

EVALUATING THE EXTENT OF THE
TRADITIONAL TIMBISHA SHOSHONE HOMELAND

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Report Prepared for the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe

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Executive Summary

The focus of this report is to define the boundary of the traditional Timbisha Shoshone homeland, specifically examining the southern boundary, based on the limited ethnographic data recorded from approximately 1849 to the present, government records, historical documents, family histories and contemporary land use. Results identify important locations on the landscape, including settlements, resources, and movements from the late Pre-European period to the present. This work was conducted by researchers in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Utah at the request the Tribal Council of the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe.

For the purposes of this report we have identified three distinct periods of Timbisha history—Pre-contact, Historic, Modern—and organized the report accordingly, focusing on Timbisha population movements just prior to contact, during the time settlers came into the area and forced the Timbisha out of their traditional territories, and ongoing displacement today. Rather than detailing complete local histories and legal battles, we associate a times and places with population settlements and land-use areas.

Prior to the European incursion, traditional core territories of Timbisha Shoshone bands include Saline Valley, the northern end of Indian Wells Valley, Panamint Valley, Death Valley, and the Coso Range. While the southern most population centers are large single-family village clusters around Little Lake and Coso Springs, their southern territory likely extended to the Coso and Argus Ranges, northern Indian Wells Valley, Trona, and the southern end of Death Valley. Based on settlement and movement records, individual members of Timbisha Shoshone bands likely traveled regularly into neighboring linguistic territories averaging 15 km. Core areas were buffered by regions of trade, intermarriage, bilingualism, and multi-group use.

The historic period is marked with conflict and violence for the Timbisha and neighboring groups. Timbisha were forced off their traditional band areas as settlers and miners encroached their territory. Many were forced to move near towns for wage labor, but continued traditional subsistence practices and small scale farming practices wherever they relocated. People dispersed throughout the region, but several key settlement locations include Darwin and surrounding area, Furnace Creek, Lone Pine, Independence, and Little Lake. It was during this period when Timbisha began to apply for and receive land allotments, and when their presence in certain areas around the region was acknowledged and recorded by settlers or government agencies. These include: Grapevine Canyon in the northern part of Death Valley; Mesquite Springs; Hungry Bill's Ranch located in Johnson Canyon, Death Valley; Panamint Tom's settlement at Warm Springs Canyon; Indian Ranch, Panamint Valley for the Hanson family; Tom and Guadalupe Hunter's and Caesar's allotments in Saline Valley; Joe Peterson's allotment near Trona, and Indian Gardens in the Coso Range. Only some of these parcels were acquired through the General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act.

The modern era, marked by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, is a period of significant changes for the Timbisha that brought about new governmental policies and laws. In the early part of this era, some Timbisha were able to secure their lands through allotments, grazing leases or settling in Indian Village at Furnace Creek, while others were forcibly removed from the land when the Death Valley National Monument and the Naval Air Weapons Station China Lake (NAWS CL) were established. When the Indian Termination Policy began, individuals or families who had acquired land through allotments were encouraged to sell their parcels back to the government in the 1950s. This again forced more Timbisha to move toward towns, and often other states. It wasn't until 1983 that Timbisha Shoshone Tribe received federal recognition.

Following federal recognition, the Timbisha engaged in a protracted legal battle to regain their traditional homeland. In 2000, the Timbisha Homeland Act (P.L. 106-163) was passed that established trust lands for the Tribe. While much of the northern extent of the traditional homeland is included in this area, the Timbisha originally lived in a much larger area that extended beyond—especially to the south—the areas outlined in the Homeland Act. The southern extent of the traditional Timbisha homeland is dominated by the northern range of NAWS CL, which falls almost completely within the bounds of traditional Timbisha Shoshone band territory and remains an important location for current registered Tribal members, as many are descendants from this area. This region of Timbisha territory was the highest in population density and many families remained in the area until the Base forced their removal to nearby towns. Relative to modern population centers, the town of Ridgecrest is located just south of the Timbisha linguistic boundary and east of the neighboring Kawaiisu core territory. This area was likely used by multiple linguistic groups (Timbisha and Kawaiisu), especially Little Lake Timbisha band whose seasonal camps were the only ones located within northern Indian Wells Valley. This area was, and continues to be, important for many Timbisha.

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1 Introduction

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Numic-speaking people were organized in bands (Steward, 1938) consisting of a number of resident families who occupied discrete districts and occasionally defended rights to predictable and abundant resource patches (Fowler, 1982). While individuals moved between these designated areas out of subsistence and social needs, band areas still formed stable units of spatial organization grouped within larger linguistic boundaries (Steward, 1938). Where adjacent bands spoke different languages, these band-level boundaries were also linguistic boundaries.

Timbisha (sometimes referred to as Coso, Koso, Panamint, or Tümpisa, Ethnologue 2015) Shoshone is a central Numic language (Lamb, 1958) whose speakers traditionally occupied a core territory in southeastern California and southwestern Nevada (see Steward, 1938; Kroeber, 1925). Neighboring languages include those in the western Numic branch (Mono–Northern Paiute) to the northwest, the southern Numic branch (Kawiisu–Southern Paiute) to the southeast and Tubatalabal to the west (Babel et al., 2013; Lamb, 1958; McLaughlin, 2000; Steward, 1938). Under the most prevalent interpretation (Lamb, 1958, see also Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982), these coupled language groups represent ‘parent–offspring’ pairs that fan out across the Great Basin with Timbisha or Panamint being the ‘parent’ to all other Shoshone languages (including Comanche).

The Timbisha Shoshone name stems from the word Tümpisa, which means Red Ochre Place, and is the Panamint Shoshone word for the geographic location that is now known as Death Valley (White, 2008). We use both Timbisha and Panamint interchangeably throughout the report. Although the Timbisha presence was known since the first explorer came into the area, the Tribe did not receive federal recognition until 1983 (White, 2008). Modern Timbisha are descendants of the Panamint bands that traditionally inhabited Death Valley, Panamint Valley, Saline Valley and surrounding valleys and mountain ranges prior to contact with explorers and settlers in the region.

1.1 Report Goals

Here we investigate the extent of the traditional territory once occupied by the Timbisha Shoshone through ethnographic records, government documents, historical records, family histories and contemporary interviews. Specifically, after outlining the traditional band and linguistic boundaries (§3.1), we examine settlement locations, resource patch locations, and population movements, to assess land use patterns and settlement distribution in the area across three distinct periods of time:

1. Pre-European Contact: before approximately 1849
2. Historic: between approximately 1849 and 1933

3. Modern: 1933 to the present

The pre-contact era encompasses the years prior to 1849, the year that permanent settlers made their way into Panamint territory from the east. When George Hanson (born in approximately 1841 near Surveyor's Well) was a boy, he saw the arrival of the first white immigrants in December 1849 as they made their way through Death Valley (Irwin, 1980). There were several expeditions from Indian Wells Valley northward to Owens Valley (through Timbisha territory) by Joseph Walker in 1833, but it wasn't until 1849 when large numbers of settlers came to the area heralding significant changes. The historical era is defined from the period of sustained occupation (1849) to 1933, and is marked by substantial settler-colonial population growth, forcing the Timbisha off their traditional lands. The modern era begins in 1934 and continues to the present; it is marked by the passing of legislation known as the Indian Reorganization Act, also known as the Indian New Deal. This began a significant shift in laws and protections for Native Americans and their communities.

2 Data and Methods

2.1 Data Sources

The information summarized in this report was obtained from the ethnographic record, written and oral histories, government records, previous reports, historical documents, and interviews with contemporary Tribal members.

Band-level boundaries were acquired from Steward (1937, 1938). Linguistic attribute data for each band territory was checked and updated (e.g., Golla, 2011; Sutton et al., 2007; Thomas et al., 1986). Most importantly for this study, Steward specified two bands located in the southern portions of Panamint Valley and Death Valley as being more closely related to Kawaiisu; however, both Panamint Shoshone and Kawaiisu were known to inhabit these areas and it is not known which population dominated the area. While most maps (e.g., Golla, 2011) follow Steward (1937), some label the area as Panamint (e.g., Kelly, 1934) and Sennett (1996, p. 221) suggests these areas were used equally by both groups with the northern areas dominated by Shoshone and the southern reaches dominated by Kawaiisu, with intermarriage linking individuals throughout. Because of their proximity to the core Panamint territory, we consider these areas to be primarily Panamint. Data on neighboring linguistic boundaries were compiled from additional ethnographic sources (e.g., Cook, 1955; Gifford, 1932; Kelly, 1934; Kroeber, 1925; Zigmond, 1986). Data on contemporary cities and land owners were acquired from CalTrans (2014), and CALFIRE-FRAP (2014) for reference. Background maps for acquired from ArcGIS software (ESRI, 2012). Settlement locations and resource exploitation areas were identified following Steward (1938, Figure 7). Additionally, this map provides major movement corridors between settlement and resource locales and demonstrates how much people moved around the landscape and at what distances.

