Heidi Hess Griffin

Interview by Roman Boiko, Robert Gelb, and Lily Van Osdol

At The Lee Vining Indian and Community Center on July 19, 2012

Robert: Is "Auggie" your real name? Your given name?

Auggie: Nickname yeah.

Robert: Yeah what's your...

Auggie: August. August is my first name. August Ernest Hess. They start calling me

Auggie: Way back. But first they first they used to call me Buster but then they changed it to Auggie.

Robert: And your date of birth?

Auggie: 1914, October 25.

Robert: October 25, 1914. And where were you born?

Auggie: Mono Mills.

Robert: And... I take it you were not born in a hospital?

Auggie: No (laugh).

Robert: And so where were you born?

Auggie: Out in the sagebrush.

Robert: Was it outside?

Auggie: No (laugh). One of those buildings. Probably one of those buildings there. You saw the pictures. There ain't no hospital or nothing there. Anytime you needed help they took you to Bodie. Bodie had the hospital.

Robert: That's like... a fair distance away. 32 miles.

Auggie: 30 miles. 32 miles yeah.

Heidi: How long did it take in the train, Dad?

Auggie: Well I don't know. It took quite awhile, you know, you went to the little roadster they had there.... It might take 4... 3 to 4 hours to Bodie. 32 miles (laugh). I really don't know about the time they had there.

Robert: Um was your father's formal name "Gus"?

Auggie: Gus... well he had a German name and I guess it was... "Isadore" was it?

Heidi: Gottlieb Isadore Hess

Auggie: You guys spell that.

Robert: I got it.

Auggie: What's Billy's name then?

Heidi: I didn't know his name. Do you remember?

Auggie: All I know is Uncle Bill.

Lily: And if I remember correctly, there is also another uncle, right, that lived in the States?

Auggie: What?

Heidi: Uncle Joe that came...? Who came with Grandpa first?

Auggie: Uncle Joe. But they separated in Aurora... But yeah Uncle Joe and my Dad came first to San Francisco. But like I said, I think they didn't understand the English language at all and they had numbers on them and this certain number came to San Francisco and they put all this certain number on the one train, you know, to get to San Francisco. Then he had an aunt there in San Francisco and she took them in there in San Francisco and made my dad and Uncle Joe go to school, learn English and become American citizens. Then Uncle Bill come a little later. And he did the same thing. He couldn't talk and he had to learn English and also become a citizen but that was later on.

Heidi: So how did they get to [San Francisco], Dad?

Auggie: Well, they come by boat and they were in the third class and that was really bad, you know, in one of those old time boats. And I guess they had quite a time and everyone got sick and all that. But they finally landed in New York and these numbers that he had all went to San Francisco so they put them on the train and that is how they got into San Francisco by train.

Heidi: And then the aunt in [San Francisco] is Aunt Sophie?

Auggie: Aunt Sophie yeah. Her name... the last name was Hess also. She worked for some big people there who had a lot of money and she traveled with them all over the country. I guess she was a maid or something. Then they finally landed in San Francisco and so I guess she had enough money there so she bought a place there and that is where she lived and died.

Heidi: Tell them of that picture of Aunt Sophie on the camel... Where was that?

Auggie: Well that was at... Well I don't know where it is at but that was in Egypt, you know, pyramids, you riding a camel there. I don't even know where the picture is.

Heidi: You got it at home somewhere. I've seen it somewhere. Yeah, I am like "Aunt Sophie in Egypt!" (laugh).

Auggie: She traveled with these people all over the country and all over the world.

Lily: Now, she wasn't the one that brought your father and his brothers over. They did it on their own and they just stayed with her, right?

Heidi: Aunt Sophie, when did she come over?

Auggie: Well that must have been way back in the... maybe... my Dad witness the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco so it had to of been 3 years before that. Well that is when my Dad came in but Aunt Sophie must have been there maybe 10 years before that.

Robert: Do you remember or know your dad's date of birth and where he was born?

Auggie: Well all I know that close to Lake Lucerne there is a little village there with a certain name that I cannot pronounce...

Vineca: "Au-per-nauc" or something like that.

Auggie: "Au-per-nauc" or something like that (laugh).

Heidi: And you said they had a sister right?

Auggie: Oh yeah, two sisters but they never did come over here. They all stayed in Switzerland. And then he had two more brothers in Switzerland but they stayed there in Switzerland.

Robert: So six in the family?

Lily: In Gus's family? Not Auggie's?

Auggie: My Dad's family in Switzerland.

Robert: Am I guessing it right that there are six in Gus's family?

Auggie: Well they had 4 boys and I think 2 sisters...

Robert: 2 so that makes six.

Lily: And how about yourself? You said you had a sister in the picture?

Vineca: Well there was Auntie Clara...

Auggie: Well I had two brothers, they are both gone. Then I had two sisters and they're both gone. Well one was Clara, that was the oldest. She is one year old than I was. Then myself, then my sister Alma she came next. And then had two brothers come after that, Stanly and Larry. They're all gone but me.

Robert: And your mom's formal name?

Auggie: Her name was Lulu... L-U-L-U. Lulu Charlie. That is her maiden name.

Robert: And where was she born?

Auggie: ... maybe Rush Creek. There's a big nice meadow there at Rush Creek there and that is where seven families lived and she was born there.

Robert: And do you remember the year?

Auggie: I don't remember that.

Robert: And how many brothers and sisters did she...?

Auggie: Oh gosh! Lets see... They had four sisters and one brother. Oh that family...

Robert: Any chance you can take it back further than that? Do you happen to know your Dad's mom and dad?

Auggie: Well, gosh, well my dad's side... well I don't remember, Tina?

Vineca: Well that's Grams.

Heidi: Well, I know, Aunt Finney?

Auggie: Aunt Finney yeah!

Heidi: That was his sister though, wasn't it? Wasn't that Grandpa's sister?

Auggie: Finney, that was his sister's name but...

Vineca: We have it. We should have brought it.

[break in interview]

Vineca: But on Grandma's side, Young Charlie.

Auggie: Yeah that was her husband.

Vineca: Start from way back, remember. Go backwards from Grandma to her parents.

Heidi: Whose your grandpa and grandma?

Auggie: Well, Young Charlie was my grandpa and Nellie Charlie was my grandma on my mother's side... I don't know their maiden names (laugh).

Heidi: We have their Indian names somewhere. I don't remember it.

Robert: That actually might be helpful especially since we are trying to establish lineage... Okay well the one name I haven't got on here is Uncle Billy... That would be... there would be six kids in your family is that correct?

Auggie: No, five in our family.

Robert: Clara, Alma, Stanly, Larry...

Heidi: And Dad.

Vineca: And Dad.

Robert: And August. Now where does Uncle Billy fit into this?

Heidi: Uncle Billy is Gus's brother.

Robert: So we have Uncle Billy essentially as your Uncle Billy. Got it.

Vineca: And we are going to really confuse you. He married Grandma's sister. Two brothers and two sisters.

Lily: Oh cool. So what was the sister's name?

Vineca: Mildred.

Auggie: And they had two boys... and two girls. Two boys and two girls...

Robert: And so who did Billy marry?

Heidi: Billy married Mildred.

Robert: Mildred... and Mildred is...

Heidi: Lulu's sister. Mildred Charlie... married William Hess. And Lulu Charlie married Gottlieb Hess.

Auggie: Nellie Charlie is my grandmother.

Heidi: And they had... is Josephine the oldest?

Auggie: Yeah.

Heidi: Josephine...

Robert: ...is?

Heidi: Daughter.

Robert: Is daughter of Billy?

Heidi: Billy and Mildred's daughter, Josephine... Patsy, Raymond...

Auggie: And Donnie.

Heidi: Is it Donald or Donnie?

Auggie: Donnie is all I know.

Heidi: And Donnie. And they all had the Hess name too. The last name Hess.

Robert: That's a pretty good start! Okay, so, do you want to take it away? Should we proceed on our list now that we've got this taken care of? Would you all like to see this list?

Roman: We can look at that back there.

Lily: I was wondering if we can maybe get questions about Mono Mills out of the way first since that is the research? And I know you only lived there until you were five, right? So, only four or five years to remember (laugh).

Roman: Yes, so just... you can start off by just telling us anything that comes to mind first, anything about your childhood, what you did outside...

Auggie: Well, Mono Mills, I really didn't do too much I was too young. I was born there and maybe up to four years old and then we moved. But, like... one of the pictures there shows the threshold.

(Heidi, Vineca and Auggie are looking for the picture in their folders)

Heidi: Where is it, Dad? It had the kids on it and everything.

Auggie: Anyway, there's a picture of the... maybe I put them away already... See that's the skidways unloading the timber on the hill and underneath there's sawdust and so forth and I faintly remember playing underneath with my two cousins, my sister and another cousin. And I faintly remember Nat Smith giving us a ride from the boarding house there down into the water... where the water is... the locomotive... and that was about 400 yards that he gave us a ride on the locomotive. Then I remember in front of that building there where we're sitting there's a big trough out in front where water kept running in... fresh water for people coming through there from Benton and so forth and get a drink of water and fill their canteens if they wanted to. It was nice fresh water from the spring. A big one out in front. I remember that. And I remember where the grocery store was and that's it right here. And that's all about that I know about them. 1918, everything stopped. There's no more Bodie and no more mining and nothing, so they took up the rails. My dad was in charge of taking up the rails. And it says here, 1913 til 1918 that's when my dad worked there. Then with the closing down of mines and the mining activities at Bodie, there was no more demand for lumber or cord wood anymore, so it was greatly diminished and the lumber company had to close operations in 1918. The rails and equipment were sold. All irons and the scrape irons and the locomotives and everything and the rails to the south to San Francisco. Somebody bought them. I guess the steel workers there in [San Francisco] bought them. I always said that they sold to the Japanese I think and that we got them back in bombs (laugh). So that part my Dad did. And my mother... that's where my dad met my mother at Mono Mills because a bunch of Indians working there at Mono Mills doing all kinds of work. They had a little settlement there and they stayed there in the summer time and in the wintertime they went back to their homes. Then of

course Mono Mills was closed during the wintertime. There was too much snow and there were nothing. Except a bunch of Basques, they stayed there all winter in what they called the logging camp (that's four miles south of Mono Mills) and they cut timber all winter long and stacked it and hauled it to the logging camp there. When spring broke out the train went up that far and got all the wood and took it to Mono Mills and processed it there and then loaded onto the railroad and shipped it to Bodie. Of course, all during the summer it was still in operation and still cut wood. But in the winter time, they stayed there even when they had a lot of snow and stayed there and cut the wood and cut the timber for to pile up at the log camp there.

Robert: So the families left Mono Mills in the wintertime except for the Basques and you said...

Auggie: No my dad and mother stayed there in Mono Mills during the wintertime even. But there was nothing to do, just kind of kept it up. And I think the store was kind of open, once in a while there. That's during the wintertime, but during the summertime it was going there. There was a lot of people milling in around from Benton going to Mono Lake. Mono Mills was about halfway through and they got water there and so forth. They used teams and mostly on horseback because the roads at that time were so sandy they could drive through there. Then when they started using trucks they spent most of their time digging themselves out of the sand (laugh). The roads were so sandy.

Lily: Do you know the story of how your parents met?

Auggie: Yeah. Like I was going to get to that. My mother worked there at Mono Mills at the camp and they had quite a little settlement there, the Indians, and they worked there in the woods there and so forth and she was a cook. And she cooked for 30 people there everyday and her sister also helped her. The two of them cooked for 30 people everyday and every meal. And 1912, I guess somewhere along that, my dad he was working there as a blacksmith at the turn-about room there, at the big shop there, and that's how he met my mother there. And they got married in Carson City '13 or something like that. No, '12 I guess because my oldest sister was born a year later and that's '13. And little Auggie Hess come along 1914. So that's the way that... so I guess a happy family there for about 2 or 3 years... 4 years maybe and the reason my dad got there was he came to Bodie from Aurora and he got a job there in Bodie and the first thing that happened to him there was he fell into a shaft about 40 feet and broke his leg and he had a heck of a time getting that thing mended. And finally got a minute, while he was crippled up there, he met a fellow by the name of Emil Bileb and he was in charge of the railroad from Bodie to Mono Mills and he was also in charge of Mono Mills. He got acquainted with my dad and they got along pretty good so Mr. Bileb asked my dad if he wanted a job and my asked him what to do and he said you got to go to Mono Mills, be a blacksmith and a machinist. So he didn't have no job and he was trying to get healed up. But, anyway, he took the job and that's how he got into Mono Mills.

Robert: I've got an off-the-waller for you. You happen to know if your mother was ever, or your parents were ever given a birth certificate.

Auggie: No I don't think so. I don't anyone...

Robert: To your knowledge, understood, any registry about Native American Indians being born?

Auggie: No, I don't think so. I am sure there were some Indians born right there at the little camp. There was one boy there who didn't have no name. This little boy used to come around, different places looking around, a little boy wondering around. He didn't have no name. And they asked him if he had a name and he said no he had no name. So the people who worked in the woods there decided to give him a name. So they called him Jasper... that was the foreman's name. They gave him the name Jasper. Jasper Jack the name was. So that's how he got his name Jasper Jack. And I think most of the Indians around this area got their names from the people they worked for. I know right down there in Bishop where lived theres Barlos Street and all that and a big farm by the name of Barlos and a lot of Indians called Barlos. I think they used to work for them and they took the name.

