

The water flowing from Texas Springs and Furnace Creek was used, among other purposes, to help cool the families' shelters:

...and they were living in the shelters made out of--bush shelters. They used the arrowweed a lot for their shelters...and in order to keep cool, what my mother told me--they'd get water from the creek because they're very close to the creek. And they would wet down the shelters...and then they would throw, also, water onto their gravel floors, and they would put canvas over it and that way they'd stay cool. She said it was really nice. Those were her words anyway--that it was good (PE, Tape 2:9).

In addition to using arrowweed which grew along the streambeds, people gathered sunflowers and grapes which were plentiful. Some families planted gardens near the flowing water from Texas Springs:

...Bob Thompson had a little gardening site...that's the one that they always talked about--Bob Thompson's gardening place...they tell me that he grew a lot of squash and a lot of melons. They say this is good country for melon and squash (PE, Tape 2:13).

The Visitor's Center Area. In the 1930s the Pacific Coast Borax Company requested that the Timbisha people move from the Sunset Campground location to a place where there was no water, the present location of the Park Service Visitor's Center. They were told they would have water piped in for their use. The people were also told they would not be asked to move again, so they moved their families into the area, constructing permanent living quarters, and planting fruit and other kinds of trees.

Families who lived in this location included those of Rosie Boland Esteves, Sally Boland, Molly Shoshone, Joe Kennedy, Hank Patterson, Bob Thompson, Mamie Joaquin, Fred Thompson and Bill and John Boland. These were still primarily families from southern and central Death Valley, including the original families from Furnace Creek. However, some people were by now beginning to come down from northern Death Valley (Kennedy, Patterson) through intermarriage, and to take advantage of wage work.

Many of the people continued to work for the Greenland Ranch company, which was beginning to develop into a resort area with a golf course, lodging and restaurants. The desire to expand the golf course into the Timbisha residential area was the reason given for the next request for them to move elsewhere.

...they wanted to expand their golf there--golf course is what the Borax company was saying, and that is the reason why they asked us to move. You don't see that land that we were on is a golf course. So they lied... (Tape PE, 2:17).

PE speculates that the National Park Service was most concerned with removing the people from the public's view:

...they did, you know, start to think about the Indians over there where we were living. You know, they didn't want us there really because they were saying we weren't very nice looking with our old shacks...kids running around all over the place (Tape 1:3).

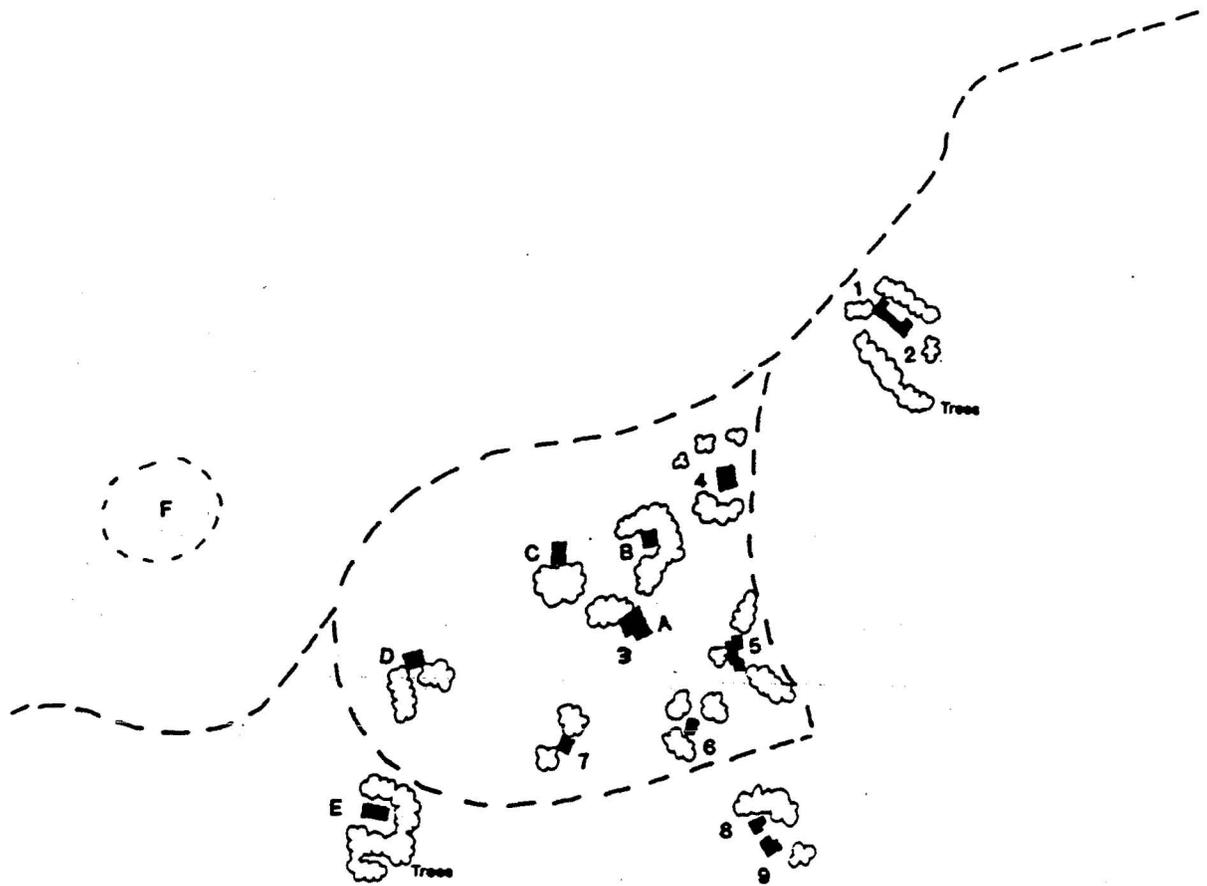
We were close to the highway (190), and since it was a national monument, they didn't want us in the public's view--people would see us (PE, Tape 1:4).

