

Indigenous Knowledge and Storytelling in the Owens Valley, California, for Manzanar National Historic Site: Two American Indian Examples

Lawrence F. Van Horn

*Planning and Design Services, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 12795 West Alameda Parkway, Denver, Colorado 80225-0287 USA
Fax: 303-969-2736, email: Larry_Van_Horn@nps.gov*

KEY WORDS Indigenous knowledge; park interpretation; storytelling.

ABSTRACT The author presented a version of this paper at the 57th Annual Meeting of The Society for Applied Anthropology in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on April 23, 1998. The paper concentrates on a unit of the national park system in the United States in the context of the theme of this special issue of the *Journal of Social Sciences*, "Resource Management through Indigenous Knowledge." Different groups over time have been linked to what is now Manzanar National Historic Site, California, USA — American Indians, European Americans, and Japanese Americans. The focus here is upon American Indian contributions. Indigenous knowledges, so to speak, are identified for possible application to park management, but mostly to park interpretation. That means telling visitors about the natural and cultural resources of what is now a park, and then educating them about protecting and preserving these resources for future generations. The storytelling activities are portrayed of two American Indians sharing indigenous knowledge in relation to the park.

INTRODUCTION TO MANZANAR

Manzanar National Historic Site, California, was established by the United States Congress on March 3, 1992, by way of federal law (Public Law 102-248) to be administered by the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior. It became part of the national park system as one of the 378 such units across the country managed by the National Park Service (National Park Service, 1993; Rancourt, 1993:30; Olson et al., 1996). Listed in the California Historic Resources Register prior to national listing, it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on July 30, 1979, for its

"exceptional importance...to the broad patterns of our [American] history ... specifically the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II" (Bur-

ton, 1993: 1)."

Not only is the Japanese-American experience of World War II to be recognized and commemorated by the park, but also an European-American agricultural experiment for commercial fruit growing, which lasted from about 1910 into the 1930s, and the American Indian linkages to the site that span from prehistoric times to the present. As the park brochure for visitors puts it, "[the Manzanar] site represents three phases of Owens Valley's past: The internment of Japanese-Americans, 1942-1945; early agricultural settlement and land use, 1910-1930s; and prehistory and history of American Indians in the Manzanar area (National Park Service, 1993)."

What happened at Manzanar of national significance that prompted its establishment as a national park unit relates to the forced relocation and internment of people of Japanese ancestry living in the western United States, mostly American citizens, into ten camps with barbed wire situated in relatively remote areas of the west (Merritt, Jr., 1987). Manzanar was the first.

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

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

These people were ultimately placed in internment camps called war relocation centers. Manzanar was an assembly and temporary detention center starting in March of 1942 under the Wartime Civil Control Administration. It was transferred to the War Relocation Authority as a war

relocation center on June 1, 1942. It operated as one of the ten war relocation centers until November 11, 1945, with a maximum population of 10,046 internees of Japanese ancestry (Embrey, 1987: 13). Again, the majority of the evacuees were American citizens. Including the other nine war relocation centers in California, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Arkansas, the number of internees totalled 113,798 (Nomura no date, cited in Van Horn, 1995a: 17). The World War II story of Manzanar can be sketched through a short series of quotes, which reflect on Manzanar's meaning:

**SYMBOLIC STATEMENTS:
MANZANAR WAR RELOCATION
CENTER**

"Manzanar ... the scene of a test of racial tolerance — the greatest test a democracy has ever met. We are face to face with the question of whether Americans can live in peace and security with fellow citizens of Japanese ancestry and Japanese who by virtue of our laws are non-citizens. They stand accused of no crime except their ancestry. To all of them we have pointed to American democracy as a better way of living. To fellow citizens we have commitments set out in the Bill of Rights. These thousands of them...are now held inside barbed-wire fence as a measure of national protection in this time of war. Protect who? Why? Where has the failure occurred? Is this democracy? (Ralph P. Merritt, Sr., December 25, 1942, in Merritt, Sr., 1942)." "On August 10, 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed [into law] the bill [from Congress] providing an apology [from the United States Government], review of convictions and pardons of crimes for non-cooperation, as well as payment of \$20,000 to each individual who was imprisoned under Executive Order 9066 (Rancourt, 1993: 34)." "The apology was important. [However] the idea that the [United States] government actually said it was wrong doesn't make up for what happened[Yet]

people...can learn from what has happened in the past so it does not happen again. We are a great nation, willing to acknowledge our errors. We are not weak. It takes a certain amount of strength to admit that we made a mistake (Sue Embrey quoted in Rancourt, 1993: 46)."

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

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

"Manzanar National Historic Site is as much a site of pride as it is a site of shame: all Americans should take pride in what those who lived there endured, for their courage is our courage. Further, it ought to be a distinct source of pride that we have, as a people, reached sufficient maturity to recognize our mistakes, to create a visible symbol of the invisible past to teach future generations of the great fear and irrationality that at times descend upon a people in time of war (Robin Winks, 1994: 23)."

**THE JAPANESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE
AND OTHER HERITAGES AT
MANZANAR**

A comprehensive study of the Japanese American experience during internment at Manzanar, 1942-1945, has been done by Harlan D. Unrau, historian at the Denver Service Center of the National Park Service, Denver, Colorado (Unrau, 1996). This extensive historic resource study of Manzanar National Historic Site deals with what happened to the Japanese Americans at the Manzanar War Relocation Center. The people lived in barracks, families staying together for the most part assigned to a portion of a barrack. Eating was communal in a mess hall. There were separate communal latrines for men and women. Many educational

programs were developed including formal schooling through high school. The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power allowed more than sufficient irrigation to raise crops in nearby fields, as well as chickens in the camp. Water was plentiful for the beautiful flower gardens many internees designed and maintained around some of the barracks.

