

THE NATIVE AMERICAN ETHNOGRAPHY AND ETHNOHISTORY
OF
JOSHUA TREE NATIONAL PARK
AN OVERVIEW

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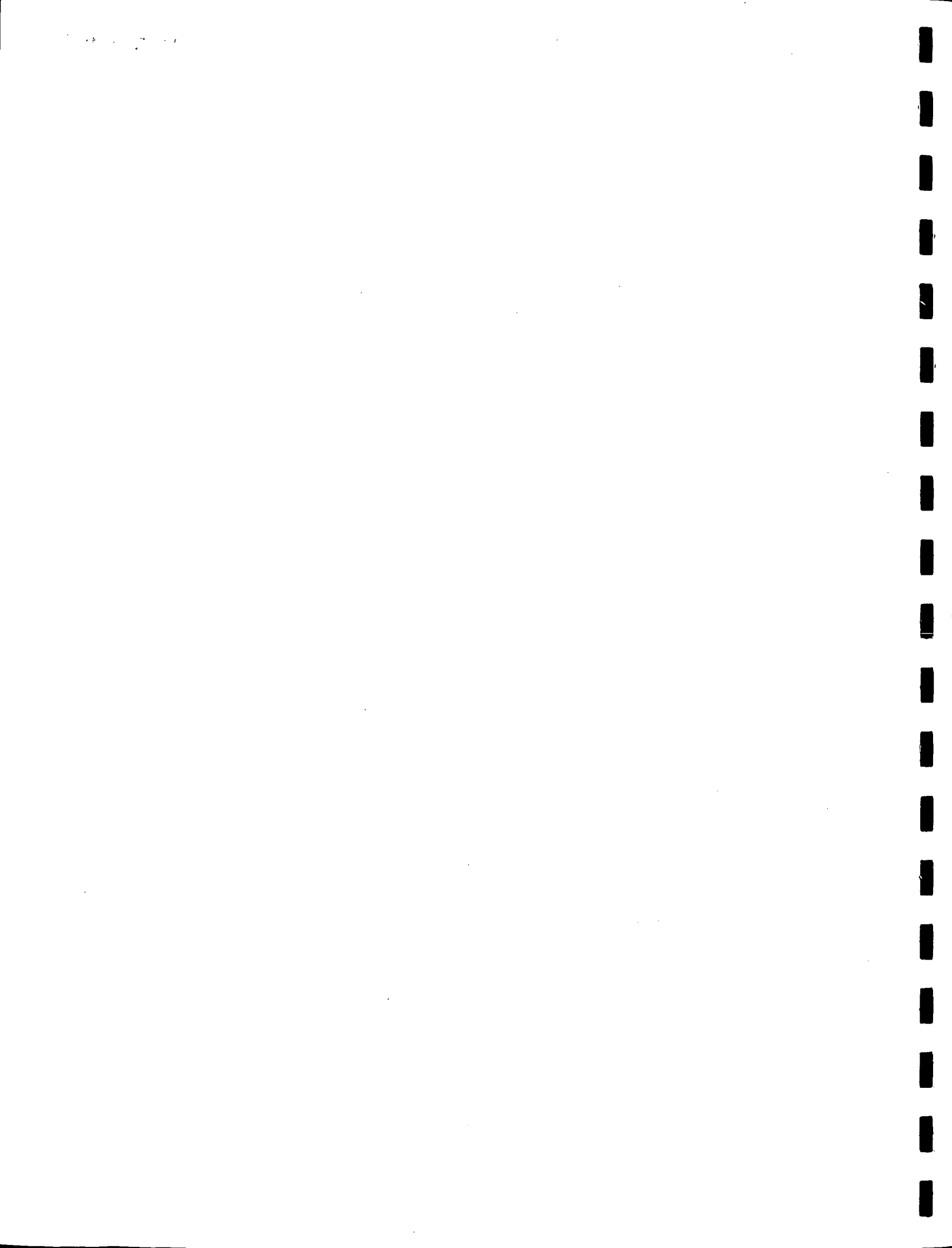


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**THE NATIVE AMERICANS
OF
JOSHUA TREE NATIONAL PARK
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT STUDY**
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August 22, 2002

I. INTRODUCTION

This report constitutes Phase I of a proposed study of the Ethnography and Ethnohistory of Native Americans of Joshua Tree National Park, hereinafter called the Project Area. It was proposed that Phase I should include a review of archaeological reports, CSRI ethnographic/ethnohistorical reports on the Serrano, Cahuilla, Chemehuevi, and Mojave, and the contents of CSRI's library and archives, in order to draft a preliminary discussion of Native American ethnography and ethnohistory of the area as we presently know it, and the existing resources for further study. It was to be presented in outline form, and be appropriate to serve as a research design for further study.

II. METHOD

As proposed, this report has been compiled from previous CSRI reports and materials in CSRI files and library. We have also included valuable ethnographic material from two new books on the Serrano and Chemehuevi, respectively: *Wayta' Yawa'* by Dorothy Ramon and Eric Elliot (2000), a book in Serrano and English by a Serrano elder and a linguist that includes a great deal of ethnographic information; and *Chemehuevi People of the Coachella Valley* by Clifford E. Trafzer, Luke Madrigal, and Anthony Madrigal, a book from our perspective somewhat misnamed, since it pertains to the history of the Twenty-nine Palms Band of Mission Indians (1997).

We have reviewed most of the archaeological reports on the park for the purpose of detecting instances where the archaeological evidence is in conflict with the ethnographic and historic. These reports have included the following:

An Archaeological Survey of the Palm Springs Desert Region by Elizabeth W. C. Campbell (1931);

Archaeological Investigations in Joshua Tree National Monument; A study in Adaptive Cultural Change, by Ronald D. Douglas;

Historic Resource Study, A History of Land Use In Joshua Tree National Monument, by Linda W. Greene [This is a history rather than archaeology, but had material on Native Americans];

A Cache of Vessels From Cottonwood Spring, by Thomas J. King;

Archeological Investigations at Joshua Tree National Park, Part 2. Archeological Testing at Six Sites in Joshua Tree National Park, California by Loy C. Neff, and Meredith A. Wilson, with Contributions by Charny L. White, Dawn A. Frost, A.C. MacWilliams, Owen K. Davis, and Philip Derring. Draft, not to be cited.

Using Sample Survey Results To Address Regional Research Designs: An Example From Joshua Tree National Park. San Diego: County of San Diego Department of Public Works, by Anna C. Noah;

“Roasting Pits and Agave in the Mojave Desert: Archaeological, Ethnobotanical, and Ethnographic Data. Abstracts from the 1996 Desert Research Symposium, San Bernardino County Museum Association,” 43:29-34 (1996), by Joan S. Schneider, Elizabeth J. Lawlor, and Deborah L. Dozier;

Cremations and associated artifacts from the Campbell collection (N.D.). San Francisco: Performed under a contract for the National Park Service Western Region (1992), by Adella B. Schroth;

Assigning Geographic Origins to Ceramics at CA-RIV-1950 by Gregory R. Seymour and Pamela Lawrence (N.D.). ;

“Chemehuevi Notes,” by Richard F. Van Valkenburgh. *In Paiute Indians II: 227-253* (1976). *A Cultural Resources Overview of the Colorado Desert Planning Units*, by Elizabeth von Till Warren, et al. (1981);

Cremations and Artifacts from the Campbell Collection, Joshua Tree National Monument by Claude N. Warren et al. (1992);

Phase II, An Archaeological Inventory of Joshua Tree National Park: Description and Analyses of the Results of a Stratified Random Sample Inventory Conducted 1991-1992. Unpublished draft, by Claude N. Warren and Joan S. Schneider (2001);

The Triple House Site, A Late Prehistoric Housepit Site Near The Cocomaricopa Trail, Joshua Tree National Park: Preliminary Report of Systematic Surface Mapping and Collection, by Claude N. Warren, and Joan S. Schneider (N.D.);

These reports of archaeological research show that archaeological findings have been consistent in general with ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and historic research findings on Native American association with the park lands. Although a document-by-document analysis of these reports is beyond the scope of the present study, we have added some data to this report as a result of reading them.

III. THE PEOPLE WHO USED THE PARK: THEIR CULTURE AND HISTORY

Joshua Tree National Park was originally set aside as Joshua Tree National Monument, taking its name from the Joshua Tree, a tree *Yucca (Yucca brevifolia)* that grows in forests in widespread parts of the Mojave Desert. (Bean and Saubel 1972:153; Jaeger 1967:15-22).

The peoples who occupied and used portions of the area now set aside as Joshua Tree National Park before the arrival of Europeans in 1769 were the Serrano, the Cahuilla, the Mojave, and the Chemehuevi. The Serrano village of *Mara* at the present-day oasis at Park headquarters was, according to the Serrano creation story as told by elder Dorothy Ramon (Ramon and Elliot 2000), occupied from the time the Serrano arrived on earth until sometime between 1850 and 1870 by the *Maringa* Serrano. Thereafter it was occupied by the Chemehuevi, who, since they were a broad-ranging people, may have occupied the oasis alternately with the Serrano in some periods until all the Serrano had left and Chemehuevi moved in, especially after the Chemehuevi war with the Mojave in the late 1860s. The southern part of the park was Cahuilla territory.

Mojave and Chemehuevi use of the park in traditional times was probably seasonal and transitory, as was the use of areas of the park in areas distant from the oasis at *Mara*. People came to the area to harvest the area's plant, animal, and perhaps mineral resources when they became available, or crossed the area on the way to somewhere else. Mojaves used the area primarily as a place through which they traveled on visits to and from the coast to trade goods and visit with the Gabrielino and Chumash on the coast, and with other people en route. The oasis at *Mara* many have served as a ritual center where trade and exchange among the peoples of the desert took place.

Songs and stories, as well as material goods, were exchanged from one group to another, i.e., birdsongs of the Cahuilla might be sung by the Mojave. The source of the songs or stories was usually acknowledged, i.e., people might mention that "this is a Serrano song which we gave to the Mojave, which they sing with their own variations." In addition, many cultural ways, ritual objects, and the rituals themselves might be given to, or adopted by others. Curing practices and knowledge might be given to or adopted by others. The role of trader, one who routinely visited for purposes of trade served as an intercultural "newsperson," as well as a carrier of goods and ideas from one place to another. The rituals themselves required persons from many groups to attend them. These institutions thus served as exchange and communication events.

Elizabeth Campbell, who with her husband William H. Campbell conducted the survey of the area that has resulted in the collection of artifacts and data assembled at the Joshua Tree National Park Museum Collections' Facility and the Southwest Museum, addressed the question of which Indians had lived there in her "Archaeological Survey, Twenty Nine Palms Region" (1931). The Campbells were fortunate that one of the two individuals who preceded them in the central part of the area was a prospector, William McHaney, who had arrived in 1879, and was eager to share his observations with them. McHaney had been a keen observer as he did his prospecting, noticing the signs of Indian occupation. He had been friendly with the Indians who lived in the area, and had taken careful note of the ways they coped with their difficult environment. When he first arrived in the area, it was devoid of Indians, an epidemic having emptied the area of its human occupants, but he knew the people who came in 1890, who were Serrano and Chemehuevi. These last inhabitants did not make pottery themselves, but appropriated that left in the caves by their predecessors (Walker 1931:11, 19).

Campbell reported that Francisco Patencio, a *Kauisik* Cahuilla of the Agua Caliente Band at Palm Springs, told them that the Oasis was mostly Serrano at the time of his father and grandfather. McHaney confirmed that Serranos lived there circa 1875, but also said "there were as many visiting Indians that came into the district periodically. These Indians called themselves Paiutes and Chemehuevis" (Campbell 1931:88-89). Although Patencio disclaimed any Cahuilla presence at Twentynine Palms, the Campbells asserted that there "certainly appears to be Cahuilla influence in this district, at least in the southern part." The pottery was Cahuilla in style, having jars with black patterns; the seed beaters found by the Campbells resembled those Kroeber had identified as Cahuilla; the large storage baskets and the arrow-straighteners they found were like those Kroeber had illustrated (Campbell 1931:88-89). A careful analysis of the Campbell collection and artifacts that have been found in subsequent archaeological surveys will probably show that a fair percentage of the collection can be attributed to one group or another.

The Campbells found most of the sites from which they collected artifacts within a 25 mile radius of the *Mara* Oasis, but they also searched other areas in the larger desert. There were open springs at *Mara*, but for miles in all directions there was no apparent surface water. There was water as close as 12 feet below the surface, but the Indians in this area are not known to have dug wells, as the Cahuilla in the Salton Sea area did. What water was accessible to the Indians lay in "gravel-covered reservoirs" known as "blind tanks," whose location was a secret the Indians held closely. The remains of Indian encampments were the most visible clues of their presence. For short periods after rainfall there was also water in some canyons. Barrel cacti served as a water source where they grew. When cattlemen arrived in the area, they built small dams with rock and cement in canyons and rock formations to catch water for their cattle (Walker 1931:10-11).

McHaney reported that when he arrived in the area, there were numerous pronghorns dotting the basins.¹ "Wolves, coyotes, foxes, swifts, racoons, skunks, badgers, lynx, and wildcats" were popular with trappers. Bighorn sheep were abundant, but rarely seen, and there was an occasional wildcat. A few deer came "down from the San Bernardino Mountains" in the western part of the area. Beyond these, the area abounded in "rattlesnakes, horned toads, chuckwallas and other lizards, tortoises, packrats, gophers, ground-squirrels, antelope chipmunks, kangaroo rats and other rodents, ducks and geese when the lakes had water, quail and doves, jackrabbits and cottontails, crickets and grasshoppers," all of them available as food for the Indians (Walker 1931:14).

Walker noted that the area did not look like a desert when seen from afar, much of it, thanks to stands of creosote bushes, appearing as a "solid mass of green—olive drab in winter, emerald in spring." Individual plants tended to be separated by spaces of bare ground, but this was not obvious from a distance. Fan palms, *Washingtonia filifera* were found at the oasis of *Mara*, and in Forty Nine Palms Canyon; Joshua Trees, at higher altitudes (above 2,000 feet). Mesquite and screwbeans grew in abundance, especially before the mining era that began in the 1860s, when many were cut by the freighters to sell for firewood in Los Angeles (1931:14).

In addition to these staples, there were "smoke trees, wild olives, desert willows, bladder pods, catclaws" in the washes, and "junipers, manzanitas, piñons and live oaks, grasses, sage brush, various cacti and many kinds of bushes" in the mountains. Piñon nuts, live oak acorns, and manzanita berries were important in the Indian diet. McHaney, who pronounced the Indians in this

¹In view of this assertion, it is puzzling that Warren and Schneider (2001), in their review of what was learned from surface surveys in the park in 1992, note that no pronghorn bones were identified at sites.

area the fattest he'd seen anywhere, noted that their food-gathering made it necessary to "lead a migratory existence, changing camp frequently in order to get mesquite beans, piñon nuts, ducks, mountain-sheep and so on. Finding it inconvenient to transport all their possessions, they would leave cooking-pots and ollas near a camp site ready for their return, particularly if there were suitable caves for storage close by" (Walker 1931:15).

Although the Indians of the area had a migratory life style, they had within the district most of the resources they needed: water, foods, "manzanita and desert willow for bows; arrow-canes and arrow-weeds for shafts; flints for arrow points; mesquite gum for attaching the points; clay for pottery; piñon pitch for mending the pottery; animals furnishing hides for moccasins, and pelts for robes and quivers;" and so on (1931:15). Camping, Walker thought, must have been a delight, since the sun almost always shone, the heat in summer was dry and thus bearable, and the winters rarely colder than 20°F. The Indians, when the first explorers arrived, usually wore little or no clothing, except for rabbit-skin robes in coldest winter, but by the time McHaney arrived, they wore white man's clothing except that they continued to wear their traditional moccasins (1931:16).

Warren and Schneider (2001:3.10) suggest that subsistence systems over the years no doubt diversified under environmental stress, hypothesizing that "As environmental stress increases, diversification within the subsistence system increases;" that "the form that diversification takes, in response to initial environmental stress, is a broader application of existing production systems;" that "during initial environmental stress, the subsistence focus, with its relative variation of tool forms and application of tools, will tend to be applied more broadly and to incorporate more innovations than other production systems;" and that "under extreme environmental stress (when population approaches and exceeds critical carrying capacity), the process of subsistence focusing diminishes and diversification increases in all production systems. New production systems are more likely to be adopted."

One might add to these responses three other categories; namely, increasing the marriage networks so that an individual group would have access to the assets of more distant territories and different economic resources; moving to areas where one has relatives, developing new "myths" regarding history and territory, increasing trade relationships with other groups; and redefining territorial boundaries by poaching and invading even if it leads to conflict or war. In addition, it is possible that peoples adopted new forms of environmental management, such as proto-agricultural techniques, and the adoption of plants used by neighboring groups. Certainly they did these things when Europeans entered California. Many of the Euro-American agricultural techniques and other ways were rapidly spread throughout the area, including horses, guns, clothing, etc.

There were red, black, and white pictographs in some of the caves, and petroglyphs on some canyon walls and boulders, some described by Julian Steward in "Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States" (1929). Shallow and deep mortar holes on other rocks testified to the preparation of food by grinding, and thus were an indication of sites used for camping, but many sites were indicated only by "scattered flakes of flint and some tiny potsherds." Camp sites might be near covered water-holes, but were as much as a mile and a half away from open water lest the presence of people discourage animals from approaching the water (Walker 1931:18).

The dead, according to McHaney, were burned at camp sites and their ashes scattered. Their belongings were broken up. By the time the last Indians lived at the oasis, they buried their dead, and some of their possessions, but broke up other possessions. The homes of deceased made of

brush were burned, but those of adobe were dismantled, the wood burned, and the adobe bricks broken up (1931:18-19).

Thus far, we have been discussing the peoples who occupied the Project Area in the nineteenth century. Now let us look at the culture and history of the various ethnic groups of which these peoples were members. The three of them who are known to have made their homes in what is now the park, the Serrano, Chemehuevi, and Cahuilla were speakers of Shoshonian languages, which are part of the Uto-Aztecan language family. The Chemehuevi, a branch of the Southern Paiutes, spoke a Numic language, related to that of the Utes and other Paiutes. The Serrano and Cahuilla spoke Takic languages, related to that of the Gabrielino, Acagchemem, and Luiseño further west, and more distantly to that of the Hopi. The Serrano language was very similar to that of the Gabrielino, even though their culture was closer to that of their neighbors, the Cahuilla. The Cahuilla and Luiseño languages were similarly close. All of these three groups were non-political ethnic nationalities; that is, they did not have a name for their nationalities, did not make a political claim to their territories, and did not make war as whole groups. Instead they had clan and lineage names, had property rights as clans and lineages, and went to battle as clans and/or lineages. The Mojaves, on the other hand, knew themselves by their name, claimed the whole Mojave desert, and went to war as a people.

IV. THE SERRANO

A. Major Sources.

Major sources on the ethnography of the Serrano include Lowell John Bean and Charles Smith's paper, "Serrano," in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8, California 1978; A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* 1925; William Duncan Strong's *Aboriginal Society in Southern California* 1929; Bean and Vane's "Persistence and Power: A Study of Native American Peoples in the Sonoran Desert and the Devers-Palo Verde High Voltage Transmission Line 1978"; Bean and Vane's "Native American Places in the San Bernardino Forest, San Bernardino and Riverside Counties, California" 1981; Ruth Benedict's *A Brief Sketch of Serrano Culture* 1924, and *Serrano Tales* 1926; Philip Drucker's *Culture Element Distributions V: Southern California* 1937; Edward W. Gifford's "Clans and Moieties in Southern California" 1918; the J. P. Harrington notes; and the C. Hart Merriam notes. The foregoing include some ethnohistory. Secondary sources on ethnohistory are Beattie and Beattie's *Heritage of the Valley: San Bernardino's First Century* (1951) and Paulina La Fuze's *Saga of the San Bernardinos* 1971. Some information given here is drawn from recent research by CSRI and others in the records of San Gabriel Mission. Some is also drawn from Bean's notes on his ethnographic research at Morongo Indian Reservation in the late 1950s and 1960s, which include information drawn from Sarah Martin and other knowledgeable Serranos.