Timbisha Village Area. In 1936 the BIA and the NPS requested that the people move from the present Visitor's Center area to an area south of the Furnace Creek Ranch. This request was necessitated by agitation on the part of the Pacific Coast Borax Company to remove the people from the Valley altogether. The compromise worked out by Monument Superintendent T. R. Goodwin and the BIA superintendent at Carson Agency, Nevada, Alida Bowler, was to settle the people at a permanent site near but apart from Greenland Ranch and provide them adequate housing (Roth 1982:16). The sum of \$5,000 was appropriated by the BIA for materials to build adobe homes, with the Park Service supervising construction. It was hoped that the Borax Company would provide a site, but when it failed to do so, a 40-acre site on Monument land south of the Borax Company property was selected. This compromise solution gave the Timbisha people their first permanent homes, but without clear title to the land. The complicated administrative history of this decision is contained in Herron (1981b), Roth (1982) and Beal et al. (1984).

Adobe housing designated for Timbisha families was under construction when the first families moved into the area (Figure 29). Some families were able to move directly into the adobe homes, while others lived in tents waiting for completion of the homes (Map 5).

So back in 1936 as far as I can remember is when we first started to move, and some of the houses weren't completed at that time...I remember that there was one big tent right about in here...there were some more tents back here [Area F, Map 5]...and down here, small ones. And this was because the adobes weren't ready for them yet. Some of the people had already moved into their homes. I know that we were in there already--'cause we used to walk down here, watch them play cards, you know, in this big tent that was in back (PE, Tape 1:1).

Timbisha families who lived in the original nine adobe homes included the families of Rosie Esteves, Hank Patterson, John Boland, Sally Boland, Joe Kennedy, Bob Thompson, Fred Thompson, Molly Shoshone and Tom Wilson. A total of 44 tribal members lived in these original adobes (Figure 30).



Map 5: Timbisha Village 1936 - 1937



Adobe Structure



Dirt Road



Magnetic Declination: 15° East

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| A. Laundry | 1-2. Trading Post (double unit) |
| B. Hank Patterson Family | 3. Clotheslines |
| C. John Boland Family | 4. Rosie Boland Esteves Family |
| D. Sally Boland Family | 5. Tom Wilson Family |
| E. Joe Kennedy Family | 6. Fred Thompson Family |
| F. Tent Area (awaiting homes) | 17. Bob Thompson Family |
| | 8-9. Shoshone Family (double unit) |

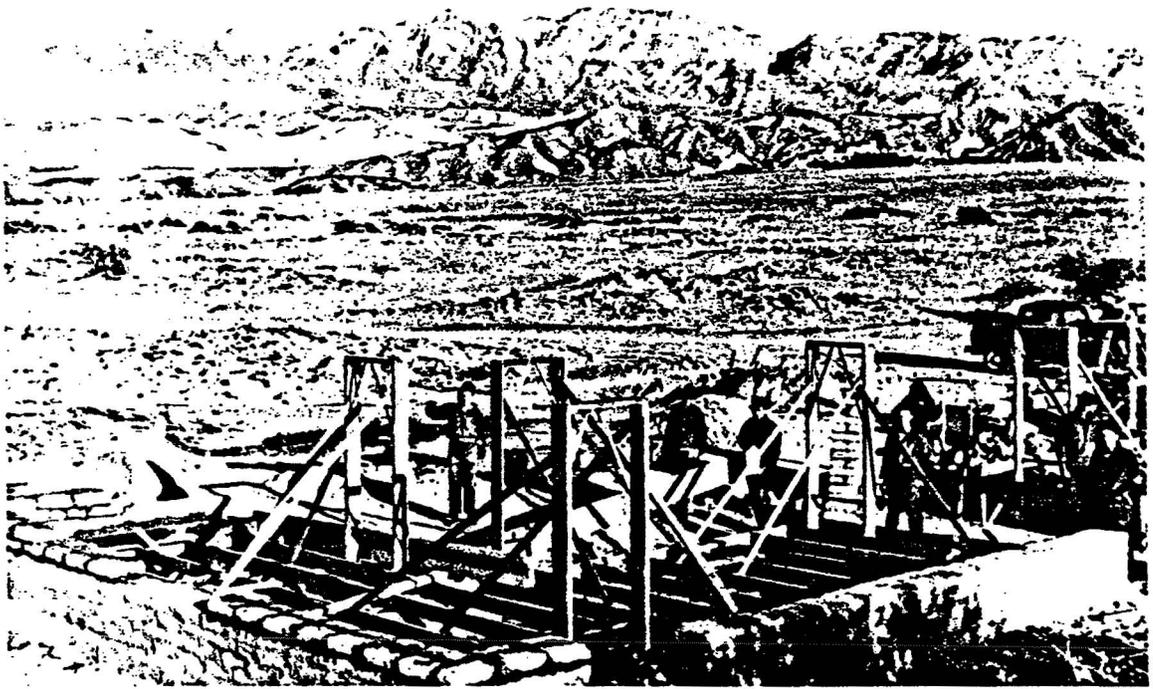


Figure 29. Adobe under construction, Timbisha Village, 1937 (either Hank Patterson's or Joe Kennedy's). Neg. # DEVA 4126.



Figure 30. Bob Thompson's house, Timbisha Village, 1958; Sally Boland's house in background. Neg. # DEVA 1886.

As families settled into their new houses, they planted trees and small gardens. The different kinds of vegetation that were introduced in the 1930s, such as oleander and tamarisk, are now recognized by the people as quite harmful to the environment. They consume large quantities of water, taking much needed water from the native mesquite trees, thus causing them to die. They also continually shed leaves that trap blowing sand, forming large dune-like areas throughout the lower part of the village area (Figure 31).



Figure 31. Adobe being engulfed by sand, Timbisha Village, 1958. Neg. # DEVA 1882.

...some people planted right away. Like my family, we planted right away--soon as we got there. We said, 'Let's have trees.' This tamarisk was the tree that we planted, and then after that we found out that it wasn't the right tree [Figure 32]. Hazardous in a lot of ways. Not only does it consume a heck of a lot of water, but it will reach out through its feelers onto the next plant that you want to keep alive and steal its water. This way then a lot of mesquite trees have died off where some of these trees are growing because their water source has been robbed by these. And their feelers and roots will travel, I forget now the distance, but quite a bit (PE, Tape 1:45).