Harlan Unrau deals with the previous history of the fruit-growing town of Manzanar, formed to supply apples, peaches, pears, and apricots for the Los Angeles market, shipped by railroad. The town of Manzanar had many amenities including a community hall and school. Unrau shows how earlier European American settlement of the area took place by Anglo ranchers and farmers, including mention of how indigenous American Indians started working for these Anglo ranchers and farmers.

The prehistory and archeology of the site is dealt with in several detailed reports by Jeffrey F. Burton, archeologist at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center of the National Park Service, Tucson, Arizona (Burton, 1993, 1994; Burton et al., 1996, 1998). The primary archeological study via its title, *Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site, California*, alludes to a popular, first-hand account of life at Manzanar by an internee named Jeanne Wakatsuki at the time, who later under her married name of Houston told her story with the aid of her European American husband, James D. Houston. Their 1973 book (1974 in paperback) is entitled *Farewell to Manzanar*. The "three farewells to Manzanar" refer to the successive occupations of the site by American Indians, European Americans, and Japanese Americans.

A study of mine (Van Horn, 1995a) deals with the ethnohistory and ethnography of the American Indians — Shoshones and Paiutes — indigenous to the Owens Valley, California, circa European contact and after. Three groups of Paiutes and one group of Shoshones interacted in various ways with the European American newcomers, including living on nearby streams as they had previously but working for European American or Anglo ranchers and farmers, mentioned above. Shoshones and Paiutes live in the Owens Valley today centered around the

communities of Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, and Bishop, which are situated, respectively, from south to north along United States Highway 395.

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE IS LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

With regard to land use management, the range of American Indian indigenous knowledge is elegantly presented by Allen Pinkham in a 1996 overview article with examples of specific applications before European contact provided by Thomas Blackburn and Kat Anderson in their 1993 book. In general as one might imagine, the broad sweep of applications involves different kinds of plants and animals in the context of appropriate habitats. The seasons of the year, various types of terrain and levels of altitude are recognized as variables of particular practices.

At first glance, indigenous knowledge refers to information believed to be true about the physical and/or social environment that has been acquired over time and passed down from one generation to another within a group associated with an ancestral territory. However, a broader definition equated with local knowledge not necessarily linked to ancestral territory but rather a place where a group functions has been found to be quite useful (Purcell, 1998). This includes insider information characteristic of a group without necessarily having been passed down transgenerationally (Van Horn, 1998c).

The session "Grounds for Indigenous Knowledge: The Importance of Being Emic in an Etic World," presented at the 96th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, District of Columbia, on November 22, 1997, described and analyzed examples of both indigenous and insider knowledge in various groups from different parts of the world (Van Horn, 1998c). A sequel, "Grounds for Indigenous Knowledge: The Use of Indigenous Knowledge as a Tool in the Political Relations between Populations," was presented at the 97th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on December 2, 1998 (Strouthes, 1998). Both sessions included local knowledge as part of indigenous knowledge, especially

insider knowledge peculiar to a particular group. That is the case here, too, discussing Manzanar's American Indian contributions.

PAIUTE IRRIGATION

Paiute irrigation is an example of American Indian indigenous knowledge in the Manzanar area. The Paiutes traditionally occupied the northern two-thirds of the Owens Valley in eastern California, east of the Sierra Nevada but west of the Inyo Mountains. The three Paiute communities and reservations today are part of the towns of Independence, Big Pine, and Bishop, all of which, going north respectively, are located on United States Highway 395. Manzanar is situated a few miles south of Independence on U.S. 395. Lone Pine contains a Shoshone community and reservation.

Paiute irrigation became a distinctive feature of the Owens Valley before European contact. Water was diverted from streams flowing down out of the mountains. The process manipulated and managed water to promote the growth of certain plants from irrigated plots of wild seeds. *Atsa* in Paiute or western yellow cress (*Rorippa curvisiliqua*), *pawai* or water grass (*Echinochloa crusgalli*), and *wata* or white pigweed (*Chenopodium berlandieri*) are examples of the plants involved (Lawton et al., 1993: 339). Such plots were routinely and regularly placed and irrigated by way of a community effort requiring considerable labor.

All the men of a village might take part in building a dam of "boulders, brush, sticks, and mud" for the initial diversion. Then the irrigator of a plot took charge. He had the "sole responsibility for watering the plot by [manipulating] a system of small ditches and dams of mud, sod, and brush," using an irrigating tool called the *pavado*, a pole about 8 feet long and 4 inches in diameter, (Lawton et al., 1993: 338).

Paiute irrigation occurred along with a form of fishing or fish collection:

"After water was turned into the [irrigation] ditch, fish were recovered from the dry stream bed.... In the fall, before harvesting of the wild plants, the dam was destroyed and the water allowed to flow once more down its main channel.... to

the Owens River. Again fish were gathered, but this time from the irrigation ditch (Lawton et al., 1993: 338)."