B. Traditional Territory

The territorial claims of the different ethnic groups who occupied the Mojave and Colorado desert in traditional times in southern California overlap each other, and scholars' descriptions of group boundaries are each of them different. In fact, the boundaries appear to have changed from

one time period to another; moreover, groups would sometimes share territory, or a group would invite its neighbors to share an abundant resource.

Boundaries at any one time may have been quite specific, even though they can no longer be delineated. Most southern California elders that Bean has interviewed have been rather specific about where clan territories were located. Boundary markers are commonly referred to i.e. that hill just north of such and such next to such and such as example. Within some areas there were places of common use that were well known to the people who used them, but little such information has survived. (See Francisco Patencio 1943).

1. Oral History. A version of the Serrano creation story told by elder Dorothy Ramon describes *Mara* as the first place the Serrano lived after they came to this world:

Indians apparently used to live somewhere else. They were living on some planet similar to this one. The Serrano Indians came to a new world. There were apparently too many people on the old planet (not the planet Earth). They were killing each other (due to overpopulation). They did not get along. Then their Lord brought them to a new world. Their Lord brought them. There were too many people: they did not fit any more on their home planet. This is why he brought them here, to settle here for good. This was to become the new planet. It was a very beautiful world. So, many of them left (with their leader). They all came. They apparently believed in their Lord. He did not force them. He even asked people whether they would move to the new planet. Some of them believed in Him. He apparently led them to this planet. They came here. From there He brought them to this planet. I don't know how many years it took Him to bring them here. Finally they got there. And they are still here today. The Serrano talk about this in their songs. The Serrano named this place when they came to this world. . . . The Serrano people lived here. Coming from that other planet they started over at *Maara*' (Twentynine Palms). They had been living on their lands for many years. This is in their songs (Ramon and Elliot 2000:7-9).

In a second narrative, Mrs. Ramon reiterated:

It's there. They call it 'Twentynine Palms' nowadays. That was their place of origin, the territory of the *Mamaytam* Serrano. There was nothing but *Mamaytam* living there. It was their home. There were different tribes. There were many different kinds. The Serrano territory was extensive. It ended at the Colorado River. Their territory extended over here on the other side. Today they call it 'San Bernardino'. It continued all the way through Los Angeles to the coast (where the oil wells are). That was the Serrano people's territory long ago. I don't know how wide it was. That's what they used to say and that's what I say now. That's the extent of it. That's what they used to say, and that's what I say. There were others living at the place known as *Maarrênga*' 'Twentynine Palms'. That was the place of origin of the *Maarrênga'yam Hiddith* 'the Orthodox Serrano'. Then all the

Serrano got scattered. There are different tribes. There are a number of tribes. Today I only know (the name of) some of their tribes. I still know that Twentynine Palms was the territory of the *Mamaytam*. There were also *Muhatna'yam* *Maarrêng'yam* living there. That was the tribe of my relative, of my father's father. They also had an extensive territory. It's going to be that way forever. No one is ever going to own it. That land belongs to our Lord. It is not our property. That is all.

2. Claims Case Boundaries. Here we shall use the descriptions agreed to by the tribes themselves in suing for the reimbursement by the United States for depriving them of their traditional territory in the Claims Cases of the 1950s, even though these descriptions were and still are controversial.

In the Claims Case, the Serrano claimed the following:

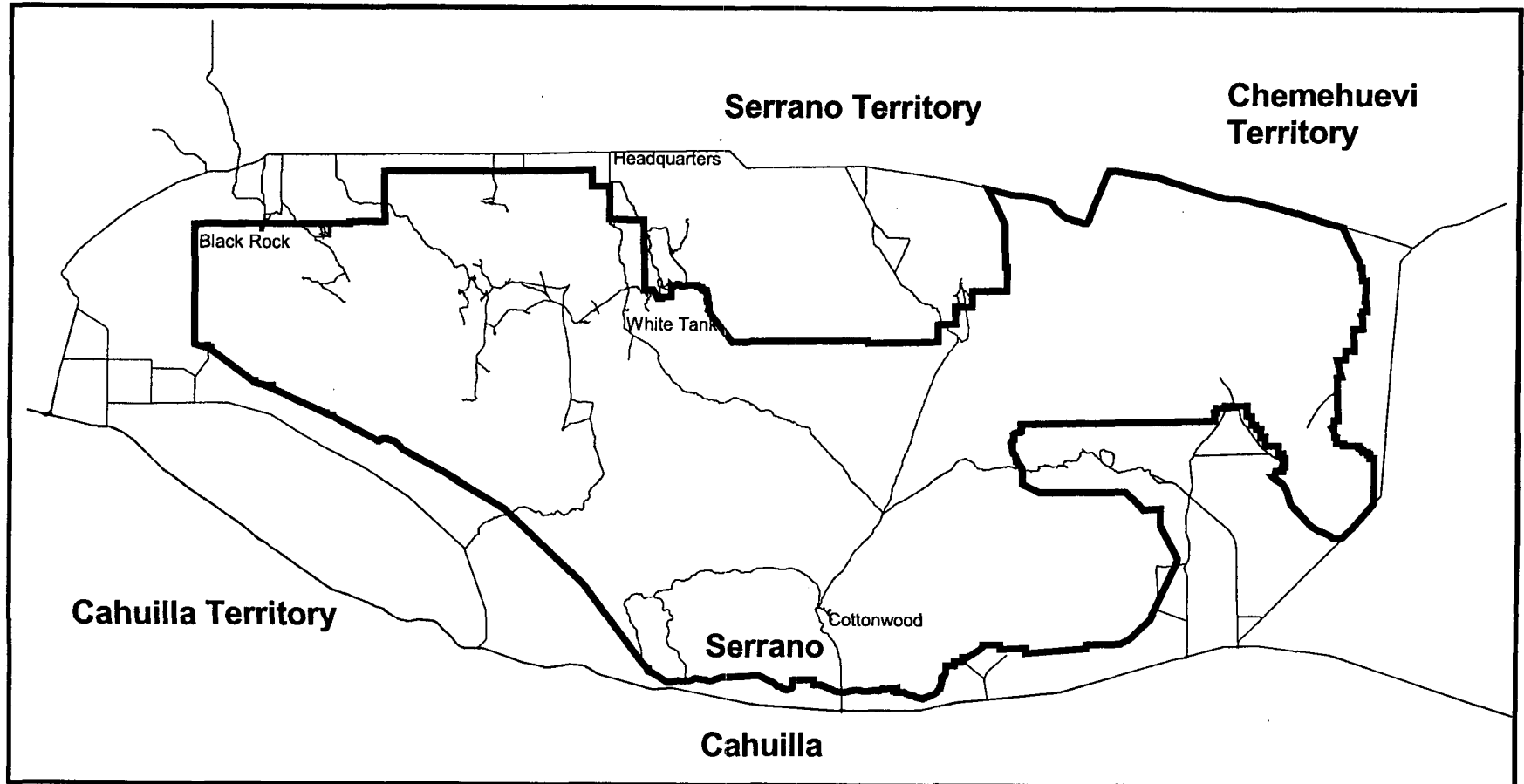
Beginning at a point approximately 5 miles East of the City of Redlands; thence Northwesterly in an irregular line to a point in the approximate area of the San Gabriel Range which is due North of Mt. San Antonio; thence Easterly in an irregular line along the San Gabriel Range to Cajon Pass; thence Northeasterly in an irregular line approximately 8 miles; thence Northeasterly in an irregular line to a point approximately 3 miles Northeast of the town of Ludlow; thence Southeasterly in an irregular line to a point approximately 1 mile Southwest of the town of Cadiz; thence Southeasterly in an irregular line to a point in the approximate area of the Big Maria Mountains, approximately 12 miles West of the Colorado River; thence Southerly parallel with and approximately 12 miles Westerly of the Colorado River in an irregular line to a point due West of Blythe; thence Westerly in an irregular line to the approximate area of the present Hayfield Reservoir on the Colorado River Aqueduct; thence Westerly in an irregular line following the line of said Aqueduct to a point approximately due North from San Jacinto Peak; thence South in an irregular line to the approximate area of San Jacinto Peak; thence Southeasterly in an irregular line to the approximate area of Lookout Mountain; thence Westerly in an irregular line to the approximate area of Coahuilla Mountain; thence Northwest in an irregular line to a point which is approximately 12 miles southwest from the point of beginning; thence Northeast in an irregular line approximately 12 miles to the point of beginning (U.S. Court of Claims 1950-1960: Docket No. 80).

The *Maringa* (Mariña) Serrano, one of the most visible of Serrano groups in the historical period, occupied the south easternmost reaches of this territory, and were the most important Serrano clan, at least in the 19th century, after many of the Serranos who lived nearer the coast were taken into Mission San Gabriel in 1811. After that, the remaining Serranos moved southeastward to escape the Mission system. The Serrano at *Mara* were members of this clan, probably a lineage thereof. Other members of the *Maringa* clan in the mid-nineteenth century lived at *Yamisevul*, also known as *Maringa'*, on Mission Creek, and eventually joined Cahuilla relatives on the Potrero (on Section 36 of T 2 S, R 1 E, SBM, where the waters of Potrero Creek were used to irrigate fields.

From *Mara* Oasis, the *Maringa* probably traveled seasonally to harvest plants and to hunt over the vast ranges of the Mojave and Colorado deserts to the east and southeast, but the northeastern part of the territory described in the Claims Case was probably the territory of the Vanyume, a group encountered by Garcés in 1771, and after that not known to have been encountered by those passing through (Galvin 1967; Kroeber 1925:614).

Joshua Tree National Park

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Map 1. Tribal Boundaries, Claims Case

C. Subsistence Resources

1. **Plant Resources.** The use of plants by the Serrano is covered in Bean and Vane's ethnobotany of the park, which remains to be published. Bean and Saubel's *Temelpakh* (1972), which pertains to the ethnobotany of the Cahuilla contains much information applicable to the Serrano as well. Lawlor's dissertation on plant use in the Mojave Desert (1995) also contains pertinent information. None of these sources, however, touches as well on the meaning of plants to the Serrano as does Dorothy Ramon:

Long ago when the world began there were many Indian peoples here on earth. Their Lord was living here, with them, he was alive, not dead. He was like us, alive here. And he would speak to them. He would explain to the people about how to live, about how to get along here on earth. And there were lots of people. Perhaps different tribes. Our Lord came to them. He asked them whether they would allow themselves to be transformed to make medicine, so that medicinal plants would grow. They were to become medicinal herbs. Only those that believed were transformed. And so many plants exist now on Earth. 'Herbs', as the whites call them, grow on the earth. They were to become the Indian's medicine.

They (the Indians) would treat themselves with them (herbs), before their little brothers and sisters arrived ('little brothers and sisters' is a euphemism for 'white people'). They (white people) weren't there yet. They had not been made yet, they were not here yet. He (our Lord) told the Indians about this long ago.

The Indians healed themselves with them (herbs). All the shamans knew where their medicine and food grew. Everything (we need) is available on Earth, in the hills, the song says. It grows. When it would rain regularly, it was nice. Everything that He created would grow. The Indians used to have lots of food long ago. They could also cure themselves with the same plants today. They (the first people) all transformed themselves. All those things grow on earth. And they would see them (those medicinal plants). Different kinds of medicinal and edible plants grew there long ago as well. Such things no longer exist, I think, who knows why? No one eats them nowadays. Eat different food nowadays. Some new kind of food. Now it has come out (this new kind of food). But long ago this was their food. People would always pick it (fruit) in the hills when it ripened. The women would always go pick those things. There was always food for them to eat. In the winter they would eat all kinds of things which they had dried. They would put food away. In the winter they would eat all kinds of things which they had dried. They would put food away for that purpose. They would store it away, they used to say. The same was true of medicine. The shaman knew where it grew, certain kinds. He would go and gather them in order to treat illnesses. He would treat people with them. He would cure a sick person with them (those herbs). There were a lot of medicines like that. Those white people refer to them as herbs. Some don't believe in that. But they (herbs) are beneficial. Some people do not believe in that (Ramon and Elliot 2000:357-359).

2. Animal Resources. The use of animal food in the area now included in Joshua Tree National Park is to be covered in a proposed ethnozoology by Bean and Vane. Information on such use is scattered in the various ethnographies mentioned above under "Sources." Dorothy Ramon has provided information about how the Serrano traditionally went about procuring and using animals for food, and how they regarded the animals. For them, animals, like plants, are people who have let themselves be transformed. Ramon tells the story of the origin of deer in the following:

Back in the beginning of time the Lord was living here with all the people. He was the one who asked the people whether they would turn into deer. He wanted to transform them. And they obeyed Him and were transformed. And so they were transformed. That's what He (their Lord) said. And so the deer would sing. And then the people would dance the deer dance. They would sing the deer songs. It (the song) tells about what they did, about how they were transformed. Some of them cried. Some of those animals were already transforming themselves. That is how He (the Lord) wanted it. And so they were transformed. They believed, that's why. And so they were all transformed. And so they sing to those deer who had transformed themselves. Their bodies were already completely transformed. But they still felt at home here. They were still behaving like human beings. But they had already been transformed into deer. And so they cried. They wanted to live in their homes, like human beings. There was one who kept circling about. He was looking inside, inside the (ceremonial) house. It says, that's what the song says, that he (the deer) is peaking inside and circling about. He kept peaking inside. He was looking inside the house. Some of those who had already been transformed were already wandering about outside. They had to go off somewhere else. And they climbed up into the hills. Those animals who had been transformed were destined to live in the hills forever. But they still did not know how to walk on their (newly transformed) feet. They already had hooves and were slipping along. They were not used to their (new) hooves yet. They already had hooves. That's what they did (Ramon and Elliot 2000:571-572).

Small game animals like rabbits were an important part of the Serrano diet, but there were rules about hunting them. For example, neither young hunters nor their parents could eat such animals: Ramon tells of her young brother's hunting:

Long ago I had an older brother . . . my father taught him how to hunt. And he would always hunt. He would always hunt jackrabbits. When I was still small I would go around with my older brother. He had a lot of guns. My father bought them for him. He had different kinds of guns. We had them. We would walk about outside. We would hunt. But I never shot any rabbits. But he (my brother) would kill all kinds of jackrabbits and cottontails. When he would kill one . . . then we'd go home and But my family, my mother and father, would not eat the game that my older brother had killed, those rabbits. Long ago that was what the Indians did. My older brother was still young (under age). They did not eat the game he killed. I would eat it by myself. And so we would kill one. Then I would eat it by myself.

No one else would eat it. He himself would not eat the game he killed either. He was not old enough to eat his own game, they said. It was the same with my father and mother. They would not eat it. They did not eat the game killed by boys. But I . . . he would give it to me. I ate it by myself. That's what they used to do long ago. And I learned to hunt a little by following him around. You could get used to it and then you could always shoot things, and kill whatever you want. It was not right for a woman. That's what some people said. But some women can shoot anything. They don't care. They get used to it. They can do anything. They could kill anything. They don't care, they say. I wasn't interested. I didn't know how. At the time I too was just a little girl. And that's how it was long ago, as I said. My older brother was a hunter like my father. He taught him how to hunt all the time. He died when he was still young. He passed away (when he was 15). That's all (Ramon and Elliot 2000:483-485).

Large game animals were killed only after the appropriate rituals. As Ramon tells it:

Those *par'cam* hunters were trained to do that. They would appoint them like that. The *paxa'yam* ('ceremonial officials') would first teach them how to hunt. When there was some religious celebration all the *par'cam* hunters would go hunting. They would kill a deer or something. They would bring their kill to the ceremonial house. Some of them would sing (prayers) over it (the killed game). They would sing all night. Those people would sing about bighorn sheep long ago. They would butcher it. They would eat it. They did not just eat a bighorn sheep any old way. Long ago I saw them doing that, when they were going to hold a feast. First they would pray over it. They would sing over it. They would do all kinds of things. They would dance (round 2:30 or 3:00 a.m.). They would continue their ceremonies through to dawn. That's how they were. That's what people did long ago. I saw them with my own eyes (Ramon and Elliot 2000:485-487).

D. Material Culture, Technology

The Serranos acquired the many species of large and small animals available in the area with throwing sticks, various types of traps, nets and snares, arrows, and sinew-backed bows. They also used poison. Baskets were the containers of choice for gathering plant products. These were used not only for transporting the plant products, but also for winnowing, cooking, and storing. Cooking in baskets was carried out by placing hot stones in food held in tightly woven baskets. While the adults and older children were carrying out their various tasks, babies lay or sat in baskets, sometimes carried by the mother, sometimes placed on the ground or a convenient rock. Although one might assume that pottery would have less use than basketry in a desert environment, a considerable number of pottery vessels have been found in the area, showing that pots were used for carrying and storage. Pottery vessels were useful for carrying water, the slight evaporation keeping the remaining water cool. Pottery was often used to cache precious or sacred property in caves when necessary.

The mortars and pestles, manos and metates, and hammerstones used for pounding, and for grinding food were made by grinding the quartz manzonite and other rocks that were plentiful in

most parts of the area. Flaked stone tools served a variety of other purposes. They included fire drills, awls, arrow-straighteners, flint knives, and scrapers. Horn and bone were used for spoons and stirrers.

The Serranos kept warm in winter by wearing clothing made of animal hides, and sleeping under woven rabbitskin blankets. For ceremonial events, they used garments made or decorated with feathers, and made rattles made of turtle and tortoise shells, deer-hooves, rattlesnake rattles, and various cocoons. Wood rasps, bone whistles, bull-roarers, and flutes were used to make music to accompany the many songs and dances used in ceremonies.

Baskets were not the only thing they wove. Using fibers from yucca, agave, and other plants, they wove bags, storage pouches, cording, mats, and nets (Drucker 1937; Bean 1962-1972; Bean and Smith 1978).

Most Serrano houses were circular domes that had a central fire pit. The homes of several families tended to be clustered in small settlements, and included not only the houses, but also basketry granaries for storage of food, sweathouses, and often a ceremonial house. They were placed near springs or other water sources, and as near as possible to other resources (Bean and Smith 1978).

E. Trade, Exchange, Storage

The Serrano stored such foodstuffs as acorns, mesquite beans, screw beans, and other storable foods in large basketry containers sometimes mounted on poles out of doors. Other foodstuffs, such as dried meats, small seeds, and fruit, were stored in basket or ceramic containers inside their houses, along with other supplies (Bean and Smith 1978).