Oleanders were planted--these are all exotics. They don't belong here. People like them and they grew them. Some people are saying that it

was a mistake. I don't like them anymore. They suffer from the consequences. They shed continuously throughout the year. Layers and layers of leaves, sand settles, then more leaves, then more sand, and then you have a mountain of sand (PE, Tape 1:44-45)

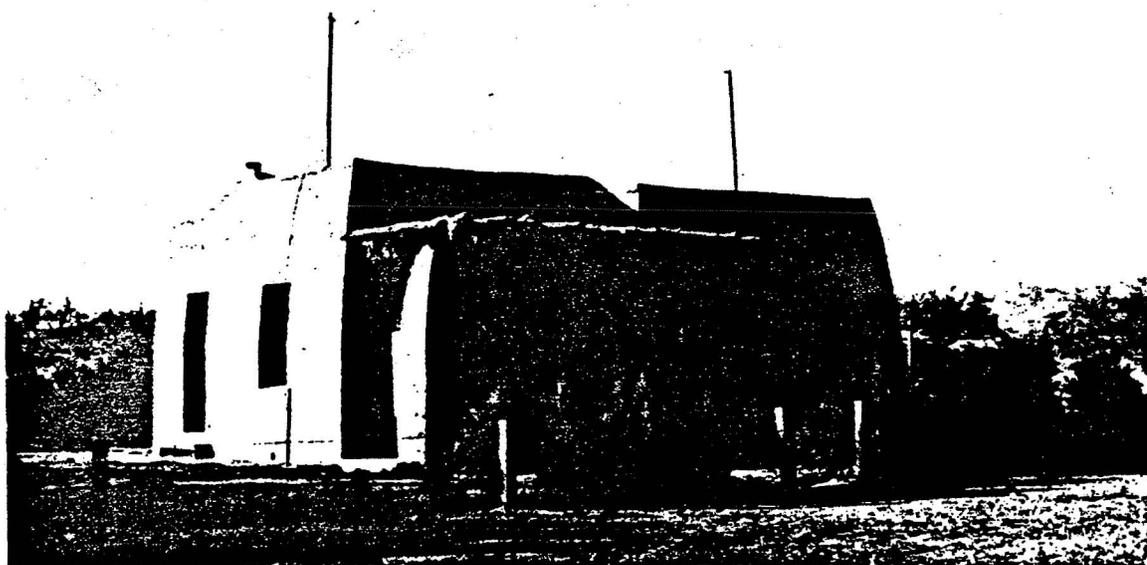


Figure 32. Adobe home of Rosie Esteves, 1939; note newly planted tamarisk in foreground. Neg. # DEVA 465.

In addition to the adobe housing, the Civilian Conservation Corps, under the direction of the Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, constructed a laundry facility and a trading post within the housing area (Figure 33). Both facilities were to be business enterprises operated by Shoshone women and supervised by NPS employees. The laundry building held six wash tubs, ironing boards, a wood burning water heater, showers and toilets. The people were expected to use the facilities both for their personal use and to provide a laundry service for non-Indians (Park Service employees, tourists, miners). Neither of these expectations lasted very long--the Timbisha women resented the policies of the Park Service supervisors and refused to work for them, and the continually blowing sand soon filled the toilets and buried the clotheslines (Figure 34).

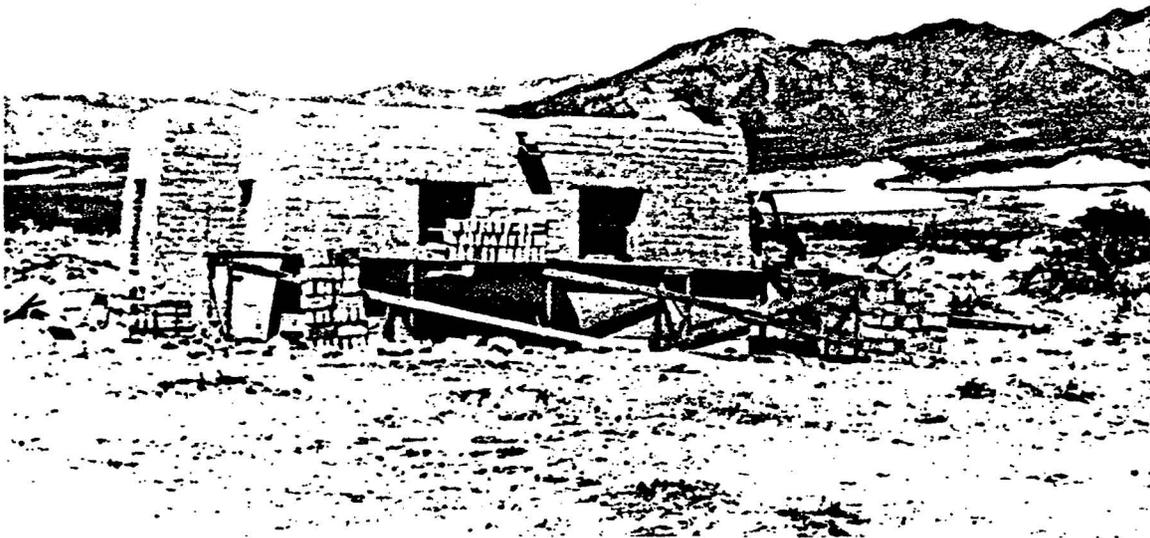


Figure 33. Constructing adobe trading post at Timbisha Village, January, 1939. Neg. # DEVA 462.

And then we were supposed to wash the White man's clothes, too--for money...and they [Shoshone women] started to do that...I helped them. They quit doing that because the Park Service ladies who were supervising the thing started bossing the women around... bossing our aunts around, and our mothers...and then they [the NPS employees] took some of their money because they said it was money for the supplies, like soap and stuff like that...well, they didn't go for that. They said, 'To heck with it. We're not going to wash nobody's clothes no more.' That ended that...and the toilets, you know, due to the sand blowing in, filled up with sand. Who's going to do the maintenance on it? So everything was filled up with sand. And we tried to clean that out, unplug it. It didn't work...even the clothesline would break (PE, Tape 1:23).