Two trips were made to Bishop to interview Tribal members. Informants were chosen through the Tribal Council and interviewed either at the Timbisha Shoshone Tribal Office in Bishop, California, in their home, or over the phone. Informants were asked questions about their family history as it related to geographical locations. Some genealogical questions were asked in order to gather sufficient history for a records search at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) at San Bruno. In addition to Tribal members, the council suggested interviewing a few archaeologists, museum curators and ethnographers who knew the history of the Tribe. These individuals were all contacted over email and some were met with in person. These individuals were met Ridgecrest, California; Trona, California; Las Vegas, Nevada; and Salt Lake City, Utah. During interviews all notes were hand written, and if questions arose after the interview the individual was contacted through email. Questions regarding descendants of Timbisha were directed toward Tribal Council member Ellie Jackson. Human subjects research protocols were approved by the University of Utah Institutional Review Board.

Archival research was completed at the Eastern California Museum in Independence, California and at the NARA repository in San Bruno, California. In both cases, appointments were scheduled and documents were retrieved by a records curator prior to the appointment. At the Eastern California Museum, documents of interest were scanned and made available digitally. A records curator at the NARA worked with the researchers to gather appropriate documents prior to the appointment and appropriate land allotment documents were scanned by researchers. Land allotment records from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) located in the repository at San Bruno are not complete. The researchers note later in the report which allotments were found through their own archival research and which have been discussed and verified by others. The Tribe has numerous government documents, Tribal records, historical records, and commissioned reports that they made available for this research. During the trips to Bishop, documents were scanned/photocopied for use in this research. Additional resources were obtained on-line, through the University of Utah Marriott Library, the Maturango Museum in Ridgecrest, California, and from informants. The details of all sources are available in the references cited.

2.2 Analytical Methods

Band and linguistic boundaries from all sources were scanned, georeferenced, and hand-digitized using ArcGIS software (ESRI, 2012). Settlement locations, resource locales and movement corridors were also georeferenced and hand digitized. In order to assess the distances people traveled across linguistic boundaries, directed vectors assigned to each movement corridor were measured in ArcGIS. Values were tabulated to generate average movement estimates.

3 Results

3.1 Traditional Homeland Boundary

Julian Steward conducted fieldwork in the Great Basin from the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s. His research was completed during the historical period and documented (largely through oral history), settlement locations, and traditional behaviors of the period directly before contact. Steward (1938) initially defined the Timbisha territory as the “northern halves of Death Valley and Panamint Valley, all of Saline Valley, the southern end of Eureka Valley, the southern shore of Owen’s Lake, the Coso Mountain region, the northern edge of the Mojave Desert, and the eastern slope of the Sierra Mountains” (pg 71). He states that the likely boundary between Southern Paiute and Shoshone is located in Ash Meadows, Nevada, as this was a place where both groups were mixed (1938).

Mixed areas are where two or more groups overlapped in territory, people living there often spoke multiple languages (those languages used in the particular area), and intermarriage between groups was common. Groups mixing would have been common along boundaries, and Steward recorded that some areas where mixing was more prevalent than others with regard to the Panamint boundary. He recorded that along with Ash Meadows, this was also occurring in central and southern Panamint Valley, including the Argus Range, likely through the Trona area where the Kawaiisu and Shoshone were mixed. The people living in that “mixed” area were recognized and called Panamint by other surrounding groups, in particular by the community living in Ash Meadows (Steward, 1938). It is important to note that Telescope Peak sits on the eastern edge of Panamint Valley near its midway point. This is the approximate area where Steward draws the line from Panamint bands to the mixed Panamint/Kawaiisu area. This boundary is arguably inaccurate as Telescope Peak is a prominent feature in many stories from Panamint Valley and the Coso Range. Indian Ranch, owned by Panamint George Hanson, is also at the base of the peak (Crum, 2002). More precisely, this southern boundary likely extended to the Trona region. Historically, it was noted that the southern end of Panamint Valley, near Searles Valley and the Trona area, was occupied by Panamint Shoshone, not Kawaiisu (Fairchild et al., 2015), and this is the area where Panamint Joe Peterson filed for his land allotment (Peterson, 2016). The boundaries for these areas used by both groups were not included on Steward’s map, but rather the his maps indicate rigid territorial lines. These interaction areas probably had lower population densities than in surrounding group districts, which would have likely meant there were few to zero camps during that time in those regions. This might have led to Steward to exclude these from his boundary maps for the Panamint area. This however, does not negate that this was a part of the Panamint traditional homeland.

Maurice Zigmond (1986) confirms that in the area of Kawaiisu and Panamint mixed areas were lower in population numbers. He identifies the core Kawaiisu territory as centering on the Tehachapi Mountains and that the desert separated the Kawaiisu from the Panamint territories (1986). The range of Kawaiisu seasonal trips took them eastward through the

southern ends of Panamint and Death Valleys, but they always returned back to their core area (Zigmond, 1986). This area has also been identified as “no permanent occupation” or that it was uncertain who occupied that region (Forbes, 1969). This again supports that the southern region, especially near modern-day Ridgecrest, California and Trona, California, was more heavily used by the Panamint than the Kawaiisu, as this region is closer to the core Panamint territory and settlements.

Later, Steward further clarified about the mixed areas in a letter to Dr. Ralph Beals in 1955, writing that there was a zone surrounding the Panamint territory of “intermarriage and bilingualism” with the exception of the Sierra Mountains as they provided a well defined boundary. He identified four areas as population concentrations that all happen to be in the western and southern part of their territory: Southern shore of Owens Lake, Olancho, Little Lake, and Coso Hot Springs. The remaining population organized in smaller family units living in the larger, less desirable territory to the east (Steward, 1938). But rather than seeing these as separate districts, they should be considered one larger unit as the families in each Panamint district interacted regularly and “their wanderings were so interlinked” (Steward, 1955).

In recent times, the homeland for the Timbisha Shoshone is often thought to once be circumscribed within and near Death Valley National Park (DVNP). This is due to the long historical struggle of the Timbisha fighting for their land within their traditional homeland territory that was largely unsuccessful until 1994 Congress passed the Desert Protection Act which transitioned the Death Valley National Monument (DVNM) to the DVNP (Castillo, 2003). This new act allowed for negotiations between the Tribe and representatives from several governmental organizations (National Parks Service, Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the United States Forest Service) for the Tribe to recover a portion of their traditional homeland territory within the park. These negotiations fell a part in 1996, after the the government representatives tried to negotiate permanent removal of all Timbisha Shoshone within the park boundaries by relocating them to a new reservation in Nevada (Castillo, 2003). It was not until 2000 with the help of the California Indian Legal Services that the Timbisha Homeland Act (P.L. 106-163) bill was passed through Congress that established the Furnace Creek area into a trust reservation that is held and controlled by the Tribe (Castillo, 2003), along with additional trust land plots scattered throughout the territory. From pre-European times to the present, the Timbisha have lived in and consider a much larger area to be sacred, deeply rooted in familial and tribal history, of which the DVNP is only a portion of their original territory.

As a part of the Legislative Environmental Impact Statement (LEIS) of the Timbisha Homeland Act (P.L. 106-163), parcels of land were negotiated for and by the Tribe with governmental representatives. The LEIS identifies a large area of territory that covers both the traditional territory and some areas of transition, totaling approximately 533,350 acres. These transition zones (Lida, Beatty, Ash Meadows, southern Panamint and Death Valleys)

are acknowledged by Steward in his initial analysis, but he did not incorporate them into his boundary for unknown reasons. As noted previously, we consider and map these transition areas to be predominately Panamint based on Steward's accounting that neighboring groups identified these transition zones as being populated with Panamint people and his record of observed repeated travel into those transition areas by Panamint. While the LEIS identifies a significant portion of the traditional territory of the Timbisha, it includes an area to the north that should perhaps more appropriately be considered a mixed area and neglects the southwestern portion that is demonstratively Timbisha, specifically the Little Lake band home range.