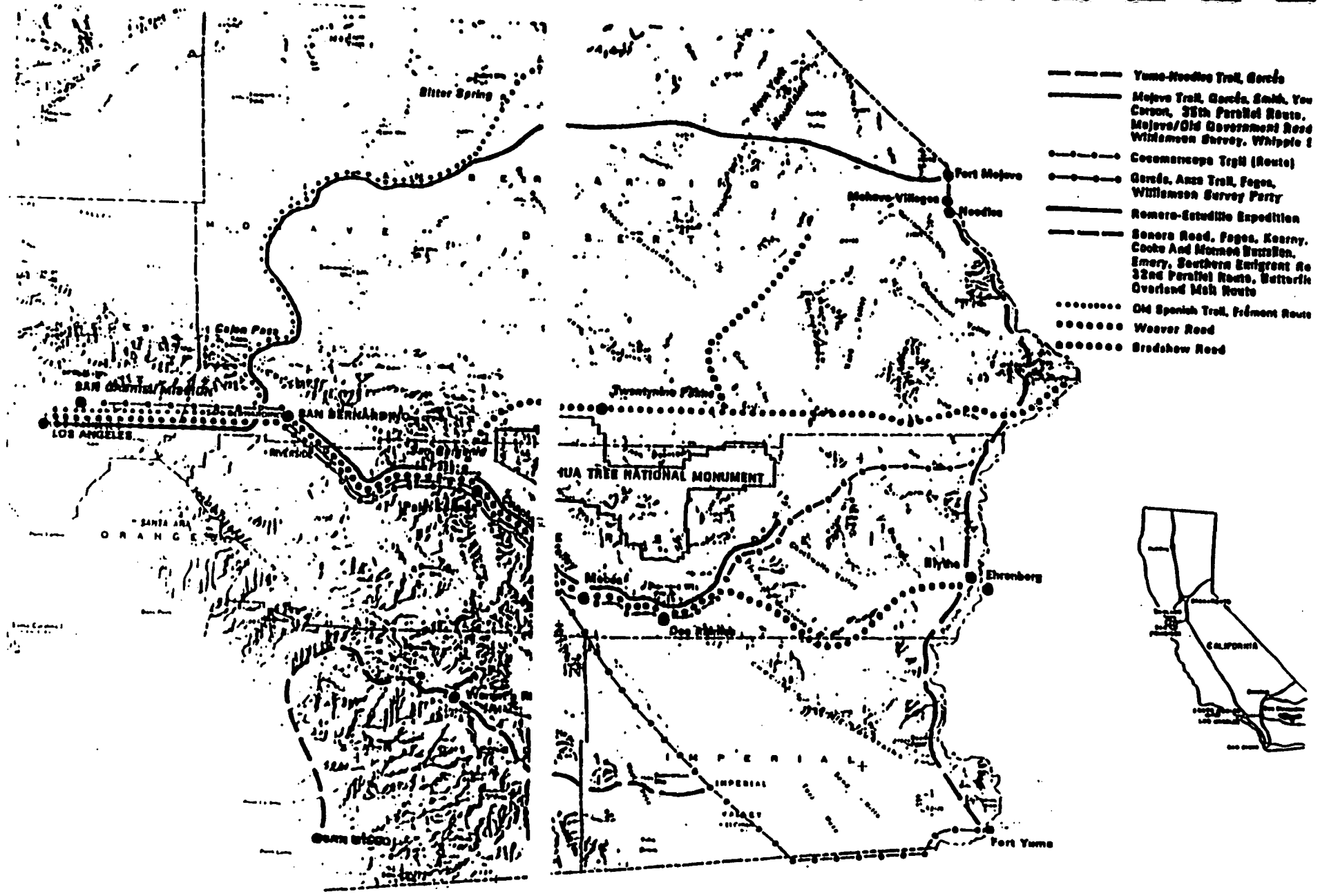
Their principal trading partners were the Mojave to the east and the Gabrielino to the west, but they also traded with their close neighbors, the Cahuillas and Chemehuevi. They constituted, in fact, a major nexus in a trade and exchange system that brought goods (and later, horses) from the Southwest to the coast. The finding of obsidian coming from long distance, i.e. Obsidian Butte and the coastal volcanic field (Warren and Schneider 2001: MS-ii) shows that people living in area now set aside as the Joshua Tree National Park had both direct and indirect contact with peoples many hundreds of miles away, both in the southwest and northeast directions. They would have gone from the coast to inland Arizona, probably to Nevada, and north of the Mojave Desert, as well.

Material goods, shells, sacred regalia (feathers and the like), were favored materials (Bean and Vane 1978).

Trade and exchange occurred informally between family members, at trade feasts, social events, and ceremonial occasions (Bean field notes 1958-1970).

F. Social structure

The territory of the Serrano, a non-political ethnic nationality (Kroeber 1925:615-616), was divided among a number of politically independent groups, which were patrilineal, patrilocal corporate clans, each of whom belonged to either of two exogamous moieties, Coyote or Wildcat. Each clan was composed of lineage sub-units, each of which had its own territorial base within the clan territory, the remainder of which was shared. It was, furthermore, forbidden that individuals marry anyone related to them within five generations. It follows that marriages across clan boundaries were necessary. The clans were divided into autonomous land-holding lineages. Each of these lineages had a chief, or *ki·ka*, with religious and political functions. His office was in



Map 2. Early Routes Across the Desert

**EARLY SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
ROADS AND TRAILS IN THE VICINITY
JOSHUA TREE NATIONAL MONUMENT
CALIFORNIA**

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
DSC / SEPTEMBER 1963 / (IR-3301)

general hereditary. His principal assistant was the *paha*, who assisted him in ceremonial, political, and economic affairs.

Throughout the year, individuals or groups left their communities as necessary to hunt, collect and gather, and process foods. They also collected whatever materials the environment or other groups could provide that were deemed necessary or useful (Bean field notes 1958-1970).

G. Religion, World View

Serrano world view, like its culture in general, is less well known than that of some of their neighbors, such as the Cahuilla. This lack is due to several circumstances. In part, it is because so large a proportion of the Serrano people were brought into San Gabriel Mission before or in 1811, after the failure of an attack on the mission. Disease subsequently further decimated the population. When scholars began to study Serrano culture, few remembered it as it was before the arrival of Europeans. It is known, however, that to the Serrano, as to other Native Americans, the plants, animals, and even rocks in the environment are sentient beings. As noted above, it is believed that they derive from human beings at creation time who were willing to be transformed into other beings.

The Serrano creation epic tells of two brothers in a story that is very similar to that of the Cahuilla and Luiseño. It tells of twin brothers, *Pakrokitat* and *Kukitat*, at the dawn of time. *Pakrokitat* created human beings and three beautiful goddesses on an island called *Payait*, to which he fled after disagreeing with *Kukitat* as to whether human beings should die, as the latter thought they should. Human beings divided into groups, and the groups warred with each other until it was decided that *Kukitat*, having done poorly by them, should be put to death. *Kukitat's* final illness, after Frog swallowed his excretions and thereby poisoned him, Coyote's theft of his heart, his death, and his subsequent cremation took place on the shores of Baldwin Lake in the San Bernardino Mountains. In a fight that erupted after the death, all the Mariña Serrano were killed except one man, from whose posthumous son all subsequent Mariña Serranos are descended² (Kroeber 1925:619; Harrington Serrano notes; Bean and Vane 1981:158).

The story of *Kukitat's* death and cremation was sung until the 1960s at the Serrano's annual Mourning Ceremony, at which the Mariña as the oldest clan took precedence (Strong 1929:34; Bean field notes 1975).

In the earlier part of the 20th century, the Serrano and Cahuilla often joined forces to conduct their traditional ceremonies. When W. D. Strong was doing his field work in the 1920s, the Serrano Māriña and Aturavīatum and the Wanikiktum and Kausiktum Cahuilla conducted their ceremonies jointly, being the last active religious organizations of their groups. It was customary for each group to hold its annual mourning ceremony once every two years, with the other three in attendance (Strong 1929:14-15).

Ramon speaks of an earlier time, when the ceremonial leader of the Serranos at Twentynine Palms, having no ceremonial house, came to Mission Creek to hold a feast:

²A common theme in southern California oral literature is that of a catastrophe, caused by oversight, deception, or accident, in which only a single male child survives, and becomes the progenitor of a new group from which subsequent people descend.

Long ago they held a feast in the home of our ancestor who has since passed away. He was from Twentynine Palms. But there was no ceremonial house there (at Twentynine Palms). He moved here from there. They were having a feast somewhere . . . (at) Mission Creek. . . .

He built a ceremonial house. I was still small at the time (around five or six). I don't know how old I was. I must have been about four, five, or six, I am not sure. But I was a little bit aware of my surroundings. And so they built it. I saw those men who were building the ceremonial house. I would be asleep sometimes. I didn't see everything (while asleep). Sometimes I would be awake. There were very many men who would dance. I think it was morning. I am not sure. I don't know what they were dancing. I think they must have been dancing the deer dance. That's all I know, and so that's what I'm talking about. At the time I was very little (Ramon and Elliot 2000:259).

H. History

1. Mission Period. The Serrano were a fairly numerous people when the Spanish arrived in 1769, but beginning about 1790, the westernmost of them began to be drawn into Mission San Gabriel. After an attempted Indian revolt in 1810, most of those in the San Bernardino Mountains and the western Mojave Desert were brought into the mission, some of them forcibly. Those in the easternmost deserts beyond the San Bernardino Mountains and Little San Bernardino Mountains were beyond the reach of the mission, but probably absorbed a number of those who fled the missions.

We have presented the oral history account that tells us that the *Maringo* Serrano were the original inhabitants of the village of *Mara* at the oasis of Twentynine Palms. It was probably early ethnographers who made the first written record that *Mara* near the headquarters of present-day Joshua Tree National Park was originally a *Maringa* Serrano village, but we have not learned from either written or oral literature how early this settlement may have been established—a question whose answer may lie in archaeological sites not yet examined. It is also not clear whether this was the main or “first” *Maringa* lineage settlement at one time, as the oral literature attests, or merely one of several places in a large area they used and occupied; however, the fact that it was near a major source of water with a valuable complex of biotic resources for food and manufactures argue for its use as a living place for Native Americans for a very long time.

2. American Period. It has been suggested that the Serrano left the area in the early 1860s when a smallpox epidemic struck the Indians of southern California, even though the isolation of the area should have protected them. Their fate may instead be described by Ramon, whose account derived from Serrano oral history tells a story that we have not found in any other published source:

Long ago the Serrano lived at Twentynine Palms. Long ago some white people killed them there. They (whites) got there. They hunted them. They did all kinds of things to them. They killed a great many of them. They were lost. There used to be a lot of Serrano living there. They (the survivors) were afraid. Some of them apparently moved somewhere else. Many of them apparently moved elsewhere

to other tribes. They lived here (at Morongo), after being run off of their own land, I guess. Apparently there was no one living at Twentynine Palms long ago (after the massacre) because they were afraid to live there. They were afraid, they apparently did not want to live there. This is because they (the whites) had massacred them (the Serrano) like that. My grandfather (mother's father) was a ceremonial leader there. He concluded, "It looks like they are going to get rid of all of us here." That is what he thought. He came here (to Morongo) to ask (for permission to stay). He apparently asked if he could settle here (on the Morongo Reservation). And the people here, the Wanakik Pass Cahuilla, said, "Alright" (Ramon and Elliott 2000).

Inasmuch as Ramon was in her 80s when she told this story, her grandfather might well have been at Twentynine Palms in the early 1860s.

The *Maringa* Serrano were living at *yumisēvul* in the Mission Creek area, presumably before the 1870s (Strong 1929:11). According to some Cahuilla traditions, they replaced Cahuillas who had been living there. They intermarried with the Gabriel family (the ceremonial leaders of the *Wanikik* Cahuilla), and had moved to the Potrero, or Malki, by the 1870s. Here John Morongo, a leader of the group, played a leading role in the affairs of the newly established Morongo Indian Reservation. It is logical to assume that the Serrano left *Mara* because of pressure from settlers and miners, and better economic opportunities elsewhere. Mission Creek, and the Potrero, on what is now Morongo Indian Reservation, where many of them settled, were richer in plant and animal resources, being not so far into the desert, and closer to jobs.

3. Present Day Serrano. Morongo Indian Reservation probably has more Serranos than any other reservation, but since many of its members are mixed Cahuilla and Serrano, it is difficult to establish whether the majority are Serrano or Cahuilla. San Manuel Indian Reservation appears to be exclusively Serrano, but it is a very small reservation, and home to a relatively small number of Serranos. The recent success of casinos at both reservations has made them prosperous reservations, whose people are increasingly interested in their culture and history, and are generously devoting resources to recovering the available pertinent information.

V. CHEMEHUEVI

A. Major Sources

Major sources on Chemehuevi ethnography and ethnohistory include Fowler and Fowler's *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North America, 1868-1880* (1971); Kelly's "Southern Paiute Bands" (1934); Laird's *The Chemehuevis* (1976), and *Mirror and Pattern: George Laird's World of Chemehuevi Mythology* (1984); A. L. Kroeber's "The Chemehuevi" in his *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925); Chester King and Dennis Casebier's *Background to Historic and Prehistoric Resources of the East Mojave Desert Region* (1976); George Roth's "Incorporation and Changes in Ethnic Structure: The Chemehuevi Indians" (1976); Clifford E. Trafzer, Luke Madrigal, and Anthony Madrigal's *Chemehuevi People of the Coachella Valley* (1997); Amiel Weeks Whipple's *Reports of the Most*

Practical and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean (1856); Baldwin Möllhausen's *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific* (1858); Dennis Casebier's *Camp Rock Spring, California* (1973); and Robert M. Laidlaw's *Desert-wide Ethnographic Overview* (1979). Government documents generated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its predecessor, the Office of Indian Affairs, provide information about the Chemehuevi at the Twentynine Palms Indian Reservation, the Chemehuevi Indian Reservation, and the various Coachella Valley reservations where people with Chemehuevi ancestors now live.

B. Traditional Territory

In the Claims Case, in which, it should be noted, anthropologists such as A. L. Kroeber and Ralph Beals served as expert witnesses on their behalf, the Chemehuevi claimed the following as theirs before the arrival of the Spanish:

Beginning at a point in southern Nevada six miles west of a place on the Colorado River where said river encloses a small island in the latitude of Mount Davis (this starting point being east northeast from Searchlight and slightly east of south from Nelson); thence southerly to the summit of the mountain called Avikwame by the Mohave and Yuman tribes, and Agai by the Chemehuevi Indians; thence southerly along the crest of the Dead Mountain-Manchester Mountain range in California, generally paralleling the Colorado River; thence southerly along the ridge of the Sacramento Mountains to the middle of Township 23 E 7N; thence southeast to the middle of Township 24E, 6N, along a line dividing the Chemehuevi Mountains; thence east across the Colorado River at a place known as Blankenship Bend; thence north of east in the State of Arizona to the Mohave Mountains; thence south southeast over a peak known as Akoka-Numi, for approximately 12 miles; then west southwest across the Colorado River to the southwestern corner of Township 26 E, 4N, in the State of California; thence southwest along a line paralleling the Colorado River to the summit of the Whipple Mountains; thence southwest to the summit of the West Riverside Mountains; thence southerly to the beginning of a gap in the Big Maria Mountains separating the main eastern mass of these mountains from a spur projecting westward toward the Little Maria Mountains; thence northwest to the crest of the Iron Mountains; thence northwest on a line between the Bristol Mountains and the Cady Mountains; thence north, northeast, east, and again north, on a curving line passing north of the Bristol Mountains and first south and then east of Soda Lake to a point about the middle of Devil's Playground at the western edge of township 10W, 13N; thence east northeasterly through Townships 10 to 14E, 13N, to Cima; thence northeast to a place on the California-Nevada State Line about three miles east of Nipton; thence easterly to the point and place of beginning (U.S. Court of Claims 1950-1960: Docket No. 351).

The Chemehuevi have for a long time lived in close conjunction with the Mojave, usually, but not always, on friendly terms. They ranged from the river to the San Bernardino Mountains, which were, according to Laird (1976:7) a "familiar hunting ground, well-sprinkled with Chemehuevi place names."

C. Subsistence Resources

The use of plants by the Chemehuevi is covered in Bean and Vane's ethnobotany of the park, which remains to be published. Bean and Saubel's *Temelpakh*, which pertains to the ethnobotany of the Cahuilla contains much information applicable to the Chemehuevi, and Elizabeth J. Lawlor's dissertation on plant use in the Mojave Desert (1995) also contains pertinent information. It is planned that animal resources will be described in a forthcoming ethnozoology.

D. Material Culture, Technology

The material culture developed by the Chemehuevi is very much like that of their neighbors, the Mojave, Serrano, and Cahuilla. As is usually the case, apparent differences are in part due to the types of material that were available and in part to their preferences.

The Chemehuevi women were skilled basket makers, but made little pottery. Their coiled baskets resembled those of the San Joaquin Valley rather than those of southern California, often having constricted necks. Caps, triangular trays, and carrying baskets were diagonally twined. They usually painted designs on the baskets, rather than weaving them into the basket.

They made a self-bow shorter than that of the Mojave, with recurved ends, the back painted, and the middle wrapped. Arrows were often made of cane, and sometimes willow, with a foreshaft and a flint point. Houses were shelters against the wind and sun (Kroeber 1925:597-598; Laird 1976:5). The bow used in war was sinew-backed hickory, which was very hard to draw. It was short and powerful. Another kind of bow was made of the antler of the mule deer (Laird 1976:240).

Bows for hunting were made of sinew-backed willow. The adoption of the sinew-backed bow permitted the Chemehuevi to hunt big game, thus improving their supply of protein food (Laird 1976:5-6).

The principle material used for houses was brush. Of the four different kinds of houses they made, one was the flat or shade house, built for ceremonial occasions. A flat roof of brush was laid across four notched posts. Another roof that sloped to the ground on the west side was built above the flat roof to provide extra protection from the sun. In addition, a very large flat house was built to hold the goods brought to a Cry to be burned or given away (Laird 1976:42-43).

E. Trade, Exchange, Storage

The Chemehuevi often stored food, after drying or cooking it, in granaries or ceramic jars at their homes, or, on trips through the desert, by burying it in the ground or putting it in caves in pots or baskets. Edible seeds were often stored in baskets covered with potsherds and greasewood gum. The hearts of mescal and other plant resources were boiled and pounded into slabs for storage. Meat, and the pulps of melon and squashes were dried. The need for caches of food and other goods was sufficiently important that stealing food from someone else's cache was enough to bring on a war (Laird 1976:6). In fact, among most southern California Indians, food could be protected by "magical" means, i.e., by placing in the cave a notched stick, called by some a "spirit stick," which could cause harm to anyone who disturbed the cache.

The Chemehuevi "bought" eagles from other tribes, especially the Walapai, for the Mourning Ceremony (Laird 1976:42). Many valuable goods were exchanged at a Cry. Articles belonging to the deceased that the deceased had not seen might be given away. All other of the belongings of the deceased were burned, says Laird, "with the possible exception of the horse" (1976:43).

Cowrie shells from the seacoast were traded inland to the Chemehuevi for use in decorating women's clothing (Laird 1976:6).

F. Social structure

That the Chemehuevis had something that resembled a moiety system associated with the ownership of land is demonstrated in two hereditary songs, the Mountain Sheep Song and the Deer Song, each of which described trips through the mountains and valleys along the Colorado River. Those who had the right to sing the song had the right to hunt in the area and in that sense owned it. The songs were inherited patrilineally, but after the Euro-Americans came a man might inherit his song from his mother's father if his father were a non-Indian and thereby had no song, and, therefore, presumably no right to use the economic assets thereof.

Groups of Chemehuevis had a right to hunt in a Mountain Sheep area only if a man who was an owner of the Mountain Sheep Song was part of the group. The same was true of the Deer Song. The Mountain Sheep Song covered an area west of the Colorado River, and the Deer Song, east of the river. The Salt Song was associated with the Deer Song, and was often owned by those who owned the Deer Song, but it involved both sides of the river. Each song had subdivisions, and a subgroup might own only a subdivision of a song, and a specific version of it. A person was not to marry within the group that owned the same version (Laird 1976:3-19), a fact that gave the Chemehuevi something of an exogamous moiety system like that maintained by their western neighbors, the Serrano and the Cahuilla.

Only a person who owned a song could sing it ritually, but others could sing it in non-ritual contexts. There were other songs associated with hereditary hunting rights, but they each belonged to a group of related persons and were not subdivided (1976:18-19).

Laird maintains that the Chemehuevi were rather loosely matrilineal,³ with people being able to move from group to group as they needed to—a useful strategy in a desert habitat where the quantity of food resources was variable. A band consisting of two or three families traveled together and had a spokesman. It took its name from a place where its crops were planted, and to which it returned each year.

Each of the three main groups of Chemehuevi had High Chiefs who spoke the "Chief's Language" and had a duty "to set a good example and to teach his people a moral code, long since lost," and guided his people in peace. The High Chiefs and their relatives owned the Talking Song (also called the Crying Song), which was in the Chiefs' Language, and was sung only at funerals and Mourning Ceremonies (1976:24-29).

G. Religion

According to the creation story as told by George Laird, Ocean Woman, also known as Body Louse, created the earth by dropping a little mud into the ocean, where it floated. She kept spreading it out, and presently created Coyote from the *mugre*, or scrapings, from her crotch. He kept traveling to see how wide the earth was, and when it took all day to go and return to its edges, he told Ocean Woman it was large enough. She then created Wolf and Mountain Lion as brothers to Coyote, Wolf being the considered the oldest because Coyote had so little sense (Laird 1984:32-33).

³They may have been bilateral bilocal, as other scholars maintain.

Coyote and Ocean Woman, who had a toothed vagina, mated, after Coyote—by inserting the neckbone of a female mountain sheep into her vagina—made that possible, and created a basketful of children whom Coyote carried across the ocean. The basket was tied shut at the top, and Coyote was told not to open it until he got to his house. Once he got across the ocean, it was so heavy that he untied it, and the coastal Indians escaped. He tied it up again, and took it home, where Wolf opened it and released and brought to life the Chemehuevi, the Shoshoni, the Panamints, the Cahuilla, the Mojave, the Walapai, the Supai, the Quechan, the Maricopa, the Papago or Pima, and the Apache, naming them in the Chemehuevi language as they escaped. Those that were left were the Europeans. Wolf's use of the Chemehuevi language suggested a special relationship between Wolf and the Chemehuevi (Laird 1984:39-48).