Of course there was no electricity and so the women were supposed to use the wood stove to heat the water and to heat the flat irons to iron the NPS employees' shirts. And the women were expected to go out and gather the wood--there were no plans as to who would get the wood. Wood gathering was restricted for Indians! Then finally a gate was formed at the southern boundary so we could go down to the mesquite groves to gather the wood. As kids we helped gather the wood. Finally people were tired of constantly gathering wood for this 'economic development,' and conflicts arose, so the

women got together and said, 'To heck with this.' It was so horrible the ridiculous things they expected us to do--sometimes we have to laugh about it now (PE, Tape 1:24).



Figure 34. Site of laundry with clothesline poles buried in the sand dunes. March, 1993.

The trading post, also of adobe construction, was located among the adobe housing, directly west of the present mobile homes in the Timbisha Village area. Hand-crafted items made by Timbisha people were offered for sale to tourists visiting the Monument. These items included baskets, beadwork, clay figures and arrowheads. The expectation was that craftspersons would sell their work to the trading post, which in turn, would provide advertising, displays of work and space for people to demonstrate their work. The enterprise lasted less than a year. PE and GG speculate that both the lack of advertising, and the resentment by the Timbisha women over the 'middle-man' concept of buying at a low price and selling high, accounts for the quick failure of the trading post.

...I don't know how they advertised it--being a trading post. There were no signs around...seemed like people were against it. At least my mother was anyway. She didn't care for what was taking place over here--said that probably the basket makers were getting robbed, you know, of their money. Could do better selling them there themselves--that's what she used to say (PE, Tape 1:35).

During the late 1930s (1938, 1939?), Timbisha people were forced to move out of the Timbisha Village on a temporary basis. There was a measles epidemic in the Death Valley area, and those families who had men working at Furnace Creek Ranch were forced to move in order to maintain their jobs. Families left their homes in the Timbisha Village and camped at Travertine Springs until the epidemic ended.

They told us to move out of our homes during the measles epidemic. If we didn't move they threatened there would be no employment for the men--they told John Boland, Charlie Shoshone, Herbert Kennedy, John Kennedy, Fred Thompson, Hank Patterson, Vic Seballos [GG's step-father], they had to move their families out of the village if they wanted to continue to work. They said the men would contaminate the people at the Ranch. So the Shoshone families who did not have the measles were forced to evacuate. These families moved to Travertine Springs and stayed there for the duration (PE, Tape 3:10).

The Timbisha Village housing area has experienced a variety of changes throughout the 57 years of its existence. In the early 1940s, there was an attempt to have the 40-acre site made into a reservation so that village occupants could receive "the benefits of medical service, education and vocational training and the many other advantages which are enjoyed by other reservation tribes, and the protection and guidance of the Indian Service" (Thompson et al. n.d.).

There is nothing in the correspondence files to indicate that any action was taken on the petition, and the status of the group [wards? non-wards?] continued to be debated. Without a definite status, the job of maintenance of the village usually fell to individual occupants or to the Park Service, which did not have a budget for the purpose. According to a 1936 "Memorandum of Understanding" between the BIA and the Park Service establishing the village, the Service could charge residents \$3.00/month for maintenance (Collier and Demaray 1936), but it is not clear that the fee was often collected.

During World War II some families left the village to find employment as there were no jobs available locally. Gradually their houses fell into disrepair and were slowly engulfed by sand. Other families continued to leave the Valley only in the summer, returning to repair their homes each fall. Funds for maintenance continued to be unavailable through the BIA, and Park Service funding for even basic road or water line work at the village was almost non-existent.

In 1957, in a national climate of attempts to terminate many tribes from federal control (Roth 1982:21), the Park Service negotiated a new Memorandum on the Village, with the intent of gradually eliminating it.¹⁰ Under the new policy, only individuals presently occupying houses and their descendants would be eligible to continue to live there under "special use permits." They were to be charged a rental rate of \$8.00/month (except in summer). The policy also stated that "When a house becomes vacant it will be torn down" (Binnewies 1957). In 1993, during a tour of the village area, Pauline Esteves pointed out sites of adobe houses that were destroyed by Monument staff:

Those are the ones the Park Service hosed down...and the Kennedys left, too. They went to Beatty--then their house got hosed down. It was during the war years...those were rough years. And the reason why these others didn't get washed down is 'cause we stayed on in them. Like my house and like the Wilson family's house and then Fred Thompson's house and the Shoshone house...so that means that the Kennedy house has been washed down by the Park Service, your [GG's] house [Figure 35] and Johnny Boland's house and the Patterson house and then our house and the laundry house (Tape 1:20-21).



Figure 35. Former site of Sally Boland's adobe house, Timbisha Village. March, 1993.

In addition to Park Service policies, structures were changed or damaged by outsiders. These included the laundry building, from which the wash tubs and toilets were removed by parties unknown, and two houses that were used as props in western films. In the latter case, arbors were modified and a breezeway added.

In 1963, the Park Service again revised the housing policy, essentially lowering the rental fee to \$1.00/year and making residents of the village responsible for maintenance of the houses (Thompson 1963). Some people had begun to return to the Valley and the village, and thus the deteriorating condition of the housing again became cause for major concern.

In 1976, the group at the village (and relatives) filed for official recognition by the BIA as a "band of half-blood Indians" under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This status, granted in 1977, allowed the group to apply for certain classes of funds including ones for housing improvements. In the following year, the Indian Health Service and the Park Service entered into an agreement to install an expanded domestic water system and waste disposal facilities in the village. Power was also extended to most homesites. The BIA began to grant loans to individuals to purchase trailers to be placed at sites developed with these facilities (Anonymous 1979). By 1984, people were occupying the six remaining adobes and nine trailers on developed sites (Beal et al. 1984:5).

In 1984, a project was begun under the BIA's Housing Improvement Program to renovate the adobes in the village. The original adobes had cement foundations, wooden floors, screen doors and arbors. They had no running water or indoor plumbing. Water had to be obtained from a faucet in each yard. With labor provided by five young tribal members as carpentry trainees under the HIP program, the adobes were given new roofs, permanent roofs on the arbors, modern windows, running water, plumbing and electricity (Figure 36). After the Timbisha Tribe became fully federally recognized in 1982, funds were sought for other improvements. Grants from the BIA and HUD enabled the Tribe to upgrade and ultimately pave most village roads and acquire tribal office buildings. Additional funds assisted families in purchasing mobile homes for the trailer sites.