Linguistic evidence supports the indigenous roots and aboriginal origin of Paiute irrigation:

"In the case of the Owens Valley Paiute, [Julian] Steward [1930, 1933] provides three words associated with the growing of plant crops: *uvaju*, head irrigator; *tuva dut*, to irrigate; and *pavado*, the irrigator's pole. Catharine Fowler (personal communication [linguistic anthropologist, University of Nevada at Reno]) informs us that these are Paiute words and not derived from the Spanish. Possibly, a review of unpublished field notes of linguists working on the various Northern Paiute and Nevada Shoshone groups will elicit still more words related to irrigation of wild plants such as the words for "ditch," "fallowing," and "dam." We suggest, however, that the presence of these few recorded words in the Paiute vocabulary and the fact that the well-known Spanish term *zanjero* for irrigator did not diffuse from the Spanish missions. Whether future analyses of Paiute vocabularies can throw more light on dating the origins of irrigation in the Owens Valley we must leave to linguists working in that area (Lawton et al., 1993: 360)."

INTERPRETING MANZANAR

Is there any modern utility for aboriginal Paiute irrigation concerning park management at Manzanar? There appears to be no direct application to natural resource management. One reason is that much less water is available today in the Owens Valley. History shows that the Owens Valley used to be much greener than now (Van Horn 1995a). Water flowing down into the valley from mountain streams has been systematically acquired by the Department of Water and Power of the City of Los Angeles (DWP) and taken to the city (Kahrl, 1983). Buying up land for water rights began during the fruit-growing period at Manzanar and continued for some 30 years. This activity of the DWP was the prime reason the

town of Manzanar with its commercial apple, pear, peach, and apricot orchards could not continue effectively after the early 1930s. The landscape today along U.S. Highway 395 bears witness to the DWP by way of the Los Angeles Aqueduct, which crisscrosses the highway in several places as an open canal carrying water to Los Angeles. Thus, the ways of aboriginal management of the streams within the Manzanar area would not be possible today with the reduced water flow.

It would seem then that the story of indigenous Paiute irrigation could only be used in today's world as part of park interpretation, that is, interpreted by the park staff as part of the story presented to visitors. This, nevertheless, is not an unworthy use. As a unit in the national park system, Manzanar National Historic Site is managed under the mandate of the 1916 act of Congress that established the National Park Service as part of the United States Department of the Interior. The department itself was founded in 1849. Within park units under its care, the National Park Service was set up:

"to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such a manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations (16 United States Code 1)."

Park interpretation hopefully serves the dual purposes of contributing to visitors' enjoyment while educating them at the same time about the significance of natural and cultural resources. The somewhat uneven landscape today at Manzanar reveals many small hills and gullies here and there that somehow have been created by the manipulation of the land surface by the DWP, as it is called locally, as part of its regional water management program before Manzanar came into the National Park Service. This is evidence of the DWP's overwhelming presence in the Owens Valley. The DWP has heavily influenced the Owens Valley for nearly half a century as a major employer in the valley and as an economic and environmental force, determining that most of the water in the Owens Valley goes to Los Angeles. Some Paiutes and Shoshones over the years have become long-term DWP employees, which represents a steady

job source for them in recent times.

A few remnant fruit trees remain from the Manzanar town days. During the internment-camp period, these and others were revived and maintained by internees. Two stone guard houses remain plus a large building that was constructed for and used as the camp's gymnasium and auditorium. Archeology has revealed the foundation outlines of some of the camp buildings with functions confirmed by the camp construction plans that survive. Visitors today congregate in the old gymnasium/auditorium, which serves as a re-modeled visitor center with interpretative exhibits involving the three periods of Manzanar. Visitors then can follow the camp plan by way of a park brochure and walk about learning where various activities took place.

ANOTHER PARK'S EXAMPLE OF DIRECTLY APPLYING INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

This paper will return to indigenous knowledge and park interpretation at Manzanar. But an example is presented for comparison here in this section to show a direct application of indigenous knowledge for park resource management. The example is Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Arizona.

Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument is situated in that portion of the Sonoran Desert that extends north from Mexico into the United States. The monument shares borders and boundaries with Mexico to the south and the Tohono O'odham Nation to the east (Van Horn, 1997). Formerly known as the Papago Indian Reservation, it is still called that by some (Dolar, 1998: 8). As part of ongoing relations, the staff of the monument and members of the Tohono O'odham Nation share information. The staff of the monument has plans in place, subject to future funding, to apply traditional Tohono O'odham skills about erosion control to a particularly troublesome and remote spot in the Armenta area of the monument where a major wash crosses a dirt road. (Van Horn, 1995b, 1998a, 1998b).

The Tohono O'odham have long been recognized for their dryland farming techniques. They catch and divert sporadic seasonal wash

waters from desert rains. Brush is gathered, and weirs are assembled for the purpose. Mesquite weirs will be used at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument.

The staff of the monument has negotiated a set of detailed drawings with Mr. Dolores Lewis, a much respected Tohono O'odham farmer, for the mesquite weirs. They would be set up to divert and more evenly distribute wash water above and below the spot in question. A gabion that has been in place for some time, replete with heavy steel mesh over rocks and boulders, has proven to be quite ineffective to stop the erosion.