Further Chemehuevi myths included various patterns for human behavior, and explained how the patterns came to be (Laird 1984).

H. History of the Chemehuevi

1. Early History. The Chemehuevi are the southernmost branch of the Southern Paiute people. According to Isabel Kelly's consultants, the Chemehuevis split from the Southern Paiutes in the Las Vegas area before the early 19th century, and moved toward what is now the Chemehuevi Valley and the area south of it on the Colorado River (Fowler and Fowler 1971:105; Kelly 1934). According to George Roth, the Chemehuevi and Southern Paiutes apparently moved into the Mojave Desert about 1500 A.D., replacing the Desert Mojave in the eastern Mojave Desert, and to some degree sharing the desert with them thereafter, the Mojave retaining the right to travel through it. There were separate Desert Mojave and Chemehuevi trails across the Mojave placed just far enough apart that those who used them would not encounter each other directly. Father Garcés recorded the presence of "Chemevet" near the Whipple Mountains near the Providence Mountains in 1776 (Roth 1976:81). The next mention of possible Chemehuevi in the literature is Jedediah Smith's account of coming across two "Paiute" lodges at a place in the Mojave River about eight miles west of Soda Lake in 1827 (Sullivan 1934:33). In the half century between the two sightings, the Franciscan missions had been founded along the coast, and runaways from them must have visited the Chemehuevi villages, followed no doubt by Spanish soldiers in pursuit.

Trafzer, Madrigal, and Madrigal (1997) write that until the late 1820s some Chemehuevis have told them that Chemehuevis were living in the same villages as the Halchidhoma, the Yuman-speaking group who lived south of the Mojave on the Colorado River. At that time, Halchidhomas were driven from their homes by the Mojaves and Quechans. The Chemehuevi who shared a riverside village with the Halchidhomas some 15 miles south of Parker, Arizona, learned that the Mojaves were about to attack and warned the Halchidhomas. They themselves then moved to the western side of the River. After the war, they moved into some of the area once occupied by the Halchidhoma, and were tolerated there until the 1860s.

2. American Period. Inasmuch as the Twentynine Palms area was relatively isolated, we do not know whether Chemehuevis occupied any sites there before the later years of the 19th century. The kind of settlement that might have been found from time to time within the bounds of the park was probably similar to a site near Paiute Creek described by Whipple, who crossed the

desert in 1856: "A little basin of rich soil still contains stubble of wheat and corn, raised by the Paiutes of the mountains. Rude huts, with rinds of melons and squashes scattered around, show the place to have been but recently deserted. Upon the rocks, blackened by volcanic heat, there are many Indian hieroglyphs" (1956). Heinrich Baldwin Möllhausen, who accompanied Whipple, wrote that the expedition found the shells of desert tortoises wherever there was water, indicating that the meat of the tortoise was an important part of the Indian diet in the desert (Möllhausen 1858).

In 1858, immigrants from the east trampled the Mojaves' fields, and cut down to make rafts the Mojaves' valued cottonwood trees. The trees were valued resources for the Mojaves, who used cottonwood lumber to build their homes, and the inside bark for making garments. Moreover, they provided shade for men and animals in the hot summers of the area. Alarmed and angered, the Mojaves attacked, killing one man, wounding 11 others, and killing most of the immigrants' cattle and horses. Hualapais and 7 renegade Mojaves murdered all of another small immigrant party. This encounter led to the establishment of Fort Mojave at the Mojave villages and the subjugation of the Mojaves by the U. S. military.

During the hostilities, the Chemehuevi were allies of the Mojave, but, being extremely adaptable people, their style of resistance to the invaders was different. Unlike the Mojaves, they had adopted firearms, and they practiced a kind of guerilla warfare instead of the hand-to-hand combat favored by the Mojaves. The Chemehuevi killed an occasional immigrant, and raided the immigrant trains for livestock. Once Fort Mojave was established in the spring of 1859, the U. S. Army enrolled Mojaves in expeditions against the Chemehuevis and Paiutes.

In 1861, the beginning of the Civil War in the United States caused the Army to withdraw its troops from the Mojave Desert. About this time, a number of Euro-Americans found deposits of valuable minerals in the deserts of southeastern California, and established mines, a number of them in Chemehuevi territory, and hired Chemehuevis and Paiutes to work in them.

In 1864, after the town of Prescott was developed to be the capital of the new territory of Arizona, there was an urgent need for a mail service to California. One possible route through California lay through the Coachella Valley and eastward along the Bradshaw road to La Paz, Arizona. The other lay along the Mojave River between Mojave Valley and Cajon Pass to San Bernardino. The Project Area lay between these two routes, of which the northernmost was chosen. Once the route was established, there were a number of casualties from the Chemehuevis and Paiutes who occupied the desert, traveling from the site of one resource to that of another. The Indians became increasingly aggressive in the summer of 1866, when several isolated killings were followed by a battle at Camp Cady, an existing military outpost midway between Cajon Pass and the Colorado River, in which the Indians killed three soldiers and wounded two others without themselves suffering any casualties. After this, the U. S. Army established a military camp at Camp Rock Spring near the eastern border of California, and began accompanying each mail with three outriders. Eventually, there were military posts at Soda Springs, Marl Springs, and Pah-Ute (Paiute) Spring, as well. Because of the reports and letters written and received by men stationed at these military posts, we know that Chemehuevis and Paiutes traveled from place to place in the Mojave Desert, and from time to time attacked the men who carried the mail. Late in 1867, Major William Redwood Price, at Fort Mojave, negotiated a treaty of peace with 60 "well-armed Pah-Ute warriors," and kept a number of hostages at the fort to ensure that the peace would be kept (Casebier 1973:60-64). At the other end of the Mojave trail, where Indians had burned and looted in the vicinity of Lake Arrowhead and Bear Valley, settlers organized a surprise attack on Indians assembled at Chimney

Rock, overlooking Rabbit Lake. Warned of the impending attack, most of them fled into the desert, but the settlers pursued them for 32 days and many lost their lives. Price's treaty and the settlers' military actions brought peace to the Mojave Desert (Beattie and Beattie 1951:421).

Meantime, along the Colorado River, relationships between the Mojave and Chemehuevi deteriorated. For some years they had lived side by side along the river, each group practicing flood plain agriculture and maintaining amicable relationships, but in the 1860s expedition after expedition of immigrants from the United States came across the desert heading for California, and even ships came up the Colorado River. After minerals were discovered on the Arizona side of the river, miners from northern California who had participated in the campaign of genocide against the Indians there came to the southern mines, and brought their antagonism toward the Indians with them. In this increasingly hostile climate, Chemehuevis and Mojaves turned against each other. There were murders of Mojaves by Chemehuevis, and of Chemehuevis by Mojaves. The tension between the two groups escalated into war between 1864 and 1867. Many Chemehuevi thereupon fled into the Mojave Desert, to the Coachella Valley, and to Twentynine Palms (Kroeber and Kroeber 1973:33-46; Trafzer et al. 1997:62-67).

3. Chemehuevis at Twentynine Palms. Trafzer et al. note that Chemehuevis had lived at the oasis of Twentynine Palms many times before the 1860s, as had other Indian groups. "Serranos had previously inhabited the area in the 1850s and early 1860s, but when they returned to Twentynine Palms in 1867-1868, they found Chemehuevis living there (1997:67).

When Indian Agent George Dent of the Colorado River Indian Reservation tried in 1867 to get Chemehuevis to move to that reservation, the group that had settled at Twenty-nine Palms refused to go there, being unwilling to place themselves under the control of the government. They wished to preserve their language and religion and "maintain their sacred sites" (1997:69).

For some years, it was possible for the Chemehuevis to live in something close to their traditional way at Twenty-nine Palms, located as it was in a relatively isolated part of the desert. The water at the oasis permitted them to garden, and the surrounding area provided plant foods to gather and good hunting. As non-Indians moved into the area with their livestock, the animals depleted the plant resources provided by the area, which sustained both the Indians and the animals they hunted. Moreover, the invading whites with their guns depleted the animals the Indians depended on for meat. The Chemehuevis were eventually reduced to working for wages and buying processed foods, but the isolated location of Twenty-nine Palms made it difficult to earn enough for the level of subsistence that would maintain them. They began to die of malnutrition and white man's diseases, although their isolation kept them from contracting smallpox in the epidemic that raged through southern California in 1877 and 1878. The birth rate dropped as mothers became malnourished (Trafzer et al. 1997:69-74). When white families began to claim land in the Twentynine Palms area, they also claimed water rights at the oasis there. The situation became especially desperate for the Indians when the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, which had been granted alternate sections of land on either side of its route in the early 1870s, claimed the water at the oasis, and denied the Indians access to it (Trafzer et al. 1997:74).

4. The Establishment of the Reservation. The Chemehuevi at Twentynine Palms for many years were never mentioned in the reports of agents sent out by the United States government to visit the Indians of southern California, since they lived in an area between the routes usually used for

travel and trade. Their neighbors to the west, on the other hand, were visited by a series of agents assigned to study the situation and report on what should be done about it. Everywhere settlers were squatting on the very spots where Indians had made their homes, near water and the plant and animal resources on which they lived. Various strategies for coping with the problem were suggested, but it was not until the mid-1870s that presidents, under pressure from Eastern reformers, began to set aside reservations on which Indians were invited to make their homes. Some fairly adequate reservations were established, but soon settlers began to complain about so much good land being set aside for people who were, in the opinion of the critics, unable to use it. Squatters began to move onto some of the best lands of the reservations. The fact that most of the reservation land had not been surveyed made it easy to claim that reservation boundaries did not include some of the choice sites on which the squatters moved, sometimes taking over buildings, fields, and livestock belonging to Indian families. In the early 1880s, Helen Hunt Jackson and Abbot Kinney were sent by the U.S. Congress to visit reservations and report back to Washington. Like others who reported on visits to the Indians of the area, they made no mention in their report of the Chemehuevis at Twentynine Palms.

Matters came to a head in the late 1880s, when the Office of Indian Affairs ordered that squatters on the Morongo Indian Reservation be removed from the reservation by the county sheriff, whereupon the squatters sued the government. Since the political climate was such that they were apt to win their suits, Congress acted at last on recommendations made in 1883 by Jackson and Kinney. The Mission Indian Commission was established. It was provided with funds to visit southern California reservations and other Indian groups, and to make recommendations for improving the situation. Charles Painter, Albert K. Smiley, and Joseph P. Moore were named to the commission, and proceeded to southern California in 1890. It was they who finally recommended that land be set aside for the Indians at Twentynine Palms. Their report read as follows with respect to the people at Twentynine Palms:

This Commission recommends that there be established a reservation known as the Twenty-nine Palms, to consist of the following lands, viz:

The South-west quarter of Section thirty-three (33) in Township one (1) North, Range Nine (9) East, S.B.M.; and also the North-west quarter of Section four (4) in Township one (1) South, Range nine (9) East, S.B.M.

There are three families here having three houses and some cultivated fields: The head man is Chimahueva Mike. They have plenty of water and can be comfortable here. There is sufficient tillable land for their needs; the balance of the land in the proposed reservation is valuable grazing land.

The Indians were in possession of these lands as shown by the field notes as long ago as in 1852 (Mission Indian Commission 1892).

At first thought, it seems impossible that any of the commissioners actually visited the land they were setting aside. Had they done so, they surely would have known that 160 acres of land in the desert would not have provided a comfortable living for three families, nor would they have thought there was "plenty" of water. On the other hand, the 1880s were a relatively wet set of years. It was a boom time in San Bernardino and Riverside, where the orange industry was off to a great start. At Palm Springs, orchards planted by settlers were flourishing, and great plans were being

made for developing a number of sections. A decade-long drought began in 1894. The orchards died, and the developers grand plans came to nothing. It is possible that Twentynine Palms was green and flourishing in 1891, though it is unlikely that the commissioners went there.

The establishment of the reservation, for which the Chemehuevi⁴ received a patent in 1895, placed them there under the dominion of the Mission Indian Agency. Had they lived closer to the agency, they might have been on the receiving end of occasional donations of food, farm machinery, and seeds. In fact, there is no record of any contact between Indian agents and Twenty-nine Palms until 1908, when Clara True was Indian agent. True saw to it that the reservation was surveyed, and tried to protect its water rights. On January 7, 1908, for example, she wrote the CIA, noting that at Twentynine Palms, "two days out in the desert, the few Indians have for several years not known their exact rights and have suffered cattle depredations by Americans who claim that the spring is not on Indian land. On what little investigation I can make in connection with the many things devolving upon me in the beginning of my work here, it appears that the cattle man may be within legal rights as the reservation is bounded by the San Bernardino Base Line the exact location of which must be determined before the Indians will know whether they have water or not. They have an ancient claim to the water and the intention of the reservation was to protect them but it seems doubtful if this is true (True 1/7/1908). She asked that Mr. Chubbuck of the Indian Irrigation Service to pass judgment on the issue, since he had been there to investigate and knew the problem.

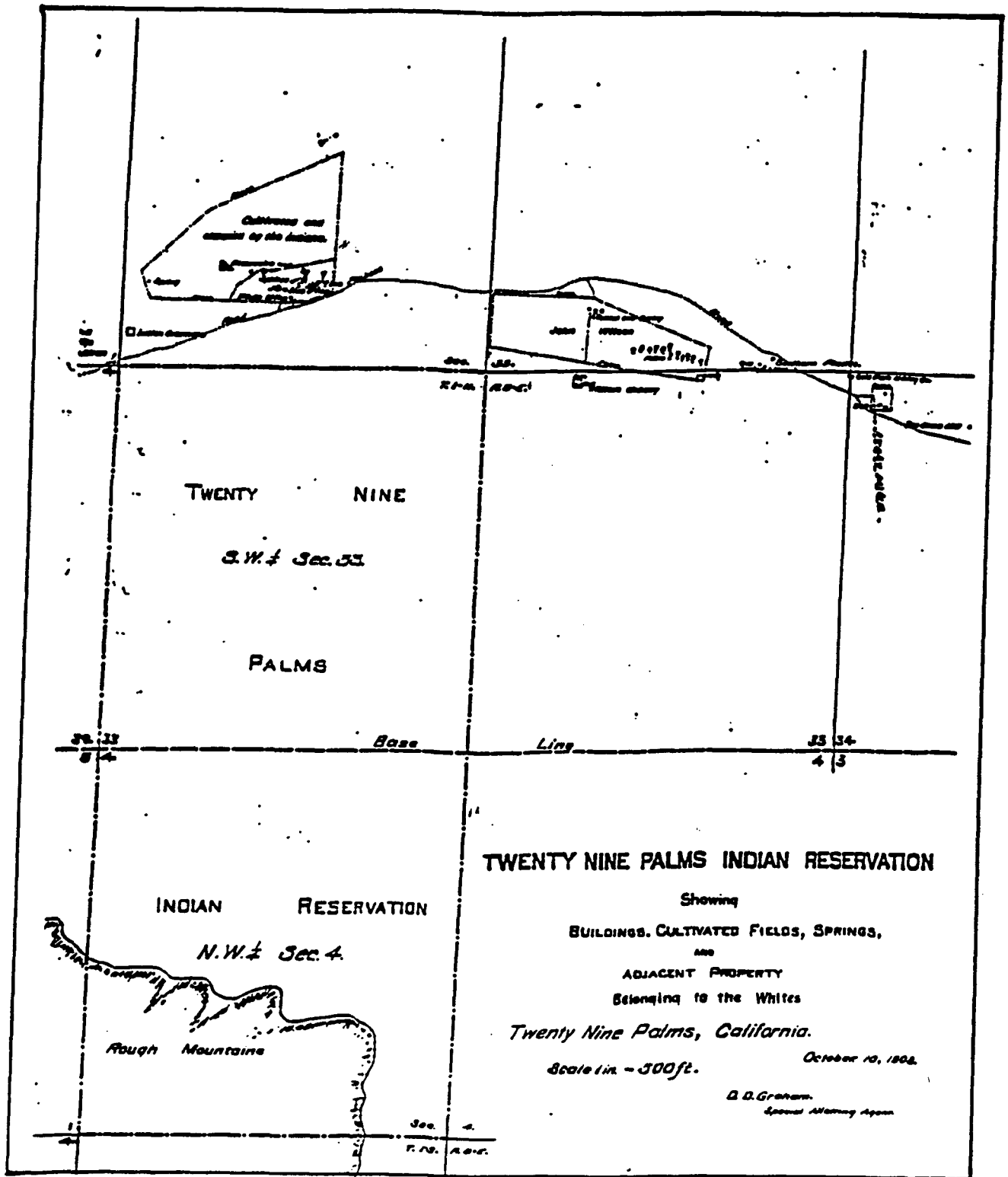
In later years, True wrote that she had made several expensive trips trying to determine the proper legal boundaries of the reservation, even getting the field notes of Col. Washington, who did an early survey. She noted, however, that they never found it possible to prove that he had made an actual survey, and concluded that he had probably made up the notes "second hand." In the end, she set up "corners" that the surveyor admitted were "probable but not entirely authentic" and claimed the water hole for the Indians (True 5/3/1942).

She also discovered that the tribal cemetery was outside the reservation on land belonging to the railroad. She apparently initiated plans for the government to acquire the cemetery land for them by trade with the railroad. They received this land in 1911 (Trafzer 1997:83-84).

Neglect by the Mission Indian Agency may have saved the Twenty-nine Palms people from pressure to allot the land to individuals. Indians at Morongo Indian Reservation, with which the Twenty-nine Palms people were probably in fairly close contact, having relatives who lived there, fought allotment fiercely, as did the other Coachella Valley Reservations. Morongo was finally allotted in the 1920s, but the Twenty-nine Palms people were able to continue owning their land in common (1997:83-84).

From the point of view of the Twenty-nine Palms people now, as expressed by Trafzer et al. (1997), the establishment of the reservation transferred to the Indians 160 acres of marginal farm land in return for hundreds of thousands of acres rich in mineral and other resources that had been theirs in traditional times and were stolen by individual Americans with government concurrence. Even though it had probably become awkward for them to exercise their traditional custom of visiting places in what is now Joshua Tree National Park when it was time to harvest valued resources, their right to do so was probably implicit in the situation until the reservation was set aside. Now this right was restricted.

⁴Some members of the group, at least, were part Serrano. Note the ancestry of Jim Pine, as described in Footnote 5.



Map 3. The Twenty-Nine Palms Indian Reservation, 1908

In 1908, most of the people who then remained at Twenty-nine Palms Reservation moved to Morongo Reservation in the wake of the Office of Indian Affairs' determination that all Indian children should go to school. In this instance, they were forcibly enrolled at St. Boniface in Banning. Jim and Matilda Pine,⁵ a number of whose children were buried in the cemetery there, remained at Twenty-nine Palms, even though Clara True offered to get them land at Banning, Morongo Reservation or Mission Creek Reservation that was better for agriculture (Trafzer et al. 1997:85)

5. The Willie Boy Story. Carlota, the daughter of William Mike, a Twenty-nine Palms Chemehuevi who had moved his family to the Gilman Ranch in the Coachella Valley near Banning, figured in a tragedy that rocked southern California in 1909, and has since been the subject of books and a movie. A cousin named Willie Boy, who had fallen in love with her, persuaded her to elope with him, their marriage having been forbidden because they were cousins. Her father tracked them and brought them back. Accounts vary with respect to what followed, but agree that Willie Boy shot and killed William Mike, perhaps by accident, escaped with Carlota into the desert, was tracked by a posse, and left Carlota hidden in a wash with his coat and waterskin. She died, either shot by the posse by mistake, or from exposure. According to Chemehuevi tradition, Willie Boy escaped, but has not been seen again (Trafzer et al. 1997:86-90).

The story of Willie Boy was the basis for Harry Lawton's novel, *Willie Boy: A Desert Man Hunt*, and a subsequent movie, *Tell Them Willie Boy Was Here*, starring Robert Redford, Katherine Ross, and Robert Blake. A number of Morongo Indian Reservation members played roles in the movie. More recently, historians James Sandos and Larry Burgess published *The Hunt for Willie Boy: Indian Hating and Popular Culture*, which incorporated valuable data contributed by Chemehuevis who were familiar with the events. Trafzer et al. have included the story as told by Chemehuevi Mary Lou Brown (1997:90-92).