We have identified the traditional Timbisha territory as a combination of the region identified by Steward and the negotiated land identified in the LEIS (Figure 1). We added a buffer to the Timbisha territory where Steward identified areas of bilingualism and inter-marriage that were not already incorporated in the LEIS map. We also include the core Kawaiisu territory and their seasonal range for reference (see Figure 1).

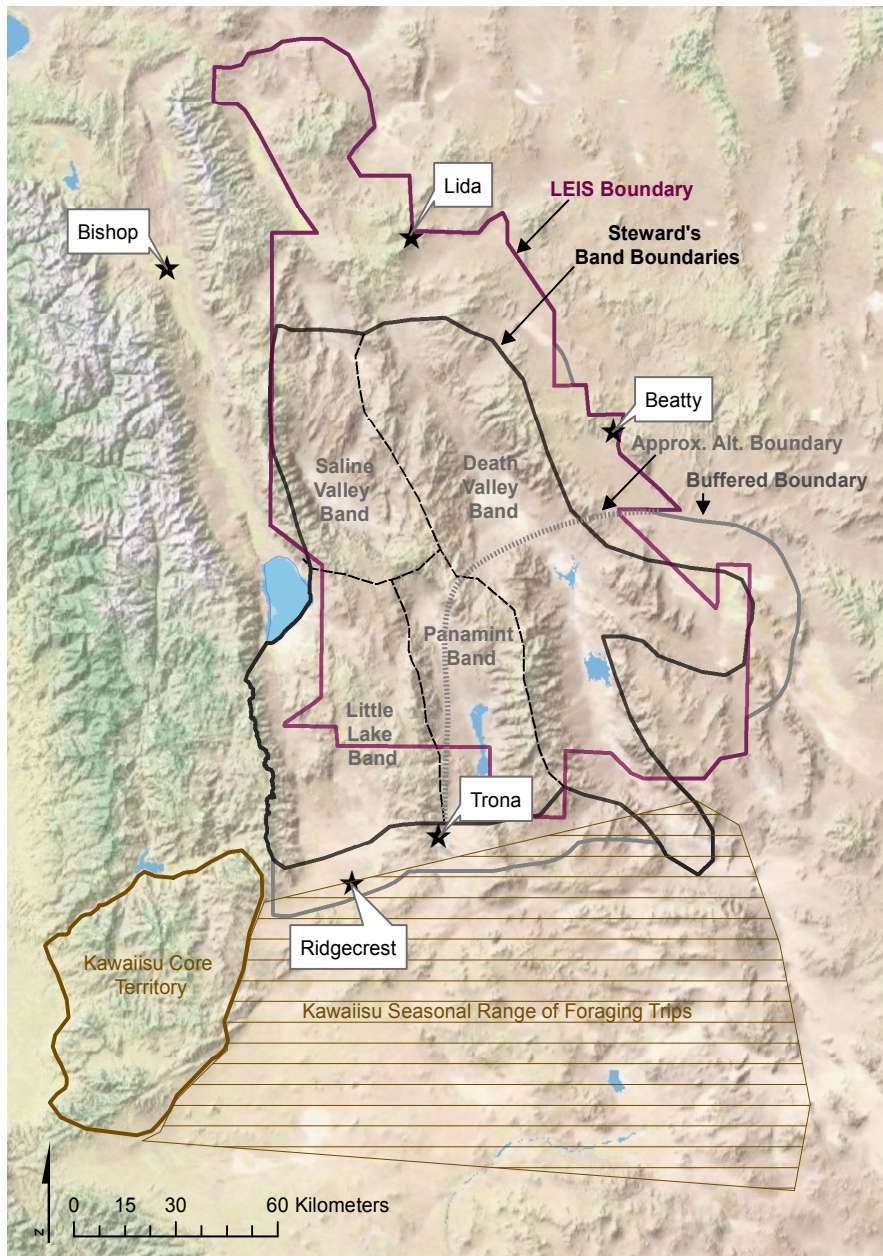


Figure 1: Composite map of traditional Timbisha Shoshone territory illustrating approximate linguistic boundaries (thick black lines), buffered linguistic boundary (thick dark gray line), band boundaries (dashed lines), the LEIS boundary (thick purple line), traditional core Kawaiisu territory (solid brown line) and Kawaiisu seasonal range.

3.2 Pre-contact period

3.2.1 Settlements

The Panamint territory was formed by families who occupied and subsisted on resources within a particular area or valley. These have been called districts, and while individuals may have stayed primarily within their district, it is well known that all Panamint bands interacted on a regular basis for joint hunting expeditions, marriages, residence changes, ritual ceremonies, festivals and pine nut camps (Irwin, 1980). The four districts that Steward (1938) identifies corresponds with each Panamint band: Little Lake, Saline Valley, Panamint Valley, and Death Valley. People moved seasonally, but returned to the same areas and sites each season as they followed resources on the landscape within their own districts. Steward (1938) separates single family camps from village locations, where other sources tend not to distinguish between the two types. Seasonal camp (temporary camps) movement would have been largely dictated by temperature and resource patches and would have played a vital role in resource acquisition throughout the year. Steward also notes many temporary camp locations that were used for particular gathering or hunting trips (identified in Figure 2). This suggests people would have occupied the valley bottoms in the winter and the mountains in the summer months.

Little Lake settlements

Steward (1938) identifies the highest population density for all the Timbisha to be located within the Little Lake band territory or district. According to Steward (1938), the highest density of southern single family camps occupied by Timbisha were located around the southern shore of Owens Lake, Olancho, Little Lake and the Coso Hot Springs, each housing approximately 12 and 17 families, identified in Figure 2. There were four major village in this the Little Lake and Coso areas: Little Lake, Olancho, Coso Hot Springs, and Cold Spring (Steward, 1938, p. 81). One major village was located along the eastern side of the Coso Range in piñon-juniper woodlands, which facilitated the collection and storage of pine nuts (*Pinus monophylla*). Historical documents from the late 1800s detail camps in these areas (see Coville, 1892; Dutcher, 1893). Recent ethnographic work suggests such locations would have been heavily modified by traditional land management practices (Fowler et al., 2003; Fowler, 2008; Fowler and Lepofsky, 2011), indicating a heavy localized footprint in these areas.

Saline Valley settlements

In the Saline Valley area there were four major winter village locations. The first winter village was made up of single family camps at the mouth of Hunter Canyon (Steward, 1938). The second was located near the base of the mountains between Saline Valley and Eureka Valley, likely at Waucoba Springs (Steward, 1938). The third and fourth villages were on the flat top mountain, called Sigai, which was located in the mountains between Saline, Death, and Panamint Valleys; one village location at Goldbelt Spring and the other village was located in Cottonwood Canyon at a spring (Steward, 1938, p.77, p.79, p.80, p.81).

Panamint Valley settlements

Steward (1938) states there were likely only two places for winter villages in Panamint Valley: one at Wildrose Springs and the other at Warm Springs.

Death Valley settlements

In Death Valley, he identified three main villages: Mesquite Springs, Grapevine Canyon, and Surveyor's Well (Steward, 1938, p.86).

3.2.2 Resource patches

Many Timbisha were full-time hunter-gatherers into the historic period, as we have outlined here, when territories decreased and the need for wage labor increased. Similar to the rest of the Great Basin they likely participated in a mixed strategy to maximize resource acquisition between being generalists or specialists.

The following is not the full extent of resources acquired and utilized by the Timbisha during the pre-contact period, but rather a list of resources that were recorded with their areas of acquisition (Figure 2). Hunted resources with recorded locations include bear, deer, antelope, and rabbit (Irwin, 1980; Steward, 1938). It is likely that all the mountain ranges within the territory were important for a wide range of small and large animals, including birds (Irwin, 1980). Gathered resources include pine nuts, Indian celery, desert grapes, pine tree honey, wild wheat, larvae, acorns, lyceum berries, mesquite, echinocactus, phragmites, Joshua tree buds, fish, and caterpillars (Crum, 1995; Dutcher, 1893; Irwin, 1980; Steward, 1938). Additional non-edibles include toolstone from Sugarloaf Mountain, arrow weed for arrow shafts, and salt (for trade and consumption).