THE MESQUITE WEIRS

South of the road and gabion, one recent photograph shows a root about six inches below the surface traversing from one side of the wash to the other, like a stretched wire. The erosion here amounts to about three feet of soil gone beneath the root, dramatically exposing it. Tohono O'odham strategy calls for mesquite weirs to be placed above and below the road where it crosses the wash. The plans call for at least six weirs, as follows (Van Horn, 1997: 106):

"Three sets of two weirs a piece would work together above the road. One weir of each pair would cross the wash from each side with an open channel in the middle. Given the topography and the narrowing contour of the wash as it crosses the road, if each weir met its mate, they would come together and form an angle of about 135 degrees in the center of the wash. Each of these weirs would be made up of single mesquite posts, intertwined with small brush woven between the posts, and placed at intervals of 200 or 300 feet, dependent upon the contour of the wash, so that each weir would work in tandem with its mate. A single weir could be as long as 900 feet. The mesquite posts would be spaced 3 feet apart and dug down so that about 2 feet of the post would remain above ground. Above the road, the water when flowing in the wash would tend to fan out among the weirs on each side of the wash. "Stronger and heavier weirs would be

placed right in the eroded wash below the road and below the existing gabion. These weirs would be doubled posted, with mesquite branches placed 8 to 10 inches across from each other, forming a thick barrier packed with brush. Angled pairs, similar to those above the road but thicker in width and much shorter in length, would alternate with weirs placed straight across the wash like blockades. Angled pairs would also be placed on top of the banks of the wash to fan out the overflow when the wash filled up. Here the mesquite posts would be buried 3 feet or more deep, and the angled pairs alternating with straight blockades would be installed every 150 to 200 feet or so. Additional brush would be placed downstream behind each weir to dispel the eddy currents that eat away the banks. Below the road, the weirs would serve primarily to slow the water and build up silt."

The Armenta area of the monument takes its name from the Armenta Homestead and Well, where agriculture was practiced much earlier in this century through well-water irrigation. When the Tohono O'odham mesquite weirs are in place, not only will the resource be protected better, but also the idea and practice of applying Tohono O'odham knowledge for modern erosion control could be interpreted to visitors as an outgrowth of traditional O'odham dryland farming.

BACK TO MANZANAR WITH A WORD ABOUT THE NAME

The late Alfred L. Kroeber, known in his time (1876-1960) as the dean of American anthropologists and as an expert on the Indians of California (Kroeber, 1976), was researching his *California Place Names of Indian Origin* (Kroeber, 1916) about the same time Manzanar began to flourish as an European American fruit-growing community. Kroeber does not mention Manzanar. But some evidence exists that the name Manzanar came to the English language as a California place name from the Spanish language via the Paiute language, a process that no doubt would have intrigued Kroeber (Van Horn, 1995a: 19).

The idea suggested is the Spanish-language origin through Paiute contact of the name Manzanar by European American adoption via a loan word for apple from the Spanish of early explorers to the Paiute of those in the Owens Valley to the American English of California settlers. In Spanish, *la manzana* generally means apple; *el manzano*, apple tree; and *el manzanar*, apple orchard or a garden of apple trees (Castillo, Bond, and Garcia, 1964: 133; Velazquez, 1948: 427). There are alternative meanings in Spanish for manzanar. Manzanar may refer to a block of houses bounded on every side by a street, that is, a square; it also may refer to the knob in the hilt or handle of a sword (Velazquez, 1948: 427). Nonetheless, the fit of Manzanar as apple orchard with the early twentieth century commercial fruit enterprise seems straightforward. What is not clear is the immediate origin and application of the name. The European Americans who founded the town were not of Spanish heritage, although the ultimate Spanish-language origin of the name is widely accepted (Houston and Houston, 1974: 69).

An interesting consideration is that the land developed in 1910 for commercial fruit growing was officially called Manzanar Irrigated Farms and the town itself simply Manzanar (Unrau, 1995: 74 of Chapter 6). Not only one but two of the Spanish meanings of manzanar — apple orchard and housing square — could have been applied then as this orchard town was laid out in a grid pattern, making the name Manzanar doubly appropriate.

Enter Truman Buff, a Paiute elder, born in 1906, from the Fort Independence Indian Reservation, just north of Independence on Highway 395. As he says (Buff, 1992, 1994), Paiutes in significant numbers worked on ranching and farming spreads in the Owens Valley. They worked at George's Creek in the Manzanar area and were befriended and employed by John Shepherd (1833-1908). As early as 1862, Shepherd pioneered a cattle ranch on George's Creek, named for an Indian leader, Chief George. Shepherd moved to what became known as Shepherd's Creek, which is on the immediate Manzanar site, in 1864 and eventually held some 2000 acres (Wehrey, 1993: 2).

An extensive Paiute vocabulary list of

Truman Buff (Buff, 1978) reveals many Spanish words in Paiute — presumably words borrowed from Spanish for introduced items for which there was no Paiute equivalent. Buff lists manzana as the Paiute word for apple. This is an example in linguistic terms of a loan word from Spanish borrowed into Paiute. In a 1994 interview, Truman Buff volunteered and made a special point of bringing up the idea of American Indians as conduits of the manzana-apple meaning associated with Manzanar (Buff, 1994).

TRUMAN BUFF: AMERICAN INDIAN STORYTELLER

Truman Buff is a Paiute storyteller with ties to Manzanar because of his interest in promoting knowledge about American Indian links to the site. These encompass not only what might be considered traditional links in terms of indigenous Paiute irrigation and then the Paiutes possibly serving as a conduit of the Spanish name Manzanar to the Anglo developers of the fruit-growing town, but also for other American Indian links to Manzanar. For instance, Truman Buff as a young and middle-aged man played in a band, an all Indian band. He played the trumpet and violin — mostly the trumpet but also the violin when appropriate. The band performed at Manzanar the town and later at Manzanar the camp. He came to have friends in both the town and the camp.