⁵Ramon has told the story of Jim Pine, whose father was Serrano:

'*Akuuki*' was the name of our relative long ago. ('*Akuuki*' also means 'ancestor'). But he was not a close relative of ours. He was a distant relative, but we called him '*Akuuki*' long ago. He was from Twentynine Palms. That was his territory. He was the only one left there. (They probably left Twentynine Palms around 1909). He moved away from there. They just took it all. Today the Americans live there. They all live there. That was his territory. There also used to be many Serrano living there. They used to have an extensive territory. Nowadays no one lives there. They all turned into something else (Mexicans or white people) long ago. Nowadays many people like Mexicans and others live there today. The white people have nice houses there. They are very big. There is a road through there. It is very beautiful there now. That land looks different now. That was his home long ago, the home of '*Akuuki*', as we called him. He lived there . . . he married a Cahuilla woman. He took a wife. Her name was Mathilde. '*Akuuki*' had a father who was Serrano. His father, the father of '*Akuuki*' was a *Mamaytam Maarrénga'yam* Serrano. And his mother was a Chemehuevi or something. Long ago that man '*Akuuki*' could speak Chemehuevi. And he also must have known how to speak his father's language (Serrano). He also spoke that. He spoke Serrano. He also used to sing in Serrano long ago. I don't know how long ago this was. And then he moved over here. He lived here for a little while. Then he moved to Palm Springs. He went and died there (and is buried in Palm Springs). I don't know how long his wife lived after that. And then she too died. She is buried here at Morongo, as they say. Mathilde was his wife. She is buried here. That is all (Ramon and Elliot 2000:281-282).

6. Reservation Affairs. Although the members of the band for whom the Twenty-nine Palms reservation was set aside retained their identity as a group separate from the Chemehuevi who were members of the Chemehuevi on the Colorado River and those on various reservations in the Coachella Valley, they kept in touch with their fellow Chemehuevis. By the late 20th century, they had numerous family ties with other southern California Indians. In 1910, the government issued a trust patent for 640 acres jointly to the Cabazon and Twenty-nine Palms Bands of Mission Indians, and encouraged the Twentynine Palms Chemehuevi to live there rather than out in the desert at Twentynine Palms, which was so distant from other reservations that the OIA felt it too far for Indian agents to travel. This section was added to the already-existing Cabazon Reservation (Trafzer et al. 1997:94-95). When, in the course of time, conflict arose between the Chemehuevis and Cahuillas on the reservation, most of the Chemehuevis left, some of them returning, at least for a time, to the Twenty-nine Palms Reservation. Others "moved to live with the Paiutes in Nevada, Chemehuevis near Parker, Arizona, the Luiseños and Cahuillas at Soboba Reservation, the Agua Caliente Reservation in Palm Springs, or one of the other reservations in Southern California." Some went to live in the desert towns of the Coachella Valley or elsewhere (1997:95-96). The only Chemehuevi family who remained at the Cabazon Reservation was that of Susie Mike Benitez (1997:96).

Four hundred acres of the 640 acres held jointly by the two bands was allotted to eight Cahuillas and two Chemehuevis (1997:96), a division of the allotted acres that gave four times as much land to Cahuillas as to Chemehuevis. In the early 1970s, the Chemehuevis, feeling that they had never been full parties in the reservation, began to press for a larger share of the section. Because the Cabazon Tribal Council was at the time investigating the possibility of economic development, and especially Indian gaming, it was likely considered advisable to clear title to their land by bringing to an end the joint tenancy of the 240 remaining acres of the section. The Council, after due deliberation, decided that the 240 acres of the section held in joint tenancy that had not been allotted should go to the Twenty-nine Palms Band in view of the fact that members of that band had received less than the Chemehuevi share of the allotted 400 acres. The Tribe thereupon petitioned Congress that Section 30 be divided between the Cabazon Reservation and the Twenty-nine Palms Reservation, with the latter receiving the 240 acres plus \$2,825 in cash plus interest. Congress under the terms of Public Law 94-271 authorized the division in 1976. This division of a reservation between two groups has been extremely rare in the history of this country. Now the Twenty-nine Palms Band had a land base in the Coachella Valley to which they had clear title, except that the acreage was diminished by rights-of-way for a storm channel and an irrigation pipeline granted the Coachella Valley County Water District, a California state highway, a road used by the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, and Interstate 10 owned by the U.S. government (Trafzer et al. 1997:98-101).

7. Recent Years. In the 1980s, the members of the Band decided to start a tribally owned business on their land. Band members who had had business experience elsewhere returned to the Coachella Valley and made a considerable contribution to the project. In January, 1995, taking advantage of the fact that highway rights-of-way passed through the land they owned, they opened the Spotlight 29 Casino on it. In addition to gaming, it offers its patrons popular music and other entertainment, as well as Native American singing and dancing. They have also opened a first class restaurant for their patrons (1997:108-114).

VI. CAHUILLA

A. Major Sources.

The major sources on the ethnography of the Cahuilla include Francisco Patencio's *Stories and Legends of the Palm Springs Indians* (1943), and *Desert Hours* (1971); Lowell John Bean's *The Wanakik Cahuilla* (1960) and *Mukat's People: The Cahuilla Indians of Southern California* (1972), Philip Drunker's *Culture Element Distributions V: Southern California* (1937); A. L. Kroeber's "Ethnography of the Cahuilla Indians" (1908), and his chapter on the Cahuilla in his *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925); Herbert E. Bolton's *Anza's California Expeditions, Vols. I-IV* (1930); W. D. Strong's *Aboriginal Society in Southern California* (1929); Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane's "Persistence and Power: A Study of Native American Peoples in the Sonoran Desert and the Devers-Palo Verde High Voltage Transmission Line" (1978), "Chapter V. Ethnography and Ethnohistory" in "Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnohistoric Investigations at Tahquitz Canyon, Palm Springs, California, Vol. I" (1995), and "The Ethnography and Ethnohistory of Western Riverside County, California" (1997); and the field notes of Eric Elliot and Bean.

Sources on the ethnohistory of the Cahuilla include Bean's 1978b [in Stanley]; Bean and William Marvin Mason's *The Romero Expedition, 1823-1826: Diaries and Accounts of the Romero Expeditions in Arizona and California* (1962); Bean and Vane's "Chapter V. Ethnography and Ethnohistory" in "Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Ethnohistoric Investigations at Tahquitz Canyon, Palm Springs, California, Vol. I" (1995), and "The Ethnography and Ethnohistory of Western Riverside County, California" (1997); and Beattie and Beattie's *Heritage of the Valley: San Bernardino's First Century* (1951).

B. Traditional Territory.

In the Claims Case, the Cahuilla claimed the following:

Beginning at a point which is approximately 7½ miles North and 10 miles East of Volcan Mountain; thence Easterly in an irregular line to a point in the area of the Salton Sea, which is approximately 14 miles West from the town of Niland; thence Northeasterly in an irregular line to a point which is approximately 12 miles West of the Colorado River and three miles South of the Riverside-San Diego County line; thence Northerly in an irregular line parallel with and approximately 12 miles Westerly of the Colorado River to a point due West from Blythe; thence Westerly in an irregular line to the approximately area of the present Hayfield Reservoir on the Colorado River Aqueduct; thence Westerly in an irregular line following the line of said Aqueduct to a point due North from San Jacinto Peak; thence South in an irregular line to the approximate area of San Jacinto Peak; thence Southeasterly in an irregular line to the approximate area of Lookout Mountain; thence Westerly in an irregular line to Coahuilla Mountain; thence Southwesterly in an irregular line to a point approximately 2 miles South from the town of Sage; thence Southeasterly in an irregular line to a point which is approximately 9 miles Northwest from the top of Hot Springs Mountain; thence Southeasterly in an irregular line to a point which is approximately 4 miles North from said top of Hot

Springs Mountain; thence South in an irregular line approximately 4 miles to the approximate area of Hot Springs Mountain; thence Easterly in an irregular line to a point that is approximately 3 miles North from the point of beginning; thence South approximately 3 miles to the point of beginning (U.S. Court of Claims 1950-1960: Docket 80).

The Cahuillas' easternmost known rancherias lay in the Coachella Valley at the northern end of Lake Cahuilla. Cahuillas from here, and perhaps from other Cahuilla groups, hunted in the desert areas to the east, and entered the Project Area from time to time to gather special plant resources. Saturnino Torres, an elder at Torres-Martinez Indian Reservation, remembers hunting in the Eagle Mountain area when he was young (Bean and Vane 1990).

C. Subsistence Resources.

1. **Plants.** See Bean and Vane' *Ethnobotany*; Bean and Saubel's *Temelpakh* (1972).

2. **Animals.** Subject of proposed *Ethnozoology*. (See Bean and Vane 1995).

D. Material Culture, Technology.

The Cahuillas hunted with throwing sticks, clubs, nets, traps, dead falls with seed triggers, spring-poled snares, arrows (often poison-tipped) and self-backed and sinew-backed bows. They sometimes fired bush clumps to drive game out in the open, and flares to attract birds at night. Baskets of various kinds were used for winnowing, leaching, grinding, transporting, parching, storing, and cooking. Pottery vessels were used for carrying water, for storage, cooking, serving food and drink. Cahuilla tools included mortars and pestles, manos and metates, fire drills, awls, arrow-straighteners, flint knives, wood, horn, and bone spoons and stirrers, scrapers, and hammerstones. Woven rabbitskin blankets served to keep people warm in cold weather. Feathered costumes were worn for ceremonial events, and at these events the Cahuilla made music using rattles derived from insect cocoon, turtle and tortoise shell, and deer-hoofs, along with wood rasps, bone whistles, bull-roarers, and flutes, to make music. They wove bags, storage pouches, cords, and nets from the fibers of yucca, agave, and other plants (Drunker 1937; Bean 1962-1972; Bean 1972, 1978). Remains found in the area show that they stored food and supplies in caves, often in baskets.

Cahuilla families usually lived in circular domed houses with a central fire pit. They varied in size and material, and often had attached ramadas or arbors for shade. It is probable that within the Project Area, Cahuillas, who would have come there to harvest particular crops, would have built brush houses that were fast to build, but would protect them from the sun, rain, or wind, as necessary (Bean 1972).

E. Trade, Exchange, Storage.

The Cahuilla used huge basketry granaries set on poles for storing acorns, mesquite beans, screw beans, and other foodstuffs. Seeds, dried fruits, and raw materials were stored in ceramic ollas. Fruits, blossoms, and buds were dried in the sun to preserve them, and other foods were preserved by sealing them hermetically with pine pitch.

Cahuillas' favored trading partners were the Halchidhoma, before the 1830s, and the Gabrielinos. Many exchanges were on a basis of reciprocity (Bean 1978:583).

F. Social Structure.

Like Serrano clans, Cahuilla clans belonged to either Wildcat or Coyote moieties, which were exogamous, non-political, and non-territorial. Cahuillas were forbidden to marry within five degrees of consanguinity. Each clan was composed of three to ten landholding patrilineages. The *net* of each lineage was its administrator of political, economic, and religious affairs. He was helped by an administrative assistant, the *páxa*, and other officials (Bean 1978).

G. Religion.

World View. The Cahuilla believed that they lived in a systematic, but unpredictable, universe, in which one could maintain existence only by being able to access and use "*iva?a*," or power, which was also unpredictable, and potentially dangerous. They accordingly were constantly in a state of apprehension about the future, an attitude that was realistic in the desert environment of their homeland (Bean 1972:161-164).

They believed that "*iva?a*," was differentially distributed, a fact that explained unusual talents or abilities, and unexpected events. It was possessed by both animate and inanimate beings, any of whom could use it for both negative and positive actions. They believed also that human beings and other parts of the universe made up an interacting system, a belief that fostered an ecological ethic (1972:163-165).

According to Cahuilla tradition, each individual had a *tewlavelem*, or soul spirit, that persisted after his or her death in *temelkis*, the land of the dead, where all the *tewlavelem* and the *nukatem* (people from Creation Time) lived, and which was located somewhere to the east. It could usually be reached only after an arduous ritual in which both the *telmekis* and the living survivors of the deceased participated. Once there, the *tewlavelem* could still hold some communication with the living, sending them advice and help (1972:168-169).

The Cahuilla creator gods were twin brothers, *Mukat* and *Temayawet*, who fought over who was the older, in keeping with Cahuilla respect for the aged, a useful adaptation in a difficult environment since it encouraged younger people to draw on the wisdom of their elders in threatening situations. *Mukat*, who worked slowly and carefully at the task of creation, and who promoted caution, precision, and orderliness in the face of challenge, won out over his brother, who "worked rapidly and injudicially" (1972:171). The latter departed for the underworld. Unfortunately, *Mukat* was not consistently benign. He taught his people how to live, but tended on occasion to give them bad advice in a spirit of trickery. He also violated *Menily* (moon maiden), who gave people additional advice on how to live. His people for these reasons magically killed him, and as he lay dying, he gave instructions for his cremation. Despite precautions, Coyote managed to steal *Mukat's* heart from his burning corpse and to run with it into the desert, where it left red pigment where it was put down. The story of the cremation is sung at Cahuilla *nukil* ceremonies, sung ceremonially every year or two in memory of those who have died since the last *nukil*. These were the Cahuilla's most sacred ceremonies (1972).

Reciprocity was an important value in Cahuilla rules for living. Not only were humans to give and receive freely in relationships with each other, but "humans were to reciprocate with

supernatural powers to maintain the world order,” with the humans being responsible for performing ritual in return for *Mukat*'s and the *nukatem*'s “support of man's existence” by using “*?iva?a*” (Bean 1972:174). It was so important that rituals be conducted with absolute accuracy that most traditional rituals are no longer performed, there being no individuals remaining who can be trusted to perform them without any deviations from the proper form. Bean points out that in order to live successfully in a difficult environment, the Cahuilla needed to value precision and order as they did. They had to have a comprehensive understanding of what we know as botany, zoology, and geology if they were to be successful hunters and gatherers in their desert and mountain territory. They also had to be able to communicate precisely with respect to directions and distance in space (1972:174-177). The Serrano creation story, as described above, was similar to that of the Cahuilla, as were their religious beliefs and practices in general.

In considering the places and natural features of a place such as Joshua National Park, that the Cahuilla *nukatem* or early people are associated with certain kinds of natural features should be taken into consideration. These included:

Taqwish, who travels about the area at night or in the early morning, leaving his home on San Jacinto Peak to capture souls, and is seen as meteor or “an anthropomorphic form shooting sparks.” He was the first *puul*, or wielder of supernatural power, appointed by *Mukat*, and often acted as mentor to other *puvalem*. He tends to bring trouble to humans, in opposition to *Mukat*'s intent (1972:166). (People whose souls are stolen become ill or die.)

Kutya?i, or firewind, is a similar being, in that he travels at night capturing souls. He manifests himself as a whirlwind and is dangerous. *Tenauka*, wind action, also travels about to catch souls, but in daytime. A white deer may be a manifestation of *Pemtexweva*, the master of hooved animals, who is associated with beings called *pa?vu?ul*, who can transform themselves into other beings such as deer and antelope (1972:166-167).

Springs may harbor *Pa?ahniwat*, who may take the form of a serpent or a water baby, that could often be heard crying out. He also acted as sponsor for *puvalem*. *Palpuhawil*, in Strong's version of the Cahuilla creation story (Strong 1929:132) is a water demon who emerged from the water to live in the sky, but sometimes is manifested as a water spout in association with thunder clouds (Bean 1972:167).

“A flash or streak in the air” may be *Tematsuwet*, another daylight soul catcher, who ordinarily is seen as a star. A wind, and especially the northwind, is *Yavi*, who dries things up. Another being, whom Bean does not name, is associated with the rain, who was created during creation time and sent to the sky to make things grow, and thus was a more benevolent *nukatem* than some (1972:167).

The eagle, *Aswut*; the wildcat, *Tukut*; and the coyote, or *?isily*, are all *nukatem* area or primal beings who “connect the distant past with the present,” and thus are sacred to the Cahuilla (1972:166-168).

H. History.

1. **Early History.** The history of the Cahuilla in general has been told in various Bean and Vane reports (1978; 1991; 1995; 1997), and in Bean and Mason 1960. Some history is contained in *Mukat's People* (1972). Archaeological data suggest that they have occupied their traditional

territory in the central part of the southern California area south of the San Bernardino Mountains for some two thousand years.

2. The Arrival of Europeans and Euro-Americans. The arrival of the Spanish and Mexicans in southern California in 1769 may have pushed them further inland and further into the mountains. Otherwise, they were less impacted by the Spanish intrusion than their neighbors. Few were baptized in the coastal Spanish missions until the 1820s, when some were brought into Mission San Gabriel. Others were baptized at a later time at the San Ysabel Asistencia (later the Franciscan Indian Mission) established in the Santa Ysabel Valley southwest of Warner Springs by Mission San Diego, and at the church of Our Lady of Snows, which Santa Ysabel established on Cahuilla Reservation (Bonaventure 4/25/1945). Not much has been reported about Cahuilla involvement in the Project Area, but it is remembered that the southern part of Joshua Tree National Park was within the area in which Cahuillas from the settlements at the northern end of the Salton Sea hunted and gathered plant products.

In 1874 gold and silver was discovered in the vicinity of Twentynine Palms, bringing it about that numerous prospectors procured themselves mining outfits and headed for the mines. A reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote about his own trip. His party left the stage road at Whitewater and branched off to the left into the desert. Eventually it reached the Blue Jay mine. The Eagle and the Valentine had not yet been as thoroughly prospected, he wrote. Supplies were brought in by the Cahuilla Indians from Agua Caliente, who had "some fine ranches and now find a profitable market for their products." It was said that the mines had been discovered by the Cahuillas. "Some of them have some very fine specimens of gold quartz which they freely exhibit, but are very reticent when questioned as to the locality in which they found it" (San Francisco Chronicle 3/7/1874).

3. Reservations. Reservations began to be established for Cahuillas in the 1870s. The nearest of these to the Joshua Tree National Park was Morongo Indian Reservation, first permanently established in 1877. Although it had been intended as a home for all the Shoshonean-speaking Indians of southwestern California, it was the Cahuillas and Serranos who became its residents. Over the years people there have maintained a fairly close relationship with the Indians who used and occupied the area now set aside as the park. Clara True, the Indian agent who was most interested in the Twentynine Palms Reservation, had her main office at Morongo, from which she traveled by buggy to visit the people at Twentynine Palms.

Twentynine Palms people have also interacted often with the Cahuillas at Torres-Martinez Indian Reservation, Augustine Indian Reservation, Cabazon Indian Reservation, and Agua Caliente Indian Reservation—all in the Coachella Valley, and came to share a reservation with those at Cabazon, as we have noted. Los Coyotes Indian Reservation, Santa Rosa Indian Reservation, Cahuilla Indian Reservation, and Ramona Indian Reservation, for the most part in the Santa Rosa mountains, are also Cahuilla reservations. These reservations, for good and ill, have had considerable attention from Mission Indian agents over the years. There were reservation schools on most of them until about 1915 when Indian children were allowed to go to public schools. Sherman Institute, founded about the turn of the century, was also available to them, as was St. Boniface School in Banning, the latter operated by the Catholic Church.

Beginning in the early years of the twentieth century, the Indian Irrigation Service (IIS) began to build irrigation systems on a number of reservations set aside for the Cahuilla, including Torres-Martinez, Agua Caliente, Morongo, Santa Rosa, and Cahuilla reservations. To some extent, these systems accomplished their purpose of improving the agricultural potential of reservation lands, but the IIS was persistently underfunded, and never managed to keep its irrigation systems in good enough condition to make agriculture a feasible means for Indians to earn a living. By the 1920s, farming was already taking second place to wage labor.

Indian agents, not understanding the important role of the ceremonial events that came to be known as fiestas, tried to bring them to an end. This was so serious a threat to their communities that School Superintendent William H. Stanley, whose policies had been particularly destructive to the fiesta tradition, was murdered on Cahuilla Reservation in 1912. Stanley's murderers were sent to prison for subsequent years in the encouragement of Indian participation in county fairs as a substitute for fiestas. Indian babies were entered in "best baby" contests; jams, jellies, and baked goods made by Indian women vied for prizes; and laces and embroideries made by Indian women were likewise entered in the competitions. Indian agents continued to make the rules for holding fiestas more stringent.