Lily: Do you think that is what happened with the Charlies?

Auggie: Charlie... Young Charlie came over from Yosemite, Miwok Indian, and then he met my grandmother and they get married. Our people went over to the Yosemite side and get married over there also. The Indians got along really good with Yosemite Indians and they all traded back and forth for different things but they used to the old trail, they had to walk (there were no roads then).

Lily: Do you know where the trail is if we give you a map... Does that map have the trail?

Roman: Yes, so we also brought this map and we were wondering if you remember any specific locations including that trail....

(looking at map)

Auggie: Now where are we at? That's Mono Lake and Mono Mills. What is this?

Lily: What is that? Oh this is us.

Roman: This should be Jerry's House I believe. And Lee Vining is right there...

Lily: So where would this trail be?

Auggie: Now let's see. Right up here you have to go to Walker Lake right here see and there's road going up to Walker Lake and then from Walker Lake to Sardine Lake and then there is a little Sardine Lake they called it. And then there is a summit there called Mono Pass and we camped there one night then the next time we walked into Tuolumne Meadows... Anyway we go to Tuolumne Meadows then from Tuolumne Meadows to Tenaya Lake...

Lily: So Tenaya Lake, which would be off the map... we obviously need a bigger map...

Auggie: So we went to Tenaya Lake and then from Tenaya Lake we went to a place called Snow Creek Pass then from Snow Creek Pass we went right down into Yosemite Valley... but this don't show real good like some of the maps I got.

Roman: So it would take a couple of days to get down to Yosemite along that trail?

Auggie: It took us four nights and five days.

Vineca: When he was young, he went over with the ladies. Tell about that Dad.

Auggie: The ladies?

Vineca: Grandma and them. Didn't you ride with them?

Auggie: Well this was 1929, the last Field Days they had there in Yosemite. I happened to... they took me along with them. In Yosemite, Field Days is a big celebration for Indian folk, about a week they stay there and they have all kinds of games. [End?] games, that's a traditional game that they play all the time, and the last two or three days they play night and day. If they get tired, they have substitutes of course. And they have... the men they competing against horseback, you know, riding and musical chair... all that kind of stuff. They have that thing they call potato race. They had a great big bucket in the middle of the arena, then they had a lot of potatoes in there and the Mono Lake side would be over here and the Yosemite side over there and they had big spears. They go and spear the potato and all of them would try to get it back to their place and of course the other people would try to knock it off. It was kind of a rough game. That's another game they played there. Then they had horse racing. Tom, Harry Tom, he took his horse from over here and he usually wined there. Then he ride this one race Roman-style, you know with one foot on one horse and one foot on the other and they'd go around the big arena. He won that and I'm sure... yeah he was pretty good with horse. His brother Mac Tom was a trick rider and he did all that kind of trick, going on the horse and running along and all that. Then they had quite a time at night, there was a big band playing and everyone enjoyed that. Of course, a lot of drinking going on... that was bad but...

Roman: Did you participate?

Auggie: No I was just a little boy (laugh). Just looking. I wasn't really. I was about 12 years old. I wasn't really small but I didn't have nothing to do there but go over there and watch.

Vineca: How did you go over?

Auggie: My uncle, Daisy Mallory's husband, Jack Mallory, he had a sedan Dodge 1932... 1922 Dodge Sedan and he piled us all in that and we all went in that. Every water hole we came to we had to put cool water into the radiator and it got steamy you know. This was on the old road and that was pretty tough.

Vineca: How'd you get back?

Auggie: Well, we came back the same way as Tenaya Lake and I got to ride in the back of another lady who I knew real well... she put me in the back of her [vehicle]... and I road from Tenaya Lake to Mono Lake on horseback with her. We camped out over night and bears would come around and scare all of our horses away. A fellow by the name of Sam, he would go and round up the horses every morning and then we start out again. And so there was the end of that.

Vineca: Was there a scary part with the trip?

Auggie: The bear was the only bad part.

Vineca: I think it was through the Blue Slide. The rocks or something. You had to be quiet.

Auggie: No. I don't know about that.

Vineca: Didn't they... when you were riding through Blue Slide or something you had to be real quiet because of the avalanches.

Auggie: No. I don't know.

Vineca: Oh that is what I always remembered hearing.

Auggie: Another time, this has nothing to do with the Indians, I went up there with the boys 186... well, almost 200 cattle and we brought them through the Blue Slide... herding cattle to Ellery Lake and Tioga Lake and they ranged up there during the summer then in the fall we had to bring them back down. That's quite a job. So some of us guys stayed up there all summer just watching the cattle. The foreman would come up there once in a while to bring cereal and potatoes and stuff like that.

Vineca: How old were you?

Auggie: Then? I would say about maybe 16 years old. Maybe 14 to 16, somewhere along that. We were cowboys then (laugh). Then we didn't have nothing to do so we made the cattle cross this little pond just for excitement.

Vineca: What else did we do for excitement?

Auggie: Another time we come around one of those great big turns, right around Ellery Lake down on the old road, we was racing another guy and I and we get over here and we run into a car. He threw us both over to the left into the rocks. If we went to the right, we would have went into the lake. And the guy we've run into was the boss. He was bringing supplies to us. But anyways that was another story.

Vineca: How did you get your birth certificate?

Auggie: How? The only thing I know of was Emil Bileb, he knew me, you know because of my dad, and he was one of the witnesses. Carrie Bethel made a lot of nice baskets. She also worked there at Mono Mills and she knew me and she was another who witnessed my birth certificate. That's how I got my birth certificate.

Vineca: I thought a Chinese man had to witness it.

Auggie: No I don't know about a Chinese man.

Lily: Oh well since we're on that do you remember about Mono Mills considering the different people that were there or anything, any stories?

Auggie: Well I don't know anything there but afterwards I get to reading about it and they had the Chinese settlement there, Indian settlement, Basque settlement, and the course the Americans living there at the boarding house (in the rooms there). Yeah, they had quite a few Chinamen working there from what I understand. But I didn't know anything about them when I was there. All I can remember is the big camp there. The Indian camp that is all I know. It wasn't a big one either, just a small one.

Lily: What did you guys stay in in these camps? Did you guys have cabins or were they tents?

Auggie: No, they had tents, makeshift, any kind just to stay in the summer. No regular village, you know. But on Rush Creek were my grandpa stayed he had a nice ranch there. He had cattle and horses grazing. Then they had a nice big room with all they had couple of little partitions in there and that is how they stayed. I don't even know if they cooked inside or outside or what. I think they had a big stove inside. That's it.

Lily: Well how about you tell me about how... because I mean you're grandfather... I mean father came from Mono Mills to Lee Vining. How did that happen?

Auggie: Well, 1918, like I said, everything closed down and he was out of a job. So Mrs. Cunningham at Tioga Lodge... and she got a hold of my dad and asked him if he would start a garage at her place. And down below the lodge he build a garage and my dad worked there for about 4 years or something like that. And so he worked on big cars, Duesenberg, Lincoln, and that's about all. Mrs. Cunningham catered to those big guys with a lot of money and so forth. Anyway, he was a good blacksmith and he fixed springs. Mostly in those days, the cars would break main spring and it was quite a job making one of those springs and my dad got to be real good at it. Of course there were other problems they had. The tires a lot of the time... new tires every time they had rough roads. It was bad. He worked there for about 3 or 4 years and this fellow by the name of Chris Matly who owned this whole property here, this ranch... and he also came from Switzerland but he didn't know my dad in Switzerland and he asked my dad if he'd come up here and start a garage and service station and then help him survey the land for development. And my dad said yeah okay and in 1922 my dad moved up here. He had the first service station here, first garage, then they laid out the town site and all that and my dad helped that get the utilities in. He wasn't the main guy but he helped. And then people start coming in. All over they start coming in. And it got to be a little town then. But when we moved here there was nothing but one little old building here. And people ran a tiny little grocery store. They didn't have much in there but their names were [Bervens?] and that was by Nicely's parking lot. And just one little building and that's all there was there in Lee Vining. Outside the big farms and a lot of cattle raising out there. A lot of big willows all around, alfalfa field and so...

Lily: What did you mom do during this time as well?

Auggie: Well, she was with my dad and she just helped my dad cook and had 4 or 5 kids and she took care of us and my dad and Uncle Bill. They were more or less together. Uncle Bill was also with my dad. First they had moved up here by this here trailer park then they didn't have no Tioga Pass coming down there back then. No way to get here unless you go way down to Mono Lake and come back this way or come in from the Benton way and come to the old road by Rush Creek. The [old] Tioga pass came up by the Andrews' place, do you know where the Andrew place is? The place will be on the right, on the side of the gas station...

Vineca: Where Jerry and Terry live.

Auggie: You can see an imprint of a road going up there, that's the old Tioga pass road. And it stopped there at the ranger station and then the road would come on top, and you can see the airport coming down to Mono Lake. There's no road in between. When my dad came up here in 1922, I think in '24 or '25 they built the road from the forest service down to the creek here in Lee Vining and my dad figured all the business is going to be out in that end and he moved the garage where the fire station is (that is where the garage used to be on the old road) and then they moved it up to the other end of town. They figured they get the first shot of all the

tourists coming in. So that's why he moved it up there. That was on forest service land over there.

Robert: Did your family give up or keep any of the Indian ways, the customs, I mean because we are hearing a lot about great stories about Dad and what an industrious man he was. Did he allow Mom to keep her ways? Was there any compromise in the family?

Auggie: No. My dad was a nice going... he always kinda go-happy and everything was okay with him. But they do have a grave there at Rush Creek where all the old people got buried. That is where Young Charlie is buried. I don't know, have you been down to Rush Creek much?

Robert: No, I would like to go down to Rush Creek.

Auggie: There is an old Indian cemetery there. And there is a lot of old timers buried there. But my grandmother was buried out here in the Mono Lake Cemetery. And all my brothers, my two brothers are buried there and my mother and dad are buried. Mono Lake Cemetery they call it.

Robert: How about any Indian customs or traditions or anything your family kept?

Auggie: Any what?

Robert: Traditions or customs or that your mom may have handed down to you or practiced in the home. Do you recall any of that?

Auggie: I don't recall anything that my mother... she was always nice to me, always treated me real good that is all I can remember. And my dad, he played the French horn in Switzerland and he came over here and taught us kids all how to play instruments. I played the trumpet, my brother Stan played the saxophone, and Larry, he played the drum a little bit but he was the youngest one so he wasn't there too much, and my sister Clara played the piano. We had quite the little orchestra here.

Heidi: It's called the Hess Band.

Robert: You could have had your own baseball team with all those.

Auggie: Yeah, well I did have a baseball team also (laugh). There were two families on board... the baseball team, the Hesses and the Donderos. Four Hesses and four Donderos and we had to get an outsider to come in.

Lily: So did you guys play with other teams?

Auggie: We played in what was called the Eastern Sierra league. We played against Bishop, Independence, Lone Pine, Ridgecrest... then we also played out in Nevada. We had some good times. Some exciting deals. I was a pitcher and one day this guy from Bishop...

Vineca: Tell them how you started, though. They want to know more about the Indian stuff.

Auggie: [looking at baseball team picture that is hanging in the Indian meeting room at the community center] Well these are all Indian except this guy here. This is me here. That's Stan (my brother). That's Roy Dondero and that's his brother, Junior.

Vineca: You've met him. John Dondero.

Lily: THAT'S JOHN!

Auggie: That's Richie there. And these are... Earle Hess, a cousin. And that guy, Washington. And this guy is Mike Keller. He wasn't Indian but he looked like he's Indian. He helped for us a lot, while we practiced he helped us [with] batting practice and so forth. He was a good guy. He liked me real well.

Heidi: Where did you play at?

Auggie: Oh (laugh), you know where the school is now? The high school here? There was no high school then and there was nothing but willows and swamp there. And I cleared all that out. My dad let me use the trucks to clean it out with them. And we pulled all the... I didn't have too much help but a little bit of help and we pulled all those willows out of there and got gravel and stuff and sand... and during the weekends the county will let me use the grader and smooth... they wouldn't help but they said here's your grader... so that's how I got started when I built this here baseball field. Then we got into it good. Joined the Eastern league.

Heidi: Did you know how to run the grader?

Auggie: Not too much.

Vineca: Who taught you to play ball? How did you learn to play ball?

Auggie: My uncle, Uncle Dick Charlie. That was another bunch of Charlies and he's my uncle. He played for the Indian team here and we had a real good Indian team. They played all the roles and I was with them all the time watching them, doing the best I could. I wasn't playing for them. I started throwing the ball real good and that uncle of mine, he started showing me how to throw curve and so forth. So that's how I began to be a pitcher.

Vineca: And they took you with them [to the games].

Auggie: I don't know why they take me, I was a little guy. They do a lot of drinking and they always take me. There I was with them. I don't know why they always took me. But, I don't know it didn't seem like they always favored the young kids for some reason. I remember one time we played at Yerrington... I didn't play with them but the Indian team played there and they had a Model A Ford and a Roadster and the top was down, you know, and they threw me there and I'd sleep there and go along with them.