These resources were documented to have been acquired in the following geographic areas:

- Hunter Mountain
- Hunter Canyon
- Grapevine Canyon
- Nine Mile Canyon
- Sand dunes, Saline Valley
- Cottonwood Creek
- Little Lake
- Owens Lake
- Foothills of the Sierra Mountains
- Valleys of the Coso Range
- Panamint, Death, Saline, Indian Wells Valleys

-
- Cold Spring
 - Coso Springs
 - Sugarloaf Mountain

Domesticated plants and agricultural practices from Europe diffused into the Timbisha territory prior to permanent European colonization. As soon as European emigrants came into the area in 1849, they noted that the Panamint were growing squash and maize between Papoose Lake and Fairbanks Spring in Ash Meadows and alfalfa and melons were reported to have been grown at the mouth of Hall Canyon (Irwin, 1980). It has been noted that gardening was occurring throughout Saline Valley and Death Valley (Fowler et al., 1995). In the Coso Range, there were several garden plots during this period (Jackson, 2016a). Spike Jackson shared a family story about how people would grow food wherever there was a spring in the Coso Range (2016). It must be assumed that Panamint bands did not begin their small scale agriculture the year settlers came into the area, but rather that this had been an ongoing prior practice.

3.2.3 Festivals and gatherings

Festivals (or gatherings) were an important part of the yearly round for all American Indians, Timbisha included. They were usually held in the fall and lasted several days (Steward, 1938; Irwin, 1980; Brooks et al., 1979). Larger settlements that had a prosperous year would often host and people would travel great distances to participate through trading, ceremonies, games, group hunts or pine nut gathering and distribution of plentiful resources (Steward, 1938; Irwin, 1980; Brooks et al., 1979). This allowed for the strengthening of tribal dynamics and allowed for those living in less productive areas to gather the necessary food resources to last them the winter season. Known festival locations are identified on Figure 2.

Within the Coso Range, the Coso Hot Springs were and still are an important part of ritual and healing for not only the Timbisha but Kawaiisu, Paiute, and Tubatulabal (Brooks et al., 1979; Irwin, 1980). Fall festivals were sometimes held at the springs (Brooks et al., 1979). The hot springs are located completely within Timbisha historical territory, but they allowed neighboring groups to use the sacred area (Brooks et al., 1979). The springs access became more restricted for Timbisha as settlers moved into the area and began development projects at the springs, for example: hotels (Bever, 2016; Jackson, 2016a,b; Brooks et al., 1979). Access was completely restricted in the modern period when the NAWS CL took the land. The Coso Hot Springs are still regarded as sacred by all Timbisha (Jackson, 2016a,b; Brooks et al., 1979).

3.2.4 Travel and Mobility

Local bands regularly traveled within and across boundaries. These were not random movements, but followed seasonally reliable patterns of resources and extreme climate variation. Within boundaries, there were seasonal moves (example of valleys during the winter, mountains in the summer), trade between other Panamint bands, seasonal festivals with neighboring bands, intermarriage and trade.

While band and linguistic boundaries may have been fairly stable entities across generations, individuals interacted with each other across these boundaries in significant ways. Some of Steward's (1937; 1938) informants suggest that Kawaiisu and Panamint populations were closely related in southern regions. Timbisha intermarried with neighboring Northern Paiute groups and other Western Shoshone bands as well (Steward, 1933), all of which suggest that these boundaries were quite fluid in practice. This may be especially true for the areas immediately south of the Timbisha homeland, all of which are outside of the core Kawaiisu territory (Zigmond, 1986). In the north and eastern borders of the territory people moved between Lida, Beatty, Fish Lake Valley, and Death Valley periodically for resource acquisition, festivals, trade and marriage (Crum, 1995). Steward states that people from Death Valley would sometimes relocate during summer months to areas around Beatty Steward (1938, p. 92).

Steward (1938, Figure 7) reports that local bands regularly traveled across linguistic boundaries, illustrating five such cases within the Timbisha homeland. His report finds that trips across linguistic boundaries average 36 km total with an average of 15 km including only distances that extend into neighboring linguistic territories. These findings suggest that there should be significant overlap in occupation along linguistic boundaries averaging about 15 km. These data are on par with mobility estimates for the 21 bands across the Numic homeland for which data are available (Binford, 2001), indicating an average distance of 19 km per move.

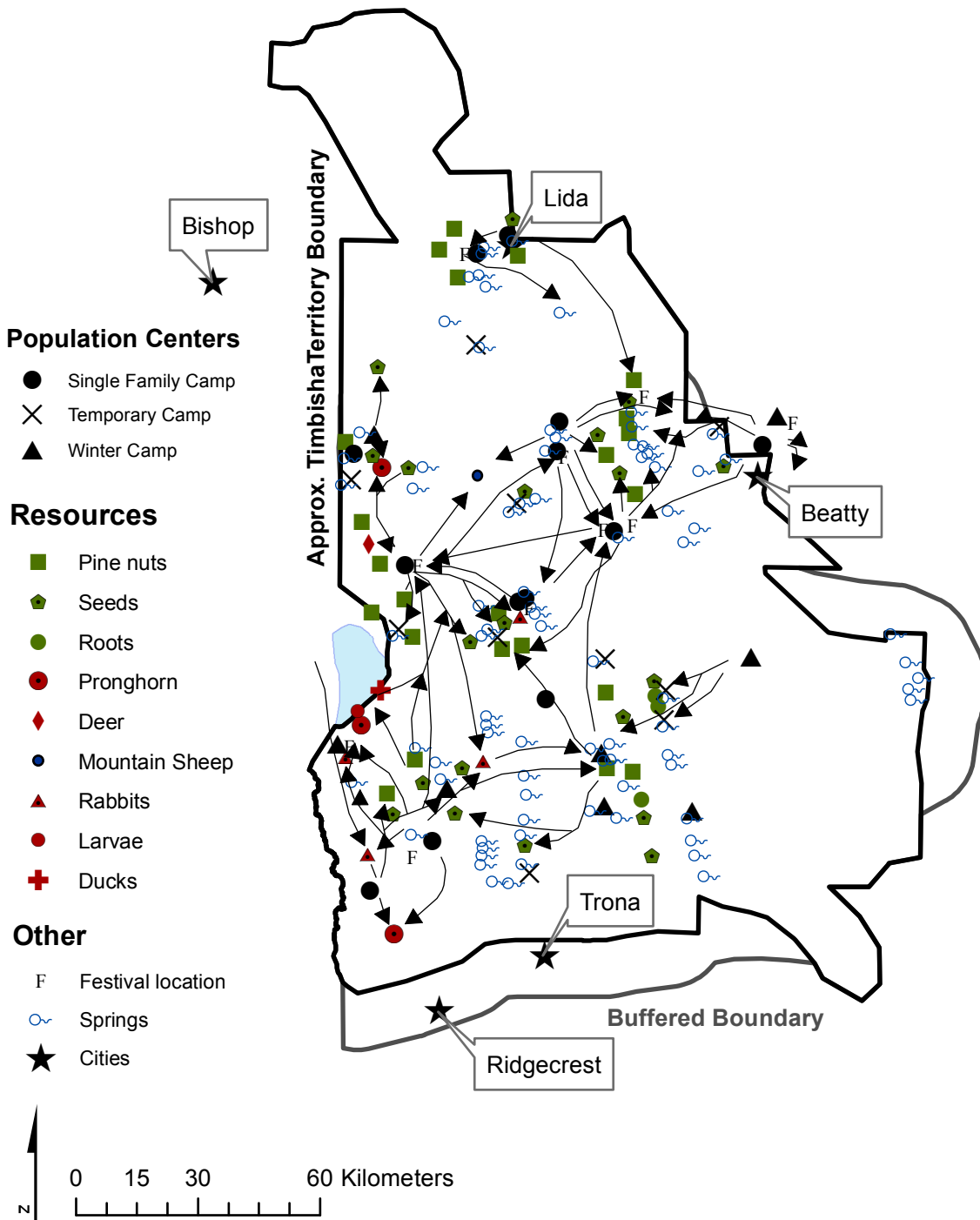


Figure 2: Pre-contact and Contact era settlement locations, population movements, festivals and important resource areas from Steward (1938, Figure 7). The solid black line combines both the LEIS boundary and the Steward boundary for a composite approximate total territory boundary.

3.3 Historical period

3.3.1 Settlements

During the historical period, additional camps or villages were noted by settlers, governmental officials, and researchers. Locations noted early in the historic record were likely occupied prior to contact. While Steward (1933, 1938) was trying to identify where people were located on the landscape directly before the arrival of settlers, it is likely that the places he recorded had continued seasonal occupation through much of this historical period. This is also a period when white settlers moved into the area to develop mining camps and towns. This transition either forcibly removed the Timbisha from their places of residence, or encourage movement for wage labor.