There was also, during the period following Stanley's murder, a decrease in the amount of self-government permitted the Indians. On some reservations, at least, such offices as Indian judges and Indian police disappeared, as Indian agents took upon themselves the right to make decisions for the reservation. Unbeknownst to them, the traditional tribal structure still held, and the *nets*, *paxas*, and other tribal officials still wielded considerable power, but without public display. Also "underground" were the beginnings of a new political force, the Mission Indian Federation (MIF), which first became public in 1918 when its leaders from most of the southern California Indian reservations participated in a well-publicized meeting at the home of a non-Indian sponsor, Jonathan Tibbets, in Riverside. For the next two decades, the MIF was a force in southern California Indian affairs westward from the Little San Bernardino Mountains. It attempted to have a shadow governing body at each reservation, working to get rid of the Office of Indian Affairs. It was instrumental in getting passed a law that permitted the Indians of California to sue the federal government for taking their lands without a treaty, and without payment. This law led in the end to the Claims Cases of the 1940s and 1950s. Cahuillas were very active in this organization, along with Luiseños, Serranos, Gabrielinos, and Kumeyaay (Bean and Vane 1995, 1997).

Cahuillas were very active in the 1920s and 1930s in the struggle to resist the allotment of reservation land to individual Indians, but eventually Morongo, Agua Caliente, and Torres-Martinez reservations were allotted. When some Agua Caliente lands became extremely valuable in the 1950s, the U.S. Congress mandated an equalization process that gave all band members as of 1957 allotments of as nearly equal value as could be arranged.

Cahuillas served in the armed forces, and worked in war industries during World War II, and thereafter moved more rapidly into the mainstream of American life than had hitherto been possible. The number living on reservations, where sanitary facilities and other utilities were very slow to appear, in part because the U.S. government at the time was bent on termination of the reservations and providing special services to Native Americans. In the 1960s, the government began again to take an interest in the Indians, and took steps to bring living conditions more up to date. Natural gas, electricity, water, and telephone service gradually became more available, and housing was improved as part of the "Great Society" laws of the Johnson administration. Reservation people

began to move back to the reservations, often given an impetus by the high cost of living in urban areas. As noted in the "Chemehuevi" section of this report, the Twenty-nine Palms Band of Mission Indians is now closely identified with the Cahuillas of the Coachella Valley, and shares the Cabazon Reservation. The descendants of the Cahuilla who once lived at Twentynine Palms have scattered, but many of them are enrolled at Morongo Reservation, which has a successful casino, and is the home of Malki Museum, the first museum in California established and run by Native Americans.

VII. MOJAVE

A. Major Sources

Major sources on Mojave ethnography include A. L. Kroeber's 1908, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925), "Seven Mohave Myths" (1948), "More Mohave Myths" (1972); and Lorraine Sherer's "The Clan System of the Mojave Indians: A Contemporary Survey" (1965), and "The Name Mojave, Mohave: A History of Its Origin and Meaning" (1967). Sources on ethnohistory include Sherer (1965) and (1967), and her "Great Chieftains of the Mojave Indians" (1967), and her book, *Bitterness Road, The Mojave: 1604 to 1860* (1994); Dennis Casebier's *The Mojave Road. Tales of the Mojave Road, No. 5* (1975), A. L. Kroeber's "A Mohave Historical Epic" (1951), A. L. Kroeber and Clifton Kroeber's *A Mohave War Reminiscence, 1854-1880* (1973), and Kenneth M. Stewart's paper, "Mohave" in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 10, Southwest* (1983).

B. Traditional Territory

In the Claims Case, the Mojave claimed the following:

All of the Mohave Valley of the Colorado River, extending north to the Black Canyon in said river, extending south to the Mohave Mountains; extending east to the highest crest of the Black Mountains, to the Buck Mountains and to the Mohave Mountains; and extending west to the Sacramento Mountains, the Dead Mountains, and to the Newberry Mountains.

All of the lands on both banks of the Colorado River extending from the midstream of said river back on either side of said river, to the crest of the mountain; bordering on said portion of said river and extending north to the Mohave Valley in said river, and extending south to a point below what is now known as and called the City of Blythe, in the County of Riverside, State of California.

All of that part of what is now known as the Mohave Desert in the State of California, extending east to the land above described located on the Colorado River extending south to the Whipple Mountains, the Turtle Mountains, the Granite Mountains, the Eagle Mountains, the little San Bernardino Mountains, the San Bernardino Mountains; extending west to the San Gabriel and Tehachapi Mountains, and extending north as far as the Granite, Soda Lake, Providence and New York Mountains, including the valley now known as Paiute Valley extending north into the State of Nevada (U.S. Court of Claims 1950-1960: Docket 283) [CSRI emphasis].

While the Mojaves centered their activities along the Colorado River, where they practiced agriculture in the flood plain, they maintained an active trading relationship with the Serrano and the peoples of the coast, and traveled through the Project Area on a fairly regular basis. They hunted the game in the area and gathered plant products on occasion. After European contact, they supplemented their other resources by raiding the mission and Mexican rancheros for cattle and horses and may have come through what is now the Joshua Tree National Park on some of these raids.

C. Material Culture, Technology

1. Food Preparation and Acquisition. The Mojaves used rectangular blocks of lava as metates with a cylindrical muller to grind corn, wheat, and beans, but are unlikely to have brought these to the Project Area. Here they probably used portable mortars and manos from locally available stone—if they did any grinding of these grains here. Stone pestles or long wooden pestles with wooden mortars were used to grind mesquite beans. They “cooked” fresh screwbean meal by putting the beans in an enormous pit lined and covered with arrowweed, and sprinkling them with water from time to time to turn them brown and sweet after “about a month” (Kroeber 1925:735-737).

The Mojave unbacked bow made of willow was about the height of a man, and was used with a feathered *Pluchea sericea* (arrowweed) arrow lacking a foreshaft and stone tip. A club made of mesquite wood, and a straight stick club of screwbean wood were also used. These were principally weapons of war, but were also used for hunting game (1925:736-737).

The Mojave caught fish in fiber seines or in basketry scoops, and used them in stews. They may have brought dried fish to the people living at Twentynine Palms from time to time. Hunting was in general not the major source of subsistence that it was with other groups, but may have been in the Project Area (1925:737).

Pottery was made by coiling clay and patting it with a paddle. It was painted with yellow ochre that turned dull red on firing. Ceramic vessels and tools were used as water jars, cook pots, spoons, ladles, plates, platters, parchers, and bowls, and were decorated with named designs (1925:738).

According to Kroeber, the Mojaves were not as interested in basketmaking as other groups, and tended to use baskets made by their trading partners. Their own baskets were “flat receptacles in an irregular plain twining or open-stitch coiling,” twined fish traps or scoops, wicker hoods of splints for cradles, and a kind of carrying basket made of two U-shaped sticks wound with string. They made bags and wallets of bean string and *akyasa* fiber that were of better quality (1925:738).

2. Structures. Mojave houses were large and usually rectangular, and covered with a thatch of arrowweed and then sand, but it is doubtful that this kind of structure was built by the Mojave in the Project Area. At most, they may have constructed temporary structures for themselves when staying there for any period of time (1925:731-732).

The Mojave practiced flood plain agriculture along the Colorado River, planting their crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, cantalopes in May or June after the annual floods, and returning from hunting and gathering to harvest their crops. By the eighteenth century they were growing wheat (Kroeber 1925:735-736).

D. Trade, Exchange, Storage

The Mojaves traded regularly with the Serranos and the Chumash, with whom they were on terms of special amity, and probably also on occasion with the Cahuilla, especially in the early 1850s. They also traded with the Chemehuevi, with whom they were sometimes friendly and sometimes at odds. Kroeber asserts that they were not as interested in trade as in travel for the sake of travel—seeing other lands and visiting people (1925:727).

The Mojaves stored their corn in huge granaries woven of unstripped arrowweed branches. Corn was dried before being stored.

E. Social Structure.

The Mojaves are said to be a tribe in a more traditional sense of the word than most California Native Americans. They thought of themselves as a national entity, and of their traditional territory as a country. Within this larger entity, they had patrilineal clans, in which only the women bore the clan names—all in the clan having the same clan name, which was followed by a nickname to distinguish one from another. Men were called by the clan name only in ceremonies. Ordinarily the men were known by nicknames.

The Mojaves had hereditary great chiefs belonging to the *Malika* clan, except that a great chief was chosen from another clan when the *Malika* clan had no one whom the people trusted. There were three sub-groups within the Mojave nation: the northern, central, and southern. Each had one or more chiefs. In 1859, the central group, which occupied Mohave Valley, had five chiefs. In addition to these chiefs, there were military leaders who had a great deal of prestige. Dreaming as a means of acquiring power was even more important among the Mojave than among other California groups (Sherer 1965, 1966, and 1967).

F. Religion.

According to the Mojave creation story, the Creator *matavi'Pa*, born of Sky and Earth, offended his daughter, who then killed him by witchcraft. He was cremated and the Great Dark House he had built was burned, setting a precedent for Mojave funerals. *Mastamho*, son or younger brother of *matavi'Pa*, created a mountain, *Avikwame*, and lived on it while he finished the creation process and allotted land to the Walapai, Yavapai, Chemehuevi, Quechan, and Mojave. He taught human beings how to subsist on their land, and how to behave.

Mojaves receive their knowledge power from dreams, in which they had adventures and were given information and instructions. They recalled their dream when awake, and sang the song cycles given them in dreams. Each person owned the songs acquired thus. Most of these songs referred to the areas adjacent to the Colorado River on either side and into the Mojave River. None have been found as yet that include the Joshua Tree National Park (Kroeber 1925:754-778; 1948; 1972).

In Great Dreams, Mojaves were given supernatural power. Shamans dream of *matavi'Pa's* Great Dark House, which is on *Avikwame*, and receive their power there.

G. History

1. Spanish/Mexican Periods. The Mojaves first appear in the written record in the records of a Spanish expedition from New Mexico led by Juan de Oñate in 1604, seeking the "southern sea". Having been told of the *Amacava* nation that lived on the Colorado River upstream from the junction of the Colorado and Gila rivers, Oñate sent Captain Gerónimo Márquez and four soldiers up the river to make contact with this nation of hunter/gatherer and horticultural people. As a result,

a Mojave leader named *Curraca* came two days later with 40 other Mojaves, bringing with them corn, beans, and gourds for the visitors. They not only welcomed the Spaniards and gave them directions for reaching the Gulf of California, but continued to provide them with food, and accompanied them until they reached the land of the "*Bahacechas*" (probably the Quechan), with whom they were friendly (Bolton 1925:268-273).

During the ensuing 165 years, the Mojave had no further recorded direct contact with the Spaniards, but they continued to interact with their neighbors in New Mexico and eastern Arizona, and therefore were well aware of the continuing Spanish impact on these peoples. Such Spanish plants as wheat reached them through the Quechans and were added to their fields. They had also acquired a few horses through the Quechan (Sherer 1994:3; Stewart 1983:56).

In 1771, Father Francisco Garcés, a Franciscan priest stationed at Mission San Xavier (near present-day Tucson) who had traveled from there to the lower Colorado River and thence to its mouth in 1761, accompanied the expedition led by Captain Juan Bautista de Anza from Mexico to San Gabriel Mission in 1774, and in 1775 accompanied the second expedition led by Anza down the Gila River to its junction with the Colorado River. Splitting from this second expedition on December 4, 1775, Garcés, with three interpreters, spent two months visiting the Cocopas, Halchidomas, and other peoples along the lower Colorado River. Because the Halchidomas were at war with the Mojaves who lived to the north of their area, Garcés with his party on February 14, 1776, started on his own to visit the Mojaves, in the company of a Mojave whom he had met at Fort Yuma. On February 21, they met a party of 80 Mojaves traveling down the river. After they parted from the Mojave expedition, which continued down the river, Garcés and his party proceeded north and northeastward along the west side of the river. On the way, they met 40 Chemehuevi, whom Garcés described as living in the desert between the Mojave, the Beñeme on the Mojave River to the west of the Colorado River, and the Utes to the northeast. They gave Garcés a gift of mescal and considerable information about their neighbors (Galvin 1967:14-32).

Garcés finally arrived at a place across the Colorado River from the Mojave villages on February 28. The Mojave captain who accompanied him from Fort Yuma went across to the villages and brought back some 2,000 Mojaves to visit him during the course of his stay. The Mojaves made a very favorable impression on the priest, and he reported that they were enthusiastic about being baptized. The visitors included three captains, one of whom was the "foremost of the nation; without him nothing is decided". Garcés noted that there were many children and young people, in contrast to the other groups living along the river (1967:33-34).

When Garcés expressed his intent to visit the fathers living on the coast, the Mojaves offered to guide the party. The party started for the coast on March 1, and traveling three leagues to the northwest, "accompanied by the principal captain of the Jamajabs, reached the rancheria where the captain lived, said to have been in the center of Mojave territory" (Galvin 1967:33-36; Sherer 1994:6-7).

We are dependent on what Garcés recorded for what is known about the Mojave way of living in the eighteenth century. Despite the enthusiasm of the Mojave for baptism expressed to and recorded by Garcés, the Spanish made no attempt to establish a mission among them. No other non-Indian left a written or known oral record of visiting them between 1776 and 1826. During this fifty-year period, the Mojaves were by no means completely isolated from what was going on among their neighbors. As the end of the eighteenth century approached, the Franciscan missions along the coast of California were reaching further and further inland for Indians to baptize and bring into the mission system. A considerable number of those already baptized and thus brought under the

control of the system rebelled against the mission fathers' tight control, and ran away. Some of them joined their relatives in the San Jacinto and San Bernardino mountains, but others reached the Mojave settlements on the Colorado River. By 1810 sufficient sentiment against the missions had been stirred up that the Mojaves participated in and may have been leaders of an attack on Mission San Gabriel.

2. Explorers Arrive. The area now set aside as Joshua Tree National Park was probably traversed by the Mojave during this period of 50 years, as at other times, and perhaps by mission Indians on their way to join the Mojave. Insofar as is known, the Mojave culture did not change a great deal during this period. The same cannot be said of the rest of the North American continent. On the east coast, the United States had freed itself from Great Britain, and had come through a second war with that nation with its separate identity intact. It had also acquired a sizable portion of the rest of the continent, which its most intrepid adventurers were busy exploring. Other adventurous men were setting up trapping and trading routes to the west coast. In the meantime, as of 1821, the Southwest, including California, had been freed from Spain and become part of the new nation of Mexico.

The fur trade, long dominated by Canadian adventurers who trapped and traded across the northern reaches of the continent into what is now the northwestern corner of the United States, and from there came in to northern California, was now taken up in the Southwest. Trappers and fur traders streamed across the Mississippi River and into the Rocky Mountains. Kansas City, Santa Fe, and Sonora, Mexico, became great fur trading centers, which were linked by trade routes over which traders ran their caravans of mule packs and wagons.

When the trappers began scouting the western reaches of the Colorado River and its tributaries, the Mojave country was brought forcibly to the attention of the outside world, principally because the easiest place to cross the lower Colorado River was near the Mojave villages. Between 1826 and 1831, Mojave territory was visited by Jedediah Smith and Harrison Rogers (1826 and 1827); Ewing Young in 1827; George C. Yount, in the party of Ewing Young in 1827, alone in 1828; Kit Carson, with Young in 1829 and in 1830; Peter Skene Ogden, 1830; William Wolfskill and George C. Yount in 1831 (Sherer 1994:9, Footnote).

Neither Mojave law nor Mexican law tolerated hunting and trapping within their territory without permission, and the Mojave revered the beaver, which was especially attractive to the fur trappers. The first American expedition to arrive in Mojave territory, that led by Jedediah Smith in 1826, met with a friendly reception from the Mojave because it first came in contact with Mojaves at a Southern Paiute settlement in Utahs where its members arrived, bedraggled and almost starving, after a long and difficult trip through the mountains. Since they were carrying no beaver skins nor any other signs of being trappers or fur traders, they met with traditional Mojave hospitality, and were fed, guided first down the Virgen River to North Mojave rancherias, and then to the main Mojave settlement in the Mojave Valley. Like Garcés, Smith was provided with Mojave guides when he left, and went on to the San Bernardino Valley and Mission San Gabriel, where his welcome was less than warm. The two Mojave guides were imprisoned by the mission fathers, and one of them sentenced to be hung for the crime of bringing a foreigner into Spanish territory, although Smith wrote later in his journal that the priest at the mission had been able to secure a pardon for the man (Sherer 1994:13).

In the spring of 1827, the vanguard of a large party of fur trappers and traders led by Ewing Young arrived at the Mojave villages from the south, with numerous beaver pelts in full display.

They marched through the villages, terrifying the inhabitants, and set up camp three miles to the north. The Mojave chief and his retinue of warriors visited the camp and, with gestures, indicated that the trappers should pay a horse in payment for the beaver pelts, which the Mojave considered their property. Upon the visitor's refusal, the chief shot an arrow into a tree and gave a war cry. Captain Young thereupon shot a bullet through the arrow to split it. War had been declared. The Mojaves returned the next morning to find that the visitors had raised a barricade of logs and skins. Their renewed demand for a horse in payment for the pelts having been denied, the chief turned and shot a horse with a spear. He was promptly gunned down. The Mojaves returned in force the next morning to avenge their chief. After the first exchange of fire, in which some of the Mojaves were killed, the trappers withdrew through the villages. Beyond the last of these, the Mojave struck again. Accounts vary as to the outcome of this battle.

Whatever happened between the Indians and this party of fur traders and trappers, the Mojave were not in a mood to welcome Jedediah Smith when he came through their territory a second time later in 1827, after having been told by the Mexicans to leave and not return. To make the situation worse, it was now obvious from the way Smith and his men were dressed and equipped, and by their behavior, that they were beaver trappers. This time he received no warm welcome, but he exchanged some horses with the Mojave, and "bought some corn and beans and made a present to the Chiefs". It was only when he and his men were crossing the river, and busy getting their goods and equipment across it, that the Mojaves attacked, "instantly killing ten men and capturing two Indian women in the party (Smith N.D.). Smith and seven of his men finally managed to escape after using their guns to kill two of the Mojaves and injure another (Smith N.D., Sherer 26-27).

The Mojaves had made their point. Their reputation as a dangerous, cunning, and treacherous people spread across the United States, but in fact, the Mojaves were kind to Ewing Young, Kit Carson, and their 16 companions who reached a Mojave rancheria in 1829 half-dead from thirst, hunger, and fatigue. They sold them a mare in foal to eat, and traded them some corn and beans, and let them cross the river and head for the coast without incident. Likewise, when George Yount and William Wolfskill in 1831 arrived with a half-starved party of 20 men at the Mojave villages after a treacherous midwinter trip through the mountains, the Mojave "fed them, traded pumpkins for some knives and red cloth, and permitted them to go safely on their way across the desert to San Bernardino (Sherer 1994:28, citing Hafen and Rister 1950:147).

Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company, coming down the river with a large band in 1830, posted sentries, and let only two or three Mojaves into his camp at once. Eventually there ensued a battle in which 26 Mojave warriors were reported killed. When Ewing Young and Kit Carson brought a group through again in the fall of 1830, they likewise took precautions when 500 Mojaves, possibly hoping to trade, crowded into their camp. After the Mojaves released their customary flight of arrows, Carson ordered them out of the camp (Sherer 1994:26-27).

After the word about the attack on Smith's 1827 expedition got out, traders needing to go from New Mexico to California began to avoid the Mojave villages, and in order to do so, traveled on what became known as the Spanish Trail, which began at Santa Fe, crossed the upper Colorado and Green rivers, and then bent back southwesterly by crossing Santa Clara Creek, a branch of the Virgem, veering off to Meadow Valley wash, and going thence to the Mojave Desert and San Bernardino (Hafen and Rister 1950:155-194). The Mojave territory during the 1830s and 1840s seems to have been avoided by the white man. If any came through, they left no known record.

The Mojave had other things on their minds. In 1827, they launched a "strategic offensive" against the Halchidhoma, who were their neighbors to the south in the Great Colorado Valley. The

Halchidhoma fled and joined related groups to the east (Kroeber 1925; Dobyns, Ezell and Ezell 1963, Bean and Vane 1978:5-26). Although it may be that in years prior to this the Halchidhoma, who were friendly with the Cahuilla, made some use of the Project Area, we have found no record of such use.