Lily: How long did you play baseball for?

Auggie: Well, [I played] baseball in the army and I played all through the army, baseball. When I got out that's when I started this team in 1948, somewhere along there. We played til the early part of the '60s.

Vineca: But you played for the college?

Auggie: Yeah I played college. Junior college then college in Pasadena.

Vineca: And you just about had a big chance.

Auggie: (laugh) Well yeah. There was about 886 of us trying out, you know, for southern California. There was this baseball team, the Angels... had a baseball team try out and about 886 of us tried out. And during the round, three of us and I was one of them. I thought I was gonna make it and they said I had to give them my address and you will receive a letter soon they said. But I never received the letter. But I did get a letter and it said Uncle Sam you report. So finished my baseball career. So I played baseball all through the army. That's four years. When I got out it was too late then. So I started my own little team. That was my story with that. But I had a lot of fun playing with the Army though, playing baseball. Played against a lot of good players.

Robert: Did you tell me before that you were in North Africa when you were in the service?

Auggie: That's were I played baseball, all through North Africa. First we went to England. We stayed there for about four months. Then we went down to North Africa. I was a crew chief on an airplane and we had to put 62 planes together, put the wings on, you know, one thing or another, belly tanks, fill them with gas... because the P-39s, they only have two-range, you know. And we wanted more range, about a 7 or 8 hour range because we fixed these airplanes and got them ready and they flew them clear down to North Africa. That's a 7-hour trip. So we had to put belly tanks on them to get extra fuel and 62 of those planes started out and we lost about 20 all together going down. Then when you get down there... before this, we were at Echelon 116 of us went to do... and our main outfit came later on and they came into Casablanca that way, into North Africa and then we all met at a

place called Ouzde and we all got together again. And they had equipment and everything for working on planes and so forth. When we were in England, we didn't have no equipment nothing, we had heck of a time even changing a sparkplug. We didn't have no wrenches or anything. But when we got to North Africa we got situated with tools and, you know, extra engine and so forth. Then we started strafing there on into a place called Tunis. That's still in North Africa. Then we went up to Sardinia then another one, Algaria... two islands there in the Mediterranean Sea. Then we finally back to main land in Italy, around Rome. Then from there we went to the Leaning Tower of Piza, you've heard of that. That's were we were stationed, that's when the war was ended in 1945. So that was that.

Lily: What did you do after the war?

Auggie: I came home, messed around a couple years, not doing nothing, went down to Los Angeles. Then came home and took over... my dad and Bill said to take over the service station. So I started working the service station there and finally took it over. And then in the middle '60s, in that picture there, Standard Oil built that and I leased it from Standard Oil. That's my wife there. That's me. And that's when we had the opening.

Lily: And what year was that?

Auggie: Oh, the middle '60s, somewhere along that.

Lily: And how long was that open for?

Auggie: It's still open. It's that Chevron over here.

Lily: That's exact one?

Auggie: That's the one I used to have yeah. Then on the other end, Stan had the garage but then he passed on and it was turned back to me again. So, my wife and I ran the garage and the Exxon station there. And we also had the Standard Oil station. So we were pretty busy. Besides running a baseball team and playing in a band (laugh).

Lily: So how did you meet your wife?

Auggie: Well that's another long story. Well it wasn't too long really. I just got through the services and she came up from Los Angeles. She had an aunt up here. So she came up to visit her. Her husband at that time was in the service and he got killed and she had two little kids with her. And I got acquainted with her and we started going together. It wasn't nothing really bad but one time, how I met her is... my sister, I says why don't you go over there and make a date with me... for me (laugh). So she went over to my wife and made a date and we went to a dance and there was a... (laugh).

Heidi: Was it Auntie Clara?

Auggie: Yeah.

Vineca: You were really shy back then. You were shy.

Auggie: Oh yes. Pretty shy right now.

Lily: Is it just you two [Heidi and Vineca] as children or is there any other children?

Vineca: Dad's children, yeah, then we have a half-brother and our half-sister passed on.

Lily: Would it be alright if I ask what years you guys were born?

Vineca: I was in '49.

Heidi: '53. I'm the baby (laugh).

Vineca: But back to the cultural thing, you remember Grandma Nellie? Or Grandma's house?

Auggie: Sure, I was with them well every summer they sent me over... well not every summer but 2 or 3 times.

Vineca: At Rush Creek.

Auggie: Yeah but like I said they had a big building like this but it was partitioned off for people.

Vineca: Do you remember any different customs that they had out there at Grandpa's house?

Auggie: Customs?

Vineca: I mean, do they do things different like the Indians do? Do you remember anything like that?

Heidi: Do you remember hand games or anything?

Auggie: I remember a few of them, yeah. And I watched them but they didn't interest me too much. They would sit there and sit there and sing sing sing. They would point out this hand and this hand and finally say there it is and it wouldn't be there and they would throw in some chips. That's how the hand game go.

Vineca: Did you go hunting?

Auggie: Not too much no.

Vineca: What about helping Young Charlie save the tribe?

Heidi: Everyone got real sick remember?

Auggie: Well yeah in this big home, everyone got the flu, got real sick. My grandpa and I, he made the soup and I got to pass it around to everyone. And I guess we save a whole bunch of them there. No one died but I guess we saved them all. But there was flu, everyone had the flu. An epidemic, you know. They couldn't do nothing for themselves, so I helped out. And Grandpa he fixed the soup.

Roman: What year was that? Was that the Flu Epidemic of '19? Or when was that?

Auggie: Well, that was when I was about 4 or 5 years old so yeah.

Roman: Well then that really did spread far if it reached all the way over here.

Vineca: Did you speak the language?

Auggie: Oh that's another thing. I spoke Indian. Didn't know English at all. And I had a hard time. Then finally went to school and wanted to be like the white man and speak... learn the language real quick. I start learning the language I still don't know real good but anyway... I didn't want to be Indian style anymore I wanted to be another way so I kind of lost track of the Indian language.

Robert: And what was the dialect, what was the name of the language?

Vineca: It would have been Paiute.

Robert: Mono Lake Paiute?

Heidi: Kuzedika.

Lily: So does that mean your dad learned the [Indian] language too?

Auggie: Well when he... no he didn't know a thing about it... well I think he knew some of the Indian words, you know. Bad words probably. See like everyone learned the bad words first. No, no when he came over learned the English language. His aunt taught him to go to school. And she was real strict...

Heidi: So his native language is German?

Auggie: Yeah, German. They talk the German. I don't know why my dad didn't teach us the German. He was kind of afraid, afraid of getting knocked out of the country. At the time, the war was going on. I might tell you this too, my Uncle Bill was at Mono Mills and a lot of snow and he had to ski to Ferrington Ranch, that's I would say about 10 miles, something like that. Then he would pick up a fellow by the name of Everett Mattly at Ferrington ranch and then they skied from Ferrington Ranch to Bridgeport. On the way they picked up Richie Conway and went to Bridgeport to enlist in the army. Can you imagine that? Skis all the way! That must be 40 to 50 miles. There were no roads open in the winter here at... when it snowed in November the roads were closed until May the next year. So long winter. But now and days to roads open right away but back then they didn't have snow plows or anything.

Vineca: Did Grandma learn English?

Auggie: Oh yeah she was good. She learned at school I suppose. Crater school.

Lily: How about you tell us about how... what schools you went to and how was that?

Auggie: Well it seems to me that I went to Crater school first. Just in my mind, that's how it seems to me. That is how I started learning the English language. Then they closed that down and then build a school here in Lee Vining. No, excuse me, we moved to Tioga Lodge and then we went to school beyond Mono Inn about a quarter of a mile there. That's where the old school house use to be. That's where we went for 2-3 years, up til 1922.

Heidi: Where is the schoolhouse now?

Auggie: Well the museum, the old museum out there, that's the old school house we got down there.

Roman: So they actually moved...

Auggie: They moved it up here. They put it on skids and so forth and moved that thing up here.

Lily: And did you go to the old school house through what grade?

Auggie: Well down here, seemed to me like it was... just grammar school. And the teacher taught all grades. Just one teacher. We had about 20 students there. [Ms. Carrie Havens], I remember her, she was the teacher. She lived there at the Thompson Ranch. That's all I know...

Heidi: Do you remember how many students or anything?

Auggie: About 20. Sylvesters, Rodgers, Gilberts, Carringtons, Hesses... quite a few. What you got here, Mrs. Carrington... my dad took in a partner by the name of Carrington, a guy Carrington, and he had 6 children. And Mattlys, Chris Mattly who owned this ranch, he was a single man then. But he married into a family that had 6 kids. And they all came up here to live with him and that's... the Keller kids they called them so we all got together and they used to take me ride... herding cattle and so forth. They always took me along. One time, this big field where the mobile home is used to grow alfalfa there and they cut it down and put it on the wagon and I remember Vera Keller, he was the oldest of the Keller boys, and he was on top of the hay stack and we got by the bee hives there and they start coming around and, you know, they start chasing everybody, real rattled and all of a sudden he fell down and when he went down the pitch fork fell and nab him right through here (cheek) and scraped him just through here. And left a big scar. That was quite a close call. Those darn bees, eh (laugh).

Vineca: Is that were Murphy's Trailer park is now?

Auggie: Yeah. We gathered a bunch of young steers and ride them...

Heidi: Then you went to Bishop High School?

Auggie: Well Lee Vining only had 2 years of high school so we had to go third and fourth year out. My third year was junior year, I went to Seattle. That is where my Uncle Joe lived. When Uncle Joe and my dad parted at Aurora, uncle Joe went up to Seattle and started working up there and was doing good there, so my dad and mother decide to send... Well Joseph said sent him up here so I went up there. They treated me good. Every weekend, we'd go fishing and do something. They tried to help me a lot with school. I got into the band there, that's where I started to play my instrument. I played on the junior band that winter and I got transferred to the senior band but I didn't go back my senior year. I went to Bishop for senior year. I played the band there also. In 1933, I graduated. Finally got out of school.

Heidi: Did you play any baseball in Bishop?

Auggie: Oh yeah. Baseball seemed to be my call for recreation I guess. Yeah I played... after I got through school I played for the town Bishop for the Eastern League. Still the same league we had before. And we played against [Shoshone?], Tonapah, Silver Peak, Hawthorne, you know team like that. Of course I was the pitcher. We travelled all over. That was quite a deal I think.

Vineca: And then Pasadena?

Auggie: Yeah.

Lily: I believe one of the pictures is actually of him in the...

Vineca: Sweater?

Lily: Yeah.

Vineca: He still has it (laugh).

Lily: Do you really?

Auggie: What?

Vineca: The Pasadena sweater?

Auggie: Yeah I got it someplace... Oh here it is [has picture in hand]. There's my old Ford!

Heidi: Did you tell them... back to the service, did you tell them you were on the Queen Mary?

Auggie: No I didn't. Uh like I said it was in our outfit. Harding Field. In Baton Rouge, Louisiana. It was called Harding Field. When I first got in the service we went up in Olympic...Olympia up in Washington. Stayed there for a little while then went to a place called Payne (spelling) Field. That's between uh Seattle and Everett. And now they make the big Boeing airplanes and all that. They took over that. That used to be Payne field. That's where we were staying. It was a brand new place. It didn't have no pavement on the streets. It was all muddy. Anyway we stayed there for...let's see 4 or 5 months. Then we went to Louisiana in early '42 and stayed there. Then they called the...119 of us out of uh the 350th fighter group. That's a uh three squadrons mixed together and I was one of them. And 119 of us went to berth and boarded the Queen Mary and we didn't know where it was gonna go and finally they told us it was going to England to put these planes together and fly them down to north Africa. And anyway, on our way it was zig zagging, you know all the way over to England. And trying to keep away from the U-boats I guess. But anyway, when we got into Glasgow, that's Scotland Bay there, the British uh ships came out to escort the Queen Mary in this bay because there's a lot of U-boats in the area. This one uh two-stacker, it come right round the Queen Mary like that and then it go across in the front. It did that twice and the third time and the misjudgement in the timing the Queen Mary cut it right in half. One stack went this way, one stack went this way and killed about 135 British people. Anyway it made a little dent in the Queen Mary but they didn't stop. They wanted to keep going. So we ended up in Glasgow where they wanted to do a little repairing. Anyway we didn't get hurt, but we could have, you know.

Heidi: How many were on the Queen Mary?

Auggie: 15,000. Mhmm. We were packed in there like sardines. [laughs]

Heidi: That story, you know, is history about the Queen Mary if it were ever written on it.

Lily: I remember you guys went last year to visit. It was for New Years, wasn't it?

Vineca: 7 years ago? It was right after mom passed.

Heidi: Okay, so probably '98. New years '98. So yeah.

Lily: Um can I ask you a question about um. I've been hearing a lot of stories, been talking to people and they've said that a lot of Native Americans, especially in this area, um joined the army or joined the armed forces. Did anybody in this area join the armed forces with you?

Auggie: Did anyone what?

Heidi: Did any native guys join the army with you?

Auggie: Well, uh that, uh Walter Tarrington my friend.

Heidi: He wasn't native though.