In the 1990s (Map 6), approximately 40-50 Timbisha people live within the Timbisha Village site to which they, or their relatives, were moved in 1936. They live in mobile homes or in the reconstructed adobe houses located in the eastern section of the original 40-acre area (Figure 37). Part of the western area has been designated by the Park Service as unsuitable for additional housing or waterlines due to the nature of the soils. Thus, only a few additional homesites are potentially available. Any additions to the Village must be approved by the Park Service under existing policies which allow housing only for descendants of original residents.

Legally under the United States system we are regarded as squatters. We do not regard ourselves as squatters. By our own laws we continue to live on our own land. This difference must be resolved, or it continues to be a violation

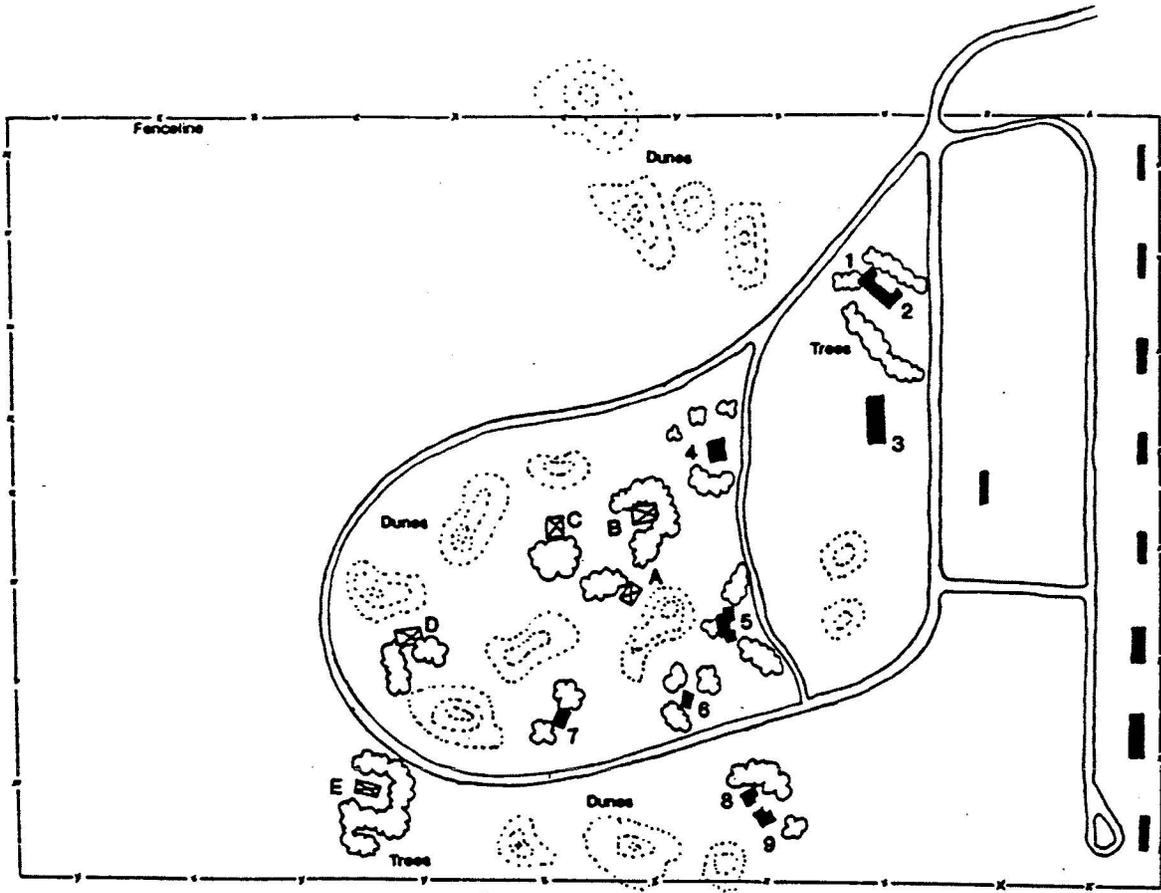
of our fundamental human rights. It is a criminal act--it is genocide. If the situation keeps on there will be nobody, none of our Shoshone people left on their own land (PE).



Figure 36. Renovated adobe, Timbisha Village. March 1993.

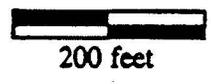


Figure 37. Overview of Timbisha Village from the east. June, 1993.



Map 6: Timbisha Village 1993 (Courtesy of Timbisha Tribe)

-  Buildings
-  Former Adobe Sites
-  Mobile Homes
-  Improved Roads



Magnetic Declination: 15° East

HISTORIC TRAILS

While collecting data for his dissertation on the geology of Death Valley, Charles B. Hunt (n.d.) recorded information about prehistoric and historic trails. His trail study clearly grew out of his collaboration with Alice P. Hunt (1960), whose archaeological survey was conducted concurrently. Both of the Hunts recorded trails used prehistorically and/or historically. These trails and associated archaeological sites document the ancient communication and settlement patterns of the Valley and its ties to the Panamint Range and other mountain areas. They were also important to the last immigrants in the Valley, as Alice Hunt (1960:292) observed:

The old trails clearly were plain routes leading from spring to spring. There was no need for pioneers to search for water; trails as plain as freeways led to them, the only uncertainty was, how far?

The Hunts marked the location of these trails on the 1905-06 Quadrangle, which C. Hunt (n.d.) reproduced in his report and on maps in A. Hunt's (1960: Figures 80, 82, 84 and 85) report. Some of the trails were shown on the map as primitive roads. In all he recorded 14 major trails, several of which have two or more forks. Twelve of these trails are shown on Maps 7a and 7b. Most (see trails 1 through 9) are into canyons in the east-facing slopes of the Panamint Range south of Tucki Mountain. These trails start at the unimproved road along the west side of southern Death Valley which crosses the "Devils Golf Course" just south of "Mushroom Rock," goes through Bennett's Well and crosses the Amargosa River just north of the pass in the Jubilee Mountain. This road is itself probably the location of an older horseback or wagon trail and may incorporate segments of foot trails.