Truman Buff points out that American Indians helped build the camp as construction workers in 1942 and helped dismantle it in 1946 (Buff, 1994). At least one was a member of the administrative staff operating the camp. Viola Martinez, a Paiute from the Bishop area, worked at the Manzanar War Relocation Center as a relocation officer. She interviewed internees for relocation to jobs outside the camp in the midwestern or eastern parts of the United States (Martinez, 1994). Viola Martinez attended the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and later became a certified teacher and social worker in the Los Angeles area (Van Horn, 1995a: 28).

It is information like this, local knowledge if you will, that Truman Buff would like to see researched and distributed more, including indigenous knowledge about prescribed burning,

mentioned below. To this end, he makes himself available to Bill Michael, director of the Eastern California Museum, Independence, California, who has an ongoing oral history program. Bill Michael in turn works very closely with the superintendent of Manzanar National Historic Site, Ross Hopkins, to share information relevant to interpreting Manzanar both at the park and the museum (Michael, 1994).

PRESCRIBED BURNING

Controlled prescribed burning — purposefully setting brush and ground cover on fire to promote new plant growth and seed growth for certain species in certain locations at certain times of the year as well as for hunting deer and rabbits — has been reported for the Timbisha Shoshones in Death Valley (Fowler, 1994b; Paton, 1995: 50), the Western Mono Paiutes to the west of the Owens Valley Paiutes (Anderson, 1993: 161; Lewis, 1993: 91), the Mono Lake Paiutes of the Eastern Mono Paiutes to the north of the Owens Valley Paiutes (Andrews, 1994), and for the Owens Valley Paiutes themselves (Richard Stewart 1995b). In general, such use of fire was aboriginally perceived as "good, and useful to clean the country" (Fowler, 1994a: 6), and it is so regarded today (Richard Stewart, 1994, 1995a, 1995b).

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

Traditional American Indian prescribed burning in the Owens Valley could have implications for Manzanar National Historic Site in managing and interpreting the natural resources of the park. It is a topic for further consideration that should receive additional attention in future ethnographic or traditional-use studies associated

with the site.

Some parks do practice prescribed burning, which prevents the build up of large amounts of fuel on the forest floor and thus helps prevent huge, regional fires as at Yellowstone National Park in 1988. Yellowstone now publicizes prescribed-burning in the park, which is in distinction to "Yellowstone's perceived 'let it burn policy' during and after the fires of 1988" and which, in a way, recognizes the indigenous wisdom of American Indians "along with Native Americans in Alaska" (Barbee, 1997: 42). Bob Barbee was the superintendent of Yellowstone in 1988 and is currently the regional director of the Alaska Region of the National Park Service.

RICHARD STEWART: ANOTHER AMERICAN INDIAN STORYTELLER

American Indian legends and stories are an important part of park interpretation. Some Owens Valley legends are alive and well and being told today like that of Winnedumah, which figures prominently in overall Owens Valley culture. Originally a Paiute story apparently, it has enjoyed wider currency for some time, although it still retains its primary Paiute identity. Tom Smith, for example, of European American heritage, learned about it as a Big Pine sixth grader in 1914 (Smith, 1975). And Truman Buff asserts that it must not be discounted as just a story; it may be based upon a real incident in Paiute history (Buff, 1994).

There are several variations of the legend of Winnedumah that attest to the courage of a Paiute hunter and warrior who stood his ground under overwhelming odds against invading attackers. Supernaturally, Winnedumah's body turned to stone in the form of a granite rock formation on the very crest of the Inyo Mountains some ten miles east of the town of Independence. It is a prominent landmark and eternal reminder of the need to defend what is right and important (Hamilton, 1993: 35-36).

An example of a latter-day storyteller relevant to Winnedumah and heroes of other tales may be found in the person of Richard Stewart, a Paiute who teaches art in the school district of Bishop, California, at the northern end of the Owens Valley. His home is in Big Pine in the Paiute community there. He is a member of the

Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Commission to Manzanar National Historic Site. Richard Stewart has an impressive family legacy. Jack Stewart was his great grandfather (Jack Stewart, 1994), who was a very important informant of anthropologist Julian Stewart (1930, 1933 and 1936).

Richard Stewart tells Coyote stories as a specialty, known in some North American Indian cultures as Trickster tales. These are like morality plays in that the Trickster character, although blessed with supernatural powers, often gets into predicaments because of greed and other appetites that he allows to get out of hand. Often with humor, Trickster stories teach by reverse example. Humans learn not to follow Trickster's ways so as to avoid embarrassing situations (Richard Stewart, 1994, 1995a).

Richard Stewart as an accomplished artist, potter, and storyteller is well known in the Owens Valley for the weekend retreats he conducts associated with the Winnedumah Hotel and Eastern California Museum in Independence. The advertising brochure, "Paiute Pottery with Richard Stewart," reads:

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

Richard Stewart goes to some length to relate a Paiute creation story about how the earth came to be and how the Paiutes came to be on it. This story focuses upon a cave and rock setting in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada west of Big Pine and north of Manzanar. Thus Manzanar is close to the origin center of the Paiute world (Richard Stewart, 1995b). In the field, Richard Stewart stresses how local variations exist in basic Paiute cosmology and how the stories often precisely and importantly relate to specific locales as part of their geography and ecology (Richard Stewart, 1995b). Of late, he has been giving guided tours at Manzanar (Richard Stewart, 1997, 1999).