Auggie: And he and I were together all the time, but he was in another squadron. I was in the 345th, he was in the 346th. But we seen each other quite often because we were always together. He was a cook. Quite a guy, yeah.

Heidi: He was a what?

Auggie: A cook. Cook.

Heidi: Oh I thought you said crook!

[laughs]

Vineca: Let's see um. His skiing.

Heidi: I was trying to think of any natives that.

Auggie: There's only one native that I seen in uh in uh the US Army there. Maybe two now, yeah, excuse me. I met one guy in Algiers and he used to play the saxophone for us a long time ago. And I met him there in Algiers. He was an Indian boy.

Heidi: You don't remember his name?

Auggie: It was Raymond. That's all I knew him as.

Heidi: Of course there was other natives from town here that went to the service.

Lily: Well a lot of the ones we've talked to was always the Korean, Vietnam War. No World War 2 in this area.

Auggie: I remember in Washington in Fort Loughton (spelling?). I was in transportation at that time. And I had to go to Fort Loughton for something. It was raining pretty hard that day and I went inside and I was just I was you know coming in for lunch time. So I got in line and somebody hollered "Hey Auggie!" I looked around and it was a guy from Bishop, Frank...and we talked a little bit, you know about our area here and everything. But I wasn't there too long. Another time in North Africa there. I was working on a plane and I looked up and somebody say "Hey Auggie!" It was another guy from Bishop, Marshall...that was Damien McCoy's brother.

Heidi: Roman's brother?

Auggie: Mhmm.

[Leroy walks in, all greet him]

Auggie: So then another time I was coming home down in Naples. And we bivouacked there, our name was on the board, and I have to see about who was going to go home. And while I was staying there, eating there, somebody goes "Hey Auggie!" [laughs] It was another guy from Bishop, his name was Hill.

Heidi: It happens all the time to us, anytime we go anywhere with him. We all took a trip to Mazatlan, Mexico as a group for golfing. I mean way down there, right? It was our family, mom and dad, Vineca and myself, my sister Rachel, and my husband. And anyway, one day we went down to the Stone Islands and one afternoon we were just lounging around, playing cards, and having a good time and here's this guy swimming in from the ocean and he knows dad! "Aren't you Auggie Hess?" It was like...And he knew Dad from Lee Vining

Vineca: We used to get gas there and he had married one of the local girls.

Heidi: And we were watching him swim, Dad and I were just seeing him cause he was really swimming out there. He came in and just got to talking and he goes "Aren't you Auggie Hess?" Oh my gosh. Even way down here in Mexico! [laughs] Yeah, your skiing.

Auggie: Boy, I was quite a skier. I uh skied against Day McCoy. Do you know who he is? He owned the Mammoth Mountain Inn ski area. He developed that from a toll road into what it is now. And he and I used to butt heads with each other skiing. He'd win one title one year and I'd win the next year and it went back and forth. I skied quite a bit then. I went to all the ski meets in Sun Valley. Mount Hood and

Mount Rainier. And Sugar Bowl up here at Lake Tahoe and everything. Uh not Lake Tahoe really, Donner Pass area. Yeah, did a lot of skiing and never got hurt. I did twist my ankle once.

Heidi: What about skiing for the power company?

Auggie: Oh yeah, you seem I'm a fairly good skier and in the wintertime I'd get a job with the California Electric Power Company and we'd ski on right up to the Ellery Lake now, they call it, up Tioga Pass, and Saddlebag Lake is still up there on the other side of the pass. Tioga Lake, we had to go up there once a month and uh change the papers in the machine there because it would give a report every day for a month. Then they had to go change it. So that was our job, we had to go up there and change it. There were experiences going up there. On the old road over Tioga Pass you'd make a great big circle like that, and this was nothing but snow drifts. You couldn't see the road. The canyon was covered up with snow. And we had to dig little trench, footsteps going across and we could barely see the rails on the left side.

Heidi: You had to carve your own path?

Auggie: My partner, we always had to do that, and then coming down we had to make footsteps again. But I had to get way back and start gliding with my skis, you know, and I had to be really good. I'd go right around there. And if I ever slipped I'd be down 2000 feet. That's another scary thing we used to do. That was crazy, you know. And then another time we was up there, this is Agnew Pass, above Silver Lake there. You don't know this country, do you? Well, we'd do the same thing there. Go up and change the paperwork once a month. And uh this particular time we got a phone call up there at one place we stayed and the boss says, "Go way back in the backcountry. There's some people who are lost." And uh so we had to go back to what they call Wah Lake. And there's a little cabin there and that's where we found these people and the reason they were there was they'd followed some footprints. There was a man and a woman there and the man had a frozen toe on his foot and we had to put him on a toboggan and pull him back down to Agnew Lake. Then the rescue squad then met us there and they took over from there. We did our job and it was pretty good. We got nice letters from everyone for doing that. And, well anyway in wintertime we had to go up there once a month.

Heidi: And what'd you say? You measured the snowfall? You went up there and measure the...

Auggie: Well one time I went and helped the Forest Service measure this one time. Another time I'd get on top of a hill and I'd ski right straight down. Hah. And I know my partner was going to fall straight down, he was going to fall in my tracks cause he had to get a little faster, you know. He stayed right in my tracks and he got to going real fast and he got out of control and down he went. He hurt his ankle and we had a heck of a time getting back to the cabin, but we finally made it.

Heidi: Who was that?

Auggie: Conroy.

Heidi: And then, did you tell them about the time you went to Yosemite with uh Minnie and those guys on horseback?

Auggie: Yeah, yup.

Vineca: Then you used to race on Carson Peak.

Auggie: Yeah, that other thing we. Just before the war in 1940, I joined the service in 1941. In 1940 we had a race on Carson Peak. Have you been around that June Lake area? You just see that big mountain behind that. What's that place there?

Heidi: Double eagle?

Auggie: No, that restaurant. That nice restaurant.

Heidi: Oh Carson Inn?

Auggie: Oh, I guess Double Eagle. There's a big peak that rises right up behind it. And we started a race there. Right at the skyline there. And it took us 5 hours to climb that. And it took us 4 minutes to come down. They did this two years and that was enough.

Roman: Well in order to, um, I hope that I'm not going to belabor anything by coming back to Mono Mills, but I was wondering also if I could ask do you remember anything in terms of what you ate, what foodways were available there, what supplies you got, how they were prepared.

Auggie: Uh they got food from Bodie you know. They had nice stores in Bodie. We'd get what we need there. And uh every once in a while, different farmers would come to the Mono Mills area with beef and sell different kinds of beef. And according to Calhoun's book, there's over 100 farms around Mono Lake. Over 100 farms. And they all produced some kind of food for the people around here. Potato, carrots, that kind of stuff like that. Mostly beef you know. Every farm had cattle and sheep and stuff like that. Of course in the summer they had to get ready for the winter so they had to store stuff like that. They'd store the hay away and all that for the food and stock in the wintertime.

Roman: So I assume that after Mono Mills closed down, the farms went away as well.

Auggie: Well I think that most of the farms, when the city of Los Angeles came into this area, they bought a lot of land from the different farms just to get the water rights. And the farmers, they were all glad to get out of here. There's such rough

winters, god it was terrible. They wanted to get out of here. So Los Angele bought all the land to get the water rights. And they bought most of the farms. Except for a couple on the north side there.

Heidi: Did grandma fix any native foods out there, do you remember? Like piagi, kutsavi?

Auggie: Oh we used to have what they called pine nut soup. And uh

Roman: We've been finding a lot of pine nuts at Mono Mills.

Auggie: Yeah and uh they have a deal that they grind up. You see a lot of places where they have a big rock and a little hole here where they grind the nuts. And uh they'd grind the pine nuts there and store them away for winter. And then in the wintertime they'd mix them up with water and make them freeze and it's just like a lollipop. You'd be amazed. And then they had elderberry...jam I guess you'd call it. Jelly?

Heidi: And buckberry.

Auggie: Buckberry. And they gather onions. That's something very similar to domestic onions is wild onions and they taste good. So they ate pretty good. And I don't even remember getting low on food. We always had food seemed to me like. They had a lot of rabbit stew. There was a lot of rabbits at that particular time, just all over. They'd have uh, I never did see this, but they said they'd have a rabbit run and they'd get a whole bunch of people lined up and they'd all go toward the lake like that and the rabbits would be ahead of them and they'd all get down towards the lake and then everybody would have a club or something, and then they'd get ready to push these rabbits into the lake. And the rabbits would run away and then they would club them. And throw them in the sack. And that's how they got a lot of rabbit stew out of that and also the fur for making blankets and stuff like that.

Heidi: Do you remember eating piagi or kutsavi?

Auggie: Yeah, I remember stuff like that. One or two times.

Heidi: But grandma never fixed that out at Mono...

Auggie: No. Those piagis they're a worm thing, maybe about that long. That grew in these trees out there, on the other side of the lake there. And the Indians would go out there a week at a time and make a big trough right under the tree and these piagis would fall right down into it. And they would grab them, you know. And that's another protein for the wintertime because they would dry it in the wintertime and eat it then. Then of course down the lake there they'd get those flies and do the same thing with that. You'd have to gather a lot of them to make a meal of them. Anyway, they gathered them in the wintertime and it was a good protein for them.

Lily: Do people still eat that today?

Auggie: No.

Vineca: Yeah they do. The cultural uh. They're trying to bring it all back. They come and gather and like Jerry's brother and them, they all come down here and still get it. Yeah, they still do it.

Lily: Now for the gathering of the kutsavi and the piagi, was that, would it be done by everybody? Or did just men do that or just women?

Auggie: Well, mostly it was women around these troughs we'd seen. The men would help them too and put up tents and they'd probably go hunt deer.

Heidi: The piagi, I thought it was in the Jeffrey Pines.

Auggie: Well, that's where I saw everything. Well, it could be in the Jeffrey Pines too. I know one time we was going to Bishop and it was raining and we saw all these piagis going across the road. Millions of them going across. Pretty slippery when you hit them.

Heidi: You didn't stop and gather them?

Auggie: We let them go. [laughs] Yeah, I saw that just beyond the other side of June Lake junction there.

Heidi: How did they cook the pine nuts? Do you remember?

Auggie: Cook them? Well, they cooked them, they made them hard. And then when they stored them away, they pounded on this rock to get a powder. That's how they make the pine nut soup and those lollipop things like I called them. They'd freeze it and it tastes good.

Heidi: Did they cook them underground, the cones in the fire?

Auggie: Yeah, when they got the real green ones, that's what they did with the fire. They put the coals on top of them.

Vineca: Oh that's so good. Yeah, they get the coals all in and then they cover them real good up. You wait a few hours and you dig them out.

Auggie: You ever tried pine nuts?

Robert: Now it's popular to have them in salads.

Auggie: But now you can get them in restaurants, huh? Especially down in Bishop they sell a lot of pine nuts in the wintertime. You know, in the wintertime when they get them. Pretty expensive though.

Heidi: What do you remember about Rush Creek?

Vineca: Yeah, that's what I was going to say.

Auggie: All I can tell you about Rush Creek is like this big meadow where they had about 8 families living there and had this green all, the whole thing was green. They had cattle grazing out there, they had horses, sheep, all that kind of.

Heidi: Didn't you say there was a lot of deer?

Auggie: No, there wasn't too many deer. Because my dad and a bunch of the Indian boys would to the ... Valley. That's a valley way over, with a bunch of guys and hunt deer there.

Vineca: Did a lot of ducks and stuff come in?

Auggie: Yeah, ducks come down to the lake and then different. There used to be a lot of springs here around the lake. Used to be real good duck hunting.

Vineca: What about fish?

Auggie: Well fish was fairly good in Rush Creek. Mostly rainbows, but then they did plant a lot of brownies in Rush Creek.

Heidi: Now in the old days, what would it be before they started planting it?

Auggie: Well I think it would be the brookies, they call them. A lot of brookies, native. You see a lot of them in the lakes now. Up in Saddlebag I know one good spot there. A lot of fun there. Brookie was good eating though, it was about 6 or 7 or 8 inch long.

Heidi: Did you grow any crops at Rush Creek? Your family?

Auggie: Well I think they had corn and potatoes. That's all I know of. Watercress, they used that for salad. There's a lot of watercress around that area. Lots of water in and around there. And of course the ducks really like that. The mallards in the pond, they had a lot of ponds back in the day.

Heidi: Did you ever ride the train at Mono Mills?

Auggie: Yeah, I told them that I rode about 400 yards on the train. I remember Nat Smith, he was the engineer. He'd look at the kids and laugh, face all black with smoke.

Robert: How much interaction did you have, your father have, your mother have with the Chinese community here?

Auggie: What?

Heidi: What kind of relationship they had with the Chinese. Do you remember?

Auggie: Well, uh, like I said, my dad was always friendly with everyone. My mother would be the same way. I'm sure they got along real good, but I'm not sure about this Chinese deal. I couldn't tell you. I think some of them did a lot of washing. And some of them worked at the kitchens and so forth, and help that way. And the men worked in the woods trying to make cord wood and so forth, and shipped to Mono Mills. The Basque did the same kind of work. You might have missed this part. In the wintertime, the Basque would stay at the Loehman (spelling?) camp at Mono Mills. And they'd stay there all winter and pile up cords of wood, cords of wood. And then in spring they'd haul it over to the camp there. Put it on the railroad and take it down to Mono Mills. They'd process it and then re-load it back on the rail cars and take it on to Bodie.