Two major trails, those up Trail and Anvil Spring canyons (Map 7a, 7b:T2 and T8), extend to the summit of the range and join trails from the summit into the south end of Panamint Valley. One (Map 7a: T2) is the "probable route of the Bennett-Arcane Party" as they left Death Valley in December, 1849 (Hunt n.d.:12). It goes through what is now called Trail Canyon, but is shown on the Wheeler [(1879); cited by Hunt (n.d.)] map as "Death Valley Canyon." But on the 1972 Death Valley National Monument and Vicinity topographic sheet, the canyon from Tule Spring, just north of Hanaupah Canyon, is labelled "Death Valley Canyon." The trail in this canyon is shown on Map 7a as Trail 3. Two members of the Historic Preservation Committee (PE and GG) recall hearing from elders that this trail (now a jeep road) connects with a trail that they could take on horseback to Wildrose Canyon. The other major trail to the summit, Anvil Canyon, joins a jeep trail there that extends just below the summit on the west-facing slope north to beyond Telescope Peak.

According to the Hunts (n.d. and 1960) the prehistoric use of these trails is shown by scatters of artifacts and features at various places along the trails. Many of the trailside sites included boulder-rimmed circular depressions, stone mounds and surface scatters of

stone artifacts (Hunt 1960: Figures 38, 46, 80); rock alignments of various types also are common, but not always adjacent to trails (Hunt 1960:148). Some of the trails, discussed by Hunt (1960:156, 291-2) "have had virtually no use since vehicular travel came into the Valley and roads replaced the trails." Hunt (1960:156) describes one such trail, between Cow Creek Spring and Furnace Creek Ranch, the location of camps recalled by Timbisha tribal members (PE and GG). Hunt notes that this trail passes near a circular "track" or depression 8 in. wide and 30 ft. in dia." She also notes that the old Cow Creek trail is deeper than the track and the gravel is "disturbed," apparently exhibiting different degrees of patination. The circular track site (Hunt 1960:Figure 80) is in the general vicinity of a dance circle also recalled by tribal members [PE and GG; see also Tagg (1984:63)].

Along many of the trails, broken glass and metal objects indicate continued use into the 19th Century and later. Mines in many of the canyons (e.g., Warm Springs, Galena and Hanaupah -- Map 7b: T8, T6 and T4a respectively) provide ample reason for their most recent use. Members of the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe, however, recall travel along some of these trails, particularly ones up Trail and Hanaupah canyons, the latter by car to a mine where relatives were employed (PE). Trails shown on the 1972 map probably represent wagon or jeep trails leading to mining claims in the Black Mountains, for example Trails 10 and 11a (Map 7b).

Three trails described and mapped by Hunt (n.d.) cross the Valley floor. The southernmost of these extends southeast from Sheep and Copper canyons in the west-facing slope of the Amargosa Range to Bennett's Well (Map 7b:T11). One extends from the present Indian Village west southwest to Blackwater Wash and up that wash north of Trail Canyon (Map 7a:T1; Figure 38). The northernmost of these trails extends from Salt Creek just west northwest of Beatty Junction south across the Valley to a spring at the foot of the easternmost extension of Tucki Mountain, along the foot of the alluvial fan of the range until it joins the unimproved road mentioned earlier (Map 7a:12). The northward segment of that trail (Map 7b:12a) follows Salt Creek north past the location of Stovepipe Wells shown on the Death Valley Monument 1972 map. Its use is recalled by tribal members today (PE and GG).

A review of existing trail data indicates that a systematic study of data on mapped trails in Death Valley with additional archaeological and ethnographic investigation could yield useful information about the continuity of prehistoric practices to those of the late 19th and early 20th centuries on the part of members of the Timbisha people.

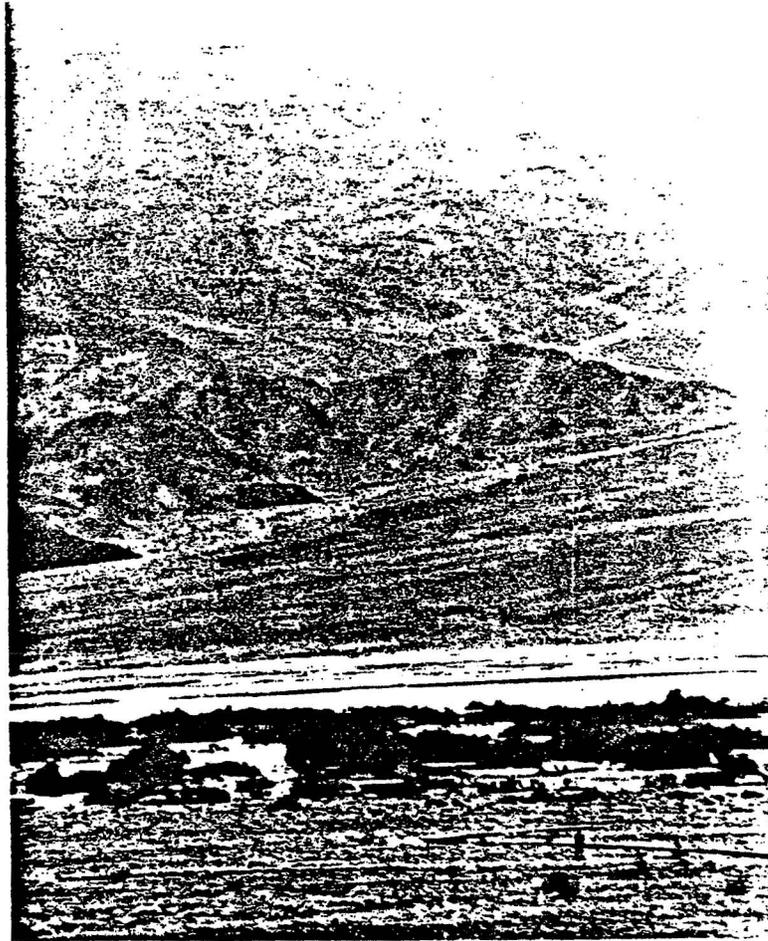


Figure 38. Trail from Timbisha Village to and up Blackwater Wash. June, 1993.