This was also a time of conflict and violence between Europeans and Indigenous populations. Melvin Checo noted this was a time when a lot of rock cairns were built to mark mass burials of slain Shoshone and Paiute in the region (Halford and Carpenter, 2005, p.14). The violence was most intense along the eastern edge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains where there were many settlers and miners moving into the area, but it was prevalent across the entire territory where American Indian land was being occupied by the settlers. The military was behind the vast majority of killings as they were enforcing the new rule of the land. It has been well documented the military often went through the region rounding up Paiute and Shoshone to either kill them outright or march them off to military camp locations. One such event occurred in 1863, when the Panamint that were living near the not-yet-established town of Darwin located north of Indian Springs were forcibly removed by the military and relocated with many Paiute to Fort Tejon (Busby et al., 1980; Irwin, 1980; Steward, 1934; Crum, 2002). Many of them managed to escape and make their way back to the Darwin area (Crum, 2002). Military and paramilitia men from Camp Independence were also responsible for killing or removing Panamint during the late 19th century (Castillo, 2003).

The town of Darwin was established in 1874, in an area where several Panamint families (descendants are the registered Timbisha Tribal members, see Table 1) were already living. The population of miners dramatically increased to the area around the town, and after 1900 more Panamint relocated here for wage labor with mining companies. At the same time Shoshone families were moving to Darwin, others were moving to communities in Lone Pine, Keeler, Furnace Creek, Millspaugh, and the Trona area (Fairchild et al., 2015; Halford and Carpenter, 2005; Irwin, 1980).

During this period in the eastern portion of Timbisha territory, the Pacific Borax Company began its operation in 1883 in the Furnace Creek area, which allowed for more Timbisha families to move to the area for work and they were housed in the company's makeshift camp (Castillo, 2003; Crum, 2002). By 1920, families were forced to move out of company housing and closer to the future location of DVNM office at Furnace Creek (Castillo, 2003). After the DVNM was established in 1933, Indian Village was created under the guise of giving the

Shoshone families permanent housing, but also to hide them from the public eye (Castillo, 2003).

Despite the transition of Timbisha families moving closer to wage labor jobs, several larger family units were observed living and farming sizable pieces of land during this era. These areas include: Cold Mountain Jack's Grapevine Canyon in the northern part of Death Valley was occupied until the 1940s (United States Department of Interior, 1984); The Dock family at Mesquite Springs (see the Timbisha Homeland Act, P.L. 106-163); Indian Gardens in the Coso Range; and additional plots noted later that became official land allotments (for locations see Figures 3 and 4).

In 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act. This was a new policy following the the 1798 policy that allotted American Indians plots of land that had been terminated in 1871. The Dawes Act allowed for American Indians to apply for tracts of land usually between 40 to 160 acres. It is unknown how many Panamint applied, but there were five individuals/families that received an original allotment (one of these allotments not officially recognized until the modern period), and one rancheria plot granted by Congress.

The two earliest allotments were applied for in 1892 are adjoining parcels in Saline Valley: one 80 acre plot for Tom and Guadalupe Hunter and one 80 acre plot for Caesar, collectively known as "Indian Rancheria" Fowler et al. (1995). Hungry Bill applied for a 160 acre allotment land in May 1908 where his family had been and was still living since the pre-contact period, and it was finally granted to July 1927 to his heirs (daughter Susie and her husband Tom Wilson) as an Indian trust allotment (Crum, 2002; Parrett, 1934). In May of 1908, Indian Joe Peterson applied for a 160 acre allotment near Trona (abuts NAWS CL) and a land patent was granted for the plot on June 6, 1927 (Crum, 2002; Fairchild et al., 2015; Commissioner, 1931; Peterson, 2016).

Paperwork dated March 29, 1951 details the sale of the Caesar allotment and a "Petition for the Sale of Inherited Indian Land" dated July 2, 1951 detailing heir inheritances are available at the NARA. The LEIS states that the original applications and related correspondence for both the Caesar (#463) and Hunter (#462) allotments are located at the Land Office in Independence, California. Files at NARA regarding Hungry Bill's allotment (#122) include a land card, sale paperwork, appraisals, list of improvements, and general correspondence letters between government officials regarding the plot. The land card dates the application for Hungry Bill's allotment to May 1, 1908. Files for Joe Peterson's "Indian Joe Gardens" allotment (#121) were both retrieved at NARA (original documents) and through Russell Kaldenberg (digital copies). The records include a land card, farming and grazing leases, land patent paperwork, and correspondence (general information, sale, discussion between the California Trona Co. and later the Pacific Borax Co. regarding their lease of Peterson's land). Locations of the Caesar, Hungry Bill, and Peterson allotments are available online

through the *General Land Office Records* available online through the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). There are also digital copies of the sales for each of three mentioned plots and the original land patent for the Peterson allotment. It is important to note that the legal description for the Hungry Bill allotment was incorrectly entered on the BLM Land Patent Search website.

In response to multiple requests by sympathetic governmental employees, mainly Ray Parrett, Congress considered legislation regarding reservation tracks for the Timbisha (Crum, 2002). But, instead of granting the multiple reservations that were requested, in March 1928 Congress granted the Hanson family 560 acres of their traditional land in Panamint Valley designated as a rancheria (Crum, 2002; Archives, 1928). Indian Ranch paperwork was obtained through the records at the Timbisha Shoshone Tribal office, and include copies of the permit, sale and appraisal forms, and general correspondence.

By 1933, the same year Death Valley National Monument was established, there was only one recognized rancheria belonging to George Hanson, and four recognized allotments belonging to Hungry Bill, Joe Peterson, Tom and Guadalupe Hunter, and Caesar (Figure 3).

Table 1: Currently registered Timbisha Shoshone Tribe families that are descendants from identified families or individuals from the historic period.

Traditional Panamint family locations	Contemporary registered descendants
Panamint families living in/near Darwin circa 1900	Jacksons, Bevers, Gholson, Checos, Merchantses, Beamans
Lived in or moved to Furnace Creek circa 1900 Grapevine Canyon, Cold Mountain Jack's	Esteeves, Kennedys Shoshones, Kennedys, Thorpes, Pattersons
Mesquite Springs, Dock family	Shoshones, Kennedys, Thorpes, Pattersons
Johnson Canyon, Hungry Bill Indian Ranch, Hanson family	Wilsons, Leonards, Nichols, Sudways Hansons
Saline Valley, Caesar allotment	Bellas
In/near Indian Gardens, Coso Range	Jacksons, Bevers, Gholsons, Merchantses, Beamans Davises, Caseys

3.3.2 Resource patches

During the historic period, people continued to hunt and gather, likely in many of the same locations as during the pre-contact period. In addition, they continued small scale agriculture and in some cases larger scale endeavors. In 1891, melons were observed growing at

the mouth of Cottonwood Canyon in Death Valley (Dutcher, 1893), and irrigation for native plants in Saline Valley and around Hunter Mountain (Irwin, 1980; Fowler et al., 1995). In the same year, peaches, grapes, and alfalfa were observed in Hunter Canyon (Nelson, 1891). There was known farming at Panamint Tom's Warm Springs ranch, Hungry Bill's ranch, the Hunter and Caesar "Indian Rancheria," Grapevine Canyon in Death Valley and at Indian Gardens. There was a long history of gardens in the Coso Range, and even as families moved for wage labor they often kept gardens growing at Indian Gardens (Bever, 2016; Jackson, 2016b). They were also farming alfalfa, wheat, barely, oats (Irwin, 1980), and began herding animals such as goats (Irwin, 1980), sheep (Brooks et al., 1979), horses (Jackson, 2016a,b), and cattle. There are also reports that Panamint from the Coso Ranges and Panamint Valley would join raiding parties with Paiute and steal horses from the white settlers living near the town of San Bernadino, California (Irwin, 1980; Jackson, 2016b).