Heidi: So what all different types of people were there?

Auggie: I'm sure there's Irish. Can't miss them. I can't tell you. There was a lot of different nationalities that worked in there. There was German. Here's a little story you might read, read it out to them.

Vineca: Gus Hess had a Model T that was often used at Mono Mills. Once Mr. Bileb and my dad had to abandon it a couple of miles from Mono Mills due to could not start it. Three weeks passed before the weather permitted them to return to the machine and try to get it back to Mono Mills. It broke down so they went back and got gas and oil. They took turns cranking the engine for a couple of hours to no avail. They became so disgusted at being unable to start the engine that my dad decided to burn it up. They gathered brush, soaked it with gas, placed it in with the carburetor. It was a nice fire that burned itself out. Nothing happened and after a wait of about half an hour, they went back to the machine. On the first turn of the crank, the motor started and off they went back to Mono Mills.

Auggie: And that's a true story. Those old Model Ts. They're very... they just needed to be warmed up a little. [laughs]

Roman: That's a great story.

Lily: Is there any more than that?

Vineca: [reading] Indians were often involved with funny situations, especially those involving the US Post Office. There was, for instance, the Indian who came into the Bodie post office and asked if the postmaster had any stamps. Informed that many were available, the Indian asked, "How many you got?" The postmaster said there were several hundred, then asked how many he wanted. The Indian pondered the information for a moment, then replied, "One." Another Indian came into the post office to ask if there was any mail for him. The postman knew this man as well as any member of his family, but for the life of him he could not think of the Indian's name. He fumbled with the mail for a moment in his embarrassment. He finally gave up and asked the Indian what his name was. The Indian thought this over for a moment and replied, "The same as it was yesterday." No wiser as to the man's identity, the postmaster told him that there was no mail for him and to come again tomorrow.

This is another one. [reading] The Indian named Jack has a large caliber shotgun. A regular shell in this gun was not enough for him and he loaded small scraps of metal for added destructiveness. For hours he would wait in the sand dunes close to the lake waiting to make a pot shot with the ducks. Loaded with a shotgun shell and scrap metal, the gun recoil was so strong that Jack could not hold it. So he placed it on the ground and carefully aimed it at the spot where the ducks congregated in the sand and sagebrush. Jack would wait until the ducks were grouped together then he would lie on the ground and pull the trigger. The result was a slaughter of ducks and as soon as he fired, he would rush into the lake, club in hand and wail on the ducks that were wounded. It was a sight to behold, but the effort was evidently worthwhile. It was not unusual for Jack to bank 10-20 ducks with the one shot and his club.

Augie: That was Jasper Jack that grew up in that area.

Heidi: So he made his own ammo?

Augie: Well yeah, the shotgun shells wasn't strong enough so he put a lot more metal into the shotgun barrel. Well, that's about all I know.

Heidi: Well, do you know any more things about Mono Mills and the Indians, cause that's what they're really need to know for this report.

Lily: Um, I do have something here that you may or may not know about. Um, it's worth a try, um, cause it started with the Paiute. Um, the ghost dance. Do you know anything about that?

Augie: No.

Lily: That was 1890s, and a little bit before that too.

Augie: Well, I don't know much about anything prior to 1912. A lot of that I learned from the people talking. But when I was growing up, like I told you guys what I did, that's all I did. I just remember faintly that uh when we had to go get salt and pepper and stuff like that that we needed, around the camp, this was my grandfather's place. We'd need the horse and buggy and ride into Tioga Lodge. That was maybe about 10 miles. We'd get what we need there at Rush Creek. It would take all day to make that trip just to get a few things. That's about all I know about growing up.

Vineca: My aunt, she was close to grandma, and she would go out to Rush Creek during the day and take the kids out. They would sit out there and they would make those shelters with the sagebrush. And all the ladies would sit out there and they'd do their baskets and laugh and talk. So that was a custom they kept going, was the basket weaving and all that all together.

Lily: Would it be okay if I directed some questions to you and Heidi?

Vineca: I don't remember much, but I've got to go to work. Just go ahead, ask us, it might jog some memories.

Lily: Do you guys remember anything growing up about Native American cultures?

Vineca: We didn't do things like that. My aunt's family did that. I mean, I don't remember. I mean grandma was just grandma.

Augie: I remember my grandmother, my mother, my aunt, they all weaved baskets. Made some nice ones. Beautiful. And then days, this was before the road to Yosemite was open. They'd go by trail. It would take them 4 or 5 days to get to Yosemite. Indian field day, they'd call it. They'd take their baskets and compete with the people on the other side of the mountain. And there'd be judges and they'd say the winners and so forth. And they always came back with blue ribbons, you know. And they sold a lot of baskets also doing the same thing. And they made some beautiful baskets then. And we got a book, a big book that tells what baskets were made by the Yosemite people.

Heidi: Have you seen that book?

Lily: No, I haven't. I was just about to ask if you guys had any of those baskets around. Would it be all right if I take pictures?

Heidi: They're all over at my house.

Lily: Oh, because if they're blue ribbon baskets, obviously I have to see them.

Roman: Jerry was telling us that Carrie Bethel was one of the best. Uh she, I think she was nominated for number 1 female basketmaker or something.

Vineca: Yeah, she was known worldwide.

Roman: Yeah, she really is, she really is. I mean, that's so interesting that you guys are connected with her as well in terms of she was witnessing

Heidi: Well, great-grandma Nellie was well known too.

Roman: Oh yeah, yeah.

Augie: She made a nice basket, a big basket, that was my grandmother. And she put an H for Hess. She made it real perfect, you know. It was all by hand.

Lily: So, I had a quick question, too. At the site today--we haven't done any digging, no excavation--we did surface survey, which means we walk around seeing what is down there, what's on the ground and someone actually found blue beads, little itty-bitty ones. Did those go in the basket's design, or was that something else?

Heidi: Some of the baskets were beaded. First they do the willow work, make the basket, and then they go back and put the beads on. I don't know when that started, I don't know if that was back in Mono Mill days. It was after that wasn't it? [To Vineca]

Vineca: It was after.

Heidi: Anyway, this book, "Traditions and Innovations", by Craig Bates and Martha Lee, is it?

Vineca: I don't remember.

Heidi: Anyway, Craig Bates. You could find it by his last name. They have--it is has pictures of Carrie Bethel and her great baskets and grandma Nellie.

Vineca: You're welcome to come over, I have a nice little library. [Laughs]

Lily: Yeah, we have a library at the house, too, it has a couple things here and there, not really too much, so, yeah, gosh, I wanna see those baskets.

Roman: Can I ask what was Grandma Nellie's last name? So I can write it down.

Heidi: Charlie.

Roman: Charlie? Nellie Charlie?

Heidi: Mm-hm. I gave him [Robert] her Indian name. Her maiden name was Jim, Nellie Jim.

Vineca: I remember when I was--this must've been in the sixties--I'd go out and visit Carrie Bethel and she'd do weaving and she taught me to do that pan bread that the Indians like. It's sort of a, just a, sort of like a biscuit but it's a little harder. I'd come home and try it and it was hard as rock. My poor brother, he had to--he was my guinea pig.

Heidi: It wasn't fry bread though, was it?

Vineca: No, it was different. But, then right after that she had all those beads 'cause that's when she started beading everything and she had a fire and I remember going out after, it was horrible 'cause all those beads had melted. It was awful. Do you remember going out?

Heidi: Not to...uh-uh. But she showed--Vineca and I had to start willow basket making and another elder, Vina Williams also showed us how to do it.

Vineca: That would be Leroy's mom.

Lily: Oh, ok.

Vineca: Vina

Lily: Vina?

Heidi: Yeah.

Vineca: Yeah, when we was growing up, we used to go up to their house all the time--her granddaughter was my best friend at the time--and in the evening she'd just sit there and do her weaving and that's what they did instead of computers and things. [Laughs]

Robert: Do you still do any weaving, basket making?

Heidi: We went out this winter, got willows and stuff. We stripped 'em and split 'em and I haven't been back.

Auggie: I just got a nice basket made of--a beaded basket.

Roman: Well, I guess, one last thing, we just, one of our students is a veteran in the recent wars in the middle east, and she wanted to make sure that everyone here is getting the right, I guess, compensation for their service and she was already talking to Jerry [Andrews] and someone else and we're wondering if the VA [US Dept. of Veterans Affairs] has been doing everything it should be doing?

Lily: Yeah, apparently a lot of the veterans in the area have not been getting the services they should be. Well, Julianne [Cadden] her little ishtah off--or butt, sorry,

just threw a little Assyrian at you--she's been working really hard to contact the VA because she, herself, has been having problems with them and so now she knows all the little tricks. And so, her little thing now--well, it's not little, I think it's actually a good thing--she's going around, she's making sure that whoever needs help is getting compensation, no matter for what they did--World War II, Korea, Vietnam, whatever--that they get the service they need. And so she is more apt to do so, even down in San Jose, she's more than willing to give out her information, to take down information and try and get what you guys need. And so, she was actually wondering if she could help you guys.

Heidi: Oh, well we got a hold of them [the VA] to get him some hearing aids and they sent paperwork and they sent paperwork and we filled it all out and then the gal I talked to said 'Well, you know it's...'--they give help to the veterans that were on the front line first and then it goes--I mean they prioritize it that way. So, she said that dad wouldn't receive any help, so he had to go a different way.

Lily: Well, try and go through Julianne because she is a very, very headstrong person, and I don't think she'll take no for an answer.

Heidi: I know, I said 'My dad's 97 years old, he was in World War II. Come on, can't you help him some how?'

Lily: Well, I know she managed to get a hold of--because I guess her understanding was that a lot of people were going through Reno, and apparently there's supposed to be going through Bishop.

Heidi: There's a Bishop VA?

Lily: Yeah. Apparently.

Heidi: We didn't even know there was one there.

Lily: Yeah, there's some jurisdiction problems with the state lines, from what I understand today from what Julianne told me. And so she managed to figure out to go through Bishop. Now, she hasn't been able to get a hold of Bishop yet, but that was just today and she--in the next week and a half and possibly even after, when she's back in San Jose--she's going to be working on that. Probably nonstop until everybody she figures out needs help, gets help. So, if you guys are interested...You're still in the area, right?

Heidi: Mm-hm.

Lily: Ok, you can come on over, just talk to Julianne. We're in the little research houses behind the Hess House, so she's more than willing to help. In fact, she was the one who was like, 'You need to talk to them about it!'

Heidi: Well, then, I got the impression, too that it was as if, when you signed up for things they prioritize it that way, also. But, dad signed up a long time ago for it, and he should've been in the system from a long time ago.

Lily: Yeah. So, yeah, go through--Julianne wants to know if you guys need help, to go through her, because she is younger, a recent veteran and all that, she probably does have the--what's that word? Not ability...

Vineca: Resources?

Lily: Resources, to help. And so, she really just is, you know when she--this actually wasn't originally her project, she was going to do stratigraphy, which is the different layers, but when we started talking to Leroy [Williams], we started talking to Jerry [Andrews] She found out what was going, she was so disgusted, she pretty much dropped everything and was like 'I'm helping them'.

Heidi: Yeah, it's a big runaround, the gal's even like, 'Yeah, I'll send you the papers, but it could be years before he gets help with...', he's 97 now, he needs hearing aids. [Laughs]

Vineca: So, just because he's been healthy, he doesn't get the help.

Heidi: Yeah, it's not his fault he's healthy. [Laughs]

APPENDIX C

Interview with Joe Sam

Interview located at Mono Cone on 7/22/12 at 10:30 AM. Unfortunately there was traffic by Mono Cone that interfered with the recording making the recording difficult to understand at times.

The interviews are Anthony Salos and Rebecca Spitzer

Q: Okay just to start off can you tell us where you were born and raised?

A: I was born and raised just south of Lee Vining here about 3 and a half miles on the Basin Williams Butte, 1930.

Q: Has your family lived here?

A: My family lived here, and they were born and raised in the area and my great great grandpas and grandmas lived here.

Q: Would you mind showing us on the map where you grew up?

A: Okay, where are we here? (Looking at the map to find locations) Here is Mono Lake; okay what did you want to know?

Q: where you were born and raised,

A: Where I was born, okay let's see. (Joe Sam continues to look at the map to find location) Okay I was born right about in this area, right in this area here. Williams Butte should be here somewhere. This map doesn't. Okay that is close enough.

Q: Okay, did any of your family work at Mono Mills?

A: My Dad worked at Mono Mills.

Q: What did he do there?

A: He was what you would call a faller.

Q: What is that?

A: He is the person that would handle the saw.

Q: How long did he work there for?

A: I have no idea how long he worked there for.

Q: Did you have any other family that worked in that area?

A: Not that I know of?

Q: What do you know about Mono Mills?

A: I myself, I don't know too much about it. All I know is that it's an old saw mill, and a long time it used to be an old railroad that went through Mono Mills that all the lumber tubes came through I guess up to Bodie or anywhere, as far as that I don't know anything else a much more about Mono Mills.