Free walking tours of Manzanar are now available to the public five days a week from Wednesday through Sunday. Wednesday through Saturday two tours are offered in the morning, one at 8:30 and the other at 11:00. Just the 8:30 tour occurs on Sunday mornings. Two people with the first name Richard take turns serving as guides. Richard Stewart is one of them, along with Richard Potashin, a non-Indian, long-time local historian and interviewer associated with the Eastern California Museum in Independence, California, and the museum's ongoing oral history program. These tours of the Manzanar National Historic Site are funded by a grant to the museum from the Friends of the Eastern California Museum. Regular tours began in 1997 and are offered in cooperation with the National Park Service starting towards the end of June through July, August, and September. Advertising is by flyer. Information sheets with the instruction to "meet at the main entrance to the site by the stone guard houses" are distributed to motels, restaurants, and other public places in the Owens Valley, namely, in the towns of Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, and Bishop.

The Manzanar tours include information about the three periods of its history as mentioned earlier in this paper. The tours are sponsored and paid for by the Eastern California Museum as part of the public involvement and park-partnering program of the director, Bill Michael, in cooperation with the park superintendent, Ross Hopkins. This is a significant contribution given the increased staffing needed by this new park.

CONCLUSION

Some different types of indigenous Paiute storytellings have been presented of Truman Buff and Richard Stewart with regard to Manzanar National Historic Site. Both men are important sources for research, contributing to park interpretation. The latter's direct participation in advising on park management and visitor operations as a member of the Manzanar Advisory Commission is especially relevant, along with his service as a park tour guide. These two roles of his ensure that possible and appropriate applications of Paiute indigenous knowledge to

resource preservation and park interpretation are duly considered.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, K. 1993. "Native Californians as Ancient and Contemporary Cultivators," (pp. 151-174) in T.C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson (eds.), *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*. Menlo Park, California: Ballena Press.
- Andrews, R. 1994. Interview of Raymond Andrews (Paiute, born 1949), co-chairperson, Board of Directors, Owens Valley Paiute Shoshone Cultural Center; plus small-group meeting including Raymond Andrews; Board of Directors meeting including Raymond Andrews with Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, at the Owens Valley Paiute Shoshone Cultural Center, Bishop, California, June 17, 1994, June 17, 1994, July 22, 1994, and July 26, 1994, respectively. Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.
- Barbee, R.D. 1997. "No Place Is an Island — The Yellowstone Experience," (pp. 37-43) in J.J. Pigram and R.C. Sundell (eds.), *National Parks and Protected Areas: Selection, Delimitation, and Management*. Armidale, Australia: Center for Water Policy Research, University of New England.
- Bergman, T. and M. Chapman. 1994. "The Historic Winnedumah Hotel, Special Dates [and Events] for Summer 1994." Independence, California: The Winnedumah Hotel.
- Buff, T. 1978. "Truman Buff Family History, With an Account of Early Times and the Native American Language [Paiute]." As told to Burrell C. Dawson, Fort Independence Indian Reservation, California, December 19, 1978. Typescript copies on file at the Eastern California Museum, Independence, California, and the Laws Railroad Museum, Bishop, California.
- . 1992. "Oral History of Truman Buff [Paiute elder, born 1906]." Interviewed by Richard Potashin, Fort Independence Indian Reservation, California, May 31, 1992, for the Eastern California Museum, Independence, California. Audiotape and transcript on file at the museum.
- . 1994. Interview of Truman Buff (Paiute elder, born 1906) with Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, at Fort Independence Indian Reservation, Independence, California, July 18, 1994. Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.
- Blackburn, T.C. and M.K. Anderson (eds.). 1993. *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*. Menlo Park, California: Ballena Press.
- Burton, J.F. 1993. "Manzanar Scope of Work, Archeological Investigations, Manzanar National Historic Site, Inyo County, California." Tucson, Arizona: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, September 24, 1993.
- . 1994. "Manzanar Archeological Survey Site Concordance." Tucson, Arizona: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, June 20, 1994.
- Burton, J.F., I.J. Cohen, L.M. D'Ascenzo, M.M. Farrell, E.A. Guthrie, R.E. Hughes, T. Inomata, T. Majewski, R. Nash, P.J. Novak, T.M. Origer, C.L. Rogers, W. Sato, J.A. Waters, and J.C. Wehrey in consultation with Beta Analytic Incorporated, the Historic American Buildings Survey, and the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power. 1996. *Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site, California*. Three Volumes. Tucson, Arizona: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.
- Burton, J.F., R.E. Hughes, T.M. Origer, C. L. Rogers, and J.A. Waters. 1998. *The Archeology of Somewhere: Archeological Testing along U.S. Highway 395, Manzanar National Historic Site, California*. Tucson, Arizona: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.
- Castillo, C., O.F. Bond, and B.M. Garcia. 1964. *The University of Chicago Spanish-English/English-Spanish Dictionary*. Washington Square Press paperback edition. New York: Washington Square Press. First published in paperback in 1950 from the 1948 University of Chicago Press cloth edition.
- Dollar, T. 1998. "In the Realm of the Long Eyes: Visitors Track the Stars at Arizona's Renowned Observatories," *Arizona Highways*, 74 (8): 4-11.
- Embrey, S.K. 1993. "Comments on Manzanar of Sue Kunitomi Embrey, president of the Manzanar Committee, Los Angeles, California," in L.M. Rancourt, "Remembering Manzanar: The [National] Park Service Preserves a Site Where Japanese-Americans Were Interned during World War II," *National Parks Magazine*, 67 (5-6): 30-34, 46.
- . (ed.) 1987. *The Lost Years, 1942-1946*. Los Angeles: Moonlight Publications, Gidra, Incorporated, for the Manzanar Committee, Los Angeles, California. First published in 1972.
- Fowler, C.S. 1994a. "Historical Perspectives on Timbisha Shoshone Land Management Practices, Death Valley, California." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Ethnobiology, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, March 1994. On file at the Department of Anthropology, University of Nevada at Reno, Reno, Nevada.
- . 1994b. Telephone interview of Catherine S. Fowler, cultural anthropologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Nevada at Reno, Reno, Nevada, with Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, July 25, 1994. Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.
- Hamilton, J. 1993. "Winnedumah," in J. Fisher (ed.), *The Album, Times and Tales of Inyo-Mono [Counties, California]*, 6 (2): 35-36. Bishop, California: Chalfant Press.
- Hopkins, R.R. 1995. Review comments of Ross R. Hopkins, superintendent, Manzanar National