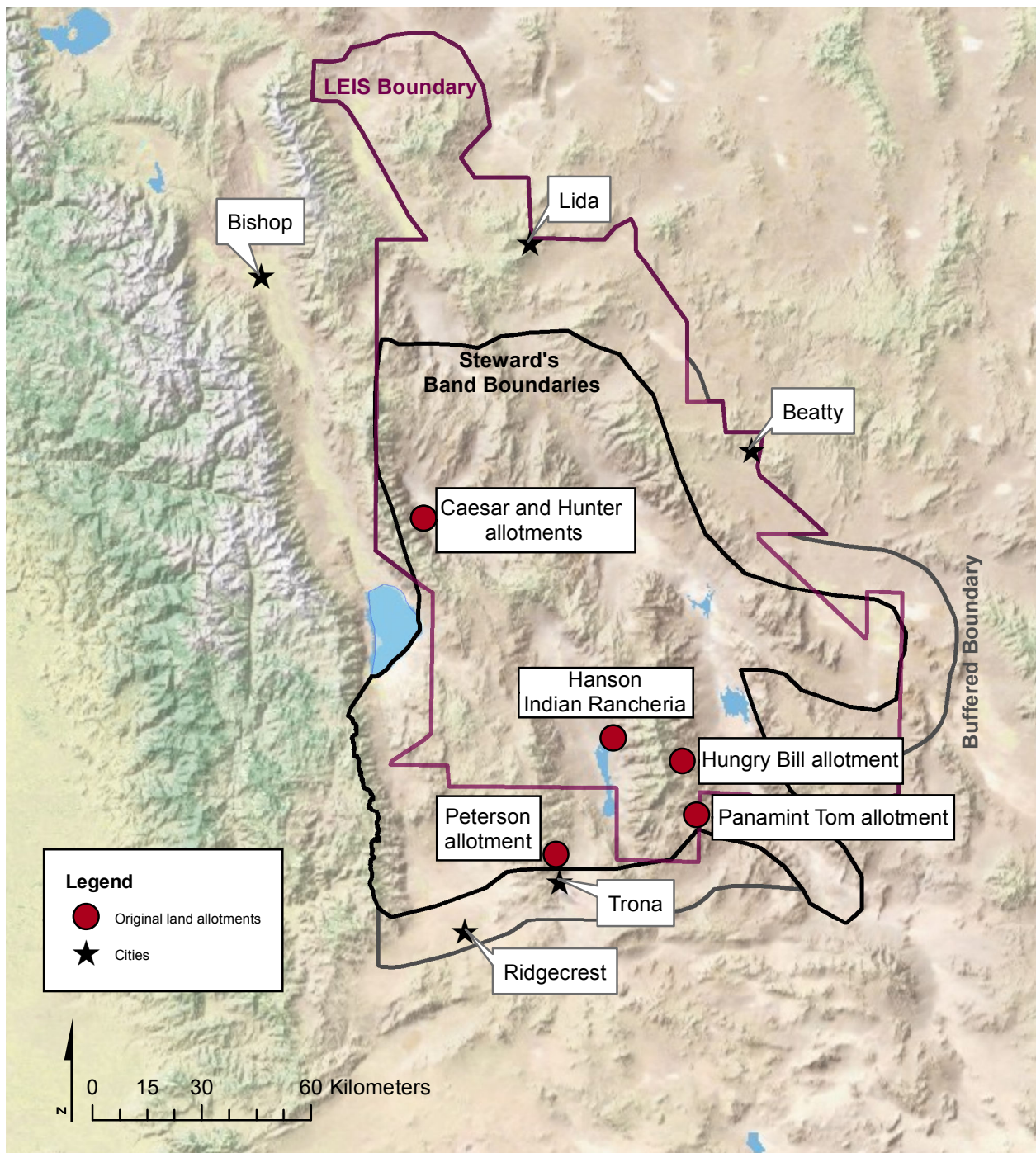


Figure 3: Contact era original land allotment locations. The background composite map includes approximate linguistic boundaries (thick black lines), buffered linguistic boundary (thick dark gray line), and the LEIS boundary (thick purple line).

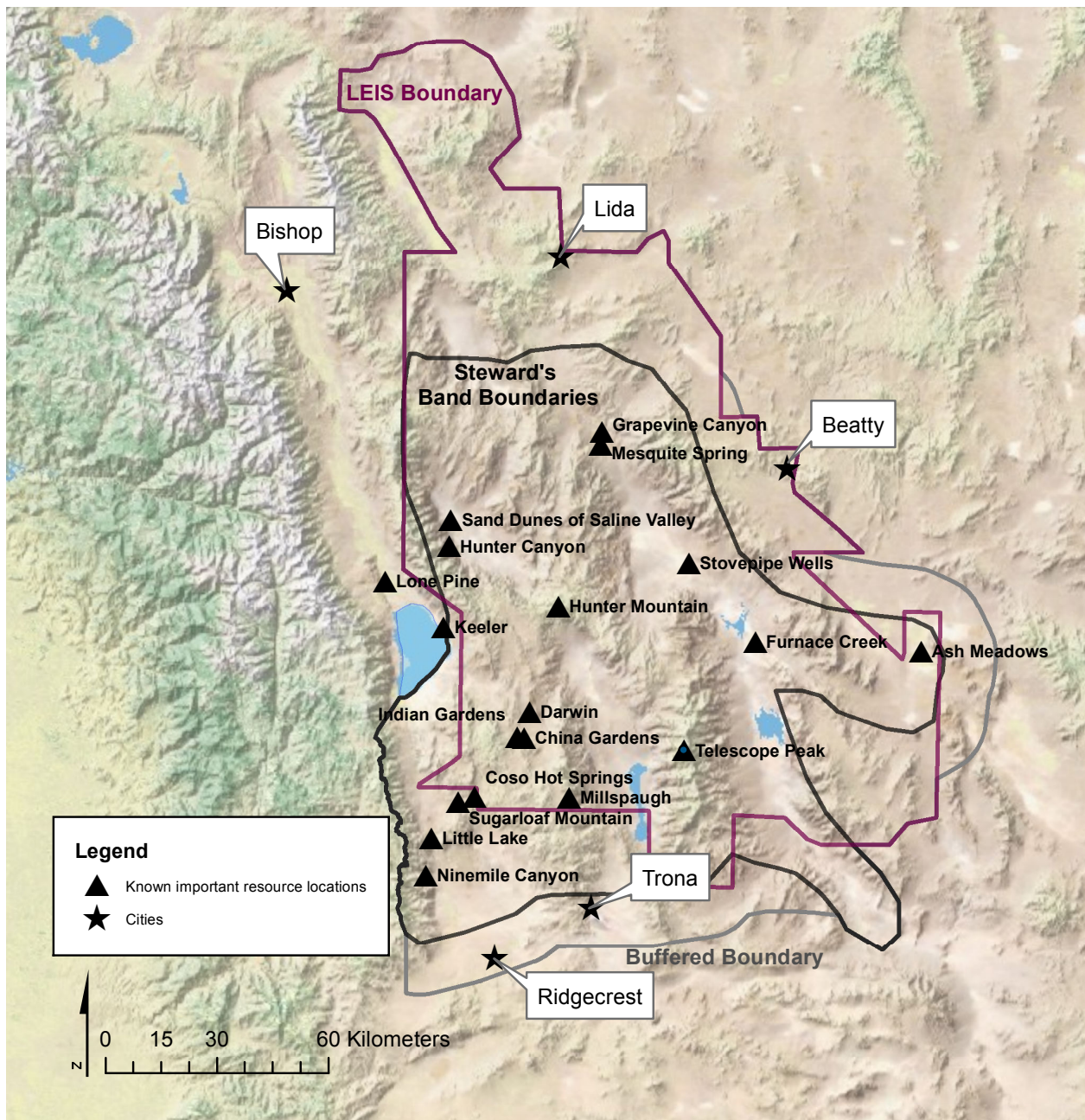


Figure 4: Pre-contact and Contact era important resource locations. The background composite map includes approximate linguistic boundaries (thick black lines), buffered linguistic boundary (thick dark gray line), and the LEIS boundary (thick purple line).

3.4 Modern period

3.4.1 Settlements

The modern period is marked by the federal government's 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, also called the Indian New Deal. The premise of the New Deal was to reverse some of the harm that had been caused by the years of forced assimilation of American Indian communities, this included establishing land bases for these communities.

It was during this period that Panamint Tom's settlement at Warm Springs was recognized to have been occupied by him and his descendants since settlers came into the area; however, it did not receive legal or federal recognition until December 1936 (Funk, 1938; Crum, 1995; Thompson, 1936). Though it was during the years of the Indian New Deal, it was granted as an allotment under the Dawes Act. Likely due to the allotment being within Death Valley National Monument, Panamint Tom's son, Robert, was granted a 25 year lease on a 40 acre parcel of their farm. But then in 1942 in the *United States vs Grantham* case, the Thompson family lost 5 acres of the parcel to Louise Grantham who had filed mining claims in the early 1930s (Crum, 1995). A digital copy of Robert Thompson's land patent is available online through the *General Land Office Records* available online through the BLM.