Q: Can you tell us what life was like when you were a kid?

A: When we were kids, it was fun it was really fun because there was nobody around, it was just who lived here and that was it. Traffic on the highway was you know one car every 7 hour and maybe some passerbys. It was a quiet area, as kids in the summer we'll go fishing the lakes were warmer, to tell you the truth we will fish the stream also.

Q: Which lakes did you go to?

A: We would go to Walker Lake, Parker Lake, and then at times we'll take the vehicle up towards Tioga Lake, and Grant Lake, and June Lake area, which is this area here. (Points to map) We had horses so we horseback riding almost every weekend, and it was almost every weekend in the summer. We would go out fishing or we either we

would come down to Mono Lake to go swimming. Just, just to be doing something, riding horse mainly. And we had cows, we had chickens, we had many farm animals on our mini farm or our mini ranch as we called it. And we will take in the cows, milk the cows; it was my duty to milk the cows when I was young, and I hated that in the worst way. The reason I hated it was I had to get up early had to be the first one up to milk up the cows. We had to stay when they were gone, because we had to stay and milk the cows. I was a stay at home kid.

Q: When you worked with the cows and the ranch was this just for your family or did you sell the products?

A: Nah, it was just for the family.

Q: How large would you say your live stock was?

A: We would had about 7 or 8 cows and we had more horses than we had cows, it was a small farm.

Q: Could you tell us some cultural things like, you know traditional food that you would eat or ceremonies that you participated in?

A: As far as food there were something call, we would call it Which is a tree that's, what do you call those, buck berries, I guess you would call them bug berries, bug berry berries we would have those, and Alda berries, and there is other berries I don't know the name of. And we also had for food as far as Mono Lake goes what they call a Kutsuvi they are kind of a brim fly t or whatever they called them they would come out of the lake. So the way that they gather those is that our parents would have us kids shake up the roots and rocks where the larva seemed to formed, they float to the top so we'll take the baskets and scoop up all the particles that would come up the surface (loud truck passing by) and they would take them to shore and leave them to dry cause this little things are small shells and the inside is the thing you would eat. So when that thing dries up they would mash it up and shake out the cone I guess you would call it, and that goes away and what's left is what is eatable.

Q: And how was it?

A: It was a little salty taste, it was good. You know when you are a kid what else would you have? You ain't going to have steaks or hamburgers and all those things because it wasn't available. And we had what is also called piagi which is a worm that is call a caterpillar.

Q: What is the worm called again?

A: Pegugh, pegugh.

Q: Do you know how to spell that by any chance?

A: P... P-E-A-G-U-G-H, and that is about as close, it is a caterpillar. Okay, So, we'd collect those things, the way you would collect is that our parents they dig a trench along a huge Jeffery Pine, and they are about 6 inches deep, and they be up and down the side of the grown tree, and the inside would slope in, so when the caterpillars come off the tree they would climb down and get in the trench and can't get out because they're (unclear answer, starts with an m and sounds like migrated migrained?...). So all us kids and our job was to go out and pick these along this tree when it was time. So if there was a few in there we would go in there pick them up and go to the next tree and on and on and bring them to the camp dump them out and get another load, this, this is our job. That was our food for the winter also,

cause we would you know collect an abundance of it. And pine nuts which was here also, and they were our main staple pine nuts, so.

Q: That is interesting you mention that because on the site we are excavating we been finding a lot of pine nuts, and we are trying to figure out how they were used. Was they a way you would prepare them?

A: Yes there, you could roast them and within the cone underground, just like you would do, say a barbeque. And you would put them in the coal and bury them and smothered them for a while, then after fashion you would check one or two to see if they were ready the shells the cone starts opening, yeah and we it starts opening it is time to take them out. Then when you take them out you start peeling things off and the pine nuts are done. You could cook them that way or else you get those cones set them out somewhere and within time the cones will open then the pine nuts then they will get a stick and hit the back end of the cone and the pine nuts would fall right out. So when that happens then someone, they would grind the shells with a rock a rolling rock then they would take the shells and once all the shells are broken they would put them in a basket and let the wind take out the shells and you would shake them out, and all you got was the meaty part of the pine nuts. And then when that is done also you can cook the pine nuts in a basket. It is made out of willow. And they put the pine nuts in there and they put hot coals and get a fire, you get the hot coals put them right there on the pine nuts, then they shake them. To this day I myself thought how, what keeps that basket from burning the hot coal from the willow. It makes a burn mark but never burns through the weaving or anything, it's still intact when you are finished, and it could be used over and over numerous times. Anyhow once they get it done then they would taste it. It is a little different flavor than when you roast it underground when I told you the first time. They do it that way. Than that is one way but another way is they get the meaty part again and then they would grind it fine, like a powder and they mix a little bit of water with it. They would make like dough than more water more water and keep mixing and it gets to where it is liquefy. Just a little bit of water instead of putting all the water in at once, put a little at a time, and then they make a soup type and that is one of the most delicious soup you would ever want to eat. Than to top that off, they would have deer meat, or whatever type of meat you got, and they cook it up in little stripes clear over the coals or whatever and take a little strip of that meat and dip it straight in the pine nut soup or either like a dip, you can use it as a dip for that meat, and that was great. And as far as the pine nuts I think that is about it, that is how it is prepare anyway. As far as eating what else, we had jack rabbits; ducks, geese, deer, there were plentiful back when I was a kid, they were all over. And we were taught not to kill just anyone you know you get the older animal you never kill the young. Because you give them the chance to grow older and they will reproduce in the future. So we were taught that. If you do if you are a youngster you go out and you kill an animal you know the first animal, deer, duck that is eatable you give it to some elder, that was our tradition. And the first one you kill you give to them and the next you keep for yourself. You are taught how to prepare the animal, how to skin, the parents would stand right there and show, tell you what to do. From then on you are on your own.

Q: So you said the first animal you ever kill?

A: Any first animal.

Q: Okay for every hunt?

A: Yes, Rabbit, squirrel, any type of animal.

Q: Okay How would you hunt these animals?

A: We had guns, a modern made. We had bow arrows too we hunted with, we had our own and it worked for squirrels. We did a lot of that.

Q: What other foods would you guys eats?

A: There was the acorn but there isn't many acorns here so our parents would go over to Yosemite and they trade.

Q: And who would they trade with?

A: The people on the other side, they are Paiutes also, But there are probably some Miwoks and somewhat.

Q: On the map could you show me where they are from? Or is this map not large enough?

A: Let me see where Yosemite is here... (Joe at this point is looking at the map for the location) Yosemite Park, you don't have ahh... Yosemite National Park, it is in the park area.

Q: What was your relationship like with them?

A: As far as my parents goes, like I said I have gone several times, they went most the time, their relationship was great as far as I know. I never heard no derogative words about such and such, their relationship was great.

Q: I know winters here are extreme compared to other parts of California, can you tell me what life was like during the winter?

A: It was severe, I'll tell you we had little shacks, they were small, no taller than this building here (he pointed to Mono Cone which is around 15-20 feet tall). And we had, I'll call it our mansion. One room house with one bedroom that is Mom and Dad's. Okay and we had 4 sisters and two other brothers, anyway we had to sleep on the floor. We had a little bed roll, each one of us and we rolled up there in the evenings and roll back out. We had kerosene lanterns, to, for light, wood stove and our living was just, to me at the time I kind of enjoyed it. Thinking back, how did we ever survive this severe winter? I mean our houses were buried in snow you know? My Dad use to make stair steps in the snow to get up on top, then you get up there and you look and you know if it is a clear day everyone is doing something. You know you see a bunch of squirrels our in the meadows somewhere and they all come out of their holes and that is about what we were. We were the little squirrels coming out of the holes looking at the next door neighbors saying "Hey how you doing over there?" You know because we didn't live too far apart. And like I said that it was rough living. As far as traveling no one wanted to go anywhere because there was so much snow. We had more snow than then we have had in the last fifty sixty years. The snow has just dwindled down. But anyhow there was the families that lived out there they use to shovel snow from where we lived to town. My dad had a pick-up he has always had a pick-up somewhere, somehow, and he get the orders from the people out there and come to town with the grocery list and they shovel all the way down. And use kids jobs to find sand or dirt somewhere to sand the snow so it would melt when we are coming through. And when we come back there was more snow to go through. So we would do that and go back, and there is at times

they would shovel all the way down and going back the wind comes up and blocks the road again. So, there is more shoveling all the way back home, and we didn't have any jackets, us kids. The cold didn't bother us.

Q: Really?

A: Really, we went out in the snow early in the morning, late at night, cold. We didn't feel it we were just out there playing. And that's snow, it it was terrible. Boy it's... You had to buy groceries as much as you could at the time you know to stock up. But we had plenty of meat because we had deer we had jerky of the deer, the whole during the winter, or rabbits or ducks or whatever. Everything was dried, you know our food was dried, everything.

Q: Even the caterpillars?

A: Even the caterpillars. Uh hu, they kept. During the winter we'll go fishing, if possible. And fish we did just through them in the snow right there, and that's where our fish were. We just dig a couple of them.

Q: Where in town did you go for groceries?

A: Whenever they think they could come in and out of town without being blocked off. You know the wind or snow.

Q: But where?

A: Right here in town, at the Lee Vining Market and it is still there.

Q: What did you do with your livestock during the winter?

A: We just turned them loose. They'll go down towards Mono Lake there was less snow down there so they go down there. Our horses would go down, we didn't have to worry about them. Come spring they come wondering back up.

Q: Is there other things in your childhood that you'll like to talk about, or rituals that you did with the Kudzedika, how you interacted with your other neighbors, and things like that?

A: Our neighbors, we lived so close together we all played. Us kids just always together going here going there, doing this, snowball fights, shooting ourselves with a rubber, ah we made guns out of little wood thing little pistol, and got the old inter-tube stretch it a mile and it will never break, so we would use those. We would made a gun type of thing and put a clothes pin on the back of the handle and put the rubber on the top front and put the back rubber onto the clothes pin, close it and you hit that button and it would release and it takes off and if you get hit you are dead. We would play that in a barn or wherever we can, in the brush, where ever there was a war type of thing for use kids, but that was one of our games. We played baseball how we all learned how to played baseball I don't know. But we made, all our bats were made of willows, you know a piece of stick and our baseball ball was made out of our socks we'd roll it up put some material inside, tie it, roll it over until we get what we want, cut it off and sow the ends off the ball, and that was our baseball, made out of socks.

Q: What other sports did you play?

A: Shoot that is about it, really. War games, baseball, snow skiing.

Q: As you got older how was life for you, and what lead you to leave to Carson City?

A: Well, I was employed by, my first job was working at the June Lake junction when I was fifteen years old. And I pumped gas with a gas pumper that you would pump back and forth that had the glass on top. You know that you would fill up the 5

gallon for whatever the person wanted, fill it up and pump gas. My first customer came in got gas gave me a 10 dollar bill and in the mean time I went to get his change and I got the change alright but I gave him 10 dollars' worth of change and gave the 10 dollars back to that person that got the gas and he was gone. And I said "O my god what did I do" you know I gave, the guy bought the gas and I gave him his 10 dollars back. So I told the owner and he went back and he (unclear on the recording, judging from his body language the owner was understanding). That was my first job and so then I worked at this garage out here in town, I knew him well. And I was just a mechanic, punk kid, I tried to be and I worked at the pumice company which is just past here there is a big plant you'll see lopsided everything. Did you see that? It is about out of town here on the left hand side.

Q: I haven't seen the plant, but I didn't even know they were working pumice. What would you do with the pumice?

A: They made tough(?) stuff for your corn you know your embracive type. They put it in lotion I don't know what they do with it anymore. My Dad in fact use to own that mine up there at the op

Q: He used to own what?

A: that mine, that pumice mine. It's a volcanic rock, it's real light.

Q: What year did he own it till?

A: Pardon?

Q: What time frame did he own it

A: From 1948 to 1955 I think it was. Let me see what else. Then I was employed by the Navy, I went to Korea, Japan and then when it came I got my discharge I was in San Francisco. I came back and I was, I went back to my old employment, and they said, "no we can't hire you" and I said "Why?" I said, "I left you because I joined the service" then I said "Okay fine". Then my brother talked me into team exam for the state of California, which was a month prior to or after. I took the exam, I passed the exam and then I was an equipment operator for a few years for Cal Tran. Then there after I took a corresponding course in the University of California Berkeley that's when you would take corresponding courses and do your thing. I took engineering math and I passed with flying colors and I got a job as an engineer for the state of California, and I retired and such. Yeah, in fact I worked on this highway here, and everything from here to San Bernardino almost to Bakersfield, I was in that area. And after, before I was retired I was hired by (someone) Mardinnino. And I was employed by them for a year or two. Than I was hired again by another firm down by San Diego, the pay was really good down there so I just left end and went for San Diego. Then I worked there and they offer me better pay where I was the first time so I switched back, so then my last job was with Jerry Jenson, he was a Cal Trans engineer. Where he stayed when he lost and he formed his own engineering firm. He called me up and I say ok and I stayed with him for three or four years and worked out of Reno California. Then I retired.