- Historic Site, California, September 27, 1995, on "Draft, The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley, California; Native American Consultations and Ethnographic Assessment; In Relation to Manzanar National Historic Site, California; For the General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, Package 007, Project Type 15, (DEVA 007-15). By Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist. Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, October 1995.
- Houston, J.W. and J.D. Houston. 1974. *Farewell to Manzanar*. New York: Bantam Books. First published in hardcover in 1973, San Francisco: San Francisco Book Company of the Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Kahrl, W.L. 1983. *Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley*. Paperback edition. Berkeley: University of California Press. First published in cloth in 1982.
- Kroeber, A.L. 1916. "California Place Names of Indian Origin." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 12 (Part 2): 31-69.
- _____. 1976. *Handbook of the Indians of California*. New York: Dover Publications. First published in 1925 as *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 78. Washington, District of Columbia: Smithsonian Institution.
- Lawton, H.W., P.J. Wilke, M. DeDecker, and W.M. Mason. 1993. "Agriculture among the Paiute of Owens Valley [California]." (pp. 329-377) in T.C. Blackburn and K. Anderson (eds.), *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*. Menlo Park, California: Ballena Press.
- Lewis, H.T. 1993 "Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory," (pp. 55-116) in T.C. Blackburn and K. Anderson (eds.), *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians*. Menlo Park, California: Ballena Press.
- Martinez, V. 1994. Telephone interviews of Viola Martinez [Paiute elder, born 1914] with Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, to Los Angeles, California, August 8, 1994, August 23, 1994, September 23, 1994 September 28, 1994. Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.
- Merritt, R.P., Sr. 1942. Letter to Mrs. Luella Shepherd Butler, daughter of John Shepherd, 1862 pioneer of Manzanar, from Ralph Palmer Merritt, Sr., project director, Manzanar War Relocation Center, California, December 25, 1942. On file at the Eastern California Museum, Independence, California.
- Merritt, R.P. "Pete," Jr. 1987. *Death Valley — Its Impounded Americans: The Contribution by Americans of Japanese Ancestry during World War II*. Keepsake Number 27. Death Valley, California: The Death Valley '49ers, Incorporated, A Non-Profit Corporation.
- Michael, W.H. 1994. Personal communication of William H. Michael, director, Eastern California Museum, Independence, California, with Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, at the Eastern California Museum, Independence, California, July 19, 1994. Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.
- National Park Service. 1993. *Manzanar National Historic Site, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior*. Park interpretive brochure prepared by the staff of Death Valley National Monument, now Death Valley National Park, California.
- Nomura, S. n.d. "The Ten World War II 'Relocation' Camps." Interpretative handout featuring the name, dates of opening and closing, and maximum population of each war relocation camp. Independence, California: Manzanar Project and Exhibit, Eastern California Museum.
- Olson, D., R.R. Hopkins, L. Nakata, D. Kodak, T. Mulhern, G. Chappell, R.E. Kelly, H. Florence, and E. Rothfuss. 1996. *Manzanar National Historic Site, California. General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, August 1996*. San Francisco: Western Regional Office, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.
- Paton, R.J. 1995 "Timbisha Shoshone: Back into the Park [Death Valley National Park]." *News from Native California* 8 (4): 50-51.
- Pinkham, A.V., Sr. 1996. "A Traditional American Indian Perspective on Land Use Management." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 36 (2): 93-101.
- Purcell, T.W. 1998. "Indigenous Knowledge and Applied Anthropology: Questions of Definition and Direction." *Human Organization* 57 (3): 258-272.
- Rancourt, L.M. 1993. "Remembering Manzanar: The [National] Park Service Preserves a Site Where Japanese-Americans Were Interned during World War II." *National Parks Magazine* 67 (5-6): 30-34, 46.
- Rogers, J. 1993 "Comments on Manzanar of Jerry Rogers, associate director for cultural resources of the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, District of Columbia," in L.M. Rancourt, "Remembering Manzanar: The [National] Park Service Preserves a Site Where Japanese-Americans Were Interned during World War II," *National Parks Magazine* 67 (5-6): 30-34, 46.
- Simon, D. 1993 "Comments on Manzanar of David Simon, southwest regional director, National Parks and Conservation Association," in L.M. Rancourt, "Remembering Manzanar: The [National] Park Service Preserves a Site Where Japanese-Americans Were Interned during World War II," *National Parks Magazine* 67 (5-6): 30-34, 46.
- Smith, H.S. 1975. Letter of Henry S. "Tom" Smith, former resident of the town of Manzanar, to Henry Raub, director, Eastern California Museum, Independence, California, May 12, 1975. On file at the Eastern California Museum.
- Steward, J.H. 1930 "Irrigation without Agriculture," *Michigan Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters Papers* 12:149-156.
- Stewart, J. 1994. "Tuhuki'ni' and the Gambler," *News from Native California* 8 (1): 24-27. Story first told by Jack Stewart to Julian H. Stewart in 1927 and 1928 and published by him in 1936 in "Myths of the Owens Valley Paiute." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 34 (5): 355-440.
- _____. 1933 "Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute,"