Concurrently, in large part due to Alida Bowler, employee of the BIA, and the Indian New Deal, a 40 acre Indian Village at Furnace Creek—not classified as reservation—was proposed in 1936 where a group of Timbisha had already established a home-base (Crum, 1995; United States Department of Interior, 1984). The the Civilian Conservation Corps built houses on the parcel in 1937 (Crum, 1995; United States Department of Interior, 1984).

Despite the few land parcels given back to the Timbisha, this period is defined by what was taken away from the community. It started in the southwestern portion of the their traditional territory. After the establishment of the NAWS CL in November 1943, Indian Gardens, Coso Hot Springs, the Coso Range (North and South Ranges), and the Argus Range were officially closed to those families who had traditionally occupied the area and relied on its natural resources. Without a treaty to the land, or any other official land allotment documents, the Timbisha lost their land to the NAWS CL without negotiation or arrangements. They were simply removed from the land. The Wrinkle family had a home they built at Indian Gardens, which still stands to this day, that they occupied year-round (Jackson, 2016b,a). Other families that had moved for mining jobs closer to Darwin, still traveled to the area to for gardening (Jackson, 2016b,a). This enforced the removal of the descendants of the Charles Wrinkle and Hanson families living at Indian Gardens and China Springs Garden to the town of Darwin. There were other Timbisha removed from the territory that were mining, herding, and living within the territory designated as Base. The Wrinkle and Hanson families descendants still own homes in Darwin to this day that were built after their forced removal from what is now NAWS CL (Jackson, 2016a,b; Bever, 2016). The establishment of the base also closed access to their sacred Coso Hot Springs.

After World War II, a new policy took affect called Termination (mid-1940s through mid-1960s), which set about to take back land that was in American Indian possession, this applied to allotments and reservations. The BIA pressured the families of Hungry Bill and Panamint Tom to sell their parcels of land back to the National Park Service in 1952 and 1958 respectively (Crum, 1995). The 80 acre Caesar allotment in Saline Valley was sold in 1951 (Seitz, 1963) and the Joe Peterson allotment in 1952. Then in 1964 the BIA eliminated Indian Ranch in Panamint Valley (Crum, 1995). It was also during this period that families living at Indian Village were being pressured to leave their homes (Crum, 1995). The Village was not a reservation and therefore could not be terminated Crum (1995). So government officials began to pressure the families to move by instituting rules that they believed would drive them from their homes (Crum, 1995). It wasn't until after the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe received tribal status in 1982, that negotiations began for the Indian Village at Furnace Creek to become Tribal land (Crum, 1995).

The Wrinkle family decedents (registered Tribal members of the Jackson, Bever, Merchants, Davis, Casey and Bearman families) established an informal agreement with the NAWS CL Archaeologist, Russell Kaldenberg, in 2007 that would allow for visitation and restoration to the family house still standing on the North Range of the base, collect and roast pine nuts, overnight visits for ceremonial purposes, visitation of petroglyphs, potential equestrian use, and continued meetings with the base captain to ensure a longstanding cooperation between the family and base (Jackson, 2016a; Kaldenberg, 2016). This informal agreement was upheld until Kaldenberg retired from the base. Currently, the Timbisha Shoshone are allowed on base with organized petroglyph tours (Jackson, 2016b,a).

3.4.2 Resource patches

During the beginning of the modern period, Timbisha continued to hunt, gather, and small scale farm. These practices dramatically decreased in frequency as access to traditional resource patches came into the hands of private land holders or governmental agencies. The DVNM slowly took away Timbisha rights to harvest and hunt within the Monument, and NAWS CL also closed off a large area that contained important resource patches. Today, some still hunt (although territory greatly reduced) and collect some wild resources (Jackson, 2016a,b). Descendants from the Coso Range area have no access to their traditional hunting grounds (as access is restricted due to the NAWS CL) and now hunt towards Lida (Jackson, 2016b). Some Timbisha also travel to this area for pine nut collecting during harvest season (Jackson, 2016a).

3.5 Contemporary Timbisha interactions with neighbors

3.5.1 Intermarriage and mobility

As previously discussed, the Timbisha Shoshone have intermarried with neighboring groups since the pre-contact era. Steward noted this phenomenon and stated there was a buffer surrounding the Panamint bands of bilingualism and intermarriage (1955). This buffer has been noted on the maps within this report with areas where intermarriage was common (see Figure 4). Intermarriage was especially common along the southern Timbisha boundary that borders Kawaiisu territory, in the southwest at Ash Meadows (Steward, 1938), and towards the northeast (Steward, 1938). As summarized in a report written for the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe compiled by James M McClurken and Associates in 2004, intermarriage through 20th century was so extensive that 36% of registered Timbisha had direct Kawaiisu ancestry and 40% had mixed Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal and Shoshone ancestry.

The results of marriages move people around and out of their traditional territories and changes the concept of boundaries in the modern era. The modern era demonstrates the extreme example how important those buffer areas were for interactions with neighbors.

3.5.2 Tribal Interactions with the Naval Air Weapons Stations China Lake

As a part of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, within Section 106 it outlines the requirements that Federal Agencies must account for when undertaking a project on their land-base. This includes consulting those tribes who have an ancestral or modern connection the cultural properties that may be affected.

Currently, a quarterly leadership meeting is held between the Tribe, the base archaeological base staff, and the base commander to discuss upcoming projects on NAWS CL (Gholson, 2016). Kish LaPierre, a prior NAWS CL archaeologist, indicated that surrounding Tribes deferred to the Timbisha for decisions and concerns about projects on base property recognizing the Timbisha ancestral history on the land (LaPierre, 2016), although the Timbisha Chairman George Gholson said this was not usually the case (Gholson, 2016).

Today, the Tribe has one formal agreement and four informal agreements with the NAWS CL. The formal agreement allows for the use of the Coso Hot Springs as spiritual location (Gholson, 2016). The informal agreements with the base include the Wrinkle family descendants access to their family home (Jackson, 2016a; Kaldenberg, 2016), the potential to organize petroglyph tours (Jackson, 2016a), and they occasionally get invited to harvest pine nuts or to go chuckar hunting (Gholson, 2016).

4 Summary

While bands tended to stay within specific geographic regions of their core territory (within districts), the boundaries were not as rigid as a wall or fence. With the exception of the Sierra Mountains, which provided a hard border on the western side of traditional Panamint territory, boundaries would have been very fluid, being crossed throughout the year for different reasons in different seasons. People moved freely within the territory and outside for purposes of resource acquisition, festivals, trade, and intermarriages. It is well documented that people crossed over boundaries around the traditional Panamint boundary. For example, in the eastern portion of the the territory, Panamint Shoshone from Death Valley and Saline Valley regularly interacted with people living in and the Beatty area. There was exchange, seasonal moves, and intermarriage. Towards the southeast, it has been documented that Panamint Shoshone were moving around as far as Ash Meadows, Nevada. While slightly less is known about the southern portion of Death Valley, it is likely that it was a part of the Panamint seasonal round. While Steward suggests that Panamint territory did not extend south of Telescope Peak, we have found that to be a false boundary. This southern boundary extended to at least the Trona area, making the buffer for seasonal movements to like continues further south. As previously stated, people living in that area were recognized as Panamint, not Kawaiisu. It is likely that the southern ends of Death and Panamint Valleys were regions of mixed Panamint and Kawaiisu. We have found the Timbisha traditional southern territory boundary to extend from Indian Wells Valley, California to Ash Meadows, Nevada.

Timbisha settlement patterns changed dramatically and quickly when settlers came into the area. They went from seasonal camps throughout the territory to becoming confined to certain towns and areas. There was no compensation for the taking of their lands or even recognition that they inhabited the land long before settlers moved into the area. The focus in more contemporary years has been on the settlement location at Furnace Creek, but this was likely less populated than villages and camp locations in the Little Lake and Coso Ranges. The influx of people to the area and the development that was brought with settlers and miners, also significantly altered the way Timbisha gathered resources. Most resource patches were taken from them or were controlled by government entities, to the extreme today where hunting and gathering are extremely limited and have been mostly confined to the Lida area.

With the establishment of the cooperative agreement as outlined in the LEIS, the Timbisha have in recent years regained access to many traditional areas for traditional activities and several plots of land entered into trust lands for their use. However, as we have outlined here, while the LEIS identifies much of the Timbisha traditional territory it does not include the southwestern boundary which is clearly identified in the ethnographic record and oral history.