Q: You retired?

A: and yes, that is about it. I can't think of anything else more.

Q: If you are comfortable about it, would you tell us about your military service?

A: My military service?

Q: Yeah

A: Well my military service, my first project was, I was, stationed down here at the Naval Weapons Test Center down at Inyo Fairing. My recruiting was down at San Diego. Then I came up. Half of my crew went to Inyo. (Truck going by)....it was Top Secret. This day, I still don't say anything about the plant. So, it was quite interesting. I go on this log. I drove this truck that hulled all of this military equipment. I had no idea what I was hulling. It could have been a bomb. It had to be a rocket of some sort. I would take it from point A to point B. I don't get out of my truck. I stay in. They unlock the...and back to the base I would go. And in this lab, it was just, first you go up this place, they turn the wheel and open the door, you've got a guard with you. Then they've got a turn table, then drive here, stop here, then they put you in an elevator and go up here, the truck, and then they look at it and they say stop here. Then whatever they put in there, I have no idea, I just opened up the (truck) and out the door. So ok, don't let anybody, get a flat tire, don't let anybody near you within a hundred feet of your vehicle. I had with me my six-shooter, beside me. Luckily, I didn't need to use it. But, that was one of my jobs. Then after I left China Lake, I was attached to the Naval Air Station at San Diego. I was attached to a VC11 patrol squadron. After a fashion there, then I was assigned to the USS Oriskana which was a carrier. Which was destroyed a few years back.

Q: What was the name of the ship again?

A: The USS Oriskana

Q: How do you spell that?

A: ORISKANA CVA 34. And after that I went to the Pacific, and then San Francisco. I got my discharge papers at Treasure Island. I had spent three years , ten months, and twenty-two days, but I got credit for four years.

Q: You know that one of our students is also a veteran and served in Iraq. Her project is working with the VA and helping you guys if you needed anything through the VA. From my understanding that they haven't given you full benefits. Is there anything you need that I should talk to her about to help you with?

A: No, not really. I'm happy. I'm satisfied with what I got and doing. Hopefully I don't have to.

Q: Well, If you ever need anything.... Well, you know. During WWII, what was it like for you?

A: WWII. The night that the, December 7th wasn't it? (Interjection, yes). Anyhow, we were in a little house right where I was born. We had a radio, we just operated with a battery. You know, a car battery, the wires went through the wall. That would sit outside and over the would come that the U.S. was being bombed. That was all they said. You didn't know where. So my mother and my dad put blankets over the windows. We only had a couple of windows , anyway, in the house. So there wasn't any problem with that. We all sat and we were all scared that first the bombs were going to hit. Just the idea that a bomb may hit was just scary. So, the next day, we were scared to go outside even. The next day even because, whose-who is going to drop a bomb. After a while we were just like, what the heck, if it's going to happen, it's going to happen. Then the news came over the radio that they have been detained or held back for whatever happened. And after that I don't know, I just... It was scary. I think I heard them say something about Alaska and Santa Barbara. or somewhere down there. Other than that, I don't remember.

Q: Leroy had mentioned that he had saw the Japanese being taken to Manzanar. Did you see them as well?

A: Yes, in fact they use to stop right here in Lee Vining.

Q: Really?

A: They use to stop right near the garage where I worked. There would be three or four buses, maybe five buses. They would stop here. All those Orientals would have guards with them.

Q: Can you show us on the map where it was?

A: Where they were?

Q: Yes

A: Points to Lee Vining on the map

Q: Did you have any interaction with them or,,,?

A: No! We were...It was the 40s. I was quite young. But I knew that they were being taken down. I didn't know where they were being taken but they were there. A whole bus load. Two or three of them.

Q: Did anyone mention ...So you just understood that they were being taken there, but did anyone tell you why they were being taken?

A: No, they didn't say why.

Q: So, you mentioned that you would trade with Paiutes or other groups on the other side of Yosemite. Is there a trail that you guys used?

A: There is a trail that goes from here (pointing to the map) to back where there was our home, all the way over the top (points to the map). (music and cars honking in the background) This must be the trail right here (points to it on the map). It comes from Walker Lake, right up this canyon, right on up and back down to the park. So this is the marking of the trail. It looks like it. It's still there. In fact, the tribe today still uses this trail.

Q: How often would your mother make this trip?

A: About...I don't know. They use to go up there a lot. She use to show her baskets and those type of things in the park.

Q: Where there other groups? I understand that there were Chinese at one point. Did you ever interact with the Chinese a lot?

A: Um, no. In fact, an incident that my dad told me that a Chinese did killed his brother, right here in Bodie. (interjection: Really? Oh, wow.) Other than that, I don't remember the Chinese.

Q: So, other than the Chinese, do you know any other ethnic group around here at the time?

A: There were a couple here in town. There were more in Bodie.

Q: Around Bodie? Did you ever make any trips out to Bodie?

A: Several times, yes.

Q: What was that like?

A: It was kind of interesting. I would look at the old buildings. They have got some signage about who lived where and who stayed here. Some of the old history of the little village.

Q: Did you make any of those trips when you were a child too?

A: Yes, oh yes. There was a dirt road that goes up in there. It is quite interesting.

Q: Did you take the train up there?

A: Ah, no. We had a vehicle. It was four wheels. (mumbled words)

Q: So that was your two modes of transportation? Horses and cars?

A: (agrees)

Q: Ok, um Can you tell us about some rituals that you use to do? Did you have ceremonies that you did annually?

A: We had a lot of rituals. Dos and don'ts (words obscured) to get us to bed. To keep quiet, they would tell us that, like the devil, red eyes, would come over and pick you up and carry you off. Kids believed that. So if you were noisy, and some person tells you that, you could drop a pin and hear the pin drop. That's how quiet it gets. It's something that tells you, you got to be quiet.

Q: What did you say it was called again?

A: CHA-NEE-HAH-HAH. Some words in our language are hard to spell. (Chuckling, dog barks). In fact I'm right learning how to write our language in Paiute where it is really understandable. A lot of it that is written, was by myself. Ok.

Q: So is there any other documentation, papers, pictures or anything that we can use to help the Kudzedika get federal recognition that you have come into contact with?

A: I may have at home. (Pause to think). The picture of the old home here(turns to his daughter, we still have it? The one that is six or seven. Daughter: we have them at the house. JS: Maybe when we find them later, we will send it to you, a copy. AS: Anything you can give us that would help us establish that you guys were here. JS: yes, this is a picture from way back when. It is back from the 40s. Back before that, it was well. In fact there is a cemetery that we went to a while ago. That has been there since when. Just take a picture of that and...but you've got to have an older picture or any picture?

A: It really depends. You said that there is a grave site that you could take a picture of? That should be sufficient because it has been there for a long time and that is proof. If you have other pictures of past family members...

JS: (interjects) the grave is from 1902. My great-grandmother is buried there.

A: Yes, that would be very good. Also pictures of, you know, your father or of when he was working at certain sites or any family members that could establish that you have worked here. Anything of that sort.

A: Ok, we will go look through, we have so many pictures. A whole bunch.

G: Another thing that would really help is if we could create a genealogy of your family. If you are ok with that. Showing your parents' names, maybe your grandparents.

A: In fact, I wrote them down this morning. I'll tell you what, we'll write it up cleanly and then we will send it to you.

Rs: That would be great. AS: Would you like to send it via email, or what works for you?

A: (Daughter: Email or faxing. I should have everything running by next week sometime)

AS: I don't have a fax number that I could think of.

Daughter: I could email

Q: We could leave you our email addresses.

JS: We use to go swimming down at the lake, Mono Lake. And our hair would turn red from the water. The course of your hair would turn red. Where it is thin, it would turn bright red.

Q: How was swimming in there? We have been talking about jumping in there and just trying it out.

A: You could take a shower or a bath, and come out clean, clean, clean. But you go in that lake and rub your arms float(words obscured).

Q: I hear it is good for your skin.

A: It's good for your skin. It's good for anything, sores, cuts. You can have an old scab sitting on your arm and go into the lake. You can feel it come off and it will disappear. It leaves a smooth finish on it. In fact at one time, I had a horse that I was running up at Rush Creek. We ran up this old dirt road. I didn't notice the barbed wire across the road. We were going about ninety miles per hour and it just cut the chest right open. That horse just bled and shook. I had to walk him back over a mile all the way home. My dad had just come home from work. I told him what had happened. He had an old trailer. He hooked that up and came down. That horse would hardly walk. We got him in and went down to the lake. They had a bucket, got the water and started to pour it on the cut and that horse shook then took him home. Every day my dad would go down because if you keep the water too long it will lose its potency. So every day he would go down and get the water and kept pouring it on the cut. That cut looked like it was sewed. It was smooth. I couldn't believe how well it healed up from that water.

Q: I wonder if it is the salt.

A: It is the salt and the minerals

Q: Are there any other memories that you would like to tell us about? Of growing up? Things that happened, something of the surrounding area that you felt was pivotal?

A: When I worked with Cal Tran I had a scary moment. '69 it was so much snow. Blizzard. It looked terrible. So, I was a supervisor and all my crew couldn't get in. They were snowed out. I had two personnel. Buddy Bear and Frank Alexander and myself. There were three of us. The rest of them where out. One of them just came in from Long Beach, just coming home. They plowed the whole thing and they were getting up to Crescent. I told them they couldn't go any farther. There where four of us. In snow so deep that my superintendent said "bring that snow plow up here and open up to June Lake". I said" We can't see where we are going". He kept hollering. "Do you have a dozer down there?" I said, "Yes we do." He said, "Bring that Dozer up." I said, Ok." I said what we are going to do is get a canvas and put it over the dozer and tie it back so the operator could get some warmth from the heater. From the motor heat. So we did. So he took off and the other operator I had was a laborer. I gave him a crash course on the snow blower. He got in there and I showed him what to do. Do this, don't do that. He did ok. I told him not to cut too deep of snow. Pick the thin area to get to the junction. We got up there and got on top of June Lake. It was terrible. You couldn't see from one end of the table. We got in there and we got into a snow slide where we weren't supposed to. It was a smaller hill. Straight onto the roadway. We cleared that out and this operator did

just what he was told and said that he was getting a little scared. I told him that he was ok and just to keep on going. Its deeper so just get the outside edge and keep going. Her finally got a big one and we had numerous slides. Then he finally got the snow blower stuck. He couldn't get it out. So I got in and got her out and cut a few times. I told him to get back in and he got in and cut a few more. Then we hit another big slide. He got it stuck, I tried again. Then I got it stuck. Shit, I was getting scared. I said lets just get out of here and get back up. Meanwhile we were waiting for the blade to pull the snow blower out. So one of us turned around and got up at the top and the lights and here comes the grader. More slides came in after you got out of there. Where is your snow blower?" I don't know," I replied. That thing was buried the next two days they couldn't find it. They asked me if I thought I could find that snow blower. I said that I remembered the big tree on the right hand side. I think it is in that area. I was tired and beat. I had a long pole. They put two pipes together and they finally hit that thing and here it is. They cut the dozer they finally found it, just mangled. If we had stayed in there it would have been us. That was my incident that was close. I still can't forget that, but there after I was an engineer out of the snow area, which is a lot better. Then what else happen, I had a lot of crazy experiences. Also my Dad he worked for Cal Trans he wasn't hired at the time and he was the guy on the snow plow and he couldn't get back one winter that was before I was employed and there was a gas truck driver in fact he own a Severin (? Or Serving?) station. We had a tank of gas, movin the gas to God knows where, come back, he was stuck so my Dad came up on him and he my Dad couldn't get back to the main station so he was going to coming home and found this tanker and he was stuck so he was almost getting out of gas, my Dad's truck. So he says "Good thing I found you because I need gas in my truck." And this guy said "Good thing I found you cause I am stuck." So they took gas out of that tanker filled up that snow plow and that little snow plow couldn't do no more so they sat there in the snow and the snow kept building up. And my Dad said, "hey we are gonna have to walk, and were gonna to my house", which down a little ways about three miles or so. So they set out on foot and that old man that own that station he was so scared he just was out of his mind. My Dad kept him hanging on him saying "come on, we got to keep going". Finally got to the house and he was... That's how we survived. My Dad saved his life. We have, I have a lot of experience as far as traveling and getting stuck in the snow. Getting in and out, but we had more snow then in the dead man's summer (?). Well what else did I do that is exciting? I use to live here at the Lee(or possibly Knee) Ranch. When I was a kid I was also, my mom was pretty sickly when I was a kid. I can't remember my age when my parents gave me to the people, adopted or given away or whatever you wanted to say. But I lived with somebody else until I was maybe 5 or 6 years old. Then I came back to my parents.

Q: Where did you say you lived?

A: A ranch right back there. (Pointed south of Lee Vining)

Q: Is it on the map?

A: Right down in here. (Pointing on the map and marking the location with a sticky pad) Right in here, right down there, is where I stayed.

Q: And you were there until you were 5 years old?

A: That is where I was housed by other people when I was 5 years old when I was there.

Q: Do you remember them at all?

A: I remember Dick Charlie and Alice was his uh, I called him both Mom and Dad. They were really my Mom and Dad at the time, because I didn't know anybody else. They were my parents. And Somehow out of I don't know why or how it came about I came back to my real parents, because my mother was pretty sickly. That is what I was told. And like I said we lived there at the Ranch where I was brought up.