- University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 33 (3): 233-350.
- . 1936 "Myths of the Owens Valley Paiute," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 34 (5): 355-440.
- Stewart, R. 1994. Interview of Richard Stewart (Paiute and Pima, born 1944), member, Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute-Shoshone Indians, with Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, at the Big Pine Indian Reservation, Big Pine, California, July 22, 1994. Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.
- Stewart, R. 1995a. "Of Wind and Dust.... Rabbitbrush Place, Manzanar," *Newsletter for Friends of the Eastern California Museum*, 11 (1 & 2): 1, 5.
- . 1995b. Telephone communication of Richard Stewart (Paiute and Pima, born 1944), member, Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute/Shoshone Indians, Big Pine Indian Reservation, Big Pine, California, with Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, September 16, 1995. Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.
- . 1997. Letter of Richard Stewart of Big Pine, California, post marked August 20, 1997, from Independence, California, to the author, Lawrence F. Van Horn; in the author's possession, Littleton, Colorado.
- . 1999. Interview of Richard Stewart (Paiute and Pima, born 1944), member, Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute-Shoshone Indians, with Lawrence F. Van Horn, cultural anthropologist, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, at the Manzanar National Historic Site, Independence, California, July 14, 1999. Notes on file at the Denver Service Center.
- Strouthes, D.P. (organizer). 1998. "Grounds for Indigenous Knowledge: The Use of Indigenous Knowledge as a Tool in the Political Relations between Populations." Session at the 97th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 2, 1998. Five papers: (1) "The Separate World of Spectators and Employees" by John J. Beatty; (2) "Revelatory Knowledge in a New Religious Population in Taiwan" by Ian A. Skoggard; (3) "When Patrilineages Settle" by Daniel P. Strouthes; (4) "Population as Political Discourse: Variables of Indigenous Knowledge for National Park Planning" by Lawrence F. Van Horn; (5) "From Population Crisis to 'Crise de Conscience: Whose Knowledge in the Reproductive Health Field" by Ellen M. Schnepel.
- Unrau, H.D. 1995. "Site Selection for Manzanar War Relocation Center: Historical Background of Owens Valley and Manzanar Vicinity," Chapter 6 (pp. 6-1 to 6-88) in *Draft Historic Resource Study, Manzanar National Historic Site, California*. See final report, 1996, below. Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.
- . 1996. *The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry during World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center*. Manzanar National Historic Site, California. Two volumes. Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.
- Van Horn, L.F. 1995a. *Native American Consultations and Ethnographic Assessment: The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley, California. For Manzanar National Historic Site, California, November 1995*. Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.
- . 1995b. "Indigenous Knowledge and Erosion Control: A Resource-Management Project at Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument, Arizona," *High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology Newsletter*, 6(2): 1-2.
- . 1997. "An Anthropological Perspective on International Border and Park Boundary Issues in the United States," (pp. 103-127) in J.J. Pigram and R.C. Sundell (eds.), *National Parks and Protected Areas: Selection, Delimitation, and Management*. Armidale, Australia: Center for Water Policy Research, University of New England.
- . 1998a. "Seeking Indigenous Knowledge of National Park Neighbors," *High Plains Applied Anthropologist*, 18 (1): 31-36.
- . 1998b. "Grounds for Indigenous Knowledge in Park Planning: An Arizona Example," *High Plains Applied Anthropologist*, 18 (2): 142-149.
- . (ed.) 1998c. "Grounds for Indigenous Knowledge: The Importance of Being Emic in an Etic World." Session at the 96th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, District of Columbia, November 22, 1997. Seven papers: (1) "Knowledge versus Knowing: Zande Leechcraft" by Margaret L. Buckner; (2) "Kreyol-Kyololo: Grounds for Indigenous Knowledge in Writing Creole Dictionaries" by Ellen M. Schnepel; (3) "Satanism: Who Are the Natives?" by John J. Beatty; (4) "Seeking Indigenous Knowledge of National Park Neighbors" by Lawrence F. Van Horn; (5) "Staying Connected with the Rest of 'Us': The Moral Universe of Intravenous Drug Users" by Pellegrino A. Luciano; (6) "Infighting in San Francisco: Anthropology in Family Court, Or: A Study in Cultural Misunderstanding" by Barbara Joans; (7) "Impediments to the Economic Development of Nova Scotia's Largest Micmac Reserve" by Daniel P. Strouthes. Discussant: Peter W. Van Arsdale. Published as a symposium in the *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* 18 (2): 2-46.
- Velazquez de la Cadena, M. 1948. *A New Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*. Chicago: The Wilcox and Follett Company.
- Wehrey, J. 1993. "Report on Manzanar Pre-Camp Period: Data and Sources and Suggestions and Sources for Further Research on Attitudes of Owens Valley Townspeople During Manzanar Camp," California State University at Fullerton, October 1993. Type-script on file at the Eastern California Museum, Independence, California.
- Winks, R. 1994. "Sites of Shame: Disgraceful Episodes from Our Past Should Be Included in the [National] Park System To Present a Complete Picture of Our History," *National Parks Magazine* 68 (3-4): 22-23.