We find that the Timbisha traditional territory is regularly misidentified. The two bound-

ary maps that come the closest to our conclusions are Julian Steward's and the negotiated LEIS maps. In Figure 5, we have identified the boundary for Timbisha Shoshone traditional territory as the research has indicated, and included a buffered boundary as there was a known transitional zone of intermarriage and bilingualism.

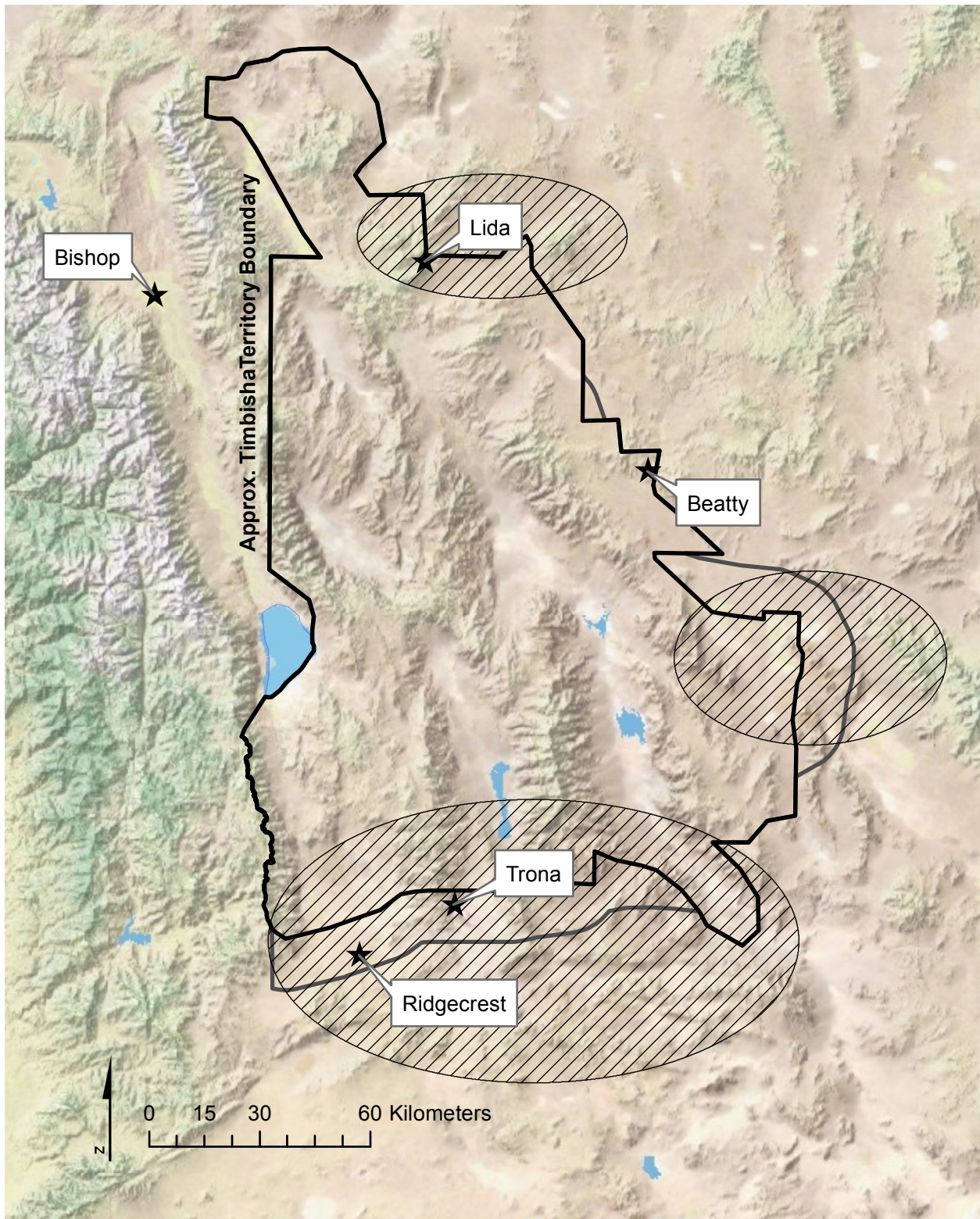


Figure 5: Timbisha traditional homeland territory (thick black line) and the identified buffer zone (thick dark gray line) of intermarriage, trade, and bilingualism (areas where this was noted by Steward to be of significant proportion are identified with hatching).

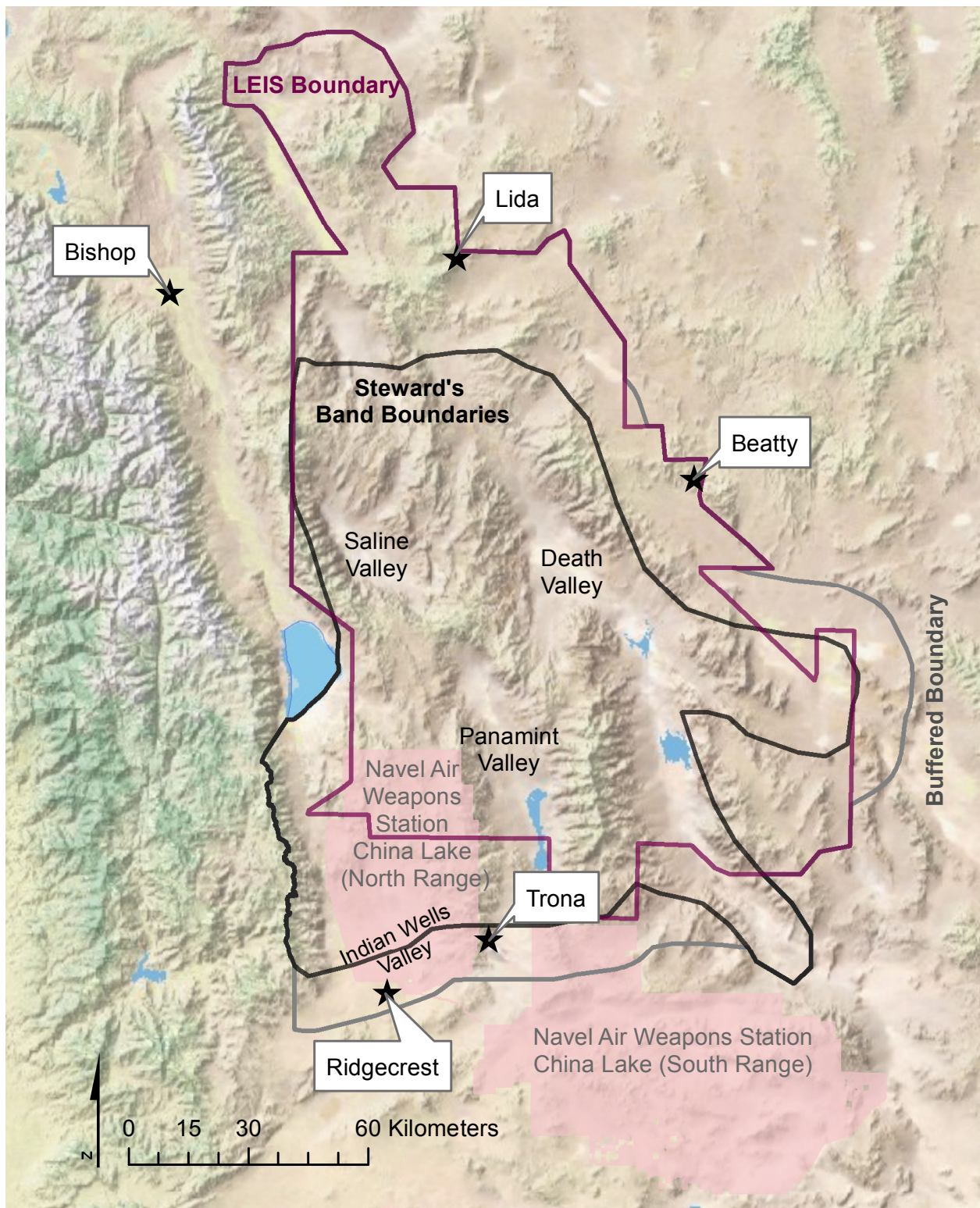


Figure 6: Overview map indicating important valleys, cities, the NAWSCL. The background composite map includes approximate linguistic boundaries (thick black lines), buffered linguistic boundary (thick dark gray line), and the LEIS boundary (thick purple line).

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