Q: We lost the mark on the first place where you lived.

A: (Talking quietly to himself and looking on the map for the location) Do you see Williams Butte on this place? (asking his daughter). (Talking about the Lake "on top" and 295 to each other) Where is the old 395? (Joe comments on how the Map does show the old roads). Ooo right here is where Williams Butte. (Marked on the map) That's the basin marked William's Butte.

Q: Can I also have you mark that trail again? It was right here, was it not?

A: The trail, right here is the trail.

Q: What group of people did you say you traded with?

A: They were Piutes. Probably Miowoks I am not sure. Because there were a lot of Piutes in that area also.

Q: Did you ever once a year would you guys gather not just for trade but maybe for something else? Maybe for a celebration?

A: They use to have a celebration up there, the people from here would take baskets and their baby baskets and their little babies you know just to show. They got the wood of some sort I don't know.

Q: You guys used willow a lot for basket weaving, why was it chosen?

A: That is the only thing you make willows with, it's pliable. And it is a certain time of year you would get these willows. It's in the fall otherwise spring they are too big and brittle. For some reason in fall they get a little more, they're flexible, and they don't break as easy as they do in the spring.

Q: When you guys traded what were the things you traded?

A: Oo they take pine nuts from here and they take acorns.

Q: Did you ever trade meat? Was there certain game out here that wasn't over here?

A: Not that I know of. As far as deer, there was deer there, they were everywhere. And also talking about artifacts I found an arrow head, June Lake there is a peak all rock the highest peak out there. I found an arrow head, perfect. Right at the top of the peak, but right at the top of that peak. Let me show you. (Pointing to the map where the peak is where he found the arrow head). The peak is somewhere up here. Ooo well. You know talking about pine nuts we use to go camping from here going over to what they called a goat ranch which is across the way, and we would camp out there for two or three weeks at a time, to just stay out there. Us kids that was our job to climb the trees and knock, what they gave us is what is called a whenknall (spelling may be incorrect) which is a basket, about this long. So we will get up to the top and it plummets down and we would throw all the cones in there. And let it down and they dump it and you would stay in the tree and we would plant those trees, they are sharp. Now I hate to climb the trees. But in those days they didn't

bother us for some reason, then we were small and we could fit between the limbs, I don't know. But it was our job to knock the cones off and give them to the others.

Q: When you were a child growing up did you notice changes in your family life that there were traditions or ways of life that your grandparents lived and no longer became common anymore? Did you see a change?

A: There has been a lot of changes, as far as you got all these techniques that you got, you got this computers, you know back when you just go live day by day. If you were doing fine you were okay. Its, the only change I can see that I think the kids today are more knowledgeable. You know they have been to school back when they didn't go to school, but still they were knowledgeable in their way. Yeah they had their own mind that if they set a goal they would meet a goal like they do today. I can't think of anything else dang it.

Q: That is okay one of the things I wanted to ask you was that after the interview and if find that we have more questions or something that we like to know, that can help get federal recognition and paint a picture how life was, would it be okay to contact you by phone?

A: Sure.

Q: Great. Unless you want to say anything else I think we are finished for now.

A: Yeah in fact I got my autobiography all written up in fact I got a lot of things written up I could read back to you what I got.

Q: Could we have a copy of that?

A: I just got it rough (recording is hard to hear but he is talking about cleaning up his drafts).

Q: Well if you remember anything you want to talk you can call me any time, and we can put it on, and we will have the same deal here where I would transcribe it and give you a copy and if there is anything you don't want in the publication we can take it out.

A: I got about 7 or twelve pages done.

The recording goes on for a few minutes talking about small talk. The interview is then turned off and we stayed with Joe Sam for about 30 more minutes joking around.

APPENDIX D

Proposed Strategic Plan

The framework:

This proposed strategic plan presents a framework that the United States Forest Service and Kutzadika'a Paiute Tribal Council can utilize to their mutual benefit. This Strategic Plan should be viewed as a living document, and can be amended as situations require. By following this Strategic Plan, the United States Forest Service and Kutzadika'a Paiute Tribal Council can reach their goals of management, protection, and preservation of their sacred and other cultural sites located on Forest Service land.

The responsibility of forest land management is entrusted to the USDA, and the Kutzadika'a Tribal Council is keenly aware of this trust responsibility. With some good faith effort by both stakeholders, the Kutzadika'a sacred and cultural sites can be protected, and legal responsibilities required of the Forest Service can be met.

Historically, the Kutzadika'a call the Mono Lake shores and surrounding landscapes as their home. Within this geographical region, there are ceremonial areas, ancestral homes, ritual sites, bathing areas, cemeteries, and cultural resource sites such as Mono Mills.

Both the USFS and the Kutzadika'a, as stakeholders, have a potential vested interest in the successful safeguarding of sacred and cultural sites. The Kutzadika'a are in the final stages the application process to secure tribal recognition, a status that once belonged to the tribe but was taken away. The timing is now opportune to recognize that cooperative responsibility will facilitate the smooth transition for the stakeholders for Kutzadika'a sacred site and cultural resources protection. By preparing a joint, negotiated plan now, the pressure of creating a plan in the future can be avoided, and the workload made lighter.

The applicable law and regulations that govern the framework of this Strategic Plan are: Executive Order 13007, dated May 24, 1996: Indian Sacred Sites; the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA); the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA); the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA); the American Indian Religious Freedom Act; the Religious Freedom Restoration Act; and Executive Order 13175: Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments. It is with this legal background in mind that this strategic plan is presented to the Forest Service and Kutzadika'a Paiute Tribal Council.

The underlying documents that serve as a foundation of this Strategic Plan are: the United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service Office of Tribal Relations Report to the Secretary of Agriculture, USDA Policy and Procedures Review and Recommendations: Indian Sacred Sites; the Forest Service Background Information and Q's and A's Report to the Secretary of Agriculture USDA Policy and Procedures

Review and Recommendations: Indian Sacred Sites; the December 2012 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the United States Departments of Defense, Interior, Agriculture, Energy, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and; the Tribal Relations Strategic Plan, Fiscal Years 2010-2013.

The December 2012 Sacred Sites Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) presents policies that are relevant to the Forest Service and Kutzadika'a Indian sacred site protection agreement issue, and binding on the Forest Service. Of particular importance in the MOU are: paragraph "(5) Identifying existing confidentiality standards and requirements for maintaining the confidentiality of sensitive information about sacred sites; analyzing the effectiveness of these mechanisms; and, developing recommendations for addressing challenges regarding confidentiality; (6) Establishing management practices that could be adopted by Participating Agencies. These could include mechanisms for the collaborative stewardship of sacred sites with Indian tribes, such as Federal-tribal partnerships in conducting landscape level cultural geography assessments; (7) Identifying impediments to Federal-level protection of sacred sites and making recommendations to address the impediments; and (10) Exploring mechanisms for building tribal capacity to participate fully in consultation with federal agencies and to carry out the identification, evaluation, and protection of sacred sites."

According to the Forest Service document "The Forest Service Background Information and Q's and A's Report to the Secretary of Agriculture USDA Policy and Procedures Review and Recommendations: Indian Sacred Sites, the President required USDA Secretary Vilsack to fulfill trust responsibilities to Alaskan Indians and Native Americans to govern tribal relationships, and these responsibilities were incorporated into the Final report submitted to the Secretary of Agriculture. The Q's and A's make clear that the review of existing policies and procedures to be presented to the Secretary sets forth the commitment to build tribal relationships with the federal government, that the government should the agency should meet its current treaty obligations, and comply with federal law governing sacred sites.

The all-important definition of an Indian sacred site is by Executive Order 13007, dated May 24, 1996, states as follows:

"Any specific, discrete, narrowly delineated location on federal land that is identified by an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion, as sacred by virtue of its established religious significance to, or ceremonial use by, an Indian religion; provided that the tribe or appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such a site."

All of the aforementioned laws, regulations, policies and procedures steer the Forest Service in the direction of cooperation with Native American tribes, and to protect sacred sites as delineated by tribal leaders. It is opportune to urge Forest Service personnel and the Kutzadika'a to follow the goals, objectives, outcomes, and actions this Strategic Plan presents.

The overarching goals of this Strategic Plan are:

Goal 1: to continue management, protection, and preservation of sacred sites.

This strategic plan reinforces the goal of Native American Indian sacred site protection for sites located on Forest Service land, and Forest Service policies and procedures. The objective is for stakeholders to acknowledge the legal responsibility delegated to the Forest Service. The outcome is the realization that the Forest Service is financially and logistically limited in the protection it can provide. The action is for stakeholders to be amenable to jointly find a solution to sacred site protection

Goal 2: to create and build a partnership to build trust between the Forest Service and Kutzadika'a Tribal Council to ensure mutual success and cooperation.

The objective is to establish communication between the stakeholders to advance the possibility of joint sacred site protection; for stakeholders to define "protection"; the type of protection that they can provide; what they envision the form of protection will be; what the anticipated results should be; to accept or reject meeting with Robert Gelb, San Jose State University Masters degree student, acting as a neutral liaison, either independently or jointly, to create proposals to share and negotiate with the other stakeholder. The outcome is for stakeholders to meet and discuss sacred site protection. The action is to set an agenda, time, and place for a meeting; to meet either independently or jointly with Robert Gelb, as an independent liaison, to help develop prioritized proposals, edit them, and exchange them with the other stakeholder to specifically set forth how cultural resources and sacred sites will be protected.

Goal 3: to develop and institute a joint sacred site protection agreement that stakeholders will honor to protect Kutzadika'a sacred sites located on Forest Service land.

The objective is to allow physical access to culturally sensitive areas which require monitoring, guarding, surveying, and use of these areas. The outcome is that the Kutzadika'a disclose the locations of private sacred sites and culturally sensitive areas to the Forest Service; and in exchange the Forest Service's responsibility is to ensure privacy of culturally sensitive areas, and to prevent looting and desecration by not disclosing the locations to the general public or the State of California, or assign Sacred Site designation numbers so sites cannot be published. The action is to allow access on roads to provide for ingress and egress, open gates, and provide keys and lock combinations to gates leading to culturally sensitive areas.

Formulating position statements and procedures to proceed:

The position statement plays a vital role as the initial means to begin discussions about a sacred site protection agreement. The formulation of position statements gives the stakeholders the opportunity to set forth in writing their respective views on the furtherance of creating a sacred site protection agreement. The position

statements will, with hope, contain parameters and guidelines each stakeholder deems possible and practical. The position paper may also contain areas of limitation and restriction that prohibit or inhibit certain possibilities and use of resources, or recognize the lack of resources.

Drafting a position paper can be accomplished in two ways; with or without the assistance of Robert Gelb, Masters degree student at San Jose State University, acting as a neutral intermediary to add input into the drafting of the position statement. The stakeholders shall draft their position with written language and content that furthers their interests of creating and adopting a sacred site protection agreement.

After the stakeholders have completed their written position statements, they will arrange for the exchange of the documents. The exchange establishes transparency, serves as an immediate description of ideas for debate, compromise and evaluation of the contents to find areas of agreement, and areas that require modification. Again, this can be accomplished in two ways; with or without the assistance of Robert Gelb. The stakeholders should draft their changes to either the language or the contents that will further the interests of succeeding with the creation and adoption of a sacred site protection agreement. Regardless of which method of exchange the stakeholders choose, their position statements, or at least copies of the positions statements, should be forwarded to Robert S. Gelb for purposes of preparation and presentation of ideas with the other stakeholder. This process can be repeated as often as necessary with Robert S. Gelb acting as an intermediary between the stakeholders, conveying the stakeholder's thoughts to each other.

After the stakeholders position statements have been exchanged and reviewed, the most important part of this process is to occur; the meeting. There are several options: face to face, have a live conversation over the internet, or regrettably, forego a meeting. Clearly, a goal of this entire effort for sacred site protection is to have the stakeholders engage in face-to-face discussions, and gain confidence and trust in each other and the meeting process. There is no substitute for the integrity and importance of the face-to-face meeting, and regardless of how many subsequent meetings are necessary to accomplish the goal of joint sacred site protection, the end result of cultural artifact and landscape preservation, as well as fulfillment of legally mandated oversight responsibilities, are worthy of the effort.

At this stage, the presence of Robert S. Gelb is crucial to the negotiations and finalization of a sacred site protection agreement. Both stakeholders can present their positions in an atmosphere of tolerance and confidence that their position will be discussed openly with fairness. Acting as a neutral intermediary, and with previous knowledge of the rationale both stake holders, Robert S. Gelb can navigate between the possible areas of differences and bridge the stakeholders' positions together. The value of the observations, explanations, interpretations and suggestions of a neutral third party intermediary shall be of great benefit to the success of the sacred site protection agreement, and an excellent point from which

future discussions can build upon, and further trust can be developed. It is with a genuine commitment to the negotiating process, and the willingness of the stakeholders to achieve a lasting commitment to embrace cultural values and legal responsibility that will drive this process to a successful conclusion.

APPENDIX E

Photos of Sacred Sites are not pictured here to protect the integrity of the sites.