In the early 1830s, the Mojave permitted the Chemehuevis, who were more enthusiastic fish eaters than the Mojaves, to move into the Great Colorado Valley from which the Halchidhoma had fled. Mojave elder Frances Stillman, speaking many years later, explained that the Chemehuevi Valley on the western side of the river was a sacred place to the Mojave, "where the departed spirits live, coming down from up above," and therefore a dangerous place for Mojaves to live. "We were not going to live there, [and] we wanted to get them off the desert, and to live there in that valley. Besides, there's other game there [besides fish], like rabbits and things (Stillman 1988, cited in Sherer 1994:45, fnt.). The Chemehuevi, as we have noted, have a slightly different story.

Indians educated at the coastal missions continued to find refuge among the Mojave, bringing new language and other skills, and sometimes horses. For example, of six Mojaves met in 1844 by the American John Charles Fremont on the Mojave Trail across the Mojave Desert, one had been a "Mission Indian" before the missions were broken up. He spoke Spanish fluently, and told Fremont that the Mojave lived along the Colorado River and the mountains bounding its valley to the north, and that they raised melons of various kinds (Fremont 1845).

3. The United States Takes Over. The United States acquired the Southwest from Mexico by treaty in 1848, but this transfer of ownership was not meaningful at the time to the Mojave, who had not considered their territory to be owned by Mexico. From their point of view, it had belonged to them and continued to be their property. The citizens of the U.S., however, urgently demanded that their new territory be explored and mapped. It was not until 1850 that arrangements could be made to send the first expedition westward across the lower Colorado River north of the Quechan area, an expedition headed by Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Passing through what became Union Pass to the Colorado River after a difficult trip through a desert parched as a result of a drought, the Sitgreaves party reached the Colorado River someplace west of present-day Kingman, Arizona. Following a well-worn trail down the river the party found Indian signs experienced men of the party interpreted as warnings against proceeding further, but when they finally encountered Mojaves, they found them inclined to be friendly, eager to run alongside them, talking and laughing. In the evening, they brought "small quantities of pumpkins, beans, corn, and sometimes wheat to barter, and indicated they would like to set up a market to trade more extensively. Unfortunately for the continuance of such good relations, Sitgreaves' men, being somewhat frightened of the Mojave, tried to eject the Indians from the camp. Elderly women among the Mojave vociferously protested, and in the morning the doctor in the party was shot in the leg by an arrow (which did no harm), and several other arrows fell among the mules. They were allowed to depart in the morning without incident, except for "yells of defiance" from a distance (Sitgreaves 1854, cited in Sherer 1994:33-36).

A week later, the Sitgreaves expedition had a friendly reception at the next Mojave settlement, where they were told by a Spanish-speaking Mojave that they were eight days' journey from the mouth of the Gila. They were also given a description of Camp Yuma. The expedition members gave gifts to some of the older men, but remained vigilant, a precaution that proved fortunate when a soldier lagging in the rear was attacked and killed by a band of 50 to 60 Mojaves, who then attacked the party as a whole with arrows. Four were killed and several wounded by

firearms in the short battle that followed, and they left, taking with them the "musketoon" of the soldier they had killed (Sitgreaves 1854, cited in Sherer 1994:36). The Sitgreaves expedition encountered no further Mojaves by the time they reached Camp Yuma, near the mouth of the Gila River, but they were near starvation by the time they arrived, having at the end only the most exhausted of their few remaining mules for food, and having had to abandon most of their supplies and equipment. At Camp Yuma, provisions to last them until they reached San Diego were waiting for them (Sitgreaves 1854, cited in Sherer 1994:36-37). As Sherer notes, the Mojave now "knew that a small band of half-starved white soldiers had refused their proffered friendship and the foodstuff they were willing to share in a lean year, and that the starving men had later paid for the rudeness by having to eat their bony mules before they reached Camp Yuma" (1994:41).

The Whipple Expedition, a large scientific expedition led by Lt. Amiel Weeks Whipple, Brevet Lt. J. C. Ives, and 2nd Lt. D. S. Stanley, which was the next official expedition to come through, was more fortunate in that the years 1852-1853 preceding their trip had been bountiful in the desert, and that the expedition was better equipped than its predecessors to begin with. It was to leave a better impression. This expedition was sent out to find a "practical route for a railroad along the 35th parallel from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean" (Sherer 1994:41). The expedition included scientists interested in astronomy, meteorology, biology, and minerals. It also included H. Baldwin Möllhausen, a German who was not only a topographer, but also an artist and something of an ethnographer, whose drawings, paintings, and text make his diary of the expedition a treasure trove of information about the Mojave and their country. Whipple's official report (1856) gives additional details (Sherer 1994:40-44).

This expedition reached the Colorado River via the Bill Williams Fork, and thus came upon it near the place where the Parker Dam would later be built. The western valley of the river was occupied by the Chemehuevi, who tried in vain to get the expedition, which was ascending the eastern side of the river, to cross the river to trade with them, but the western side was Mojave territory, and the expedition waited to trade with the Mojave, who met it, on February 23, 1854, at a place 11 or 12 miles up the valley. They left Mojave territory on March 2, 1854, after more than a week of intermingling with the Mojaves in both formal and informal modes. They were met, as they entered Mojave territory by a Mojave chief and some of his band, who offered to trade a basket of maize for two strings of white porcelain beads. After this exchange was completed, general trading commenced. The entire nine days spent with the Mojaves were characterized by constant close comingling of the two groups, except that the Indians were not allowed in camp at night. Trading was active and constant. The assistance of the Mojaves proved to be invaluable to the surveyors, as well as to the scientists who were gathering information about plants, animals, and minerals. More than once the leaders of the expedition were formally introduced to various Mojave chiefs. At length, the chiefs held a National Council and (1) "approved a proposed plan for a road for travel and trade through their country; (2) they decided to show Whipple their secret trail to the ocean," along which "there was water and grass; (3) and they elected a high-ranking Mojave to guide the expedition over the route" (Sherer 1994:54). The Whipple Expedition's visit appears to stand out in Mojave tribal memory as a time when the people met "government-to-government" with the United States, and jointly made plans for an accommodation with each other. The Mojaves, always great traders, were optimistic about having a great route for travel and trade pass through their country.

The facts gathered by the Whipple Expedition showed that a railroad to the Pacific Ocean along the 35th parallel was feasible. The first step toward building the railroad was building a

wagon road along which people and supplies could be moved. An expedition under the leadership of Edward Fitzgerald Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, a man who had a long acquaintance with California and travel between there and the east coast, was organized. It had a two-fold purpose: to survey a wagon road from Fort Defiance, New Mexico, to the Colorado River and to test the efficacy of camels as a means of military transport in the deserts of the American Southwest. As the expedition moved across the desert, it not only surveyed a possible route, but left wagon tracks and campsites that wagon trains could use in the immediate future, before any official road building commenced (Sherer 1994:65-67).

Although Beale had his men light fire signals in the mountains overlooking the Colorado Mountains overlooking the river to tell the Mojaves he was coming, his men held themselves prepared to fight when they arrived on October 18, 1857, and camped on the riverside. The Mojaves, who regarded the establishment of a wagon road as a fulfillment of the agreement made with Whipple that a trade route be established through their territory, made no move to stop them as they passed through Mojave territory and crossed the river on October 19, except that the Mojave blocked them from going downriver. On October 20, the river crossing successfully completed, the Mojave came into Beale's camp to trade (Sherer 1994:68-69).

Beale's expedition left none of the warm memories with the Mojaves that Whipple's expedition had. Mojave elder Frances Stillman commented that the Mojave wanted to be friends, but like Sitgreaves before him Beale wanted nothing to do with them. He "came right in and looked like he owned the place, and didn't bother to talk to anybody, or ask if he might cross or anything. That's what our people didn't like about Beale. He acted as though he owned the whole world" and the expedition crossed "right in the middle of their land and their river" (Stillman 1989, cited in Sherer 1994:69).

Beale took his expedition as far west as Tejon, let it rest for several months, and then headed back to Fort Defiance in early 1858. In the meantime, several circumstances made the Mojaves uncertain about the good intentions of the United States. War was brewing between the United States and the Utah Territory, which had been settled ten years earlier by members of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, popularly known as Mormons. Both the U.S. War Department and the Mormons saw control of the lower Colorado River as an important military advantage, and soon the War Department had word that the Mormons had sent men to infiltrate the Mojaves, spreading alarm and suspicion. The War Department was principally represented in the area by the temporary commander of Fort Yuma, Lt. William A. Winder (Sherer 1994:71-72, 74).

With war clouds gathering, there was considerable interest in the question of how far upstream the Colorado River was navigable, a question best solved by sending a steamboat up the river to find out. As it happened, there was a boat in the vicinity that could be used for the purposes, the *General Jessup*, owned by Captain George Alonzo Johnson, which was used to make trips up the river as far as Fort Yuma. When, under orders from the Secretary of War, Lt. Joseph C. Ives, earlier with the Whipple Expedition, arrived at the mouth of the Colorado River with the makings of a smaller steamboat, the *Explorer*, that needed to be put together in order for Ives to take it up the Colorado River to see if it were navigable, Johnson offered to take the *General Jessup* up the river at once to explore it, and requested a detachment of troops for protection. Winder assigned a detachment under Lt. James A. White to accompany Johnson and assigned them the task of finding out the attitude of the Mojaves. Beaver trapper Pauline Weaver also accompanied the detachment.

Captain Johnson took his big steamboat all the way up the river to Cottonwood Island, thus proving that the Colorado River was navigable this far, and then turned back, and on January 22,

1858, anchored it at the place on the river's eastern bank from which Beale's expedition had crossed the river earlier in the fall. The Mojaves, whom the Mormons had succeeded in alarming about the intentions of the United States, met the boat's crew with friendliness, although they found the fact that their land could be invaded via the river upsetting. Lt. White assured them of the government's good intentions toward them, and, by the time the boat anchored, felt reasonably sure they would side with the United States should any armed conflict with the Mormons arise (Sherer 1994:72-75).

The Mojaves' suspicions were raised again when Beale's expedition arrived at the crossing place on the western side later the same day. Although a happenstance, the coincident arrivals appeared to have been arranged beforehand (1994:75).

The *General Jessup* ferried Beale's men and their baggage across the river, and then returned to the river mouth, 350 miles to the south. Beale, upon the completion of his expedition, ended his report with the recommendation that a military post be established where the wagon road he had been surveying crossed the river to protect emigrant trains from the Mojave (1994:77-78).

Too impatient to wait for the new road to be completed, two wagon trains of emigrants left Santa Fe in 1858 to try it out, one headed by L. R. Rose, and following it another led by Gillum Bailey. One member of the Bailey train, John Udell, who had had previous experience traveling in the west, opposed the choice of route, but was overruled. The trains' leaders unfortunately hired as guide a man who had guided both Whipple's and Beale's expeditions and had been found incompetent by both (1994:80).

It was late August and the heat was intense. By the time the two wagon trains had reached the summit of Sitgreaves Pass in the Black Mountains, they were exhausted, hungry, and thirsty, and had been harassed for some time by Yavapai and Havasupai in the Peach Springs area. One small group of them, including L. R. Rose, who wrote the only eyewitness account of the next few days, pushed onward to the river, which they could see from the mountain tops. On the way to the river, the party encountered Mojaves, who seemed friendly, and at first gave the party directions and other help; however, when the wagon train reached the river, set up camp about a mile from it, and drove the livestock to the river to drink, the Mojaves, who had learned that yet another party would be coming through, began to kill and drive off cattle, cook and eat them, and "when caught in the act would laugh and treat the matter as a huge joke" (Rose 1859).

According to *Chooksa Homar*,⁶ the Mojaves had been undecided as to a course of action. Aratêve, the high chief of the southern group of Mojaves, and five "brave men" or sub-chiefs had been involved some years before in a Quechan war with the Cocopa and the latter's allies. At its end, they promised the commander of Fort Yuma not to fight against other Indians, and were given written papers confirming their agreement not to. Now that the emigrants had violated their territory, the five sub-chiefs were tempted to attack them, anticipating that if they allowed the whites to stay in their area, the intruders would take their wives, enslave their children, and put all the Mojave to work. They had heard that in areas to the east, the whites had taken over the country, penned up animals rather than letting them run free, and might do the same to the Indians. Tribal elders urged peace on the grounds that these leaders had the papers showing that they had agreed not to fight, but in the face of the emigrants' abuse of Mojave hospitality, the militant sub-chiefs decided to defend their territory and their property (Kroeber and Kroeber 1973:11-12).

⁶In 1903, a Mojave known as Jo Nelson, whose Mojave name was *Chooksa Homar*, narrated to anthropologist A. L. Kroeber through an interpreter an account of Mojave wars between 1854 and 1880. Kroeber's son, Clifton Kroeber, an ethnohistorian, edited the manuscript his father had begun, and had it published by the University of California Press in 1973.

In the meantime, on August 27, the Bailey party had passed through Sitgreaves Pass in its turn and had camped at the edge of the valley. The young men in the party drove the party's cattle down to the river to drink, intending to return later for the wagons. When the Rose party moved to the banks of the River on August 29, two Mojave chiefs, probably *Cairook* and *Sickahot*, visited the camps in turn with their retinues. Gifts were exchanged. The chiefs asked if the travelers were planning to settle on the river, and were told that the emigrants intended to go to California (Rose 1859).

On August 30, the Rose party moved its camp down the river about a mile to the crossing place, noting with pleasure the "grass" for grazing, and the cottonwood trees that would be useful for constructing their camp and building rafts for crossing the river. They apparently did not realize that the cottonwoods were considered valuable property by the Mojave. The trees provided shade from the sun, lumber essential for house poles, and material for clothing (the inside of the bark was used for women's clothing). Moreover, the grass that the emigrants' cattle tramped over and grazed on constituted Mojave fields, which were, of course, not laid out in rectangles nor surrounded by fences. Many Mojaves began to appear in the vicinity. Because they thus far had been friendly, the Rose party took no alarm as the afternoon wore on, but in the evening the Mojaves attacked, surrounding the camp, and coming within 15 feet of the wagons to discharge their arrows. Of the 25 men in the party, one was killed in the battle at the camp, and 11 were wounded. The Mojaves, subjected to bullets rather than arrows, lost 17 within sight of the emigrant camp, and possibly more (Sherer 1994:82-85, Rose 1859).

Panic struck the emigrants. Added to their distress over the results of the battle, was the fact that in the midst of their own battle, Rose got word that Miss Bentner, a member of a family from his party who had stayed in the mountains, had been killed.

The emigrants had lost all but 17 of 400 head of cattle, and all but 10 of 37 horses in the battle by the river. They also retained two mules, but they had lost their equipment and supplies, and they feared that all their friends left in the mountains had been killed. Despite the fact that San Bernardino was only 200 miles away and Albuquerque, 560 miles, they decided to turn back (Sherer 1994:85). Fortunately, the Bailey party had not been killed and turned back with them, and they met two other westbound parties following behind who also turned back and shared supplies with them. Before the combined parties reached Albuquerque, they were in a destitute state, but managed to get word to Major Backus, in command of the U.S. Army post there, who sent them sufficient food and supplies that they were able to reach the city (Sherer 1994:85-86).

All four members of the Bentner family been killed by Walapais, among whom were seven renegade Mojaves. The murder of this family was interpreted as a massacre, and news of it touched off a round of misunderstanding that resulted in the establishment of Fort Mojave and the U.S. military control of the Mojave (1994:86).

News of these events in late August, 1858, spread across the continent, first as exaggerated rumor, later in published versions. The eyewitness account written by L. J. Rose on October 28, 1858, was published by the *Missouri Republican* on November 29, 1859, more than a year later.⁷ Colonel Bonneville, the officer in charge of the U.S. Army's Department in New Mexico reported to the General of the Army in Washington, and probably sent word to General N. S. Clarke, commander of the Military Department in San Francisco. General Clarke reacted promptly by

⁷John Udell, who was a member of the expedition who had not gone down to the river, wrote an account of it in his journal (1859), but it was not published until considerably later.

sending Lieutenant Colonel William Hoffman and an escort to the Colorado River to arrange for a military post at "Beale's Crossing" to protect emigrants as they came through. Troops were to follow. The Secretary of War's instructions to do much the same thing arrived after Hoffman was already well into the desert, and did not reach Hoffman until after he had had a decidedly unfriendly encounter with the northern group of Mohaves at Beaver Lake. Each side was suspicious of the other, and each expressed the suspicion in a characteristic manner, but misinterpreted the actions of the other. For example, Hoffman's party, although its members interacted with the Paiutes and Mojaves they met in the daytime, declared their camp closed to more than 15 at a time, and to all Indians at night—an indication of hostility to the Mojaves, to whom open hospitality was only polite. The Mojaves in turn shot four arrows into Hoffman's camp, mocked the behavior of the strangers, and otherwise tested the intentions of the visitors. In the end, Hoffman made preparations to return the way he had come, but had not left when his party was surrounded by Mojaves coming closer and closer. He sent the pack and wagon ahead and then ordered one of his platoons to dismount and fire at the Indians. He reported that 10 or 12 were seen to fall. Then, as he and the platoon marched to catch up with the rest of their party, some 250 to 300 Mojaves started to follow, but fell back after "a few well-directed shots on some scattering ones" (Sherer 1994:87-94). *Chooksa Homar* reported that three Mojaves were hit, but none killed. A. L. Kroeber noted that to the Indians, Hoffman's visit seemed unmotivated (Kroeber and Kroeber 1973:20).

Hoffman reported that the route he had taken across the Mojave Desert was too difficult to send troops through in larger numbers. General Clarke followed his advice and sent him to Fort Yuma to organize incoming troops and establish a supply line, preparatory to establishing a post at the place from which Beale had crossed the Mojave in 1857. Hoffman, whose report of his encounter at Beaver Lake was interpreted by Clarke as the report of an attack by the Mojaves, was given orders in accord with this view. He was to march against the Mojaves and Chemehuevis, and if they declined to engage in combat, to demand the chiefs who had made the attack on his party and take them hostage. If the hostages were not forthcoming, Mojave fields were to be laid waste, and further cultivation of the fields denied them (Sherer 1994:93-94).

In the spring of 1859, while Hoffman was still trying to establish a fort at Beale's Crossing, Beale was assembling a road-working party in Albuquerque to build the road he had laid out on his earlier trip. It seemed advisable to send some of the food and supplies they needed from Los Angeles. After due consideration, Beale's associate, Samuel A. Bishop, left Los Angeles on March 1 with 38 men, "ten camels, six 6-mule wagons, and a number of pack mules." At Cave Canyon in the Mojave Desert, they were joined by a "mail party" of the Central Overland Mail Company. This enlarged group was met by an estimated 1,500 Mojave, assembled by the five militant chiefs against the advice of *Aratêve*, which shot at the whites in such a way as to purposefully miss hitting them. Both sides then retreated, but the five militant chiefs and some others eventually attacked the intruders, who shot two of them, one of them fatally (Kroeber and Kroeber 1973:17-19). Bishop sent most of his party back to Pah-Ute Creek, cached some supplies there, sent his wagons and teams "back to civilization," and pushed on with camels, mules, and some supplies to cross the Colorado north of the Mojave villages, and thereby get some supplies to Beale (Casebier 1975).

Hoffman gave notice to the Quechan that he was establishing a military post among the Mojave, but that no peaceful Indian would be harmed. Soldiers poured into Fort Yuma, and two steamers *Colorado* and *General Jessup* stood ready to carry them up the river; one command of dragoons marched to the river across the Mojave despite Hoffman's opinion that the trip was too difficult by that route. When these troops arrived together at Beale's Crossing, Hoffman was able

to establish a post there without any opposition from the Mojave, who, on April 23, 1859, accepted the terms he had laid down for surrender, which included there being no opposition to the establishment of roads and posts through and in their country, and travel free from harassment; one hostage from each of the six Mojave bands; the chief who commanded the attack on Hoffman as hostage; and three of those who took part in the attack as hostages (Sherer 1994:94-95).

The chief who had commanded the attack was *Cairook*, who willingly gave himself up as a hostage. The eight other hostages comprised two sons of chiefs, four brothers of chiefs, and two nephews of chiefs (1994:95-96).