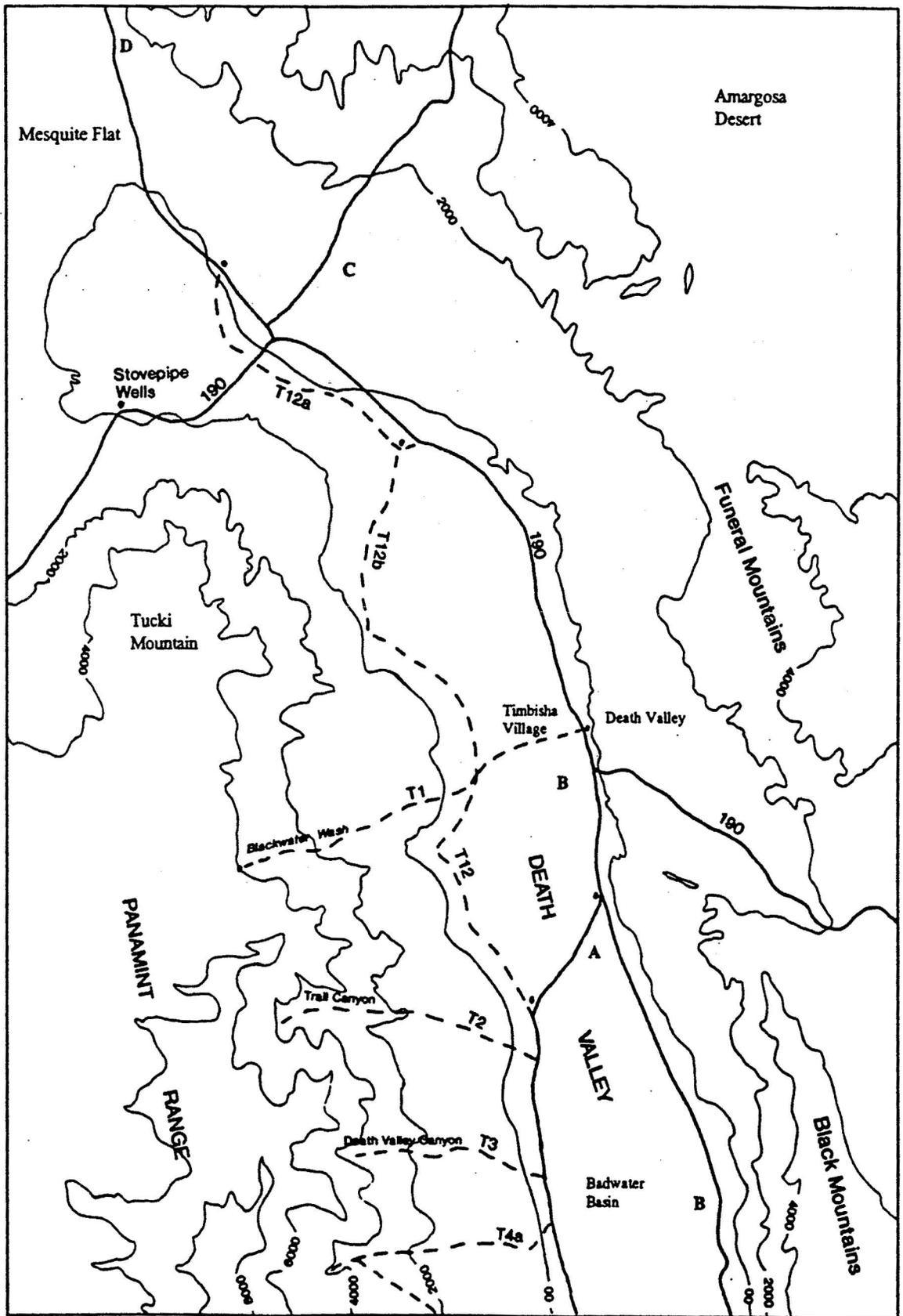
KEY TO MAPS 7a, 7b.

MONUMENT ROADS

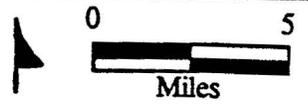
- A. Light-duty road along west side of southern Death Valley.
- B. Badwater Road, a secondary road along the east side of southern Death Valley from which Road A branches to form a loop.
- C. The paved primary road to Beatty via Boundary Canyon and Daylight Pass.
- D. The paved primary road from State Route 90 to Scotty's Castle.