Neither General Clarke nor Colonel Hoffman felt that the new fort would last very long, being situated in such an unfriendly climate and so far from a source of supplies. In fact, they doubted that there would be many emigrants who would undertake the difficult journey across the desert that this route entailed. Brevet Major Lewis A. Armistead, who was left in charge of the new fort, was more optimistic. He thought the fort was in an excellent location, close to sources of wood, water, and grass, and having the river as a route over which supplies could be sent. He thought the post was misnamed, however, and changed its name from Camp Colorado to Fort Mojave (1994:99).

The nine hostages held at Fort Yuma found the confinement oppressive, and eventually plotted an escape. In late June 1859, *Cairook* agreed to seize and hold the sentinel during a period when they were allowed out of jail for fresh air, allowing the rest to escape. *Cairook* and one other were caught and killed, and the rest escaped, but the army never found out that three made their way back to their people. A mourning ceremony was held for the two who died. Several weeks later, Mojaves stole stock from a mail station that had been established two miles south of Fort Mojave, and attacked it. Mojaves tore up melons planted by the soldiers, and the soldiers shot a Mojave, one of three who were working in a garden. Major L. A. Armistead, commandant at Fort Mojave, frustrated at the escape of the hostages and the difficulty of getting the Mojave to engage in battle, was able to precipitate a battle between about 50 soldiers and hundreds of Indians—the first pitched battle that had been fought. Armistead reported 23 dead Mojave bodies found on the battlefield, and there were probably more. No soldiers were killed, but three were wounded (Casebier 1975:98; Kroeber and Kroeber 1973:27-31).

Peace then descended on the Mojave, but their former isolation was brought to an end by the regular supplies that were brought to Fort Mojave on the Mojave Road that Beale and others had forged, following in many places the old Mojave trail that had developed over hundreds of years. Hoffman had been wrong—freight could be economically carried over the road (Casebier 1975:101-106). It became U.S. government policy to reinforce the power of the Mojave leader, *Aratêve* (*Irataba*, *Iretaba*), who led a faction of the Mojave who, recognizing the overwhelming power of the United States, were in favor of peaceful relations. There was an opposing faction, led by traditionalist “strong men,” that favored militant opposition to the invading peoples (C. Kroeber 1965; Sherer 1966).

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Fort Mojave was closed down because the troops were needed elsewhere. The Mojaves were asked to guard the buildings (Casebier 1975:131).

4. The Mining Industry Begins. The discovery of placer gold and silver deposits in the California, Nevada, and Arizona deserts brought traffic across the Mojave Road and to the Colorado River in the vicinity of Fort Mojave. El Dorado Canyon “on the Colorado River about twenty-five miles south of where Hoover Dam is now located” was one such mining area. An area along the Colorado River near La Paz, New Mexico, was another. Miners from California went to La Paz

either down the Coachella Valley and the river crossing near Yuma, or by the Mojave Road to the Colorado River in the vicinity of Fort Mojave, and then down the river to La Paz (Casebier 1973:131). Indians as well as whites worked in these mines.

There was considerable sympathy with the Confederacy in southern California, but there was also sufficient loyalty to the Union that an army raised in California could be sent to New Mexico to drive Confederate forces there back into Texas. It was found necessary to reactivate Fort Mojave, and in May 1863, two companies of 4th Infantry, California Volunteers, were sent to occupy the fort (Casebier 1973:132).

Aratêve's policy of cooperation with the United States encouraged the many immigrants who were interested in the various discoveries of mineral deposits in southeastern California and adjacent areas. Unfortunately, the intrusion of so many Euro-Americans in the area before very long made the Indians a minority, and there began to be talk that the Indians—Mojave, Yavapai, Walapai, and Chemehuevi—should all be gathered up and placed on a reservation. Territorial Indian Agent Charles P. Poston met with leaders of these groups.

In 1865, an act of Congress established the Colorado River Indian Reservation (CRIR) south of the Mojave Valley in an area that had been occupied in the early part of the century by the Halchidhoma, and later by the Chemehuevi. After the establishment of Fort Mojave, about 800 Mojaves under the leadership of *Aratêve*, who favored cooperating with the Americans, had moved to this vicinity, but the rest of the Mojaves, under the leadership of the five more militant traditionalist leaders, stayed in the Mojave Valley, creating a permanent division of the tribe. The government intended the new reservation to be occupied by various tribes who had lost their homelands in the Southwest. Its agents urged Mojaves and others to resettle there, but met with only moderate success at getting people to move there. Many of those who were persuaded to move there stayed for only brief periods. The remaining Mojaves remained in the vicinity of Fort Mojave where they had lived before the Americans came.

The Chemehuevi and the Mojave had lived amicably side by side for many decades, but in the 1860s, relationships between them cooled, primarily because of the arrival of so many Euro-Americans made living difficult for all Native Americans. As the situation deteriorated, conflict developed between the Mojave and Chemehuevi that by 1864 approached the state of war. The fact that the U.S. Army used Mojave troops in military actions against the Chemehuevi exacerbated the situation. As noted in our discussion of Chemehuevi history, it was at this time that Chemehuevi began to settle at Twentynine Palms and in the Coachella Valley (Kroeber and Kroeber 1973:33-46; Trafzer, Madrigal, and Madrigal 1994:62-67). A peace agreement between the Mojave and the Chemehuevi was negotiated in 1867 (Dent 1868).

Conditions at the newly established CRIR were not good. It was difficult to carry out the traditional flood plain agriculture with so many travellers coming through, and there was insufficient water for other agriculture. In 1867, Mojaves began to dig an irrigation canal at the reservation, but the government funds that supported them ran out six months later (Feudge 1868). A whooping cough epidemic struck Fort Mojave in 1868, killing about 100 of the Mojaves, and spread down the River to CRIR, after which the Yavapia living there fled. In 1869, only 350 Mojaves were left in the vicinity of La Paz. *Aratêve* and his Mojaves were the only Indians at CRIR. Government efforts to entice other Indians there had come to nothing (Jones 1870:658-659; Andrews 1870).

In 1870, there were 690 Mojaves and 17 Yavapais living at CRIR, all dependent on government rations. A canal intended to provide irrigation water was finished in July of that year, but was poorly designed, and resulted in a flood that destroyed crops and washed away river banks

for some distance. The only Indians still living there were 500 Mojaves under *Aratéve*, who was becoming disenchanted with a reservation where there was only alkaline soil and insufficient water (Price 1870). There were 3,000 Mojaves at Fort Mohave.

The Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) and its agents became increasingly discouraged with CRIR. Syphilis was endemic, but there was no hospital, and no school. When the Colorado River again overflowed in 1872, the Mojave were threatened with withdrawal of rations in order to get them to plant their fields (Tonner 1872a; Bendell 1872). Between 1873 and 1876, the reservation was expanded from 75,000 to 265,858 acres in order to place more Indians there. A school for the Mojave opened, but the teacher's salary was funded for only six months (Fontana 1958:22-23; Tonner 1874). Eight hundred Walapais settled on the reservation in 1874 left before 1875 because of the shortage of food, the loss of life and property, and generally unhealthful conditions. At this time, it was reported that Chemehuevi had been successfully settled on the west side of the river. The death of *Aratéve* in 1874 compounded the Mojave problems (Smith 1977), and a severe smallpox epidemic in 1876 further depleted their numbers (Trover and Swindler 1972:10).

5. Railroads. All the Native Americans in the vicinity were greatly impacted beginning in the 1860s and the 1870s by the construction of the railroads. For one thing, the government set aside alternate sections of land in a 20-mile swath along the route of each railroad to be sold to pay construction costs. This set aside applied to Mojave traditional lands, and over the years lost the Mojave the right to use those areas that settlers had bought. Secondly, the railroads brought jobs during the construction phase, and a means of transportation and other economic opportunities once the trains were in operation. After the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad came to Needles in 1883, Indian women began to sell craft work, such as ceramic beads and pots, beadwork, and painted bows and arrows at the train station (Smith 1977:93). The emigrants the trains brought into the area employed Indians in their various endeavors. The complete history of the Mojaves from this time on can best be written by historians familiar with the local history of the area, including the Project Area, inasmuch as they were an integral part of the emerging desert scene. A considerable number of Mojaves left the lower Colorado River to settle in towns through which the railroads passed (Smith 1977; Wilson and Taylor 1952).

By the 1890s, a system of irrigation canals was completed at CRIR, but it was not until 1900 that the first steam irrigation pumping plant was installed, and as many as 500 acres could be irrigated. In 1904, an allotment plan was initiated that gave each tribal member five acres of irrigable land. Once all tribal members had their five acres, the rest of the land was to be opened to non-Indian settlers. Settlers in nearby areas were not good neighbors. They rustled Indian cattle, and employed few Native Americans (Fontana 1958:23; Dekens 1962).

In 1908, the town of Parker was laid out on lands that had belonged to the reservation, with the money received going to CRIR; unfortunately, the cost of the irrigating canals and pumping plant were subtracted from the total. The Arizona and Pacific Railway Company was also allowed to purchase acreage to construct a station and terminal facilities (Fontana 1958:22, 32-34). In 1911, individual allotments were increased from five acres to ten acres. The irrigation system was improved over the years until in 1930 over 7,000 acres were irrigated (Fontana 1958:31).

The Mojaves who remained in Mojave Valley and refused to go to CRIR opposed *Aratéve's* polity of peaceful cooperation with the government, but in the event opposed mostly the government's efforts to have them move to CRIR. They in fact allied themselves with the U.S.

Army against hostile Native American groups such as the Walapai. Once the railroads came to Needles, they moved there, working for the railroad or for merchants (Sherer 1966:11-13; 54-55).

By 1890, there was no longer a need for a Fort in the Mojave Valley. Fort Mojave buildings were used instead as a boarding school for Mojave children, including those from CRIR. From 1890 until 1931, all Mojave children between the ages of 6 and 18, including those from CRIR, were required to live at the school, where a persistent effort was made to replace their Mojave cultural traditions with American traditions, a policy pursued at all the government schools for Native American children at the time. It was consistent with the belief, unfortunately held by the majority of those advocating for Indian rights, that Indians should be protected and preserved, but not their culture.

In accord with this kind of policy, the OIA just after the turn of the century insisted that all members of a family have the same surname, and that they adopt the English naming system in which all children took the name of their fathers, instead of only the daughters, as in the Mojave naming system. The change would facilitate the allotment of land, an important issue for the school superintendent, who, after 1903, also acted as Indian Agent and had authority over all the Indians within a 30-mile radius of the school. This meant that members of a Mojave clan might have as many as 18 surnames. A great deal of confusion resulted, since Mojave men belonged to clans, but did not use their clan names. The Mojave had adapted by using their English names when interacting with outsiders, but for the most part used their Mojave names in private (Sherer 1965:42-46).

Another pressure on the Mojaves in Mojave Valley at the turn of the century was a renewed effort to get them to move to CRIR. Agriculture in the traditional style was no longer feasible, what with the railroad having taken so much of their land, and the proposed damming of the Colorado River about to take more. Since these Mojave refused to move to CRIR, the 14,000 acres (5,700 ha) belonging to the Fort Mojave military post, and an additional 17,328 acres (7,012 ha) were set aside as the Fort Mojave Indian Reservation (FMIR) in 1910 and 1911. Over the years, many Mojave ceased farming efforts despite having the reservation set aside for them. Needles became an increasingly important railroad town, and these Mojaves gradually became a more urban people. By that time the Fort Mojave school was closed in 1931, most of the FMIR band had moved to Needles, and had found work there to support themselves.

The railroads peaked in popularity about 1930 with the increasing popularity of the automobile. The passage of the River and Harbor Act of 1935, authorizing the construction of Parker Dam for hydroelectric power also brought change to the lower Colorado River peoples. The Parker Dam was completed in 1938, but it took only until 1940 for the silt between the Hoover Dam upstream and the Parker Dam to build up to the point that 4,000 acres on the FMIR washed away, carrying with them the homes of the two remaining farmers. The Head Gate Rock Dam for irrigation and flood control was constructed in 1941. There was another flood in 1947, whereupon the tribe bought some 16 acres of land near the city of Needles, and built 50 homes for the people whose homes had been destroyed. Farming on the reservation gradually decreased until there were only two farms left in 1965 (Fontana 1958:53-54).

The Roosevelt administration in the 1930s was more sympathetic to Native Americans than earlier ones. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act encouraged Indian bands to write their own governing documents and set up formalized councils. At CRIR, the Colorado River Indian Tribes (CRIT), which included some Chemehuevis, adopted a constitution in 1937, in 1940 adopted a Land

Code that made it possible for members to exchange their ten-acre allotments for 40-acre assignments of tribal land—land that until this time the government had insisted on viewing as surplus land, open to any settler (Fontana 1958:25).

6. World War II and Beyond. After World War II, the government talked of bringing Indians from other tribes to settle CRIR's "surplus" lands. As had always been the case, the OIA, now renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), was a difficult entity with which to work. Possibly to ward off further attempts by the government to give reservation lands to others, the tribal council in 1945 passed Ordinance Number Five, which provided that the reservation be divided into a 25,000-acre Northern Reserve for tribal members, and a Southern Reserve for colonization by Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Zuni, Papago, Havasupai, Quechan, and other Native Americans, who would then become members of CRIT. Tribal members on the Northern Reserve were to receive irrigation for 15,000 acres without cost in return (Fontana 1958:35-36). Outsiders were slow to take advantage of the newly opened lands until Congress in 1949 appropriated \$5,750,000 for relocation and resettlement of Indians at CRIT. During the next two years, the number of those who moved to the reservation increased (Fontana 1958:53-54), but the number of new colonists never exceeded 156, and by 1976, only 49 of these remained. In the meantime, there was a great deal of controversy over Ordinance Number Five, with the Mojaves at CRIR claiming it was illegal, that they had a legal right to the lands that had been set aside for them, and the government continuing to urge colonization. The Mojaves particularly objected to giving the new colonists reservation membership. The question was settled in 1964 when Congress ruled that Mojaves, Chemehuevis, Hopis, and Navajos resident on the reservation be given clear title to the reservation as joint tenants of CRIR. All remaining colonists, their spouses, and dependent children became full members (Roth 1976).

After the Chemehuevi were granted a separate reservation in 1970, Chemehuevi members had the choice of enrolling at CRIR or the new Chemehuevi Indian Reservation. As of 1971, the latter claimed 312 members (Roth 1976:506-516).

The Claims Cases attracted much public attention in the early 1950s. Eventually, after several false starts, the Mojaves at FMIR and those at CRIR filed consolidated claims with the Indian Claims Commission, which ruled in 1959 that the Mojave Indians had traditionally owned and used Cottonwood Valley, Mojave Valley, and the Bill Williams Fork area.

As the last quarter of the nineteenth century arrived, the Mojave on both FMIR and CRIR had succeeded in solving their most urgent problems. As of 1964, FMIR after much effort got government approval of its leasing some of its land for development, and began to oversee its development into a recreation area. In 1970, CRIT had secured full title to reservation lands, which were well irrigated thanks to government efforts to make them attractive to outsiders, and turned its attention to developing these lands, and regaining those it had lost.

SUGGESTED FURTHER RESEARCH

This overview has been drawn from CSRI field notes on over twenty years of research on the desert peoples of southeastern California, several field experiences with Mojave, Chemhuevoi, Serrano, and Cahuilla individuals in the park and nearby area, documents in CSRI files, and secondary resources such as books and articles. The field work included one meeting in the park with individuals from the Fort Mojave Reservation, the Chemehuevi Reservation, the Colorado River Indian Reservation, Morongo Reservation, and Torres-Martinez Reservation for the purpose of evaluating Native American use of plants in the area. This trip was taken as part of the research for CSRI's ethnobotanical report for the Park Service. Other field work was done in the course of research on privately funded projects involving respectively the Eagle Mountain Area, the Marine Air Force Base, and the Mojave and/or Colorado deserts as a whole.

CSRI's documentary resources have likewise been acquired in the course of previous contracted research. We have a sizeable archive of John Peabody Harrington materials, copied at the National Anthropological Archives in Washington, D.C., before the Harrington materials were microfilmed. We also have copies of pertinent materials from the National Archives and Record Center at Laguna Niguel, California and the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Our library resources include many volumes cited in the References of this report, and photocopies of pertinent parts of others.

A great deal of further research could be done on the subject of the Native Americans who once occupied Joshua National Park, not all of which can be completed within the scopes of this project. This includes::

Archival research

1. A search of the records of the San Gabriel, San Fernando, and other missions in which Serrano people, especially those whose home was at *Mara*, were involved during the Spanish-Mexican period of California history in order to locate individuals from the Twentynine Palms area who may have been brought into the missions or have served as laborers in urban areas associated with the missions. These include birth, marriage, and death records, and the journals and correspondence of the mission administrators. John Johnson at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, David Earle, and others who are experienced in the interpretation of mission records should be consulted. Data derived from these searches may indicate the various groups with whom people from *Mara* intermarried, and were consequently politically, economically, and ritually involved.
2. A search of the archives at the Colorado River Indian Reservation for historic data on the Chemehuevis, Mojave, and Serrano peoples, especially with regard to the Chemehuevi people who lived at Twentynine Palms from the mid-nineteenth century to approximately the 1950s.
3. A review of the microfilmed version of the J. P. Harrington's Serrano, Chemehuevi, and Mojave notes for pertinent data not previously found, and a similar review of the C. Hart Merriam materials.
4. A search of the National Archives for further information about the establishment of the Twentynine Palms Reservation and its history, government involvement with Indians, and the effects of the policies of the Office/Bureau of Indian Affairs on Indian people in and near the park

area. Information directly pertaining to the Twentynine Palms Reservation is available at various branches of the National Archives, especially those at Laguna Niguel, Washington, D.C., and ???

5. A review of unpublished interviews conducted in the 1960s by various scholars should be searched for and reviewed, and copies made of pertinent portions of them. These include taped interviews with the late Sarah Martin, who was a leading Serrano elder at Morongo Indian Reservation, where many of the members of the Mariña clan now live.

6. Linguist Eric Elliot, the leading authority on southern California Indian languages, should be engaged to conduct linguistic studies of the Chemehuevi language, focusing on the linguistic and social history of the Chemehuevi, as related to the park and its environs.

7. Motion picture archives, newspaper accounts, and local history traditions should be consulted in order to learn whether and how the motion picture industry has used the park area. This might be the basis for museum exhibits.

8. The story of Willie Boy should be revisited, with special attention paid to whether the park area was involved.

9. Pioneer non-Indian people in the area should be consulted about Indians involved in the park area's history, and Indian-White relations in the park area, and asked to review any family archives about the topics.

10. Photographs of Indians of the area and their descendants should be collected, scanned, and copies placed in park archives for use as needed in exhibits and publications. Sources for the photographs might include private collections, and public collections such as those at the Twentynine Palms Historical Society, the Historical Society of Southern California, the J. P. Harrington files, the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, the Colorado River Indian Tribes Library at Parker, Arizona, and the Southwest Museum.

11. Chemehuevis, Mojaves, Serranos, and Cahuillas should be consulted about the use of the artifacts in the park's museum collections. They should also be consulted about the artifacts from the park area now held by the Southwest Museum and the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. If necessary, grants should be secured to conduct such studies while there are still elders alive who are knowledgeable about such usage.

12. The place of the area in the American art movements of the late nineteenth and the twentieth century, including the work of such desert artists as the late Carl Eytel and John Hilton should be reviewed.

13. Dennis Casebier should be consulted with respect to newspaper accounts about the area, and other historical resources.

14. The work of such desert authors as G. W. James, Charles F. Saunders, and J. H. Chase should

be reviewed for material on the park area. A search should be made for any archival materials left by these writers.

15. The rock art in Joshua Tree National Park should be surveyed, recorded, analyzed and compared with rock art in southern California and the southwest. When possible, appropriate archaeological excavations and analysis should be done. Whenever possible, the rock art should be cleaned, protected, and restored to its original condition.

16. Publications of the National Park Service and the U.S. Geological Survey should be consulted to learn the extent and nature of mineral resources, so that comments can be made on Native American use of these resources, as known from the archaeological and ethnographic record.

17. A history of the Mariña (Morongo) peoples after the arrival of the Spanish, where and when they moved to various places, should be reconstructed from available data.

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