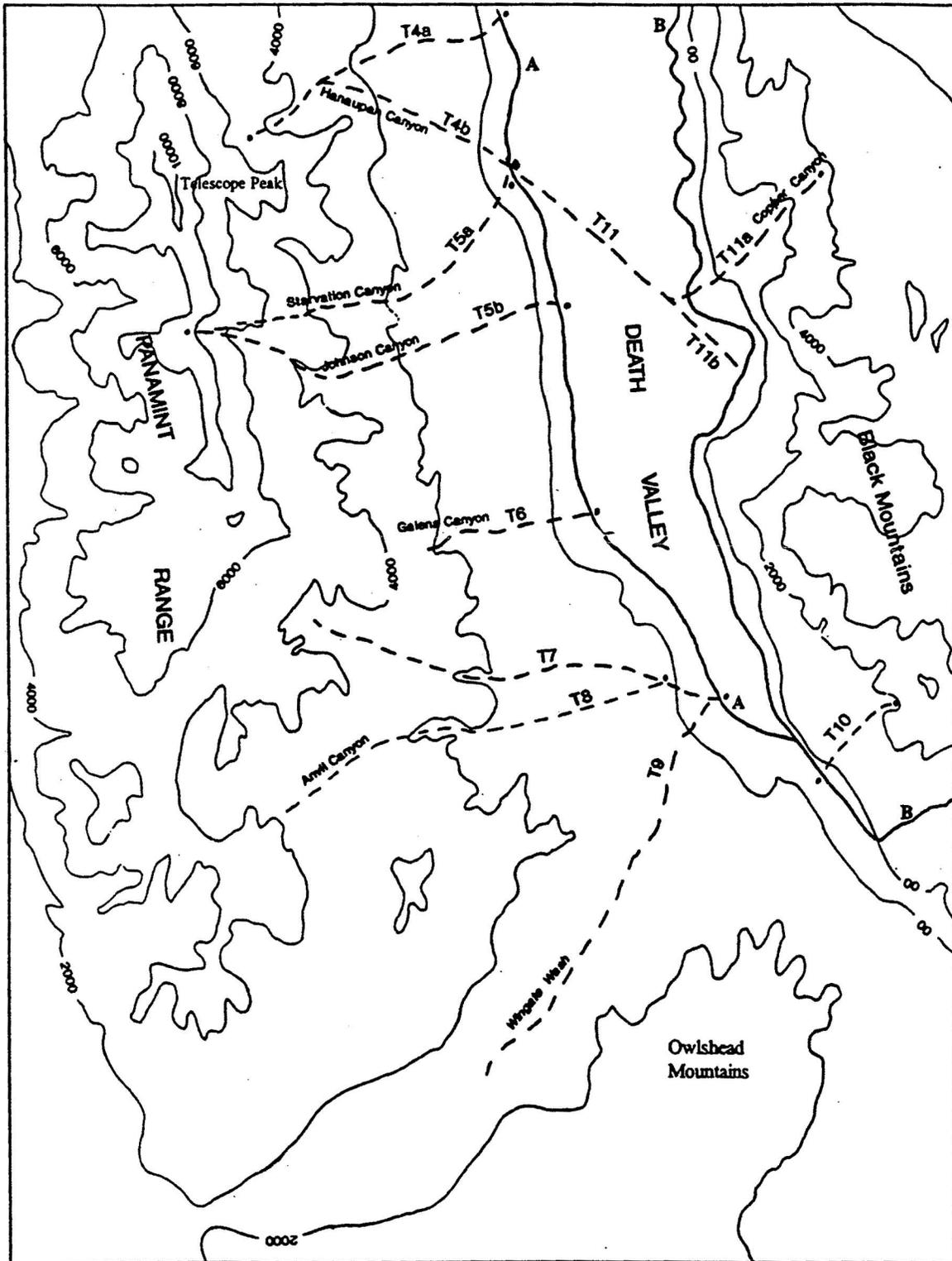
TRAILS

1. Trail from Furnace Creek near present Timbisha Village across the Valley and up Blackwater Wash, Panamint Range (Hunt 1960: Figure 82).
2. Trail Canyon, connecting with the trail to Harrisburg, in the north Panamint Valley.
3. Death Valley Canyon [Hunt (n.d.), reproduction of 1905-6 map]; no jeep trail is shown on the 1972 map.
4. Hanaupah Canyon, on Hunt [(n.d.), reproduction of 1905-6 map]:
 - a. jeep trail from Shorty's Well;
 - b. from Bennetts Well.
5. Starvation Canyon:
 - a. from Bennetts Well;
 - b. from point 20 mi. south of Road A, northern junction with Road B.
6. Galena Canyon, on 1972 map only.
7. Warm Springs Canyon to Ballarat (Hunt n.d., reproduction of 1905-6 map).
8. Anvil Spring Canyon (only on Hunt n.d. reproduction of 1905-6 map).
9. Wingate Wash Trail, present jeep road up Wingate Wash to Wingate Pass between Panamint and Owshead mountains; on both 1905-6 and 1972 maps.
10. Jeep trail to mine northwest of Jubilee Pass, Black Mountains.
11. Trail across south end of Badwater Flat to Trail 4:
 - a. northeast to Copper Canyon;
 - b. southeast to Sheep Canyon.
12. Jeep trail and probable earlier trail along Salt Creek (12a) and from there across the Valley and along its west side to the junction of the trail with Road A (12b).
13. Furnace Creek to Cow Creek Spring (Hunt 1960: Figure 80).

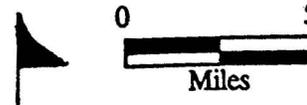


Map 7a: Ethnographic Trail System Northern Death Valley





Map 7b: Ethnographic Trail System Southern Death Valley



PLACE NAMES

Appendix A contains a list, along with location, Native name, and associated data of some 150 place names throughout Timbisha and wider Panamint territory. Many of these were recorded by C.H. Merriam between 1891 and 1930 (Grosscup 1977). Others, including some of the same, were recorded by Julian Steward in the course of ethnographic studies in the region (Steward 1938). Yet others come from the linguistic work of Jon Dayley (1989a; 1989b). During the course of our study, we attempted to verify those that we could and coordinate the various studies to provide one list. We also recorded additions to the list, or additional data about the places. We were unable to work with persons from some of the other Panamint areas, so data are better for the Timbisha area.

Place names are an important aspect of land use studies, as they provide some indication of the peoples' familiarity with the landscape and particular features of it. This list, while by no means exhaustive, indicates that nearly all major springs in the region were named, most major peaks and/or mountain ranges, many canyons, interesting or different rock formations, etc. A number of the names have referents to traditional tales from *The Time When Animals Were People*, as most of these stories were mapped on the landscape. A careful reading of the list will make this apparent.

Not all place names have obvious etymologies. Some once did, but these are no longer apparent due to the poor recording of the Timbisha language in the past. Other place names are undoubtedly so old that they have lost their etymologies. This is often seen by linguists as a sign of the antiquity of a people in a region: their names for the landscape become less transparent. Timbisha people today feel that many of these names are indeed ancient, as they do not have obvious meanings--they have become "just names." They also point out that younger people who no longer speak the language do not know these names, and that is sad. Names--and indeed the language itself--are another attachment of people to land, and they need to be perpetuated.

PLANTS AND ANIMALS

Uses of plants and animals by Timbisha tribal members have been tempered by Monument policies since the 1940s. Soon after the Monument was established in 1933, policies against hunting and plant collecting began to go into effect. However, as tribal members recall, initially the policies were not totally restrictive. Bans went into effect gradually, probably as the staff became familiar with national regulations and with the local situation. But by the late 1940s, policies had become so restrictive that most people stopped hunting and collecting activities altogether. The threat of penalty and fine was strongest for taking animals, although specific bans on camping and fires also affected the harvesting of plants, particularly pine nuts. Today, although most plants can be collected by specific permit, some Timbisha residents resent this and either go outside Park boundaries to collect, or do not collect at all. Some collect within the Park without a permit risking legal action.